

Dutch Trotskyists Urge Labor to Aid Indonesia

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Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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SWP to Run Presidential Candidate

Maps 1948 Election Drive in Main States

LITTLE PLEASANT LAKE, Mich., Aug. 24 — Plans for the biggest campaign ever undertaken by the Socialist Workers Party, a presidential campaign in 1948, were mapped out at a six-day combined SWP National Committee Plenum and Organizers Institute held here at Midwest Camp last week.

This will be the first nation-wide electoral campaign launched by the Trotskyists in this country. Most of the discussion around this proposed campaign dealt with the practical difficulties of getting on the ballot, the kind and amount of activity required to overcome these difficulties and the nature of the election campaign itself.

The plans call for intensive election work in most of the big industrial states, in which SWP branches are already active and have gained experience from past state and local election work.

The National Committee members and branch organizers left the conference to lay the groundwork for the campaign next year which, they were determined, will not be a token affair intended only for the record, such as minority parties often engage in, but an active, hard-hitting campaign directed at bringing the SWP's revolutionary program to tens of millions of workers and farmers.

ORGANIZATION STUDIED

The conference also devoted a great deal of attention to consideration of the party's organizational problems, especially those flowing from the SWP's growth, recruitment and increased activity since the end of the war.

Efforts to transform the SWP into a party of mass action were subjected to searching analysis and criticism, with special stress on means of correcting faults and shortcomings and of enabling the party to take advantage of opportunities for further growth and greater influence.

This was undoubtedly the fullest and most fruitful discussion of organizational problems in the SWP's history and accurately reflected the maturity and seriousness of its membership.

A financial report was followed by a discussion of financial problems facing the party. It was unanimously decided to launch a Militant Sustaining Fund, beginning Sept. 15, to insure the continued publication and distribution of The Militant despite the continuing rise in publishing costs.

Tentative quotas were accepted by the various branches, subject to confirmation by the members, after which full details will be printed in this paper.

BROAD DISCUSSION

Other points on the agenda of the conference included:

Reports on the situation in the trade union movement; the policy pursued by the tendencies in the different unions; and the development of militant groups seeking to

prepare the unions for a successful struggle against the new reactionary drive of Big Business and the government.

A discussion of the international political situation and the problem facing the Trotskyist parties throughout the world.

A report on developments since the signing of the Joint Statement on Unification with the Workers Party last March. The report was approved by the National Committee.

Problems of The Militant were also considered, with a number of suggestions offered toward improving its effectiveness in promoting revolutionary socialist ideas.

The conference ended with a Trotsky Memorial Meeting addressed by National Secretary James P. Cannon. His inspiring speech showed the intimate connection between Trotsky's great contributions to the working class and the deliberation of the conference itself.

AFL Seafarers Win Demand In Isthmian Strike

NEW YORK CITY, Aug. 26 — In a nine day strike that tied up 31 ships of the Isthmian Steamship Company fleet in all ports, the AFL Seafarers International Union won its demand for the union hiring hall and the rotary system of shipping.

The Isthmian Company is a subsidiary of the giant United States Steel Corporation. It operates a fleet of approximately 100 ships. When its officials saw their ship tied up one after another as soon as they arrived in American ports they caved in.

The agreement was signed on Aug. 21 just a few hours before the Taft-Hartley Act deadline. When it appeared as though the company was going to use the Act against the union, the SIU formally withdrew its demand for the closed shop and substituted other demands. These included the demand for a four watch system, a \$100 monthly increase, etc.

The company got the point and signed on the dotted line. This victory finally brings Isthmian into line after remaining the sole large non-union operator of dry cargo vessels in the American merchant marine.

POLITICAL ACTION IS NEEDED TO BATTLE PRICE-PROFITEERS

SWP CANDIDATE IS CHALLENGED BY DEMOCRATS

Would Ban Party From Philadelphia Ballot

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 27 — The Socialist Workers Party here is confronted with an all-out attack by the capitalist party machines to bar from the ballot Irene LeCompte, SWP candidate for City Council from the Seventh District. A hearing was held today, before the County Board of Elections on a petition by a Democratic party hack, whose attorney, Thomas F. Minnick is a Democratic ward leader.

The challenge is based on a mass of flimsy, irrelevant technicalities. The attorney for the SWP candidate, David H. H. Felix, questioned the right of the objector to intervene before the County Board, since the board itself had found no irregularities in the SWP nomination papers.

But the Board overruled Felix's objections and a further hearing is scheduled for next Tuesday. The Democrats have also instituted legal action in Common Pleas Court or next Friday.

The Workers Party candidate from the Fifth District, J. Jack Rader, is confronted by a similar challenge.

The attack on the SWP's electoral rights is obviously inspired by the fear that the SWP vote might prevent the re-election of Eugene Hagerty, the Democratic councilman in the Seventh District, who was an attentive spectator at the hearing.

The Communist Party candidate from the First District was today ruled off the ballot. (See story on page 2.)

In a joint statement, the SWP and WP called for protests against these attacks on democratic rights not pointed out.

"Major party politicians are fearful of the establishment of a new, independent political party of labor, and are attempting to forestall such a party by eliminating all minority organizations from political existence."

"The denial of places on the ballot to independent candidates would be an infringement on the democratic rights of the voters in Philadelphia to vote for whomever they please."

Clear Path Of War

Turkish Thrace, which is on a possible path of imperialist invasion of the Soviet Union, has been deserted by its inhabitants in fear of the coming war, the N. Y. Times reported Aug. 28.

Wall Street at Work



"Liberal" Front Sought For Greek Puppet Govt.

By Joseph Hansen

The fall of the Demetrios Maximos cabinet in Greece Aug. 23 was the result of pressure from Washington. This conclusion is borne out by Athens dispatches.

U. S. Ambassador Lincoln MacVeagh met with Tsaldaris, prominent reactionary politician, shortly before the cabinet fell. MacVeagh likewise consulted with King Paul just before the resignations of Venizelos, Papandreou and Kanellopoulos that precipitated the crisis.

These three ministers said that their aim was to force creation of a new government that "would inspire greater confidence abroad and at the same time be more effective domestically."

MacVeagh and Dwight Griswold, director of the American mission, held day-long consultations with various political bosses such as Tsaldaris and Sophoulis, advising them on the personnel of the cabinet

the Truman Administration would like to see in charge of Greece.

The Truman Administration decided to shift its Greek puppets for two apparent reasons: (1) The lying propaganda issued by ex-barrister Napoleon Zervas in particular about "international brigades" invading Greece and "red plots" to seize government buildings, etc., was so raw that not even a Pendergast machine politician could stomach it. (2) The reign of terror waged by the Maximos cabinet, far from stamping out "communism," only heightened the resistance of the Greek people to Wall Street's quislings.

Wall Street's solution for this situation is increased force and a more palatable front for the regime. Insofar as the maneuver is designed to meet criticism in the United States it is clearly part of the preparation for moving American troops into Greece.

APPEASE U. S. LIBERALS

With a more "liberal" looking cabinet, the Washington strategists hope to appease the liberals in America and make it easier for them to support an expeditionary force to Greece.

While Washington with one hand lifted the Greek puppets, it continued with its other fist to pound the war drums against the USSR. The Library of Congress released a "guide" that is not designed to ease the tension between Wall Street and the Kremlin.

The guide, prepared by Dr. Francis O. Wilcox, foreign relations adviser to both Republican Senator Vandenberg of Michigan and Democratic Senator Connally of Texas, rejects a "preventive war" against Russia. But this "rejection" fits in with the propaganda technique that suggests precisely what the author pretends to "deny": in this case, a "preventive" atomic war.

Another ominous indication of Wall Street's plans was the sabre-rattling declaration Aug. 24 of Paul H. Griffith, national commander of the American Legion. On arriving in New York from Washington for the Legion convention, this war-monger's first move was to issue a prepared press release calling for a special session of Congress to enact universal military training.

Griffith demanded that troops be sent immediately to Greece. Asked if the sending of American troops would start a war with the USSR the Legion head responded:

"The invasion of Greece would certainly start the shooting. I can't tell if a formal declaration of war would be made."

'Build the Labor Party' Is Slogan Of the Hour

By The Editors

Washington Democrats and Republicans, whose bi-partisan legislation has powered the inflation, are now shadow-boxing with each other over responsibility for the price-robbery of the low income consumers.

With an eye to the 1948 elections, both political machines of Wall Street in the government are trying to foist the blame for extortionate price rises on each other.

Neither party proposes any measures to effectively halt the slashes in the workers' living standards. Their sole concern is to pull the wool over the eyes of the people about their own crimes, slung mud at the other party and round up some political capital for 1948.

The Truman administration, acting in the interests of the Democrats, is putting on a show of Department of Justice "probes" and federal suits against certain corporations for price-fixing.

BLAME EACH OTHER

Senator Taft, representing the Republicans, has named several Republican-dominated Senate committees to make their own "investigation."

If we add together what the Democratic "probes" and Republican "investigations" say about each other, we will get an inkling of the full truth. Both criminal parties are guilty. Both have conspired to protect and enrich the corporations to open the road to rampant inflation.

Through two sessions of Congress, the Truman administration made only token gestures against rising prices. The Democrats in Congress joined with the Republicans in passing one measure after another to weaken price controls and bolster prices for special capitalist interests. Truman signed every one of these bills — for price and rent decontrol, meat and cotton subsidies, a sugar price-lifting quota, etc.

Both parties joined in foisting a 300 billion dollar profiteers' war and a 260 billion post-war debt on the American people. Both parties voted in the last session of Congress for a monumental federal war-preparation budget of nearly 40 billions annually.

MOCK INQUIRIES

Now these conscienceless political hirelings of Wall Street make mock of the people by their burlesqued "probes" and "investigations." Everybody knows that the monopoly

Labor Must Develop Own Political Power, AFL Paper Warns

"Labor must develop and maintain independent political power," states an editorial denouncing the Taft-Hartley Act in the August Black Worker, paper of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. "The policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies has failed, and failed miserably. Labor has not seemed to mind who its friends and enemies are. Think of Congressman Hartley having at one time been considered a friend of labor."

profiteers are gouging the public and that not one of the big corporation owners or executives will suffer any more than inconvenience and passing publicity.

It's time for American labor to wake up to the fact that neither the Democrats nor Republicans intend to do the slightest thing to impede the big profiteering price-gougers. These parties are political machines of Big Business, designed to protect profit interests above all else.

If an effective fight against rising prices is to be made, it must be made above all on the political arena through the independent political action of labor and its allies. It must be made by a frontal assault on Wall Street's political monopoly maintained through the two-party system.

Union leaders who talk about this Congress "rolling back" prices or paint up Truman's "probes" as deceiving the workers. They can begin to lead a real fight against inflation only when they summon the American people to a political crusade against the whole kit-and-kaboodle of Democrats and Republicans.

The only vehicle for such a crusade is a party the workers can truly call their own. Plank No. 1 in the fight against the profiteers and their inflation is: **BUILD THE LABOR PARTY NOW!**

JAVA ASKS AID OF U. S. LABOR

The Central Organization of Indonesian Trade Unions (SOBSI) has appealed to the AFL and the CIO to help the Republic of Indonesia in the colonial war launched by Dutch imperialism.

The radio appeal asked the AFL and the CIO to "influence the American people" to urge the U. S. Government to form an international arbitration commission.

A few days later the Indonesian Trade Unions appealed to the World Federation of Trade Unions to send a "fully equipped relief brigade to Indonesia" to help drive out the Dutch despots.

The nucleus of such an "international brigade" has already been formed in Indonesia. According to Republican dispatches the nucleus consists of some 400 Chinese, Indians and Filipinos "ready to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Republican troops."

These appeals to the international solidarity of the labor movement will undoubtedly strike a responsive chord. The CIO National Maritime Union, for instance, has already asked its 90,000 members to boycott the Dutch.

The Socialist Workers Party has

called on the labor movement to demand that Truman recapture all American arms being used by the Dutch under Lend-Lease provisions.

In sharp contrast to the wholehearted sympathy of the American people for the heroic Indonesian freedom-fighters, the Truman Administration has spurned the repeated appeals of the hard-pressed Indonesian government for aid. Instead of helping the Indonesian people gain their freedom, the Truman Administration granted a loan of \$195,000,000 to the Dutch imperialists.

Washington is concerned, as the Aug. 15 Foreign Policy Bulletin put it, "that the Netherlands not be weakened as a power factor in Europe by difficulties in Indonesia." In addition American Big Business has big holdings in the Dutch East Indies, especially in oil properties of Sumatra.

The Dutch imperialists, greatly encouraged by Wall Street's attitude, are now hinting that they need a still bigger loan, possibly \$500,000,000 as "pump priming" to ensure their hold on Indonesia.

The Hague has threatened to "resume large-scale" war operations

against the Indonesian people. The powerful Catholic Party, whose leaders are in the Dutch coalition cabinet with certain labor bureaucrats, are particularly insistent on launching all-out warfare against the Indonesians.

Actually the Dutch have paid no attention to the "cease-fire" order that was issued Aug. 1 by the UN. Between Aug. 5 and Aug. 8—a typical period—the Indonesian Government reported 489 violations of the order by the Dutch.

Using American planes, tanks, armored cars, artillery and ammunition, the Dutch armed forces have been methodically fanning out from the strong points seized in the first weeks of the war, destroying villages and murdering the inhabitants. In the language of imperialism this operation is known as "pacification."

Not less than 6,000,000 persons—about one-eighth of the population of Java and Madura—have been displaced from their homes by the Dutch since July 21, according to the Indonesian Ministry of Social Affairs.

While the Dutch generals and admirals continued to bomb and

strafe the Indonesian people, the Dutch diplomats in the UN have made a farce of the proceedings there. Backed by the American, French, British and Belgian delegates they have succeeded with little difficulty in sabotaging proposals for action that might embarrass Dutch military operations.

However, the Dutch imperialists have a long way to go before they can chalk up a decisive victory. Without heavy backing from Wall Street their chances for success are doubtful.

The Economist, conservative London organ, speaking from the long experience of British imperialism in such matters, summed up the situation Aug. 2 as follows: "The Dutch must realize that they have involved themselves in a struggle which it is unlikely that any quick military victories can really resolve, and a road to reconciliation with Indonesian nationalism will not be easy to find. The nationalist opposition to European colonialism in Asia today is something very different from the local risings or agitations of earlier times. It has a confident, persistent international character, which makes it infinitely formidable."

Workers Feel Crushing Squeeze Between Living Costs, Slave Law

American Big Business and its government are putting the squeeze on labor in earnest.

While the profiteers pick the workers' pockets with price rises, labor's hands are tied tighter by the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law.

This law was designed, above all, to prevent any effective labor struggles for higher wages. The workers are becoming aware of its FULL meaning only since the law went into full force on Aug. 23.

Now that the machinery of the law has been established, the government has made it clear that it will be enforced in "letter and spirit."

Indirectly, the law has already been tremendously effective in discouraging wage struggles. The mere threat of the law has sufficed to end most of the top union leaders' union to cover. They have hesitated to settle wage claims for mere sentences. Only the miners, by their exceptional militancy and solidarity, have won substantial wage gains in the recent period.

The direct weight of the law is only now beginning to be felt. The first act of the new Labor Czar Denham was to send out notifications last week of the dismissal of more

than 3,000 pending union complaints against employers before the old NLRB.

