

# THE MILITANT

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9

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## Which Road for PAC— Dayton or Allentown?

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# 'EAT LESS' SAY CAPITALIST POLITICIANS

## \$16,000 Militant Fund Drive Opens

By Rose Karsner

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR

With this issue, we launch the \$16,000 Militant Fund campaign to run until December 15. The Socialist Workers Party has assigned quotas to its branches, subject to acceptance or revision by its members.

Skyrocketing prices hit The Militant extremely hard. Toward the end of last year, our printing bill more than doubled. This forced a reduction from eight to six pages and retrenchments all along the line. Since then production costs have risen higher, eating up our reserves. With your help we can avert further retrenchments.

A list of the assigned quotas is printed on Page 5. The following 14 branches or locals have already voted to accept the figure printed: Akron, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Los Angeles, Lynn, Milwaukee, Newark, New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Seattle, Twin Cities and Youngstown. We have yet to hear from 16 branches. As soon as all the acceptances are in, we will begin printing the Score Board.

### GOOD BEGINNING

A good beginning has been made with the following branches sending in their first installments: Newark \$60; Buffalo \$75; Youngstown \$200.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party have sustained The Militant throughout the years, making many personal sacrifices in the spirit of an investment in the future. They have done so because they are convinced that The Militant fights for a better world.

In addition to pledges from their members for this special fund, the Socialist Workers Party branches will hold Militant Celebrations the week of November 9-15 which is the 19th anniversary of the founding of the paper.

### FROM THE BRANCHES

**MINNEAPOLIS**—Grace Carlson: At last night's branch meeting, we voted to accept the Twin Cities' quota of \$1,000. The Joint Executive Committee will meet to plan for the Militant Anniversary Celebration. We hope that the amount raised at this celebration will be an over-subscription of our quota. At last night's meeting, 12 comrades pledged \$445. We think that this is a good omen!

**MILWAUKEE**—J. O'Connell: The job will be a little tougher than last time, but we pledge ourselves to do our best to meet the assigned quota.

**CLEVELAND**—Almeda Kingley: We feel that \$250 is a very comfortable figure and may be able to go over this amount.

**EUREKA, Calif.**—Member-at-large: I accept the \$15 quota. Will

try to do better if I possibly can. We feel confident that in the present \$16,000 Militant Fund campaign, the Socialist Workers Party will, as in the past, raise the full amount. But we really need more than this sum. We want to raise enough money to relieve The Militant of financial worries and thus give them time to concentrate on improving the paper and expanding its circulation.

With this in mind, we are making a special appeal to The Militant readers to help on both fronts—editorial as well as financial. (See "Open Letter to Our Readers" on Page 5.) If our hopes for the kind of a response we expect from our readers come true, we will far exceed the \$16,000 and realize our dream of sailing along for the months ahead without worries.

## Packing Workers Advocate Sliding Scale of Wages

SO. ST. PAUL, Minn., Sept. 15—

The current issue of Workers' Outlook, organ of CIO United Packinghouse Workers Local 4, urges labor to fight for escalator wage clauses in all union contracts as "a real lever against inflation."

Such escalator clauses, based on the sliding scale principle, would require employers to raise wages automatically in direct proportion to rising living costs.

The Outlook recalls that the UPWA demanded such a clause in national negotiations last year in the form of a "cost-of-living bonus," but failed to press the demand.

"Had we been successful then in gaining this demand," says the Local 4 paper, "we would not be faced by such acute financial problems today. With each new month as the cost of living rose, we would have automatically received the increase in our pay checks."

Urging the whole labor movement to make the escalator clause a major demand in the fight on high prices, the Outlook observes that the big employers would not be so quick to boost prices "if it would mean having to pay their employees the increase in more wages."

## SWP Again Demands US Recall Arms

Cannon Answers Armour On Dutch War In Java

NEW YORK, Sept. 17—In a reply sent to the State Department today, James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, vigorously renewed the SWP's demand that the U. S. State Department immediately recall lend-lease equipment being used by the Dutch in their colonial war against the Indonesian Republic.

The SWP demand was pressed in response to a letter from Norman Armour, Assistant Secretary of State, who last week undertook a defense of the Truman administration's double-dealing policy on Indonesia, for the second time since the SWP protest was first made.

Armour's latest attempt at covering the State Department's bloody tracks admits in effect that the Dutch government had used lend-lease armaments in a manner "not contemplated in the original agreement." Yet, as Cannon points out, "the State Department still refuses to exercise its right to recapture this equipment, or even to voice a protest."

### DEAD ISSUE

The Assistant Secretary of State goes out of his way to make it appear that the issue is now a dead one. He refers to "the use of American lend-lease material by the Dutch forces in Indonesia PRIOR to the Dutch compliance with the cease-fire request issued by the Security Council of the United Nations."

But Cannon's reply makes it clear that this is an evasion, and nothing else: "Despite the Dutch 'compliance' with the cease-fire request of the U. N. Security Council, recent dispatches indicate that this war continues, with the Netherlands' forces continuing to employ lend-lease equipment, in exactly the same manner as before."

Repeating the demand for immediate recapture of this lend-lease material, Cannon's letter concludes: "The State Department cannot hope, by raising irrelevant issues, to evade its own share of responsibility for the crimes committed against the Indonesian people whose struggle for complete independence is supported by every champion of liberty in this country."

See Page 4 for an editorial and the full text of the latest exchange between the SWP and the State Department. See the Aug. 18 Militant for the text of the previous correspondence on this issue.

## Build a Labor Party NOW!



## NMU Progressives Fight For Democratic Unionism

By C. Thomas

The Sixth National Convention of the CIO National Maritime Union which will convene in New York City on Sept. 22 will be the first since the end of the war. In the two years that have elapsed since the last convention the union has been torn by a fierce internal struggle. The convention will mark an important stage in the development of that struggle.

The complete control exercised for years over the NMU by the Stalinists is being challenged by a strong opposition led by President Joseph Curran. This is the first serious opposition the Stalinists have faced in eight years. It developed out of a revolt against the wartime unconditional surrender program of the Communist Party which preaching and practiced the most shameless collaboration with the shipowners and their political agents in Washington.

### SLANDERED AND PURGED

The opposition first came out into the open in November 1945. It had been bottled up in the Stalinist-dominated National Council for almost a year without the membership being aware of the dispute. Individual oppositionists were slandered, smeared, framed and purged by the ruthless Stalinist machine.

Internal union democracy was interpreted to mean the right to

AGREE with the policy laid down by the Communist Party. Those who thought otherwise were made the target of a murderous attack. An instance of this brand of "democracy" occurred at the Fifth Convention in 1945 in the vote on the no-strike pledge. Four delegates at the convention voted against the no-strike resolution. The Stalinists were infuriated. They demanded a unanimous vote of approval.

### QUESTION REOPENED

Although the vote had been taken, the question was reopened and the Stalinist machine went to work on the four opposing delegates. They whipped up a veritable lynch hysteria. A notorious Stalinist flunkie, the hero of a wartime article in Collier's magazine entitled "Readin', Writin', and No Strikin'," set the tone of the "discussion" by declaring:

"There is no question in my mind that the enemies of the working class have infiltrated into the NMU and gotten aboard some of our ships; and through their insidious propaganda and slimy, snake-like ways, they sit in this room and agitate and aggravate the legitimate grievances of the seamen."

With this type of argumentation it is needless to say the Stalinists got their "unanimous" vote. This is the kind of "democracy" that prevailed in the NMU under Stalinist control.

It was only when the opposition

in the top leadership took their disputes out of the confines of the National Council and appealed to the members to intervene that the methods of bureaucratic intimidation and terror proved inadequate to stem the tide of revolt. Whereas before the Stalinist slander and frameup machine operated undercover it is now compelled to function openly. This is all to the good. The Stalinists prefer to do their dirty work from behind-the-scenes.

The internal conflict in the NMU has shattered the bureaucratic crust which smothered the initiative of the ranks. Questions which had previously been decided by the top leadership are now the subject of discussion and debate by the entire membership. Under pressure of the opposition this change was reflected in the pages of the NMU PILOT. There is not another trade union

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## Fight Wall Street Hunger Program with Weapon of Labor Political Action

By Art Preis

"Eat less and eat less extravagantly." That is the cynical and brutal "solution" to high prices offered by American capitalism and its bi-partisan political machine in Washington.

That is the cold-blooded advice American workers, already pulling in their belts because of the high cost of living, heard from Senator Taft last week.

### "PRICE RELIEF"

That is the "price relief" offered millions of harassed housewives forced to put skimpy, starchy meals on the table as meat shot to a \$1 a pound, eggs to \$1 a dozen, butter to \$1.05 a pound, milk to 20 cents a quart.

"Eat less" is the program of the monopolies, including the giant food trusts, which are gorging on the greatest profits feast in history.

Republican Taft's call for "voluntary" hunger—"eat less"—is only the crude expression of the policy actually being pushed by both political wings of Wall Street, Democratic and Republican.

Truman himself advanced this same formula in his Mid-Year Economic Report of July 21 when he urged "a campaign for strict economy in the use of certain foods through personal restraint."

Administration spokesmen last week expounded this same hunger program. Chester C. Davis, chairman of Truman's Famine Emergency Committee; Under Secretary of Agriculture Norris E. Dodd; and Secretary of Commerce W. Averell Harriman spoke against price control and rationing. They proposed "voluntary" reduction in food consumption—"Eat less!"

### NOT FOR THE RICH

This formula, of course, doesn't go for everybody. It doesn't go for the rich who can continue to stuff their fat bellies. No matter how high prices go, they can afford to pay them. It doesn't go for the meat packers, whose profits have soared as much as 300%. Their Packers Institute can still serve itself a banquet, with 3,000 steaks,

as the press recently reported, "not less than three inches thick."

If food is scarce, why doesn't the government institute equitable rationing? But, reply the capitalists and their spokesmen, we already have "rationing." You see, says the Sept. 15 Wall Street Journal, "Price itself is a rationer."

Indeed it is. High prices "ration" limited necessities of life to ensure that those who have wealth get everything in super abundance; while those who are poor get nothing.

There is no justifiable excuse for this program of hunger and inequality. Food production is higher this year than last. Exports of food have declined sharply. Monopoly price-fixing, monopoly hoarding and withholding of food supplies are principally responsible for the latest spurt in food prices.

### PROFITEERS' DEMAND

The meat trust, the big dairy combines, the bakery corporations, the processed foods manufacturers are engaged in a deliberate conspiracy to force up food prices—and profits. They have put a gun to the heads of the American people and demanded: "Your money or your life!"

The only effective answer to these criminals who have a stranglehold on the nation's food is for the government to seize and nationalize these vital food industries and operate them without profit under workers' control. That means: EXPROPRIATE THE FOOD TRUSTS!

Will the Democratic or Republican agents of Wall Street in Washington push such a basic and indispensable measure? They have already given their answer: "Eat less!"

To oust the monopoly profiteers, to put through the necessary anti-inflation measures, the workers must wield their own mighty weapon of independent political action.

Build a fighting Labor Party! Root the Democratic-Republican tools of the trusts out of Washington!

## KICK OUT THE PROFITEERS!

An Editorial

Washington has given its answer to the top union leaders who rely on the capitalist government to halt the price-gougers. That answer is summed up in the savage injunction to the American workers—"Eat less!"

Every measure proposed by labor has been brushed aside. Every profits-boosting, price-inflating bill has been passed by a bi-partisan Congress and signed by a Democratic President eager to serve the ruling capitalists.

It is plain to see that nothing and nobody will stop the price-robbery of the American people but the workers themselves.

Labor must launch a militant, nationwide counter-offensive against the monopolists and their political agents before its living standards are eaten away to hunger levels by the corrosive acid of capitalist inflation.

This counter-offensive must have a two-fold objective: 1. To keep wages automatically abreast of rising living costs; 2. To break the stranglehold of the monopolies over the food supplies and other necessities of life.

Now, more than ever, labor must fight for an escalator clause in every union contract, to guarantee that no matter how high or fast prices rise, wages will rise at the same time and in the same proportion.

This SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES, providing automatic pay increases above the minimum basic scale for every rise in living costs, would strike a powerful blow at monopoly profits. It would deter the capitalists from using price inflation to liquidate real wages.

Today a handful of monopolists control the

country's food supplies, gamble with the health and lives of the people, fix prices and curtail production in the interest of private profit.

Such private monopolies are an intolerable menace that must be smashed. Production must be organized for the needs of the people. The profiteers must be kicked out, their control utterly destroyed.

The food and other vital industries must be taken over by the government and operated under the control of the working people. A real fight against monopoly means, above all, EXPROPRIATION OF THE TRUSTS

The workers and all other low-income consumers must be mobilized in mass action to carry out their own price control, to ferret out the profiteers, uncover food hoards held for speculation, enforce a fair and equitable distribution of scarce necessities. Not Truman's FBI, but MASS CONSUMERS COMMITTEES OF ACTION will halt the price-gougers.

The final and definitive answer to Wall Street's inflation-hunger program is political action. The political rule of the monopolies must be broken by the independent political action of the workers. Labor and its allies among the lower-middle class and poor farmers must fight for governmental power through their own LABOR PARTY.

When the working people run the government and make the laws, they will wipe out the monopolies and profiteering. They will ensure planned, full production, low prices and a high standard of living.

## Lewis Blocks Surrender Move by AFL Council

United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis last week spiked the scheme of the AFL Executive Council to capitulate to the infamous Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law in the matter of filing with the National Labor Relations Board signed affidavits swearing that the top officers of the AFL are not communists.

Under an interpretation of the law by NLRB General Counsel Robert N. Denham, known as the "Labor Czar," all officers of union federations, as well as all officers of their affiliates, must sign the anti-communist statement. Otherwise every affiliate is automatically barred from the right of appeal to the NLRB or to legal recognition as a collective bargaining agency.

Lewis, in a reportedly stormy session of the AFL Council, flatly refused to sign any affidavit or make any other concession to the Slave Labor Law. Under Denham's ruling, no matter what the other AFL officials did, Lewis' single refusal blocked all AFL collaboration with the NLRB, which under the present law is strictly an agency for aiding the employers against the unions.

