

THE MILITANT

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9

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Analysis of 1947 Election Results

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RED - BAITERS SWEEP UAW CONVENTION

Labor Needs To Check Up On Congress

By Farrell Dobbs

As Congress convenes again, prices are reaching intolerable levels. The Taft-Hartley Act threatens the existence of the unions. Discrimination and segregation weigh down on the minority groups. Anti-labor hoodlumism is spreading ominously. The threat of depression continues to advance. Talk of another war is reaching the hysteria stage.

Political responsibility for these threats to the well-being of the people and these attacks on their rights rests upon the Truman Administration and Congress. Truman, of course, denies his guilt. But so does each Congressman. How can you get the goods not only on Truman but also on the Representative from your district and the Senators from your state?

Here are some immediate practical steps that can be taken by union militants who are concerned about the apathy in political affairs that usually sets in after election time. First, press for the designation of standing committees by the CIO Political Action Committee and the AFL Labor's Educational and Political League, and other union bodies. Then keep tab through such committees on all public officials elected in your area.

For example, a standing Political Check-Up Committee organized by a local PAC, LEPL, or trade union body might place at the top of its agenda day-by-day coverage of the activities of the Congressman from its district. By following the Congressional Record (\$1.50 a month, Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.) the committee could note every speech and vote of the politician it is watching.

In addition a study of the special reports and records published by the Congressional committees of which he is a member would help keep track of his other public activities.

The Political Check-Up Committee would then regularly report back the results of its investigation on the activity—or lack of activity—on key issues of the Congressman it has under the microscope.

The Political Check-Up Committee would especially follow how the Congressman fights—or fails to fight—for legislation in behalf of labor. It would watch closely to see what he does—or fails to do—about specific demands for action submitted to him by the unions.

Full publicity at union meetings and in the local trade union press would keep the electorate of the area constantly aware of how the men they put in office are acting and whose interests they are serving.

The work of such Political Check-Up Committees would break ground for the next election. Week by week the campaign promises of the candidate would be measured against his performance in office. Step by step the lesson would be driven home that the Democrats and Republicans are tools of Big Business who must be swept out of office. The need for a Labor Party would become so clear and inescapable that its actual organization would be greatly hastened.

Chicago Tribune Attacks Carlson For Nov. 7 Talk

Target is Free Thought At University of Chicago

CHICAGO, Nov. 12 — The reactionary Chicago Tribune today launched what might well be the beginning of a full-fledged red-baiting drive against freedom of thought on the University of Chicago campus. It singled out for attack Grace Carlson of the Socialist Workers Party, an Marvin Shaw, National Youth Director of the Communist (Stalinist) Party, who recently spoke on the campus.

"A small but active group of University of Chicago campus radicals," declared this mouthpiece of Big Business, "sponsor a stream of speakers who rail against the American way of life and call upon students to organize and to 'fight the forces of reaction and U. S. imperialism.'"

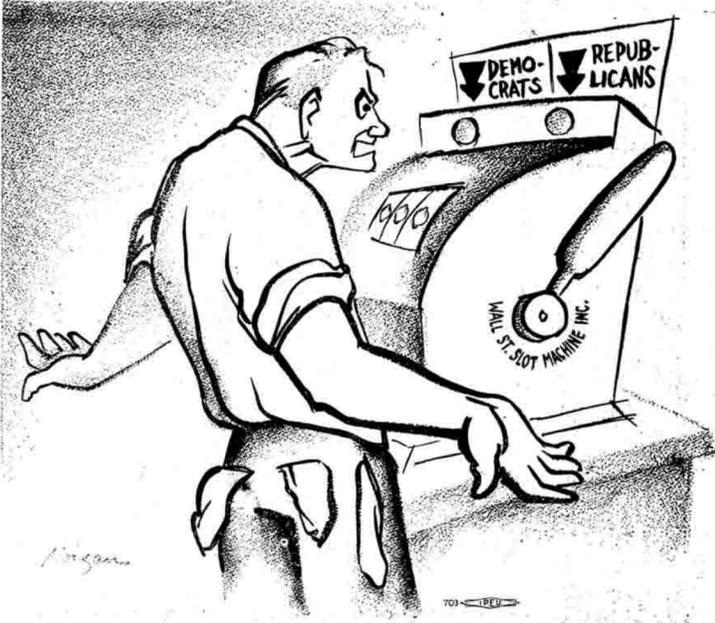
Shaw spoke before an audience of 13 at the Campus Communist Club. Grace Carlson spoke to 75 students at a meeting sponsored by the Marxists' Club.

The Tribune quoted extensively from Grace Carlson's talk on "The Russian Revolution — Thirty Years After"; but distorted her remarks to give them a sinister and "bloody" character.

Speaking on Nov. 7, the anniversary of the 1917 Revolution that placed a Workers' and Farmers' Government in power in Russia, she explained that this might event in human history had showed the workers of the entire world a way out of the capitalist barbarism.

This held true, she said, not only for the workers of Europe and the colonial countries, but for the American working class as well. She attacked the Stalinist bureaucracy for its betrayal of the principles of genuine revolutionary internationalism laid down by Lenin, Trotsky and the other Bolsheviks. Stalinism, she pointed out, blocks the road the workers must follow to create the socialist world of plenty that will truly represent the interests of the overwhelming mass of the people.