Union complaints will not be recognized in law unless the unions comply with all the requirements for financial reports and affidavits on "non-communist" leadership. This latter requirement is interpreted by Denham to mean that if any single officer of the CIO or AFL fails to sign an affidavit that he is not a "communist," all affiliated unions will be disqualified as legally-recognized collective bargaining agencies.

Under the former Wagner Act, the workers had some legal rights, particularly when these rights were backed by union militancy. Now the NLRB has been transformed into an agency for hearing and enforcing complaints of the employers against the unions.

If unions comply with the law to the extent of securing the right to register complaints with the NLRB, they will only be strengthening the law as a whole and reinforcing its other hundreds of deadly provisions against labor.

Only the strongest and most advantageously situated unions will be able to evade some of the provisions of the law, temporarily. Mainly the unions are concerned with get-

ting around liability for damage suits when employers allege violation of contract.

Some unions have been able to secure contract clauses in which the employers state they will not bring suit for damages—although this will not free the unions from suits by corporations or individuals claiming indirect damages from strikes or from government suits.

The International Typographical Union, which is in an exceptionally favorable and strong position, has announced it will sign no contracts, merely post its working rules for the employers to follow or violate at their peril. But most unions are in no position to do this.

Since Aug. 23, five suits for "damages" totaling more than \$1,250,000 have been filed against unions—and many, many more are threatened.

Meanwhile, the top union leaders are floundering around without any real program. They still refuse to fight for a sliding scale of wages that will guarantee automatic wage rises for every rise in prices. They still refuse to launch the labor party that can effectively fight on the political field against Wall Street's program of inflation and legal union-busting.

Be The Payment High or Low

By J. R. Johnson

I know a few women who work on the belt in the radio industry. The work consists of a series of petty operations which takes each individual worker a very short period of time. As a result of this, the line goes at a tremendous speed. The radio unit is small, there is little machinery and as a result the girls are jammed up against one another in a small space. Each girl uses a soldering iron for putting in the wires. The solder and the chemicals used to clean the radios emit a horrible stench. In the summer time the heat of the irons and the stench of the rosin in the solder make life almost unbearable.

Yet strangely enough some of the bitterest complaints I have heard have not dealt with the physical conditions, but as these are

FEAR INSECURITY

One of the complaints is against insecurity. To the average intellectual reader of the capitalist newspapers, insecurity is divided into two parts, employment and unemployment. At least two of these girls in the radio industry say that for them insecurity is something more. If you are not there on time you can be very quickly replaced by "floating workers." Thus every worker at this highly unskilled job knows that she can be replaced at any time and is constantly aware of her own insignificance and insecurity.

This affects not only the unskilled worker, but skilled workers like the testers. Formerly they had a more interesting job for which they were prepared to carry the training. Today the process of testing has been broken down and simplified to such a degree that the testers find themselves more and more semi-skilled instead of skilled workers. They can be gotten at a dime a dozen. Many ex-GIs who studied to be testers are sitting on the line. This, of course, is true permanently of almost all industry on the whole. But the pressure in radio is particularly sharp.

Modern man is so socially motivated and conditioned that it appears almost as if this mental

strain is harder to bear than the physical discomfort and the smells.

MENTAL TORTURE

The mental torture, however, can be even more subtle and in the daily grind itself can wear down and tear the whole personality to pieces. For example, one worker will help another who is "down the belt." Another worker, however, will sit by watching, apparently uninterested. Sometimes a worker will lend a helping hand today, and refuse to do the same tomorrow.

It might appear that the worker who helps is perhaps more class conscious and more cooperative towards his fellow workers. Very often the truth is the opposite. The worker who refuses to help very often does so because she hopes for enough work to go undone so as to affect the pace of the line and thus ease the conditions of the whole shop.

Some girls who get to understand this, sometimes refuse help from sympathetic workers even when it is offered. Under these conditions there is a burning resentment, when he boss or the relief man suggests that you help the person next to you. One of the most horrible contradictions to find yourself in is the sincere desire to help a worker in trouble and yet at the same time to be seething with rebellion against the automatic exploitation of this worker and of yourself. You are filled with bitterness against doing any work at all for this company.

Yet human nature being what it is, you turn to help a fellow worker in trouble, cursing both your principles and action at the same time. You have no interest at all in doing the work for this line which is causing your life away. Yet, because there are workers "down the belt" who have the difficult job of wiring on top of your wires or checking and correcting your work, you feel compelled to work as meticulously as if your life depended on it.

MUST GROW WORSE

This is the full significance of that tremendous sentence in Marx's analysis of the general law of capitalist accumulation. The sentence runs as follows: "It follows therefore that in proportion as capital

Scientific socialism is the conscious expression of the unconscious historical process; namely, the inductive and elemental drive of the proletariat to reconstruct society on communist beginnings. These organic tendencies in the psychology of workers spring to life with utmost rapidity today in the epoch of crises and wars.

—Leon Trotsky, 1940

accumulates, the lot of the laborer, be his payment high or low, must grow worse." It was the terrible frustration, the subordination to the merciless machine, the human degradation, that Marx traced.

This had nothing to do with the pay of the worker. It might be high, it might be low. But as Marx went on to say, a little later, "Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, i.e. on the side of the class that produces its own product in the form of capital."

Later when dealing with the capitalist system as a whole, Marx contrasts the diminishing number of the great lords of capital and shows how, side by side with this, "grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation." Note these words, and note the previous list. It is not merely a question of hard conditions of labor but of the degradation of the human personality. And that is why after stating the mass of slavery, degradation, etc., Marx continues, "... But with this too grows the revolt of the working class..."

REVOLT CAN BURST

At a certain stage, a growing revolt can burst into revolution. Especially when, owing to capitalist crisis and political disintegration, the structural framework of society begins to crack as in countries like France, Italy or China today.

The worker on the radio belt line is often not vocal, and is inarticulate about the inner humiliations and frustrations to which capitalist production subjects him. But those worker comrades who themselves undergo these tortures and by means of their Marxist education, are able to talk to workers about them, in socialist terms, often find a sympathetic response to the bold conclusions of revolutionary socialism.

Not infrequently the conscious expression is startled at the violence of the rejection of bourgeois society which smolders in the hearts of many who never even say to themselves that such a thing as bourgeois society exists.

of flunkies takes care of your every wish.

So picture, if you can, the shocking blow that descended last week into one little island of the luxury world. With some 900 world travelers aboard, the great liner America was due to sail. A few tons of baggage on the docks remained to be loaded. The longshoremen, however, had melted from the piers. The ship could not sail. The word spread swiftly through all the staterooms and public rooms of the ship. There was disbelief, anger and fear.

The British diplomat, drinking his fifth scotch and soda and trying to forget that damnable Egyptian and his bloody document, was informed that those patient beasts of burden on the docks had gone on strike. He now remembered that they were ominous looking brutes and after a few more drinks of that scotch he got the Egyptians and Irish longshoremen all twisted around and he was indeed in a bad way for a man who wanted to forget everything for a restful week. I have this on the reliable authority of one of the stewards.

RAISE RED SCARE

Manhattan's trumpeting newspapers picked up the cry and joined in the chorus of denunciation and anger against the Chelsea longshoremen. That the longshoremen were demonstrating against a sellout by their union leaders had nothing to do with it. It was "communism," pure and simple, raising its ugly head on the waterfront.

Shipping company presidents and vice-presidents were a dime a dozen

for a few days on the waterfront. They came tumbling out of their cool skyscraper offices and converged upon the dingy waterfront headquarters of the longshoremen, threatening and pleading. It is said that this was the first time some of them had ever seen the waterfront.

But while the leaders were willing, the men were having none of it—the baloney, that is.

The following day the union leadership managed to get some men back to work and for an hour the baggage moved slowly into the ship's hold. Then they walked off again.

At this point one of the passengers, the well known capitalist economist, Sir Norman Angell, received a lesson in economics. The ship, having most of its baggage, could now sail, providing of course that the seamen aboard the America would ship the six manila mooring lines, a job ordinarily done by the longshoremen. But the seamen, acting in simple class solidarity, walked off the ship. Sir Norman's economics can never figure that one out. He would do well to ponder over those six manila mooring lines.

POOR CAROLE

The brutality of the strike was driven home by the plight of another passenger, the lovely Hollywood star, Carole Landis. The capitalist press, ever keen to give a true heroine her due, did not overlook Carole.

One widely printed photograph showed her placing her two well-manicured hands over a trunk full of Lili Dache creations (hats to you) preparing to handle it all by her-

self. Another showed this beautiful creature with her mountain of assorted luggage and no one to help her. In all truth, however, you could hardly see the luggage for the very shapely limbs in display.

In addition to providing the cheesecake for this drama, she also struck a deep philosophical note which must have occurred to even weightier thinkers among her fellow-passengers as they pondered over the alarming acts of the longshoremen: "If they don't like it, why don't they go to another country and see if they can do better?"

Sir Norman, Carole and 900 other passengers left the ship and arranged other passage. The America remained tied to the dock. The Chelsea dock workers remained deaf to the pleas and denunciations of the ship operators, capitalist press and their union leadership. Only after they had met and voted, could the six mooring lines be slipped. Then and then only could the America resume her schedule and the rudely disrupted luxury world resume its functioning.

Phila. Election Board Plans Anti-CP Terror

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 27.—The possibilities of a wave of red-baiting persecutions of Communist Party members and workers who signed the petitions nominating Gaetano Defazio for City Council from the First District looms as the result of today's County Board of Election hearing which ruled the CP off the ballot for allegedly favoring "subversive, revolutionary overthrow of the government."

In an obviously biased proceeding the Board cited Truman's "loyalty" order as a basis for its decision and threatened to turn over all the names on the CP petition to the FBI. It also threatened an investigation for "fraud" and possible prosecution of the petition circulators.

A similar terrorization drive in 1941 resulted in the imprisonment of 21 CP members and the victimization of hundreds of petition signers.

Irene LeCompte, SWP candidate for Council from the Seventh District, whose right to the ballot is also being challenged although on "different grounds," has issued a statement denouncing the persecution of CP members and pledged the SWP's aid in fighting any frame-ups.

Pass This Copy OF THE MILITANT To Your Neighbor

Waterborne Pickets



As the CIO-Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers continues its strike against Bethlehem Steel Co., the members of Local 13 picket the Brooklyn waterfront. Workers have remained solid as the company stubbornly refuses to meet their wage demands. Federated Picture

N. Y. Longshoremen Rebel Against Ryan's Sellout

By Forbes Peters

NEW YORK CITY, Aug. 26.—Longshoremen on the New York waterfront voted to return to work this morning after striking for six days in protest against a sellout agreement engineered by "King" Joe Ryan, lifetime president of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association.

The men returned only after receiving assurances that certain objectionable clauses in the contract would not be enforced and others removed.

Members of Local 791 in the Chelsea district led the walkout as they did two years ago in a similar demonstration which tied the port up for 18 days in protest against Ryan's 1945 sellout. Local 791 is Ryan's own local. It is headed by Gene Sampson, brother of Frank Sampson, recently appointed chief of Tammany Hall.

The work stoppage occurred after the men read the terms of the new agreement in the daily papers. This was the first they learned of the sellout. On Aug. 19, when the whistle blew for the morning shape-up, not a man walked toward the piers in the area from 14th to 23rd street. By afternoon the walkout had extended to most piers on the west side of the Hudson River.

The original demands the men had made on the employers included the following:

1. A 25 cent hourly wage increase.
2. A 2240 pound sling load limit. (There is now no limit on sling loads which often remain suspended over the heads of the men when loading or discharging a ship. With overloaded slings this constitutes a dangerous hazard.)
3. Guarantee of 8 hours pay when hired. (The present agreement calls for a guarantee of 4 hours. Under the shape-up system a man may have to shape two or three times a day and only make 4 hours.)
4. A limit of one machine to a gang. (The use of more than one machine to a gang intensifies the speedup.)
5. A welfare fund of 5 cents a ton for every ton of cargo handled. (Hundreds of longshoremen are killed and thousands injured on the New York waterfront every year. Along with coal mining it is rated as one of the most hazardous occupations.)
6. One day vacation for every 135 hours worked. (The present contract calls for one week for every 1350 hours. As only a small percentage of the men get 1350 hours work the clause is a joke.)

The agreement signed by Ryan completely ignored these demands and included only a ten cents per hour wage increase. But even this piddling increase was gained only by surrendering conditions which the men had gained in previous negotiations. It was the surrender of these conditions that set off the spontaneous revolt.

For the ten cents Ryan agreed to surrender the extra pay for handling wet hides, creosote, soda ash, cement, gasoline, etc. He gave up the extra 20 cents an hour for working in refrigerated ships. He

agreed to reduce the pay for handling ammunition and eliminate the previous clause providing for the payment of double time for working during meal hours. (The strike action, however, succeeded in knocking out these provisions after the first few days of the walkout.)

In addition to the above, Ryan gave the shipowners the right to decide on how the men in a gang were to be distributed. According to previous practice men were assigned to work in the hold, on deck or on the dock. Under the new clause they could be shifted at the employer's will in such a manner as to institute an intensive speedup and reduce the total number of men hired.

It was this latter clause that aroused the most antagonism. At one of the early meetings of Local 791 when the men voted to stay out, they shouted down all attempts to get them to accept the Ryan sellout contract. One after another the "rebels" rose to denounce the leadership.

One old time member took the floor and demanded that Ryan be expelled from the Local. That such a proposal could be made in a local where a man was beaten up last year for opposing the leadership on a minor issue, is a good indication of the temper of the men.

Other members demanded a government investigation of the vote on the new contract. They had no confidence in a Ryan count of the referendum. Demands were made that the minutes of all locals be examined to check the vote. Repeated demands were made that Ryan appear before the members of the local and defend his action. Needless to say, Ryan "disappeared" from the waterfront during the whole course of the strike.

At a later meeting officials of Local 791 assured the men that if the employers tried to enforce the clause giving them the right to shift men at will, the men could strike with the backing of the union. It was on this basis that the men voted to return to work.

We the People

By Marvel Scholl

Two incidents occurred on the same day.

President Truman made a fireside chat. They are going to start another investigation, he said. This time they are going to ask the corporations and other racketeers why the cost of living is still shooting upwards. Once again, and for the umpteenth time, they are going to "stop" the "trend" toward inflation.

The second event happened in the grocery store. There was a young woman ahead of me who for the moment personified every American working class housewife. Her concentration on the figures the grocer was adding, the almost visible calculation between the possible sum and the amount of money she had in her purse—all these were there in her worried face. "\$4.87," the clerk said. She dragged a \$5.00 bill from her purse. Then she turned to me and expressively shrugged her shoulders. "Everytime I go shopping I get sick at my stomach," I said. "That makes at least two of us," she replied.

Two of us? Yes, but multiplied quite a few millions. The N. Y. Times business index is about as reliable as there is. They set the 1939 price index as 100. On Aug. 13, 1947, the general price level was quoted at 367.03; foodstuffs at 367.01.

Keep those figures in mind, but for a concrete example of what they mean I'm going to use my own family. In 1939 we lived in Omaha, Nebraska, in a seven-room, all-modern house for which we paid \$35 a month. There were six in the family—a friend who boarded with us, three children, my husband and myself. One of the children was very ill, under the care of a specialist, on a diet of food and medicine that was at once expensive and expensive. My husband was a general organizer for the Teamsters at the time and this meant that when he came home from a trip our family included, at meal time, delegations of teamsters from all over the area.