The UMW leader made his stand entirely on principle, raging at the other AFL leaders as "cowards" and "weaklings" for their willingness to bow in any respect before the Taft-Hartley Act.

He made it clear that his objec-

tion was to the Act itself and all its provisions and not simply to Denham's particular interpretation of one section of the Act. "I do not suggest that Denham's ruling is wrong," said Lewis. "As a matter of fact, it may be expressly and precisely in accordance with the iniquitous Taft-Hartley statute."

Lewis is said to have told the AFL Council that the workers want a real fight and action against the Slave Labor Law and not a one-sided war of attrition in which labor would surrender one point after another without struggle until the labor movement would be too weakened to battle at all.

AFL Teamsters Czar Daniel J. Tobin, who has publicly blamed militant labor for the Taft-Hartley Act instead of the weakness of the top union leadership, is reported to have been the main spokesman for yielding to the Act.

It is expected that the whole question will become a major issue at the AFL national convention next month in San Francisco. Meanwhile, the CIO Executive Board has failed to take a position on the matter, deferring a decision until the CIO convention next month in Boston.

## SWP Councilmanic Candidate Sentenced by Philadelphia Judge

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 13—

Irene LeCompte, Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Council from the 7th District, and Pauline Goldenberg, campaign manager and party pre-emptor, got a sample of capitalist justice yesterday when reactionary Republican Judge McDevitt imposed a \$100 fine or 30 days in jail on the former and \$50 or 30 days on the latter.

Similar fines or jail terms were imposed on I. Jack Radar, Workers Party candidate from the 5th District, and Francis E. Carner, WP pre-emptor. Charges against Naomi Berman, another SWP pre-emptor, were dropped.

### HELD FOUR HOURS

Upon request for bail by David H. H. Felix, Joint Defense Committee attorney, the labor-hating judge set \$1000 bail on each defendant. All four were held in the city jail for four hours until bail was raised and an appeal against the conviction was filed with the State Superior Court. Hearing on the ap-

peal was set for next March.

These convictions developed out of the SWP and WP attempts to enter candidates in the municipal election. Both parties were cited for contempt for refusing, on advice of counsel, to answer questions before the County Board of Elections. Since the Democrats had already declared they would challenge the nomination papers in Common Pleas Court, Defense Attorney Felix held the Election Board had no jurisdiction to make a decision.

All this weighed but little when the case came before the obviously prejudiced judge. The defense attorney's offer to present the defendants for questioning so they could purge themselves of the contempt charges left McDevitt unmoved. When Felix asked for termination of the contempt charges, McDevitt declared: "I shall give you a termination," and then proceeded to dish out the sentences. The entire hearing, more like a court-martial than a civil trial, took only 10 minutes.

Efforts to terrorize the SWP and

WP into dropping the ballot fight have not succeeded. This was shown at a Joint Defense Committee rally, called on short notice last night at 1303 W. Girard, where the audience responded enthusiastically to an appeal for funds to cover the costs of the bond and the appeal, and raised the whole sum, \$206.

Still coming up in court is the hearing on the defense's writ of mandamus against the Elections Board's rejection of the SWP and WP nomination papers. Here the defense will be able to show it obtained more than twice the legally required number of signatures and to expose the boss-controlled parties' conspiracy against minority parties.

Unfortunately, this hearing too will be held before McDevitt. Whatever the outcome of the hearing, the SWP intends to continue the LeCompte election drive if necessary through a write-in campaign, to stress the need for an independent Labor Party to fight the corrupt capitalist political machines.



# Which Road for PAC—Dayton or Allentown?

By Art Preis

Shall the CIO Political Action Committee run its own independent labor candidates for public office or shall it continue to support so-called "pro-labor" candidates of the two capitalist parties, Democratic and Republican?

That's the key question confronting PAC. Labor's most extensive organization for the mobilization of the workers on the political field.

The correct answer to that question is indicated by two recent election campaigns, one in Dayton, O., and the other in Allentown, Pa.

In Dayton, the local PAC campaigned for its own independent candidates in the primary elections for City Commission. It backed Charles E. Sims, president of the

Local CIO Council, and C. Josef McLin, a Negro leader and former CIO member, against the candidates of both the Democratic and Republican parties.

PAC's candidates faced a ferocious red-baiting, anti-Negro attack from the combined Democratic and Republican machines and the entire press of the area. Big money was poured out by the bosses to defeat the PAC ticket. There was no little connivance and dirty work by the Election Board to deprive the PAC candidates of their full vote.

Despite all the obstacles, the PAC candidates won a victory that surpassed the most optimistic hopes. Sims gained the highest vote of four candidates nominated in the primaries — the highest vote, in fact, any candidate in a similar election had ever achieved. His running mate, McLin, took

third place. McLin was barely cheated out of second place by Election Board malfeasance.

By contrast to the Dayton events, was the campaign for U. S. Representative from the Eighth Congressional District in Pennsylvania, where the main center of population is Allentown. There the CIO Political Action Committee, together with AFL, Railroad Brotherhood and independent unions, backed a Democratic Party candidate against a Republican.

This was hailed nationally as a significant campaign to indicate the trend for 1948. The national CIO leaders threw their whole weight behind Storch, the Democrat. Money and skilled organizers were poured into his campaign.

Yet the final results were an admitted fiasco. The Republican candidate won by

the highest margin ever achieved by the GOP in any similar election. The CIO News conceded "an overwhelming defeat."

The CIO paper editorially attempts to explain this defeat on the grounds that "it is almost impossible in a short campaign to beat a highly-geared political organization."

But this reason is false to the core. The Dayton PAC faced far more formidable obstacles in the way of "highly-geared" opponent political organizations and a hostile press. Nevertheless it brought out nearly double the previous highest primary vote and scored a triumph.

The real reason for the Allentown fiasco, after all the energy and money the CIO and other unions put behind the Democratic candidate, is that the Democratic Party is discredited. The attempt to palm off Demo-

cratic candidates as "progressives" and "friends of labor" is fooling less and less people.

They know that the Democratic machine of big city bosses, corrupt spoilsmen and Southern Bourbons has no program fundamentally different today than the Republican machine. They know that price inflation, the housing crisis, huge taxes, the threat of a new imperialist war, the passage of anti-labor legislation was far developed under the rule of the Democrats and is now being carried further by the bi-partisan Congress under a Republican majority.

It is no longer possible for PAC to inspire the workers to campaign vigorously and vote in record numbers for the Democratic Party or any candidate tainted with its label.

But in Dayton, O., where the PAC ran candidates against both old parties, where

these candidates campaigned on a genuine labor program, the workers responded in overwhelming numbers. They visited every home in the area, they got out the registration, they thronged to the polls — to vote for their own candidates and not phonies falsely labeled "friends of labor."

Two roads stand before PAC — the Dayton or the Allentown. The Allentown road of supporting capitalist party candidates can lead labor only to a precipice. The Dayton road of genuine independent labor political action will lead labor to political power and a great new life for the working people.

It is the duty of the CIO militants to build PAC, to aid its financial campaigns, to help turn out a record registration for 1948 — and, above all, to turn it down the Dayton road, the road to victory.

## Capitalist Trusts, Imperialist War— Breeders of Ravaging Price Inflation

By Arthur Burch

Throwing all caution to the winds, the Big Business profiteers have embarked upon an orgy of price boosting that has carried most commodities to an all-time high, eclipsing even the 1920 inflationary peak. Reports from 66 cities on Sept. 9 showed that food prices had risen 34.1% over a 13-month period. The Bureau of Labor Statistics indicates a boost of more than 160% in farm products since 1941, and more than 282% since 1926.

What is the cause of this dizzy spiral in prices?

First of all there is World War II with its colossal expenditures. In addition to huge government loans, billions of new paper currency were issued, thus diluting the value of the dollar. Moreover, the greater part of the productivity of the country during the war years was directed toward building machines for destruction instead of commodities that the people could use, leaving a tremendous vacuum of basic necessities. And then there was the war-induced destruction of the productive machinery and products throughout the world.

### TAXED TO PAY WAR COSTS

These enormous war costs were met by heavy taxation on an already overburdened people. The large war-time taxes on corporations were taken not out of profits but were added by the Big Business hogs to the prices of commodities.

The Second World War is over but the payment for it continues. Five billion dollars are collected every year by the financial sharks in the shape of interest on government bonds. Then there are the heavy expenditures in preparation for World War III, along with the additional billions expended for propelling up reactionary governments throughout the world. All this totals a yearly sum of almost 40 billion dollars which must be met out of present production and must be added to the bill that the people pay for necessities.

Besides these enormous war expenditures, there is the take of the financial and industrial hogs in the shape of exorbitant profits, which are today the highest on record, far surpassing those of 1929. 402 corporations listed on the Stock Exchange reported a 97.9% increase in profits in the first six months of 1947 over those of a similar period last year. We get an inkling of the size of this grab when we realize that the 1946 take was larger than that of the luscious war years which in turn far exceeded those of pre-war days. It isn't hard to see that

the elimination of these exorbitant profits would mean a sizable lowering in prices.

But the monopolists are not satisfied with making profits from their industrial enterprises. In addition, they receive stupendous sums from speculating on the stock and commodity exchanges, not to mention the interest that bankers receive from loaning money to these speculators. Millions of bushels of wheat, corn and other products are sold and resold at ever increasing prices before they even reach the processors.

Each profiteer takes his slice out of each transaction, all adding to the price that the consumer must pay. These transactions total in the billions of dollars in the course of a year. Thus despite increasing prices, it is noteworthy that the farmer's slice of the consumer's food dollar declined from 56 cents in March to 52 cents in May.

The government of the industrialists in Washington is doing its share to keep prices out of reach of the consumer's pocketbook. For instance, at a time when eggs are selling for a dollar a dozen, the federal government still owns 138 million dozen in dried and frozen form which it refuses to put on the market.

### SYSTEM OF SCARCITY

The most important factor behind the present high prices is the artificiality of a capitalist production which is geared not to the needs of the people but to the needs of the industrialists. The greatest profits are made in periods of scarcity and the industrialists are continually scheming to bring about scarcity in periods of plenty. During the early Thirties when there was a surplus of farm products because a large section of the American people could not afford to buy them, Wall Street planned and executed the simple device of ploughing under wheat and cotton, and paying the large landowners for not producing.

Today there is a tremendous shortage of steel not only in this country but throughout the world. But the large steel owners refuse to expand the industry since they can make more money by charging exorbitant prices than by providing for the needs of the people. With additional steel the farmers throughout the world could be supplied with tractors and other farm implements as well as other commodities which they would gladly take in exchange for grain, and thus have an incentive to turn over the food products to a hungry world.

There is a great need for fertilizer which is in inadequate because of the lack of power facilities which cannot be built up because of the steel shortage. If not for this, countless bushels could have been added to the corn and other crops. But the needs of the people are not part of the planning of the industrial pirates. Even in the midst of the present world-wide food shortage they destroyed millions of bushels of potatoes, acres of vegetables and citrus fruit. Wall Street can plan war and scarcity but not abundance.

Prices can be reduced, production can be stepped up, plans can be

drawn up and executed for the needs of the people only if this small clique of profiteer parasites is eliminated, and their plants expropriated by the people.

"Ah, but that is socialism," cry the industrial hogs, "and what we want is free enterprise." But the people have learned that free enterprise means that they are compelled to fight wars from which Wall Street emerges victor. The only element of freedom is the right of the industrial brigands to charge all that the traffic will bear and amass huge profits at the expense of the people.

Despite the rabid campaign conducted by Wall Street against "reds" and socialists, the masses are learning that it is in their interests to expropriate these false propagandists. Since both the Democratic and Republican Parties are under the domination of these industrial pirates, this can be done only through the formation of a Labor Party which will serve the real interests of the workers and middle class.

## Maritime Convention to Debate Political Action, Foreign Policy

By C. Thomas

The internal struggle in the CIO National Maritime Union will occupy the center of the stage at the Sixth National Convention. Everything else will be so much window dressing. The Stalinists, fighting desperately to re-establish their monopoly control of the union, will attempt to use the convention to further this end. The forces led by President Joseph Curran will strive to further loosen the grip of the CP machine on the union apparatus.

Under the constitution of the NMU the convention does not elect officers. Union officials are elected at stated periods of referendum vote of the membership. Because of this fact the struggle will probably take place over proposals to democratize the union structure.

As the Stalinists have a decisive majority on the NMU National Council, they will oppose any move to strip that body of its power and authority. The Curran group, depending more and more on the direct intervention of the membership, must seek to strengthen that counterweight to the CP-controlled National Council.

### MAIN CONFLICT

Apart from the internal dispute, the main conflict promises to be over political policy, both domestic and foreign. It seems that the Stalinist third party counterfeits has been taken as good coin by leaders of the opposition. They have even deceived many of their own followers into believing that the "Third Party" and the independent Labor Party mean one and the same thing.

As against the third party demagoguery of the Stalinists, spokesmen for the opposition counterpose the of-

ficial policy of the CIO Political Action Committee.

There is actually no difference between them. The Stalinists declare that they are for a third party modeled after the American Labor Party in New York. But the policy of the ALP under Stalinist leadership has been in no way different from that of the CIO-PAC. Both have followed a policy of endorsing capitalist politicians for public office under the discredited Gompers formula of "supporting friends and punishing enemies." It is this policy that has led to the present political impotence of the organized labor movement.

As against this bankrupt policy the militants must advance the demand that the CIO-PAC run independent labor candidates for public office. This demand cuts through the Stalinist third party claptrap and puts the question on the proper plane: No confidence in the boss-controlled candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties. Labor must run its own candidates

## NMU Progressives Fight For Democratic Unionism

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paper in the country which today devotes so large a part of its space to the publication of rank and file letters expressing various shades of opinion in the union.

### NEED CONTROL

The Stalinists are horrified at this development. They bemoan the lack of "unity" in the organization and yearn for a return to the "good old days" when everything was "unanimous"—or else! They long for a docile membership that can be led like sheep into every twist and turn of the zigzagging CP line. To achieve this brand of "unity" they need control, absolute and unchallenged control, through which every dissenter can be clubbed into submission.

One of the main disputes at the

who will be loyal to, and controlled by, the organized labor movement.

