

## Burmese Demand Full Independence

See Page 3 —

Workers Of The World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

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## Judge Reverses Original Ruling On Portal Claim

Supreme Court Provides Legal Technicality For Dismissing Back-Pay Suits As "Trifles"

Federal Judge Frank A. Picard's reversal on Feb. 8 of his previous decision in the now historic Mt. Clemens Pottery Co. portal-pay case strikingly confirms the old axiom: A capitalist judge never intentionally rules against the fundamental interests of the Big Business class.

It is obvious, as the Feb. 9 N. Y. Times admitted editorially, that Judge Picard did not realize when he made his original award to the Mt. Clemens Pottery workers that he "would let a multi-billion dollar genie out of the bottle." But, the Times added, he "did his best yesterday to put the genie back."

Whenever any capitalist-selected judge accidentally rules in favor of the workers, he is soon "straightened out." In Judge Picard's case, the whole capitalist class, its entire government apparatus, its press and radio poured the heat on him.

### ACE OUT OF SLEEVE

Senators threatened him with impeachment. The Department of Justice and Treasury Department, even President Truman himself, presented briefs as "friends of the court" on behalf of the billionaire corporations.

He did not lack for legal technicalities to help him "get out from under." The U. S. Supreme Court slipped him an ace from its black judicial sleeves. It instructed him to apply the doctrine of "de minimis non curat lex" (The law does not concern itself with trifles).

After going through a lot of hocus-pocus of timing the walk-

ing-distance on company property and preparation-time, the Judge "impartially" ruled that the 14 minutes a day overtime claimed by the Mt. Clemens Pottery workers was "narrow, picayunish, meager" and that even 20 to 25 minutes of a worker's time is a "trifle."

Why not make the corporations pay this "trifle"? Their howls and pressure show they don't consider it so "picayunish." Accumulated over a year, such "trifles" amount to scores of dollars per worker—more than 5 billion dollars added to capitalist profits since 1938. It is from just such "trifles" that the capitalists amass huge extra profits.

Behind the ferocious Big Business attack on portal pay claims there is a further sinister aim. The Congressional reactionaries are attempting to gut the whole Fair Labor Standards Act (Wage and Hours) on the pretext of outlawing portal pay suits.

The principal bill to revise the Fair Labor Standards Act has been introduced in the House by Representative Gwynne of Iowa. CIO attorney Lee Pressman last week told the House Judiciary sub-committee that Gwynne's bill is designed to "tear the heart out of the act itself."

## Stalinists Forced To Dissolve Fake Maritime "Unity" Body

By C. Thomas

After less than one year of existence, the Stalinist maritime "unity" bubble burst when the executive board of the Committee for Maritime Unity voted this week to dissolve the organization.

The resignation in December of CMU co-chairman Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, proved fatal to the Stalinist scheme of controlling the affiliated unions through the apparatus of CMU.

This was admitted in a statement by the executive board which declared "that Curran's resignation has rendered the CMU ineffective for all practical purposes."

### STALINISTS LOSE

The action of the CMU executive was tacit recognition that the Stalinists in the NMU had lost the support of the membership in their fight against the Curran group. Curran had carried the fight to the membership when the Stalinist majority on the NMU National Council refused to submit the question of continued CMU affiliation to a referendum.

The short-lived Committee for Maritime Unity was established at a conference held in May 1946. The original groups in the CMU consisted of the CIO unions in maritime plus the independent Marine Firemen's Union. Viewed as a hostile formation by the AFL unions in the industry, it led immediately to formation of the AFL Maritime Trades Department.

### OPEN WARFARE

From that moment jurisdictional bitterness and strife increased on the waterfront. Through the CMU, every local dispute tended to assume a national character. Instead of leading to "unity," it led to a condition bordering on open warfare. In addition, the organization setup was so devised that the Stalinists were assured of an automatic majority on the executive board.

As a result the non-Stalinist union officials rebelled. The first of the original founders to come out against CMU was the head of the Marine Firemen, V. J. Malone. Later, Curran resigned, charging the CMU with fostering jurisdictional warfare, outright strikebreaking and attempting to control the NMU.

A few weeks ago, the CIO Marine Engineers meeting in convention, rejected affiliation, to

## SWP Candidates Speak In Chicago Broadcast

By Robert L. Birchman

CHICAGO, Feb. 10—In the first of a series of radio broadcasts by the Trotskyist candidates in Chicago, Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers Party write-in candidate for Mayor, and Homer Lewis, SWP candidate for Alderman in the Third Ward, tonight addressed the city's voters over Station WJJD.

The SWP mayoralty candidate declared that the "all-out drive of Big Business to cripple and destroy organized labor" must be met by "mobilizing labor's millions for a smashing counter-offensive." Congress's "ferocious onslaught on labor," he said, must be answered by "unity in action of all sections of labor."

"A great National Congress of Labor must be assembled in Washington, with delegates from every trade union local in the country. Confront the Congress of capital with a Congress of Labor. Let this Labor Congress serve notice on the stooges of Wall Street that labor will never submit to their program of enslavement."

"Labor has shown that it is more than a match for the bosses on the economic front. But the failure of labor to build an equally powerful political party of its own is the chief cause of the

## New York SWP Hits Move For 10-Cent Fare

NEW YORK, Feb. 10 — George Clarke, Organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, New York Local, will appear at the public hearing before the Board of Estimate, which began here today at the City Hall, in order to protest the proposed subway fare-increase swindle.

"The move to inaugurate a 10-cent fare," Clarke declared today, "is a carefully manipulated move by the banks and real estate interests to saddle New Yorkers with a new tax which will not bring transit improvements of any kind."

"This is the latest act in a terrible swindle perpetrated by financial interests over a period of years," he continued. "Proceeds from the transit system, supplemented by huge subsidies from the city treasury, have gone to pay interest and amortization on a tremendous debt. No improvement has been made in the subway system for years. Conditions in the transit system have steadily worsened."

"Despite his pretended impartiality, Mayor O'Dwyer is the instigator of the 10-cent fare maneuver. The facts about the financial status of the transit system have long been available to him. He called the hearings for the sole purpose of preparing for the increase."

Clarke called on the workers of New York to resist the rise. "We want the workers that an attempt may be made to put over the increase without a referendum. We also want that O'Dwyer may use the fallacious argument of subway 'improvement' as a ruse for a compromise for a six or seven-cent fare. This would only pave the way for a 10-cent fare later."

"As long as the mill-stone of debt to banks and bondholders is tied to the city's neck, the five-cent fare will be in danger. Even a 10-cent fare will not lead to needed improvements. It is only a new means of extracting money for interest out of New York workers."

"A 10-cent fare must not only be defeated," Clarke concluded, "we must cancel any further payments to the Wall Street bondholders." (See Page 6 on Subway Steal)

### Trotskyist Candidate On Chicago Ballot

CHICAGO, Feb. 10—Homer Lewis, militant Negro working class leader, is now officially on the ballot as the first Socialist Workers Party candidate for Alderman in this city. He is running in the Third Ward. Many workers are campaigning in the Third Ward for his election. Thousands of leaflets containing the election platform of the SWP have been distributed in this ward during the past week.

## Robber Yelling "Thief"



## Monopolists Hurl Venom At Labor In Hearings On Anti-Union Bills

For two weeks the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee has been firing heavy guns at the union movement in its public hearings. On February 5 the House Education and Labor Committee joined in the barrage at the first of its scheduled hearings, on the most savage anti-labor proposals Wall Street has demanded in decades.

Representative Clare E. Hoffman, Republican of Michigan, called for outright repeal of the Wagner Act. This political representative of the auto monopolists cross-examined himself, responding to his own questions with the bitter anti-labor testimony he wanted in the record, and plugging his own bill, HR. 880. "My bill doesn't take away the right to strike. But if a man strikes, he's fired. Let him find another job if he doesn't like the one he has."

The next day a Democrat, Howard W. Smith of Virginia, co-author of the Smith-Connally wartime strike-breaking law, followed up with another blast. A member of the powerful House

exercise of the right to strike.

Ex-Governor Stassen of Minnesota, the Republican who appointed anti-labor specialist Joseph H. Ball to the Senate, took the witness stand Feb. 7. An avowed candidate for President of the United States in 1948, Stassen donned a "liberal" mantle, telling Ball he thought outlawing the closed shop was going too far. But his anti-labor proposals differed from those of Ball only in degree.

Stassen demanded the Wagner Act be re-written along lines Wall Street is now demanding; he called for a federal law against mass picketing; demanded unions file financial statements with the government; advocated interference in union election of officers; opposed foremen's unions; and insisted that boycotts and jurisdiction strikes be outlawed.

Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors, took the stand Feb. 5. The head of the world's largest industrial corporation, controlling 50% of automotive production, called unions "monopolistic" and said, "I'll never sign a closed shop agreement. When it gets around to that they can make a farmer out of me." Venting all his vitriolic hatred of labor, the monopolist compared maintenance of union membership provisions with "requirement for membership in the Nazi party."

Wilson wanted to stamp out the unions with a series of laws that would ban everything from the closed shop to the free ex-

## Rubber Workers Urge Labor Party In Akron

AKRON, O.—Inspired by reports of the local CIO-sponsored labor party movement in Flint, Mich., progressive CIO rubber workers here have raised the slogan, "For A Genuine Labor Party In Akron."

The last issue of the Goodrich Local 5 Air Bag featured an editorial appeal with that slogan as its title. It states:

"It is high time for the labor movement in Akron, CIO, AFL and Independent, to gather together and begin the building of a genuine labor party. Such a movement has begun in Flint, Michigan, under the sponsorship of the local CIO: we should not lag far behind."

"The old policy of seeking favors from the two old parties has

## Sinclair Men Get Automatic Cost-Of-Living Boost In Pay

By Art Preis

The CIO Oil Workers International Union has just given a dollars-and-cents demonstration of the value of the sliding scale of wages that provides automatic pay rises to meet rises in living costs.

Under an escalator clause in the contract with Sinclair Oil Company, some 7,000 OWIU-

CIO members last week received an automatic seven-cent an hour wage boost, retroactive to Jan. 1 and effective until March 1 when the cost-of-living index will be reviewed again.

This seven-cent raise is based on the 7.4-point rise in the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics living-costs index for the last three months of 1946. The cost-of-living raise is in addition to a flat wage increase of 18-cents an hour secured in the contract signed on Nov. 15, 1946.

Thus, the total wage gain in a period of three months has been 25 cents an hour, bringing average Sinclair hourly rates up to \$1.65. If the index should rise another three points by March 1, the Sinclair workers will get still another corresponding wage raise.

### PRESERVES REAL WAGES

If, on the other hand, the cost of living declines, the basic wage rate, including the flat 18-cent increase, remains as the minimum. It stands as an outright wage gain. The escalator clause serves merely to preserve real wages when prices are continuously soaring upward.

The OWIU-CIO is now negotiating with other major oil companies for a similar cost-of-living escalator clause. However, the union is now demanding a total 25-cent an hour rise from the hold-out companies to bring their wage-rates in line with the wage gains won from Sinclair in November.

