

## Internal Conflicts At CIO Convention

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VOL. XI—No. 43.

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1947.

Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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PRICE: FIVE CENTS

## Fight the Yellow-Dog Oaths!

By the Editors

The "yellow dog" anti-communist oath has provided the first important test of whether the top union leaders are going to stand up and fight against the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law. They have failed that test miserably.

Except for John L. Lewis, the leaders at the AFL Convention crumpled up like wet rags. They went to an extreme of self-abasement by amending their own constitution so they might sign "yellow dog" affidavits.

Murray and his lieutenants at the CIO Convention, with the Stalinists supinely trailing along, sought to open the way for the heads of affiliated unions to take "yellow dog" oaths. Theirs was a "shamefaced" surrender.

These craven capitulators would have us believe that the issue is "unimportant," as AFL Teamsters Dictator Tobin told the AFL convention. They even try to make a virtue of their cowardice, as George Baldanzi did at the CIO Convention by welcoming the oath as a "purity" affidavit.

These are subterfuges and lies. The "yellow dog" oaths are one of the most deadly traps that Congress has devised for the labor movement.

### Would Dictate Beliefs

This feature of the Taft-Hartley Act in effect gives the government of Wall Street and the NAM the legal power to dictate the political beliefs of union members.

It deprives unions of all legal rights if they elect officers who are or even were "communists" — a label that the government can interpret to mean anyone who opposes any government policy or is a militant labor fighter.

It establishes the principle that the government can dictate the selection of union leaders. Today, the Wall Street government says who can't be a union leader. Tomorrow, the government will say who can be leaders. A capitalist dictatorship will name and remove union leaders. This is what Lewis meant when he said the Taft-Hartley Act is "the first ugly, savage thrust of Fascism in America."

This "yellow dog" oath is only one affidavit requirement under the Taft-Hartley Act. Others demand detailed information about finances and internal business of the unions covering 23 separate points. These must be answered to the "satisfaction" of the NLRB and Labor Czar Denham, under threat of a ten-year prison sentence for "any fraudulent statement or misrepresentation."

### Longer Runaround

What do the unions get for this? The right to "use" the NLRB! They can wade through red-tape procedure estimated to take anywhere from five to ten years to win final "recognition" for a union. If the union survives that long!

The AFL and CIO leaders crawling on their bellies before the Taft-Hartley Act haven't said the last word on the "yellow dog" oaths. Lewis stood alone among the AFL Executive Council members, but he spoke for millions who loathe the sight of their leaders "kneeling in obeisance before this detestable and tyrannical statute."

The CIO Rubber Workers, Electrical Workers and Maritime Union have rejected the "yellow dog" oaths. The auto union militants, supporting the Thomas-Adde-Leonard group, have declared they will fight tooth and nail against this slave oath at the UAW convention next month.

The forces of militant, progressive labor must be mobilized for an all-out battle on every front against submission to the "yellow dog" oath. They must call a halt to the leadership's spineless retreat before the Taft Act.

## Factional Heat Grows Fierce As Convention of UAW Nears

The contending Reuther and Thomas-Adde-Leonard factions are girding for one of the most crucial conventions in the stormy history of the CIO United Auto Workers when the UAW convenes in Atlantic City on Nov. 10.

The atmosphere inside the UAW is the most heated since the days of Homer Martin in 1939, when the auto militants repelled his attempt to foist one-man dictatorship over their union and ousted him from the union.

### UAW President Walter

Reuther, heading a reactionary bloc of Social Democratic elements and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, has cast all restraint to the winds in a virulent red-baiting assault on the UAW Executive Board majority led by Vice President R. J. Thomas, Secretary-Treasurer George Addes and Vice-President Richard T. Leonard.

The Reutherite-ACTU bloc is making claims to a sweeping majority at the forthcoming convention on the basis of returns thus far in local elections for delegates. These claims range from a two-to-one to a five-to-one majority.

Their opponents have also claimed to be in the lead on the basis of early returns. On Oct. 16, the UAW Committee for Progress and Unity, name of the Thomas-Adde-Leonard caucus, issued the election results of 247 locals. They gave their faction 1,502 votes to 1,275 for

the Reutherites. These represent only a small fraction of the total vote.

The key issue of the convention is trade union democracy. The Thomas-Adde-Leonard caucus correctly charges that Reuther is driving to establish a one-man dictatorship over the UAW in order to house-break and "discipline" the militant UAW membership.

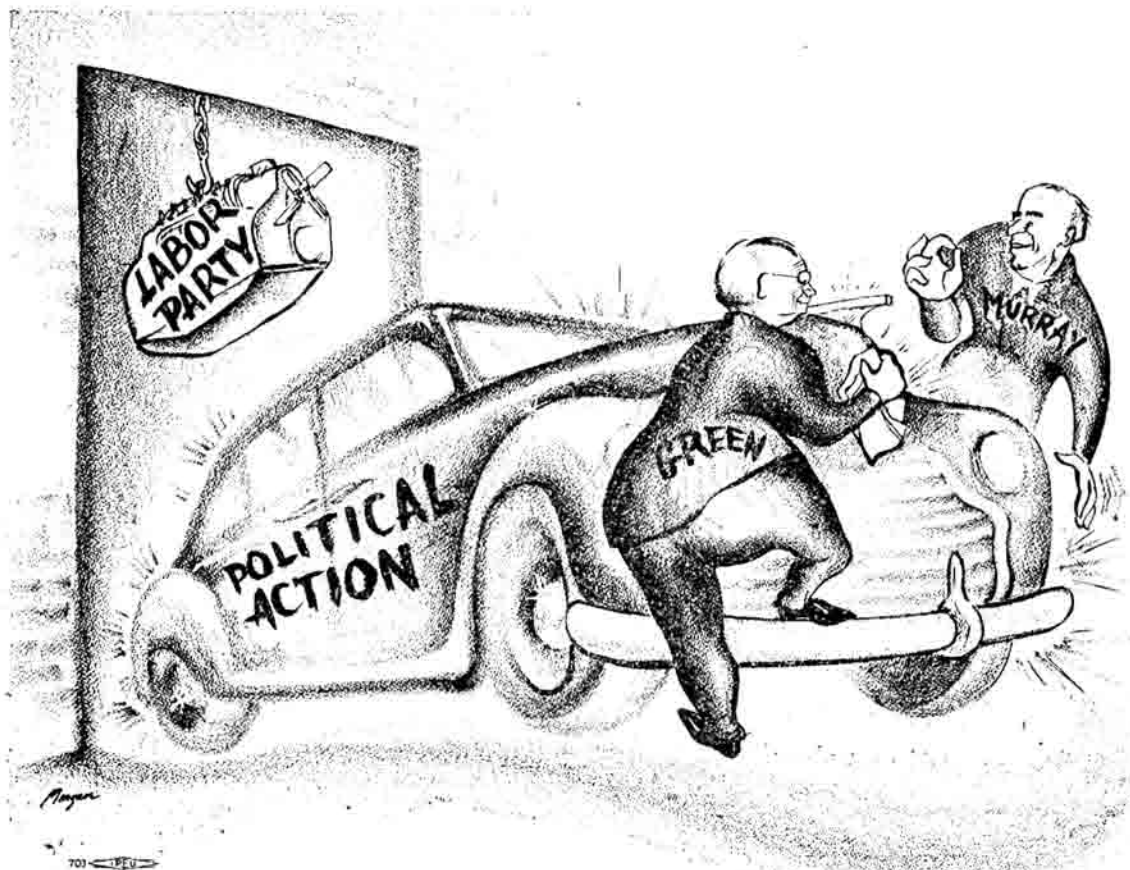
They point to Reuther's policies in the General Motors Division, which he heads, as an example of what the whole UAW would be like if Reuther gains undisputed control with a hand-raising, subservient Board to "yes" his decrees.

Local grievance machinery in GM plants is almost powerless. All authority to act is concentrated and centralized in Reuther's hands. Contract conditions in the GM setup are the worst of any major auto corporation. Wages are below those in Ford and Chrysler.

At the last Executive Board meet-

# CIO & AFL CONVENTIONS SHOW NEED FOR POLITICAL ACTION

Hey-You Left Out the Motor!



## AFL Organizer Says Now Is Time For Labor Party

Answering those who say "Now is not the time for a Labor Party," Sam Pollock, organizer of the AFL Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, replies in the *Butcher Workman*:

"Shall we wait, politically impotent and politically disarmed, until organized labor is bound and gagged? Shall we wait until the unions are cut to pieces, robbed of their treasures, persecuted in Wall Street courts and hamstringed by Wall Street laws?"

And then Pollock quotes Patrick Henry's answer to faint-hearted friends who said "now is not the time" for the First American Revolution:

"They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But where shall we be stronger? Will it be next week, or next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?"

## N. Y. Building Trades Unions Issue Demands For Escalator Clause

By George Lavan

NEW YORK, Oct. 25—The AFL Building and Construction Trades Council of Greater New York has demanded a sliding scale of wages to protect its members from the rising cost of living.

The demand for an escalator clause was the union's reply to the demand of the employers and Mayor O'Dwyer for a wage freeze in the building trades or the next three years.

The escalator clause, it was understood, would be pegged to the monthly cost-of-living index put out by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Any rise in the cost of living would result in proportionate pay increases above the base wage rates agreed on when the contract would be signed. These contract-fixed base wage rates would be a floor under wages in the event that the cost of living should drop during the life of the contract.

The employers association has so far rejected the union's proposal. It praises the Mayor's call for a wage freeze and states that the union should simply take the "risk" that the cost of living will continue to soar.

The union is unwilling to gamble or take "risks" with the living standards of over 100,000 families. "Specially is this true about a contract to run till June, 1950. The union demanded that in the contract 'provision be made for any abnormal rise in the cost of living.'"

The escalator clause is its proposal for providing its members with security against soaring prices.

Negotiations continue. Although the employers have rejected the escalator clause, it is understood that the union has not withdrawn this demand.

While opposed to an escalator clause to protect the workers' living standards, the employers want an "escalator" clause to speed-up their employees in proportion to wage increases.

One of their counter-proposals is that the union "take steps to provide for an increase in the production of work of its members for the purpose of overcoming, wherever possible, the increase in costs created by the increase in hourly wage rates."

A method of accomplishing this speed-up, the employers said, was by banning the custom of workers sending out for coffee during working hours.

The demand of the N. Y. Building and Construction Trades Council points out once again that the only effective protection workers have against rising prices is a sliding scale of wages or cost-of-living bonus.

## Fail to Offer Weapon of Labor's Own Candidates

## AFL Sets Up Own Version of PAC

By Art Preis

The political action decisions of the AFL convention were two-sided—revealing both progressive and backward features.

On the progressive side, the AFL set up a national political action organization, Labor's Education and Political League, to meet "the need for sound political education and effective political action by organized labor."

Immediately thereafter, however, the AFL leaders disclosed the fundamental bankruptcy of their policy by rejecting a demand for labor to run its own candidates and build a Labor Party. They reaffirmed their moth-eaten formula of "reward your friends and punish your enemies"—meaning continued support of Democrats and Republicans who parade as labor's "friends" before election.

The establishment of the Political League for the first time projects the AFL formally and organizationally into the political arena. Previously the AFL leaders had attacked the CIO Political Action Committee for going beyond "pure and simple trade unionism."

Now, by its convention decision, the AFL recognizes political action as a vital function of the trade unions.

But there is still a wide gap between this position and the need for genuine independent labor political action. The AFL leaders at the convention placed obstacles across the path to this goal.

John L. Lewis, who scathingly denounced the other AFL leaders on the "yellow-dog" oaths, correctly said that the "Slave Labor Law" was bought and paid for by campaign contributions from the industrial and business interests. . . . and the Republican party and the Democratic minority (in Congress) made good by forging these legislative shackles." But Lewis offered no political answer different from that of Green, Tobin, Frey or Meany.

The political bankruptcy of the AFL leaders was spotlighted when the convention was presented with a real political answer to labor's problems—the resolution of the Santa Cruz, Cal., AFL proposing that the AFL "nationally and locally enter in the building of a political party by and for labor."

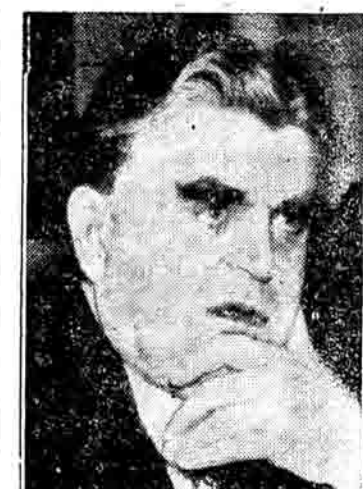
First the Committee on Resolutions, headed by Matthew Woll, tried to keep the resolution off the convention floor. But Delegate Bollman, of Santa Cruz, determinedly forced President Green to permit the reading of the resolution.

Bollman demolished the arguments against building a Labor Party. He concluded: "Labor needs a new Declaration of Independence from boss parties. A sound program in labor's interests can well

lay the basis for genuine unity of all labor. Let's begin building a Labor Party now!"

Quickly the AFL upper-crusts moved to bury the resolution. Carpenters President Hutcheson moved that the resolution be "dealt with separately." When this passed, Woll claimed this "eliminated and expunged" the resolution. Then it was "tabled," without debate.

The AFL leaders may "expunge" and "table" progressive resolutions. But they can't "expunge" the need for a Labor Party. The AFL membership will utilize the Political League as an arena where they can fight for a correct policy of running their own candidates and building their own party.



JOHN L. LEWIS

## CIO Opens PAC Drive For 1948

By Farrell Dobbs

BOSTON, Oct. 17—Political action was the key issue before the CIO convention which was concluded here today. Every discussion, every problem brought this issue to the fore.

The convention adopted several important political decisions.

It appealed to the AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and independent unions to join with the CIO in a united political battle against the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law and its Congressional backers.

It voted to throw the full resources of the CIO behind a big Political Action Committee (PAC) campaign to get all workers to register and vote against supporters of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Every CIO member and sympathizer was called on to contribute at least one dollar for PAC's campaign fund in 1948.

But the convention stopped short at the most vital point. It failed to declare a clean break from the two Big Business parties, Democratic and Republican. It failed to arm PAC with the weapon of independent labor candidates.