On foreign policy the Stalinists confine their criticism to the capitalist-imperialist powers who, at the moment, are in conflict with the Soviet Union. They demand an end to intervention by everybody except Stalin. Against this reactionary demagoguery the genuine militants demand the withdrawal of ALL occupation troops from foreign soil.

Above all, the Stalinists must be fought, not as "communists" which they are not, but as a reactionary gang of disrupters who have sown dissension and discord in the union and have sold out and betrayed the seamen. Any resort to red-baiting will only serve to build them up.

What is necessary is to strip them of their demagogic pretenses, expose their reactionary role and destroy their influence. This can be done only by counterposing to their policy of class collaboration a militant program of working class struggle on both the economic and political front.

## Another Homeless Family



Evicted from their one-room Brooklyn flat, Mr. and Mrs. Clayton Muise and 1-year-old daughter Janet wait on the steps of Borough Hall to see Borough President Joseph Cashmore. "All we want is a place to live," says the sign addressed to Cashmore. (Federated Picture)

## Wallace's Tilt At Trusts Is Just a Demagogic Pose

By Evelyn Atwood

Any politician who claims to be progressive must pose as an opponent of the big monopolies which dominate American economic life. Thus, Henry Wallace, millionaire publisher and ex-Vice-President, has come forward with his program for curbing the power of the trusts and guaranteeing full employment, maximum production and lower prices.

The entire Sept. 8 issue of Wallace's weekly magazine, *New Republic*, is devoted to articles exposing the most notorious abuses by the big monopoly combinations; restriction of production, soaring prices, exorbitant profits. In his editorial, Wallace draws the balance sheet of these damning facts and sketches his solution.

As the magazine points out, despite a whole series of government trust-busting gestures over the past 50 years, the monopolies have never ceased to grow in size and power. Now the Anti-Trust division of the Department of Justice is embarking on still another "investigation" and protracted court actions against the trusts. Wallace, unlike the old school of "progressives," places no hope in "trust-busting" by government action—a frank enough admission of the bankruptcy of the liberals' methods of struggle against monopoly.

If government "trust-busting" won't work, what will? What does Wallace offer in its place?

### WALLACE'S PLAN

Wallace confines himself to admonishing the monopolists not to overreach themselves in their lust for profits and plunder. He wants to "encourage" and "educate" the Wall Street pirates to go a little slower. He pleads: "I hope these larger businessmen will begin to show more capacity to plan for the general welfare. They know how to plan with great skill for their own businesses. All they need to do is lift their eyes a little higher." And he guarantees that if the greedy profiteers follow his advice, they will get "even greater profits."

In these noble-sounding words, Wallace cunningly introduces the utterly false notion that since the monopolists organize and plan their own factory and finance systems for private profit, that they can also organize and plan for the needs of society as a whole.

He suppresses the fact that in organizing so efficiently for their profits, the monopolists inevitably produce at the same time the present soaring prices, curtailed production, unemployment — in other words, they organize one crisis after another, each worse than the last.

The supreme examples of such capitalist "planning" under capitalism were seen in Germany under Hitler, in Italy under Mussolini, even in the democratic United States, the capitalists were able to plan production only as part of their imperialist war program.

The truth is that all the evils of monopoly ownership and control are inseparable parts of the capitalist system today. The only way to get

rid of monopoly and planlessness is to abolish the capitalist system that breeds it.

By sounding off against Big Business, Wallace is attempting to win support from the discontented workers and middle classes who are seeking leadership in the fight against these monopolistic abuses. But Wallace is not attempting to remove the trusts. He merely seeks to "reform" them, or rather, to induce them to streamline their practices.

This demagogue is following in Roosevelt's footsteps. Roosevelt, too, thundered against the "economic royalists" and threatened to "drive the money-changers out of the temple." But throughout his administrations, the billionaires grew richer, and the monopolists tightened their stranglehold on American economy. Wallace, like Roosevelt, is concerned solely with safeguarding the welfare and profits of the capitalist ruling class—of the same monopolists he pretends to attack.

The trusts will not be reformed by "criticisms" or sermons from New Dealers and "progressives." The first step toward abolishing the power of the trusts is for the



WORKING people to separate the means of production from their present parasitic owners. After expropriating the monopolists, the working people themselves must then take over the control and management of the plants and factories. This is a genuine trust-busting program. There is no other.

## 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 consumer 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—reduces 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!  
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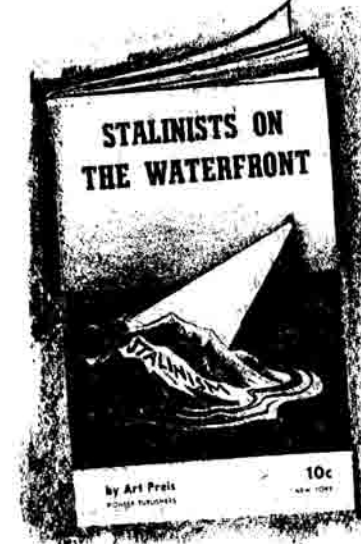
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# The Rapid Growth Of The NAACP

By J. R. Johnson

The NAACP, I am informed, has close to one million members. I doubt if many people know this. And I am pretty certain that if they do, few except the Marxists can understand what this means. It is one of the surest signs of the insoluble social crisis in the United States.

This growth has taken place during the last 12 years. In 1935, the membership was quite insignificant. In 1939, it was about 300,000. By 1943, it was half a million. And now in 1947, it is almost one million. The Negro population is only 15 million. There is a small number of whites in the NAACP. But the large majority of the membership is Negro. And when one out of every fifteen of the Negroes in the United States joins an organization aiming at the destruction of Negro oppression and discrimination, that becomes an indication of a tremendous social ferment in the nation as a whole.

What is it that has moved these Negroes to this tremendous mobilization? The answer is simple. There is obviously a dislocation of the whole social order which drives them towards unifying their forces for struggle. They are impelled towards the search for solidarity because they realize that all the great problems of the nation and of the Negro minority are now being posed. They find themselves for a solution of their own.

Look at those dates again. 1935 to 1947. To any Marxist student of American life, those dates must immediately call to mind the formation of the CIO. Precisely during this time when the Negroes were just beginning to organize themselves, the labor movement of the United States accomplished one of the most astonishing mobilizations in the history of the working class.

The proletariat, in some of its deepest layers, felt that the foundations of American society were cracking under its feet. Instinctively the long-overdue organization of industrial unions appeared, heaving out of the depths of dislocated capitalist society. If the CIO is a response of labor to the crisis of American society, then the organization of Negroes in the NAACP is a response which has the same roots. Both are the reaction of Americans to the crisis of the American environment.

The NAACP response is not so much a Negro as an American phenomenon. But precisely because these Americans are Negroes, the mass mobilizations assume the astounding ratio of roughly one out

of every fifteen Negroes in the nation. The Negroes are more bitterly oppressed, more disgusted, more humiliated, than any other section of the population. That is the reason why they react so strongly to the stimuli of a disintegrating society.

That is what is important, the mass movement towards organizations. It expresses the sense that the conditions are intolerable; that the possibility of change exists, that it is necessary to act. Whenever hundreds of thousands of people take action of any significant kind there is an infallible sign of social contradictions expressing themselves.

That being said, however, it is now possible to say certain other things. The NAACP, as led by Walter White and his fellow-fighters, is an organization miserably inadequate for the great cause it is designed to serve. For years, it has distinguished itself by its inability to mobilize its followers for mass action. It has done useful work in publicizing such barbarisms as lynching. It has fought cases in the courts. It has carried out a strictly legalistic type of propaganda and agitation.

But militant Negroes have long recognized the NAACP's fear of militant mass action. Today the same leaders are in the saddle and with their long training, they undoubtedly wish nothing more than to carry on in the manner which has distinguished them in the past. But history is overtaking them.

An organization of one million is vastly different from an organization of one thousand. Furthermore, the Negro population in the United States is predominantly proletarian or semi-proletarian. The moment you read a ratio like 1 to 15 it means that a substantial number of that million consists of workers or members of working class families.

The very size of the organization gives confidence to its membership. They have not joined in order to send more telegrams to Washington or to take more cases before the Supreme Court. They want action. The NAACP is therefore in a state of turmoil. The membership is pressing for action. The leadership searches for some sort of program. It is impossible here to give any forecast as to what the result will be.

For the time being, however, this much can be said. The fate of the extraordinary mass movement rests with the great social forces of the nation. This growth of the NAACP is not an accident. It represents the Negro mobilization following World War II which corresponds to the Negro mobilization that followed World War I. That mobilization was the Garvey movement. It took

Scientific socialism is the conscious expression of the unconscious historical process; namely, the instinctive 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

the extravagant form it did precisely because there was not at that time in the United States an organized labor movement which could stand before the nation as the potential leader of all the oppressed. Today, that is not so.

The Negro people as a whole believe in the CIO more than they believe in any social organization in the nation. In the industrial towns many of the members of the NAACP are good union men. Their education in the union movement has not lessened, but sharpened, their consciousness of their oppression as Negroes. They have therefore joined the struggle of the NAACP as the most convenient medium for carrying their own special struggle. It was the social crisis which precipitated the CIO into existence. It was the social crisis which has precipitated the phenomenal growth of the NAACP.

The deepening of the crisis will drive the American proletariat on to the road of political actions on a scale corresponding to the social explosion which was the CIO. Any such movement will most certainly bring in its train convulsions in the NAACP. The solidity of American capitalist society is undermined. And under our eyes the forces that are to overthrow it are slowly but surely preparing themselves for the gigantic explosions which will usher in the actual revolutionary crisis.

# Mass Demonstrations Sweep Italy As Fascist Danger Alarms People

By Joseph Hansen

A new revolutionary upsurge is convulsing Italy. Grinding hunger and poverty, coupled with alarm over the swift growth of armed fascist bands, are driving the workers and farm laborers into action against the de Gasperi government.

On Sept. 1 some 1,000 partisans marched into Casale Monferrato, a city of about 30,000 inhabitants in Northwest Italy. Together with 1,200 local partisans they took over the government. They then called a general strike, which lasted a number of days.

This demonstration was occasioned by the Government's freeing of six local fascists who had been condemned to death by Popular Tribunals after the fall of Mussolini.

On Sept. 8 an estimated 600,000 to 1,000,000 agricultural workers went out on strike at the height of the harvesting season. They demanded: (1) jobs for the unemployed; (2) wage increases; (3) regulations to prevent unjustified dismissals; (4) cost-of-living and family bonuses.

## BEGAN STRIKE

On Sept. 16 some 800,000 steel workers began a two-day general strike when negotiations with the Italian steel kings, under way since last Feb. 27, broke down.

In addition to these strikes, some 500,000 textile workers threaten to go down tools. And 1,000,000 state employees are pressing their demand for a sliding scale of wages; that is, automatic wage increases as the cost of living goes up.

Smaller strikes and demonstrations are flaring all over Italy. Cities affected by general strikes or major walk-outs of key trades included Catanzaro, Florence, Messina and Foggia.

The Italian workers suffer from the same general evils of capitalism as the American workers, except far more acutely. Prices have soared beyond reach of the working class family while the capitalists stubbornly resist demands to bring wages up to reasonable levels. The de Gasperi government, installed by the Allied occupation forces, is far more interested in keeping in Wall Street's good graces than in turning loose productive forces that could end inflation and heal the wounds of World War II in the shortest possible time.

The recent swift growth of the



That's what the sign says as thousands of French workers protest rising food prices and demand effective action to curb inflation. (Federated Picture)

"We Want to Live"

are prepared to use them. But the Stalinist paper L'Unita deleted these remarks from its report of his speech. And the American Daily Worker (Sept. 15) attacked the reports about the imminence of a "Communist uprising and civil war in Italy."

The Daily Worker approvingly quoted Togliatti's statement: "I have to emphasize that we do not have arms and should those weapons exist really it may be the United States has distributed them, not to the workers, but to the fascists..."

A BRAKE ON MILITANTS

The Stalinists are thus playing the role of a brake on the revolutionary energy of the Italian workers and farm laborers. They are trying to hold them back from settling

## UNITE REACTION

An attempt is now underway to unite all the monarchist, fascist, and similar reactionary groups under one central leadership. The aim is to repeat Mussolini's feat of smashing the labor movement and setting up a fascist government.

The Pope on Sept. 7 declared that the soil in Italy is ripe for revolution. "The time of the test is here... Even a few minutes can decide the victory." And to the assembled shock forces of the Italian Roman Catholic Action Society, the head of the Vatican said: "The time for thought and for projects is past; it is now the time for action. Are you ready?"

In the face of this acute fascist danger, the Stalinists are playing a treacherous game. Stalin is moving his Italian pawns with the aim of increasing his bargaining power with Wall Street. He permits them to speak radically enough to maintain their positions at the head of the popular movement, while trying to restrain the workers from taking power.

The implied threat is that if Stalin gives the word, Togliatti will actually organize a communist revolution in Italy. But if the Stalinists are given cabinet posts in the Italian government and other valuable considerations, then Stalin will call off his dogs, thus saving Italian capitalism from the wrath of the revolutionary masses.

Togliatti is reported to have boasted in a speech that the Stalinists have 30,000 armed partisans and

ing accounts with the armed fascists. They are trying to keep the masses from going forward to socialism, for this would mean not only the end of capitalism in Italy but also the end of Stalinism.

They want to sell out the Italian revolution as they have sold out previous revolutions. Whether they will succeed in this reactionary aim is another question. There are persistent reports of growing dissatisfaction among the ranks of the Italian Stalinists over the perfidious role of Togliatti and the other bureaucrats.

This dissatisfaction directly reflects the acuteness of the revolutionary crisis in Italy and the determination of the Italian people to finish with the misery and horrors of the capitalist system.

## International Notes

THEIR MASTER'S VOICE—How the Kremlin uses the Stalinists in other lands for its own reactionary purposes has been illustrated once more in Italy.

To fail to speak out against the monstrous "peace" treaty imposed on the Italian people by the victorious Allied powers would seriously injure Stalinist influence. Consequently the Italian Stalinist chiefs have condemned the bandit treaty in their campaign oratory.

On Sept. 10, however, the Constituent Assembly heard the reply of the Kremlin to an Italian appeal for revision of the harsh terms. The Kremlin took sharp issue with critics of the treaty, declaring it to be the quintessence of justice.