The Machine That Never Pays Off



Trial of James Hickman Nears Climax In Chicago

CHICAGO, Nov. 12—Tears came to the eyes of Mrs. Anna Hickman as she told a jury of six men and six women how fire had swept through her attic room in a dilapidated Chicago tenement last January, taking the lives of four of her children. Her husband, James Hickman, is under indictment for the murder of their landlord, David Coleman, whom he held responsible for the fire and the four deaths.

In the Cook County Criminal Court, the defense counsel, claiming Hickman was innocent by reason of temporary insanity, opened his case this morning. Defense Attorney M. J. Myer's opening statement placed the responsibility for the shooting of Coleman on intolerable living conditions and the tragic death of the four Hickman children.

The state rested its case on Monday after presenting eight witnesses, four of them investigating policemen. Under cross-examination Coleman's half-brother, Percy Brown, the prosecution's best witness, contradicted statements he had made earlier at a coroner's inquest. Testimony of other witnesses added nothing to what Hickman himself had earlier told the police.

DEFENSE WITNESS

The first witness for the defense was Will Jackson, who had lived with the Hickmans in the tenement at 1733 Washburne at the time of the fire. Jackson reported Hickman had told him after the death of the children that he no longer had any reason to live.

Jackson testified that Coleman had previously threatened to burn the tenants out. Another tenant, Mrs. Julia Rodgers, corroborated this statement.

On the witness stand Mrs. Hickman recalled her husband's vow at the birth of their first child that "a voice from above" had charged him with "protecting and keeping together" his family. She said Hickman, a deeply religious man, had frequently repeated this vow. After the shooting of Coleman, she related, Hickman told her he had been "compelled" to do it and that then he "felt better."

SAW STRANGER

Hickman's oldest son, Willis, 21, told the jury that he had seen a stranger in the tenement a few hours before the fire, and that when his mother pointed out Cole-

man at a later coroner's inquest, he identified Coleman as the mysterious stranger. Willis also told of his father's anguished cries to God, of his failure to eat and sleep normally for more than a month after the fire.

Remaining defense witnesses include the defendant, Hickman, and two Chicago psychiatrists, Dr. Walter Adams and Dr. Boris Ury. They are expected to testify as to Hickman's mental condition, at the time of the shooting, as a result of his accumulated grief and despair over his family's tragedy.

BLAME FOR TRAGEDY

The case will probably go to the jury either Friday or Monday. Counsel for Hickman was obtained by the Hickman Defense Committee, organized in this and other cities by sympathetic individuals with the endorsement of numerous labor, liberal, Negro and community organizations.

Willoughby Abner, chairman of the Hickman Defense Committee and vice-president of the Chicago CIO Council, has placed the blame for the shooting on social conditions, "the lack of adequate housing and the racial restrictions which compel the Negro people to live under conditions of congestion here as a constant danger to life and health."

Resolution Against Taft-Hartley Act

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This is part of the mob that heckled, started scores of fist fights, frequently gave the Nazi salute and finally succeeded in smashing a Progressive Citizens of America rally in Philadelphia Independence square.

FBI AND HOODLUMS SPUR RED HYSTERIA

Following close after the suppression of meetings and civil liberties in the New Jersey-Philadelphia area comes a warning that the U. S. government is conspiring to launch a series of raids which will further whip up the hysteria against "reds" and democratic rights.

O. John Rogge, former high official in the Attorney General's Department, revealed that Washington was preparing a "dramatic round-up of dozens of Communist leaders and alleged fellow travelers," to coincide with the opening of the special session of Congress Nov. 17.

According to Rogge, who apparently still has sources of information in the Attorney General's of-

fice, the arrests would be staged by the FBI in mid-night raids such as those staged after World War I by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer and J. Edgar Hoover. Rogge said the purpose of this plot was to create an anti-red hysteria and he compared it with the "Reichstag Fire" in Nazi Germany.

Meanwhile, the reactionary vigilante groups have become bolder, steadily expanding the list of "subversive" organizations they feel free to attack without fear of government or police reprisals. Here is part of the recent record, showing the pattern which is being followed:

Oct. 26: A violent mob prevents a meeting called in Trenton by the Communist Party. First the city authorities tried to prevent it. When

the CP got a court injunction forbidding interference with the meeting, the police disregarded it, encouraging the mob. The next day Gov. Driscoll voiced his approval.

Nov. 1: A PCA rally in Philadelphia to protest the House Un-American Committee, is disrupted by hoodlums as the cops stand by smiling.

Nov. 3: A Newark chapter of the American Veterans Committee is

Strong Minority Resists Retreat on Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Measure

BULLETIN

ATLANTIC CITY, Nov. 12— The Reuther-ACTU bloc of red-baiters, as was expected, captured all top posts in elections today and Tuesday in the CIO United Auto Workers Convention here.

Walter Reuther, unopposed by any major candidate, was re-elected President with 5,593 votes. The Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus supported no candidate.

Opposition to Reuther was registered by delegates with a total of 1,903 votes. There were 1,219 abstentions and delegates with 344 votes were recorded absent. Two other candidates ran. John De Vito, Cleveland Local 45, got 304 votes; Edward Murphy, Detroit Local 205, had 36.

Emil Mazey, Reuther's candidate, aided by the red-baiting sweep, won the secretary-treasurership from the incumbent George Addes by a vote of 4,833 to 2,599.