The CIO leaders' position on this central aspect of PAC policy was summed up by National PAC-CIO Director Jack Kroll when he said that a labor party is "definitely out."

Convention discussion on every (Continued on Page 2)

## Truman Pie—1 Crust For the Price of 2

By Jeff Thorne

One-crust pies at two-crust prices, two-layer cakes at three-layer prices, and another extra cent for a loaf of bread went into effect this week.

That's how the Truman "Eat-Less" Plan gives the bread trust a new price-gouge of at least 150 million dollars a year, under the pretext of "saving wheat to feed starving Europe." Profiteers pocket what the workers "save." It's as simple as Truman pie.

The one-crust, two-layer technique of boosting pastry prices was worked out by Truman's "Citizens" Food Committee and the bread barons in conference last week. They also considered reducing the

size of bread loaves. But that would require smaller pans and other new equipment. Besides most communities have laws fixing the minimum weight of bread.

So they fell back on the direct short-change technique for bread—already double 1939 prices. Short change or short weight—it's the same swindle.

Of course the rich, the upper-crusts, will never miss the top crust of pie nor notice the extra cent on bread. They eat well all the time, here or in Europe. But for you and me, it's Truman Pie, meatless Tuesdays, poultry-less eggless Thursdays—and still higher prices. That's the real meaning of "waste less—eat less."

The latest price gouge is supposed to "save" 10,500,000 bushels of wheat a year—a tidy "saving" for the bread trust. They'll use less \$3.10-a-bushel wheat and grab another extra cent on every loaf.

Truman's potato-burning administration will now buy over again with our tax money, the wheat we "save" and pay for in price-booster.

We might stomach some of this "crust" if the grain we "save" would ever feed our hungry brothers workers abroad. But it will go along with guns, planes and battleships, only to prop up capitalist dictatorships and to crush our brothers who revolt against starvation and repression.

To help advance its own imperialist program and support reaction abroad, American Big Business nibbles away at our pie crusts, our cake layers and our bread loaves.

## U. S. AIDS ADVANCE OF FRENCH REACTION

The Oct. 19 elections in France revealed an extremely ominous development in French politics — the mushroom growth of the dictatorial movement headed by de Gaulle.

The reactionary French general who is set out to duplicate the role of Hitler in France is now in position to make a strong bid for power.

De Gaulle's success in rallying the most reactionary forces in France and attracting votes from the inflation-haunted middle class has encouraged reaction in Europe and throughout the world. Here in America all the red-baiters, the vicious political hatchet-men who aim to smash the labor movement, hail de Gaulle's rise and from his advance draw fresh encouragement in their own anti-union drive.

Thus the development of the political trends in France are of direct concern to every worker in America.

De Gaulle's showing in the French elections is one of the fruits of the Truman administration's foreign policy. It is poisonous fruit — not only for French labor but for labor in America.

Announcement of the Truman Doctrine switched on the green light for de Gaulle and his kind. The Marshall Plan was designed to stabilize and strengthen the forces backing such would-be dictators. Wall Street's entire propaganda machine was geared to popularize and encourage these sinister figures and to smear the working class opposition to their rise.

Billions of dollars from the U. S. Public Treasury have been dumped into Europe to strengthen and fortify reaction and pave the way for precisely such repressive regimes as

de Gaulle has taken for his goal. Wall Street is trying to repeat in the Europe of today what it did in Europe following World War I—provide a fertile breeding ground for military-police dictatorships for Mussolini and Hitler.

It is trying to duplicate in France what has already been done in Greece.

The course of French politics is thus an object lesson and a warning to American workers. Washington's backing of de Gaulle abroad is paralleled by its vicious anti-labor offensive at home. These are the two sides of the Truman Doctrine, whose aim of securing world domination for Wall Street cannot be achieved without first destroying the power of labor both abroad and at home.

In France Washington hopes to crush the French workers through de Gaulle; at home identical aims are being pursued through such



# Internal Conflicts at CIO Convention

By Farrell Dobbs

BOSTON, Oct. 17—All decisions by the CIO Executive Board in preparing the 9th Convention were unanimous. In his opening address, President Murray stressed that there is unity within the CIO. All recommendations from the Resolutions Committee were supported by the entire committee. Convention decisions on all major issues were unanimous.

Yet the convention debates made it clear that this unity is only superficial; that the unanimous policy decisions were only unstable compromises; and that the bitter internal conflict, already raging in some affiliated unions, is almost but not quite ready to explode into the open in the top councils of the CIO.

Although there were no test votes to confirm their strength, it appeared that about one-fifth of the 600 delegates were Stalinists or Stalinist supporters. The balance of the delegates were not only non-Stalinists, a good many of them were aggressively anti-Stalinists.

## Opponents of Stalinism

Part of the anti-Stalinists were militant workers who desire an all-out fight against the Wall Street exploiters, price-gougers, wage-cutters and speed-up artists. They hate the Stalinists because of their record of treachery and betrayal of the workers.

But at the forefront of the anti-Stalinist wing were a hard core of vicious red-baiters. They are opposed not only to the Stalinists but also to union leaders who advocate firm class struggle policies.

The progressive anti-Stalinist delegates lacked political education and experience. They were introduced by the red-baiting propaganda of the gov-

ernment, press, pulp and radio. They did not understand that their reason for hating the Stalinists was entirely different than that of the red-baiters. Therefore they were drawn into the orbit of the red-baiters with whom they have nothing in common.

The red-baiters left they had the convention with them. They were egged on by guest speakers Archbishop Cushing and Secretary of Labor Schwelienbach. They tasted blood and were hungry for the kill. But Murray was not ready for the show-down fight.

On the second day of the convention, a Stalinist distributing the Daily Worker outside the convention hotel was beaten up. The next day Murray told the convention, "It is altogether reprehensible for delegates representing the CIO affiliates to interfere with the sale of a newspaper outside this building. . . Stop it and stop it now."

## Red-Baiters In Action

The big push of the red-baiters came on the day Secretary of State Marshall addressed the convention. This time Murray took a cautious hand. The stage was set for a patriotic whoop-de-do.

A navy band was present, blaring out military music. Marshall appeared with an entourage of brass hats and Boston big shots. Newsreel cameras clicked as a prolonged round of handshaking and back-slapping took place on the platform under the glare of klieg lights.

Marshall warned the convention against "enemies of democracy" who try to "undermine the confidence of the labor element in the stability of our institutions and the soundness of our traditions."

Then the resolution on foreign policy was introduced. Van A. Bittner, chairman of the Resolutions

Committee, told the convention, "I am not going to stand for those who are not Americans in some other country, criticizing my government, without rising in its defense."

George Baldanzi of the Textile Workers Union followed with an indignant protest against people who cast "aspersions against International Unions because they see fit to sign the purity affidavits of the Taft-Hartley Law." Purity affidavit is a pretty slick name for the yellow-dog oath—like pasting a "100-Proof Bourbon" label on a bottle of wood alcohol.

Next up for the red-baiters was Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers. Reuther pointed to the Stalinist cycle between 1940 and 1947. "They shout the same slogan, 'war monger,'" he said, "that in 1940 was directed at Roosevelt, and now they direct it at Truman. He made it plain that he resents such charges against Truman as he did those against Roosevelt."

What Reuther failed to mention was that for a long period between 1940 and 1947 he got along with the Stalinists. At that time they were supporting the no-strike pledge, acting as outright strikebreakers and advocating the speed-up. Reuther was doing the same thing.

In summing up the discussion, Murray referred to the preamble of the foreign policy resolution which declares, "The CIO is an American institution with a single national allegiance. . . It is a matter of policy, Murray said, that every member must subscribe to the declaration in this preamble to be loyal to the CIO."

## Behavior of Stalinists

The Stalinists, for their part, conducted themselves in a cowardly manner. They pleaded for the

passage of the foreign policy resolution as written. All they did on the political action resolution was to make a feeble attack on Truman and beat their gums for Wallace. But most contemptible of all was their yielding to the red-baiters on the question of the Taft-Hartley "yellow-dog" oath.

They voted for the proposal that each CIO affiliate make its own decision about signing the infamous affidavits required under the Taft-Hartley Act. Thus the Stalinists helped the CIO officialdom prepare the ground for a craven capitulation to this long step toward imposing fascist-like government regulation on the unions. That is desertion in the face of the class enemy.

It is good that the Stalinists are losing ground in the trade unions. For they are an evil, pernicious, treacherous tendency in the labor movement. They must be cleaned out of the movement, root and branch.

But it is not good that the government and the red-baiters should rid the unions of the Stalinists. For they would then proceed to a wide-spread attack on militant workers everywhere in the movement. That would only give Wall Street's political tools in Washington a pretext to shove their dirty snouts deeper into trade union internal affairs. It would only help pave the way for attacks on the unions themselves and upon the civil liberties of the people as a whole.

No support to the red-baiters! No support to any government attack upon the rights of a single union member!

The Augean stables of Stalinism must be cleaned out by the workers themselves. The job can be entrusted to no one else.

# Rank-and-File Discontent Breaks To Surface at CIO Convention

BOSTON, Oct. 17—A hurricane of mass action is gathering in the Caribbean of American social and economic conflict. The angry, brooding discontent of the workers repeatedly forced its way to the surface in the major policy decisions of the 9th Convention of the CIO just concluded here. These decisions briefly were:

1. To fight for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act. But the CIO officials sought to pave the way at the convention for cowardly capitulation on the "yellow dog" oath by leaving to each affiliated union the decision whether to sign the oath.

2. To organize one million PAC (Political Action Committee) workers for the mobilization of sixty million votes in 1948. National CIO-PAC Director Kroll called the firing pin out of this powerful weapon with the statement that "A third party is definitely out."

3. The convention firmly opposed race-line military conscription; called for universal disarmament; and demanded direct representation for organized labor in United Nations councils. Shipment of food to "other countries was approved, provided it is not used 'to coerce free peoples.' The convention called on the government to open the doors to the oppressed Jews of Europe.

## SIGNIFICANT DEMANDS

4. An immediate session of Congress was demanded to restore price controls on food, clothing and other necessities; jail the price-gougers; extend federal rent control; repeal the 15% rent increase; implement a large-scale low-rent housing program; tax the profiters; and reduce taxes upon the lower income groups.

5. The convention demanded that the government revoke its infamous "loyalty oath" and cease its persecution of government employees; enact strong anti-lynch legislation; make anti-Semitism and all other anti-racial acts a crime; and outlaw all forms of segregation because of race or color.

6. Formation of a CIO committee was ordered to defend John Santos, an official of the Transport Workers Union, who has been hauled up on deportation charges by the government. Enactment of laws protecting aliens long resident in the United States was called for.

7. The convention supported the demand for democratization of the armed forces; abolition of caste privileges; and reform of the unjust court-martial system.

President Murray and Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey were re-elected without opposition. R. J. Thomas of the United Auto Workers declined nomination for re-election to a CIO Vice-Presidency, to be replaced by O. A. Knight of

## The Gangster Methods Of Red-Baiters

When two Daily Worker distributors were beaten up by red-baiting hoodlums outside the CIO Convention in Boston, Philip Murray issued a sharp warning against any repetition of such a "disgraceful" action.

George Morris, Trotskyist-baiter of the Stalinist Daily Worker, on Oct. 17 wrote about the incident under a headline calling the slugging a "Disgrace to CIO Convention."

We agree. It was as big a disgrace as the physical assaults Communist Party goons have made on scores of militant distributors, including several workers outside meetings of the CIO National Maritime Union in New York.

Steelworkers Union of which he is president.

Walter Reuther of the UAW and George Baldanzi of the Textile Workers proclaimed their full support to the Marshall Plan despite the stipulation in the foreign policy resolution that food sent abroad should not be used "to coerce free peoples." Murray added that he personally favors the "Marshall idea."

The convention advocated a "vigorous collective bargaining program" to increase real wages, obtain a guaranteed annual wage and shorten hours with no cut in pay. This statement reflects no change in the CIO leadership's past wage policy; nor does it give any recognition to mounting demands among CIO unions for cost-of-living bonuses to offset skyrocketing prices.

## Eloquent Speech

The best speech of the whole convention was made by Mirandi Smith of the Tobacco Workers Union. She was eloquent in her simple, straightforward language, and powerful.

"I work in Winston Salem, North Carolina," she began. "I live where men are lynched, and the people that lynch them are still free. One of the things in the Constitution of the United States is a guarantee to a human being, regardless of his race, creed or color, of freedom from fear."

"Too long have the Negro people of the South and other workers in America heard a lot of words." So spoke this young Negro tribune of her oppressed people. "Too long have the workers in the South stopped and looked to Congress for protection."

"We no longer look to the government in Washington for protection. It has failed. Today we are looking for an organization that says they are organized to fight for the

freedom of all men regardless of race, creed or color. And that is the CIO. You have got to get up and do something in action."

When she began to speak the convention was in a state of confusion. Jaded by endless, barren speeches from the platform, the delegates were reading papers, carrying on miniature conventions at the delegate tables, laughing, joking, playing pranks on one another, walking in and out of the hall, or just sitting in a helpless trance of complete boredom.

In a matter of minutes Mirandi Smith injected the adrenalin of fire, anger, faith, hope and firm determination into the falling life stream of the convention. Soon there was neither sound nor motion, except at the floor microphone where Mirandi stood. Here was the exhilarating power of simple honesty and righteous wrath. Here was the true voice of enraged America. The convention listened.

John L. Yancey of the United Transport Service Employees told a revealing story of trickery by the brass hats in their efforts to force through perpetual military conscription. Yancey had visited the Fort Knox "peace-time military experimental unit" as a member of the CIO Committee of Observation.

After the visit he sent the commanding officer a letter of appreciation for the courtesies shown him. The brass hats, Yancey reported, attempted to use this letter

## Murray Greets Militarist



Philip Murray (left) greets the chief diplomat of American imperialism, Secretary of State Marshall, at the CIO Convention in Boston last week. The former Army Chief-of-Staff Marshall was permitted to use the CIO's platform to propagandize for his plan to bolster capitalist reaction in Europe and to mobilize CIO support for Wall Street's war preparations against the Soviet Union.

to show that he had endorsed peace time conscription.