Had the other CIO unions demanded and won escalator clauses when the OWIU won its Sinclair contract, it would have meant tens of millions of dollars since in increased purchasing power for CIO workers.

Had they fought for and won

such a contract clause before the war, when the Socialist Workers Party and The Militant warned of the coming inflation and first advanced the sliding scale of wages slogan, wage rates would now be double what they are in terms of the cost of living.

Right now the employers are putting out false propaganda about the cost of living declining. This is timed to counteract demands for higher wages. The unions should meet this propaganda with the demand for escalator clauses retroactive to last June, at least, which would provide wage raises of 30 to 35% right now.

Instead of relying on reassuring propaganda, the unions should insist on tangible protection from the effects of any further inflation. As the OWIU has proved, that protection is the sliding scale of wages. With such a clause, the workers will feel that their basic wage gains are protected and that any further fight they make for higher wage rates will not simply be a chase after rising prices. It will be a fight for an outright increase in real purchasing power and improved living standards.

### Oil Workers Vote On Western Strike

West Coast CIO oil workers are voting 4 to 1 to strike if the western companies fail to accept demands for a 25-cent an hour wage increase, equal to the gains won by the Sinclair workers in their escalator clause contract.

The preliminary returns covering 5,000 workers were announced on Feb. 8. Another 12,000 votes were yet to be tallied. If called, the strike is expected to begin Feb. 15 when the current union contract expires.

## Truman And Congress Cooking Up Deal To Put Through Rent Boost

President Truman and Congress are reported to be cooking up a deal to boost rents 10% — and soon. He is said to be willing to sign such a measure provided Congress retains the formal structure of "rent control" under cover of which rents could actually be raised.

The United Press on Feb. 9 reported that "Truman was represented by informed sources today as willing to sign a bill granting a 10% increase in rents if Congress would

extend federal controls for a year."

Three days earlier Truman at the last moment rescinded a 10% boost order his Office of Temporary Controls was about to issue. Although he denied previous knowledge of the order, it is believed, according to the Feb. 9 N. Y. Times, that the whole action was "a political maneuver wherein the Administration, going only to the verge, subtly invited the Republican majority in Congress to plunge in and raise rents."

Other Democrats, in Congress, are proposing to "thaw out rent control" by local boards which would speed up individual landlord applications claiming "hardship."

Such decontrol is already well advanced. The OTC has been granting individual rent increases at the rate of 30,000 a month — a million total so far. After Feb. 15, these will be greatly speeded up under new "liberalized" provisions for landlord "hardship" cases.

The N. Y. Times said this was "in line with the President's thinking" and would bring "re-

lief" to another million landlords "in the coming weeks."

Meanwhile, the OTC has insufficient funds and personnel to enforce existing rent ceilings. It's too busy granting increases to landlords whose incomes have nearly doubled in the past six years, from 2.3 billion to 4.3 billion dollars.

The new Murray-Wagner Senate Bill, which has little Congressional support, would continue rent control another year without a blanket increase. But it would not prevent the OTC from raising rents piecemeal under "hardship" loopholes, etc. It is in no sense a rent-freezing bill, the only type of measure that would afford real protection from rent-gouging.

Last week swarms of real estate and landlord lobbyists appeared before Senate Banking and Currency Committee hearings on rent. They literally howled and shrieked for an end to all rent regulations. A few spokesmen of veterans, labor and consumer groups demanded retention of rent controls and opposed any rent increases.

Only militant mass action by workers, veterans and other tenants will block the maneuver to raise rents under the guise of retaining "rent control." Such rent decontrol must be countered with the demand: Freeze All Rents!



# Senator Ball Admits Aim Of His Anti-Labor Bills Is To Give Bosses "The Right To Break A Strike"

DETROIT—"The right to strike must be set off by the right to break a strike."

In these words, Republican Senator Joseph Ball of Minnesota summarized the aims of his anti-labor bills now before Congress.

His confession appeared in a recent issue of the *Detroit News* (Jan. 29). It is quoted by Washington correspondent Jay G. Hayden, reporting an interview with Ball.

What Ball's bill to "equalize the Wagner Act" seeks to accomplish, reports Hayden on the basis of Ball's personal explanation, is to restore "the right of a private owner to run his own business, without let or hindrance by either labor unions or government."

## TO LEGALIZE SCABBING

It would, in short, enable the bosses to treat the workers as they please and with no restraints whatever.

Ball proposes, in fact, to legalize strikebreaking. "Unless it could be proved that the strike was caused by the employer's unfair labor practice, the employer would be free to hire strikebreakers as he pleased," Hayden explains.

He quotes Ball directly: "This bill will put the risk back into strikes that existed before the National Labor Relations Act was enacted."

"IT GIVES THE EMPLOYER A REASONABLE CHANCE TO START A BACK-TO-WORK MOVEMENT THAT WILL SERVE AS A BRAKE ON HAITRIGGER STRIKES. THE RIGHT TO STRIKE MUST BE SET OFF BY THE RIGHT TO BREAK A STRIKE."

Ball proposes nothing less than legalized union-busting with hired strikebreakers, gangsters, private company armed forces—unrestricted open-shop violence against the workers.

One amendment which Ball wants to introduce into the Wagner Act, according to Hayden, would require the employer "first to notify the striking employee that his old job was available to him, provided he returned immediately to work. IF THE EMPLOYEE FAILED TO HEED THIS WARNING, HE WOULD LOSE ALL STATUTORY RIGHT TO HIS JOB. HE COULD RETURN THEREAFTER ONLY AT THE WILL OF THE EMPLOYER AND ON THE LATTER'S TERMS."

Under such a set-up, all the employer would have to do to break a strike is simply to tell the workers to return to work. If they refused to accept unconditional surrender, THE FEDERAL LAW would uphold the employer in refusing them their jobs and replacing them with strikebreakers.

Senator Ball is not some insignificant screw-ball. He is the right-hand man of Senate Republican Boss Taft, who is steering the principal anti-labor bills through the Senate. His statement is a considered and weighty expression of the ultimate aims of Big Business and the Congress majority.

Their "right to break a strike" really means: Destroy Organized Labor!

## Chicago Joint Labor Committee



Recognizing the need for united action to fight anti-labor legislation, Chicago labor has formed a body composed of CIO, AFL and rail brotherhood officials. Left to right: Sec. Michael Mann of the CIO Council; Sec. Joseph D. Keenan of Chicago Federation of Labor and Chairman Frank L. Noakes of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees. (Federated Pictures)

## Briggs Local 12 Calls For United Action To Win FEPC In Michigan

LANSING, Mich.—The drive for united militant action of all forces favoring the proposed FEPC Bill in the State of Michigan is growing.

The General Council of Briggs Local 212, CIO United Auto Workers, on Jan. 25 adopted a strongly-worded resolution addressed to all sections of labor urging "the organization of a mass march on Lansing" to force favorable consideration of the FEPC Bill now in the State Senate Labor Committee.

On Jan. 30, the Reuther-supported Michigan Council for Fair Employment Legislation held a "working conference" for the FEPC measure here in the state capital. Bad weather conditions resulted in a slim attendance at this meeting which was dominated by preachers, social workers, and supporters of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

The reports from the platform and the tone of the remarks of the various guest speakers, Bishop Hass, Father Clancy of the ACTU, Tom Downs of the Michigan CIO, etc., provoked one delegate to remark that the meeting was assuming the character of a "wake" rather than a working conference to devise action to force the bill through the legislature.

## RED HERRINGS

At times it was difficult to tell just what the main purpose of the meeting was, as so much of the speaking was devoted to red-baiting attacks upon the Communist Party (Stalinist) and the Thomas-Leonard Committee for an FEPC.

It was claimed by Downs, for instance, that the FEPC measure had lost all chances of being passed because a Communist representative had spoken for the measure at a public hearing on the Bill before the combined Senate Labor and House Judiciary Committees. This was "the kiss of death," according to Downs.

Actually, the gloomy outlook for the FEPC Bill in the Legislature flowed not from Stalin-

**NEW YORK MEXICAN FIESTA**  
Chili Supper, Dancing  
SAT., Feb. 15, 8 p.m.  
116 University Place

At this point, Ernest Mazey, of the Briggs Local 212 delegation, took the floor and denounced all those who shared responsibility for disunity in the fight for an FEPC. He pointed out that if the measure was buried in the Senate Labor Committee, this was not a result of any "kiss of death" by the Stalinists but should properly be credited to

the inadequate lobbying programs of both committees. Mazey declared it was still possible to save the measure in the legislature if a proper program of militant mass action was aggressively undertaken. "Back up the thousands of petition signatures with a mass march on Lansing and we will win this fight," Mazey declared.

Mazey's remarks were enthusiastically applauded. Charles Smith, chairman of the Local 212 FEPC Committee, made a motion in support of the proposal for militant action. After only Smith and one other person had spoken on this motion, the chairman arbitrarily cut off further discussion and put the question to a vote. The voice vote was so close that the ruling that the motion was defeated was questioned. In a standing vote the motion was defeated by a slender margin.

The proponents of a march on Lansing gave notice that the fight would continue to build support for militant united action to gain favorable consideration of the FEPC bill.

## Crisis In Communist Party

### Aims Of Dissident Leaders

The rise of an organized opposition inside the American Communist Party (Stalinist), which has led to wholesale expulsions, reflects a growing revisionism in the working class layers of the party to the leadership's continued betrayals.

CP members in the union feel the contempt of the best militants. They cannot answer the arguments of class-conscious workers about the CP's notorious political zig-zags; its strikebreaking during the war; its collaboration with capitalist politicians; its bureaucratic methods.

They can see, moreover, that the expulsion of Browder has not changed anything fundamentally in the CP. The same old gang holds the reins, minus Browder who is sitting on the sidelines as an official "business" representative of the Kremlin. Maybe the phrases of the "new" CP leaders are a bit more "leftist." Their policies and actions are as treacherous as before.

## STILL STALINISTS

But the chief spokesmen for the discontented elements show in their published documents and writings no real understanding of the basic political falseness of Stalinism. They have broken with the official American Stalinist leaders. But they are still proponents of Stalinism.

The main grouping of the CP dissidents appears to be the New Committee for Publications, which puts out the *NCP Report*, a clearing house for left-Stalinist criticism of the CP. It makes clear that "the central purpose of NCP" is "to bring about the establishment of a real Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist party in the U. S." Of course, Marxist-Leninism and Stalinism are at opposite poles.

Expelled CPers like William F. Dunne, Ruth McKenney and Bruce Minton, principal contributors to *NCP Report*, are former CP functionaries. They have long records of opportunistic adaptation to CP policies. They

## Oakland Strikers Enter 4th Month

(Special to The Militant)

OAKLAND, Cal., Feb. 5—The Kahn and Hastings department store strikes, which set off the recent Oakland general strike, continue into their fourth month with union spirit high despite the strikebreaking attempts of AFL Teamsters Czar-President Daniel Tobin and his Executive Board.