Richard Gosser, UAW Toledo Regional boss, defeated incumbent R. J. Thomas, who led the anti-Taft Oath fight, for vice president by a vote of 5,084 to 2,019.

John Livingston defeated the incumbent Richard T. Leonard for vice president by a vote of 5,024 to 1,627. Shelton Tappes, the Stalinist-supported candidate, got 561 votes.

By Art Preis

ATLANTIC CITY, Nov. 11—Walter Reuther and his power machine, in bloc with the priest-dominated Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and assured of a big majority, are driving ruthlessly to smash all opposition and establish complete control over the CIO United Automobile Workers at its 11th Convention, which began Nov. 9 at the Convention Hall here.

Riding the tide of red-baiting reaction that flows straight from the U. S. State Department and the Thomas-Rankin Committee, Reuther has emerged at this convention as a leading authentic spokesman inside the American labor movement for the Truman Doctrine, now re-baptized as the Marshall Plan, and its contemplated atomic war for world mastery.

REACTION RIDES HIGH

He and his allies have placed the stamp of the Truman Doctrine on this convention, although he has carefully refrained from any utterance of that phrase. But the atmosphere of unrestrained red-baiting, intimidation and terror that reigns—with "Get the Commies" as the Reutherite battle-cry—shows unmistakably the alien source of Reuther's policy.

This was made even clearer yesterday when he and his lieutenant showed through a resolution of capitulation to the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law, compelling all incoming UAW officers to sign the degrading "yellow-dog" affidavits. A third of the delegates, under the leadership of the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus, courageously voted against Reuther's surrender resolution. But they could not overcome the reactionary weight that pressed down on the convention.

REUTHERITE FACTION GIVES UP STRUGGLE ON YELLOW-DOG OATH

ATLANTIC CITY, Nov. 11—A strong minority, representing a third of the delegates, fought for four hours yesterday afternoon at the CIO United Auto Workers convention here against compliance with the Taft-Hartley "yellow-dog" oath.

They battled for the adoption of the majority report of the Resolutions Committee which would have instructed the incoming UAW Executive Board "not to file financial statements or so-called 'loyalty' oaths and to refrain from taking any other steps committing our union to a policy of cooperation with the Taft-Hartley National Labor Relations Board." (See Page 2 for full text.)

CHALLENGE TO DEBATE

Vice President R. J. Thomas, who placed the issue in the hands of the convention by his refusal to go along with Walter Reuther's agreement to sign the oath, took the lead in fighting Reuther's betrayal. He challenged Reuther to a debate on the issue before a special session of the convention. But Reuther ducked the challenge.

Reuther's position was embodied in the report of the Resolutions Committee minority which makes it mandatory for the UAW officers "to immediately comply, under protest, with the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act which require their individual signatures to loyalty affidavits, and to file required financial statements."

So strong was the sentiment for an immediate discussion of the Taft-Hartley Act, that the Reu-

therite-ACTU bloc which controls the convention did not dare to bar the discussion or cut short debate, as the Reuther machine had done the day before on the question of holding elections of officers before the disputed issues were discussed.

Reuther was even impelled to assure the convention in advance that "there will be adequate debate," an indirect confession of his steamroller tactics the day before.

The burden of the Reutherite argument was that it was necessary to sign the "yellow dog" affidavits to "strengthen" the UAW in fighting the Taft Act. Emil Mazey, who is seeking the secretary-treasurership, was the most outspoken proponent of capitulation.

DEMAGOGIC APPEAL

He and other Reutherite speakers demagogically appealed to the delegates "in the interests of the small, weak locals" which they claimed could not survive unless they could get the "services" of the boss-dominated NLRB.

Thomas answered the capitalist's by stating, "In my opinion signing affidavits is not going to solve any problems at all that we face in relation to the Taft-Hartley

(Continued on Page 2)

UAW Opposition Fights Against Taft-Hartley Act

Printed below is the text of the resolution on the Taft-Hartley Act presented to the UAW Convention in Atlantic City by the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus, and supported by approximately one-third of the UAW delegates. In the interests of smoother reading, the "whereas" in the first part of the resolution have been omitted.—Ed.

In defiance of the overwhelming protest of millions of Americans, the reactionary 80th Congress has passed the Taft-Hartley Act. The chief congressional architect of the law was Senator Robert A. Taft, a corporation lawyer in the Cincinnati firm of Taft, Stettinius and Hollister whose clients include the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Gruen Watch Company, the General Machinery Company, numerous banks and traction companies — corporations that have fought in the past and continue to fight against all unionism.

In the Senate, Taft has at all times acted in the interests of his corporation clients, and the profiteers rather than the people. His blood-curdling assertions that the Taft-Hartley Law is designed to help labor will not fool the rank-and-file of workers — any more than it fools the millionaire publishers and the Wall Street interests who back Mr. Taft in the Senate and who give him their law business.

This infamous law was not passed in a vacuum — it is a vital part of a coordinated program to destroy the living standards of our people for which Republican and Democratic parties alike share the responsibility.