Yancey also reported that he told the commanding general the soldiers should have grievance committees like union workers have.

The general, talking like any boss man, replied that his door was always open to any soldier with a grievance and he saw no need for them to have a committee.

# CIO Launches Big PAC Campaign In Preparation for '48 Elections

(Continued from Page 1)

major problem facing American labor led straight to the one answer—political action.

Little wonder then that so many delegates nodded agreement when Kroll said the convention must ask why the CIO has not duplicated in the field of politics its success at economic organization.

"The simple truth is," Kroll asserted, "that the American labor movement as we know it cannot long exist—let alone advance—unless it devotes itself to winning political battles with the same zeal it gives to economic battles."

Kroll stated another elementary truth when he said: "Unless we build a political organization. . . we will be going into battle without a weapon."

Still steering a true course, Kroll continued, "We must have active (PAC) workers in the blocks where they live."

"No political committee," he correctly added, "can function without money. . . A worker who contributes (PAC dollars) is a worker who understands that a political organization is as vital to his welfare as his union."

Kroll next came to the vital question of political policy. Here he soon lost his bearings completely.

PAC, he said, must find "forthright, unstanding, fighting progressives," not "small, ambitious, men who eagerly count the labor vote before election and forget it on arrival on Capitol Hill."

Very good! But where will these excellent candidates be found? Kroll didn't offer any clues. He merely said PAC must look for such candidates.

At a press conference after his convention speech Kroll said, "A

third party is definitely out." So that leaves Kroll and Murray right where they have always been, scratching around among the Democrats and Republicans, like chickens in a stone quarry, trying to find a "fighting progressive."

But wait! Maybe there is something new in PAC policy. Kroll advised PAC in selecting candidates to look for "the type of man who will probably tell you he doesn't like politics, who will have to be coaxed into making the race."

That description just doesn't fit a single Democrat or Republican in office today. Everyone knows that when a capitalist politician says he doesn't want to run for office he is merely playing coy in order to improve his chances for election.

What Kroll means then is that the CIO officials can't find very many candidates whom they think the workers might stomach among the current crop of Democrats and Republicans. The roll call on the Taft-Hartley Act helps explain why. And the recent PAC fiasco in Alentown, where they failed to get the workers out to vote for a Democrat, helps explain their present caution in picking candidates.

The CIO officials feel the need to produce a new crop of candidates. But Kroll made it clear that they still will not look beyond the Democrats and Republicans.

Actually, the only place PAC will find "fighting progressives" is in the CIO and the rest of the labor movement. Labor's ranks alone can supply the type of candidate "who will probably tell you that he doesn't like politics, who will have to be coaxed to make the race." And, unlike the Democrats and Republicans, this type of candidate will be as true to labor in public office as he has been on the picket line.

Moreover, these men and women of the labor movement should be run as independent PAC candidates. They should not be used to decorate slates of Democratic or Republican politicians who will fight

labor every time Wall Street puts the screws on them.

The CIO convention just concluded here failed to make this vital correction in official PAC policy. But that is not surprising because, by and large, conventions can only confirm and record what has become the reality in the day to day life and activity of an organization.

Independent political action is not yet a substantial reality in the CIO. The movement to nominate independent labor candidates has only just begun to gather momentum. Labor in Cleveland, Dayton, Oakland, Youngstown and a few other cities has run local campaigns to elect independent labor candidates to public office. The workers have responded to these campaigns. It was unnecessary to hammer at them—like Murray, Kroll, Reuther, Quill, Potash and the rest did here at Boston—demanding financial aid, registration and support at the polls.

Seeing a chance in these independent labor campaigns to vote for candidates they trusted, the workers responded generously with financial support, they worked like beavers in the campaign, they registered and they voted.

Nobody in these campaigns had to nag and plead and whine and beg for support to union political action, as has been done here at Boston for the last five days.

The task now confronting the CIO membership is to move toward running independent PAC candidates in the wards, cities, counties, Congressional districts, states, wherever possible.

Create the reality of independent working class political action on the broadest possible scale. Keep at it. Miss no opportunities for action.

In this way the ground can best be prepared to correct PAC policy officially and nationally at the next CIO convention.

When that has been achieved the movement for a national independent labor party will speed ahead under jet propulsion.

# Sidelights From Boston Conclave

The 9th CIO Convention was attended by 604 delegates, representing 41 international unions, 396 local unions directly affiliated to CIO, 36 state and 231 city industrial union councils.

Delegations representing the larger unions were UAW 27, Steelworkers 27, UE 18, Textile 14, Amalgamated Clothing Workers 12, Rubber 11, Packing 9, NMU, Oil Shipbuilding, Retail and Wholesale each 8.

Murray reported the total CIO membership to be a little over six million.

Among the most overworked adjectives used by the officials to laud Murray, and one another, were "great," "masterly," "statesmanlike," and "eminent citizen," in that order.

Van A. Bittner, director of the CIO Southern drive, reported that over 300,000 workers in the South have been organized into the CIO in something over a year.

Allen S. Haywood, CIO director of organization, reported that delegates representing 51,000 telephone workers were present at the convention.

As the convention wearily endured the long parade of guest speakers, a steelworker delegate remarked, "The more important these guys are, the closer they come to getting here on time."

Speakers who hope to impress worker audiences should engrave that remark in their minds.

Murray put on quite a show for Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

On the platform stood a replica of a plaque dedicating to the memory of the late president the new children's wing of the Georgetown Memorial Hospital in Washington, D. C., which is being sponsored by the CIO.

The replica was covered by an American flag. Three army sergeants in dress uniform, with plenty of hash marks on their sleeves and service ribbons and battle stars on their breasts, stood rigidly at attention on either side of the flag.

At a signal from Murray, the sergeants carefully removed the flag, folded it strictly by the rule book, and with a snappy salute, presented the flag to Junior.

When young Roosevelt had finished addressing the convention, Murray, beaming like light had just fallen onto political chaos, said to the delegates, "Well, there he is, ladies and gentlemen, a chip off the old block."

Junior got a big hand. "It was for his old man."

This convention had the largest press coverage in CIO history. At times there were as many as 75 reporters and press photographers present.

Joseph Salerno, president of the Massachusetts CIO, had the job of warming up the first morning of the convention and introducing various state dignitaries who were to address it. Sensing what the delegates were burned up about, he lashed out at the Taft-Hartley Act, declaring, "There are more crooks in Wall Street and State Street in Boston than there are in the whole labor movement of the United States." Then he introduced Michael T. Kelleher, president of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, from State Street.

Following Kelleher's embarrassed remarks to the convention, Governor Bradford spoke. He said: "As far as I know, Mike Kelleher has never been caught doing a crooked thing in his life." Putting their own interpretation on the word "caught," the delegates literally rolled in the aisles, much to the discomfort of the pompous dignitaries on the platform.

An important merger of two unions, the United Railroad Workers and Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, was announced at the convention by IUMSW President John Green and A. B. Martin, national director of the CIO's year-old organization of non-operating railroad employees. The railroad union, whose chief collective bargaining contract is with the Pennsylvania RR, voted to affiliate with the IUMSW.

## Our Program:

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

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## What Causes Riots in India?

By M. Naidu

Large scale communal rioting in the Punjab has only slightly abated. A mass of Hindu, Sikh and Moslem refugees are on the move. What is the basis of the riots?

The problem of the Punjab must be clearly separated from the rest of India. In dividing India, British imperialism, supported by both Hindu and Moslem feudal-capitalists, paid no attention to the nationalists as such. Artificially, the country was divided, severing indigenous language groups into different provinces. This operation was calculated with the object of dividing the country in order to keep the imperialist stranglehold. Thus, the Punjab, where Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs speak the same language with a unified economy, was divided into two provinces. Similarly the Bengal was partitioned, and the whole scheme was put into operation without voting of any kind.

The Punjab itself occupies a peculiar position in the body politic of India. Firstly, it has been the main recruiting ground of British imperialist armed forces for over a century. Consequently, a military caste comparable to the Cossacks in Russia has developed in the area. The Hindu, Moslem and particularly the Sikh population has a military tradition, with thousands of returned soldiers in the rural parts. Secondly, the newly developed canal lands in the border regions of both Eastern and Western Punjab are occupied by the land-hungry peasantry. The persistent propaganda of the Moslem League has promised the land to the Moslem peasantry who were told that once Pakistan was established, all land would belong to the Moslems. It must be borne in mind that in the Moslem region of Bengal and Punjab the landlords and usurers are mainly Hindus. While in the Hindu peasant regions of Bihar, United Provinces, Madras, the landlords are Moslems in the main. This is the inheritance of Lord Cornwallis.

This is the background which explains the ferocity of the communal riots in the East and West Punjab. The land-hungry peasantry on both sides were given to believe by the propaganda of the feudal-capitalist elements on both sides, that the partition would be a signal for expropriation of the other community and seizure of their lands. A clear illustration of this is given by the special correspondent of the September 6 Observer:

"In Delhi Moslem houses have been seized by refugees in retaliation for the seizure of their own property by Moslems, either before or since their evacuation from the Punjab."

In other parts of India, the riots are provoked to effectively stifle the struggles of the working class. A few facts will illustrate this.

In Bombay, sporadic riots, admittedly engineered by the "Goondas" (contemptuous term for de-classed elements) have been taking place since September, 1946. The city has had periods of curfew and under Section 144 of the Indian Criminal Code, processions and demonstrations are banned. A Goonda Act has been passed with powers to intern and imprison people responsible for riots.

But so far, only demonstrations and meetings sponsored by the workers' organizations have been banned. The city workers and middle class have staged many lightning strikes against their intolerable conditions. Their meetings were banned and their leaders,

Open air meetings of the RCP have been well attended in the working class and Jewish areas of London, Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle, Sheffield, etc. Special literature sales and distributions, anti-fascist posters and parades have attracted considerable attention and publicity.

The RCP is also making headway in its attempt to raise the question of anti-fascist struggle and united fronts in the trade union branches and trades councils. Special emphasis will be placed on this aspect of the fight as the RCP campaign continues.

The fact that the Trotskyists have taken the lead in the struggle to smash fascism at its birth has led to great disquiet in the ranks of the Stalinist organizations, whose leaders have organized no serious anti-fascist campaign. In the East End of London, where the fascists have been most active, united fronts have been established with the rank and file of the CP and YCL as well as the "43 Group," a group of Jewish socialist militants.

The practical problem therefore is: How to help them shed most quickly their mistaken appraisal of the Laborite leadership? And conversely, how to lead them to find their way to the highroad of revolution?

Arguments alone will never convince millions upon millions. They must find out for themselves. They must first pass through their own experience with the labor-lieuten-

ants of British imperialism. They will then be best able to draw conclusions already reached by Marxists. And this is precisely what has been taking place for the last two years in the minds of the British workers.

It is a big mistake to think the Laborite voter of 1947 is in the same frame of mind as he or she was in 1945. Deep beneath the surface profound changes have been accumulating bit by bit. The new moods are just beginning to break out to the surface. There is the growing criticism of the top leaders. At the Margate Conference this year one-third of the votes were cast against Bevin when Greece and other "foreign commitments" were discussed.

Others only grumble as yet. Still other sections of workers are beginning to criticize the leaders not in words but in action — they engage in strikes, disregard orders to go back to work, and so on.

Not all are able to reach the same conclusions at the same time. Different layers of workers arrive at political maturity through different paths and at different times. To disregard all this is, in reality, to have a contemptuous attitude toward the workers as a whole or any important section of them. If you refuse to take into account what you think or say? The answer is, they don't. And the fault is not on their side, either.

There is no skipping over each necessary stage in the political development of the British working class — or for that matter, the

# Elections in Italy and France Reveal Rising Danger of Fascism in Europe

## Byrnes' New Book Part Of Wall Street's Drive Against Soviet Union

SPEAKING FRANKLY, James F. Byrnes' book on Washington's foreign policy from the Yalta conference in 1945 to his retirement as Secretary of State in 1946, is being built up by the capitalist press as a "sensational." It was greeted with front-page headlines, editorials, and reviews by the professional political commentators. Whole chapters are being run serially.

The publication of this book is a calculated step in the "cold war" Washington is waging on the Soviet Union. The purpose of the book is to have Byrnes once again affirm the Truman Doctrine of getting "tough" with the USSR.

The book was timed to appear just before the scheduled November conference of Foreign Ministers which will again consider the major peace treaties still to be drawn up, particularly peace with Germany.

Publication of the book now is a diplomatic way of emphasizing that none of Stalin's counter-moves have affected the State Department's foreign policy. It is continuing the "get tough" policy associated with Byrnes' name.

The book was likewise designed to provide fresh grist for Wall Street's propaganda mills in stepping up the talk of war. As the conservative London Times correctly observes, Byrnes' program "seems little better than a simple recipe for war."

Thus Speaking Frankly is a continuation on the level of diplomacy of Wall Street's squeeze on the Soviet Union.

In passing, the book casts new light on some recent events, showing that the Truman administration has not hesitated to mislead and deceive public opinion.

For instance, when Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce voiced his fears that the "get tough" policy would lead to war with the



BYRNES

Soviet Union, Byrnes admits he served an ultimatum on Truman. Truman responded by kicking Wallace out of his cabinet. At the time the White House issued an "unequivocal" denial that Byrnes had served any "ultimatum" on Truman. This now appears to have been a deliberate lie.

Again, the U. S. delegation at the United Nations has denied that the U. S. Government ever resorts to "bargaining" over admissions to the UN. But Byrnes coolly admits that at Potsdam he did engage in such bargaining.

Speaking Frankly thus shows once more how little confidence can be placed in the propaganda of the Truman Administration about the "peaceful" intentions of its foreign policy.

## Chile Government Launches All-Out Anti-Labor Drive

A graphic illustration of the grim results of the Stalinist policy of supporting capitalist "friends" of labor has been provided in Chile. Last December they backed Gabriel Gonzalez Videla for President. Stalinist votes put him in office.

As a reward, Videla gave the Stalinists three posts in his cabinet. It was a perfect example of the success of the "people's front" policy.

Then Wall Street cracked the whip. It wanted its Latin American "satellites" to show their loyalty. So Videla kicked the Stalinists out of his cabinet.