Yet if our grocery, meat and milk bills together totaled more than \$16, it had been an unusual week.

Our entire budget for everything—including fees for a child specialist and medicine and clothes—was only a few dollars more than it is now. But then there were six; today, with two of the children grown and away from home, we are three. In 1939 a man could buy a ready-made suit for \$16 to \$45. A tailor-made of very fine quality could be bought for under \$50. All of these suits had two pairs of pants and a vest. In 1947 a ready-made suit of any quality at all costs at least \$65—with only one pair of pants and no vest.

In 1939 a woman could buy a summer street dress for \$2 or \$3. Today she pays at least \$8 for the poorest quality.

And to confuse things even worse, they have changed the styles between this season and last. You can tell a woman's economic status by the length of her skirt—or by the ex-hem line if there was enough material to let it down. And children's clothes? I used to dress our kids, when they were small, in cotton play suits and blue chambray Dutch overalls, piped with red. I paid between 19c and 29c each for the play suits, if I couldn't make them myself much cheaper. For the overalls I paid an average of 49c a pair. The other day I went shopping for a play suit for our six-month-old grandson. I found a play suit I liked—it was \$1.95. I went to the dime store and there found more play suits—shoddy, pure and simple, for 59c. I finally found the overalls, the same kind his mother used to wear, but of far inferior material—for \$1 and up, again mostly up.

Now do you understand why the average American working class housewife has a new permanent wrinkle between her eyebrows? Why you can almost see figures dancing around in her eyes as she calculates the difference between what she has to spend and what things cost!

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Art Preis

The CIO's Political Action Committee campaign is going into high gear. CIO leaders are placing chief emphasis on strengthening PAC financially and registering for the 1948 elections as the most decisive weapon against the Taft-Hartley Act. This recognition of the independent role of labor in politics is all to the good.

But what is the final objective of this PAC activity? So far, the CIO leaders offer the workers no perspective other than that of previous elections: to oust individual Democratic and Republican politicians who have been most offensive to labor and to vote for some more "friends of labor" from the same Wall Street political machines. The PAC campaign would inspire a tremendous rank-and-file crusade if the workers could look forward to a genuine labor slate in '48 and the formation of a labor party running independent labor candidates.

Youngstown steelworkers are showing the way to labor politically by running a member of CIO Steelworkers Local 1330 for city council as an independent candidate. Local 1330, which is officially backing John Auschner for councilman from the Fourth Ward, recognizes the broad significance of its move. The Ohio Works Organizer, Local 1330 paper, calls this action "real politics." It states:

"We feel that the time for this kind of political action is NOW! Our local has been on record for a labor party for about two years. We believe that the two old parties have had many chances to demonstrate and they have demonstrated that they cannot be relied on to defend the rights of labor. We believe that the time has come for labor to defend itself and not to rely on so-called friends."

All unions take note! The CIO International Woodworkers local at the Masonite Corporation in Laurel, Miss., has won a "political clause" in its first contract. This unique and significant clause provides that union members may secure a leave of absence up to four months while they campaign for political office. "In the event such employee is

elected to a full-time office, he may return to work at the close of the campaign and remain in the company's employ until he assumes the duties of his office," the contract says. "In the event he is unsuccessful in the campaign, he may return to the company with all rights and privileges restored."

About 60,000 CIO shipbuilding workers, 30,000 employed in Bethlehem Steel's shipyards, are in the ninth week of their strike that began two days after the Slave Labor Law was passed. Several other yards have settled for a 12-cent hourly raise. Bethlehem is reported to have offered 12 cents finally, but insists on contract changes that would in effect cancel out the wage gain and weaken union security. It is evident that Bethlehem Steel, with its vast war-profits reserves, is trying to prolong the strike and starve out the strikers.

The 107,000 CIO auto workers in 40 plants of the Ford Motor Company are to vote on whether they want a pension plan and a 7-cent raise or a straight wage increase that adds up to 15 cents an hour. Older workers are reported inclined toward the pension plan. Younger employees seem to favor the straight raise now. A big share of the pension fund would be paid for by the workers, directly from payroll contributions and indirectly from the lower wage scale.

August Scholle, Michigan State CIO Council president and collaborator with Walter Reuther's faction, has attacked efforts to repeal the infamous Callahan Act recently passed by the reactionary Michigan legislature. This Act requires the registration of all "foreign agents," it defines as a foreign agent "any agency whose origin is directly and indirectly of foreign origin" and specifically covers "labor unions, societies and corporations of all kinds."

This law was passed along with the state "omnibus anti-labor law" modeled on the lines of the Taft-Hartley Act. It was designed as a means of persecuting working class parties and framing up union militants.

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!

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A Report from the Indo-China Front

PARIS, France, Aug. 14 — Theses adopted July 8 by the Provisional Central Committee of the League of Internationalist Communists, one of the groups fighting in the Viet Nam Republic of Indo-China against French imperialism, have been received here. Excerpts from the theses follow:

(1) August 1945, sounding the death-knell of Japanese domination, marked the birth of the Viet Nam revolution. It was born in the vacuum created by the disaster which befell the Japanese military and which at the same time found the Allies unable to send relief troops in time.

The causes of its birth are classic: slavery of the Viet Nam people under French imperialism; unlimited misery and suffering engendered by the "last of the last" wars (2,000,000 died from famine in Tonkin in 1945); advanced political education of the masses, who became aware of the weakness of French imperialism in view of its military disaster before German as well as "yellow" Japanese imperialism — and the rational organization of the Viet Minh national movement.

(2) The Viet Nam revolution involved all classes and social layers, all political, economic, religious, social, philosophical and cultural organizations of the Viet Nam people. Saigon and Hanoi witnessed monster demonstrations of more than a million people, similar to those of the great revolutionary days of Paris, in which all sorts of banners were flown.

In the Viet Nam resistance, although it was based on the masses of workers and peasants and although this base was its inexhaustible reserve, many bourgeois and landlords and even the Emperor Bao Dai — today the citizen Vinh Thuy — were drawn into the struggle along with great numbers of intellectuals.

Greetings Sent to Natalia Trotsky

LITTLE PLEASANT LAKE, Mich., Aug. 23 — At a Trotsky Memorial Meeting held here today, the combined SWP National Committee Plenum and Organizers Institute sent the following telegram to Natalia Sedov Trotsky, widow of the great Marxist: "This Plenum and Organizers Institute, meeting on the occasion of the anniversary of Comrade Trotsky's assassination, sends you revolutionary greetings and affirms its resolve to work ceaselessly for the realization of the socialist goal for which he gave his life."

Latin American Notes

Recently in an interview with Brazilian students, Juan Domingo Peron of Argentina declared that his government represents the "capitalist current." This "current," he said, tries to "dignify the worker" and treat him as a "human being."

It took only a few days to show that this was nothing but the usual double-talk of a capitalist politician. According to an Aug. 8 Associated Press dispatch, Peron held a conference with 84 Argentine trade union bureaucrats. At this conference he found it necessary to bring the Federal Chief of Police, General Arturo Bertello.

Two main points were on the agenda. One, how to step up production. Two, how to stop "communism." On both points the trade union bureaucrats promised to carry out Peron's program to the best of their ability.

Of all his cabinet members, Peron decided to invite only the Federal Chief of Police! All the fine words about "dignifying labor" were nothing but camouflage for something quite different that Peron is preparing for the workers.

Despite the surface appearance of "prosperity" in Argentina, in reality a crisis is looming. Uneasy about this storm on the horizon, the workers are beginning to lose their illusions concerning the Peron regime.

The Trotskyists in Argentina are doing their best to help the workers prepare themselves for correct political struggle. Two Fourth Internationalist organs, *El Militante*, published by the Revolutionary Workers Union (UOR) and *Voz Proletaria*, published by the Fourth International group (GCI), appear in Argentina. Aside from the differences these groups have over certain national issues, they are both dedicated to exposing the double-talk of the capitalist politicians in Argentina. There are also other Argentine Trotskyist forces dedicated to the same task.

The double-talk of capitalist politicians is not confined to Argentina. Gonzales Videla, President of Chile, is just as adept at this as Peron, if not better. He too blames "communism" for the ills the workers suffer under capitalism.

After double-talking the Stalinists into supporting him for office,

The Viet Nam revolution was truly national and popular. It established the democratic Viet Nam Republic with its own government, National Assembly, army and finances.

(3-A) Dominated, however, by the policy of the Indo-Chinese Communist (Stalinist) Party, the strongest and best organized of all the parties composing the Viet Minh — a policy of a bloc of many classes — the policy of the Viet Nam republican government was above all to defend the class interests of the bourgeoisie and the landlords.

Defense of private property (including French imperialist private property), defense of national integrity, of a bourgeois parliament, finances, customs also based on the bourgeois model, with an army, a police, a bureaucracy destined to guarantee private property; it was all crowned by a policy of establishing an independent economy — naturally a bourgeois economy — as against the vested interests of the imperialist economy.

For the petty bourgeois layers the Republic sought to reserve a host of careers in the parliament, in the administration, in the police, in the army, in commerce, in agriculture, in diplomacy, etc. . . .

For the immense mass of impoverished peasantry, the Ta dien, it did nothing, or almost nothing. There was reform, to be sure, of the Dia To (regime of tenant farming), but private landed property remained sacred and inalienable.

For the working class, as yet weak, a few labor laws were passed.

However, since the Viet Nam bourgeoisie showed itself to be congenitally impotent, an impotence from which it was not permitted to free itself by the French imperialists of the great industrial enterprises, the commercial companies, the big plantations of the Bank of Indo-China, and since the interests of the indigenous gentry are intimately linked with and subordinated to those of French imperialism, the bourgeois policy of the Viet Nam Republic proved unworkable.

Economic, and consequently political independence, has proved to be nothing but a chimera. The agrarian revolution was declared a crime. Thus neither of these two great tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution was resolved. The

he is now methodically kicking them out of the posts they secured. The Stalinists backed him as a "progressive" and "representative of the popular masses." Without their support he could not have been elected.

Videla, in dictatorial fashion, ousted Stalinist municipal, state and federal officials, blaming them for the wave of strikes that have broken out against the steep boost in the price of bread and flour which the Videla Administration approved.

The double-talk of capitalist politicians, of course, reaches a fine art in the United States. Elliot Roosevelt, for instance, claims that his father "couldn't stomach" the Toryism of Churchill's imperialist policies.

But Franklin D. Roosevelt had no difficulty whatsoever in stomach-ing American imperialist policy in Puerto Rico. Under the British, India has been ravaged by hunger and disease. But under American rule, including Roosevelt's regime, conditions in Puerto Rico have been no better.

American imperialism went even further than the British in inflicting poverty and degradation on its colonial subjects. By imposing the teaching of English in the schools of the Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans, for instance, American imperialism deliberately tried to wipe out the historic cultural background of this people.

Did the "progressive" Roosevelt, who "couldn't stomach" British imperialism, try to right these wrongs? Did he grant Puerto Rico her freedom? No. Instead he imprisoned the Puerto Rican nationalists who dared to fight for the freedom of Puerto Rico.

Wall Street's latest maneuver — to let the Puerto Ricans elect their own governor — is not as generous as it might appear. Wall Street has so corrupted the leading native politicians that it has little to fear from them.

The Puerto Ricans can achieve their national and social emancipation only in united struggle with the oppressed masses of the other Latin American countries and the United States. They can hope for nothing from Wall Street's politicians except fine-sounding double-talk.

dream of the Stalinist strategists perished out because of their policy. Even more—they sabotaged the accomplishment of these tasks.

(3-B) In effect the Stalinists followed a policy of rampant pacifist capitulation before all the imperialists. On the news of the Japanese defeat, having first seized power in Tonkin by an audacious coup d'etat and declared themselves to be democrats fighting beside the democratic Allies against Nipponese militarism, they thought that the British imperialists and Chinese whom they received with open arms would simply give them independence as a gift, as promised in the Atlantic Charter.

They were quickly disillusioned when General Gracey opened the gates of Nam Bo in Cochinchina to the first troops of Leclerc, armed by Great Britain to the tune of three billion francs, for the reconquest of the Viet Nam of Indo-China.

Right then the people, whom the Stalinist leaders up to then had urged to shout, "Hurrah Allied Forces," awoke as if by instinct under the agitation of revolutionary groups of extreme nationalists and internationalist Communists, and armed themselves spontaneously with sharpened bamboo sticks, axes, daggers, arms bought or seized from Japanese soldiers, and organized themselves swiftly into People's Militias and Revolutionary People's Committees.

The peasants began to seize the land, the workers the factories and the principal French establishments.

All this, all these revolutionary measures had been prohibited by the governmental committee of Nam Bo, Tran van Giau, Nguyen van Tao, Duong Bach Main — all ministers and leaders of the Indo-Chinese Communist (Stalinist) Party.

The arming of the people was declared a "Trotskyist provocation against the Allies." All arms were ordered turned in, including the bamboo sticks, to the governmental committee, which turned them over to the Japanese, who in turn were to account for them to the British by whom they had been entrusted with maintaining "order."

The Revolutionary Committees were declared another Trotskyist provocation. Only administrative committees were necessary. The kind to the peasants, the factories to the workers, these too were condemned as Trotskyist provocations. The Stalinist leaders were thus opposed to all popular initiative which could have assured national liberation and the agrarian revolution.

The Trotskyist opponents of Stalinism are the defenders of the toiling people, of the armed revolutionary people, the partisans of the Fourth International. In the first moments of the resistance, because they defended the poor peasants, the Trotskyists were imprisoned, murdered, sacrificed on the altar of Allied democracy as represented by General Gracey.

That is why numerous militants of the Fourth International as well as of the Hco Hao were killed and why the Stalinists sought the liquidation of the Fourth International as a measure indispensable to maintaining themselves in power and keeping up their flirtation with the imperialists.

Manifesto Outlines Program for Spain

PARIS, France, Aug. 14 — The Spanish section of the Fourth International has just published a manifesto on the present political situation in Spain. The manifesto is headed, "Long live the front of the workers organizations! Against capitulation to the blackmail of the UN! For the revolutionary establishment of the Republic! For free elections to a Constituent Assembly under the guarantee of an armed people!"

The document scores the agreement between the Socialist Party and the monarchists, and points to the connection between this deal and the designs of world capitalism in Spain.

The manifesto proposes the formation of a Workers Alliance based on the following platform:

(1) The Workers Alliance shall take the leadership of the domestic struggle against the Franco regime as well as the struggle organized from abroad. It shall demand that all existing funds be turned over to it. The struggle under the Workers Alliance shall continue until the complete collapse of the political, police and military apparatus of Franco.

(2) The formation of national, regional and local leaderships of the Workers Alliance.

(3) When the Franco regime collapses, the Workers Alliance shall proclaim the Republic and constitute itself as the provisional organization of state control based on the arming of the people in militias.

(4) The Workers Alliance shall

Wall Street Delegation Crushes Opposition at Petropolis Parley

By Joseph Hansen

DUTCH TROTSKYISTS URGE INDONESIA AID

Call for World Boycott Against Imperialist War

AMSTERDAM, Holland, Aug. 15 — The Revolutionary Communist Party, Dutch Section of the Fourth International, has issued an appeal to the workers of the world to boycott the Netherlands imperialists, who are waging war against the Republic of Indonesia.

The appeal recalls that the Revolutionary Communist Party from its foundation as a legal party upon liberation of Holland from the Nazis in 1945 has advocated the slogan, "Free Indonesia from Holland Now!" ("Indonesia, Los Van Holland Nu!")