This Act was passed under the guise of protecting the country's health and welfare, but the same greedy interests behind the bill succeeded in voting out price control, cancelling rent control, destroying workers rights under the Wage-Hour Act, protecting monopolies, crippling our social insurance system, sabotaging the needs of our farmers, delivering our national resources to the public utilities and lumber lobbies, turning over our homeless veterans to the greedy mercies of the monopolistic building and real estate lobbies, and otherwise undermining the welfare of our people.

The purpose of this Act is to render unions powerless to resist wage cuts, speed-ups and the restoration of sweatshop conditions.

The great International Union, UAW-CIO, is a major target of those who planned and wrote the Taft-Hartley Law. Every major automobile manufacturer testified or lobbied for the law. Mr. Theodore Iserman, Counsel for the Chrysler Corporation, was a major aid to the Senate Committee, working closely with Taft, Ball and their cohorts. The lobbyists for the Allis-Chalmers Corporation and the Freuhauf Trailer Corporation, Mr. William Ingles worked full time for many weeks with the House Labor Committee in staging its one-sided hearings, and drafting the final bill.

Since passage of the Act, General Motors Corporation, Chrysler, and Ford have all attempted to utilize the Law against the Union. All of them have made every effort to get the UAW-CIO to comply with the so-called "loyalty" affidavits and the requirement for filing of financial statements in order to trap the Union into use of the employer-dominated National Labor Relations Board. In addition, the automobile industry publications have propagated with the same objective in mind.

Role of the Press

John S. Knight's Detroit Free Press, the Hearst press all over America, the Luce publications, and all other anti-labor publications have supported this plan of the auto industry to get our union to fall into the clutches of the NLRB. These publications are attempting to convince the public that the Taft-Hartley Law is good for labor; that only fear of the loyalty affidavit keeps certain union leaders from using the NLRB. The Free Press accused both Philip Murray and John L. Lewis of acting in the interests of Moscow because of their stand against the Board.

One of the authors of the original Wagner Act, who recently resigned from the NLRB, Hebert Blankenship, did so because "The Board and the Law give labor nothing but hell," and the "loyalty" affidavits are in his words, "a red-

herring . . . to instill in labor not the spirit of fidelity (but) the spirit of Fido, who must lie down, roll over and play dead, at the snap of a finger."

Use of the Board would mean in effect that we let the employers tell our Union whom to elect and whom we may not elect. The law sets up a system of inspection and approval of union officers by employer-dominated government agencies. Labor officials must prove they are "loyal" but employers may make use of the Board without any proof of their "loyalty."

The National Labor Relations Board, even if it were made up of fair-minded men, is not able under the Taft-Hartley Law to help labor. President Truman estimated that it would take an average of five years to handle any case involving an election or bargaining representative or for union security, and in that time a union can be crushed and its leadership eliminated.

Financial statements which have to be on file with the Secretary of Labor and must be mailed to every single member offer another rich field to employers who seek delay

or defeat of the union resting its case with the Board.

The General Counsel of the Board, Robert Denham, now considered "labor's biggest boss," is the general manager of the Board. He decides on cases to be handled. He runs the field offices. Yet this man's record against labor in general and particularly his shameful prejudices against Negro workers during his service as a trial Examiner under the old Board, precipitated protests from all branches of organized labor and from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Since enactment of the Law, Denham has shown that he intends to use the Board for no other purpose than to perform as the anti-labor employers of America want him to perform. He has agreed to consult with the Ball-Taft-Hartley Committee, set up under the Law to study the operation of the Act, before making a policy interpretation. The cases he has initiated against the Carpenters Union, the International Typographical Union, the Teamsters Union, the United Mine Workers; his refusal to grant

any delay or hearing to the Steelworkers and other unions before throwing out their old Board cases; his public speeches and his rulings — all of this shows a calculated campaign of union-busting.

Despite the ballyhoo that union rights are protected — under the new Board procedure an employer has eight major means open to him for delaying an election for union security. Even if the union wins such an election by getting a majority of all workers in the bargaining unit (not merely a majority of all those voting) the employer can simply refuse to grant a union shop or any other form of union security.

Anti-Labor Weapons

For representation elections the employer has been given an entire arsenal of weapons never available to him under the old Wagner Act. These can be used to prevent certification indefinitely.

This Act was adopted at a time when all the world is watching the vitality of our democratic institutions, and the ability of Americans to resist fascism and reaction at home. Our duty, both as trade

unionists and as citizens of a democracy, demands of us an unserving determination that this infamous law must be erased from the statute books. The liberty of all workers, like the liberty of all our people, was won only after bitter struggle. Untold numbers of common people have starved and suffered, have been beaten and black-listed, have been exploited and hunted so that labor organizations might have a right to exist and flourish as a fundamental part of a democratic society.

Acceptance of this Act would betray the heritage of our struggles in Flint, Pontiac, South Bend, Detroit, Cleveland, Anderson, Oakland, Toledo, Chicago, Milwaukee, Indianapolis, Dallas, Los Angeles, St. Louis and other cities throughout the length and breadth of our land where the automobile workers went hungry and spilled their blood so that our movement might be free.

We would not merit the name of free Americans if we permitted ourselves to live under any part of a law which robbed American workers of the right to strike, to picket, to pick their own leaders, and to engage in those concerted activities which are the life blood of our movement.

Fight Against Act

Therefore be it resolved: That as good Americans and militant unionists we will not acquiesce in a law which makes it a crime to exercise freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly. The Constitution remains the law of the land and we propose to enjoy its protection while we fight for repeal of this law, and for the welfare and happiness of all our people.