On Oct. 4 some 13,000 miners went on strike for higher pay (average income in Chile is \$100 a year). Videla branded the strike as a "Communist revolutionary plot" inspired by the Belgrade Information Bureau.

He mobilized troops, planes and warships. He arrested and expelled strikers and CP leaders. Then he banished two Yugoslav diplomats for "Communist agitation." Yugoslavia broke off relations with Chile.

## Strikers Are Arrested in Canada



Charged with "inciting a riot," Jacques Casgrain of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers is dragged from the picket line outside a Montreal meatpacking plant. More than 220 members of the UPWA have been arrested in this six week strike involving 14,000 workers throughout Canada.

(Federated Pictures)

## Europe Goes Hungry As U. S. Decides to Scrap German Plants

A highlight in the general anarchy and insane destructiveness of the capitalist system was the order Oct. 16 of the U. S. and British military governments in Germany to dismantle 682 industrial plants valued at about \$1,000,000,000. The full list of factories and mills earmarked for destruction or reparations is around 1,800 but final decision is still pending in a number of key industries.

The order to dismantle the selected 682 plants came at the height of the propaganda drive of the Truman Administration to put over the Marshall Plan. The American workers are being told that they must eat less and tighten their belts in order to ship billions of dollars worth of goods to Europe. The purpose of these shipments is alleged to be the rehabilitation of the war-torn areas.

Yet the same Wall Street political agents who point to Europe's need in demanding sacrifices of the American workers are the very ones who have decided to slash the productive level of German industry, the heart of Europe's entire industrial set-up.

Removing and destroying these plants means wide unemployment for the German workers. By preventing these workers from contributing their productive powers all Europe suffers.

In addition to this, tens of thousands of workers will be taken from

## The Class Struggle In Argentine Analyzed

"The Class Struggle in Argentina" by Louise T. Gordon in the Sept.-Oct. issue of Fourth International, throws light on the character of the Peron regime which has been so misunderstood in the United States. The article analyzes the various political tendencies in Argentina and shows that Peron is acting for the Argentine capitalist class, despite his demagogic promises to the workers. Single copies of the magazine cost 25c; \$1 for a year. Order from 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

## NOTICE

The Philadelphia Chapter of ACEWR is in need of a sewing machine—to mend old clothes and make new garments. Call EV. 6-8755 and ask for Goldy Feldman.

## PCI Co-operates With French Socialist Youth

PARIS, Oct. 7 — The Central Committee of the International Communist Party (PCI), section of the Fourth International, last week decided to join in a campaign with the Socialist Youth to prepare for the building of a mass revolutionary party in France.

This action came in response to an appeal by the Socialist Youth, which last August constituted itself as an independent organization with a political program of revolutionary struggle against the reformist Socialist Party of Ramadier.

In many localities the Socialist Youth has initiated "Committees of Revolutionary Regroupment" together with members of the Socialist and Stalinist parties who are fed up with the treacherous policies of their leaders. In Besencon and other communities, these committees were formed during strikes. The purpose of these committees is to launch united front actions on a class struggle basis and to study

By Joseph Hansen

How grave the menace of naked capitalist dictatorship is on the European continent has been demonstratively indicated in two important elections—one in Rome, the other in France.

In the French elections Oct. 19, General de Gaulle's newly-formed "Rally of the French People" on the basis of incomplete returns received 39% of the votes. The Stalinists received 29% and the Socialists 15%. This compares with a Stalinist vote of 25% in Oct., 1945, and 26% in Nov., 1946, and a Socialist vote of 24% in 1945 and 18% in 1946.

On Oct. 12 Prime Minister de Gasperi's Christian Democratic party got 32.8% of the votes in Rome's municipal elections. Eleven months ago this reactionary capitalist party got only 20.3%. The Stalinists and Socialists in the "People's Bloc" received 33.4% of the votes as compared with 36.9% 11 months ago.

These figures indicate a slight decline in combined vote given the Stalinists and Socialists in both Italy and France in comparison with previous elections.

Although a regroupment of votes as divided between Socialists and Stalinists occurred, the fascist-minded forces did not cut substantially into working class districts. At first sight, this relative stability of the working class vote might be taken as an assuring sign. But fitted into the dynamic development of the political situation in both Italy and France, a very different picture emerges.

There was a coalescing of the forces of reaction, a unifying of their ranks. A regroupment occurred in the vote given the capitalist parties. In Italy the "Common Man" movement suffered disaster; in France the Popular Republicans. The growing power of de Gasperi and de Gaulle, who enjoy the mighty backing of Wall Street, has made them the most attractive political leaders in the ultra-reactionary camps in Italy and France.

The uniting of these dark forces around a central figure, especially in France, is the most ominous development in European politics since the end of the war. De Gaulle is tying together the human material he hopes to use as a battering ram to smash the labor movement. Under these circumstances the relatively static vote for the Stalinists and Socialists really signifies a decline in the influence of these parties.

In 1945 the forces of capitalism were demoralized, split into weak warring factions. The masses surged forward, seeking the road to socialism. But the cowardly leaders of the trade unions and the major political parties of the working class blocked this road. They took oaths in the capitalist government and did their utmost to save the system that had plunged Europe into fascism and two world wars.

When the Stalinist and Socialist leaders permitted the opportunist situation of 1945 to pass, the middle classes began turning away. Now they are being attracted to de Gaulle like iron filings by a magnet. What the middle classes want is decisive action. Caught between



DE GAULLE

the sharp sword of rising living costs and the wall of fixed income they demand an end to the intolerable situation. Stuffing votes into ballot boxes in behalf of the working class parties did not bring the desired change in the situation.

If de Gaulle now takes the political struggle into the streets and organizes shock forces, fascism can advance with lightning rapidity in France. The suicidal course of the Stalinists and Socialists fosters this advance. Only by militant action based on the program of socialism can the working class hope to defend itself against advancing reaction.

In Italy the workers and poor farmers have shown by repeated general strikes, demonstrations and the seizure of land on the big estates that they understand socialism is the only way out. The mushroom spread of strikes in France is a similar manifestation of the readiness of the workers to set out on the road to power.

It is the bureaucratic leadership inherited from pre-war times that continually blocks and attempts to derail this powerful mood of the masses. These leaders are following in the footsteps of their predecessors who paved the way for Mussolini in 1922 and Hitler in 1933.

Only the Trotskyists in both countries are in tune with the desire of the masses for socialism. They are doing their heroic best to rally the workers against the menacing advance of reaction through militant struggle for socialism.

The fascist danger in France has reached new heights; but de Gaulle does not have a clear road to victory. The French workers have witnessed the rise of fascism in both Italy and Germany, learning lessons they will not forget in the present struggle. Their task is to forge a new leadership, capable of leading them to victory.

## I WANT A DEAL, ADMITS STALIN

Stalin's objective in forming his new Belgrade Information Bureau, according to the analysis of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party published in last week's Militant, is "to reach a new deal with Washington—a 'non-aggression' pact and economic concessions."

Confirmation of the correctness of this Trotskyist analysis has now come from the Kremlin dictator himself. In his first statement to be made public since announcement of the Belgrade Bureau, Stalin voiced his desire to reach an understanding with the Anglo-American imperialists.

Stalin indicated this wish to eight Labor Party members of the British Parliament who were flown to the despot's villa on the Black Sea for a special two-hour interview.

When the Laborites reached Warsaw on Oct. 17 they reported that Stalin stood "for improvement of political and economic relations with all countries . . . beginning with the United States and Great Britain. If these countries wish to improve relations with the Soviet Union they will be welcomed."

Stalin underlined especially his hope for an understanding with the British imperialist.

"We want as close trade relations with Great Britain as possible. We are interested in the development of trade relations between our two countries. The sooner the two states agree, the better for good partners in common work."

The "common work" presumably is a reference to the counter-revolutionary task of blocking any attempt of the working class to over-

turn capitalism in Europe or the Kremlin bureaucracy.

As plainly as he dared, Stalin disavowed any intention of inspiring, organizing or leading a militant opposition to Anglo-American imperialism.

"We shall be prepared to go forward to meet them irrespective of what the economic set-up may be in those countries. Cooperation between countries having different economic systems is possible. That already has been proved by experience."

Experience with German imperialism shows how unstable such "cooperation" is. In the face of this historic experience, however, Stalin hopes to postpone to the indefinite future the showdown for which Wall Street is preparing.

The Oct. 21 Daily Worker explained Stalin's remarks as another bid for a deal. It complained that the Byrnes "get-tough" policy "has been to pave the road to a settlement with as many brickbats as possible. This Stalinist sheet continues: 'Mr. Stalin has now signalled, through two different British channels, that he is ready.'"

What blocks the deal? It is simply a question of the price. With its enormous economic and financial resources and the atomic bomb in its sleeve, Wall Street is certain it can get what it wants and on its own terms.

## RCP Leads the Fight Against the Fascists

LONDON, Oct. 8.—The anti-fascist campaign being conducted here by the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyists) has already met with considerable success.

Open air meetings of the RCP have been well attended in the working class and Jewish areas of London, Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle, Sheffield, etc. Special literature sales and distributions, anti-fascist posters and parades have attracted considerable attention and publicity.

The RCP is also making headway in its attempt to raise the question of anti-fascist struggle and united fronts in the trade union branches and trades councils. Special emphasis will be placed on this aspect of the fight as the RCP campaign continues.

The fact that the Trotskyists have taken the lead in the struggle to smash fascism at its birth has led to great disquiet in the ranks of the Stalinist organizations, whose leaders have organized no serious anti-fascist campaign. In the East End of London, where the fascists have been most active, united fronts have been established with the rank and file of the CP and YCL as well as the "43 Group," a group of Jewish socialist militants.

The practical problem therefore is: How to help them shed most quickly their mistaken appraisal of the Laborite leadership? And conversely, how to lead them to find their way to the highroad of revolution?

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ants of British imperialism. They will then be best able to draw conclusions already reached by Marxists. And this is precisely what has been taking place for the last two years in the minds of the British workers.

It is a big mistake to think the Laborite voter of 1947 is in the same frame of mind as he or she was in 1945. Deep beneath the surface profound changes have been accumulating bit by bit. The new moods are just beginning to break out to the surface. There is the growing criticism of the top leaders. At the Margate Conference this year one-third of the votes were cast against Bevin when Greece and other "foreign commitments" were discussed.

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Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 2c each in U.S., 4c each in foreign countries.  
Vol. XI—No. 43

## THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interest of the Working People  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION  
116 University Pl., N. Y. 5, N. Y. Phone: AT. 4-9550  
FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

Signed articles by contributors necessarily represent the policies. These are expressed editorials.  
"Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879."

Monday, October 27, 1947



"Contrary to the official fables designed to drug the people, the chief cause of war as of all other social evils—unemployment, the high cost of living, fascism, colonial oppression—is the private ownership of the means of production together with the bourgeois state which rests on this foundation. With the present level of technology and skill of the workers, it is quite possible to create adequate conditions for the material and spiritual development of all mankind. It would be necessary only to organize the economic life within each country and over our entire planet correctly, scientifically, and rationally, according to a general plan. So long, however, as the main productive forces of society are held by trusts, i.e., isolated capitalist cliques, and so long as the national state remains a pliant tool in the hands of these cliques, the struggle for markets, for sources of raw materials, for domination of the world must inevitably assume a more and more destructive character."  
—Leon Trotsky, 1940

### Yes—It's Time for Some Serious Thinking

"Think about these things," pleaded John L. Lewis at the AFL Convention, as he described the terrible menace of the Taft-Hartley Act. "God knows," he chided the AFL leaders, "you are all paid enough for thinking." He added, "I am too, but I try to shut my mouth occasionally and think once in a while."

Yes, it is time for thinking. Never has the labor movement stood in greater need of serious, penetrating thought about where it is going and the road to take.

What is the problem that faces us? Lewis himself stated it in his militant speech against compliance with the "yellow-dog" oath. He said:

"The Taft-Hartley statute is the first ugly, savage thrust of Fascism in America. . . . It was bought and paid for by campaign contributions from the industrial and business interests . . . and the Republican party and the Democratic minority made good by forging these legislative shackles."

Lewis has done some serious thinking, it is obvious. The Taft-Hartley Act, he correctly states, is a first big step of American Big Business in the direction of a fascist dictatorship. And this

step has been made with the combined aid of the Republican and Democratic parties.

But here Lewis' thinking appears to stop. What shall labor do about this conspiracy of Big Business and the two old parties?

True enough, even the conservative AFL leaders are forced today to answer: Labor must fight this conspiracy with political action. But what KIND of political action? That is the nub of the question.

If Lewis had carried his thinking just one more step forward, he would have had to say: "Political action by and for labor to wipe out Republican-Democratic rule in Washington, break the political monopoly of Wall Street, and put labor in governmental power."

That is the most effective measure that labor can employ today in order to foil the Big Business-government conspiracy and smash the Taft-Hartley Act. But for that KIND of labor political action, the workers must have a party of their own, a Labor Party. This is the answer the workers must arrive at inevitably, if they follow Lewis' advice, and think — think things through to the end.

### Witch Hunt in Latin America

Wall Street has demanded action against "communism" throughout Latin America and its satellite governments have responded with heel-clicking alacrity.

In Bolivia and Peru ferocious anti-labor drives have been launched. Chile has made the headlines with a savage witch hunt.

The Stalinists are a target in this continental purge. Fantastic charges of plotting and organizing revolutionary uprising have been levelled against them. But the Stalinists are not the main target in this witch hunt. They have been singled out simply as convenient scape-goats.

The real objective of this drive is to deal a paralyzing blow against the workers and field laborers of Latin America. The poor people south of the Rio Grande have been hit hard by the rising cost of living.

As a result they have become more and more militant in fighting for such demands and are moving in the direction of socialism with a speed that

has alarmed the native capitalists and landlords and their Wall Street overlords.

This general anti-labor objective is clearly shown in Chile where a strike of miners for higher wages was seized upon by the government as the pretext for its witch hunt. Hundreds of miners were arrested and exiled to distant provinces. Scabs and strikebreakers were imported to replace them. Troops were sent into the mines to terrorize the strikers.