The Stalinists, Socialists and the trade union bureaucracy, on the other hand, went along with the maneuvers of Dutch imperialism for "incorporating Indonesia in a Netherlands Union."

The appeal points out that the open war unleashed by the Hague now shows that these maneuvers were nothing but a cover for the imperialist aim of continuing colonial exploitation in Indonesia.

The RCP was the first in 1945 to issue the slogan of a boycott against Dutch imperialism in its efforts to subjugate the Indonesian people. Now the Indonesian Trade Union Federation has taken up this slogan, the appeal continues, and has asked the World Federation of Trade Unions to enforce such a boycott.

Already workers on the docks in Holland, India, New Zealand and Southampton have answered this appeal of the Indonesian unions.

But to give the boycott full effectiveness against Dutch imperialism, the entire working class of Great Britain, France, Belgium and the United States must join in with their forces.

The Dutch Trotskyists point out that the UN may try to get the Dutch to resume negotiations with the Indonesian Republic. Such a development, they stress, raises the danger of mere replacement of Dutch troops by British or American troops, or of joint control of Indonesia by all three powers.

Labor, therefore, must demand the withdrawal of all imperialist troops from Indonesia. An effective boycott against shipment of all military supplies to Indonesia will help achieve this aim.

"Workers of the world," the appeal concludes, "the struggle of the Indonesian masses is a just struggle. We, as a Dutch workers' party, vouch for that, knowing as we do the oppressive methods of our own capitalists. . . . Do not permit the rallying cry, 'Workers of the world, unite!' to remain empty words. It can be transformed into DEEDS if you answer and support the appeal of the Indonesian trade unions, brothers of all lands. Long live the world boycott! Long live free Indonesia! Long live Socialism!"

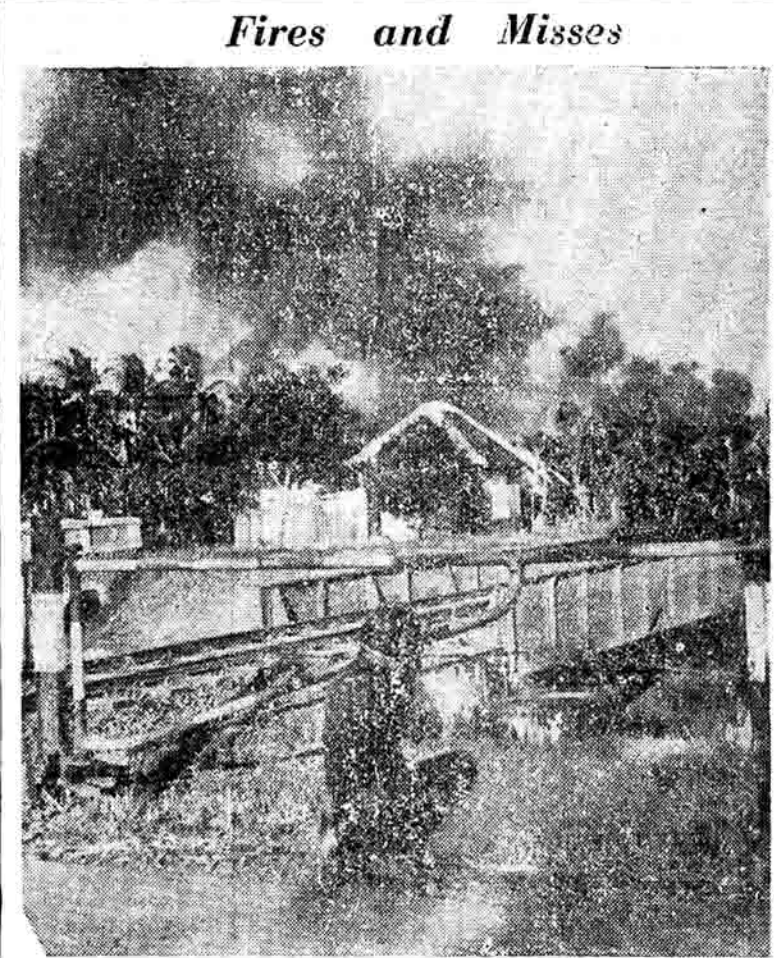
German Trotskyists Publish New Paper

BERLIN, Germany, Aug. 12 — The first issue of *Unser Weg*, organ of the Fourth International in Germany, has been published.

The leading article deals with the food crisis in Germany. Another article, "Socialist or Stalinist Peace Policy," contrasts the policy followed by the Kremlin today with the one practiced in Lenin's and Trotsky's day.

International news and a discussion supplement complete the issue.

The paper, distributed in mimeographed form throughout all the Western zones, represents a signal achievement for the German Trotskyists in view of the extreme difficulties under which they have had to work.



A Dutch marine shoots at a fleeing Indonesian patriot who followed the scorched earth policy and set fire to this sugar refinery. The Indonesian labor movement is calling on American labor for aid against the U.S.-armed and U.S.-financed Dutch imperialist slaughter. Federated Picture

Crisis of British Economy Affects Many Countries

The Washington conference last week on the British loan revealed what a bottomless mire world capitalism is sinking in. The decisions taken at that conference have already had profound international repercussions.

As the editor of the *Christian Science Monitor* reluctantly admitted over the radio Aug. 21: "The whole Western world, not simply Great Britain and its immediately dependent nations, is facing a severe economic — and hence political — crisis tonight. The real danger is of a general breakdown."

The story of the British loan is a brief one, but highly dramatic. On July 15, 1946, British capitalism was granted \$3,750,000,000 here and \$1,250,000,000 in Canada. This enormous sum, in the opinion of the capitalist economic experts, was sufficient to tide the British Empire over for the next five years.

However, in the space of barely more than a year this sum has been exhausted save for a \$400,000,000 balance now frozen in Washington and \$500,000,000 in Canada. Even these facts, graphic as they are, do not give the full impact of what happened.

During the last months of 1946 withdrawals on the loan ran according to schedule — about \$25,000,000 a week. Then the rate began to accelerate. In the first quarter of 1947 withdrawals reached 38.4 millions. In the second quarter the rate virtually tripled to 73.2 millions. Then in July it suddenly soared to 176 millions—seven times the rate. By the third week of August it had skyrocketed to 242 millions!

"That, of course," said the *Monitor's* editor, "represents a panicky flight from the pound." Under the convertibility provisions of the loan, which went into effect in July, holders of British pounds were exchanging them for American dollars as rapidly as they could make arrangements. "This is a case of sudden technical bankruptcy," declared one correspondent.

The conference thereupon reached a "gentlemen's agreement" on two measures. (1) Suspend the convertibility provisions; (2) permit Great Britain to cut down its purchases in the United States in favor of purchases with countries where dollars are not required.

These were only stop-gap decisions. But their consequences are spreading like waves from a boulder dropped in a pond. The first to feel the effect will be the British workers. For them it means a further steep decline in the standard of living. Already underfed, the Attlee government has ordered them to take in their belts a few more notches.

This is only half of it. The British capitalists, prodded by the speed-up experts on Wall Street, are demanding greatly increased production — naturally at no increase in pay.

The British workers are only th-

The Wall Street steamroller at Petropolis, Brazil, flattened out the feeble opposition to its imperialist aims at the Inter-American Conference with little trouble.

The poverty-ridden and disease-ravaged lands below the Rio Grande are in desperate need of economic aid. The peoples there see no need for an anti-Soviet military alliance. What they need is food and other basic necessities — not guns.

But Secretary of State Marshall sought a joint military treaty that would outlaw the neutrality of the Latin American countries in the atomic war Wall Street has blue-printed. Marshall sought to commit them in advance to place their resources at the free disposal of Yankee imperialism. Consequently the conference was manipulated by the Wall Street delegation to exclude all other considerations.

Dr. Guillermo Belt, Cuban Ambassador to the United States, attempted at the opening of the parley to place the question of economic aggression on the agenda. The Sugar Act passed by the first session of the 80th Congress dealt Cuba a heavy blow. One clause permits the Secretary of Agriculture to withdraw or withhold an increase in sugar quotas if foreign countries fail to give American citizens "fair and equal" treatment.

Economic aggression in the words of Ambassador Belt is worse than military aggression to the extent that it is "more cruel to starve a man than to shoot him outright."

After lunch with Senator Vandenberg and after unofficial assurances that this clause would not be applied against Cuba, Belt withdrew. His token resistance was designed primarily for consumption at home.

VISITED BY MARSHALL

The Argentine delegate, Dr. Juan A. Bramuglia, likewise put up a token show of independence. He was visited privately by Marshall. After carrying his "independence" as far as demanding a veto on joint Hemisphere action in case of aggression, Bramuglia too knuckled under to the opposing voice lined up by Wall Street.

The conference thus committed the Latin American countries to a military treaty that deprives them of one of the essential attributes of national sovereignty — the right to remain neutral when other powers plunge into armed conflict.

In case of a war in which Wall Street should pin the label "aggressor" on the Soviet Union, for instance, the Latin American countries are bound to give Yankee imperialism all aid short of the direct use of armed force.

This military pact marks a long step toward the consummation of Wall Street's plan to integrate the entire Western Hemisphere into one vast military machine.

PLATITUDES ON DEFENSE

The speeches of the delegates, particularly Marshall, were studded with platitudes about the defense of "democracy" and the rights of the "individual" against the evils of dictatorial states. The hypocrisy

of these declarations was revealed by three events that occurred during the conference itself.

The first was the civil war that succeeded in Paraguay. Dictator Moronigo succeeded there, apparently, in suppressing the attempt to break his iron grip. The conference quietly shelved the proposal to intervene in this situation.

The second was the coup d'etat in Ecuador. Defense Minister Carlos Manchano seized control of the government, and forced President Velasco Ibarra to resign. The President was exiled to Colombia. Upon landing in a plane, Ibarra repudiated the "resignation," declaring that it had been secured against his will. The Petropolis Conference, however, paid no attention to his accusation.

The third event was the breaking up of a peaceful assembly of some 50,000 people in nearby Rio de Janeiro. Police fired on the public meeting, wounding 33 men, women and children with bullets and tear gas grenades. The conference shut its eyes to this violation of civil liberties — it was too busy complying with Wall Street's demand for a military pact against "aggression" to bother with such trifling incidents.

As a sop to the delegations who had demanded consideration of the critical economic problems facing Latin America, Marshall agreed to an economic conference — but the date was set for next year, sometime between July and December.

The participation of Latin America in a military pact against aggression from Europe or Asia must seem ironic to anyone aware of the grinding poverty that prevails below the Rio Grande.

In Mexico City it is a common sight to see scores of barefoot children wandering the streets in the chilly nights and piled up like bundles of rags on the main streets during the day, sleeping exhausted in the sun. In the working class districts, families are jammed in windowless quarters reeking with the fifth attendant to inadequate sanitary facilities.

MISERABLE POVERTY

In the villages the poor people live in miserable huts that afford little protection against rain and wind. The hunger can be matched nowhere outside the worst war-torn areas of Europe and the famine-stricken districts of India.

Conditions in Mexico are typical of all Latin America. Yet it is these starved people that Wall Street insists shall be regimented in a military pact against "aggression."

The real aggressor, clearly, is the militaristic colossus of the North. This is the power that calmly disregards the vital needs of the Latin American people as it prepares an atomic war in accordance with its power-drunk scheme of world conquest. It is the Wall Street aggressor the Latin American people need to unite against — not the peoples of Europe and Asia.

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FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.

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"Capitalism will not disappear from the scene automatically. Only the working class can seize the forces of production from the stranglehold of the exploiters. History places this task squarely before us."

Leon Trotsky

Griffith's Call for War

The capitalist press has given a big play to the war-mongering declaration with which National Commander Paul H. Griffith launched the American Legion convention in New York.

Griffith demanded that American troops be sent immediately to Greece to bolster up the rickety Glucksberg dynasty.

This move, Griffith coolly admitted, might "start shooting" and plunge the United States into World War III. Such a frightful consequence, however, did not disturb the blood-thirsty commander of the American Legion.

In fact, he welcomed war against the Soviet Union, declaring that, "If we are going to go through with the Truman doctrine, I think we ought to go through with it."

Blood-and-Guts Griffith demanded an immediate special session of Congress for "the specific purpose of enacting universal military training legislation and for the purpose of strengthening our national defense."

It is doubtful that Griffith would make such provocative statements without the previous knowledge of the brass hats in Washington. The press reported that he left Washington a few hours before he handed reporters his prepared saber-rattling statement. The prominence given his call to arms is convincing evidence of the care with which it was fitted into Wall Street's propaganda preparation for armed conflict with the USSR.

Griffith's brazen declaration of American Legion readiness to plunge the United States into atomic slaughter does have one virtue, however. It shows precisely what is back of Wall Street's high-pressure campaign for universal military training.

Every persuasive argument for UMT has been advanced by the Prussian-minded brass hats and their stooges. As carried out under their control they claim it would have nothing to do with imperialist militarism; that it would be "democratic;" that it would be of extraordinary benefit to the minds and bodies of America's youth.

Griffith did not bother with such diplomatic propaganda. His call for war shows beyond all possibility of doubt that the Wall Street militarists view universal military training under their control as a reservoir for expeditionary forces, as necessary to the success of the reactionary Truman doctrine and as an integral part of their plans for another world war.

The air has been cleared by Griffith's reckless and dangerous statements. The labor movement can now consider the pressure for universal military training with a clear light on how Wall Street intends to utilize it for its own imperialist aims.

A Question for PAC Leaders

CIO's Political Action Committee is campaigning for its 1948 war chest. If every CIO member contributes \$1, the fund will total around \$6,500,000. That's a sizable sum, but not too much for the job to be done.

But what troubles a lot of workers is what that fund will be used for. They know it will be used to oppose the reelection of Congressmen who voted for the infamous Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law. But the CIO leaders owe it to their members to clearly specify whom they intend to back to replace these incontestable reactionaries.

Workers should now raise the question: Just where in the Democratic machine do the CIO leaders hope to find anybody they can honestly term progressive? The Wallaces and Peppers would seem to be eliminated because they oppose the Truman doctrine, which the top union leaders slavishly support. That leaves "progressives" like New York's Mayor O'Dwyer, who has engaged in more strikebreaking in shorter time than any mayor in decades.

If the political cards fall as they are usually stacked, after the primaries the choice before the workers in most cases will be between old-time Democratic and Republican machine-men who by no stretch of the imagination could be considered "progressive." What will PAC do then?

The CIO leaders indicate they are going to use their secret instrument that measures differences of "progressivism" between two equally-corrupt capitalist political stooges, one labeled Democrat and the other Republican. The workers will be asked to vote on the basis of microscopic differences observable only to the eyes of the union-bureaucrats.

It is necessary to press the point now: The workers have the right to specific information from the PAC leaders on their 1948 choice of candidates. The truth is these leaders hesitate to speak out plainly because that might tip off the union members on the rotten political deals being cooked up—and that might reinforce the growing demand for a labor party and an independent labor slate in '48.

"The Exodus 1947"

Three British ships are transporting 4,500 Jewish refugees to Hamburg, Germany, where the British Government has ordered them herded into displaced persons camps near Belsen, one of the former Nazi horror sites.

The "crime" of these refugees, in the eyes of the British Government, is their attempt to escape from Germany, where they saw their friends and relatives perish at the hands of the Nazi regime, and enter Palestine in accordance with the promise of the British Government to facilitate Jewish immigration there.