We dedicate ourselves to an unceasing campaign against the un-American conspiracy which has produced this Act. We pledge ourselves not to permit this Act to destroy either the economic or the political rights of the people.

Nor will we permit the blackmail, the threats and the smears of legislative hatchet-men operating through the House and Senate Labor Committees to divide or deter us.

Expose Its Purpose

From this day forward we dedicate ourselves to the mission of obtaining a repudiation and forthright repeal of this infamous act and of the reactionary program of which it is a part. We will expose to the entire American people the reactionary forces which have produced this Act. We will bring our message not only to workers but to farmers, small businessmen and other groups whose economic welfare this Act threatens.

We hereby dedicate our entire membership to work unceasingly in the political field in complete unity

UAW Convention to be Discussed in Newark

George Breitman will analyze the UAW Convention at the Militant Labor Forum, 423 Springfield Ave., Newark, on Friday, Nov. 21, at 8:30 p.m.

Jobless Insurance Millions Returned To the Employers

N. Y. State unemployment insurance officials are preparing to rebate \$145,000,000 to employers this year. Workers struggling along on the terribly inadequate unemployment insurance allotments would rather see this money go to them in the form of increased weekly benefits. Under capitalist governments, surplus funds go to the capitalists not the workers. That's the law. A labor government could change the law so that the workers and not the capitalists got the increased benefits. This law is a piece of Roosevelt New Deal legislation.

with all labor organizations and other progressive groups to insure the political repudiation of those reactionaries who are responsible for the Taft-Hartley Act. Be it further

Resolved: That to protect the financial status of our individual members, our locals and our International no contract be approved by the Regional Directors or the International Executive Board unless such contracts exempt the local unions, the International Union, the union membership, the local officers, the Regional Directors and the International Officers from the union-busting liability provisions in the Law. Therefore be it further

Resolved: That we condemn the NLRB and its General Counsel for the decision that in cases pending under the old Wagner Act local unions cannot appear on the ballot and cannot have their unfair labor practice charges processed; that we join with Philip Murray and institute a law suit similar to the suit filed by the Steel Workers and other unions similarly affected challenging this retroactive application of the Taft-Hartley Law, and challenging the constitutionality of the "loyalty" oath provision and other provisions of the law, and be it further

Resolved: That inasmuch as the International Association of Machinists has become the principal threat to the UAW-CIO, the United Steel Workers and the United Electrical Workers by its sneak raids under the Taft-Hartley Law, that the incoming UAW-CIO International Executive Board is hereby instructed to confer immediately with the Steel, Electrical and other CIO unions for the purpose of raising a defense fund of \$500,000 or more to combat raiding by the IAM or any other union, and be it further

Refuse to File

Resolved: That inasmuch as John S. Bugas of the Ford Motor Company, M. E. Coyle, Executive Vice-President of General Motors and other notoriously anti-labor employers as well as Mr. Hartley, Mr. Taft and the press have begun a campaign to get our union to cooperate with the NLRB in order to "cleanse" any local or International leader who objects to speed-up and who stands up for the union. The

incoming International Executive Board, UAW-CIO, is therefore instructed not to file financial statements or so-called "loyalty" oaths, and to refrain from taking any other steps committing our union to a policy of cooperation with the Taft-Hartley National Labor Relations Board, and be it further

Resolved: That we join with President Philip Murray, who in declining the services of the Board, on behalf of the Steel Workers said:

"I stated I was unwilling to file an affidavit that I was not a Communist. That is a matter of principle. I do not know why the Congress of the United States should require me to do that, as a citizen. I think the Congress is very presumptuous, because I think if they could do that to me about this question of communism, they could do it with any other citizen about any other kind of issue. . . . It is reasonable to assume that if a man is required to file an affidavit of this description, the Congress that enacts legislation of that kind can readily enact a law which says to a labor leader: 'What are you? A Catholic, Protestant or Jew?' . . . The Congress had in its mind a diabolical piece of work, extremely discriminatory in nature, and revolting to a citizen who believes in decency and in justice and in freedom." And be it finally

Show Our Strength

Resolved: That we instruct the incoming International Executive Board to proceed with the organization of the membership from discrimination, and the safeguarding of our present membership and contracts. Along with the Steel Workers, the Electrical Workers, the CIO Southern Organizational drive, the UAW-CIO must march forward without help from the Board. Before there was ever a Wagner Act, the UAW demonstrated its ability to organize the basic sections of our industry, Briggs, General Motors, and Chrysler and many other plants were organized without any government aid. We organized these plants, and protected our members by showing the employers our own economic strength, our unity, and our willingness to use that strength whenever it became necessary.

Truman in a Quandary



President Truman is formally handed the 178-page report of his Committee on Civil Rights, which recommended government action against racial and religious discrimination. Truman got a lot of publicity out of the report, but now his Cabinet is said to be engaged in a dispute over what to do about it. Racial and religious minorities will not be satisfied unless action is taken on the anti-discrimination recommendations; on the other hand, Truman is afraid to antagonize the reactionary Southern wing of his party. Mass pressure is still the only way to win the fight for equal rights and civil liberties. (Federated Pictures)

Reutherites Put Over "Yellow Dog" Compliance

(Continued from Page 1)

Act," and anybody who thinks so "is certainly making a mistake, which will be proven in the future."