Washington joined in the attempt to break the strike by turning over U.S. Navy coal stores to the Chilean government so that it could hold out longer against the heroic miners.

These events show how closely the interests of the Latin American workers are bound up with those of the workers in the USA. The same government that enacted the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law gave the signal for the savage repressions in Latin America.

Every effort we exert to help the Latin American workers means strengthening the labor movement here. Let's unite against our common foe!

### Truman's Upside-down "Police-State"

In a press statement last week Truman said that government rationing, price and rent controls are "methods of a police-state." It is not accidental that Truman selects precisely those government controls intended to protect the people against the attacks of the Big Business profiteers and monopolists as his examples of a "police-state." This is simply the White House echo of NAM propaganda.

If Truman wanted to discuss "police-state methods" according to the real implications of that term, he should have started with the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law. There we have a real example of capitalist police-state methods, which seek to destroy the organizations of labor, the majority of the people, in the interests of a tiny, predatory minority.

Or he could have discussed his proposal for a law to draft strikers into the Army; his demand for compulsory universal military training to regiment the American people, his Hitler-like "loyalty purge" among federal workers; his smashing of the rail-

road strike, his initiating of a federal injunction against the miners—all prime examples of real "police-state" methods.

When the majority, through the government that is supposed to represent them, protect their welfare by putting restraints on a rapacious, greedy minority—that's a "police-state," according to Truman. But when the governmental machinery is used to repress the majority and protect the minority who rob, exploit and oppress the people, that's supposed to be a "democratic state!"

Rationing, price and rent control or any other measure exercised by the government to safeguard the majority, the working people, are not "police state methods." If the American workers take power and use their state machinery to end capitalism and establish socialism they will be operating the most democratic state ever known. They will be ending minority class rule and building a society where the means of production and distribution will be used for the benefit of all who toil.

### "Mission to Moscow"—Then and Now

The Dies-Rankin-Thomas red-baiting Committee on Un-American Activities is putting on a show in Washington that has all the obscenity of low burlesque but none of its humor.

The Representatives are playing the role of the evil-minded clown armed with a paddle whose every sentence drips with lewd insinuations. They have a select string of Hollywood stars, producers and film magnates cast as the dame of doubtful virtue. The red-baiting clowns on Capitol Hill are conducting a klieg-lighted "probe" to determine just how chaste this Hollywood crew have been in their relations with . . . the "Reds."

According to the script prepared by Thomas, Rankin and the other scenario writers of the House Committee, Hollywood bartered its lovely body and soul to the "Reds." That's why you can't see a movie nowadays that doesn't devote reel after reel to exposing the profits of the Rockefeller, Morgans, Mellons, duPonts, Fords and Hearsts, that doesn't expose the evils of capitalism such as depression, unemployment, war and fascism, that doesn't show how crooked the Republicans and Democrats are, and that doesn't show what a heaven on earth we could make America under a Socialist form of government.

One film being "probed" under the klieg lights at Washington caught our attention, Mission to Moscow. When it was produced during the war,

we and many others called attention to the fact that it was a deliberate falsification from beginning to end.

Mission to Moscow whitewashed Stalin's notorious Moscow frameup trials and pictured as genuine history the monstrously false charges of "spying" and "wrecking" cooked up as a cover for his slaughter of the old Bolsheviks and later the murder of Leon Trotsky.

The Socialist Workers Party pointed out that this film was part of the lend-lease Roosevelt was sending to the Soviet Union in accordance with the war-time deal between Wall Street and the Kremlin.

Just as the Kremlin had its agent, Earl Browder, the head of the American Communist (Stalinist) Party, climb in bed with Wall Street, so American imperialism had Hollywood perform a few such friendly services for the bloody dictator in Moscow.

Times have changed. Now the picture that was produced in response to a nod from the State Department is being used by Washington as "evidence" of Hollywood's submission to Moscow.

We don't expect this Washington burlesque will end with a reformed Hollywood, however. Wall Street's propaganda aims will continue to shape everything that comes out of that film factory as it has in the past. Only now Mission to Moscow is being replaced by a new production—Club Over Moscow.

### The Real Criminals



## Lewis's Speech Against The "Yellow-Dog" Oath

The following are extracts from John L. Lewis's speech at the AFL Convention on Oct. 14, denouncing the AFL leaders for proposals to comply with the yellow-dog oath required by the Taft-Hartley Act.

"The Taft-Hartley statute is the first ugly, savage thrust of Fascism in America. It came into being through an alliance between industrialists and the Republican majority in Congress, aided and abetted by those Democratic legislators who still believe in the institution of human slavery. It was bought and paid for by campaign contributions from the industrial and business interests of this country, and the Republican party and the Democratic minority made good by forging these legislative shackles for you and the men and the women who pay you to intelligently represent them."

"I wonder whether we are drifting? The Executive Council, in its several meetings has said, each to the other, 'We must stand for the repeal of this un-American statute and we must resist and withhold support from all modifying amendments that seek to make it virtuous. It is so completely bad that it can't be made virtuous, so we resist against its modifications by amendment and we will ask the American people to join us in asking for its complete repeal.'"

"Then your President and other officers of your organization have made known that position in public. And now we meet this afternoon and the distinguished Committee on Laws comes in here with a report, that, in effect, says, no, we won't permit Congress to amend it; we will debate ourselves and amend our own Constitution to make it unnecessary."

"What a paradox! What a paradox! How much heart do you think that will give the members of our organizations out in the industrial centers of this country when they see their great leaders, with all the pomp and ceremony of a great convention kneeling in obeisance before this detestable and tyrannical statute? Do you think that that will encourage them?"

"What effect will it have upon the ordinary citizen not related or concerned intimately with labor organizations? When you organize and implement your plans to go out and ask a Congressman or Senator who has been placed about your neck and sets you apart from your fellow man, what are you going to say to him when that man in the street says: 'Why, Mr. Blank, I understand your organization has amended its Constitution to permit you to accept the great virtues of this act, and that you overrode the opposition in your convention, in your wild clamor to be the first to sign up. How can you be opposed to the act for which you fight to receive its emoluments? Surely Mr. Taft must be right when he says the rank and file of labor have been liberated under this act from the tyranny of their own leaders.'"

"And is it true that the leaders of our movement are to be the first of our mighty hosts of 8,000,000 members to put their tails between their legs and run like cravens before the threat of the Taft-Hartley bill? I am reminded of the Biblical parable, 'Lions led by asses.'"

"Is it true of this mighty host of 3,000,000 workers in the American Federation of Labor, each filled with enthusiasm and ambition, each having responsibilities and dreams for himself and his family, each become a threat to American imperialism, and prepare a military jumping-off place for World War III?"

"This accounts for the fact that many Japanese politicians sponsored by the occupation regime are exposed by newspapermen as former members of the tight little imperialist circle that launched the war on China and the gamble at Pearl Harbor. After the exposure, the MacArthur regime abandons them and looks about for people with the same ideas but a less malodorous record."

"While space is devoted to the 'campfire-like control' the Zaisatsu (Japan's 60 Families) have on the Japanese economy, the authors appear to have no hope that their power will be curbed."

"The most glaring omission in this book is an adequate treatment of the tremendous strike wave in Japan and the scope and vitality of the unions it created. This strike wave has had an even greater effect on the Japanese masses than the formation of the CIO had on the American workers."

"For those who excuse the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as a military necessity, I recommend the sections of this book which I quote in part: 'One thing is certain. The atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki did not knock the Japanese out of the war. They were beaten before the bombs ever fell.' 'The authors can say at least one of the correspondents (all it (the atom bomb) should not have been dropped. . . . 'Was the bomb dropped simply to justify two years' experiments—'to justify the outlay of two billion dollars? From what a senior officer, attached to the Manhattan District told one of the authors a year later at Bikini, this did have

looking forward to the realization of a substance that will carry him through the evil days that must come to every man. . . . is it true that that mightily best trying to advance across the plains of America is led and flanked and having their thinking done for them by intellectually fat and stately asses?"

"I think you should think about these things. God knows, you are all paid enough for thinking. I am too, but I do try to shut my mouth occasionally and think once in a while, and that is what the American Federation of Labor should do."

"You know, if you grovel enough in this convention you will probably have more to grovel for next January and March, because when the Congress and the enemies of labor find out how easy you are they will give you more to grovel for. Did you ever think of that? Hadn't you better fight a little now than fight more down the road, or would you rather run?"

"I don't know what the Congress will do next session. That depends a great deal on what this convention does. If they see we are on the run they will take courage and the will fashion some more sharp spear to accelerate our speed even greater."

"Isn't that the next step? If you resist the power of the state, the central government will be used against you, and if you don't resist it will be used against you that much more quickly, because they won't lose any sleep at night worrying about what to do with a labor movement that is fleeing before the storm. And that is what you will be doing if you pass this damnable amendment that you have before you."

## THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MOTHER JONES

Installment I

I was born in the city of Cork, Ireland, in 1830. My people were poor. For generations they had fought for Ireland's freedom. Many of my folks have died in that struggle. My father, Richard Harris, came to America in 1835, and as soon as he had become an American citizen he sent for his family. His work as laborer with railway construction crews took him to Toronto, Canada. Here I was brought up but always as the child of an American citizen. Of that citizenship I have ever been proud.

After finishing the common schools, I attended the Normal school with the intention of becoming a teacher. Dressmaking too, I learned proficiently. My first position was teaching in a convent in Monroe, Michigan. Later, I came to Chicago and opened a dressmaking establishment. I preferred sewing to bossing little children.

However, I went back to teaching again, this time in Memphis, Tennessee. Here I was married in 1861. My husband was an iron moulder and a staunch member of the Iron Moulders' Union.

### Victims of Yellow Fever

In 1867, a yellow fever epidemic swept Memphis. Its victims were mainly among the poor and the workers. The rich and the well-to-do fled the city. Schools and churches were closed. People were not permitted to enter the house of a yellow fever victim without permits. The poor could not afford nurses. Across the street from me, ten persons lay dead from the plague. The dead surrounded us. They were buried at night quickly and without ceremony. All about my house I could hear weeping and the cries of delirium. One by one, my four little children sickened and died. I sat alone through nights of grief. No one came to me. No one could. Other homes were as stricken as was mine. All day long, all night long, I heard the grating of the wheels of the death cart.

After the union had buried my husband, I got a permit to nurse the sufferers. This I did until the plague was stamped out.

I returned to Chicago and went again into the dress-making business with a partner. We were located on Washington Street near the lake. We worked for the aristocrats of Chicago, and I had ample opportunity to observe the luxury and extravagance of their lives. Often while sewing for the lords and barons who lived in magnificent houses on the Lake Shore Drive, I would look out of the plate glass windows and see the poor, shivering wretches, jobless and hungry, walking along the frozen lake front. The contrast of their condition with that of the tropical comfort of the people for whom I sewed was painful to me. My employers seemed neither to notice nor to care.

Summers, too, from the windows of the rich, I used to watch the mothers come from the west side slums, tugging babies and little children, hoping for a breath of cool, fresh air from the lake. At night, when the tenements were stifling hot, men, women and little children slept in the parks. But, the rich, having donated to the charity fund, had, by the time it was hot in the city, gone to a seaside and mountains.

In October, 1871, the great Chicago fire burned up our establishment and everything that we had. The fire made thousands homeless. We stayed all night and the next day without food on the lake front, often going into the city to keep cool. Old St. Mary's Church at Wabash Avenue and Peck Court was thrown open to the refugees and there I camped until I could find a place to go.

### Learns About Knights of Labor

Near by, in an old, tumbled down, fire scorched building the Knights of Labor held meetings. The Knights of Labor was the labor organization of those days. I used to spend my evenings at their meetings, listening to splendid speakers. Sundays we went out into the woods and held meetings.

Those were the days of sacrifice for the cause of labor. These were the days when we had no halls, when there were no high salaried officers, no feasting with the enemies of labor. Those were the days of the martyrs and the saints.

I became acquainted with the labor movement. I learned that in 1865, after the close of the Civil War, a group of men met in Louisville, Kentucky. They came from the North and from the South; they were the "blues" and the "grays" who a year or two before had been fighting each other over the question of chattel slavery. They decided that the time had come to formulate a program to fight another brutal form of slavery—industrial slavery. Out of this decision had come the Knights of Labor.

From the time of the Chicago fire I became more and more engrossed in the labor struggle and I decided to take an active part in the efforts of the working people to better the conditions under which they worked and lived. I became a member of the Knights of Labor.

### Her First Strike

One of the first strikes that I remember occurred in the Seventies. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad employees went on strike and they sent for me to come help them. I went. The mayor of Pittsburgh swore in as deputy sheriffs a lawless, reckless bunch of fellows who had drifted into that city during the panic of 1873. They pillaged and burned and rioted and looted. Their acts were charged up to the striking workmen. The governor sent the militia.

The Railroads had succeeded in getting a law passed that in case of a strike, the train-crew should bring in the locomotive to the roundhouse before striking. This law the strikers faithfully obeyed. Scores of locomotives were housed in Pittsburgh.

One night a riot occurred. Hundreds of box cars standing on the tracks were soaked with oil and set on fire and sent down the tracks to the roundhouse. The roundhouse caught fire. Over one hundred locomotives, belonging to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company were destroyed. It was a wild night. The flames lighted the sky and turned to fiery flames the steel bayonets of the soldiers.

The strikers were charged with the crimes of arson and rioting, although it was common knowledge that it was not they who instigated the fire; that it was started by hoodlums backed by the business men of Pittsburgh who for a long time had felt that the Railroad Company discriminated against their city in the matter of rates.

I knew the strikers personally. I knew that it was they who had tried to enforce orderly law. I knew they disciplined their members when they did violence. I knew, as everybody knew, who really perpetrated the crime of burning the railroad's property. Then and there I learned in the early part of my career that labor must bear the cross for others' sins, must be the vicarious sufferer for the wrongs that others do.

These early years saw the beginning of America's industrial life. Hand and hand with the growth of factories and the expansion of railroads, with the accumulation of capital and the rise of banks, came anti-labor legislation. Came strikes. Came violence. Came the belief in the hearts and minds of the workers that legislatures but carry out the will of the industrialists.