Tobin's actions have started a series of repercussions. While the solidarity of the rank and file teamsters remain firm as ever, Local 70 of the Teamsters has withdrawn from the Alameda Central Labor Council, the Building Trades Council, and the strike strategy committee. Joe Casey, International Teamsters organizer, has been "exiled" to Alaska for reported opposition to Tobin's rulings.

Both Tobin and Dave Beck, Teamsters West Coast vice-president, had attacked the general strike. Although the general strike was the spontaneous answer of the local labor movement to organized strikebreaking under protection of city police, Tobin called on the local Teamsters to "respect their contracts."

Thus far, owners of the two strikebound stores, acting as spokesmen for the Retail Merchants Association (RMA), have rejected demands for a union shop. The division created in the local labor movement by Tobin has given the bosses added encouragement to hold out.

Under instructions from Tobin, Charles Real, Secretary of Local 70 and AFL state president, attempted to act as mediator between the striking AFL Retail Clerks local and the employers. Real, after holding a session with the RMA, wrote to both the County AFL and Building Trades Councils "begging the acceptance of an employers' proposal."

James Galliano, spokesman for the councils and the striking union, declared the offer "was a full open shop, and was turned down." Instead both councils drafted a resolution to the Teamsters' International officials urging them not to interfere with the "successful prosecution of the strike." Three days later Local 70 withdrew from the councils.

Despite rumors that teamsters will be ordered to cross the picket lines, no such action has yet taken place. When questioned, teamsters stated they would refuse to cross any picket lines. An AFL official declared "neither Real nor anybody else can get those teamsters to cross those picket lines."

## Railroad Clippings

By Henry Adams

Volume 1, No. 1 of the Trainman, the new weekly paper of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, is just out.



"We start our run... to inform BRT members of the problems of the day and to tell outsiders of the things for which the BRT stands... to publish news of the organization so all members may know what is going on and where their leaders are leading."

The new paper is an outgrowth of last spring's strike when Labor, the official paper of the 15 Brotherhoods at odds with Whitney and Johnston of the BLE, played such a scabby role. A regular newspaper is a good step forward for trainmen. Whitney's personal monthly magazine has neither the space nor the aim to stir up organizational interest and action.

The National Conference of the Consolidated Committee of Engineers meets in Chicago on Feb. 10-12. This meeting of progressive engineers is a historic gathering of the men who have been leading the struggle to achieve the unity of the men in the locomotive cab.

67,800 rail workers lost jobs in the first 10 months of 1946, according to Interstate Commerce Commission reports on employment on Class I railroads. Most of the lay-offs were among maintenance-of-way men, yardmasters, switchmen and hostlers. Little or no drop was noted in the number of "executives, officials, or staff assistants."

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By Art Preis

The CIO United Auto Workers negotiations with Chrysler Corporation hit a stumbling block when the company met UAW demands for a 23 1/2-cent raise and union security with a counter-demand for "company security"—the right of the company to "discipline" strikers.

In a fine display of labor solidarity, members of the AFL Seafarers International Union in New York joined the picket line of striking CIO shipbuilding workers Local 13 when the CIO union struck Ira S. Bushey & Sons' Brooklyn shipyard on Jan. 30. The SIU's New York local had previously pledged full support in the event of a walkout.

CIO's Southern Organizing Committee reports establishment of 324 new CIO local unions in the South since the start of "Operation Dixie" last summer.

A unique clause in a UAW-CIO contract signed by Tube Methods, Inc., Bridgeport, Pa., provides pay for a 10-minute wash-up period each day.

A year ago the Stalinist officials of the CIO American Communications Association called off the Western Union strike in New York City with no gains but an agreement to arbitrate. The arbitration proposal was made by Judge Aaron J. Levy who was hailed by ACA President Joseph P. Selly for "his earnest and equitable solution of this dispute." Judge Levy named as arbitrator the anti-labor jurist Samuel Seabury. Two weeks ago Seabury handed down a decision in favor of the company.

The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists is campaigning against the "outside interference" of the Communist Party (Stalinist) in the CIO. An article in the Jan. 17 *Labor Leader*, ACTU organ, tells how the ACTU "rescued" Yonkers Local 453.

CIO United Electrical Workers, from "outside interference" and helped reactionary red-baiters take over the local. Then, it boasts, "The ACTU was invited by both the executive board and the membership to set up a Labor School right in the union hall to train the local's membership."

501 Organizer, organ of UAW Bell Local 501, Buffalo, is continuing its campaign against red-baiting. The Jan. 9 issue editorially attacks the CIO's red-baiting Declaration of Policy. It reports that Bell Local 501 "passed a resolution which stands upon the principle of 'no discrimination because of race, color, creed or political affiliation.'" It further warns that to abandon the traditional CIO policy of fighting red-baiting is to give the boss a weapon for "strike-breaking in the midst of a campaign for higher wages."

Spokesmen for the Curran group in the CIO National Maritime Union charged in the Jan. 31 issue of *The Pilot* that Stalinist Joseph Stack is himself the author of the "anonymous" vile Jim-Crow letter he inserted in the NMU's paper under the pretext that this "showed the 'trend'" of the Stalinist opposition in the union. Stack has even produced an unsigned letter not in his own handwriting to "prove" he didn't write the letter he quoted. Here's a few questions Stack has to answer:

How does a single anonymous letter—"sent" so conveniently to him—prove any kind of "trend" about anything? Even if the letter were authentic, how does he know it was sent by an NMU member? Couldn't one of Stack's pals have done the pen work on the letter just so Stack could "prove" he didn't "write" it? Stack's "explanations" about the letter's origin stink just as badly as his use of anonymous letters.

## 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!

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- I would like:
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  - ☐ To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

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## THE MILITANT

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER  
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## LEON SEDOV 1906-1938

By Joseph Hansen

Nine years have passed since Leon Sedov, son of Leon and Natalia Trotsky, and an outstanding leader of the Trotskyist movement, fell victim to professional GPU killers. Yet he is still the object of slanderous attack from the Stalinist murder machine that struck him down.

The most recent GPU book, *The Great Conspiracy*, now being distributed in huge quantities by the Stalinists, pictures Sedov as a conspirator linked with Hitler in a plot against the Soviet Union.

The repetition of this lie so many years after Sedov's death only serves to show what stature he had as an incorruptible Communist fighter. He was one of those self-sacrificing heroes among the Soviet youth who spurned a soft government berth and stood against the stream of bureaucratic degeneration, knowing that the victory of Stalinism would mean the weakening of the first workers' state and the postponement of the socialist revolution in other countries for decades.

### STILL THROW MUD

And because he struck telling blows against the dictatorial usurpers of power who betrayed Lenin's program of world-wide socialism, the Stalinists still feel impelled to throw mud at his name.

Sayers and Kahn, the authors of *The Great Conspiracy*, attempting to picture genuine Communism as a "conspiracy" backed by Hitler, combed Trotsky's writings looking for a sentence they might tear out of context and fit into their propaganda assignment.

In the moving piece Leon Trotsky wrote in memory of his martyred son, Leon Sedov: Son, Friend, Fighter, Sayers and Kahn found a sentence telling how in 1923 when Lenin and Trotsky organized the struggle against the mushrooming bureaucracy, Sedov joined in the fight. "He quickly grasped the art of conspiratorial work, illegal meetings, and the secret issuing and distribution of Opposition documents," Trotsky wrote.

Sayers and Kahn interpret this sentence about Sedov's participation in the heroic struggle of the Left Opposition against Stalinist decay as an admission of a "Trotskyite conspiracy" which was already ceasing to be a mere political opposition within the Bolshevik Party and was on the point of merging with the secret war against the Soviet regime.

The GPU authors mentioned the source of their quotation only because they calculated not one in a thousand of the new members of the Communist (Stalinist) Party given this handbook of lies and slanders as required reading would check on the references they cite.

But mankind will remember Leon Sedov as a heroic figure long after the Stalin regime and all its foul products have been forgotten. In the long run the mightiest torrent of filth cannot blot out the truth.

Leon Sedov joined the Communist Youth movement before he was 12 years old, when the young worker's state, then headed by Lenin and Trotsky, was besieged on all sides by the invading armies of imperialism.

"Those were fiery and cold,"



LEON SEDOV

great and hungry years," Trotsky writes. The Bolsheviks were sustained by the greatest victory yet achieved by the working class—the overthrow of capitalism in Russia—and by the greatest objective ever undertaken by humanity: the reorganization of the world into a planned socialist society.

The Bolshevik program became part of the flesh and blood of the youthful Sedov. When the capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union generated the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy, Sedov did not succumb to the pressure. He joined the Left Opposition, the faction of Bolsheviks who defended the program of

Leninism against Stalinist revisionism.

When the Stalinist regime succeeded in smashing the party built by Lenin and entrenching itself as a brutal personal dictatorship, Sedov did not give up the fight. In exile he continued the hard struggle to reform the Soviet government.

### EXPOSED MOSCOW TRIALS

The effectiveness of his work is evidenced by the fact that Stalin named him as one of the principal defendants in the infamous Moscow frame-up trials. Against the powerful Kremlin, armed with all its limitless resources, it might have appeared a hopeless task to expose these frame-ups. Yet to Sedov goes much of the credit for unearthing facts that blew the frame-ups skyhigh.

In addition to the hardships suffered by a poverty-stricken revolutionary in exile, Sedov lived under the constant threat of death. Professional GPU killers trailed him. The same gang that machine-gunned Ignace Reiss in Switzerland is known to have made at least one attempt to murder Sedov. Finally, on Feb. 16, 1938, they succeeded in getting at the 32-year-old revolutionary leader while he lay helpless in a Paris hospital.

In the Pere La Chaise Cemetery beside the Communards of 1871, Leon Sedov was buried under the red flag of the Fourth International. He gave his life to build a better world, but his spirit marches on in the Trotskyist movement he helped to create.

## CRISIS IN THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE

Dr. Jose Giral, premier of the Spanish Government-in-Exile, resigned his post in Paris last month. After an unsuccessful attempt by Augusto Barcia to form a cabinet, Dr. Rodolfo Llois this week announced formation of a cabinet, including a member of the Communist Party. The following report was written by a Spanish Trotskyist shortly after Giral's resignation—The Editors.

By Pedro

PARIS, Feb. 1—For those who follow the developments of Spanish politics, the crisis of the Spanish Government-in-Exile and the resignation of Giral were no surprise.

This latest crisis of the exile government is a reflection of the maneuvers of Anglo-American imperialism and the Giral government's obvious lack of a mass basis, either inside or outside of Spain.

One of the resigning ministers, Trifon Gomez, representative of the Trade Union Center (UGT), denounced the exile government for not having the confidence of the "international milieu or of the forces in the country itself."

The role of the Anglo-American powers and their representatives is clear. Backed by the army, monarchist politicians and some vaguely "liberal" elements, they aim to prepare for a "peaceful transition" to a militarist regime if Franco can be "persuaded to resign." It is evident that the Republicans, Socialists and Stalinists are preparing a capitulation and compromise with the militarists and right-wing elements, with the aim of again saving the Spanish capitalists.