He pointed out that the UAW was built in General Motors, Chrysler, Briggs and other plants when the auto workers had no "Wagner Act or a Taft-Hartley Act or anything else to protect them in any way when they organized a plant." They won their rights in the sit-downs and on the picket lines.

The Taft Act, he said, is a "law written by management against you." Labor will lose its rights under the Taft Act "whether we sign affidavits or not."

THE REAL ISSUE

The real issue is that those people who agree "to sign away their rights as American citizens, give up what they are entitled to under the law . . . the Constitution of the United States," are allowing reaction to cut down their rights "a little more and a little more, the same as Hitler did in Germany."

Delegate John McGill, Flint Buick Local 599, declared that the attempt to sell the UAW the Taft-Hartley oath "reminds me of one of the biggest mistakes that the UAW ever made, and that was in that damnable conference in the City of Detroit known as the 'Victory-Through-Equality-of-Sacrifice,' when we walked right into the spider's web.

"I hope we are not going to repeat ourselves in this convention by putting our stamp of approval on

a bill that every one of us heard this morning is designed to enslave labor — and that remark was made by the President of the CIO, Philip Murray, and you all heard it."

He further pointed out that the Reutherites "damn the Act from hell to breakfast, say it is a law to enslave labor, and at the same time say we can get protection from it. And, brothers, that don't make good arithmetic in my mind."

In his talk for compliance, Emil Mazey spoke about the Glenn Martin workers in Baltimore who had won an election before and were now faced with a Taft-Hartley election, but could not participate if the UAW leaders didn't sign affidavits.

"What answer have you, Brother Thomas and Brother Addes — and I challenge either of you to debate on this question — what answer have you got to the workers in the Glenn Martin plant?"

Thomas promptly interposed from the platform, "I accept that challenge, Brother Mazey." But Mazey let the matter ride.

Secretary-Treasurer George Addes later in the debate took up Mazey's challenge once more, but Mazey kept quiet. Addes then enu-

merated ten sections of the Taft Act which make it "practically impossible, even after you sign these affidavits and consent to go along with this infamous law to count on getting an election."

The Reutherites never stated explicitly their real reason for signing the affidavits — but it was clear to every delegate. By signing these affidavits they hope to give assurance to the Big Business government that they are not "reds" and to pledge again their loyalty to the Truman Doctrine.

Red-baiting — the stock in trade of the Reutherites — was the decisive factor in winning a majority for compliance with the Taft Act.

But red-baiting is no program which can solve the workers' problems. It could swing a majority at this Reuther-ACTU machine-controlled convention. But the large minority who fought Reuther on this issue were battling for the interests of the auto rank-and-file. The ranks will applaud this determined minority and will turn in wrath, as the Taft Act bears down upon them, upon those leaders who sold the auto workers' rights down the river for a mess of red herring.

Celebrate the 19th Anniversary of

THE MILITANT

NEW YORK
MILITANT FROLIC
"The Militant Marches On!"
Original Skit Written by
ART PREIS
Actors: Militant Staff Members
Dancing
Entertainment
Sat., Nov. 22, 9 p. m.
CHELSEA WORKERS' CENTER
130 West 23 St.

BOSTON
Dinner-Dance
Sat., Nov. 22, 7:30 p. m.
Workers Educational Center
30 Stuart St.

AKRON
Jamboree, Social
At Grand Opening of
New Headquarters
Sat., Nov. 29, 8:30 p. m.
4 So. Howard St.

NEW HAVEN
Gala Entertainment
Supper Plate
Sat., Nov. 22, 8:30 p. m.
New Haven Labor School
855 Grand Ave.

SAN FRANCISCO
Buffet Dinner
Dancing
Sat., Nov. 22, 8 p. m.
1739 Fillmore

TOLEDO
Turkey Dinner
Sat., Nov. 22, 6 p. m.
Tickets obtained at
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Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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

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

NAME (Please Print)
STREET
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How Can USA Be Converted into Land of Plenty?

Confidence in Capitalism Justified, Walter Dorwin Teague Maintains

ED. NOTE: In our issues of Oct. 6 and Oct. 13 we printed Joseph Hansen's review of "Land of Plenty" by the well-known industrial designer, Walter Dorwin Teague. Mr. Teague responded with a criticism which we print below. In his covering letter, Mr. Teague states: "I am enclosing a comment on Mr. Hansen's review which I trust you will print. I realize that it is not the policy of Left Wing publications to give consideration to the other side of the argument, but perhaps in this instance you will display the tolerance which we Liberals habitually practice."

Mr. Teague's comments follow:

Editor: In Mr. Joseph Hansen's review you have given my book, *Land of Plenty*, a flattering amount of space, and Mr. Hansen's excerpts convey a fair idea of my summary of the possibilities existing in this country for the fabulous betterment of living. However, Mr. Hansen concludes that these opportunities are an indictment of the "capitalist system" that produced them! Here I face one of those extraordinary mental processes that leave us free thinkers utterly bewildered, as when we try to rationalize the thinking of Jesuits or Jehovah's Witnesses. A mind dedicated to a dogma is an impenetrable mystery to the uninitiate.