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## Workers BOOKSHELF

STAR-SPANGLED MIKADO, by Frank Kelly and Cornelius Ryan, Robert M. McBride & Co., 1947, 282 pp., \$3.50.

This book about occupied Japan and the top brass of the occupying army was written by the correspondents of the N. Y. Herald Tribune and the London Daily Telegraph. Its best sections are those exposing the stupidity and self-glorification policy of MacArthur's military censorship. The section dealing with the political awakening in Japan since the end of the war, while containing valuable information, are marred by the "mysterious oriental mind" approach and a complete acceptance of the "war-guilt" of the Japanese people.

The best chapter in the book is the one dealing with the awakening of Japanese women. Description are given not only of this momentous development in the cities where women participated in politics for the first time, even getting elected to Parliament, but of the awakening of farm and village women to their new position as human beings.

The writers make it plain that Japan's "unconditional surrender" was not one at all. It was a conditional surrender—the condition being that the Emperor remain on the throne. Since this fitted in with Washington's plans, the condition was accepted.

Since then the purge of militarists and imperialist rulers of Japan has been improvised to fit the occupation and propaganda needs of MacArthur's regime. As the authors put it, the General has "played it by ear." The "democratization" of Japan has been shaped by the need to prevent a revolution, curtail the power of the wealthy Zaibatsu lest they again

become a threat to American imperialism, and prepare a military jumping-off place for World War III.

This accounts for the fact that many Japanese politicians sponsored by the occupation regime are exposed by newspapermen as former members of the tight little imperialist circle that launched the war on China and the gamble at Pearl Harbor. After the exposure, the MacArthur regime abandons them and looks about for people with the same ideas but a less malodorous record."

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an important bearing on the decision to drop the bomb. . . . As the war in Germany rushed to a close work in the plants was speeded up. Then when Germany surrendered, we expected the Japanese to quit straight away. Frankly, we thought the Pacific war would finish before we had a chance to use the bomb. The relief to everybody concerned, when the bomb was finished and dropped, was enormous."

This account of why the bomb was dropped leaves out the main purpose of American imperialism—to show the peoples of the world and the Soviet Union what the price of opposition to American domination would be. But it does prove again the contention that at Hiroshima and Nagasaki over two hundred thousand men, women and children were murdered without given the flimsy basis of military "justification."

—George Lavan

### Urges Labor Party To Win FEPC Law

FLINT, Oct. 20.—Independent labor political action is needed to win FEPC legislation, says Harrison Johnson in an article in the Searchlight, paper of Chevrolet Local 659 of the UAW-CIO. Stressing the need for FEPC legislation to fight job discrimination and racial divisions among workers, the article concludes:

"Fair Employment Practice is a political problem and must be solved politically. This is one reason among many others why we must, through our unions, put forth a vigorous campaign for a Labor Party. With a Labor Party a real Fair Employment Practice Law would be established."



# Workers' Forum

## Holds That Stafford's Opinion on Abilities Of Workers Is False

Editor:

In the Oct. 6 Militant a letter appeared by Bart Lanier Stafford, III, of New York in which he grants that capitalism is rotten, but objects to the idea that the working class is capable of reconstructing and managing society. He pleads with The Militant editors not to mislead the workers by saying that "the working people themselves must take over the control and management of the plants and factories," and states further that a "new elite" is necessary to run a socialist society.

I must state very emphatically that his conceptions about the working class are thoroughly false. The workers have demonstrated many times and in many different ways their capacity to run production and defend their own class interests without the "guidance" of intellectuals. I'll give a few examples.

During the foreman's strike at Ford's, in some departments the men turned out 8 hours production in 4 1/2 hours (where they had a particularly lousy foreman) and took it easy for the other 3 1/2 hours! In other departments they turned out sufficient production to keep the plant going (not their full quota) so that they could get their pay. In still other departments production was zero or close to because of the grueling character of the work or their hatred of the company.

In no case would they go beyond an established quota, knowing that the company would force them to maintain it. In the cases where they did their work in half the time, it was because they used their own initiative and intelligence.

No matter where I've worked, I've found that there are two ways of doing a job: the company way and the workers' way. The company way is planned by engineers and is clumsy and comparatively slow (except in trying to make the men move faster physically.) The workers' way is a result of their own intelligence and knowledge of the job. It is usually much more efficient and quicker—with less physical exertion!

The reasons that the workers don't do things their own way are as follows: (1) They can get into trouble with foremen, (2) They're afraid that doing the jobs faster would lead to layoffs.

The Spanish Revolution of 1936-39 is a fine example of the working class running production and doubling it. In the early days of the fascist revolt, the workers seized the factories, ran them without the capitalists and increased production tremendously. They also organized the anti-fascist militia that fought the fascists.

And here again they did all this without leaders, because their so-called leaders were on the fence—not knowing whether to capitulate to the fascists or flee the country.

When B. L. Stafford pleads with The Militant "not to mislead the workers," he's asking The Militant to lie to the workers, which The Militant would never do!

Unfortunately, B. L. Stafford is suffering from a typical American middle class delusion—that the workers are stupid and backward! B. L. Stafford's kind of thinking can lead only to neo-fascism or Stalinism, both of which are fundamentally middle class ideologies—that of bureaucrats and managers

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.

doing things for the people, when in reality the only way the people get things accomplished is by doing it themselves.

Yes, the revolution will bring about radical changes that will once and for all crush one of the great crimes of class society: the crime of the division between mental and physical labor. I'll grant that this won't take place the day after the social revolution, but we'll begin to see it during the transitional period between capitalism and socialism. When the working class seizes the capitalist state and replaces it with their own state, they'll also take steps at the point of production to take over the functions of the managers and engineers.

Jack Meade  
Detroit, Mich.

## Tells Stafford About Relation of "Experts" To Socialist Movement

Editor:

Congratulations to Stafford. He has discovered that "capitalism has bungled the job of running society." That's progress. But why all the awe for the "experts"? What exempts these mortals from Stafford's gloomy pen and cloud of doubt?

Let's take a look at these "experts" that are so dazzling to Stafford. Do they make the really big decisions on running society? Aren't they forced to crawl when the capitalists and their agents crack the whip? Wasn't that what these supermen were doing while capitalism bungled the job of running society?

Take the scientists who unlocked atomic energy. Their epoch-making discoveries were turned to wholly destructive ends—the atomic bomb. Under capitalism they had no choice but to see one of the greatest triumphs of science debased into a fiendishly efficient instrument for mass butchery. It made many of them sick at the stomach. But what could they do? After all, they were only workers on a government project—a capitalist government project.

Does Stafford think that the nuclear physicists would reject an opportunity to work on a socialist government project—the development of the peacetime uses of atomic energy? He has an oddly distorted view of "the experts" and their desire to serve humanity if he believes that.

Stafford needs to widen his reading and do a little more thinking about the plight of "the experts" under capitalism and the advantages socialism offers them. He should read how the Bolshevik government in the days of Lenin and Trotsky appealed to "the experts".

The Red Army, for instance, offered those who had staffed the Czar's armies full opportunity to use their skill and technical knowledge in the service of the Soviet Union. All it asked was loyalty to the new regime. At the same time the Bolsheviks opened up unprecedented opportunities for the development of new "experts" from the ranks of unskilled labor.

Stafford does not appear to be familiar with the brilliant success of this historical experience of the working class in a backward country or to have seen the immense possibilities it indicates for technically advanced countries like America. When the labor movement turns to independent political action and finally establishes a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the USA, I for one am completely confident that the overwhelming bulk of "the experts" will be on the side of that government. They will perform miracles in the cause of freeing mankind from the shackles of capitalism, including the not-so-miraculous feat of greatly expanding the number of "experts" in America.

There will be no numerically small "elite"—a bottleneck in production!—but a swift expansion of industry and along with it an enormous increase, through mass adult education, of the number of men and women with know-how.

Under socialist planning the productive capacity of industry will prove so great that poverty will be swiftly stamped out in America. The working class and its allies will for the first time in history be able to settle down without fear of war or depressions and really enjoy life.

Meanwhile, let Stafford and those of his opinion begin giving serious consideration to a problem that every "expert" must face if he cares to be honest with himself: The capitalists are taking us with express train speed straight toward the abyss of a Third World War. How are we to prevent them from carrying out their plans?

Stafford didn't spend enough time thinking over that problem, otherwise he could not have come up with his inaccurate conclusions about The Militant.

Daniel Leroy  
New York, N. Y.

## Reader's Ire Aroused Over Stafford's Views

So Stafford III thinks technicians aren't part of the working class. All that means is he hasn't had his brains exploited yet, only his back. Maybe that's all he cares.

I say give the technicians a chance to show what they can do under socialism. Is Stafford III helping to achieve that? If not, keep him out of our hair. Haven't we got enough plagues without weak-minded, doubting Thomases popping off in the Workers' Forum?

Indignant

New York, N. Y.

## Stafford Letter Brings "Old Traps" to Mind

Editor:

Mr. Stafford's letter "Cloud of Doubt about Revolutionary Victory" reminds me of one of the old traps to discourage the workers against socialism: "The ignorant workers would mess things." It's like other traps used to discourage socialism: "Socialism would destroy your home." "Socialism is free love." "Socialists believe in dividing up." "Socialism would destroy religion." "Socialism and anarchy are the same."

Under world socialism we would have world, national and community councils (council means the same as soviet in Russian.) No sensible worker in a council would like to have a president running an elevator, or an elevator operator being a president. Nonsense, Mr. Stafford. The intellectual and manual workers now do the work of the world. And I know of no reason

# Nineteen Years Of the Militant

By Rose Karsner  
National Campaign Director

The Militant will be 19 years old on November 15, 1947.

That is indeed an occasion to celebrate. We know that because of soaring production costs, the publication of our paper is in jeopardy. Compared with the early hard times, however, the financial difficulties facing us now can be more easily overcome; because today we have thousands of loyal friends and sympathizers to count on, unlike those days of isolation when we had only a handful.

I can remember the days when George or Sam edited The Militant single-handed and Charlie worked through the nights on an old broken-down linotype machine to produce it. In those days the Stalinists beat our distributors, tore up our papers, broke up our meetings, slandered and vilified us, calling us "fascists," with only a courageous militant here and there voicing a protest. It is different today. Then came the hardest blow of all—the GPU assassinated our teacher and leader, Leon Trotsky.

During the war years the government also tried to silence our voices. Because of their opposition to imperialist war, leaders of the SWP were indicted, and tried, and 18 were imprisoned. The second class mailing rights of The Militant were suspended for a time.

But this persecution was of no avail. The Militant fearlessly continued to tell the truth. Its supporters fearlessly continued to distribute it and discuss with those who would listen. The paper survived and we are now about to celebrate its nineteenth birthday, proving that truth is stronger than physical force and prevails in the end.

The Militant has grown in influence, improved in content and is well on the way to becoming the leading paper of the masses.

It's been a rough road we traveled. The stretch ahead is not smooth. But we are full of confidence. The American workers are moving out onto the political field as an independent class force. History is with us.

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party have pledged to raise a \$15,000 fund to honor the nineteenth birthday of The Militant. We are calling on all subscribers and readers to help raise and increase this sum. We need all the aid we can get.

Send your contribution today. Make it your birthday gift to The Militant.

why they could not do it under council rules.

Under capitalism there are many skilled and learned persons who do not have an opportunity to apply their skill and knowledge. Those persons would make leaders and educators under socialism.

Under socialism there is no unemployment. The more workers the shorter the work week. The workers (white or colored) get their necessities from the stockpiles made by labor. Each community has a distributing system to deliver the supplies to the workers' homes.

Socialism means production for use, not for profit, an end to the exploitation of humans by humans. When socialism is established there shall be plenty of minds and hands to make and distribute the material securities. And from the material securities many of the intellectual comforts come.

Jarvis Dugan-Schreyer  
Rochester, N. Y.

If You Like  
THE MILITANT  
Pass It Along  
To A Friend

## TWIN CITY FORUMS

"The Workers' Town Meeting"

1st Sunday of month  
ST. PAUL  
540 Cedar St.

2nd, 3rd, 4th Sundays  
MINNEAPOLIS  
10 So. 4th St.

3:30 p. m.  
Discussion      Supper  
Admission free

## Won't You Help The Militant?

CLIP COUPON—MAIL TO-DAY

The Militant Fund  
116 University Pl.  
New York 3, N. Y.

Enclosed find \$\_\_\_\_\_ to help THE MILITANT in its fight for a world of peace and plenty for all.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ Zone \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

## Scoreboard For \$15,000 Militant Fund

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
ST. LOUIS	\$ 50	\$ 72	144
Newark	500	254	51
Oakland	250	128	51
Milwaukee	200	98	49
Buffalo	600	98	16
Philadelphia	300	125	42
New York	4,500	1,810	40
Rochester	25	10	40
Tacoma	25	10	40
Twin Cities	1,000	380	38
Akron	300	107	36
Boston	275	99	36
Flint	200	71	35
Youngstown	600	200	33
Cleveland	250	80	32
Seattle	300	77	26
Pittsburgh	150	30	20
West Virginia	25	5	20
Detroit	600	100	17
Toledo	150	26	17
Chicago	1,500	217	14
Los Angeles	1,500	150	10
San Francisco	1,250	131	10
Lynn	125	10	8
Connecticut State	200	12	6
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	0	0
Massillon-Canton	50	0	0
Reading	100	0	0
San Diego	100	0	0
TOTAL THROUGH OCT. 20		\$4,451	30%

# INTERNAL WEAKNESSES SLOW MEMBERSHIP DRIVE OF NAACP

By J. Blake

All over the country persons seriously concerned with the Negro struggle are beginning to ask privately, and in some cases publicly: Why is the NAACP membership drive to "Make It A Million" lagging?

Although up to now most of the NAACP leaders have

followed the ostrich policy on this point, the only way to solve the problems of the organization is to discuss them and act on them, not to pretend they don't exist.

The Philadelphia Tribune was absolutely correct in opening the discussion in its columns and in editorializing, when criticized: "The NAACP Set-up, Public or Private?"

Similarly, the New Orleans Sentinel in its Aug. 16 issue seriously attempted to come to grips with the problem of the membership lag with an analysis of the fact that Texas, the state with about one million Negroes, was 19,000 short of its goal of 55,000 members on June 30, scheduled closing date of its drive.