It is certainly in this sense that one must interpret the news of the amnesty granted by Franco

to Colonel Casado and General Rojo, chief of the Republican army headquarters during the civil war. Casado played a leading role in the coup d'etat of Madrid, which opened the doors to Franco.

### FEAR SPANISH MASSES

This policy of Anglo-American imperialism, which is determined by fear of the Spanish masses, could not be conceived without participation of some "republicans" and "workers' representatives." The former Socialist Minister Pietro made a speech in Mexico recently in which he violently attacked the Giral government and said: "If tomorrow as a Spaniard my duty is to take responsibility in Spain, I will do so even if this action would be opposed to my role as a Socialist leader."

The policy of the Spanish Stalinists is worthy of mention. After having been the most energetic proponents of the policy of compromise with the monarchists, the Spanish CP recently entered the Giral government and came forward as the party most hostile to the policy of compromise, which it feels is inspired by Anglo-American imperialism and aimed at isolating the CP. In the present crisis the Stalinists seek to appear as "ultra-Republicans" while leaving the door open for capitulation.

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Actually, the situation in Poland is one of fermenting civil war with quite frequent violent explosions. The former landowners, the former officers, the capitalists, the priests, along with the emigre government apparatus, are organizing themselves for civil war with the object of re-establishing the old regime.

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The government, backed by Soviet troops and the NKVD (new name of the GPU), replies with terrorism and with trials, but of course it does not appeal to the working class and the peasant masses. According to objective bourgeois journalists, the masses support the changes which have taken place and they are ready to take arms to crush the remnants of the old regime.

Their intervention would be decisive. But the Moscow bureaucracy and its agents in Warsaw fear such intervention of the masses, which would rapidly overflow the framework of the present unstable regime and take the road of the socialist revolution.

# Burmese Hit Deal In London, Want Full Independence Now

By Robert L. Birchman

While leaders of the Burmese nationalist movement were making a deal with the British government in London, the fight for genuine independence from British domination was reaching new heights inside Burma itself. Playing a leading role in this

fight, according to the dispatches from Burma, was an independent communist party which has been described as Trotskyist.

The deal worked out between the Attlee government and U Aung San, leader of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, resembles the arrangement made in India. Its terms provide for a Constituent Assembly to be chosen in April to draw up a constitution. Until then a Burmese interim government, headed by U Aung San, will have control of Burmese armed forces and finances. The joker, of course, is that the question of British forces in Burma will not be settled until a treaty is adopted guaranteeing British imperialist interests in the country. Attlee refused to make a pledge granting independence within one year.

### OPPOSITION RISING

Meanwhile, according to the Feb. 3 Time magazine, U Aung San "liked the idea of British troops staying awhile to help him control the Reds, some of whom could not even be controlled by Moscow." It was evident, because of rising opposition in Burma to any compromise on the issue of complete independence, that U Aung San would really need all the help he could get.

There are two communist parties in Burma. One is the Communist Party of Burma, led by Thakin Than Tun and Thain Pe. The other, which is often called Trotskyist, is the "Red Flag" Communist Party, led by Thakin Soe. Both are opposed to the policies of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, in which they participated until last November, and both appear to exercise a mass influence. The following dispatches give an indication of their policies and activities:

Thakin Soe, accusing U Aung San of betraying his country's cause, was quoted as saying:

"Aung San may parley with the British imperialists, but the people's revolution against British imperialism and its henchmen in Burma will go on. Aung San and his yes-men talk of staging a struggle after Jan. 31. That will be their own struggle for power if it comes off." (Reuters' dispatch from Rangoon, Jan. 7.)

### FITCHED BATTLE

Thakin Soe denounced the London talks as a farce, adding: "We are not interested in the London negotiations. We know nothing will come out of them. We are not interested in the British-sponsored general elections in April. We will not participate in them."

"An authoritative informant said today that red-shirted Communist followers of Thakin Than Tun had engaged in a pitched battle with police and forces of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League in Yamethin, 250 miles north of Rangoon," stated an AP dispatch from Rangoon, Jan. 9. "The source said the Red Shirts used trench mortars during the fighting. He said he expected the famous British Black Cat division to be sent in to the Central Burma area to restore order."

Thirty persons, including four women, were injured when police dispersed 500 communists staging a demonstration at the Burma government secretariat on Jan. 13 (Reuters). The police arrested 22, including two leaders of the demonstration. All those arrested are reported to have gone on a hunger strike. Thakin Soe, leader of the demonstration, said it was intended to represent the grievances of the unemployed workers and that "we are determined to carry on the struggle."

"British and Burmese troops were kept on guard today after thousands of 'red flag' (non-party) communists had threatened to besiege the government offices here," reported Reuters on Jan. 30. The report added: "Four thousand red sympathizers arrived by boat from the north." One thousand guards were on duty at the government secretariat. Schools and many shops were closed and a large-scale strike was expected.

Thakin Soe declared: "This is

going to be a do-or-die struggle. Let them shoot us if they dare. Then they will know what a backing we have in the country."

On Jan. 24, when the deal in London had already been worked out, "Burma police rounded up Communists and other political party leaders today as a special edition of the official Gazette imposed a ban on the Communist Party of Burma and the 'Red Flag' Cultivators Union (Trotskyites) as unlawful associations." (Reuters' dispatch from Rangoon.)

"Twenty-six persons were arrested, including Thakin Soe, 'Red Flag' leader, who surrendered to the police after a dramatic attempt to evade capture."

"Police rounded up Communists who had camped in the precincts of the Shwed-gon Pagoda, but Thakin Soe escaped into the shrine where police were not permitted to enter."

"Armed police waited outside for several hours before he emerged. A brief tussle followed before he was overpowered. He was then taken to prison."

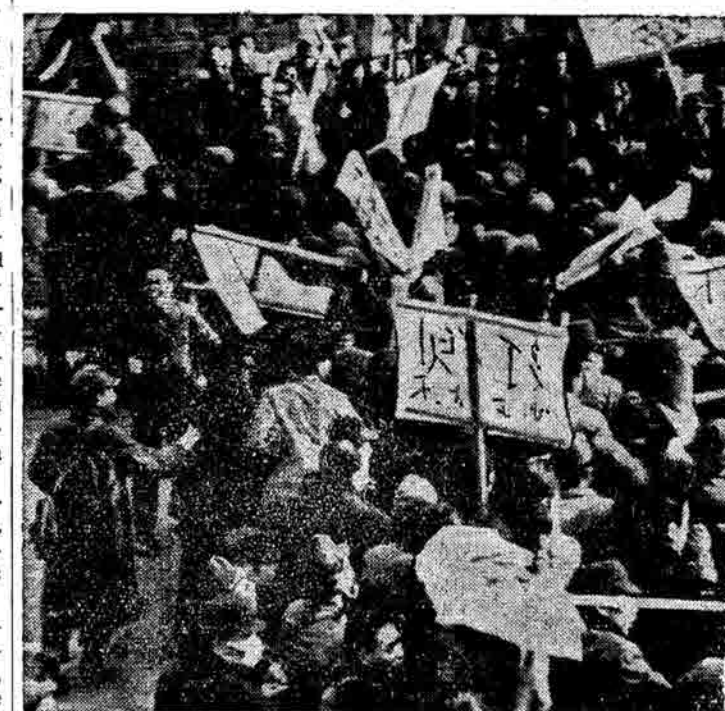
### 9,000 MOBILIZE

The roundup of communists, who were charged with rioting, was reported as continuing, with further arrests expected. Reuters quotes from an official announcement that says:

"Party members and their dupes have carried out mass invasions of courts of law and government offices in Rangoon as well as in the districts with the object of overawing magistrates and other officers of the government into passing orders wanted by the party" and "Crowds organized by the Communist party stated that their ultimate aim was rebellion and distributed pamphlets advocating this course."

Two days after these arrests,

### Protest Yoshida Rule



Thousands of Japanese workers demonstrate outside Tokyo's Imperial Palace, charging that Premier Yoshida's discredited government is plunging the workers into misery. General MacArthur last month brought a heavy fist on the Japanese unions, banning a general strike for higher wages. (Federated Pictures)

9,000 workers representing 48

labor organizations at a mass meeting in Rangoon, declared their intention to stage an immediate strike until Jan. 31 "in anticipation of the Burmese delegation's return from London, when further orders may be issued," according to Reuters' dispatches. A resolution adopted by the meeting stated that if no reply was received regarding Burma's demands for independence by Jan. 31, the workers will "go one step further in achieving their aims."

"Three thousand dockyard laborers and about 2,000 workers on Government timber projects joined the ranks of Rangoon's strikers today, swelling the total

to well over 20,000." Reuters reported on Jan. 28. The secretary of the Rangoon Port Commissioners said "the strike could be settled amicably but the trouble is that the strikers' grievances are of a political nature—something beyond the purview of the port authorities."

### RECORD IS CONSISTENT

Whether or not Thakin Soe and the Red Flag Communists are Trotskyists has not yet been verified, but his record certainly shows him to be a consistent revolutionist.

From the material available, I have been able to determine that Thakin Soe was a leader in the Dohbama Asi-Ayone, leading nationalist organization with so-

cialist tendencies in Burma before the war. The Dohbama Asi-Ayone played a prominent role in the organization of workers and students and led the workers' struggle on the basis of unity between the Burmese workers and the large numbers of Indian workers in Burma. When the oil workers of Yenangyung went on strike in 1938, the Dohbama organized demonstrations and a general strike in their support.

When the Japanese invaded Burma, Thakin Soe was one of the leaders of the Dohbama who refused to make any deals with the Japanese on the basis of their promises of independence for collaboration against the British. Soe insisted that freedom for Burma could be won only by uniting all sections of the people in a common struggle against all forms of aggression and foreign domination.

### FOUGHT UNDERGROUND

A section of the Dohbama leadership under U Aung San went over to the Japanese, but they soon found that the Japanese were as oppressive as the British. The influence and popularity of Thakin Soe and other left-wingers who were opposed to any deal with the Japanese, gained increasing popularity and influence. In 1942 Thakin Soe and others broke out of jail where the British had left them and began to build the anti-Japanese underground movement that came to be known as the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League.

It is said that Thakin Soe met secretly with U Aung San and convinced him of the need to break with the Japanese imperialists.

From incomplete information it appears that Thakin Soe, Than Tun and Thain Pe, who were the left-wing leaders in the Dohbama before the war, joined the Communist Party, which was very small before the war. During the war years the CP gained in size and influence. World

News, Stalinist publication in London, stated in referring to the CP of Burma, that: "Its leader, Soe, in jail at the time of the Japanese invasion, wrote a manifesto from prison declaring that support of the Japanese would lead to the complete subjugation of the Burmese people, and Soe and other members at risk of their life, played a great part in bringing the united resistance movement to birth." (Sept. 15, 1945.)

Labor Monthly, Stalinist publication, edited by R. Palme Dutt in London, reported in Nov. 1946: "Earlier this year a minority of the CP under Thakin Soe broke away to form the 'Burmese Communist Party' which was subsequently declared illegal by the Government."