The 4,500 attempted to run the British Navy's blockade in the "Exodus 1947," a converted Chesapeake ferry boat. The British boarded the ship, ordered the emigrants removed and took them back to France where they had begun their voyage.

The refugees, however, refused to land. Insisting on entry into Palestine, they appealed to President Truman to intervene with the British Government and prevent their return to Germany.

How did Truman react to the despairing plea of these pitiful refugees?

White House Secretary Charles G. Ross told the press that the plea had been sent "along with others of a similar nature" to the State Department. There, presumably, it will be filed away and forgotten among the tons of "similar" appeals.

On July 8, only a few brief weeks ago, President Truman again placed before Congress the problem of the displaced persons in Europe. He called for the entry of 400,000 to America. "The only civilized course," he declared, "is to enable these people to take new roots in friendly soil" by revising the immigration quotas.

If Truman really meant these humanitarian words, why didn't he act in the case of the "Exodus" refugees? Here were 4,500 homeless people on the high seas, barred admission to Palestine and ordered returned to displaced persons camps in Germany.

Why didn't Truman offer to open the doors of the United States to these helpless men, women and children who have reached the limit of human endurance under the persecution of the Nazis and the British Government?

The reason is that Truman was only paying lip service to the need for providing a haven for Europe's displaced persons. He didn't really mean it when he read the phrases about the "only civilized course" to follow. Truman has shown by his actions that at bottom he is indifferent to the plight of the survivors of Hitler's terror.

It is up to the labor movement to combat this callous attitude. Put the heat on Truman. Demand that America's doors be opened to the displaced persons. Invite the "Exodus" refugees to come to America!

Italian Oil and American GIs

Some 20,000 American troops stationed in Italy to bolster up the de Gasperi puppet regime installed by the Allied conquerors have now been scheduled to remain there indefinitely, according to War Department spokesmen.

The official reason for this decision is the Kremlin's delay in ratifying the "peace" treaty imposed on the Italian people.

One of the real reasons, of course, is Wall Street's anxiety over the possible outbreak of a socialist revolution in Italy. Should Allied bayonets be withdrawn, American Big Business fears that the puppet government they installed would collapse. Once in movement, the Italian people—Wall Street is convinced—would not halt until they succeeded in overturning the capitalist system that installed fascism and helped pave the way to World War II.

There is an additional reason why the political representatives of America's wealthy ruling families have now decided to keep American bayonets in Italy indefinitely.

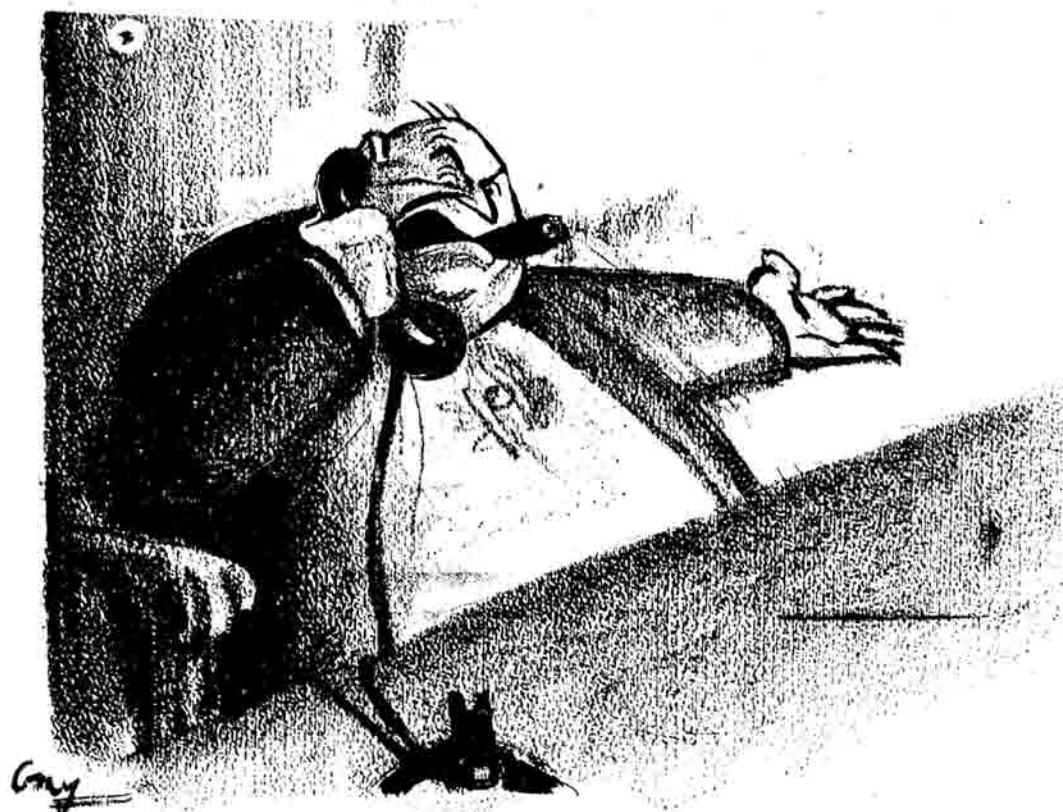
Recent geological surveys indicate that northern Italy may be floating on a vast pool of oil. The first unofficial estimates are that production from the deposits may yield as much as 11,000,000 tons of the black gold yearly.

Already Standard Oil of New Jersey has applied to the de Gasperi regime for exploration concessions over an area of 4,000,000 acres stretching from Milan to the Adriatic coast along the south bank of the Po River.

The Standard cartel is operating in Italy through an Italian subsidiary called Societa Petrolifera Italiana. Of the stock in this company, 60% is held by Standard and 40% by Italian capitalists.

The puppet de Gasperi regime has already approved the application in principle, but is not scheduled to make a formal decision until fall.

Standard Oil's interest in keeping the GIs in Italy should impel the labor movement all the stronger to insist on bringing them back home. Withdraw all American troops from abroad!



"You heard me. 15% more rent—VOLUNTARY!—or out you go!"

Workers' BOOKSHELF

OIL ACROSS THE WORLD
by Charles Morrow Wilson,
Longmans, Green & Co., 318
pages, 1946, \$3.50.

Among the most secret projects of World War II is the one conducted exclusively for the profit of the American oil trust. This project, which may be called Operation Synthetic Oil Steel, was even more closely guarded so far as public information is concerned than such top-secret projects as the atomic bomb.

Involved were the highest ranking government officials, in particular, former Petroleum Administrator Harold Ickes and Dr. R. R. Sayers, director of the Bureau of Mines. Involved likewise were the top Army Brass, for the entire enterprise, carefully prepared in advance and synchronized with the advance of American troops into Germany, remained throughout under the direct supervision of the Joint Chiefs of Army Staff.

The goal was to uncover and appropriate the key technological processes in the production of synthetic oil, one of the major achievements of Germany which has led the world in this field, while the American industry and scientific research have lagged far behind, having accomplished little or nothing in the production of synthetic oils.

CAREFULLY HANDPICKED

The corps of these Oil Commandos was carefully handpicked, and it is doubtful whether the English authorities or any other "allies" were informed. Leading the pack was Dr. W. C. Schroeder, chief of Synthetic Liquid Fuels of the U. S. Bureau of Mines. But the bulk of the personnel was not selected from among other government employees.

On the contrary, they came from the technical staffs of such major oil concerns as Standard, Socony-Vacuum, the Texas Company, Standard of Louisiana, Humble Oil, Phillips Petroleum, Pure Oil, Koppers and many others.

These civilians hastily donned military uniforms and followed in the wake of the advancing army. They rummaged among the wreckage of oil plants. But their main source of German technological secrets came from "interviewing" German factory personnel and scientists whom they "took into custody."

Their biggest "finds" came from secret raids on the research headquarters of the Ruhr-Chemie Company, the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Muelheim, not to mention their "gaining the friendship" of Dr. M. Pier, foremost authority on synthetic oil chemistry in Germany.

From these and diverse other sources this group of "researchers" succeeded in accumulating a vast collection of German formulas and techniques relating to the production of ordinary and high-octane gasoline, Diesel oils of all types, fuel gas, soaps, synthetic detergents, cooking fats, industrial alcohol, benzene, toluene and countless other products.

This colossal treasure trove, gathered at the expense of the public treasury, is now the legal property of the United States, through the brilliantly simple device of classifying it as a "weapon of war" which becomes the property of the conqueror just as any other "captured weapon."

The consensus of scientific opinion is that by this brilliant stroke American developments in synthetic fuels have been advanced by not less than 25 years. (No estimate has as yet been made of the millions

that will in passing flow into the coffers of the oil monopoly.)

More than this, Edward B. Peck, technical adviser to Standard Oil Development Company, has boasted that it has secured the United States (read: oil corporations) the "unchallenged world leadership" of synthetic oil production and related fields. This confirms our suspicion that there is not the slightest intention to share any of this booty with the "democratic" allies.

OIL TYCOONS BENEFIT

The exclusive beneficiaries are, of course, the oil companies who either by outright purchase for nominal sums or under government licenses have now come into the possession of precious technological secrets, without having spent a penny on research.

Information concerning this superlative achievement of "free enterprise" and "American know-how" has leaked out unintentionally in a recently published book "Oil Across the World," by Charles Morrow Wilson.

For his source material, the author acknowledges indebtedness to "the research and engineering staff of the Petroleum Administration for War," former Secretary Ickes and others "professionally associated with petroleum and/or pipeline industries." His data can therefore be considered at least as semi-official.

Nor does the author appear unaware of the sensational character of his "inside story" for his own comment is: "The story of the invasion by synthetic fuel specialists reads like a Grade A mystery thriller with several bizarre dashes of the spy story." Let us add that it obviously is a first-rate piece of imperialist thievery as well.

—John G. Wright

No Tears For Bilbo

By Art Preis

Flags were flown at half-mast on the Capitol in Washington last week. Six U. S. Senators were authorized as a committee by Senator Vandenberg, presiding officer of the Senate, to attend a funeral in Mississippi.

Thus did Wall Street's government pay its last respects to one of its own. Democratic Senator-elect Theodore G. Bilbo—lynch-inciting White Supremacist, Ku Kluxer, labor hater, confessed bribe-taker, war grafter.

But the eyes of the workers, white and Negro, remained bone-dry. They felt only satisfaction at the passing of a mortal enemy, the loudest Senatorial mouthpiece for the fascist-minded southern white ruling class.

At Bilbo's funeral service the assembled dignitaries nodded in solemn accord as Rev. Wade Smith intoned: "God had a Joshua ready to take Moses' place when Moses died, and he has a Joshua here to take the place of this Moses."

The Moses of old must have turned in his grave at this allusion to the man who called Jews "kikes" on the Senate floor. Moses led the Children of Israel out of bondage in Egypt; Bilbo sought to return the Negro people in America to slavery.

It is well worth recounting the deeds of this "Moses" of the Southern Bourbons. For in him was fully embodied all that the white capitalist ruling class of the South—and of the North—stands for.

PREACHER-LAWYER
Bilbo began his career as a licensed Baptist lay preacher. He also took a law degree at Vanderbilt University. He learned how to combine the qualities of a legal shyster and a Bible-pounding demagogue. His vilest acts were covered with a double-cloak of hypocrisy—the sanctity of law and religious piety. This made him an ideal servant of the rich.

Bilbo made his first successful political campaign for the State Senate in 1907. He soon showed his tal-



BILBO

ents. In 1910 he admitted to a grand jury that he had taken a bribe to vote for the successful candidate for a U. S. Senate vacancy. The State Senate, failing by one vote to oust him, passed a resolution asking him to resign as "unfit to sit with honest, upright men."

Bilbo pleaded martyrdom. He ran for Lieutenant Governor, won, and induced the State Senate to expunge his previous indictment. Soon after he was indicted by a grand jury on other bribery charges. But he beat the rap again.

From 1916 to 1920, Bilbo served as Governor. He was succeeded by his own hand-picked candidate. For refusing to testify against the latter in a sedition case, Bilbo spent ten days in jail for contempt.

WHITE SUPREMACIST

It was in 1927 that Bilbo hit upon his basic plank: White Supremacy. The incumbent Governor had called out the troops against the lynching of a Negro. Bilbo made this his issue, winning the support of the Ku Klux Klan and re-election as Governor. Last year he admitted KKK membership.

As Governor, from 1928 to 1932 Bilbo was involved in a \$69,000,000 bond issue scandal. Then he got a

\$6,000 a year job in Washington cutting out clippings for the AAA. In 1933, he played the New Deal machine and hit the jack-pot—election to the U. S. Senate.

Bilbo used the Senate as a forum for the most rabid anti-Negro, anti-labor, anti-Jewish diatribes. Aided by the white primaries and the poll tax which restricted the ballot to 5% of the state's population, Bilbo was repeatedly re-elected. He led the Democratic filibusters against abolition of the poll tax in seven Southern states, against the FEPC and a federal anti-lynching law.

In 1946, he ran for re-election. Bilbo called on the lynch gangs "to get out and see that no nigger votes. And the best time to do it is the night before." A wave of gruesome lynchings spread through Mississippi and the South.

Bilbo was re-elected. But the Senate War Investigation Committee heard Bilbo admit taking large "gratuities" from war contractors. The Committee held he "had improperly used his high office . . . for personal gain."

BILBOISM LIVES ON

At the opening of the 80th Congress, mass pressure forced a Senatorial move to deny a seat to Bilbo. Before a vote was taken, he announced he had to get an operation for cancer of the mouth and would not be able to fight for his seat until later. His \$49,000 annual salary and staff expenses were continued.

Let it be remembered that Bilbo was removed not by the people, but by death. Bilboism—the Jim Crow system and the terroristic and exploitative rule of capitalist reaction—remains. Bilboism will be overthrown only by the united might of the working class.

The most fitting epitaph for the man Bilbo might well be: "Under his regime the per capita annual income of the people of Mississippi in 1946 was \$555—lowest of the 48 states."

The Stalinist Deceit About a "Third Party"

Many workers, particularly the rank and file of the Communist Party, are being deceived by Stalinist "third party" talk. They think the CP leaders are aiming toward a genuinely independent new party, opposed to the two major capitalist parties and their candidates.

Recent statements of Stalinist leaders make clear their real aims. Their conception of a third party is a coalition of what they call "all progressive forces" to force petty concessions from the old party politicians, particularly the Democrats, in return for support to these capitalist political agents.

Even this conception of a "third party" may be abandoned if the Stalinists think it may further antagonize those sections of the trade union bureaucracy, like the Murray machine in the CIO, with whom the Stalinists are desperately attempting to collaborate.

The devious position of the Stalinists has been put most crassly by Robert Thompson, N.Y. State Secretary of the Communist Party, in his Aug. 14 Daily Worker article: "Unity of Progressives—and 1948."

Here he reassures the pro-Truman "progressives" that, come what may, the Stalinists will go down the line with them in support of the author of the infamous Truman Doctrine in the 1948 presidential elections. And specifically, the Stalinist-dominated American Labor Party in New York State may be counted on to back the Democratic national slate.

Thompson writes that the "reactionary circles in New York political life" are "atwitter with hope" that the "progressive forces are about to split and disintegrate in the face of the many complex problems posed by the approaching 1948 elections."