The Italian Stalinists did not dare break the stony silence that fell on the Assembly as Stalin's stinging rebuff was read. Like well-trained dogs it took only the sound of their master's voice to silence their barking.

CHAIN REACTION — Argentina has enormous quantities of meat that must be exported if depression and widespread unemployment is to be avoided. One of the normal big markets for this meat is Great Britain.

British capitalism, however, has broken down to such an extent that it can offer Argentina only British money for this meat. The British money cannot buy the machinery and other manufactured goods Argentina needs because British factory production is at a low ebb.

Consequently Argentina has suspended shipment of canned meat to Great Britain. That means increased hunger for the British workers. It means glutted packing plants in Argentina.

And it hits the American workers too, because with meat sales pinched off, Argentina cannot buy American goods. This in turn leads to lowered American exports, helping to touch off a depression in America.

Thus a chain reaction is set off with explosive effects on the workers' standard of living everywhere.

STONE U. S. CONSULATE—Resentment against American imperialism continues at a high pitch among the Egyptian people. They are angry over the support Washington gives the British imperialists

The United Nations General Assembly convened at Flushing Meadow, New York, Sept. 16 in an atmosphere that bore little resemblance to peace. General Marshall, fresh from his success at Petropolis, Brazil, in committing all Latin America to Wall Street's war machine, was named chief of Washington's delegation.

The Kremlin responded by naming as its chief representative, Andrei Vyshinsky, who first came to world attention as attorney for the GPU secret police in the notorious Moscow Frame-up Trials.

Two days before the session opened, Marshall fired the opening gun against the Kremlin delegation with a speech at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York that was characterized by several delegates as "a declaration of war within the United Nations."

Without naming the Soviet Union, Marshall intimated that he was heading for a "make or break" showdown in the General Assembly. The press interpreted his stand as an implied threat to force the withdrawal of the USSR from the United Nations if Washington's demands were not met. Wall Street appeared ready for far-reaching moves in the General Assembly in the "cold war" it is waging against the Soviet Union.

The obviously-inspired stories in the press intimate that Marshall seeks three objectives: (1) a frontier

commission in Greece; (2) modification of use of the veto; (3) a military pact for Europe symmetrical to the one just signed in Brazil by the Latin American countries.

Wall Street's purpose in pushing for these three objectives is as follows:

Agitation for a frontier commission in Greece is designed to pin the blame on the Soviet Union for the turbulent and bloody events there and to divert attention from Wall Street's manipulations of the quivering regime it has set up in Greece.

Agitation for modification of the veto is designed to place the Soviet Union in the most unfavorable light possible as part of the propaganda preparation for the projected Third World War. The veto was originally conceived by Washington, insisted upon by a majority of Democratic and Republican Congressmen, and formally proposed by the U.S. delegation. Wall Street wanted the veto as an ace in the hole in the unlikely event it found itself in a minority on any issue in the United Nations of vital concern to its interests. The Kremlin, however, succeeded in turning the veto to its own uses.

The proposed military pact is designed to take America another step down the road to World War III. Washington finds it embarrassing to pretend that the dispatch of American troops to Greece is demanded by aggression against the United States. With a pact in force like the one signed in Brazil, American GIs could be sent to Greece or anywhere else in Europe under pretension that the territorial integrity of a signatory to the pact was being infringed.

The capitalist press freely predicts that either modification of the veto or a military pact of the above character would almost certainly result in the withdrawal of the Soviet Union and the end of the United Nations.

Thus two years after the close of World War II, the United Nations is racked by a crisis that can well

"WORST" COMMUNISTS — An Egyptian Government newspaper, Roseh-el-Youssef, informs its readers: "There is in Egypt a group affiliated to the Fourth International, which was founded by the Communist leader, Leon Trotsky. The Trotskyists are the worst kind of Communists because of their extremism... Yes, indeed, Messrs. Egyptian landlords and capitalists, from your point of view the Trotskyists are truly the very worst kind of Communists—they have an unpleasant habit of matching words with deeds." (Reprinted from New Spark, organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India.)

prove fatal. The UN was launched by the victorious Allied powers under the promise it would bring enduring peace to a war-torn world. Now these same Allied powers have converted the United Nations into a mere sounding board in their preparations for a new and more frightful war among themselves.

The United Nations has proved to be nothing but a continuation of the old League of Nations which Lenin branded as a "chevres kitchen." It has not advanced an inch toward the solution of the burning problems besetting the post-war world.

The acute price squeeze, housing shortage, and threatened depression are some of the immediate consequences of the failure of the United Nations to bring stable peace to the world. Among the more far-reaching consequences are the continued prostration of the vast industrial machine in Europe and the Far East, the exhausting civil war in China and bloodshed in Indonesia and Indo-China, and the continued threat of atomic annihilation.

The United Nations proved impotent because it is dominated by American imperialism. Wall Street dreams of world conquest. Consequently it seeks to utilize the United Nations as a means in achieving this end.

That is why everything that occurs in the UN is shaped by the deepening antagonism between capitalist America and the Soviet Union—the land Wall Street views as the principal prospective victim.

And that is why the culture of war presides at the General Assembly instead of the dove of peace.

# Resounding Victory Won By Grimethorpe Miners

After a month-long effort to break the fighting spirit and solidarity of the striking British miners, the Attlee Government was forced to bow in defeat. Pending investigation by a 3-man fact-finding commission, the National Coal Board waived its demand that the 140 men at Grimethorpe do a 23-foot daily stint in place of their former 21-foot stint.

With this smashing victory, the Grimethorpe coal diggers voted to return to work Sept. 15. They had been out since Aug. 11.

Even after voting on the government proposal, the miners insisted, before going underground, that the government clarify the terms. The miners said that they had voted for an immediate investigation and not an inquiry delayed a week or two.

The strikers had good reason for their caution. Arranged against them had been not only the government, its coal board, members of Parliament and the capitalist press, but also the officials of their own National Union of Mine Workers, including the Stalinists in top posts. They wanted to make sure there were no jokers in the agreement.

What proved decisive in the conflict was the magnificent solidarity of the miners. In pit after pit the men downed tools in sympathy with Grimethorpe until as many as 60,000 were idle. As the supply of coal dwindled, mills began shutting down. The Attlee regime feared nationwide paralysis of industry in face of the unyielding determination of the miners.

As government spokesmen themselves explained, the issues far transcended the immediate cause of the strike. Attlee and his cohorts are doing their utmost to safeguard British capitalism in defiance of the mandate of the people to establish socialism. To accomplish this aim they are demanding further sacrifices from the workers, including eating less and accepting a monstrous speed up.

When the British miners succeeded in winning a 5-day week, the Attlee regime insisted they produce as much coal per man as they formerly did in 5½ days. The cowardly union officialdom agreed to this demand. The Grimethorpe men spearheaded rank and file resistance to the impossible target.

The strike thus became in effect a vote of no-confidence in the policies of the Attlee Government—and a demand to get on with socializing British industry.

As the Grimethorpe strike came to an end, some 6,000 supervisory mine employees and shot firers stiffened their pressure on the Attlee Government. They announced a decision to serve the National Coal Board with the 14-day notice legally required for termination of contract.

They charge that they have been excluded from the benefits of the 5-day week agreement. Since last May without any results.

Arthur Horner, well-known Stalinist and Secretary of the Mine Workers Union, denounced the supervisory employees just as he had previously denounced the Grimethorpe men. This Stalinist strikebreaker called the heroic Grimethorpe strikers "traitors to the nation."

Horner found it an "amazing thing" that the supervisory employees "who never dreamed of stoppage under private ownership are threatening to strike now that the industry is under the National Coal Board."

# Flint Unions Asked to Help Covenant Fight

By W. H. Yancey

FLINT, Mich., Sept. 13—A mass meeting for the defense of Coraeney James, victim of a restrictive covenant, was held last Sunday by the Flint Branch of the NAACP.

Mrs. James, who has been a resident at 2018 Seymour Ave., for over five months, was notified that she was in a "restricted area" in the South End and served with an injunction to move. Mrs. James had put her life savings into this home.

Rev. Robert L. Brady, president of the Detroit NAACP, delivered an effective speech at the meeting on the necessity for more courage on the part of the Negroes in fighting their battles.

"Any Negro," he said, "who will not take up the fight now for his own democratic rights in a country which has denied him his rights for so long, might just as well lie in somebody's graveyard. This sort of fight, and all others, must be fought through political action."

Three Flint attorneys employed by the NAACP to defend Mrs. James' rights, did not have much to offer in the way of solving her case. It was clear they could not

promise the members anything but they would "do their best."

However, more light and hope was thrown on the situation when Genora Dollinger, a member of the NAACP, got the floor and proposed to the membership that an appeal be made to Flint's local unions for their aid in fighting the James eviction case. She proposed sending a letter to all CIO and AFL locals asking for the support of these organizations and their thousands of members.

The motion was immediately adopted by the meeting, amid many expressions of enthusiasm for the suggestion.

This will be the NAACP's first step toward linking up with the labor movement in this city. It is to be hoped that other branches elsewhere will follow in taking this wise and necessary action toward solving the problems of the Negro people.

A hundred dollars was collected at the meeting for the defense of Mrs. James. The Socialist Workers Party pamphlet, "A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow" was sold at the door.

# THE SPIVS ARE IN THE CITY OF LONDON

"Spiv"—A slang term used in Britain to designate chiselers, sharpers and others who live by their wits.

On Aug. 6 Prime Minister Attlee, while discussing measures to meet the manpower shortage, told the House of Commons: "I am reminded that there is a section of the public which renders no useful purpose. Its members contrive to make money in all kinds of dubious ways. We shall take all action open to us against these spivs and drones."

The Sept. Socialist Appeal, organ of the British Revolutionary Communist Party, commented on the drive against "spivs" as follows:

A new enemy of the people looms large in the consciousness of the population at the present time: the odious figure of the SPIV.

A skillful campaign of comic pictures and sensational stories in the press, moralizing and indignant sermons in the churches, jokes and attacks on the British Broadcasting Corporation, have built up a picture of the unpatriotic spivs batten on the population, indulging in shady

deals on the race-courses, engaging in petty larceny and the black market, and refusing to do a useful job for the benefit of the country.

There is a purpose behind this campaign. It suits the needs of the capitalist class at this time of labor shortage and the general shortages in Britain. However, this is not the first of such propaganda drives. In the years before the war and especially during the slump of 1929-33 a

similar campaign was directed against the unemployed. They were people who didn't want to work, loafers, dodgers, etc., and all sorts of individual cases were written up or even concocted in the capitalist press for the purpose of poisoning the minds of the workers in employment against the unemployed victims of capitalism.

The object then was to divert the attention of the workers from the responsibility of the capitalist system for mass unemployment. Now the intention is to divert attention from the Big Spivs and at the same time to exert pressure in the interests of the big capitalists against small traders such as the barrow (push cart) boys attempting to gain a living by this means, and force them into employment which is more profitable to the capitalist class.



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"The historical task of our epoch consists in replacing the uncontrolled play of the market by reasonable planning, in disciplining the forces of production, compelling them to work together in harmony and obediently serve the needs of mankind."

**Leon Trotsky**

## Capitalism's Program: Eat Less!

There is nothing new or unusual in American capitalism's solution to the war-created, profiteer-aggravated price inflation. Taft's "eat less" and Truman's "personal restraint" program express an inherent tendency of the profit system in peace and in war, in boom or in crisis.

The capitalist system has always operated to impoverish the masses, to augment profits at the expense of the people's living standards. If these standards do rise slightly and temporarily for certain sections of the working class, it is through no will or virtue of the capitalists themselves. It is because of the bitter resistance and struggle of the exploited.

"Eat less" and "pull in your belts" reflects the unceasing relentless drive of the capitalist class to grab more and more wealth, to squeeze from the toilers an ever greater portion of their production and an ever larger share of the national income.

The "eat less" program of capitalism has been enforced most savagely for the past three decades. That is, during the period of the fullest development of monopoly capital, which has become an iron brake upon production. Monopoly capitalism seeks to maintain itself through scarcity, and high prices. It destroys or absorbs all competitors, blocks new productive processes, rigidly fixes production quotas.

This monopoly capitalist system in its decline and decay has spread hunger and famine and death through the whole world in two titanic wars. It has enriched a few by wasting and destroying the substance of the many. "Guns instead of butter," "Atom bombs instead of homes,"—these are slogans of capitalism's program: "Eat less."

"Eat less" is the program of capitalist economic depression, when tens of millions are jobless. It was Roosevelt's program when he plowed under cotton, buried hogs, dumped oranges into the ocean while a third of the nation was in dire want. It is the Truman-Taft program of today, while the rich get richer and the poor are looted of their last pittance by war taxes and price-gouging.

Only when this rotting capitalist system is hauled to the graveyard of history, only when the planned economy and classless system of Socialism triumphs will the workers cease to be lashed by the remorseless ruling class demand: "Eat less!"

## Recall U. S. Arms from Dutch!

The State Department continues to squirm, evade and reject the demand raised by James P. Cannon, in the name of the Socialist Workers Party, that the Truman administration immediately recapture all lend-lease weapons still being employed by the Dutch imperialists against the Indonesian Republic.

In his Sept. 11 letter (full text appears in the adjoining columns), Assistant Secretary Armour tries to divert attention from this most justifiable demand, by dragging in such utterly irrelevant issues as the Linggajati Agreement and the alleged fact that Moscow, too, has misused "lend-lease."

Just what bearing on Indonesia have any pretended or real malefactions of the Kremlin? How do Stalin's crimes justify the crimes of the Dutch in Indonesia? Or, for that matter, the role of silent partner played in Indonesia by the Truman administration? The State Department drags in the Soviet Union by the hair in the same way as red-baiters drag in Moscow into the internal union situations—and for the same purpose: to throw sand in the eyes of the workers.

As touches the Linggajati Agreement, its provisions for Dutch participation in an interim Indonesian government do not in any way nullify the right of the Indonesian people to defend themselves against armed assault. Least of all can Washington, on the grounds of this concession granted to the Dutch by the Indonesian authorities, plead exemption from its own responsibilities for the continued use of American lend-lease arms in the slaughter of the heroic defenders of the Indonesian Republic.