## French Authorities Violate Pledge To Hold Cochinchina Referendum

The French government is tearing up all previous commitments to the Viet Nam Republic, so that when and if negotiations are resumed with the Indo-Chinese, the French government will be in a position to exact terms more favorable than the ones it signed last year.

Completely discarding their promise to permit a referendum in Cochinchina to decide if that province wanted to join the Viet Nam Republic, the French colonial authorities last week proclaimed Cochinchina as a "free state" within the Indo-Chinese Federation, which is wholly French-dominated. The establishment of this puppet regime, separate from Viet Nam, awaits only formal ratification by the French Assembly.

At the same time the French cabinet is debating the question of calling a truce and establishing negotiations with the Viet Nam government. This debate, however, has not in any way interfered with the steady flow of reinforcements and military equipment to Indo-China.

### SEEKING TRUCE

The Viet Nam delegation in Paris has called for a truce and negotiations on the basis of last year's agreements. The French government's accomplished fact on the Cochinchina question rules this out of the question; any negotiations now will automatically place France in a better bargaining position than last year.

The London Times has advised the resumption of negotiations as being in the best interests of French imperialism. The same position is taken by the French Communist Party, which wants the government to save face and thus be able to retain Indo-China in the French empire.

The French Socialist Party, whose leaders previously asserted there would be no negotiations until a military decision

had been made, claim they too want to negotiate but don't know with whom to do so. For the time being, they are proposing to replace Admiral d'Argenlieu, high commissioner for Indo-China, with someone whose reputation as an imperialist butcher is a little less notorious.

A public opinion poll released last week shows that a majority of the French people do not support the government's announced intention of seeking a military decision before opening any negotiations. Only 36% supported that position, while 42% favored negotiations with the Viet Namese. 8% said France should vacate Indo-China, and 14% had no opinion.

### RESISTANCE GROWING

From Cochinchina comes the report that the resistance movement in that province is daily growing stronger. "Annamite resistance organizations are now advanced to the point where free movement in Cochinchina outside of Saigon is entirely controlled by the Viet Minh," says Robert Trumbull in a Feb. 4 dispatch from Saigon to the N. Y. Times.

This is pretty much the situation throughout the whole country; the French control most of the big centers, but the Viet Namese dominate the country-side. Reinforcements are strengthening the French positions, but

neither side appears to be in a position to secure a sweeping or decisive victory.

French imperialism is determined to hang onto Indo-China at all costs; it will "permit" independence for Indo-China only if the natives drive the French forces out or if the French masses at home rise up in wrath against the government's imperialist policy.

The Kyodo News Agency reports that several unions in Japan are forming "youth action corps" and "vigilante corps" (flying squadrons and defense guards) to protect the workers against possible attack by anti-labor elements.

Ademar Barros, who was supported by the Brazilian Communist Party in his successful campaign for the post of Governor of Sao Paulo last month, now "disavows friendship for the Communists and wants to form a block to check their growth," according to the Feb. 11 World Report.

Demonstrations against bread and cereal shortages stopped work throughout the Ruhr mine areas last week.

Final settlement of hostilities in Indonesia have still not been worked out, despite the readiness of the Sjahrir government to compromise with the Dutch imperialists. The Dutch are demanding issuance of an Indonesian general cease-fire order even before the proposed agreement is signed, and they are demanding that the Indonesians accept the Dutch interpretation of some parts of the agreement. Just as in Indo-China, every sign of conciliation by the nationalists emboldens the imperialists to become more aggressive and to increase their demands.

De Tribune, organ of the Dutch Trotskyists, has challenged Socialist Appeal, British Trotskyist paper, to a competition in raising 1,000 subscriptions.

The British have announced that they will withdraw half the troops they have stationed in Greece "as soon as possible." But this does not represent an end to British domination of the Greek government's policy. For one thing, the withdrawal will not affect the British military mission which will continue to train Greek army units for warfare against the Greek partisan movement.

A wave of unauthorized strikes is sweeping Sweden as shipyard and metal workers grow more impatient with the slowness of negotiations for wage raises. The workers, who are asking for a rise of four to five cents an hour, are engaging in quickie strikes, lasting 12 to 24 hours.

The strike struggles which began in Catalonia are now extending to other parts of Spain. Of especial significance is a metal workers' strike for higher wages in Madrid. One thousand workers are involved in this strike, the most important that has taken place in the Spanish capital in several years.

American businessmen have unofficially approached Indonesian Republic officials with proposals to offer services in return for monopoly rights in Indonesia, according to the Indonesian News Bulletin published in India. The Ford Motor Co. offers to repair highways while the Pennsylvania Railroad wants the right to modernize the Indonesian railway system.

Seventeen out of every 20 school children in Greece have tuberculosis, Mrs. Sofia Tournakis of the Greek Ministry of Education declared in Washington last week.

The other French colonies are closely watching the development of the Indo-Chinese struggle against French imperialism. "Order reigns but the symptoms of uneasiness persist," declares Le Monde. Even the capitalist press admits the existence of mass sympathy for the Indo-Chinese. One demonstration of this sympathy was at an Algerian football match where the spectators sat down when the Marseillaise was played.

## After Poland's Elections

By N. Henri

PARIS, Jan. 31.—As everybody foresaw, the Polish elections have given a majority to the "Democratic Bloc" under the domination of the Workers Party, alias the Stalinists, and a heavy defeat to the Peasant Party of Mikolajczyk, which is backed by the whole of capitalist reaction, by the Polish fascists as well as by Anglo-American imperialism. Nobody doubts the fact that the Polish elections have followed the pattern of Western Europe.

The U. S. government declared in a press statement that the provisional Polish government has "failed to carry out its solemn pledges" to conduct free elections as defined in the Potsdam and Yalta agreements. The State Department denounced the use of measures of intimidation and pressure against "democratic elements."

Finally, it declared that it would maintain its diplomatic representatives at Warsaw because it "firmly intends to maintain its interest in the welfare of the Polish people." Senator Vandenberg demands that the Polish question be again submitted to the "Big Three." It is most likely that the British government will follow the road of Washington.

### PROTECTORS OF KKK

The irritation of the American champions of "democracy" has a different cause than the crushing of democratic agreements by the Bierut government. Their indignation ceases when it is a case of "free elections" in the Southern states where the Negroes are brutally

deprived of the right to vote. The "democratic" protectors of the Ku Klux Klan and of the fascist troops of General Anders are interested only in defending their agents in the countries of Eastern Europe. They obtained Mikolajczyk's participation in the Polish government from Stalin at Potsdam and Yalta.

Actually, the situation in Poland is one of fermenting civil war with quite frequent violent explosions. The former landowners, the former officers, the capitalists, the priests, along with the emigre government apparatus, are organizing themselves for civil war with the object of re-establishing the old regime.

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The government, backed by Soviet troops and the NKVD (new name of the GPU), replies with terrorism and with trials, but of course it does not appeal to the working class and the peasant masses. According to objective bourgeois journalists, the masses support the changes which have taken place and they are ready to take arms to crush the remnants of the old regime.

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"The contradictions which rend Europe and the entire world asunder will find their natural and peaceful solution within the framework of a Socialist United States in Europe as well as in other parts of the world."

—Leon Trotsky  
—Leon Trotsky

## Words Vs. Actions

The AFL Executive Council, meeting last week in Miami, formally went on record against any anti-labor law which "disturbs, menaces or destroys its free status."

If words alone could halt the Congressional anti-labor drive, then the powerful and sweeping language of the AFL's resolution might be a strong deterrent to the labor-haters. But neither the Big Business press nor Congress appeared troubled by the Council's verbal protests. It received scant mention in the daily papers.

Why should labor's enemies be impressed with the WORDS of the top AFL leaders? Their ACTIONS in the recent period have only emboldened the anti-labor forces.

The same meeting of the AFL Executive Council that denounced anti-labor bills, rejected the CIO's proposal for joint action of all unions to beat back the union-busting legislative offensive.

While the Council was in session, its members in the Building Trades Department were imposing a no-strike arbitration pact on two million workers, an action Truman hailed as a model of "voluntary" surrender to the bosses. AFL Teamsters Czar-President Tobin and his lieutenants publicly proclaimed an expulsion drive against members who go on strike.

The actions of the AFL leaders clearly show they do not intend to lead a real fight against anti-labor laws. On the contrary, they are beating a cowardly retreat and putting forth a policy of appeasement.

It is up to the 7½ million AFL members to conduct a real struggle against threatened anti-labor laws, in spite of and against the policies of the AFL big-wigs. In every community they must join with the local CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods for united action. They must tell the AFL leaders in no uncertain terms that words are not enough; it is militant action that counts. They must demand an immediate halt to retreat and appeasement.

## What Price Capitalism

Wall Street's propagandists no longer paint "free enterprise" in rosy hues of everlasting prosperity. That kind of propaganda won't fool anybody today. The phrase "boom and bust" reflects the popular view of the way capitalism operates. It has entered into the everyday speech of the people.

The Big Business mouthpieces now stress a new angle in their sales talks about the blessings of monopoly capitalism. True, they concede, capitalism has its ups and downs. But, as David Lawrence blandly puts it in the Jan. 31 United States News, "the price of freedom is occasional economic disorders and even business depressions." He says: "Freedom comes high."

How high is the price of this "freedom" bestowed on the world's people by monopoly imperialist capitalism? Is it just an "occasional disorder"—something like a slight cold with a few sniffles and light fever?

Think back to the prewar depression. In this country — the richest in the world — the depression lasted uninterruptedly from 1929 to the start of World War II. Average annual unemployment ranged between 12 and 13 million. The total loss of income to the American workers was 300 billion dollars.

What was the price of "free enterprise" in broken homes, wasted youth, stunted and diseased bodies, degradation and pauperization? That is too colossal to figure. It will be immeasurably greater when the next depression strikes with the full impact of the consequences of a trillion-dollar war.

And that's just the beginning of the price of "free enterprise." Look at the billion and a half people in the capitalist-exploited colonial countries, ravaged by famine and epidemic diseases, worked to death for a fistful of rice per day, slaughtered with machine-guns, bombs and flame-throwers when they dare to fight for their independence. This too is all part of the price paid for "free enterprise."

Where in the whole world is this "freedom" capitalism is supposed to bring? Is it in Japan and Germany under the conquerors' heels? Is it in the "liberated" countries wracked with economic chaos, strangled by capitalist police regimes? Is it in Georgia or Mississippi or Harlem or Chicago's Black Belt?

Congress is certainly not preparing to bring freedom with its drive to smash the unions

and restore the open shop. The military caste holds out no promise of freedom as it lays plans for Prussianization of the country. And everywhere in the land fascist demagogues are spreading their poison. Fascism and military dictatorship — these too are part of the price of "free enterprise."

And let the capitalist propagandists include two World Wars in 25 years when figuring out the price of their system. Let them charge to their system the cost of 25 million dead of World War I and the estimated 66 million dead of World War II. Then let them add the devastation of continents, the homeless millions freezing amid the ruins.