Thompson admits that the "progressives" are indeed faced with "many difficult problems" and "important differences of opinion." The chief problem and difference is the question of "a third presidential ticket in 1948." According to Thompson, this is the rock on which the Republicans expect the "unity of the progressive camp will founder." But the CP is going to fool them.

There are two main trends among the "progressives," says Thompson, and these happen to be neatly divided pro and con on the most decisive issue before the American people, the Truman Doctrine of war preparation against the Soviet Union and Wall Street conquest of the globe.

"Most progressive" of the "progressives" are "growing adherents of the 'Wallace for President' camp," the most vociferous being the Stalinists themselves. But Thompson admits there is another "main trend of progressives" that has been "temporarily confused by the demagoguery of the Truman veto (of Taft-Hartley Act) and the Marshall Plan." This trend, representing most of the trade union leaders, is getting ready to plunk for Truman in '48.

Do these two trends represent "irreconcilable currents" among the "progressives"? Thompson answers his own question with "a categorical—NO."

If the Republicans think that they can split the "progressives" by "attempting to identify the third party movement in New York and elsewhere solely with the prospects of a third presidential ticket in 1948," they are in for a rude shock, as far as the Stalinists are concerned.

"Progressives under no circumstances should fall for this maneuver of reaction," advises Thompson. And "irrespective of the final conclusions which the progressive camp arrives at with regard to the 1948 presidential ticket," the "progressives" must stick together.

In short, the Stalinists are prepared to continue the ten-year policy of the A.L.P. in corraling votes for Tammany Hall. And on the national arena, they are prepared to "build the third party movement" by supporting Truman—anti-Soviet war-monger, initiator of the Hitler-like "loyalty purge" and front-man for the big city bosses, Southern Bourbons and Wall Street imperialists.

"Per Capita" Incomes Another Boss Lie

By Jeff Thorne

Capitalists are past masters at making true figures tell lies.

The Department of Commerce has just announced that the "per capita" income of Americans reached "a new high peak" of \$1,200 in 1946. *PM*, liberal N. Y. daily, put a typical headline on the account: "\$1,200 a Year for Each One of Us." That's a literal translation of "per capita."

That would mean \$3,600 to \$6,000 a year for each and every workers' family of 3 to 5 persons. But it's a lie. About 11 million families, including large ones, didn't even get the \$1,200 "average" of a single person. Only one out of four families got as much as \$3,000 in 1946.

The "per capita" method averages up the incomes of billionaires with those of the poorest Mississippi sharecroppers. It is true mathematics but a social lie.

Under capitalism there is no equal sharing of the good things of life. Quite the opposite. The workers who produce everything are forced by the profit system to "divide up" with the idle rich and their worthless retinue of hirelings whose sole activity is helping the rich to exploit the workers. The richer get richer, the poor relatively poorer, even when "average" incomes rise.

The "new high record" itself proves a dual upon examination. \$1,200 a year is more than double the \$575 "per capita" of 1940 and 9% higher than in 1945. But according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the cost of living rose 18% from 1945 to 1946, twice as fast as incomes rose. And food cost cost \$10 in 1941 now costs \$19.30. So the higher income, even if it were "for each person," is all eaten up by increased living costs. Millions of workers know they are no better off today than when they were WPA laborers.

If the government and the press wanted to tell us the truth about incomes, they could show that the largest share of the increase in incomes went into the pockets of the already dangerously rich.

On the same day of this report, the Federal Insurance Deposit Corporation made a separate report that the nation's insured banks made the highest "earnings" on record in 1946. These were certainly not shared "per capita" by all of us. But neither report mentioned that. Also, on the same day, corn rose 50 cents a bushel to an all-time high of \$2.52. Wheat and oats jumped more than 20 cents. There go more slices off workers' incomes; bigger grabs for speculators and food trust.

However, there are some vital truths for workers in the government figures. "All 15 southern states," according to the report, "were among the 16 states in the nation with the lowest average." Mississippi of Bilbo and Rankin fame had the lowest incomes of all, \$555, only one-third of the New York average.

Southern Jim Crow, white supremacy, anti-unionism and other forms of the worst suppression go hand in hand with the lowest standards of living. (That's even with the southern Bourbons' incomes averaged in with the lowest.)

The only real gains the workers are making under capitalism is their increasing solidarity, the growing strength of unions, the rising consciousness of this proven might. The same might organized into independent political action could throw off the blood-sucking capitalists and their political agents.

Only then can the workers really share what they produce, equitably among themselves. Only the workers' and farmers' own government will be able to honestly report "per capita" incomes. The first step is labor's own political party, based on the mass labor unions.

Workers' Forum

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant." Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you want your name printed.

What Is Your Opinion On Running Serials In "The Militant"?

Editor:

Would it be possible to run serially in *The Militant* a novel or an autobiography of interest to the readers?

It appears to me that there is not yet enough in the paper for the new reader who is just being introduced to revolutionary Socialist ideas; not enough to attract them. *The Militant* is still too heavy in this respect.

I have in mind particularly something like Mother Jones' famous autobiography. As a matter of fact, that is my first choice. It is very readable and entertaining. It introduces the reader to a remarkable class-struggle fighter and includes within it a sketch of many great struggles of the American workers. But it is secondary whether or not this book is chosen; there are many other good ones.

Harry Frankel
Youngstown, Ohio

Editorial Note: What do other readers think of this suggestion? If you like the idea, perhaps you too have a first choice. After hearing from other readers, *The Militant* will decide what it will do about this suggestion.

Count It Out in Cents To Show How Much It Costs the Workers

Editor:

Last week one of my friends came to me when he received his copy of *The Militant* in which Albert Parker broke the war tax down into itemized pennies in the article "That's Where My Money Goes."

He was all excited; told me not to fail to read the article. The next day he came in with it in his shirt pocket and told me he was hanging it up on an improvised bulletin board we have.

I have often noticed in the past how workers seem to be able to see where they are being fleeced out of pennies whereas they are simply unable to see where they are being fleeced out of dollars.

Upon reflection I can recall my grandfather telling me as a boy that workers receive only 17¢ out of each dollar earned. Perhaps I came to my present perspective in a similar manner.

I just received the bundle of *Militants* I get every week to distribute to my friends. It certainly is a great edition. The clarity with which Comrade James P. Cannon writes in regard to Armour's letter on Indonesian

H. C.
Cincinnati, Ohio

Comes to Defense Of Treasury Dept.

Editor:

I cannot believe that reader N. J. was quite fair when he declared that the bond-selling program of the Treasury Department was as "honest as Hitler."

Reader N. J. says that inflation is robbing the public of the benefits of the well-known 4-for-3 bond deal. Thus the deal is dishonest, he says.

However, there is more to this than meets the eye. If we bought goods with our money in a shortage market, we would only drive prices up and cause the value of our money

to shrink. If we put it in a bank, we would still find that inflation was robbing us of the actual value of the money; and we would only get from 1½% to 2% interest. If we just stuck the money in an old flour sack or sock, it would still be subject to inflationary fluctuations, and we would not even receive interest on it.

The people who write the Treasury Department's advertising blurbs have no more to do with price fluctuations that detract from the purchasing power of our dollars than you or I. To accuse them, therefore, of a deliberate plot to steal money from the public by the use of fraudulent advertising claims appears to me to be in the worst of possible bad taste—and untrue in the bargain!

Bart Lanier Stafford, III
New York, N. Y.

Surprised to See Home Town Name In "Militant Army"

Editor:

Having been a reader of *The Militant* and a follower of the Marxist movement for three years, it is of some interest to me who reads and subscribes to the paper.

Imagine my surprise when in your July 28 issue I find in the "Militant Army" column a subscriber J. W. C. from Kewanee, Ill., my home town, the place of my birth and early boyhood days.

I intend to pay a short visit to my dad and mother there, and of course I intend to pay J. W. C. a visit also.

J. E. U.
Chicago, Ill.

Questions Description Of Legion Convention

Editor:

"Legion Convenes Today on Key-note of New War Peril," says the headline in the Aug. 28 *Daily Mirror*. This paper's lead story begins:

"The American Legion opens its 28th annual national convention here today in an atmosphere supercharged with a growing fear that another war is in the making unless America toughens its international policy and backs it up with the largest military force on earth."

I don't think that description is quite accurate. The only fear I've seen is on the part of hotel owners, shop keepers and New York pedestrians.

The hotel owners cleared out everything capable of being tossed out of a window, including pillows and telephone books. They left the Gleason bibles, figuring maybe they can be replaced without hurting profits.

Some of the Times Square shops boarded up their plate glass windows. As for the pedestrians, their best bet when they see a gang of Legionnaires is to get off the street—but fast.

Otherwise they're in danger of being deafened by a hand siren, drenched with ice water from a water pistol, burned by a two-foot cigar, shocked by an electrified cane or hit by an empty whiskey bottle.

The atmosphere is "supercharged" alright—but not with anything a street sweeper's broom and cart can't take care of.

InGgnant,
New York City

Accuse White Oil Man Of Raping Negro Girl

Editor:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People reports a shocking case in Meridian, Miss. James Lee Perry, a wealthy oil dealer, is said to have offered a Negro girl a job as baby sitter at 70¢ an hour while he and his wife attended an evening rodeo. The girl, Mrs. Ruby Attee Pigford, agreed to accompany Perry in his car from her mother's home.

When they came to a roadhouse, Perry tried to get her to go with him inside. She became frightened and refused. This infuriated the oil dealer.

According to the story Mrs. Pigford later related from a hospital bed, Perry beat her until she lost consciousness. Then he raped her.

He bound her, tied her to the back of his car and dragged her along a dirt road before finally taking her back home.

NAACP officials in Meridian are trying to arouse public opinion sufficiently to guarantee prosecution. But prospects of any action against the white racist appear slim although it was learned he has been asked to post \$500 bond.

D. B.
New York, N. Y.

Tells About Budenz In Auto-Lite Strike

Editor:

I read the articles that Comrade Cannon presented about the reactionary intellectuals in the movement once who became traitors to the cause of building a socialist society.

These articles should be of great educational value. I enjoyed reading them, for in the year 1934 at the Auto-Lite strike in Toledo, Ohio, Louis Budenz was carrying a sign: "1776-1934-1946 What?"

In my opinion the only contribution Budenz made to the strike was this sign.

The year of 1934 was a great year for Toledo, Ohio, and for Minneapolis, Toledo, from an unorganized city, which was one of the worst economically in the country because of the capitalist breakdown, became the best organized union city in the United States.

Those men like Budenz, Burnham do a great deal of harm to the organizations of labor. But the lessons labor gains will enable the workers to recognize the enemy. Labor will be able to prevent the capitalists from enslaving the workers in a fascist, totalitarian state government.

I give my thanks and respect to the comrades who, through their classes on Marxism, gave me the desire to be in the battle to build a civilized society where human rights are given first consideration instead of private property rights.

Paul Kolinski
San Francisco, Calif.

Sorry Pension Slash Prevents Contribution

Editor:

Please renew my sub to *The Militant*, as I note it has expired. I am sorry I can't contribute to the fund to help out on the printing bill. They cut my pension \$10 last month with further cuts to come and prices still rising on what we buy.

J. M. B.
Seattle, Wash.

Why Some Mothers Can't Stay Home to Take Care of Children

A report of the U. S. Children's Bureau issued Aug. 24 gives a graphic picture of the difficult problems facing working class mothers and fathers threatened with the closure of the remaining child care centers.

"What will you do about your children if the centers close?" was the question asked parents using the public day care centers in the San Francisco area.

Twenty-five percent of the mothers, according to the report, said they would have to quit work. They added, "But I don't know how we'll be able to live with prices what they are my husband does not bring home enough for us to make ends meet. With both of us working we barely manage."

Fifteen percent, or one out of six, said they would have to go "on relief."

Another 20% answered that they would try to get a neighbor or friend to look after the child, but "you can't count on them and anyway it is an imposition." In some cases the older children would have to take over the responsibility; in others, an aged relative—and a "70-year-old woman can't very well look after a 3-year-old child."

SHIFT FOR THEMSELVES

Still another 20% of the mothers said the children would have to look after themselves, for "I've got to work and I can't afford to hire some one to come in while I'm away."

A few said they would try to find a foster home or boarding home, but they hated to give up the care of their own children.

What type of parents need these government-sponsored child care centers? One-third of the mothers were the sole support of the family. Some were widows, some were divorced, some had been deserted.



In still other cases the husband was unable to work.

Of the other two-thirds, half were veterans' wives and they had to work until the family could get on its feet. In many cases the husband and father was attending school under the GI bill, or he was in training for a job. In most cases, though, it was the familiar story of a veteran unable to find a decent job.

Their wives had to help out, often under extremely difficult living conditions. They were forced to live in makeshift quarters that were "no fit place to bring up children."

STRUGGLE TO LIVE

Some were trying to manage in hotel rooms—"the only place we've been able to find." Some were in drab furnished rooms. Some were in the slums—"the only chance our child has for fresh air and sunshine, and quiet, is at the day care center."

Not all were veterans' families. Many who answered the question-

naire needed the extra money the women earned so they could pay doctor and hospital bills—a frequent reason given for why the mother had to work.

Some had a crippled child whose care was expensive. Some were trying to keep up payments on a house—"we've put so much into it we hate to give up now." Some were working so their children could finish high school—"it takes money to send a boy or girl to high school these days."

All the answers were alike in one refrain—"it costs so much to live with prices the way they are." The combined wage of \$40 a week or so that a few years ago would have seemed munificent was barely enough to keep a roof over their heads and food on the table.

"We just couldn't manage if I didn't work," mothers wrote.

STRUGGLING BRAVELY

The answers to the questionnaire, said Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief of the U. S. Children's Bureau, show "what countless families are up against as they try to hold their own in the face of rising prices, the housing shortage, and the general disruption of normal living brought about by the war."

"What comes through, in answer after answer, is a picture of a brave and admirable lot of men and women, trying as best they can to hold a home against work-a-day odds that constantly threaten to defeat them."

The parents who use the day care centers, she added, "are not passing off their responsibility to the community." Instead they are doing more than their share. They do a good part of a day's work before they go to work, and then do another day's work after they have punched the timeclock or closed the office desk. They do this, day in and day out, because that is the way, and the only way they can keep their family together. Without the day care centers they could not manage.

THE MILITANT ARMY

How Harry of Los Angeles Got 10 Subs In Half Hour

The Los Angeles Local campaign to get *Militant* subscriptions added 41 new readers to our mailing list this week. The comrades of Unit A, Southside Branch, accounted for 24 of these subs. The San Pedro Branch sent in 9 subs, Westside Branch sent four, and four came through the Local office.

This is the report Ed Smith sent with the 24 subs from Unit A, Southside Branch: "These are the results of the work done by the comrades during the past week, with the help of a very talented comrade from Unit B who helped us out in today's sub-getting. The comrade from Unit B managed to get the phenomenal total of 10 subs in about 30 minutes, while during the same time (on the other side of the street), Eugene P. and I managed to sell one sub and no sub, respectively."

"This record," says Comrade Smith, "seems all the more astounding to me because Harry, the comrade from Unit B is the direct opposite from what one ordinarily considers a good salesman. He is neither outspoken nor of a very forward nature. Rather he is a worker at Consolidated Steel, and I would consider him just that. He utilizes the resentment of the average Negro toward the Hearst press in his approach, stressing the need for reading a worker's paper, doesn't waste any time with any particular person, and gets marvelous results, while Eugene and I hold discourses on socialism, get into discussions and spend a lot of time."