Washington's covert aid to the Dutch in Indonesia is part and parcel of Truman's foreign policy designed to bolster reaction everywhere,

no matter what the toll in human lives or how much more of the world's wealth is destroyed.

As the end-result of this policy, the workers, who will foot all the billions of new "loans" under the Truman Doctrine, will find not only their living standards constantly degraded, but the iron heel of reaction planted on their own necks. The intrenchment of reaction anywhere in the world today paves the way for the installation of reactionary rule here at home.

In the most direct sense the cause of the Indonesian fighters for freedom is labor's own cause. That is why we of The Militant have repeatedly urged organized labor to come to their defense. In every union, at every workers' gathering, let labor's voice ring out clearly and resolutely in the demand that the lend-lease equipment be immediately recaptured by Washington from the Dutch imperialist enslavers and butchers!

## Santo and Obermeier Cases

Government authorities are attempting to deport two American trade union officials—John Santo, director of international organization of the CIO Transport Workers Union and Michael J. Obermeier, president of Local 6, AFL Hotel and Club Employees Union.

The government seizure of these two union officials is part of Wall Street's general anti-labor drive that has included up to now such repressive measures as the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor law and the witch hunt against government employees. The purpose of this whole anti-labor offensive is to break down effective union resistance to the squeeze on the workers' standard of living and to restrict democratic rights in preparation for a Third World War.

The detention of these two union men sets up a dangerous precedent. The objective of such arrests and deportations is to break down the democratic right of the union ranks to choose officials of their own free choice. Wall Street's government aims at setting up veto power over union elections. By smashing the independence of the unions, Wall Street hopes to stifle labor's militancy.

Some workers may not feel inclined to rally to the defense of Santo and Obermeier because of their intimate association with Stalinism. The crimes of Stalinism are fresh in mind—the Stalinist support of Wall Street's war, Stalinist support of the wage freeze, Stalinist strikebreaking, Stalinist suppression of union democracy, etc.

But it would be a grave mistake to permit such legitimate feelings of hatred and contempt for Stalinism to undermine unyielding opposition to government interference in union affairs. The government is not trying these men for their real crimes against labor, but for their political beliefs.

If the government succeeds in ousting these officials because of their political views, then the door opens for persecution of unionists of any political persuasion frowned upon by Wall Street's henchmen.

Labor's attitude in the Santo and Obermeier cases should be: Hands off these men! It's the unions' own job to take care of Stalinism and its agents. Let Wall Street's government keep its nose out of union affairs.

## Freedom Train Off The Track

Beginning its tour of 300 cities, the "Freedom Train" arrived in Philadelphia last week with three exhibit cars containing original documents relating to American history and American civil liberties.

Run by a committee dominated by Wall Street bankers and corporation lawyers, this train promises to be a hollow mockery of the deeds and traditions of the revolutionists, abolitionists and labor militants who wrested from the ruling classes the liberties we have.

As the politicians and brass hats were staging their welcome celebration in Philadelphia, an incident revealed the "Freedom Train" sponsors' true attitude to free speech and free press. Two young men were arrested and hauled away by the police for distributing pamphlets opposing compulsory military training. After they had been taken care of, Admiral Carney told the audience to "rededicate" itself to the American way of life.

The previous day candidates and campaign workers of the Socialist Workers Party and Workers Party were convicted of contempt by the Philadelphia Board of Elections and sentenced to 30 days in jail or \$100 fine. Were they guilty of corruption or chicanery at the polls? Not at all. The Republicans and Democrats have a monopoly on that business. They were penalized for attempting to place independent candidates on the ballot.

A real Freedom Train would be supported by all lovers of liberty in this country. In these days of the Taft-Hartley Act and the Washington witch-hunt, the American working class could do well to think about civil liberties and the way they are being violated. It would be good for Jim Crow elements in the poll tax cities of the South to reread the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments which recognize equal rights, including the ballot, for the Negro people.

But this "Freedom Train" is not traveling down Freedom Road. Its engineers pretend to advance the same hard-won rights they are engaged in throwing overboard. They are the political descendants of the reactionaries these liberties were wrested from—the Tories, the slaveholders, the enemies of the labor movement.

As they see civil liberties being undermined in the very shadow of the "Freedom Train," the American people should heed the slogan of the First American Revolution: "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."



"Like Senator Taft said, if prices are too high, let 'em eat less."

## Workers BOOKSHELF

**FASCISM IN ACTION, U.S.**  
Government Printing Office, 1947, 206 pp., 40 cents.

The Reference Service of the Library of Congress has finally released *Fascism in Action*. The most valuable lesson this study teaches is the opposition of Big Business and their Washington stooges to publicizing the history and record of the Hitler, Mussolini and Franco regimes.

Last year, upon the order of the House of Representatives, the Library of Congress published 500,000 copies of *Communism in Action*. No representative raised his voice in objection. Then Representative Patman introduced a bill to print a companion study on fascism. Immediately a storm of protest broke out. Patman fought for months and finally after guarantees were given that no references to fascist movements in the U.S. would appear and that the role of Big Business in financing fascism would be played down, the House authorized publication of 1,500 copies.

This very significant struggle against publication of a study of fascism shows that the men in Congress and their masters are very class-conscious. They realize that a fascist movement is one of the last resorts of decaying capitalism and that the less the American workers know about the true nature of Fascism, the more chances of success American fascism will have.

This 206 page study of European fascism suffers from that dry-as-dust style which seems to be the hallmark of government documents. Many readers will not be able to keep up their interest through the swamp of foot notes, asterisks and long, involved sentences.

The reader is also surprised to find material which isn't pertinent to the subject. An example of this is a whole chapter devoted to transportation. While much interesting data on canals, railroads and highways is presented, the American worker is interested in learning about fascism in order to prevent it here, will learn nothing from this chapter and similar sections.

However, the major criticism is not the extraneous matter included but the vital information left out. This book gives no clear idea of how fascism came to power. It does not explain how Hitler succeeded in rallying millions of the impoverished middle class to his banner. It does not explain how the labor movement numbering many millions was paralyzed by its Stalinist and Social Democratic leadership and smashed by the storm troops.

The official reason for publication of this volume was to teach the American people not only what the policies of fascist states were, but also how to prevent fascism in America. The forward to the book by Representative Patman states that it was to be "an aid to the Amer-

ican citizen in protecting himself and his children against this most dangerous movement of modern times."

Unfortunately this Library of Congress study falls far short of that praiseworthy end. This is not merely because of the sins of omission briefly noted above. It also commits a sin that the prize fighting game condemns as crooked. It pulls its punches. This is demonstrated most clearly in the chapter devoted to the relationship of organized religion to the fascist movements. It is also true in the brief section which mentions the connections between German cartels and American Big Business.

*Fascism in Action* can be secured by sending 40 cents to the Government Printing Office in Washington, D.C., and asking for House Document No. 401. Despite its faults and shortcomings, it is worth 40 cents, mainly for the economic data it contains.

For those workers, however, who desire a readable explanation of what fascism is and how it came to power in Germany and Italy, the best account is *Fascism and Big Business* by Daniel Guerin, published by Pioneer Publishers for \$1.75. Guerin's book pulls no punches and in detailing the rise and technique of fascism shows how it can be halted and crushed by a militant working class.

—George Lavan

## STATE DEPARTMENT AGAIN DODGES ON INDONESIA

**From the Assistant Secretary of State**

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 11, 1947

Mr. James P. Cannon  
National Secretary  
Socialist Workers Party  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Cannon:  
The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of August 13, 1947, with further reference to the use of American lend-lease material by the Dutch forces in Indonesia prior to the Dutch compliance with the cease-fire request issued by the Security Council of the United Nations.

Since the provision in the lend-lease settlement agreement between the United States and the Netherlands under which the United States has not exercised its right of recapture has already been discussed in my letter to you of August 6, 1947, I shall not again go into that phase of the matter. However, it may be worth pointing out that the exercise of such a right in any particular case would, in a sense, oblige the United States to police the use of lend-lease material everywhere. It may also be worth noting in this connection that other countries, including the Soviet Union, have used such materials in a manner not contemplated in the original agreement.

Further, I cannot agree with your contention that United States action in the Indonesian matter is unilateral in the sense that it aids only the Dutch. The United States tender of good offices and the position of this Government in the Security Council meetings have had as their object reaching a just and equitable settlement on the basis of a voluntary agreement between the two parties. The Linggajati Agreement itself, which was signed by both Indonesians and Dutch, did not provide for Indonesian independence, but for eventual autonomy of the projected Indonesian Union under the Dutch crown.

Sincerely yours,  
**NORMAN ARMOUR**  
Assistant Secretary

**Answer by SWP National Secretary**

September 17, 1947

Norman Armour  
Assistant Secretary of State  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:  
In my original telegram of July 24, 1947 to President Truman, I demanded, in the name of the Socialist Workers Party that the administration immediately exercise its right to recapture the lend-lease equipment used by the Netherlands Government against the heroic Indonesian fighters for freedom.

Your answer of August 6, 1947 acknowledged that lend-lease material had been actually diverted to such evil ends, but your communication expressed no intention whatever of rectifying these abuses.

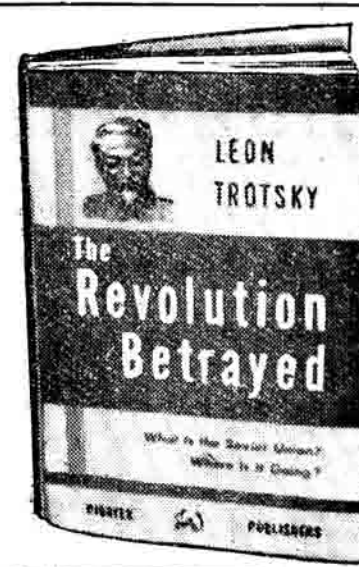
Your second letter of September 11, 1947 admits in effect that the Netherlands authorities had utilized lend-lease armaments in a manner "not contemplated in the original agreement." Yet the State Department still refuses to exercise its right to recapture this equipment, or even to voice a protest.

Such conduct confirms the charge of the Socialist Workers Party and other supporters of Indonesia's struggle for independence that the Truman administration has been covertly aiding the Dutch war of conquest against the Indonesian people.

Despite the Dutch "compliance" with the cease-fire request of the U.N. Security Council, recent dispatches indicate that this war continues, with the Netherlands' forces continuing to employ lend-lease equipment, in exactly the same manner as after the signing of the Linggajati Agreement.

I therefore renew my original demand that the State Department recapture this lend-lease material. The State Department cannot hope, by raising irrelevant issues, to evade its own share of responsibility for the crimes committed against the Indonesian people whose struggle for complete independence is supported by every champion of liberty in this country.

Yours truly,  
**JAMES P. CANNON**  
National Secretary  
Socialist Workers Party



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## Speculative Orgy in Coops As Kremlin's 'Plan' Flops

By John G. Wright

Nine months ago the Russian Council of Ministers abolished by decree all previous restrictions on co-operatives, enabling them not only to sell but produce consumer goods for non-members, leaving them free to fix their own prices, exempting them from taxes, extending them grants of land and government subsidies in the form of state credits, allocations of buildings, raw materials, supplies, machines, tools.

By thus creating a privileged sector of economy, functioning independently of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, the Kremlin oligarchs had hoped to at least step up the output and distribution of acutely scarce necessities, particularly to pump out agricultural "surpluses" hoarded by Russian peasants who still obviously prefer to deal with private traders and not with the state.

How has this far-reaching concession to capitalist elements worked out in the interim?

The capitalist sector has been markedly strengthened. By the second quarter of this year "the turnover of cooperative trade in the cities reached 5 billion rubles," states the leading editorial in *Pravda*, Aug. 28. This 20 billion ruble annual turnover represents an important fraction of the total Soviet domestic trade; the actual proportion of trade now controlled privately is even larger, if city trade alone is considered, as *Pravda* does.

### EXPANDED IN CITIES

This means that the primary expansion of co-operatives has taken place not in the villages, as the Kremlin had dreamed, but in the largest cities where in the last six months the coops have opened up "19,000 stores, booths and stalls, together with 3,000 communal food enterprises."

Expansion in rural areas has been slight. In fact, *Pravda* complains that "up till now a considerable section of the co-operatives do not bother at all to purchase agricultural produce and raw materials." Citing a "classic rural area" like Krasnodar, one of the richest farming provinces, *Pravda's* editors go on to reveal only 47 out of 78 Krasnodar coops engaged in buying operations. The others only sell what they themselves produce.

And even those few who buy, do so not from peasants but in "markets in the cities and worker settlements themselves."

In plain language, this means that the Kremlin's original plans have boomeranged. Instead of increasing the volume of purchasable goods or helping bring down prices, these neo-capitalist ventures are interested solely in profits.

While expanding in the big cities, the cooperative network is "functioning unsatisfactorily" in rural centers like Chelyabinsk, Smolensk and other provinces whereas in such key provinces as Archangel, Vologdarsk and Ivanovsk an actual "reduction of rural stores network" has taken place.

### NESTS OF SPECULATORS

The coops have become nothing else than new nests of speculators, akin to their bloody-brothers everywhere else. So scandalous has their activity been that *Pravda* has issued a warning in customary Stalinist style: "In a number of cases," it thunders, "the co-operatives employ the services of speculators and middle-men, paying them excessive rewards."

Meanwhile, the cooperative "plan" for such necessities as potatoes and vegetables has been fulfilled only one-third. What is more, "in a number of provinces the deliveries of early vegetables and potatoes are poorer than last year."

Many key industrial regions are not serviced at all. These are industrial towns in the Urals (Kopeisk, Korino, Chusovoi and others) where the co-operatives "did not open a single store," and such oil cities as Ishimbayev or coal towns like Ruchenkovo which are "virtually without cooperative trade."

The Kremlin has flatly warned that it expects a drastic change "in the next few months." The coops must "promote on the largest possible scale the purchases of agricultural produce and raw materials; assume a prominent place in urban commodity turnover; improve their servicing of rural consumers and increase their output of foodstuffs and manufactured goods out of local raw materials." But the prospect is that the present state of affairs will not only continue but grow worse.

A sharp clash between the regime and the expanding neo-capitalist sector is, in our opinion, unavoidable.