And one more thing they must include. — World War III — the next war of atomic and germicidal annihilation. That is where world monopoly capitalism is heading. That is the final prospect held forth by Wall Street in its mad drive toward world domination.

The ultimate price of "free enterprise" — that perfumed term for capitalist exploitation, repression, robbery and mass murder — is the destruction of civilization.

Only when the masses put an end to capitalism and establish world socialism will they win real freedom. Socialism, the system of planned production and distribution, organized and controlled co-operatively by society as a whole, alone will bring abundance, peace, security, leisure and culture.

The price of true freedom is the great emancipating struggle for a socialist world. That is a price the masses will gladly pay to escape the frightful cost of "free enterprise."

## Negro History Week

Negro History Week (Feb. 9 to 15) again serves to underline the consistently militant traditions of the Negro struggle in this country. The Negro people's contributions to American progress and culture are rich and numerous; a study of them is necessary, rewarding and inspiring for those fighting today to end all forms of Jim Crow.

Negro history, as it is taught in most schools, is a lie from beginning to end, deliberately obscuring and distorting the truth. But in recent years, independent research and study, keeping pace with the development of the modern Negro struggle, have helped to sweep away the obscurities and expose the lies. The Negro militant has every reason to be proud of his people's history and traditions.

This history is a record of long and bitter struggle against great odds. From the moment the Negroes came to this country as slaves, they fought against their oppressors and against slavery itself. The history of the South before the Civil War is a history of continuous conflict and rebellion.

Whenever they had the chance, the slaves revolted; and their spirit was never broken. Their active resistance gave birth to the abolitionist movement and was one of the decisive factors in the Civil War. The Negroes could not win their freedom by themselves; but they took the lead in this fight and they won it, with the aid of their allies, by FIGHTING for it.

Southern historians (and their Northern sympathizers) have labored mightily to erase and distort the significance of the Negro's role in the Reconstruction Era which followed the Civil War. But here too the truth is becoming better known: The Negro freedmen were in the forefront of the fight for democratic rights in the South. They defended and extended the right to vote, educational opportunities for all, agrarian reforms, etc. This period of progress was ended only by a conspiracy between the Republicans and Democrats which disfranchised the Negro.

But the Negro struggle could not be destroyed by fraud or violence, and it has come a long way in the 60 years since the end of Reconstruction. Today the Negro people are better organized and more determined than ever before. Most important of all, they are now a significantly strong and established part of the labor movement, which is their best and most dependable ally in the struggle for equality. New currents are developing in the South, and it is plain to all that the Negro struggle is moving steadily to a decisive conclusion.

"If there is no struggle, there is no progress." That was the watchword of the heroic Negro abolitionist, Frederick Douglass. It is the watchword also of the Negro militants today.

## Not Trotskyists

In the Stalinist lexicon, "Trotskyite" is an epithet applied promiscuously to anyone under displeasure of the Kremlin no matter what his or her real political position may be. The Daily Worker pins the label with equal readiness on a follower of Earl Browder, Ruth McKenney or Adolf Hitler. The object of the Kremlin is to smear the genuine Trotskyists, who also represent genuine Marxism.

The latest instance of this smear tactic occurred when Ruth Fischer turned informer, testifying against her brother Gerhard Eisler, charged by the FBI with being an undercover agent of the Kremlin and now being held at the Federal House of Detention in New York.

The Feb. 7 Daily Worker labelled Ruth Fischer a "Trotskyite" and the capitalist press, including the reactionary N. Y. Daily News, picked up the epithet, using it as part of their attempt to give authority to Ruth Fischer's testimony.

But Ruth Fischer is NOT a Trotskyist. She was once a leading member of the German Communist Party but was expelled as a follower of Zinoviev in one of Stalin's periodic shufflings of the leadership of that party. She capitulated to Stalin and in her confession of faith displayed her antagonism to Trotskyism. Stalin spurned her advances. For a brief period in 1934 she flirted with the Fourth International, but for the past 13 years she has been an opponent of Trotskyism.

We repeat, Ruth Fischer is NOT a Trotskyist. She specializes in writing sensational articles on Stalinism, serving as a tool of American imperialism.



"Just think, the atomic age will take all the drudgery out of women's lives—we'll just press a button instead of arguing with the servants!"

## Workers BOOKSHELF

### THE CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER by David Lynch, Columbia University Press, 1946, 423 pp., \$5.50.

This book is both a guide to, and an appraisal of, the work of the Temporary National Economic Committee, which was set up by Congress in 1938 to investigate monopoly in America.

The TNEC has received little attention. The New Deal politicians started it as a sop to the storm of public reaction against monopolies that followed from the 1937 economic crisis. The investigation finished its work in 1941, when war preparations were in full swing, and these same politicians were riding other political horses. They held a quiet funeral for the TNEC. Lynch's book is the first general report that has come out for lay readers about the three foot shelf of 37 volumes of TNEC publications, and on that score alone it renders a valuable service.

Fortunately, he goes beyond these guidebook duties, and gives us an appraisal of the committee and its task. His own views appear clearly as pro-New Deal, and he includes a mass of material favorable to it. Yet he avoids the crude camouflage of Roosevelt's policies which has served to falsify much of the economic history of the depression.

For instance, it was Roosevelt who requested the Congressional study of monopoly. Lynch does not leave out this point: "One of the motives attributed to the president at that time was to head off the Borah-O'Mahoney bill (for Federal chartering and regulation of large corporations) by substituting an inquiry..."

Lynch's history of American monopoly does not support the myth that the New Deal was basically a set of concessions aimed to pacify labor: with half

a loaf. The New Deal made a few legal concessions to organization of labor, very small concessions, although the workers took hold of them and made tremendous use of them. But the real Roosevelt program was organization of capital, and his gestures to labor were only sugar-coating for the NRA codes which strengthened the already strong trusts by legalizing and encouraging monopoly in industry.

Business trade associations were set up as NRA code authorities with legal power to enforce monopoly prices and limitations of production. "It was applied demonstrated in the cartel hearings that the trade association is the American counterpart of the German cartel..." Under the NRA these organizations reached their heyday and succeeded in the compulsory cartelization of industry, with the associations as the legally constituted agencies of control. The legal basis for this control disappeared when the NRA was declared unconstitutional, but the cartels remained with little loss of vitality.

Lynch's book describes a thoroughly monopolized American capitalism, with production held down and prices held up by combinations, agreements, tricks, and threats, and government assistance to monopoly through state and federal "Fair Trade Laws," etc. Yet he adds that the TNEC hearings did not contribute new disclosures; the facts were known before. The real import of the hearings is that the machinery and methods of monopoly are so commonplace that they are accepted as a matter of course, even after 50 years of government gestures against monopoly since the passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

Even in statistics the TNEC only brought the record up to

date. It offered nothing to solve the problems it was created to solve: "Idle factories, unemployment, social unrest, maldistribution of income, hoarded savings, concentration of economic power, and monopolistic control of industrial activities." Yet, he says, a solution still is needed, for with the return to peacetime economy the people must necessarily grapple with these problems again.

The author is not a Marxist, and he sets forth no solution of his own. He contents himself with reporting the facts, which he does well. —Warren Creel.

### LETTERS FROM PRISON by Rosa Luxemburg, reprinted by Socialist Book Center, Ltd., London, 1946, 48 pp. Available at Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y., 70 cents.

This pamphlet contains many memorable passages in the letters that Rosa Luxemburg wrote to Sophie Liebknecht, wife of Karl Liebknecht, during 1916-1918, when both of these Marxist leaders of the German working class were imprisoned for their struggles against the first imperialist war.

These letters reveal the inner personality of the greatest woman leader of the revolutionary movement. "You know," she remarks in one of them, "that I really hope to die at my post, in a street-fight or in a prison." She was to die at her post within a few short months after her release from prison—assassinated by Junker hirelings of the German Social Democracy.

The example of Rosa's great character, courage and devotion, brought to life again in these letters, remains to guide and inspire succeeding generations of women fighters for socialism.

—Larissa Reed

### Congressmen At Work

## Congressional Brain Service

One of the arguments used by Wall Street spokesmen against electing workers to Congress is their lack of college education. And workers unfamiliar with college, tending to over-rate its value and to feel very keenly the inadequacies of their education, are frequently taken in by this argument.

Yet Wall Street does not insist its candidates be intellectual giants. If you've ever heard some of them in an unprepared moment when they lacked a canned speech, you've probably been amazed at their ignorance, stupidity and butchery of the English language.

However, once in office, they begin to display encyclopedic knowledge, cleverly-fitted logic and imposing oratory. They seem to have the most difficult subjects at their finger tips.

How do these stumblebums do it?

The secret is brains—not the Congressmen's brains—but the brains that Congress, like any other moneyed organization, has on its payroll.

Take a typical machine politician, who never misses a turn when the party whip passes the word on how to vote, but who finds his mental fog on more complex matters somewhat of a handicap. If he wishes, he can put a skilled ghost-writer on his office payroll as "assistant" at \$8,000 a year. That's a lot of money, however, and so many Congressmen appoint the wife or some other reliable relative to this post, and turn to the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress for help.

In existence since 1915, this Service has been greatly expanded in recent years. Its staff of expert research technicians is headed by fifteen \$10,000 a year



trade, or marine law, for instance, may know as little about the subject as if he had just stepped out of the Stone Age. Yet he need only dial the telephone to be instantly supplied with a 20th Century brain trained for decades in the field.

In addition to these conveniences, the Service follows the entire periodical press and makes abstracts of all articles of importance. Such abstracts, placed on the desk of a Congressman, free him from the arduous work of digging through publications and eliminate the possibility of his missing an item of interest.

The higher paid specialists, who act as staff organizers, are of course carefully picked men. They are screened for leftist political beliefs or for any tendency to support the cause of the working class. They are essentially men with calculating machines in their skulls, willing to prostitute high intelligence to Wall Street.

Obviously, workers elected to office would not only utilize the services of research experts, but would enlarge the staff and raise their pay to levels commensurate with their high abilities. Moreover, they would fight to put those specialists in charge whose sympathies are against Big Business and with the masses.

Wall Street overlooks nothing to keep its political machine running smoothly. It even makes sure the absence of brains in its elected representatives doesn't hamper their activities. Certainly, the labor movement should not let the workers' lack of formal education block it from struggling to win public office for union men of high native intelligence.

## More Local Unions Join In United Labor Action

More and more local and state bodies of the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods are initiating joint committees and united actions to beat back the anti-labor offensive in Congress and state legislatures.

Indiana CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods unions last week formed a joint state body to fight anti-labor bills now pending before the state legislature. Proposals were made for a protest march on the state capitol.

In West Virginia a state Co-operative Labor Legislative Council has been set up with representatives from the CIO, AFL, United Mine Workers and Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

The purpose of this Council, according to a statement it adopted, "shall be to foster and promote legislation favorable to organized labor and to oppose legislation unfavorable to the interests of organized labor in particular and all labor in general." Labor in Wilmington, Delaware, heart of the DuPont empire, has established the Joint Labor Committee including representatives of the CIO, AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and the Independent United Telephone Workers. The Committee has asked every local union in the state to send representatives to its meetings.