## MASS BASE NEEDED

The title of the Sentinel editorial was "Warning for a Broader Base."

It called for broadening the base of the NAACP's plan of operations. This is a recognition of the need to make the NAACP function as a mass organization of the Negro people, struggling for concrete gains for the masses and not merely for isolated civil rights legal victories from which benefits may eventually trickle down to the Negro rank and file.

Regardless of the merits of the part-whole suggestions of this editorial, the tendency it represents is a true reflection of the heart of the NAACP problem—its internal weakness in program and in organization.

True, this is not the only reason for the lag. There is also the objective situation in which we find ourselves, a period generally characterized by a lack of mass actions on a national scale in the labor movement. The political reaction inhibits militancy in the Negro struggle as well as in the working class as a whole.

The economic condition of the masses grows worse as living costs keep rising, the housing crisis remains unrelieved, and working conditions and the union are being attacked by bosses smelling blood. It is, unfortunately, true that the workers' mass organizations, both labor and Negro, have not yet broken through the roadblock of the two reactionary parties with their own independent political action, with a Labor Party that could meet

the political attack of their enemies head on.

## INTERNAL WEAKNESS

But this situation could not by itself stem the NAACP's growth and membership drive if the organization did not have serious internal weaknesses.

The need for a mass organization for struggle is clear to everyone who knows how badly unemployment and depression have already struck Negro communities; how increasingly common "whites only" has become as hiring policy for all kinds of jobs; how acute the housing crisis is in Negro communities hemmed in by race restrictive covenants; how brazenly brutal police have become in trying to put Negroes "back in their place."

But the NAACP is not tackling the needs of the masses who could "Make It A Million." For the most part, the NAACP is still ruled by and for the "talented tenth."

Its organizational structure is a monstrosity that makes it difficult for the ranks to exert pressure on the leadership to compel action on the burning issues of the day. The practically self-perpetuating Board of Directors has more authority than the national convention of delegates from all the branches.

A glaring demonstration of this fact was the recent action of the Board of Directors in rejecting the

action of the national convention last June which set up a committee to bring in proposals to the next convention for constitutional revision along more democratic lines, including election of the Board by the convention itself. Under the present constitution the Board of Directors has the authority for such a tyrannical act.

## LEADERSHIP AN OBSTACLE

Another aspect of the internal weakness of the NAACP is the leadership of the organization from the top down, with a few exceptions. Here personified is the talented (?) tenth. Doctors, lawyers, teachers, morticians, post office workers, preachers, real estate men and businessmen dominate the executive boards. While most of the members of the organization are plain ordinary workers, they have been given little or insufficient representation on the executive boards.

Many of these professional and middle class elements have a role to play on the executive boards, but some of them act only as conservative obstacles to the launching of the kind of militant struggles that could attract not only a million, but millions of Negroes to the NAACP. And there's the rub. Militant struggles are not needed for an organization which limits itself to raising funds for court tests on civil rights and for pressuring Democrats and Republicans to vote for progressive legislation. These things are necessary, but they don't lead to involving the Negro masses in struggles to solve their own pressing problems.

And that is the chief internal weakness in the NAACP problem, the weakness that undermines the membership drive at a time when the Negro masses need more than

## THE MILITANT ARMY

## Branch Mobilizations Boost Subs and Bundles



Election campaigns and the resumption of branch mobilizations, after the vacation season, are speeding up the sale of Militant subscriptions and bundles.

San Francisco ordered 500 copies of last week's issue for its election campaign and the previous week Philadelphia took 3,000 copies while Toledo and New York took 200 extra copies each.

"I am really proud," wrote Carol Andrews, Milwaukee Militant manager, "of the good job the comrades did this past week and at the Sunday mobilization." She sent 15 renewals and two new subs, after five the previous week.

"At Sunday night branch meetings we have sub-getters report on their experiences and the reaction of readers. This helps train new members and builds enthusiasm for future mobilizations. For instance, you can imagine how good I felt when a subscriber renewed and said he had been reading The Militant studiously for two years and would feel lost without it."

"Another said he passes The Militant around in the shop and posts its cartoons on the shop bulletin board. He promised to try to get some subs. He's also bought tickets to our Halloween party."

On his way to mail two new subs, J. W. C. of Kewanee, Ill., "met a

fellow and 'had his sub, too, before I got the other cards in the mailbox. It is very hard sometimes, but if you keep after them you can get the dollar." J. W. C. is an old hand at it. "Been at it since 1899," he says. "Used to get hundreds of subs for the Appeal to Reason, Milwaukee Leader and Chicago Socialist. And I'll get some more."

Sam Taylor, a Chicago reader, sent new subs for two friends in Virginia and Wisconsin.

Minneapolis Branch sent eight subs, five for a full year.

Lynn, (Mass.) Branch has "started our sub campaign by cleaning up all our renewals. We have already seen 18 people and obtained five renewals. You can expect to hear from us regularly as we are going out every Sunday," writes Mary Paule.

Milton Genecin of Toledo sent four one-year renewals. "These were obtained Saturday night at the first forum in our new weekly series."

Boston agent Rena Bresh sent 10 renewals and one new sub. "Belle Patch obtained nine of these. She's a real go-getter. One was sold at our last social."

Oakland increased its weekly bundle order by 10 copies. Beverly also sent four subs and reported: "One of the Johnson group who recently joined us is a terrific saleslady. She sells 20 where others sell five. We expect she'll really build up our sales. We're starting monthly Red Sundays. Hope to show some real results."

Five new subs from Los Angeles, South Side Branch, were "just to show that after a short respite from last month's sub campaign, and after the wonderful time everybody had at the West Coast Summer School, the South Side is getting back into harness," wrote Ed Smith.

St. Paul branch was especially pleased about one of the recent new subs. The subscriber, wrote Winifred Nelson, "first came to our Trotsky Memorial meeting, from the notice in the daily paper. There he bought a copy of Trotsky's Revolution Betrayed and a copy of the paper." He subscribed by mail.

New Haven Branch sold about 200 pieces of literature at a Wallace meeting Oct. 8, including a bundle of Militants and the pamphlets Build a Labor Party Now and Fight the Slave Labor Law.

# Swaback's Article in FI Is A Must for Unionists

Every American unionist who is concerned about the current Big Business attack on labor should read Arne Swaback's penetrating article, "Two Pages from American Labor History" in the Sept.-Oct. issue of Fourth International. This timely article draws vital lessons for present and future struggles by examining the Pioneer Period of the Eighties, when unions were first firmly established in the U. S., and the Thirties, when the CIO was born.

Swaback shows that in both of these periods the intervention of the revolutionary forces played an important and sometimes decisive role. That is the starting point for his examination of labor's tasks and problems today, for its course now will again depend in large measure on the conscious intervention of the revolutionary forces.

In this light he illuminates the following questions: The tendency of modern trade union organizations

to draw closer to the state power, and the need to intensify the fight for union democracy and independence from the state; the political conservatism of the labor bureaucracy, and the fight for independent working class political action; the problem of AFL-CIO unity; the aim of red-baiting; the probable effects of the coming crisis and the tasks it will pose to the militants; the kind of program that will facilitate the rise of a left wing and new leadership in the unions.

There is plenty of food for thought in this article. It should receive a wide circulation among unionists. Single copies of the magazine cost 25c; a year's subscription \$1. Write to 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

## 30th Anniversary Meetings RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Hear a discussion of:

The Marshall Plan  
The Crisis in the UN  
Stalin's "Information Bureau"  
Rise of De Gaulle in France

## NEW YORK

Speakers: Wm. F. Warde, George Clarke

WEDNESDAY, Nov. 5, 8 P. M.

Beethoven Hall, Fifth St. and Third Ave.

Militant Chorus

## NEWARK

Speaker: John G. Wright

FRIDAY, Nov. 7, 8:30 P. M.

423 Springfield Ave.

## TOLEDO

SATURDAY, Nov. 8, 8 P. M.

113 St. Clair, 2nd floor

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

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

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

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

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

LOS ANGELES—Militant publishing Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.

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

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

MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5th St. Open 12 to 4:30 p.m.; 7:30 to 9:30 p.m. Mondays thru Fridays.

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

SUNDAY FORUMS, 3:30 p.m.  
NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open every Monday, 8 to 10:30 p.m.

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

Friday night forum, 8:30.

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



# What the Future Holds

By Theodore Kovalesky

"Of course we have a place for you, comrade," the man said. Jimmy gulped. "I've got a wife and two kids," he stammered. "We'll need some room."

"Of course," said the man. "What part of the city do you want to live in?"

Jimmy's lip curled slightly. "Only one part I can live in!"

The man raised his eyebrows. "What part do you mean?" he asked.

That man's crazy, Jimmy thought. He said, patiently, "Over where the colored people live, naturally."

"Genuine bewilderment spread over the man's face. 'Colored... you mean segregation of comrades with darker skin... like under capitalism? Does that exist somewhere here... today?' he asked.

"What are you talking about?" asked Jimmy. "Discrimination," the man went on, "Why, that was wiped out long ago after the Socialist Revolution."

One of us is crazy, Jimmy thought. But he was curious. "Let's see that house," he said.

"We'll look at the one on Debs Parkway first," the man said.

Debs Parkway ran at right angles to the lake, ending at a shady highway overhung with tall trees next to the beach. The sun was bright on the water. "This house rents for \$65 a month," the man said. "What good does that do me?" asked Jimmy.

"Why, you earn \$135 a week, don't you?"

Jimmy gasped. He reached into his pocket and pulled out a check stub. He looked at it. It said \$135!

"Maybe I'm crazy," Jimmy said. "I thought I was bringing home about \$45 a week."

The man poked Jimmy's shoulder and laughed uproariously. "\$45 a week! Why, nobody's earned that little since the installation of the Workers and Farmers Government back in 1955."

Jimmy's head spun. They went into the house.

Inside the sun's glare and heat was gone. "Air conditioning?" Jimmy asked.

The man looked at him in surprise. "Of course! Just like all homes and buildings."

"I haven't been very well lately," Jimmy stammered. "I forget things now and then. Just you tell me what else all homes have."

The man smiled sympathetically. "Well, first air conditioning, then automatic heat, built-in television in every room, radio-telephones in every room, Cosmic—"

"When was the revolution?" Jimmy interrupted. "1955. The peoples of the world could no longer stand war, poverty, discrimination, oppression... What's the matter with you, comrade?"

Jimmy didn't answer the question. His ears were ringing, and the ringing grew louder and louder until the noise hurt. He flung out his arm against the sound. His hand struck the alarm clock, and he woke up with a start.

Jimmy lay in bed, depressed. The great Italian poet, Dante, had said that there is no greater sorrow than remembering happy times when in misery. Jimmy had never read Dante, but that was the way he felt.

Outside his window a street light glared coldly against the window pane, dusted with the red-brown powder that drifted over from the blast furnaces. He switched on the light next to the bed and saw the contents of his pants pockets on the dresser. Lying there was his last check stub... for \$45.28.

He pushed aside the memory of his dream and leaped out of bed. He dressed quickly and heated up yesterday's coffee. "It's still capitalism," he thought. "I've still got to get out and get to work and see if I can't put in some overtime on the furnace so I can pay off my bills."

Outside he heard the wail of a narrow gauge engine in the steel plant. He picked up his lunch pail, closed the door behind him, and walked away from his run-down, mortgaged house toward the steel plant three blocks away.

## The Negro Struggle

### Jackie Robinson and Bob Williams

By George Clarke

Millions of hearts beat in unison when Jackie Robinson went down the baseline to steal another bag for the Dodgers. It seems to us that the Negro people were cheering Jackie not only because of his skill as a ball player. Not merely because he was one of their own making good. Not merely because he was a living refutation of the theories of white supremacy. And not only because of the belief that Jackie was blazing a trail against Jim Crow that would go far beyond the ball park.

It seems to us that Jackie was also being cheered for his courage. Who can deny that it takes "moxie" to stand up and play ball before the eyes of the whole country under the conditions Jackie was forced to endure? Who can deny that it takes guts to perform after the endless petty persecutions, the galling actions of arrogance and prejudice, the continuing segregation in fact if not in form? Who can deny that Jackie is a fighter?

Yet while we were cheering in Jackie's box, we do not believe that his fight — as gallant as it is — will achieve the ends many believed, or at least dreamed it would. Jackie's fight will not break down the barriers of racial discrimination, in the professions, in industry generally, in housing — not even in the world of sport. It is not the kind of a fight that can lick the Jim Crow system, that is the capitalist system.

The fight that will make the name of Robinson legion and bring opportunity and equality to the millions requires something else. It requires program

and organization. That's where Bob Williams comes in. He stands on the only program that can destroy Jim Crow. In this election he represents as candidate for State Senator, the Socialist Workers Party, the only organization that can lead the fight to victory. And that takes courage — and plenty of it.

It means standing up for the truth no matter how unpopular it may be at the moment, nor how strong the opposition. It means hard work with no compensation except the satisfaction of knowing the task is done. It means walking a picket line to open the gates of a 'Jim' Crow' bathhouse. Knocking on doors to organize tenants. Speaking on street corners against the opposition of drunks and hecklers. Soliciting subscriptions to The Militant, visiting friends to bring them to meetings. It means the thousands and one little things which have none of the glamor of the baseball diamond and don't receive the plaudits of the multitudes. Yet it is these small chores that will educate the masses of the people to the real workings of the Jim Crow capitalist system and organize them effectively and successfully against it.

By that we don't mean to belittle Jackie. We are talking of the qualities that are needed to prevent Jackie from being an isolated and temporary figure. These qualities Bob Williams has. And one day, we are convinced, and confident, millions will have them too. When that day comes, equality will not be a hazy promise only on a ball field but a living reality in every walk of life.

That's why we're in there today cheering for Bob Williams and his campaign for New York State Senator.

## Planned Ignorance

By Grace Carlson

A short time ago, a young fellow came into the Minneapolis headquarters to deliver our new telephone book. It was the first time he had stepped into a party's headquarters and he was full of questions about the Socialist Workers Party — its principles and program. But he didn't really want to hear my explanation of the need for working class control of production as an answer to capitalist anarchy. He was too anxious to tell me why socialism couldn't work. In his university psychology classes, he had learned all about the low scores that workers make on intelligence tests, he said, and he solemnly assured me that socialism couldn't work because workers don't have enough brains!