## How Billionaire Bankers Pinch Pennies Nowadays

By Evelyn Atwood

So you think you've got troubles meeting the high cost of living? Did you ever give a thought to the lusher troubles of the bankers? The Sept. 12 *Wall Street Journal* tells about the bankers' woes nowadays. There are 18 billion dollars in New York City's big commercial banks today. But soaring costs are cutting into their earnings too, and they have to do plenty of "penny-pinching."

One of these giant banks set a good example by cutting down on the number of envelope styles in a single department. Instead of eleven styles, they now have only three. That way they save \$5,000 a year—500,000 pennies. It "sounds like small potatoes," said the controller. "But it adds up when multiplied several times." No sacrifice is too great, not even eight envelope styles, when you're pinching pennies.

Another *Wall Street* bank has taken an even more drastic step. It reduced from twelve to eight the number of officers for whom it provides luncheon club memberships. Just think of the humiliation for those four officers who now have to eat with just any old body in some high-priced restaurant, and pay for it themselves, instead of getting a free feed with millionaires in the Bankers Club.

This thrifty bank is also beginning to investigate the whole business of officers using the bank's funds to entertain themselves and their customers with broiled lobster and champagne. "We want to make sure," a bank official explained, "that a customer with a \$50,000 account is not entertained more often because he may be an amusing fellow, than the less jocular owner of a \$4,000,000 account."

That kind of hospitality was all right during the war, when bank earnings spurred to record levels, reaching their peak in 1945. But things are different now. One group of leading banks in New York City reported last year's earnings about 14% below those for 1945. So today the senior bankers have to pinch pennies on their envelopes and fun-loving junior officers. Nor have they overlooked cutting down on charity donations, although many of these are pet charities to their big customers.

Of course all this is only the start. A little straw shows which way the really big economy winds are blowing. One bank is cracking down on the "habit many clerks developed during the war of making several trips to a coffee counter during working hours." First they cut down on the number of trips. Then they'll cut out the coffee. In the end they'll cut out the clerks.

They've already got plans for more and better machines to take over many jobs still done by hand. One banker hopefully foresees "an era of remote control bookkeeping . . . a few buttons and electronics will post the ledger sheet upstairs before the customer leaves the bank."

No wages to pay—only bigger and better salaries and bonuses for the bankers. For those are the last things a bank will pinch pennies on.



# Workers' Forum

## Makes Idea of Publishing Serial

The suggestion of Harry Frankel regarding the publication of serials in *The Militant* is a very good idea. Leon Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution," a work so famous that even the reactionary bourgeois intellectual, Mortimer J. Adler, has included it on his list of the world's great books, would be excellent reading for workers interested in the true story of the Russian uprising against Czarist tyranny.

May I suggest that some competent party members undertake some sort of symposium on the great literature of the world from a Marxist point of view? I am particularly interested in the works of the reporters of bourgeois decadence: Joyce, Proust, and Mann. Such a discussion would be most useful in the education of the workers, and in giving our comrades a Marxist orientation in the matters of liberal education.

P. B.  
Milwaukee, Wis.

## Reader Asks For Marxist Definitions

Will you please define clearly, in the Marxist concept, the terms class and sectarian and oblige?

Thankfully yours,  
A. W.  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Answer: We gladly comply with A. W.'s request.

Classes, in the Marxist terminology, define formations which arise and develop in society as a result of long historical process. Sources of income alone are not decisive here. Decisive is the role each class plays in production, the true source of its income. If a social grouping plays no independent role in production, it cannot be considered as a true class.

For example, the Church and its institutions long represented a dominant class in feudal times when it played an independent role in an agricultural economy as the largest landowner. Today, the Catholic Church is merely an appendage of the capitalist ruling class, except in countries like Spain, where as a vestige of feudal times, it still plays a role in economy. Outside of such isolated instances, the Church is no longer any independent class force.

Such social formations as the modern petty bourgeoisie do not constitute a class in the strict sense. But because of their large numbers and the important role they play as auxiliaries of one class camp or the other, they are commonly referred to as a "class." This usage is permissible provided its limitations are clearly understood.

The term "sectarian" is not a socio-economic category like the previously defined term ("class"). It characterizes a certain form of thinking. Lenin correctly classified sectarianism among the mental diseases. It sometimes takes root in the working class under the conditions of capitalist rule. It is directly nourished by the capitalists and flourishes most luxuriantly in individualistic circles of which the artistic Bohemians are a horrible example.

In brief, a sectarian is a mechanical thinker, in flight from reality, who lives under the illusion that what is settled in his or her own mind is necessarily settled once and for all, for the whole world. In

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.

## Keep On!

O man bowed down with labor,  
O woman young yet old,  
O heart oppressed in the tailor's breast  
And crushed by the power of gold—  
Keep on with your weary battle  
against triumphant might;  
No question is ever settled until  
it is settled right.

Ella Wheeler Wilcox

working class politics, this school of thought is distinguished by its consistent refusal to go, at a given time, through necessary experiences with the mass of the workers, or an important section of the working class.

They can teach nothing important but they are able on occasion to miseducate a considerable number of workers. Among the sectarian groups, Marxists list the Anarchists, Anarcho-syndicalists, Socialist Labor Party and the like.

## Find the Paper More Readable Now

Enclosed is a \$5 contribution to *The Militant*. I had hoped it would be bigger, but with \$1-a-pound butter and \$1-a-dozen eggs . . . Well, you know the story all too well.

At that, for a white collar worker I'm doing better than a lot of workers I know and read about. So far as long as I can and as often as I can, I shall keep these contributions rolling in to you.

May I comment on the new typeface in *The Militant*? Much more readable and easier on the eyes. More important, I believe I detect an easier readability in another way—in the phraseology. If I were asked to criticize the format and contents of the paper, I would say the tendency for too heavy and sometimes stereotyped words is the only thing.

One of the many attractions of Kovalesky's articles on the steel workers is his simple and straightforward "steel workers" language, which makes the impact of his irony and bitterness all the stronger—and his message clearer and more easily understood.

I know this is a long-winded way to say "Enclosed find five bucks which you richly deserve," but I thought I'd mention it.

E. H.  
Bronx, N. Y.

## YOUTH ACTIVITIES

**AKRON**—Socialist Youth Club, 8 South Howard St., 2nd floor, 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 Mr. Kevin, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3.

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

## Plugs "Secret Life Of Walter Mitty"

Editor:

I recommend "The Secret Life of Walter Mitty" for a pleasant evening at the movies—and not because I'm a Danny Kaye fan and start laughing as soon as his name flashes on the screen. The main story, a rehash of the old Harold Lloyd routine of hanging to sky-scraper window ledges and so on, left me cold. But I got a lot of laughs out of the satiric dream sequences.

Kaye is supposed to be a proof-reader in a thriller-diller chiller-mystery-murder-horror magazine publishing outfit. He suffers from day dreams. He slips out of the gray humdrum by imagining himself a world-famous surgeon, a world-famous war pilot, a Mississippi gambler, a heroic skipper in a typhoon, a Billy-the-Kid two-gun killer, etc.

Day-dreaming is unhealthy. Instead of trying to change this sad, brutal, hungry and bloody world, millions of people find it more pleasant to escape by simply shutting out the truth and losing themselves in day dreams the way Danny Kaye does in this picture.

A movie that ribs this tendency is all to the good—especially when it's as humorous as this one.

J. N.  
New York

## Appreciates Article By Albert Parker

Editor:

I would like to say that all my friends were greatly impressed with the article "That's Where My Money Goes," a few weeks ago; I mean the one by Albert Parker.

We all agree it's the best thing of its kind we ever saw.

Belle Montague  
Cambridge, Mass.

# Railroad Strike Ends But Rules Violations Continue

PITTSBURGH, Sept. 13.—The eight-day strike against U.S. Steel's Union Railroad Company ended last night with a 15 cents hourly increase and other concessions for the 1,800 striking members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

The strike, which was denounced as "unauthorized" by the national leaders of the unions and the National Railway Mediation Board, had been completely effective. Heavy picket lines had been respected both by other railroad workers and CIO steel mill workers.

Besides the 15 cent raise, the settlement provided for the payment of any additional increase won in the coming national wage negotiations, and for an improved vacation plan. Representatives of the five operating railroad brotherhoods are scheduled to meet Sept. 18 to formulate wage demands for all operating employees.

## STRIKERS' DEMANDS

The strikers had demanded a 50 cents an hour increase and adjustment of hundreds of contract and work rules violations by the URR. The announced settlement, however, pledged both sides to withdraw demands for rules changes for another year.

A spokesman for the strikers' policy committee told *The Militant* that their wage demand was necessary to bring workers' earnings on this "captive" railroad into line with those of railroad workers on the main lines. URR employees, he explained, are limited in what they can earn to a strict eight-hour day wage, while main line trainmen and engineers have the possibility of increasing their earnings by terminal overtime provisions and mileage rates.

The company has consistently refused to discuss grievances over contract and work rules violations. Union pickets told *The Militant* the reporter that the strike had been forced above all by the management's provocative ignoring of the most elementary safety precautions and the breach of contract provisions caused by the URR's speed-up.

To show why the strikers were so indignant, one picket gave us some examples of the dangerous results of the speed-up.

**SOME EXAMPLES**

Government traffic regulations limit railroad traffic on an overpass in East Pittsburgh to 10 miles an hour for safety reasons. Engineers hauling loads of a weight

ordered by the company yardmaster find it necessary to bring their engines up to 60 miles an hour to cross this bridge. Yet, as custom has shown, the official investigators will take the company's word as final in placing responsibility on the engine crew in case this rules violation should result in an accident.

Under the whip of the yardmaster, who is always being driven by the higher-ups for "more production," safety signals are continually ignored. Engines are moved through lines where stop lights warn that crews are working. To save time, hot cinders and molten metals are ladled into waiting cars while ground crews are working directly below.

The speed-up takes other forms. Men assigned to one class of job are shifted into entirely different work to fill in their eight hours when the assigned work has been completed early, thus making it possible and profitable for the company to understaff crews.

Heading the company committee that arrogantly refused to even discuss work-rules violations, was the notorious Frank Oakie. A colonel during the war, he is widely known as the man who broke the 1925 strike of the Tennessee Iron and Coal Company workers. His reputation among railroaders is that of a scab-herding bully and browbeater.

# Take 11 Children from Disabled Vet, Wife

By Winifred Nelson

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 13.—Eleven children of a disabled World War I veteran and his wife were taken from their parents by police and welfare workers here last week and put in General Hospital, awaiting placement in boarding homes. According to a story in the local press, these were the events leading up to this action:

Eugene Trafton, 56, badly crippled with arthritis, and his wife, Florence, 43, an expectant mother, went out last Saturday night to see a movie, leaving their 15-year-old daughter in charge of the younger children. After the movie, they had two glasses of beer, and then took the street-car home. Police picked them up and took them off to jail.

The couple was released the next day, and ordered to appear in juvenile court at a later date, when welfare workers will attempt to have the children cared for by the state in boarding homes.

In a story which appeared in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune, the home was described as dirty and dilapidated. The mother was reported to have said that, if she could afford help, she would be able to keep the home clean. But the Traftons,

eleven children and two adults, are forced to live on the miserable allowance of \$85.50 every two weeks, given the veteran husband as disability pay!

Police charge that there was no food in the house. Mrs. Trafton denied that she had neglected to feed her children, and claimed that they were in good health. "I don't want to lose my children," the newspaper quotes her as saying. "I wish they'd give me another chance."

Welfare workers and police accused these parents of not providing enough food or clothing or healthy surroundings for their children to grow up in. But the criminals here are not the parents, denied the possibility of earning a living. The crime lies with the capitalist system, that allows the men who fight the country's battles to live in poverty while those who profit from the wars live in luxury.

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# An Open Letter To Our Readers

Dear Reader:

The Militant, we believe, is the best workers' paper in this country. But we are by no means satisfied or smug about it. We know there is room for improvement. That is why we address this Open Letter to YOU.

A revolutionary workers' paper should report labor news, analyze and interpret national and international events. It must do more than that. It should also reflect in its columns the life of workers. Their struggles. Their ambitions. Their aspirations. For this we need YOUR help.

If we had sufficient funds, we would send several trained writers into the field for such material. That, however, is not a substitute for what you can do.

You can write about the many little things which happen in the shop, in your neighborhood, in the nurseries of children's schools. These items may seem small by themselves, but the cumulative effect will be to make *The Militant* a paper OF the workers as well as FOR the workers.

Perhaps you have criticisms or suggestions to make. Maybe there is some article or feature in *The Militant* you specially like. Write a letter to our Workers Forum. We want as many such letters as possible. Your opinions are important to us because they act as a guide for our editors.

When something occurs on your job, such as a speed-up, an accident caused by faulty machinery, or something wrong with sanitation, etc.—write it down and send it to *The Militant*.

When layoffs are ordered, when an important discussion takes place at your union meeting, when you hold a demonstration or send a delegation to City Hall, give publicity to the event by using the columns of this paper.

If you are a house-wife trying to balance your budget against the soaring food prices,

tell us what kind of cooking substitutes you have to resort to in order to make ends meet and at the same time provide nourishing food for the family. Tell us how much more labor this takes. How much time you have left for recreation after your daily chores of shopping, cooking, cleaning, washing, mending.

Contrast what your pay envelope does for the family now with what it did when prices were lower, even though your husband's wages may have risen somewhat. Or perhaps you have a child you want to send through high school or even college, but cannot afford it because of the high cost of living. Why not tell us about it?

What are the problems in your neighborhood? Are there struggles against evictions, high rents and poor housing? Do you meet with racial or religious discrimination? And what are you doing about them? *The Militant* would like to know about these things, and so would the other readers of *The Militant*. An exchange of information of this kind will help us all in the fight for a better world.

You don't have to be a skilled writer to do this. Just put what you have to say down on paper as though you were talking to a friend. If your story needs editing, it will be done by *The Militant* staff.

The important thing is to send us your stories. Don't be inhibited by the fact that they are for publication. Just write them as though you were telling them to your family. *The Militant* is your paper. Help keep it so. Help us by writing for *The Militant*. Help us financially.

Next week you will receive a letter in the mails from our Business Manager, who will tell you how *The Militant* is produced. Read it carefully. Act on it. But above all, don't fail to send us your stories, your comments, your criticisms and suggestions.