In Allentown, Pa., the local CIO Council has affiliated with the previously-established United Labor Committee of Lehigh Valley, which includes the AFL Central Labor Councils of Allentown and Easton and District 9 of the CIO Steelworkers. The United Labor Committee is laying plans for joint action against union-busting laws.

Previously reported in The Militant have been the joint action committees formed or in process of formation in Chicago, Rochester and Jamestown, N. Y., New Haven, Conn., Minneapolis and St. Paul. Hundreds of local unions in the past few weeks have adopted resolutions calling for formation of joint action committees in their communities and urging their national union leaders to establish similar united bodies on a national basis.

A number of AFL locals have passed motions opposing the AFL Executive Council's rejection of immediate joint action with the CIO.

## Paper Monopoly Threat To The Free Press

Many thousands of American newspapers, labor, independent and dailies, are forced to curtail publication and pay fantastic prices for newsprint because of a monopoly-created paper shortage. But the 80th Congress tries to hush this up.

Senate Republican Boss Taft, whose family controls the rich Cincinnati Times-Star, forced the temporary dropping of Small Business Committee hearings into publisher-paper mill collusion. Taft and his monopoly cronies don't want the public to know how a handful of big publishers and paper mill owners control the reputedly free press.

Half of all paper available for magazines goes to only five publishers — Time, Inc., Curtis, Crowell-Collier, Hearst and McCall's. About 6,000 other magazines must share the other half.

One quarter of all newsprint goes to only three chains — Hearst (again), Patterson-McCormick and Scripps-Howard. More than 1,900 dailies and many thousands of small weeklies have to scramble for the other three-quarters.

Little wonder 876 newspapers were suspended, merged or cut from dailies to weeklies from 1930 to 1944. This suppression of free press is speeding up now.

Of 1,394 U.S. cities having daily papers, nine-tenths have only one daily, or one ownership if there are more papers.

Last year the Senate Small Business Committee was beginning to study concentration of paper mills, price collusion and artificial paper shortages. It found two Canadian producers and the Canadian subsidiary of International Paper Company monopolize half the newsprint industry of Canada, source of 85% of U.S. newsprint. International Paper also owns 30 mills in the U.S.

The committee also disclosed enormous postal subsidies to the giant publishers. Luce's Time, Life and Fortune cost the Post Office \$3 million a year. But Congress rules the public must not know.

## Wiley Emergency Plan For Third World War

The problem of a successor for Truman, in case he should die, is bothering the Republican machine in Congress. Under present law, General Marshall would move into the White House if anything happened to the President.

Last week Truman again recommended that Congress pass a law to make the Speaker of the House his successor. This would be Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Republican of Massachusetts. Agreeable as this might be to Martin, other Presidential aspirants feel such an amendment would be unfair to them. And so the Republicans have been slow at accepting Truman's proposition.

Senator Alexander Wiley, Republican of Wisconsin, and the political representative of the cheese interests in that state, thinks that Truman's proposal only scratches the surface of the problem. He sent a letter to Truman telling him that the proposed plan is "inadequate" in the atomic age.

He proposes instead a "push-button" emergency government. "We know that in an atomic war it would be practically impossible for the Congress to assemble in any given spot."

Envisioning the outbreak of World War III, Wiley foresees an atomic bomb exploding in Washington, D. C., so that all the Senators and Representatives as well as the President would be "eliminated." What then?

He proposes legislation right now to take care of such an emergency. The Governors would appoint a new set of Congressmen who would hold sessions via television, radar and other inventions.

Speaking over the radio, Wiley declared that what is needed today is "more immediate push-button plans for the push-button warfare that will come."

## Build A Labor Party Now!

By George Clarke

16 pages 10 cents

Pioneer Publishers

116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.







# Letter To A MILITANT Reader

By Theodore Kovalsky

Dear Friend:

I wonder just how it was when you bought your subscription to *The Militant*. Perhaps it happened in the shop, when one of your union brothers told you about a workers' paper that told the truth and had the courage to stick to its guns even when the going was tough.

Perhaps you subscribed during the war, feeling that the workers had nothing to fight for, nothing to win, and all the fine words about a "war for democracy" were lies.

Perhaps one evening a young member of the Socialist Workers Party knocked on your door and showed you the paper for the first time.

Perhaps you belong to the Communist Party. You might have gotten your first *Militant* at a distribution outside the hall where you went to hear Browder or Foster. It must have been refreshing and stimulating when you read it, when you saw in print the very things that you believed in the bottom of your heart should have been printed in the *Daily Worker* but weren't printed there. You must have felt deep satisfaction when you read in *The Militant* that the Socialist Workers Party always opposed the wartime no-strike pledge that bound labor's hands, when you read that the SWP opposed the capitalist war and defended every colonial nation that fought for liberty and every worker out on strike and every Negro or Jew fighting for life and dignity against fascists, Ku Kluxers, and other reactionary race-haters.

You and I are brothers, comrades. We want a

better world. We have this thing in common, our desire for truth and justice, freedom and equality. If you didn't feel this way, you wouldn't have subscribed to *The Militant*.

Feeling the way you do about the ideas of *The Militant*, don't you want to do something to help? The fifty cents you paid to have the paper sent to your house for six months didn't pay for the paper at all. That's the price, but it couldn't put out the paper without other financial help.

You must have read by now about the Emergency Fund Campaign of the Socialist Workers Party on Page 5 of *The Militant*. That's what I want to talk to you about.

We need those few dollars or cents that you can manage to spare. And I ask you to give them. Or rather I ask you to INVEST them.

If you give to the SWP fund, you invest money in a new world. You strike against fascism and tyranny. A political party needs money, you know.

The party has to put out leaflets, print pamphlets, help distribute *The Militant* and the *Fourth International*. There are no big advertisers to pour money into the paper, and without money, there wouldn't have been any *Militant* for you to read.

You can help in this fight against misery, tyranny and war. You can dig down and give as much as you can afford. You'll be giving the money to the Socialist Workers Party to help YOU and your kids. You'll be laying a brick in the building of Socialism and buying a share of stock in the new world.

Don't put it off. There are so many things we intend to do that we just don't get around to doing. But this is important! It could be, some day, a matter of life and death, of freedom or fascism.

Fraternally, T. K.

## The Negro Struggle

### Jim Crow In The Capital

By Joe Morgan

A "bill of rights" for the world is being drawn up by a United Nations sub-committee. A most noteworthy project this is, when one considers that right here in the "land of the free" 14,000,000 or more Negroes are daily being denied some of the most fundamental rights of man. There is no need to enumerate these injustices here. We Negroes know what they are and any informed white man is also aware of them. So, how about a bill of rights for us?

The U.S. government is co-operating with other countries in drafting this so-called "bill of rights." And yet in the seat of government, Washington, D. C., the pattern of Jim Crow is as rigid as in any city of the deep South.

In recent months picket lines have been thrown around some of the places practicing Jim Crow, with many liberal actors, doctors and lawyers signing anti-discrimination petitions, etc. Among the places being picketed was the National Theater, and President Truman was so informed by telegram. But two days later Washington policemen dispersed the pickets in front of the theater just before the whole presidential family entered. Photographers for a Negro paper were told by secret service men not to take pictures. Truman later said he had not known anything about a picket line.

The crude Missouri tactics employed here fare

badly in comparison with the late Roosevelt's smooth approach. Roosevelt would not have gone into that theater, but Roosevelt also did NOT end the segregation policies in the District even when he controlled Congress, stock and barrel.

Washington was run for many years by the Democrats who had a majority on the District of Columbia Committee of the Senate. When it is recalled that Senator Bilbo was chairman of this committee and therefore "Mayor" of Washington, it is easy to understand why Washington was run so much like the South. But now the Republicans control the Senate and this committee. Yet Washington's Jim-Crow pattern has not been altered in any way.

What a glaring contradiction Washington offers to the rest of the world! While U. S. delegates in the UN are continually prating about the lack of democracy in other countries, their government practices the most vicious kind of discrimination and segregation against one-tenth of its citizens.

Washington is an example of the direct reactionary role of the capitalist government with regard to the Negro people. It plays the same role in other parts of the country, but not so openly. We Negroes cannot expect a government which Jim Crows us in the armed forces and in the very seat of the government, to bring us any help in our fight for equality. The only way we can get the equality we want is by concerted action with other workers toward a common goal. And that means a fight against the government too.

## Cold Water Flat Available

By Joseph Hansen

A New York City Marshal by the name of James Mullins got an order the other day to evict a family in Staten Island. The eviction appeared to be no more than a routine item in the day's working of the law. Some people, it seems, are incapable of practicing enough thrift to pay up their rent, thus infringing on the landlord's right to enjoy a fair return on his investment.

The tenant, Hinton James, was 79 years old. As his aged wife busied herself in the kitchen of the cold water flat, he waited in the front room to greet the Marshal.

Up until about two months ago, according to the press, Mr. James had been employed as a hospital attendant. Whether he was fired, temporarily laid off, or had to stop working because he didn't feel well, was not reported. But lacking sufficient income, he fell behind in rent until the debt to the landlord amounted to \$25.

What went on in the old worker's mind as he waited to be evicted remains a mystery, since he took a clothes line and hanged himself without leaving any message that would indicate his last thoughts.

His wife, meanwhile, busied herself in the kitchen. Whether the noise of her activities blotted out other sounds, or whether in her old age she was a bit hard of hearing, is not clear. Possibly her husband died without a violent struggle. In any case, the first sound to attract her attention was Marshal Mullins hammering on the door.

It was when she went to admit the Marshal that Mrs. James saw her husband hanging by

the neck from the clothes line. Marshall Mullins proved to be a man of rare humaneness for a cop. He told the widow that he would not evict her. How this generous concession squared with the law was not mentioned by the press.

Another factor that might have swayed Mullins in reaching his unusual decision was Mrs. James' evident lack of composure. It appeared doubtful she could handle herself in the street with the household furniture stacked on the sidewalk. In fact the aged woman seemed so unnerved that Mullins ordered her taken to a hospital.

The hospital admitted her long enough to treat her for shock, probably as an emergency case. Then, according to the press, "she was removed to the New York City Farm Colony at New Springville."

It would thus appear that a vacant cold water flat is available in Staten Island although the press said nothing about Mrs. James' furniture being removed or Mullins deciding to go ahead with the eviction.

This incident, humdrum and ordinary as it is, nevertheless reveals the singular advantages offered by the capitalist system. So long as Wall Street runs the country, you are safe from such horrors of socialism as decent old age pensions for the poor or a guaranteed annual income that might sap your moral fiber and deprive you of the incentive to get out and hustle.

Under capitalism, no matter what your age, you are guaranteed complete freedom to exercise individual initiative — even if it takes the form of hanging yourself by the kitchen clothes line.