It should be obvious to any open-eyed observer that the possibilities I have outlined are conceivably realizable in the United States within the imminent future; that this is true here solely because we have benefited from and still possess a fluid social organization which allows the individual a large measure

of freedom in applying his energies and exercising his ingenuity for his own and the general benefit.

My book is a solid mass of incontestable evidence proving these truths. But then, as I have said, we are "at a loss when we must oppose the frenetic fervors of the collectivist with mere reasonableness. Our system is lacking in voodoo characteristics. Against compact and passionate ideologies we can offer only a flexible technique, and a technique, at that, which admits its own imperfections."

I have pointed out the imperfections of our so-called system much more forcibly than any unfriendly critic could do. I am impatient that we do not move more rapidly to realize its ideals, and possess ourselves of all the good that in its immense fertility it holds in store for us. But I will have no part in the epidemic reaction of these times, which, because the freedom and dignity of the individual have not as yet been fully achieved by us, would scrap them

as objectives and substitute the will and limited wisdom of the few. A "planned economy" is no new thing. It is only a modern name for the most ancient recourse of the timid and defeated. We see this way of surrender sweeping a tired world, which, however, turns to us for succor; to us, who have grown inconceivably rich in well-being because for more than five generations we have had no truck with the hoary formulas so many of our foreign friends are sadly embracing, and you are advocating. You will have to persuade us that some of the experiments in controlled economies abroad are not a form of rigor mortis, before you stand much chance of getting them considered seriously here.

I must correct one error of fact on Mr. Hansen's part. He said that I declared Marxism to be a variety of fascism. What I stated was the historical fact that both nazism and fascism are sectarian offshoots of Marxism, and that in morals, administrative techniques and effect on human living the three are indistinguishable.

Walter Dorwin Teague
Los Angeles, Calif.

Only Revolutionary Socialism Can Open the Road to Better World

By Joseph Hansen

I can't help wondering if Mr. Teague is actually as naive as he makes out. Does he really believe his claim about the unlimited possibilities of plenty in the future under capitalism? Has he really been taken in by Chamber of Commerce propaganda?

For the sake of discussion let's give Mr. Teague the benefit of the doubt, consider him an innocent who has heard only one side of the "argument," and initiate him into some of the ABCs of Marxism.

One of the main criticisms Marxism levels at the capitalist system is that it doesn't run industry at full capacity and that it doesn't expand industry at the maximum possible rate.

Now is that so difficult to grasp? Does that "dogma" sound like voodooism? Mr. Teague, who is no Marxist, has observed this "short-

coming" himself. Let's consider another Marxist fundamental.

Marxism views capitalism as a tremendous advance over the feudal system of economy from which it evolved.

In the past century, Marxists vigorously defended capitalism against partisans of feudalism, pointing out that no matter how much better feudalism was than slavery, still feudalism did not mark the end of progress.

Marxists are perfectly aware of what we in America owe to the alien, European idea of capitalism as it has unfolded in the United States.

In Europe capitalism was hampered by persistent vestiges of feudalism. In America capitalism had a virgin continent and the most skilled and energetic immigrant workers from Europe at its disposal. This land with its two ocean fronts had such vast resources that it could carry even the dead weight of the robber barons and still make colossal strides. Capitalism in

Europe was confined within a crazy patchwork of national boundaries, while capitalism in America had no resistance to its development once it had succeeded in overthrowing the legally constituted British authorities, decimating the Indians with liquor and bullets, robbing Mexico of her richest areas and smashing slavery in a bloody civil war.

In the past three decades capitalism in America rose to new heights because, for one reason, we escaped the ravages of war suffered by Europe. European capitalism pressed the dagger of fascism and imperialism war into its own entrails. But how idiotic of an American capitalist to mock the fate of capitalism in the continent of its birth. What guarantee of immunity from a similar fate does capitalism have on this side of the pond?

Let's proceed to another Marxist tenet—one that may really shock Mr. Teague.

Marxism believes in historical development. It holds that evolutionary processes can be observed not

only in the stellar systems, in the earth's crust, organic life and man himself, but even in such sacred spheres as—economy.

It is only necessary to glance back at the long history of the evolution of tools, of the division of labor, of the rise and disappearance of various classes to see that every great advance has sooner or later become outmoded and had to give way to something better, more efficient, capable of producing more.

If capitalism, like everything else in the universe, is subject to change, what new system will it develop into? In what ways will the new system be superior to the old one? How can we speed the process? What is the penalty for retarding it?

The founders of Marxism, Marx and Engels, studied the capitalist system itself, analyzed its growth and development and discovered major laws of the capitalist system unknown before their time. From their findings they made predictions that decisively tested the validity of their general conclusions. That is why Marxism is a science.

Marx and Engels discovered that capitalism tends toward increasing centralization of industry. This is so clear today in the development of the trusts and monopolies that a man must be truly blind not to see it, especially one who works for the giant corporations.

Likewise inherent in capitalism is expansion beyond national boundaries. Is it possible to doubt this in 1947?

LAYS THE BASIS
Capitalism itself lays the basis for the world-trade integration and centralization of industry. The ultimate end of this development is the operation of world industry according to an over-all plan.

Is this so terrifying? Individual factories today are operated according to the plans of the owners. Cartels extend this type of planning on an international scale. The division of world industry among warring capitalist cliques gives it all an anarchic character.