Editorial Staff,  
*The Militant*

## \$16,000 Militant Fund

(Tentative Quotas)	
City	Quota
Akron	\$ 300
Allentown-Bethlehem	75
Boston	275
Buffalo	600
Chicago	1,500
Cleveland	250
Connecticut	200
Detroit	600
Flint	200
Los Angeles	1,500
Lynn	125
Massillon-Canton	50
Milwaukee	200
Newark	500
New York City	4,500
Oakland	2,550
Philadelphia	300
Pittsburgh	150
Reading	150
Rochester	25
St. Louis	50
San Diego	100
San Francisco	1,500
Seattle	300
Tacoma	25
Toledo	200
Twin Cities	1,000
West Virginia	25
Youngstown	600
General	
(members-at-large, etc.)	450

## West Coast Camp Holds 9-Day Vacation School

WEST COAST VACATION SCHOOL, CHINO, Calif. — The third annual encampment of the West Coast Vacation School for Workers opened here Sept. 6, with 80 persons present, including Militant readers and friends from Los Angeles, San Pedro, San Diego and San Francisco. A carload was expected to arrive shortly from Vancouver and Seattle for the nine-day vacation.

The attractive and convenient facilities of the Workmen's Circle Camp utilized by the West Coast Vacation School have been improved since last year, campers find. An excellent tennis court, sun decks near the modern swimming pool, and improved parking facilities have been added.

Enthusiasm for both the recreational and educational aspects of the school ran so high the first week-end that welcoming speeches Saturday night were interrupted by applause, songs and snake dances, and the first class Sunday morning was attended by more than 50 persons.

Classes on Marxism in the United States, Historical Materialism, and Capital are held in the morning, with the latter two running concurrently. Afternoons are free for sports, reading and loafing. A one-hour discussion on popular and cultural subjects is scheduled for the hour after dinner. Entertainment such as films, dances, games, or camp-fires follows.

A record crowd is expected for the final week-end of the camp, Sept. 14 and 15.

## THE MILITANT ARMY

## Stalled Car a Blessing To Los Angeles Subgetter



Southside Branch finished in first place in the Los Angeles Local's campaign for Militant subs. Ed Smith, Literature Agent for Southside, mailed in 15 subscriptions and explained: "These subs were gotten in last Sunday's mobilization, which concluded the current sub drive. The total subs obtained by Southside Branch is 112, the highest in the local. Comrade Judy, a rubber worker, sold one subscription to a Negro pastor and three more to three members of the congregation who had grouped together to fix the Reverend's car. This provided our comrade with the opportunity of selling four subs at once."

Today we received another letter from Ed Smith. He says: "I keep finding subs in my pockets from last month's sub drive. Here are four more. This raises the Southside Branch's total to 116 subscriptions."

Al Lynn reports that the Los Angeles comrades sold 50 copies of *The Militant* at the Labor Day Parade. In addition, they sold 73 copies of "Fight the Slave Labor Law!" and 64 copies of "Build A Labor Party Now."

Six Philadelphia comrades, according to a report from Literature Agent George LeCompte, netted 12 Militant subs in Sunday work. "I had hoped," he says, "to have something exciting to tell you about the sub-getting, but nothing of interest happened. The comrades just went out and got subs. Maybe I'm being pessimistic, but this is probably the biggest batch of subs you'll get from us for some time. Right now it looks like we're going to be hellishly busy raising funds for the defense of our comrades who have been charged with contempt. At any rate we ought to make some contacts, and they will help to swell *The Militant* sub list."

The Buffalo Branch comrades obtained 5 more subscriptions during the week.

The San Diego comrades also sent in 5 subs during the week, with a promise from Al Turner, Literature Agent, that they "will be sending more later."

E. Alexander, new Literature Agent for the Akron Branch reports that "the comrades are starting to push the sale of Militants and F.I.'s among their contacts in the rubber plants."

B. Allen of Detroit informs us that Comrade Eleanor obtained "the enclosed 3 subs from workers at one of the rubber plants."

The Buffalo Branch requested 250 additional copies of *The Militant* to be distributed at a meeting of The United Automobile Workers Union.

M. Jones of Youngstown Branch sent in \$3 they "got from a contact for *The Militant*. He likes the ideas and program of *The Militant*."

Total subs for August took another drop. August was still a vacation month and one of the hottest months on record which, we believe, is accountable for the further decline in subscriptions. Va-

cations are over, cool weather is here. Check the total subs your branch sent in and let's do better for September.

The subs received during August are listed by branch.	
Los Angeles Local	106
Philadelphia	25
Detroit	24
St. Paul	22
Milwaukee	19
San Francisco	18
Boston	16
New York Local	16
San Diego	15
Chicago Local	12
Connecticut State	11
Minneapolis	9
Buffalo	8
Cleveland	7
Flint	7
Reading	6
Akron	5
Newark	5
St. Louis	5
Sattle	5
Youngstown	4
Calumet	2
Lynn	2
Oakland	1
Pittsburgh	1
Toledo	1
Allentown	0
Rochester	0
General	25
Total	377

## Toledo Labor and Consumers Plan Fight on HCL

TOLEDO, Sept. 15.—Resentment against the skyrocketing cost of living is spreading to ever wider circles here. The CIO Wholesale and Retail Union Joint Council voted at its last meeting to picket stores that are charging exorbitant prices. Housewives, Inc., a middle class organization, is conducting a telephone campaign urging that certain food items be boycotted. It is becoming a common sight to see groups of people clustered around meat counters in the stores discussing the price situation. Everyone is demanding that "something" be done.

Because the utility of buyers strikes and picket lines to bring prices down has already been shown, there is no great enthusiasm for the proposals made so far. There appears to be a desire to have the unions open grocery commissaries as the Ford and Briggs locals in Detroit are doing. Other proposals include widespread organization of union, farmer and consumer organizations to fight against high prices. In union circles a movement is expected to get under way to reopen wage agreements with the corporations in order to get a cost-of-living increase. Last spring's increase of around 15 cents an hour, obtained by many of the CIO unions, has been eaten up in the recent rise in prices.

Further developments promise to include both attempts to get another wage increase and efforts to organize actions by consumers to publicize the profiteering of the monopoly trusts that are plundering the country.

## PHILADELPHIA

Firm Showing of

"NATIVE LAND"

with Paul Robeson

and large cast

Saturday, October 11,

8:30 p. m.

New Century Club

Auditorium

124 South 12th St.

Subscription: 75 cents

## FLINT

SWP Candidate for

Mayor of Detroit

Howard Lerner

will speak on

"MICHIGAN—HOME OF THE

AUTO WORKERS AND

AUTO BARONS"

Sunday, Sept. 28, 7 p. m.

215 East Ninth Street

## BROOKLYN — BEDFORD STUYVESANT

Harvard Moon Dance

Robert Williams — Guest of Honor

SWP Candidate for State Senate

Special Entertainment — Refreshments

Saturday Night, Sept. 27

635 Fulton Street

Auspices: Bedford Stuyvesant and Downtown Brooklyn Branches

## New York Marxist Labor School

Beginning Monday evening, Oct. 6,

and each Monday in October

7:30 p. m.—THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT THEN AND NOW: A Marxist review of the class struggles in the nineteenth century culminating in the American Civil War.

Instructor: William F. Warde

9:00 p. m.—MODERN SCIENCE AND MARXISM: The chimes in modern science. Biological evolution and the trends in modern human society . . . Dialectical Materialism, the young science of the sciences, its vast scope and limitations.

Instructor: B. Lens.

Open discussion to follow each lecture

116 University Place

\$1.00 for series, 30 cents per session.

Free admission to unemployed workers

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



# We Cannot Flee To Freedom

By Theodore Kovalesky

Beneath his feet the deck moved slowed and rhythmically. His chin and throat felt as though soft fingers were caressing them as the breeze stirred his beard.



The old man's eyes were very bright as he watched the dawn just slightly tingling the sky with light. The day was coming. The new day was coming!

How could a spirit live so long? Sometimes he had wondered. How could a human being see so much, feel so deeply, suffer so terribly and still look forward to a new day? How was it he had not died, this old Jew, as so many younger men and women had died?

The old man leaned on the rail, watching the water and the faint light in the sky. Perhaps it is wrong to call him old; for in him was something young and vigorous, something that would not die, a spark perhaps lighted centuries ago in days of oppression and living on and on, passing through the bodies of his ancestors, living still in the body of this old Jew in these days of oppression.

Today would be a new day. In his aged body the deathless youthful vigor stirred. The clusters of bodies, the living waiting for god knows what and the dead waiting for the incinerators, were forgotten. Beisen sank into the shadows of the past. The voice of the SS sergeant outside his tenement door for the first time was stifled and ceased to echo in his brain. His young blood pulsed through his veins, and the old man looked eagerly through the horizon for the vision of the promised land.

Still . . . is anything really deathless? The flame burned in him. His wife, his children were dead. He alone was left and now felt eagerness. But would another blow let him live on? So much had he suffered in the past, could he survive another crucifixion? But no! This was a new day! There would be hardship, yes, but this struggle would yield golden fruits! The old man's eyes glowed as he watched the dawn from the deck of the "Exodus 1947."

The wall is high and gray, built of age-old stone.

## The Negro Struggle

### Along The Freedom Train Route

By Albert Parker

The Freedom Train is described as a "traveling shrine" carrying over 100 "priceless" exhibits and documents of the American "way of life." It is scheduled to visit 300 cities on a 3,000 mile tour, beginning in Philadelphia on Sept. 17, and will form the center of great "patriotic" observances and ceremonies at each of these cities.

The Negro people, who have always been in the vanguard of the fight for freedom, have more than a passing interest in some of the documents that will be hailed so joyfully along the Freedom Train route. After all, they and their forefathers shed their blood generously to win some of the democratic rights recognized in these documents—the right to citizenship, the right to vote, the right of free speech, etc.

Nevertheless, I suspect that the Negro people, by and large, will show more interest than enthusiasm in these Freedom Train ceremonies and demonstrations; and that they will be more inclined to raise certain sober questions than to go all-out in applause. Some of these questions have already been eloquently asked by Langston Hughes, noted poet, in a moving work, "Checkin' on the Freedom Train," which is adapted from a Negro spiritual:

Who's the engineer on the Freedom Train?  
Can a coal black man drive the Freedom Train?  
Or am I still a porter on the Freedom Train?  
Is there ballot boxes on the Freedom Train?  
Do colored folks vote on the Freedom Train?

## Good vs. Bad Microbes

By Grace Carlson

Most people are convinced that all microbes are bad. But the new branch of medical science—the study of antibiotics—shows how untrue this is. For the story of antibiotics demonstrates how science can put good microbes to work killing bad microbes.



Most outstanding of the antibiotic substances is penicillin, but it is only one of many such—streptomycin, bacitracin, tomatin, etc. In fact, the word antibiotic simply means the product of any natural organism, which can be used to fight another organism.

The fascinating story of Dr. Alexander Fleming's discovery of penicillin in St. Mary's Hospital, London in 1929 gives a still clearer picture of what an antibiotic is and what it does.

By chance, a culture plate on which Dr. Fleming was growing bacteria became infected with a mold very similar to the one which grows on Roquefort cheese. Dr. Fleming observed that around each mold "colony" was a clear circle in which bacteria seemed unable to live. The reddish-yellow fluid produced by the mold contained something which stopped the bacteria from growing. That something was penicillin—a name Dr. Fleming took from Penicillium Notatum, the mold which had produced it.

The windows are slitted narrowly into the cell walls, latticed with bars of steel. Outside the guards pace endlessly, and there is the inner clank of the metal doors.

Always there are the guards. The faces change. Through the ages the uniform changes. New inventions are discovered: the noose, replaced by the headman, the electric chair the noose, the mass gas chamber, for practical reasons, the individual electric chair.

Where is this prison, where pallid faces stare hungrily at the open sky, where the floors of the death cells grown worn and smooth with the passage of millions of feet as the condemned enter for a little while and then leave . . . forever? Is it Sing Sing in America, the Peter and Paul Fortress in old Russia, the dungeons of ancient Rome where the Gracchi brothers lay waiting for their executioner?

Are the guards German Nazis, Italian Fascisti, Stalinist NKVD men, or are they the police of America?

The prison is all of those places and many more. The guards are all of those and the rest as well.

For the whole world is a prison and a death house that reeks with the stink of the incinerator pyres and echoes with the voice of misery. For centuries the walls have been built, stone by stone, for centuries reinforced and enlarged to encompass the sufferings of slavery, then feudalism, and finally capitalism. Now they are complete, and there is no escape but one.

The Jews cannot escape this prison, nor the Negroes, nor the Indonesians with the rest of their tormented colonial brothers. And you and I cannot escape it either, so long as it remains standing.

There is but one way to freedom. And that way is to demolish the prison that tyranny has built, tear down the whole monstrous structure of present day society . . . and replace it with the clean walled, airy cities of the Socialist Tomorrow.

We must remember this: no matter what our desperation nor what our misery, we cannot flee to freedom and peace. To arrive at the goal of liberty we do not flee, but march triumphantly and powerfully, an army of all races and nationalities, with the battle-song of labor on our lips.

When it stops in Mississippi will it be made plain Everybody's got a right to board the Freedom Train? . . .

The Birmingham station's marked COLORED and WHITE.

The white folks go left, the colored right—They even got a segregated lane. Is that the way to get aboard the Freedom Train? . . .

If my children ask me, Daddy, please explain Why there's Jim Crow stations for the Freedom Train, What shall I tell my children? . . . You tell me—'Cause freedom ain't freedom when a man ain't free.

When that train goes steamin' through South Carolina, Will them Greenville lynchers pay it any mind? Or will that twelve-man jury what let 'em loose, Turn their heads and spit tobacco juice? . . .

When my old mother in Atlanta, 83 and black, Gets in line to see the Freedom, Will some white man yell, Get back! A Negro's got no business on the Freedom Track! . . .

Langston Hughes' questions relate for the most part to the South, but similar questions can and will be asked about the rest of the Freedom Train's route. For nowhere in the country do the Negro people enjoy genuine equality in the economic, social and political spheres. And everywhere in the country Negroes must still fight on for some of the freedoms and rights which capitalist politicians are going to praise in words while they violate and deny them in action.