## Notes From The News

Professor James Burnham, who broke with Marxism and the labor movement in 1940, has written a new book, *The Struggle for the World*, which will be published next month. An advance quotation from it reads as follows: "The survival of democracy in this country requires the suppression of communism, now."

The Gallup Poll finds that 69% of the people favor releasing conscientious objectors from prison, 23% are opposed and 8% have no opinion.

William Z. Foster, CP national chairman, is now en route to Europe "to study at first hand the postwar situation in Europe," according to the *Daily Worker*.

The New York City public school system will experiment this semester with a new course designed "to instill America's traditional principles of free economic enterprise," according to the Feb. 8 N. Y. Times. If successful, this

inculcation of capitalist propaganda into 500 "selected" pupils will be repeated next fall.

The Socialist Party National Executive Committee's only demand in connection with the proposed merger with the Social Democratic Federation is agreement on the need for the united group to run a candidate for president in 1948 if there is no third party by then.

Over 400 conscientious objectors and pacifists were scheduled to publicly burn their draft cards at protest meetings organized by the Break-With-Conscription Committee in a dozen important cities on Feb. 12.

Negroes are registering to vote by the thousands in Mississippi. Leadership in the drive is being taken by Negro ex-G.I's.

The Communist Party has had to extend its 1947 re-registration of members to March 1. Almost 20% of its members in New York State have not yet signed up.

# N. Y. BANKERS PUSH SUBWAY FARE STEAL

By Joseph Hansen

NEW YORK, Feb. 10 — The public hearings opened by New York's Mayor O'Dwyer on the proposal to double the 5-cent subway fare is only the latest chapter in a tale of plunder that goes back to 1894. In that year a group of Wall Street sharks made a deal with City Hall called the "Dual Contracts" under which two holding companies, the

Interborough Rapid Transit Co. and the Brooklyn Manhattan Transit were given a franchise to operate elevated and subway lines owned by the city for 75 years.

Under the "Dual Contracts" the city put up \$326,000,000 for the construction and extension of these lines. The Wall Street operators put up only \$287,000,000. Looking far ahead, these financiers demanded — and got — a clause guaranteeing them a minimum profit of \$10,000,000 a year.

For several decades these two companies made enormous profits operating the city-owned lines — yearly dividends ran as high as 30%. But after the First World War costs began to mount. Under management of the Wall Street operators the subway system steadily deteriorated, until cars, tracks and other equipment became so bad additional huge investments were required. The private operators of the city-owned subways and elevated clamored to raise the fare to 10 cents. The "Dual Contracts," however, carried a clause reading, "the rate of fare shall be five cents but no more."

Even the Supreme Court, to whom the Wall Street interests appealed, was forced to uphold this clause.

Finally in 1939, when their minimum guaranteed profits had reached the colossal figure of \$450,000,000 (actual profits were far greater) they worked out a coup that has few parallels. They opened negotiations with LaGuardia, then Mayor of New York, offering to sell the city the unexpired portion of their franchise on the city's lines for the amount they had originally invested, plus a substantial bonus. After some haggling, LaGuardia finally settled for

WALL ST. SWAG

Since 1940 the subways have shown an operating profit. Last year, for instance, this profit was \$7,000,000. But the booty paid to the former operators of the city's lines has wiped out this profit and thrown the books far into the red. The "debt service," as the advocates of the 10-cent fare euphemistically call the tribute paid Wall Street, amounted last year to \$57,000,000. Had Wall Street continued to operate the lines, the shake-down would have been only \$10,000,000.

Last June O'Dwyer opened a campaign to double the 5-cent fare. On July 15 the N. Y. Times revealed his strategy: "The Mayor is known to feel that the matter should go to popular referendum as soon as possible, perhaps by next spring." At the same time O'Dwyer expected to work out "some process not imposing on the Board of Estimate the politically 'red hot' burden of actually fixing a higher fare as a condition precedent to a referendum."

Since then the New York capitalist press has pounded on the "need" for a 10-cent fare. And while O'Dwyer has maintained the pretense of a "last ditch fight" against the proposed increase, the Chamber of Commerce, the Citizens Transit Committee, and the State Association of Real Estate Brokers have carried the ball for him.

The capitalist press howls about the "ancient law" of 5 cents, about "a 10-cent ride for a nickel," about the dismal arithmetic of transit finances, about how "unthinkable" the present fare is, about cutting out "free rides" and establishing a "self-sustaining" fare. But the cold truth is the proposed increase would raise the cost of living for the average New York family by \$75 to \$100 a year — for no other reason but to guarantee the annual tribute paid to Wall Street.

## Homer Lewis Talk On Housing

The following is part of the speech by Homer Lewis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Alderman in the Third Ward of Chicago, delivered at the SWP Election Rally on Feb. 2.

In addition to the general housing shortage, my people's problem is made more acute by the damnable restrictive covenants and Jim Crow practices. These measures restrict Negroes into black ghettos in this so-called land of freedom. They squeeze us into already overcrowded tenements, fire-trap attics, and flooded basements.

Three hundred and seventy-five thousand people in Chicago live in blighted areas. These are districts so rundown, rat-infested, disease ridden and unhealthy that experts have condemned them as unfit for human habitation.

Two hundred and forty-two thousand dwelling units in Chicago have been declared unsafe to live in. Today these condemned tenements are crammed from attic to basement with men, women and children. A house on the South Side, built for three

## New Pamphlet By Cannon Out In March

NEW YORK, Feb. 10 — Pioneer Publishers announced today that its next pamphlet, *The Coming American Revolution*, by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will be off the press March 1.

The pamphlet contains the "Theses on the American Revolution" adopted at the November 1946 convention of the Socialist Workers Party, and a speech on the theses delivered by Cannon at this convention.

The pamphlet explains why the United States has now been caught up in the main stream of revolutionary development. American economy never recovered from the catastrophic depression of 1929-1933. The Second World War only postponed the inevitable revolutionary crisis. The postwar depression now looming will prove far more devastating than the depression of the Thirties, Cannon predicts.

The working class on whose shoulders the future rests is stronger than ever before. What the American workers accomplished in the trade union field will now be extended to politics. The victory of socialism in America cannot long be delayed, in Cannon's opinion.

The first edition of this important pamphlet will be 20,000 copies. It has an attractive cover by the Trotskyist artist J. Thal. It is 32 pages and will sell for 10 cents.

## Local 212 Hits New Witch Hunt In Michigan

DETROIT, Feb. 10 — Republican Governor Kim Sigler, who last week initiated a red-baiting witch-hunt against Michigan college students and ordered an "investigation" of communist influence among state employees, has been strongly denounced in a resolution by the Executive Board of Briggs Local 212, UAW-CIO.

The resolution calls attention to the fact that "the daily press has been filled in recent days with statements and scare stories announcing a red-baiting witch-hunt under the leadership of Governor Sigler on a statewide basis."

It points out the meaning of such attacks: "Experience has demonstrated repeatedly that the red-baiting attacks of the employers and their governmental representatives serve as a cover for a drive against all labor and progressive movements."

"The present witch-hunt fits the traditional pattern and seems designed to divert attention from the fact that Governor Sigler and his administration are doing nothing to provide the people of this state with an adequate housing program or a state rent control measure and to hide the fact that Sigler and his administration are in opposition to the FEPC bill and the legitimate wage demands of the employees of the state of Michigan."

## Bartell's Speech At Rally

The following is an extract from the speech by Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers Party write-in candidate for mayor of Chicago, delivered at the SWP Election Rally on Feb. 2.

Chicago is rotting away and this is true of all cities in capitalist America.

The city is decaying from the center outward, and the decay is spreading like creeping gangrene, embracing ever greater numbers in its grasp. The rich can escape by fleeing to the suburbs, but the workers are trapped.

Chicago was a great city in its day — it was built in the heyday of capitalist expansion. Its grandeur was a product of capitalist growth, and now its decadence and decline is a pro-

## Picket For Rent Control



American Labor Party members in New York picket state Republican headquarters with signs "You control Washington, you control Albany, why don't you control rents?" (Federated Pictures)

## San Pedro Police Brutally Beat, Jail Innocent Negro

By Louis Kisner

SWP Candidate for Los Angeles City Council, 15th District  
SAN PEDRO, Calif., Feb. 7 — I have just spoken to Alfred Giles, a Negro worker who was brutally mauled by the city police, then jailed and charged with assault and battery. When Alfred Giles was brought into court his face was swollen and disfigured, a cut above his eye was bleeding, his shirt and trousers were badly bloodstained. Despite his obvious condition, Judge Irvin Taplin declared him guilty.

Last Christmas Eve, Mr. Giles, Mrs. Giles and several friends were driving along Capitol Drive in Channel Heights housing project, only a few blocks from his home, when his motor was stalled by the pouring rain. A police car drove up and ordered Mr. Giles to get his car off the road.

COP DRAWS GUN  
As the police car began to drive off, it backed into the stalled car. The maddened officer, McGraw, jumped out of his car, accused Giles of bumping the police car and shoved a pistol into his side. "Get out of this damn car," the officer threatened, "and let me fill you full of lead!"

The terrorized occupants of the car began to plead with the cop not to shoot. McGraw then replaced his pistol and drew a "slapper" from his pocket with which he beat Mr. Giles about the face and in the stomach. The other officer appeared now with a blackjack and began to beat the helpless victim as they dragged him out of the car.

"The last I could remember," said Alfred Giles, "I was going down into the water. Then I knew enough to feel them throw me in the floor of the police car on my face and McGraw was riding in the back resting his feet on my back. The handcuffs were too tight on my wrists behind my back, so I asked him to relieve the handcuffs. He stamped on my back and said, 'Lay there and be quiet!' Then they took me to jail."

NOTHING NEW  
This terror is nothing new in San Pedro, a district which is overwhelmingly populated by workers — seamen, longshoremen, fishermen, cannery workers and others. Many Mexican and Negro workers live here. Police brutality is directed particu-

## DETROIT COPS FORCE WAY INTO HOME, BEAT NEGRO

By R. Young

DETROIT, Feb. 9 — Detroit police brutality has found its latest victim. Enoch Coleman, college graduate and at present a Detroit factory worker, was viciously beaten and injured when police, without a search warrant, forcibly entered his home at 4870 Russell on the night of Jan. 13.

Mr. Coleman related this story to the *Militant* reporter: "Upon answering a knock at the door, I was confronted by two plainclothesmen who flashed their badges before me. I attempted to keep them out of my house since they had no search warrant of entry. They gave no explanation or reasons. They said that they wanted to ask me some questions. I told them that they could ask the questions at the door. When I said that, they lunged into the door, forced their way in, and used abusive and vile language in front of my four children."

"They started to dial my phone, but I wouldn't permit it. I pointed out that there was a police box in front of my house. When I told them that I had my rights as a citizen, the police sneered and called me a 'black—.' Every time I cut off the phone they hit me, until they gave up and left."

"Thirty minutes later four policemen appeared at my door. They began to pull at me saying, 'You're going to jail.' I was pushed out of the door and I fell



HOMER LEWIS