Do you wonder where a young student gets these bigoted ideas at such an early age? Look at what one university textbook has to say on this subject. Dr. R. S. Ellis in "The Psychology of Individual Differences" passes off this weird mixture as wisdom: "From the viewpoint of the psychology of individual differences, the theory of communism is clearly untenable. Differences in abilities and in likes and dislikes are inborn and ineradicable — though not, of course, unmodifiable — and under such conditions, no economic system will be workable which does not provide for differences in the rewards of effort. Consider, for example, the problem of housing. Some men are quite content to live in shacks.

They would rather rest at ease than to put forth enough effort to earn money to buy paint to paint their houses. . . . The communist ideal is impossible with men as they are. It never has worked and never will. There need be no serious fear that it will ever be read far among an intelligent people."

And what is the "evidence" upon which Professor Ellis bases these strange conclusions? Chiefly upon intelligence test results, which give workers lower IQ's than business or professional men and Negroes lower IQ's than whites. A strict hereditarian, Ellis thinks that rich people are rich because they were born smart and poor people are poor because they were born 'unintelligent' and have stayed that way all their lives.

But before any student accepts Ellis' conclusions uncritically, he should examine the basic assumptions of intelligence testing. Psychologists do not measure intelligence directly but indirectly. Mental tests only measure what the individual has learned. An individual who has not had normal educational and cultural opportunities at home and in school is greatly handicapped in taking an intelligence test and the resulting Intelligence Quotient or IQ will not be a true measure of his real native ability.

There is no doubt but that there are native differences in intelligence. But the rich do not have a corner on all of the native intelligence! However, it is easy to see why the rich rulers of our society like to have young people taught the kind of lies exemplified in the excerpt from "The Psychology of Individual Differences." It is their program of planned ignorance!

## Notes from the News

**INFLATION ANSWER** — R. J. Thomas, candidate for the presidency of the CIO United Auto Workers at next month's convention, has called for a cost-of-living bonus to meet rising prices.

**TERMINAL LEAVE PAY** — By Oct. 7, World War II veterans had cashed in over half of their terminal leave bonds.

**OUR PROTECTORS** — Chief of Police Oscar Day of Yellow Springs, Ohio, has been arrested for theft.

**CAPITALIST CONSISTENCY** — Wall Streeter Forrestal, Secretary of Defense, lashed out against "police states" in a speech before the N. Y. Herald Tribune Forum and wound up by calling for peace-time conscription.

**ANOTHER PAYTRIOOT CAUGHT** — Millionaire Eugene B. Casey, wartime executive assistant to

Roosevelt, was convicted of income tax evasion. Casey did not contest the charges that he had cheated the government out of \$70,384. Treasury officials then revealed that they had discovered another \$105,000 owing to them. Casey's sentence? A \$30,000 fine and six months in jail.

**WHERE YOUR MONEY GOES** — In case you didn't suspect it, corporation profits for the first two quarters of 1947 were higher than those of the last quarter of 1946. Corporate profits for first six months of 1947 are estimated at 56½ billion dollars.

**UNITY IN ACTION** — A United Labor Political Committee has been set up by AFL, CIO and independent unions in Florida. The move was initiated by the State AFL.

**STRIP TEASERS COVERED** — The New Jersey Supreme Court has ruled that strip tease artists who work regularly in one theater are entitled to the benefits of unemployment compensation.

# 4 More CIO Councils Support Hickman; Trial Begins Nov. 5

## Sitdown Strike in New York



Here are some of the more than 90 members of Local 65 of the CIO Wholesale and Warehouse Workers who refused to quit the plant after the Brooklyn Industrial Confiner shut off the power and ordered them out. The sitdown was precipitated by the lockout of 11 of their fellow unionists. They left the plant after a week when an injunction was handed down against them, and set up a mass picket line. New York police helped scabs to crash through the line. (Federated Pictures)

## New Yorkers Urged By SWP Candidate To Keep PR Voting

By Robert Williams  
SWP Candidate for State Senate,  
23rd Senatorial District, N. Y.

NEW YORK, Oct. 22—The reactionary bi-partisan crusade to eliminate Proportional Representation in elections for the City Council is fundamentally anti-labor and must be stopped.

All the anti-communist hysteria cannot obscure the real intent of the campaign against PR. For decades Tammany Hall dominated City Hall with a corrupt and anti-labor gang ruling the roost. The organized labor movement and the Negro people didn't have the ghost of a chance of getting their foot in the city council door. Under the "Roten Borough" system of electing Aldermen, the A. D.'s were rigged in favor of the machine. When a third party got strong enough to elect a representative, the district was quickly rezoned.

The fact that Republicans and Democrats march side by side against PR reveals that the hand directing the show is Wall Street's, and not merely the political bosses as the liberals pretend.

The hue and cry against "Communists" should fool no one for there have seldom been more docile, respectable and "responsible" time-servers on the Council than the Stalinist representatives. Wall Street wants its rule over all governmental agencies free of opposition of any kind. It is particularly fearful of genuine independent labor politics that might arise in the coming years. Above all, the Wall Street gang wants to keep its two-party dictatorship intact and unchallenged.

Let the crawling ALP, Liberal and Stalinist leaders tell the workers why O'Dwyer, whom they put in City Hall, is quiet as the grave

while his party and his most immediate assistants are out wielding an axe against PR. Labor was never anything but a poor relation in the stinking alliances made with the capitalist parties. Now it's being shown the door—that's the meaning of the campaign to end PR.

There are two ways to save what little democracy remains in this city.

Save PR by voting 'NO' on Nov. 5!

"Build a genuinely independent Labor Party in the city and in the nation!"

## Chicago Tenants Fight Rent-Gouge Practices

CHICAGO, Oct. 21—Nine checks totaling \$995 were distributed at last week's regular monthly council meeting of the North Side Tenants League, 4348 Broadway, as repayment to tenants who had been compelled to pay illegal "bonuses" for apartments. This brought the total amount of "bonus" repayments recovered for tenants through the league to \$3,665.

A report was given on a visit to the Rent Office by a committee sent to protest "hardship rent increases" recently granted the landlords of Sterling Apartments, 105 Sheridan Rd., and Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments, 54 E. 47 St. The League had demanded suspension of the rent increase orders pending a re-examination and hearing at which tenants would have the opportunity to contest the alidity of the "hardship" claims of the landlords and inspect the books submitted by the landlords.

The Area Rent Office agreed to a re-examination in these cases but refused to revoke the rent increase orders and denied tenants permission to inspect the landlords' records.

Mrs. Mildred Gardella, secretary of the League, charged that the Area Rent Office "has become an

agency for raising rents instead of controlling rents and that tenants could expect little relief or protection" from it. She based this charge on the grounds that landlords' applications for rent increases are granted almost automatically, while tenants are not notified or consulted and have to wait many months for action on their complaints and then rarely get favorable results.

An example is the Sterling Apartments. In March the tenants of basement apartments applied for rent reductions; their applications have not yet been acted on. Yet the landlord applied for a rent increase on Sept. 17 and got an 11% "substantial hardship" increase 12 days later, on Sept. 29.

On the basis of this report a three-point plan of action to hold the line on rents was adopted by the council. This includes a petition to the Office of Housing Expediter in Washington, a series of mass meetings throughout the city, and a mass picket line with other organizations in front of the Area Rent Office.

The council also voted to demand the immediate passage of an anti-rent control bill by the City Council, to go into effect when and if the Federal Rent Act expires on Feb. 28, 1948.

## Hits Brutality Against Negroes By New York Cops

NEW YORK, Oct. 23 — "Police Commissioner Wallender's whitewash of the cops who slugged Samuel W. Simonette proves once again that intimidation and terrorism are part of an official and calculated policy of the Democratic administration of this city towards the Negro people," Robert Williams, Socialist Workers Party candidate for State Senator, declared in a statement today.

"It proves also that much more than pleading and petitioning and investigating is needed to put an end to this KKK policy of the City of New York. To expect Wallender to discipline cops for carrying out the instructions of the Police Department is like expecting Pontius to veto the actions of Pilate.

"The Negro people of New York, together with the labor movement which suffers the same brutalities on the picket line, must launch a movement to enact laws to make the police criminally liable for their actions before the courts.

"But that alone will be insufficient. In a conference on police brutality called by Ben Davis in the summer of 1946, the representatives of the Socialist Workers Party proposed mass actions to take the form of mass demonstrations, mass delegations to City Hall to culminate in a one-day tieup of Harlem. The proposal was carried, but the Stalinists responsible for the conference failed to carry out the mandate of the delegates.

"What has happened since that time proves how correct those proposals were. Let's stop begging and get some real actions going right now."

## How to Vote for SWP in New York

To vote for Robert Williams, Socialist Workers Candidate for State Senate in the 23rd Senatorial District, go to the polls on Nov. 4 and pull the lever on the bottom line of the ballot.

A vote for Robert Williams is a vote against Jim Crow and capitalism!

CHICAGO, Oct. 22—Labor and liberal forces are swinging into action throughout the country to defend James Hickman, Negro steel worker whose trial for shooting his landlord has been postponed to Nov. 5.

Typical of the response from the unions were the demands for Hickman's release raised last week by four CIO Councils — Akron, Flint, Newark and Bergen County, N. J. The Chicago CIO Council has been actively defending Hickman from the beginning of the case.

The Flint CIO resolution, introduced by Harrison Johnson, chairman of the Anti-Discrimination Committee of the Chevrolet Local 659 of the UAW, stated: "The fight for Hickman is the fight for all workers against the unscrupulous, merciless, profit-gouging landlords and really interests who are responsible for the needless deplorable housing situation and are the real criminals in this case."

The resolutions, asking States Attorney Tuohy to drop all charges against Hickman, note that he was convicted his landlord had deliberately set fire to his home in order to effect his eviction; Hickman's four children were burned to death in this fire.

A number of Negro organizations have also come out for Hickman's defense. Among these are the NAACP branches in Flint; Morgantown, West Virginia; Pittsburgh and Newark. A collection of \$26 to help the defense was taken at the Philadelphia NAACP meeting.

Other organizations giving their aid in the last week included: The Westinghouse local of the CIO United Electrical Workers in Buffalo; AFL District Nine Painters Council in New York City, which donated \$25 to the defense campaign; Chevrolet UAW Local 659 in Flint; New Haven Branch of the Socialist Workers Party which sent \$11.30 collected at a meeting; Twin Cities, Minn., branch of the Workers Defense League.

A Hickman Defense Committee has been established to mobilize support in New Jersey. Headed by prominent Negro, CIO and AFL leaders, it has sent out a call for moral and financial support to over 500 organizations in the state. Latest additions to the New Jersey Ad-

mission include Martin Gerber, director of Region 9-A of the UAW-CIO, and Sol D. Kapelsohn, attorney for the State CIO. Local 2014 of the CIO Steel Workers has donated \$50 to help initiate the committee's work in New Jersey; the Bergen County CIO sent \$25.

A similar body is being planned in Los Angeles. Among those who have agreed to serve on it are: Loren Miller, attorney and national authority on restrictive covenants who will argue the Sipes vs. McGee case before the U. S. Supreme Court next month; James Anderson, chairman of the Eastside Labor Committee; John H. Dial, Jr., and Woodrow Redo, respectively director and treasurer of the Los Angeles Negro Labor Committee (CIO); Sidney Smith and Frank Barnes, presidents respectively of the San Pedro Wilmington and Santa Monica branches of the NAACP; Harry Stillman, regional director of the CIO Textile Workers.

Others who have endorsed the fight to save Hickman are James Price, regional director of the UAW-CIO in Philadelphia; Rev. A. J. Muste of New York, and Frank A. Barbara, SWP candidate for Mayor of San Francisco.

Resolutions, finances and information about local activities to save Hickman should be sent to the Hickman Defense Committee, 4619 South Parkway, Chicago 15, Ill.

Hickman's trial will begin Wednesday, Nov. 5, at 9:30 A.M. at Criminal Court Building, 26th & California Sts., in the courtroom of Judge Rudolf F. DeSoto, 7th floor.

## Burch Speaks in Newark On Stalin's New 'Bureau'

NEWARK, Oct. 23—Arthur Burch will speak on "What Is Behind Stalin's Information Bureau?" at the Militant Labor Forum, 423 Springfield Ave., Newark, Friday night, Oct. 21, 8:30 P. M. Admission is free.

A meeting to honor Tresca's memory will be held in Sulmona, the Abruzzi province town where he was born.

Plans for similar conferences in San Francisco, New Orleans and elsewhere, are already being discussed.

## TRAINOR SHOWS BOSTON YOUTH ARE MISEDUCATED

BOSTON, Oct. 22 — Lawrence P. Trainor's campaign for the Boston School Committee, which is endorsed by the Socialist Workers Committee, is bringing to the fore the question of what kind of education children are receiving in the public schools.

In a speech over Station WHDH last night, Trainor quoted from Ralph Harlow's "Story of America," a textbook used in the high schools, to illustrate how children are miseducated on the most crucial questions of American history.

"Under the pressure of the early trade unions the various state governments were forced to grant the public school system as a concession to the working people," Trainor said. "This is a historical fact. Yet not a word about this struggle of our forefathers for free education is told to our school children. Harlow's history tries to tell us that it came about through the good intentions and work of a couple of individuals like Horace Mann and DeWitt Clinton."

Similarly with the heroic struggles to build trade unions. "One can search in vain in this book to find a description of the brutal working conditions that made union organization necessary." The true story of the fight to establish unions against the opposition of the government and the courts is never taught the students.

"There are 157,000 union members in Boston. Is it asking too much that their children be taught the truth about trade unions? I demand that a history of the American trade unions, sponsored by the trade unions, be taught our children — instead of the anti-labor propaganda of the Chamber of Commerce."

Trainor hit especially hard at the Harlow book for its insulting statement that Negroes "accept" and "do not worry" about the color line, that is, race discrimination. "I demand that it be immediately removed from our schools. Instead of such a falsehood, I further demand that our children be taught that the federal government has



CARLO TRESCA

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