## Notes from the News

**LIBERAL DOUBLE TALK**—After Henry Wallace's Sept. 12 Madison Square Garden speech, the N. Y. Daily News headline read: WALLACE RALLY ASKS THIRD PARTY, while the N. Y. Post headline read: NO 3RD PARTY WALLACE TELLS RALLY.

**AUTO TRAGEDY**—John Dos Passos, famous novelist and defender of civil liberties, was severely injured, losing an eye, in an auto accident in Warcham, Mass. His wife, Katherine was killed. Dos Passos was a vice-chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

**SQUEEZED OUT**—1,400,000 student veterans, 35% of the total, have had to quit schools and colleges because of financial and housing problems, a recent Veterans Administration survey reveals.

**WITCH HUNT SPEEDED**—Attorney General Tom Clark, a sponsor of the so-called Freedom Train, has almost completed his secret list of "subversive" organizations. Membership in any of these will mean dismissal for federal employees.

**SAFELY BROKEN LAWS**—Major violations of the child labor, minimum wage and overtime laws were found in over half of the companies inspected by the Department of Labor last year.

**GARY SCHOOL STRIKE OVER**—All save a handful of the Emerson School pupils have returned to their classes after an unsuccessful attempt to force Negro children to leave the school. The CIO Steelworkers Union bitterly fought the Jim Crow strike.

**SPEED-UP REJECTED**—UAW Local 5 almost unanimously rejected an incentive pay proposal of the Studebaker Corporation. Out of 6,000 workers voting, only two were for the plan. The union denounced the proposal as just a speed-up scheme.

**WORTHY SUCCESSOR**—Labor-hating, anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic Representative Rankin is expected to win the Senate seat left empty by the late, unlamented Bilbo. All the other candidates proclaim their support of "white supremacy," but Rankin is out-Bilboing them.

**TOTAL WHITEWASH**—The Warren County, N. C. Grand Jury which had previously turned loose six of the attempted lynchings of Godwin Bush, last week set the other two free also.

**AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING**—Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence, of Aurora, Illinois and their eight children are being evicted from the two-car garage they call home.

# THE MILITANT

## Hickman Needs Your Help, Says Novelist After Interview in Jail

By Willard Motley

The picture (in the adjoining columns) is of a man whom the State charges with murder. Pictured with him are three of his children who, with a fourth were burned to death in a fire. James Hickman did kill a man.

Today I talked with Hickman. Today I well understood how and why he could have killed another man. And if one is justified in killing another man it seems to me that Hickman was justified. If a man may kill another man when his wife is involved and they call it the "unwritten law," then perhaps there is another "unwritten law." Perhaps if a landlord allows conditions that undeniably lead to the death of four members of a man's family, if a landlord threatens that he will burn you out of your home, if the home does burn down and four of your children are burned to death—then perhaps there is this other "unwritten law."

Today I talked to Hickman. Today I felt that perhaps I too, or almost any other man, would have done the same thing as he has done, given the same circumstances.

Look at Mr. Hickman, pictured above with his wife and three of his children—a common enough picture. When you look at it you can't see death in the children's eyes, nor grief in the mother's nor desperation in the father's. That came later.

Look at Mr. Hickman and examine the facts. These are the facts:

### HICKMAN'S SEARCH

Like many Negroes, Jim moved from the South to find more opportunity for his family—a better home, better wages, better schools. Jim found his job in the steel mills. And then there was the problem of a home. He found that too. After many months of searching he found that.

But was it a better home? In the black belt of great sprawling industrial Chicago, was it a better home? It was one attic room on the third floor of a tenement house. A room without water, without gas, without lights. One cramped room in an attic into which he, his wife and his seven children moved. Yes, it was a tight squeeze, but Jim wasn't disheartened.

Then, there was another catch—coming from the lips of Coleman, the landlord. "One hundred bucks for the apartment downstairs when it is vacant. One hundred bucks on the spot before you move into the attic." Jim paid up. Meanwhile, for the attic space where they were crowded like baggage they were charged six dollars a week.

Five months passed. There was still no flat for Jim. No, Coleman did not give him back his hundred dollars. Coleman told him to move out. Coleman told all the tenants in the building to get out. He was going to convert it into kitchenettes. He'd make more money that way.

Nowhere to go. No one in the building had anywhere to go. Coleman said he'd get them out. He'd get them out if it took a fire to do it. To Jim Hickman he said, "I'll turn you out."

The fire came. One night last January the fire started at the door of the attic room. Willis, the 20 year old son, pushed her down the brick wall and dropped her to the hard pavement below. There were flames all around him by now. He could not get to the others nor to the stairwell. He jumped from the window, seriously injuring himself. His arm will never be right again.

Charles, nineteen, awakened in a daze. He fled down the flaming

The text of this article was released to the press by the Hickman Defense Committee in Chicago.

stairway before he realized the others were still back there upstairs. But then it was too late. In the smoky, fiery room were still the four youngest children. Awakening, they crawled under the bed, secure there, they felt, from whatever threatened them. Leslie, fourteen, protectively shielded his brother and sisters with his own body. And they waited. No help came. There was no way up to them. Just the fiery steps, swaying now, and ready to fall in flames. When the fire was extinguished the charred body of the fourteen year old boy was found still shielding his brother and sisters, aged nine, seven, and three, from the death that came horribly. These are the facts.

And further facts: A kerosene can was found sitting outside the attic door. No one had ever seen it before. A stranger had run through the house warning the tenants of the first and second floor that the building was on fire. No one ever saw him again.

### TORTURED DOUBTS

Had Coleman started the fire as he threatened? Jim, when he came home, found the fire Coleman had promised him. He found the charred bodies of his four youngest children. Had Coleman done it? The question nagged him as he moved in a daze around the ruins of what had been a home and a family. It nagged him. Over days and weeks it nagged him. Over months it pursued him. No one human being could be so cruel to another human being. To a child! To four children! . . . They had done nothing . . . The question pursued him.

He couldn't talk to his wife. He couldn't talk to anybody. He couldn't think . . . The question nagged him. It itched inside him until he knew Coleman had killed his children. At the coroner's inquest Coleman was reprimanded for violating the fire ordinances. But he had been reprimanded before—and even fined. Coleman murdered my kids, Jim told himself. The law knows it.

It was not a question any more. It was a certainty. And the certainty itched and nagged, nagged and itched, and Jim remembered only one thing: "I'll burn you out," Coleman had said.

So this is a picture of a man who has killed another man. You have seen many pictures of men who have killed. You have seen the photographs of the returned soldier. Perhaps next door lives a boy who killed some other boy during the war. In the war millions of men killed other millions of men because they believed they were a threat to their homes, their wives, their children. This threat was thousands of miles from home. These were strangers killed, with whom there had been no personal contact. James Hickman killed the man who had threatened his wife and children with a death more horrible than the Nazi gas chambers. And carried it out. This is what I was thinking of as I sat talking to Hickman today. Hickman needs help. There are three children left who need him. A wife who needs him. Will you help us help him?

### Before Disaster Struck



The above picture shows James Hickman, his wife Anna and three of their children shortly before a fire broke out in his home and burned these three children and one other to death. Hickman, stricken with grief, shot his landlord, whom he held responsible for these deaths, and is in jail on a murder charge. For an analysis of this case, read the article by Willard Motley elsewhere on this page.

## Chicago Hickman Defense Rally Slated Sept. 28

CHICAGO, Sept. 17—Numerous labor, veteran, community and religious organizations and leaders are rallying to the support of James Hickman, steel worker charged with murdering his landlord after a fire in his home and burned four of his children to death.

The demand to free Hickman and return him to what remains of his family will be raised at a big Hickman Defense Committee rally to be held at the Metropolitan Community Church, 41st and South Parkway, on Sept. 28, the day before Hickman goes on trial for his life.

Among the speakers will be Willard Motley, author of *Knock On Any Door* and of a moving appeal for Hickman printed elsewhere on this page, and Tallulah Bankhead, stage and screen star—both of whom have endorsed and joined the Defense Committee, along with Harold Russell, actor in *The Best Years of Our Lives*.

Other speakers will include union, community and religious spokesmen. Willoughby Abner, first vice president of the Chicago CIO Industrial Union Council and chairman of the Hickman Defense Committee, announced that the CIO Council is putting into full motion its entire machinery to help win freedom for James Hickman.

Resolutions and finances on behalf of the Hickman Defense Committee should be sent to 4619 South Parkway, Chicago 15, Illinois.

## Trainor Enters Campaign For Boston School Body

BOSTON, Sept. 17—Lawrence P. Trainor, local organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, is being sponsored as the Socialist Workers Committee candidate for the Boston School Committee in the coming election.

A total of 4,500 signatures were filed for Trainor; only 2,000 are required. The Election Board has already announced the certification of Trainor's nomination. Eighteen candidates have filed the required number of signatures, but up to today only six have been certified. One of these was the notorious Stalinist, Otis Archer Hood. Three members will be elected to the School Committee out of a possible field of 15.

Since all municipal elections in Boston are non-partisan, the Socialist Workers Committee has been established to further the Trainor campaign.

Lawrence Trainor is a native of Boston and received his education in the parochial and public schools of this city. He is a printer and well-known member of Boston Typographical Union, No. 13. He is the only worker and union member running for the School Committee.

### TRAINOR'S STATEMENT

"We enter this contest with the hope of bringing to the advanced workers of Boston the truth regarding the school system for which we are taxed and upon which we depend to educate our children.

"It is a well known fact among the general public and authoritative educators that the Boston School System is dominated by ignorant and self-seeking political parasites. No longer is our city's school system studied as a model system by other envious cities. To the contrary! It is looked upon with ridicule and

scorn. Its textbooks are outdated, its teachers underpaid, its staff undermanned and terrorized and its teaching methods outmoded.

"The big crying need today in the world is to raise a generation educated in the truth. Nationalism must be uprooted. The horrors of capitalist exploitation which breeds wars, poverty, unemployment and human degradation must be destroyed. This can only be accomplished if we teach our youth the truth regarding economics and history. We shall campaign with the demand that textbooks that teach such be introduced into the Boston School System.

### DEMANDS IN PROGRAM

Trainor's program also includes the following demands:

1. Equal pay for the women teachers in the same classification as men teachers.
2. A sliding scale of wages to meet the rising cost-of-living.
3. More freedom of expression for teachers in the classroom instead of being reduced to the status of poll-parrot robots.
4. Re-opening of the Child Care Centers under the supervision of the School Committee.
5. Continuation of free lunch program.
6. Free medical, optical and dental care for all students.
7. Immediate closing down of all obsolete school buildings.
8. A general acceptance of the "buried" Strayer Report.

## Street Rallies Liven Detroit SWP Drive

DETROIT, Sept. 17—The official labor movement in this city has betrayed the political interests of the workers by deciding not to present a mayoralty candidate in the coming municipal elections.

The field was wide open for a labor candidate since none of the well-known candidates can claim labor support. The unions in the past spent over \$250,000 in their battle to defeat incumbent Mayor Jeffries, who is seeking re-election for his fourth term. Van Antwerp, his principal opponent for the office, has taken no position on the many vital problems facing the voters of the city.

### NO ENDORSEMENTS

The Wayne County CIO Council at its delegates' meeting last night decided not to make any endorsements for mayor in the primaries.

Howard Lerner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor, will remain in the race as a result of the non-participation on the part of the labor movement. When Lerner filed as candidate for Mayor, he publicly stated that if labor should put its own independent man in the field, he would withdraw in his favor.

The campaign of the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party is adding something new to this city's election work. Next Saturday a street meeting will be held in the heart of the Negro area. Members of the SWP will be on hand to speak, sell literature and



HOWARD LERNER

hand out the printed SWP platform. Howard Lerner and Rev. Charles A. Hill, progressive Negro Councilman candidate, will be the principal speakers. Success in this venture will bring the Detroit SWP before the workers in this manner frequently during the remainder of the campaign.

## New York Candidate Calls for Expropriation of Food Trusts

NEW YORK, Sept. 16—Robert Williams, Socialist Workers Party candidate for State Senator in the 23rd Senatorial District, today demanded that the government seize the meat, food and dairy trusts and operate them under workers control in order to bring prices down.

"Harlem workers are hardest hit by skyrocketing prices," Williams stated. "They are caught between the jaws of a vise with low incomes on the one side and rapidly advancing living costs on the other. Their plight can only be relieved through drastic measures."

### NO SOLUTION

Denouncing Mayor O'Dwyer's call for "two meatless days a week" as no solution to the problem of rising prices, Williams said: "Like Senator Taft, Mayor O'Dwyer tells the people to eat less, just as though working class families were forcing prices up by gorging themselves on sirloin steaks and prime-rib roasts. 'Workers are buying less today

than they were a year and a half ago, not because they were overeating then but because their real wages have been cut in half by rising costs."

Commenting on Governor Dewey's contention that high food prices are due to scarcity, the Socialist Workers Party candidate cited official estimates placing the supply of all kinds of goods in the city at normal. Yet prices are 40% higher, according to official figures, than they were in January, 1946, and are rising at a fantastic rate.

### DESPERATE SITUATION

"Price fixing and profiteering has created a desperate situation for the workers of the city and especially for the underpaid workers of Harlem," Williams declared. "Drastic action, to reduce prices must be taken by city, state and federal administrations."

"O'Dwyer acted swiftly and ruthlessly in his attempts to break the tug-boat workers strike of 1945. He closed the entire city down, mobil-

ized opinion against the tug-boatmen and put tremendous pressure on the union. He acted with the same vigor and decision in his attempts to break the bus-drivers strike in Queens last July.

### PROTECTS BOSSES

"Like all Democratic and Republican politicians, O'Dwyer acts quickly and decisively only when the interests of the bosses are threatened. When the welfare of millions of workers is involved, the most he does is to appoint a committee which brings in innocuous recommendations.

"Even while demagogically bemoaning the rising cost of living, O'Dwyer is again considering a ten-cent subway fare. Thus, O'Dwyer is preparing to follow the course of the profiteers and saddle the poorest section of the city's population with additional living expenses."

Williams pledged his supporters that if he were elected he would use his office to fight for actions to bring the cost of living down.