George LeCompte, Branch Agent for Philadelphia Literature of the Socialist Workers Party, explains: "As you have probably read by now, we have just completed our campaign to get on the ballot here in Philly. It was a pretty tough job and by the time we were through, everyone was worn to a frazzle. While we were out getting signatures on the petitions, work on subs almost stopped completely. All the subs included here were gotten in our headquarters. There are 10 *Militant* subs and one F. I. sub."

E. Brent, Literature Agent for Detroit, informs us that she has asked to be relieved of her post. Comrade Brent has been an A-1 *Militant* Manager and even though she can no longer handle the bulk of the literature work in Detroit, taking care of subscribers is so much in her blood that she plans "to make it a point to come down to the headquarters every Tuesday just before branch meeting to carry on" with some of the work.

F. Lester, Agent in San Francisco, mailed in 11 subs sold during the week by the comrades. She sent no remarks.

YOUTH ACTIVITIES

AKRON — Socialist Youth Club meets Fridays, 7 p.m. Followed by refreshments, dancing, 8 South Howard St., 2nd floor.

CHICAGO — 777 W. Adams, 2nd floor.

NEW YORK — 116 University Pl., Tele. GR. 5-8149 for information. Class in Marxism, Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Fridays Open Forums, 8 p.m. Sundays Hikes, Beach Parties.

For information about Queens Youth Group, write M. Kevin, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3.

PHILADELPHIA — For information call ST. 4-5820, from noon to 6 p.m.

Rena Breshi, Boston's Literature Agent, sent in 5 subs—no comment

Hot weather and vacations have really hit sub-getting. El Snyder of Flint explains that "with summer vacations going full force here, it's hard on sub-getting. The comrades are getting a few in the shops. Two subs are enclosed."

Cool weather will probably bring an increase in subs. The Lynn Branch, for instance, plans "to go ahead on sub work immediately." Literature Agent, A. Travis, says that "The weather has been so warm that we haven't kept up on our sub work. The two subs enclosed were sold by a comrade on the beach."

Grace Carlson, Organizer of Minneapolis Branch, reports that "I am sending a mailing of sample copies of *The Militant* to a number of individuals outside the Twin Cities. These are names of people who attended a Farmers' Union meeting here sometime ago." Two new one-year subs to *The Militant* is the result to date — one from Eveleth, Minn., and one from New Salem, N. D.

The branches are utilizing issues of *The Militant* carrying articles of special interest to the workers in their area. Detroit ordered an additional 500 copies of the August 4 issue dealing with the Wayne County Convention in Detroit.

Philadelphia ordered an additional 500 copies of the August 11 issue containing the stories about their filing petitions for councilman and about the rent hearing.

PIONEER NOTES

Two new pamphlets, *American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism* by James P. Cannon (15c), and *Fight the Slave Labor Law!*, a statement of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party (5c), have been distributed to most of the party branches. Already good sales reports are coming in.

Central Branch of New York took 15 copies of the *Stalinism* pamphlet, to a Yorkville street meeting the night it arrived from the print shop. All were quickly sold, along with 10 copies of *Build a Labor Party Now!* and 40 *Militants*.

When Pittsburgh ordered its first shipment of the same pamphlet, Justine Lang reported, "We already have an order for 10 copies from a steel worker who saw the sample copy you sent us."

Many branches ordered from two to five times the quotas estimated at the Pioneer office. The attractive blue cover, designed by Jean Morgan, enhances the sales appeal of the pamphlet.

Fight the Slave Labor Law! is the first 5c pamphlet Pioneer has been able to issue for many months. The price was kept down by every possible economy for a speedy and wide distribution of this timely program. It has a cover and center spread cartoon, both by Evelyn Atwood.

Order these pamphlets from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

The Magnificent Fighter

A Tribute to the Memory Of Leon Trotsky

By BARRIE BARNARDE



Never, since history began,
Was such a struggle waged by man,
Nor so much won as in the span
He fought.

A tortured world of misery
Writhed round him; scourged with calumny,
To liberate humanity
He fought.

Against innumerable odds,
Deep disillusionment, the squads
Of fascists, and the labor frauds,
He fought.

The rampant chauvinistic flood
Stained not his banner with its mud;
To keep it red as workers' blood
He fought.

His struggle stamps the finest page
In labor's glorious heritage;
Foremost of Marx's lineage
He fought.

And we, through him who bathed in day
Our eyes, and steered our red array,
Shall triumph, if we fight the way
He fought.

Wall Street's Role in UN Angers Egyptian Relief

The people of Egypt have become thoroughly aroused over the way Wall Street is bolstering the despotic sway of British imperialism in their land.

At a giant demonstration in Cairo, Aug. 22, one of principal slogans shouted was, "Down with the traitor United States!"

Egypt is demanding the complete withdrawal of British troops and an end to British rule in the Sudan, key area controlling the Nile river. In the UN where Egypt has sought action, the United States delegates have persistently backed the British despot.

The Cairo police tried to break up the demonstration. To their previous slogan, the demonstrators added a new one: "Down with the traitorous Egyptian police!"

Mounted police charged the crowd. They were dragged from their horses and beaten with their own clubs. The police thereupon withdrew to wait for reinforcements.

The demonstrators surged toward the center of the city, indicating

their feelings by breaking shop and trolley-car windows.

When the crowd reached the square in front of Abdin Palace, the police reappeared. They began firing, at first over the heads of the 5,000 demonstrators and then directly into the packed mass of people. One was killed; 75 wounded.

Meanwhile in New York, two Egyptian nationalists who flew to America a few weeks ago succeeded in throwing the UN Security Council into turmoil when they stood among the spectators and began shouting against British occupation of Egypt. Guards rushed them out; but no charges were filed against them. It was the first such demonstration to occur before the UN.

San Francisco SWP Opens New Quarters

SAN FRANCISCO — Beginning Sept. 1 the local branch of the Socialist Workers Party will be located at its new headquarters, 1739 Fillmore St., 4th floor, San Francisco 15.

In moving to the larger quarters, in the heart of the most congested working class area of the city, the branch expects to play an increasing role in the workers' struggles here.

Comrades and friends of the branch are now busy moving, building and painting the new place. When completed it will include a spacious meeting hall, library, committee room, office and kitchen. As soon as the quarters are ready a new and expanded program of activities will be announced.

Flint Unionists Honor Memory Of Leon Trotsky

FLINT, Mich., Aug. 18—An overflow meeting of auto workers tonight paid tribute to the memory of Leon Trotsky on the seventh anniversary of his death. The meeting was sponsored by the Flint branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

William F. Warde, National Educational Director of the SWP, gave an inspiring address on the significance of Trotsky's ideas and program in the American labor struggle.

Using Flint as his example, the speaker outlined the rise of the American labor movement from disorganization to unionization and of the necessity now of further development in the field of independent labor political action.

The audience responded generously to the collection talk of Genora Dollinger by contributing \$25 to the work of spreading Trotsky's ideas.

You May Not Get Your "Militant"

—if your address does not contain the postal zone number! Check the address label on the front of this *Militant*. If it does not show your zone number, notify us at once.

Send your full, correct address, including zone number, to:
The Militant
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers at these Local Activities of THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

AKRON—2nd floor, 8 S. Howard St. Open Mon. through Friday, 3 to 5 p.m.; Saturdays 2 to 4 p.m.

BOSTON—30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Tuesdays 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone Madison 3960. Open every afternoon except Sunday.

CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Phone Dearborn 4767. Library, bookstore.

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

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave., phone TY. 7-6267. Open Monday through Saturday, 12 to 5 p.m. Current events forum and open house, Saturday from 8 p.m.

FLINT—215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3, Mich. Open Monday through Friday, 5 to 9 p.m.

LOS ANGELES—Militant publishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.

SAN PEDRO—Militant publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

LYNN, Mass.—44 Central Square, Room 11. Discussion every Tuesday 7:30 p.m.; open Saturdays 1-5 p.m.

MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5th St., open 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily except Sunday. Phone Main 7781. Library, bookstore.

SUNDAY FORUMS, 3:30 p.m.

NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open 1st and 3rd Monday, 7:30-9:30 p.m. Sunday forums, 2nd and 4th of month, 8:30 p.m.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Library and reading room open week nights, 7-10 p.m.

Friday night forum, 8:30.

NEW YORK CITY HQ., 116 University Place, GR. 5-8149.

HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St. Room 23. MO. 2-1866. Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.

BROOKLYN: 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TI 2-0101.

BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433.

CHELSEA: 130 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.

OAKLAND, Cal.—Meetings Wednesday, Odd Fellows Temple, 410-11th St. For information write to P.O. Box 1351.

PHILADELPHIA—1304-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily, Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 5820.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor.

Open Forum 2nd and 4th Mondays 7:30-9:30 p.m.

Marxist Study Class every Thursday 7-9 p.m. 1418 Fifth Ave.

SAN DIEGO—Headquarters 432 F St., R. 213. Open Tuesdays, Thursdays & Saturday, 1 to 5 p.m.; Monday, Wednesday & Friday, 7 to 9 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore St., 4th floor, San Francisco 15. Open noon to 4:30 p.m. except Sunday.

SEATTLE—1919½ Second Ave. Open 10:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. Mon. through Fri., 12 to 5 p.m. Sat. Phone SE 0453. Library, bookstore.

Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

"That Agony Is Our Triumph"

By Theodore Kovalsky

August 22, 1927. Just twenty years ago . . . Two men sat on their narrow prison cots, waiting. The day drew to a close, and evening deepened. Outside the prison walls a New England city stirred, and with it the pulse of millions all over the world, millions who believed in freedom, in truth and justice.

The two men sat and waited. For seven long years they had been waiting, and the time was almost up.

How many kinds of crimes are there? What is crime?

We can look into heavy law books, we can listen to lawyers and legislators. We can hear about murder and robbery and embezzlement and bigamy. We can scan the lurid "comic" books with their depraved criminals and their cloaked and masked demi-gods that fly through the air to bring justice to the wicked ones.

But who will tell us, and where will we read, that it is a crime to say that war and poverty and exploitation are evils that man should remove from the world? What law is it that states that truth and justice and liberty are undesirable and that those who fight for these ideals are criminals?

The two men who sat in the New England prison that night twenty years ago, hemmed in by a cordon of police and militia, by a bristling ring of steel and searchlights, were guilty of being seekers of truth, fighters for liberty, enemies of poverty; and they were guilty of nothing else.

True, the state had made other accusations. Perhaps they had looked for laws against truth-seekers and had found none. Perhaps they had considered passing laws to make it a crime to be against poverty and war. But whatever they thought, they knew there were laws against murder and robbery. So, knowing full well that these two men had never murdered, never robbed in their lives, the rulers of the state had them arrested, tried, and found guilty of murder and robbery. But nobody was fooled. Everybody knew why the two men were arrested, why condemned to die: they believed in freedom and truth, while the government was — and still is — founded upon just the opposite of such ideals!

The night grew darker and shaded into blackness. In the two cells of the death-house there were no moans, no trembling supplications. The priest had come and been sent away with his wares unsampled. For here were two soldiers of the working class about to lay down their lives in battle. Here were no cowards weeping tears of terror, no repentant brigands.

No, here was no repentance: "If it had not been for this thing," said one of them, the elder, "I might have lived out my life, talking at street corners to scornful men. I might have died, unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life can we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man, as we do now, by accident."

"Our words — our lives — our pains — nothing! The taking of our lives — lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler — all! That last moment belong to us — that agony is our triumph!"

Listen again to those words from the deep-eyed man with the walrus moustache. There is no regret there. Nor was there repentance in the words of his companion, writing to his little daughter: "The men of this dying old society brutally have pulled me away from the embrace of your brother and your mother. But in spite of all, the free spirit of your father's faith still survives!"

The minutes dropped one by one into the void that awaited the two men.

Midnight came. The cells were opened. The executioner, that official so necessary in the retinue of tyrants, did his work.

The long years of waiting were done. The sacrifice was made.

That was twenty years ago, and we have not forgotten. When the people finally take control of the land and of their own destinies, these two shall not be forgotten then either. For they gave their lives in the fight; and, enshrined in the hearts of the workers, the militants, the fighters for truth, for freedom and plenty, will live the names of those two valiant martyrs, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

Let us always take heart, comrades, from their example.

The Negro Struggle

Something New Must Be Added

By Albert Parker

This week we return again to the question of political action, and the need for the Negro organizations to break completely with Democratic, Republican and "non-partisan" politics and to join with the labor movement in the building of an independent labor party. For such action is the key to the next big step in the struggle against Jim Crow.

As Negro militants are well aware, the struggle for equality is now passing through a crisis on a national scale. During the latter part of the war and then following it, the Negro people were in an upsurge. This period coincided roughly with the great postwar strike struggles of the labor movement, when the white workers too showed inspiring militancy and solidarity. Organizations like the NAACP doubled and tripled their membership. The masses were ready to fight against the cause of their misery, and they were looking for leadership in that fight.

But nothing definitive came out of this period. A few gains were won in some places, a few setbacks were recorded in others, but on the whole the situation added up to a stalemate. Today there is a great deal of questioning going on, questioning and sober thinking. Recruitment in Negro organizations has somewhat slackened. People are thinking over the record of the 80th Congress, the passage of anti-labor legislation, the state of international political relations and the threat of war two years after V-J Day.

They are physically tired by the rat race to keep up with the rising cost of living.

They are still looking for a way out of present conditions. They are still looking for leadership. But they have the feeling now that the old methods are not enough, that something new must be added if real progress is to be made. And that feeling is completely justified.

The plain and simple fact is that the enemies of the Negro people—that is, the capitalist class which promotes and benefits from Jim Crow—have political power. With such power, the capitalists are able by and large to keep things the way they are—whether it is a question of wiping out wage gains or of by-passing the nation-wide demand for anti-lynching legislation. And as the 80th Congress proved, the capitalists are able to hold on to their political power no matter which of the two dominant parties is in office.

To fight for Negro equality and to ignore politics is like butting your head against a stone wall. In the end you will have only a sore head, a tired feeling, a sense of further frustration. And the stone wall will still be there.

The Negro struggle is a many-sided fight, and it must be fought on all fronts. But in the final analysis the fight will be won on the economic and social fronts only when it is supplemented by militant, anti-capitalist action on the political front. A clear understanding of this fact will rearm and reinspire Negro militants everywhere and prepare them for their places in the coming battles for a better world.

Little Orphan Annie

By Mary Wood

Little Orphan Annie has a great big job. Day after day she's hard at work in the comic strips, toiling like mad and spouting off her views on life. She never manages to be comical; she never even manages to be human. Yet for drawing her, Harold Gray pulls in tens of thousands of dollars in royalties.

Once in a while I take a look at the strip, to see what Gray is doing to earn his fat income. Lately he has been glorifying that ignoble creature known as the scab.

Little Orphan Annie is diligently taking over a job because its former holder wanted higher pay. Annie was indignant. Imagine treating the poor boss like that! The boss is always, according to Gray, a hard-working soul who sacrificed "everything" to get where he is. He is generous enough to "give" somebody a job. Anyone who doesn't appreciate the chance to work for him is an ingrate, and probably a "foreign agitator" with a beard and bomb.

Annie is the super-propagandist of free enterprise. For over 30 years she has dedicated her life to promoting the most crude demands of the capitalist class. She's for big profits. She's for war when it suits the capitalists. She's against unions, high wages and social security. Any laws that protect women and children in industry, drive her into a frenzy. Periodically she gets onto her favorite topic, the benefits of child labor, reviling as a "busybody" anyone who thinks children belong in schools instead of factories.

The Big Business moguls who promote Annie hope that a daily dose of her poison will make future slaves of the workers' children. They figure that it's bound

to have some effect in the long run. And to some degree, it does work out that way. We've all met a few "me-first" apple-polishers who were thoroughly poisoned by boss ideas. Of course it isn't only Annie who spouts them—our whole school system, the movies, and every medium of capitalist miseducation repeat the same thing.

But by and large, Annie is failing to do her job. There are very few people today who believe in child labor—they know too well what it means in health and growth. They know also that the bosses want child labor for only one reason—to cut wages to less than a man can live on.

Annie's current attempt to make scabs look noble will also fail. Workers can't be tricked or beaten out of the unions that mean a road to better living. In the last strike wave, workers' wives and children took a turn on the picket line because they knew the unions were protecting the whole family. This great unity among the workers will grow. Instead of fighting each other, as Annie preaches at them to do, the workers unite against the bosses.

And Annie's final failure will serve her right! She is waging a losing battle in the campaign to save the capitalist system. She can't win, because real life is teaching her readers, young and adult, that "free enterprise" means hunger, homelessness and misery. They will find the road to the socialist world of peace and abundance—Little Orphan Annie notwithstanding.

(Reprinted from mid-August Labor Challenge, Canada)

Notes from the News

LIBERAL HOPEFUL — Upon the opening of the American Legion national convention, which bristled with anti-Soviet war talk, liberal ex-Mayor LaGuardia of New York wrote: " . . . if there is one group of people or one organization that can keep our country out of war, it is the American Legion."

NAME NOT PROPER — The "Repeal Taft-Hartley Act" sponsoring a full slate of candidates for seven Washington County (Pa.) offices, has been challenged by county officials for having an improper name for a party.

WHO SPURS HOPES? — Nearly 100 German scientists, spurred on by the hope of an ultimate revenge on Russia, are working untiringly at Wright and Patterson army air fields to help the Army Air Force plan its sky fleets of the future.—North American Newspaper Alliance.

LABOR HATERS STRIKE GOLD—Hartley (N.J.) and Ball (Minn.) and other Republican sponsors of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law, are collecting up to \$1,000 a speech explaining the law to business groups.

UNIONISTS FLOGGED—James P. Harden, UAW-CIO organizer, is suing city officials and businessmen of Elba, Ala., for \$50,000 for a beating he suffered last December. CIO Organizer Wilbur Gupton and wife were beaten up recently at LaGrange, Ga.

SCORE CAPITAL JIM CROW—AFL Actors Equity Association has won a new contract with the League of New York Theaters providing that no actor be required to perform at the National Theater in Washington, D.C., if the theater continues to bar Negroes.

BRASS MULTIPLIES: The 80th Congress authorized an increase of almost 400% in the number of permanent generals and admirals—from 157 to 529.

THE MILITANT

Drive to Free James Hickman Gains Wide Support in Chicago

Mass Picket Line Forces Michigan Boss to Sign Up

Author of Taft-Hartley Act Asks 'Investigation'

CLINTON, Mich., Aug. 23 —The first serious union counter-offensive to the back-to-work movements organized by employers of this area in recent strikes has come to a successful conclusion.

Militant mass picketing by thousands of CIO auto workers mobilized from surrounding cities in one day halted attempts of Don Thomas, head of the Clinton Machine Co., to smash UAW picket lines by violence and forced him to sign a union agreement.

Unfortunately, even this demonstration of labor solidarity was marred by the factional conduct of the contending power cliques in the top UAW leadership, the Reuther and the Addes-Thomas factions.

The Reutherites who had the responsibility for this particular strike attempted to make it a straight factional venture. No serious effort was made to involve locals in the Addes-Thomas camp, such as Ford Local 600 with its large Flying Squadron and resources.

PICKET BY FACTIONS

Each faction turned out its pickets separately; the Reutherites mobilized from 700 to 1,000 for the morning demonstration. The Addes-Thomas faction turned out more than 2,000 in the mid-afternoon and publicly announced that if no settlement was immediately reached the scabs in the plant would be dragged out by 9 p.m.

It was in this atmosphere of factional conflict and rivalry that the settlement took place. The settlement provided a 10-cent hourly raise instead of the 8 cents previously offered by the company and a slight improvement in the bonus system. But it is apparent that better terms could have been gained if a stronger attitude had been taken by the negotiators.

Nevertheless, the success of the UAW in routing the strikebreakers here by mobilizing the auto militants from the surrounding areas, has demonstrated how back-to-work strikebusting attempts can be defeated.

In the light of this successful action it can be better seen how weak and cowardly was the conduct of the UAW leaders in the Allis-Chalmers strike which was far better situated from the point of view of rallying a fighting force to route the would-be scabs.

It is clear from developments since the end of the Clinton strike that the struggle here marked only the opening phase of a new war

Scabs on Parade



After these scabs had crashed through a picket line at the Clinton (Mich.) Machine Co., UAW-CIO reinforcements isolated them in the plant and quickly forced the company to terms.

Federated Picture

between the bosses and workers in this area.

A similar back-to-work movement in Dow-Glac, Mich., has resulted in mass picketing there as well. This strike is more isolated than the Clinton walkout and Governor Sigler has instructed his state police to "smash the goons"—that is, break up the picket line.

Representative Hartley of New Jersey, co-author of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law, has asked Representative Clare Hoffman of Michigan, stooge of the auto corporations, to conduct an "investigation" into the strike here.

In a press statement, Hoffman hints that if prosecution under the Taft-Hartley Act fails to halt the union's resistance, then vigilante terror will be resorted to.

This can be expected to further arouse the ire of the auto workers and strengthen their determination to meet the latest grave threat to their union with united militant action.

3,000 Chicago Families Face Jim Crow Eviction

CHICAGO, Aug. 11—Three thousand Negro families in Chicago are faced with possible eviction from their homes overnight, with the full sanction of state and federal laws.

This threat to residents and home owners in various sections of the city comes from over 200 restrictive covenant agreements and deed restrictions against occupancy by Negroes which for several years have lain dormant and unenforced.

The spark that may set off a wave of mass evictions and wipe out the life savings of hundreds of Negro families may be a ruling by the Illinois Supreme Court upholding the legal enforceability of racial restrictions in property conveyances.

The "clear and present danger" in the situation was pointed out recently by Loring B. Moore, special counsel for the Chicago Branch of the NAACP in charge of restrictive covenant cases, in an interview with the Chicago Defender.

LULLED INTO FALSE SECURITY

"Many Negro Chicagoans have allowed themselves to be lulled into a sense of false security because of the fact that they have lived in their homes or the apartments which they rent unmolested. Yet, with the sharp competition for housing accommodations which exists in the city today, it is entirely within the realm of possibility that these

'sleeping dogs' in the form of dormant race restrictions on property occupancy may be suddenly enforced to oust Negroes from properties in many areas in which they have lived for a number of years," explained Attorney Moore.

Should this legal squeeze play take place, 3,000 families would be in a fruitless search of a place to live. There is no place in Chicago where the ousted families could move. Of the 155 square miles of area within the city limits south of North Ave., only 9½ square miles are without restrictions and occupied by Negroes "legally." This area is already heavily overcrowded. About 7½ square miles of the area are covered by restrictive covenants or deed restrictions, including many places now occupied by Negroes. The balance is mostly occupied by industrial properties.

There are widespread rumors in Chicago of a conspiracy by real estate operators, banks and business establishments to force Negroes out of the city into undeveloped and undesirable suburban areas. This was brought out in the City Council recently when attacks were made on the idea of constructing low cost public housing. The enforcement of dormant restrictive covenants could become a powerful weapon in conjunction with a butchering slum clearance program which makes no provision for rehousing Negro residents in the city.

RELIEF-FOR-LANDLORDS LAW OPENS FLOOD OF RENT HIKES

The relief-for-landlords law passed by the Democrats and Republicans in the last session of Congress is working out according to the plans of the real estate interests.

In the first five weeks of the act's operation 519,228 families felt compelled to sign leases boosting their rent 15%. Those are official figures released last week by the Office of Rent Control in Washington.

Tenants in the midwest area entering around Chicago were worst hit. The Office of Rent Control reported that 13.3% of all rental units under their jurisdiction in this area were affected by the 15% jump.

The average figure for the nation is lower — 3.3%. By the end of September, however, this leak in

the dyke will reach flood proportions, union and veterans' officials in Washington predicted.

The real estate interests are waging a high-pressure campaign to force or trick tenants into signing leases providing the "voluntary" 15% increase.

One of their tricks is to send tenants letters asking them if they do not agree that the landlord is entitled to a rent increase in view of the "satisfactory" services given despite rising costs. The tenant is then asked to sign the letter and return it. The signed letter is used by the landlord as proof that the tenant agrees to a rent boost.

Tenants are advised not to sign any such letters or leases agreeing to a "voluntary" increase in rent.

CHICAGO, Aug. 27—The campaign to free James Hickman gained momentum this week with the launching of a city-wide Hickman Defense Committee by labor, liberal and religious leaders. Hickman, a steel worker, is being held for trial on Sept. 29 on the charge of having murdered David Coleman, landlord of the firetrap building in which four of Hickman's children were burned to death.

Officers elected to the city-wide committee were: Chairman — Willoughby Abner, 1st vice-president of the Chicago CIO Industrial Union Council; Secretary — Bernes Johnson, chairman of the West Side NAACP Youth Council; Treasurer — Charles Chikulas, president of UAW-CIO Local 477.

Top ranking officers of state, regional and city CIO bodies were elected to the executive and advisory boards of the committee, as well as leaders of CIO auto, steel and transport service locals. AFL Retail Clerks Local 329, the NAACP, Committee of Racial Equality, and religious leaders of all denominations.

ALSO A HOUSING FIGHT

In a letter appealing for financial aid and expressions of support, the committee declared:

"James Hickman is in a fight for his life. Labor, liberal and progressive forces cannot stand aside from this fight, for there are deep-going social issues involved in it. The campaign to defend James Hickman's life is also a campaign to alleviate the scandalous housing conditions which led to this tragedy."

A mass meeting held in the West Side, scene of the tragic fire, was addressed by Willoughby Abner, Charles Chikulas, A. Mikjes Carlson as a representative of the NAACP, Michael Bartlett for the Socialist Workers Party, Katherine Norman of the Chicago Area Tenants Union, Bernes Johnson was chairman. The audience donated \$180 toward the work of the defense committee.

A conference will be held in the South Side this Friday to establish another neighborhood branch of the Hickman Defense Committee. Plans will be made for a fund-raising campaign, street corner meetings and a mass meeting.

A conference of Baptist ministers has voted full support to the case after hearing a report by Franklin Field for the committee, and has urged that collections be taken in all churches. Last Monday this conference donated \$200 toward the defense.

UNION PROMISES AID

The Progressive Steelworkers of America, independent union at the Wisconsin Steel Plant where both Hickman and his son are employed, has also promised support.

Appeals for support and contributions have been sent to every CIO and AFL local union in the city, all chapters of the American Veterans Committee and numerous other organizations. The University of Chicago chapter of the AVC is circulating collection sheets on the campus and meeting with good response.

Only a month remains before the opening of the trial, and a maxi-



JAMES HICKMAN

mum effort must be made to arouse mass public opinion on behalf of the fight to restore Hickman to what remains of his family.

The Hickman defense movement deserves the whole-hearted support of labor, Negro and progressive organizations not only in Chicago but everywhere in the country where workers are crowded together in dangerous firetrap quarters and where restrictive covenants bar Negroes from homes outside of the ghetto.

Such organizations are urged to adopt resolutions and to donate funds in order to further the defense movement. Copies of resolutions and financial aid should be sent to the Hickman Defense Committee at 4619 South Parkway, Chicago 15, Illinois.

Union Advocates Real Labor Party Not "Third" Party

The editors of the lively and informative Spicer Unit News published in Toledo by Spicer Unit, Local 12 of the CIO United Automobile Workers, hit the bull's eye in the Aug. 12 issue with a well-thought-out answer to the question, "Third Party or Labor Party?"

The editorial explains how Local 12 came to the conclusion two years ago that a Labor Party must be built, "a party which would support and elect candidates from our own ranks to legislative, judicial and executive offices."

Advocates of a "third" party, however, have a different view. "For example," declares the editorial, "they present as their champion and man to be 'leader,' Henry Wallace, a 'liberal' Democrat. This is the same Wallace who, as Secretary of Agriculture during the depression, brought forth a program of plowing under corn and killing of little pigs in order to keep prices up. . . .

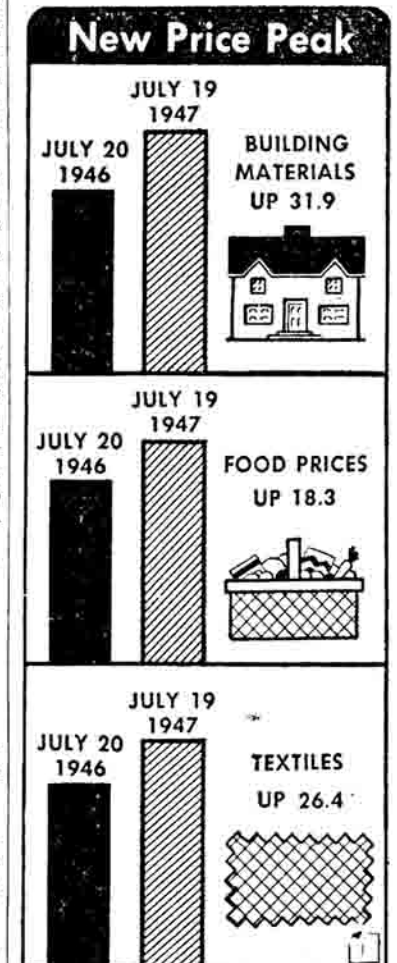
"Those who call for a 'third party' rather than a Labor Party," continues the editorial, "are merely asking that we place our political fate in the hands of another organization of the same type as the two we have tried and found wanting. They are asking us to forget the lessons of a generation of depressions and wars."

"It is rather for the labor movement to take the initiative in forming this new political organization. It is up to labor to draft its program and do the initial spadework. Once we take the initiative there will be plenty of Peppers and Wallaces to join the parade with their liberal friends. If we wait for them to take the lead while we tag along behind we will again find ourselves providing the power but not the direction. . . .

"Let us build our own political organization," concludes the editorial. "The best elements among the Democrats and Republicans will come to it. . . . We will then have a Labor Party and an anti-Labor Party (though it will not be called by that name). The choice will then be clear. There will no longer be a question of voting for a 'friend of labor' who inevitably turns out to be an enemy in disguise."

NEW YORK

ACEWR Housewarming
At New Headquarters of
American Committee for
European Workers Relief
Drinks Entertainment
Dancing Food
There's a Cool Terrace, too
Saturday, Sept. 13, 9 p. m.
130 W. 23rd St.



Charts show advance in wholesale prices to new postwar peak, as reported conservatively by U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Reading down: building materials up 31.9% over last year; food up 18.3% and textiles up 26.4%. Other figures, not shown, were hides and leather products up 24%; farm products up 14.6% and housefurnishings up 16.8%.

Federated Picture