If you stand on the side of progress, the problem of our times is to extend planning to world-wide proportions and to place it under the democratic control of the producers. In America this would mean substituting the will and control of the great majority of the people for the "will and limited wisdom of the few" Fords, Morgans,

Rockefellers, du Ponts and so forth who now rule as dictators over industry.

Capitalism itself, says the Marxist doctrine, has prepared the technical basis for a new society of boundless plenty. You are well aware of the technical possibilities, Mr. Teague, as your book bears witness. That is to your credit although you are only repeating what the socialist agitators were able to see long before the development of electronics and atomic energy. It was because you emphasized the possibilities before us in contrast to our present miserable standard of living that I said your book "contains material highly useful in indicting the capitalist system and presenting the case for socialism."

What prevents us from going forward to this new world?

The Marxist answer is that the reactionary ruling class prevents us. They rule industry. They dominate the government. They stand in the road of progress.

HYPOCRITIZED BY PROFITS

These rulers are far more interested in the dividends for the last quarter of 1947 than they are about the fate of humanity in the next quarter of a century. They are hypnotized by profits. They worship profits. The "profit motive" is the central dogma of their economic voodooism. That's why they are able to prepare for World War III with the same fatalism seen in the samurai of Japan when they prepare for hara-kiri.

In your book you are forced to consider the reasons for America's failure to go forward to the land of plenty that lies beckoning before us. One "explanation" you give is lack of the pioneer spirit. You appeal for progressiveness—to the monopolists!

Plending with the ruling class to mend its ways is not the way. In fact there is no mistake in politics more here than that one. Its venerable age of course does not condemn it. But its ineffectiveness does. History has yet to see a ruling class that deliberately abdicates for the sake of progress, not to speak of one that leads the way.

The past 30 years' experience under the American capitalist class shows there is no ground whatsoever for confidence in either their ability or willingness to convert America into a land of plenty.

In that time they have taken us in, led into several major depressions and through a catastrophe one such as the world had never before witnessed. They have plunged us into two world wars. They have no perspective now outside of another depression, fascism and a third world slaughter that may mean atomic annihilation.

THE PENALTY
This is the penalty for holding back on replacing capitalism with the planned economy of socialism.

In face of this hideous reality, people like Teague still retain their smug confidence in rotting, collapsing capitalism, dogmatically repeating the Chamber of Commerce ritual about its being the best of all possible economic systems.

When America becomes a land of plenty under the socialist regime that will make this possible, technicians like Teague will be able to play an honorable and worthy part. They will receive far more recognition than they do today under the big corporations, forced as they are by what they deem their personal economic needs to act and write like bootlickers.

One more item. Teague's contention about the alleged relationship between Marxism and fascism can be read any day of the week in the Hearst press. The historical fact is that fascism in both Italy and Germany was lured by finance capital and represented the most brutal form yet seen of capitalist dictatorship. Marxism on the contrary is the political science developed by the working class and its leaders. It is the polar opposite of fascism.

The repetition of Hearst's slanders about Marxism, Mr. Teague, along with your servile support of the power trust, to cite one unsavory item from your book, mark you as belonging to the camp of political reaction.

By the way, can you give us the address of any newspapers owned by your capitalist friends that would be willing to print our side of the argument?

How Long Latin American Miners Must Toil to Earn Their Clothing

In a study, *Workers and Democracy in Latin America*, Serafin Romualdi gives the following information on how long mine workers must labor to buy the necessities of life, comparing the level of various Latin American countries with that of the United States:

- Colombia: Shirt, 1½ days; shoes, 3 days; suit, 1 month.
- Brazil: Shirt, 1 day; shoes, 3 days; suit, two weeks.
- Chile: Shirt, 15 hours; shoes, 20 hours, suit, 150 hours.
- Paraguay: Shirt, 2 days; suit, 1 month.
- Peru: Shirt, 2 days; shoes, 2½ days; suit, 22 days.
- Mexico: Shirt, 3 days; shoes, 7 days; suit, 1 month.
- Cuba: Shirt, 1 day; shoes, 2 days; suit, 1 week.
- Venezuela: Shirt, 6 hours; shoes, 2 days; suit, 12 days.
- United States: Shirt, 1½ hours; shoes, 4 hours; suit, 27½ hours.

For Romualdi's study to be complete, he would have to report the profits of the various mining companies. Thus it could be clearly seen what the capitalists extract from the labor of the workers without doing anything themselves.

—Translated from *Lucha Obrera*, newspaper of the Mexican Section of the Fourth International.

French Cops Charge Strikers



Carrying clubs and riot guns, French mobile guards and Paris police break up a demonstration of 15,000 sanitation workers who protested soaring living costs with this rally outside City Hall. (Federated Pictures)

Fined For Spreading Marxist Literature

LONDON, Nov. 4 — Bill Ainsworth, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) and a delegate to the Birmingham Trades Council, has been fined five pounds in the Birmingham Trades Council, has "crime" of giving a German prisoner-of-war a copy of *Solidarity*, a German-language Trotskyist publication. This had taken place at an open meeting of the RCP, called to protest against the revival of anti-Semitic attacks by British fascists.

The prosecutor charged that the contents of *Solidarity* would "upset" the German POW's and undermine discipline. He especially singled out an RCP manifesto to the German working class.

After being fined, Bill Ainsworth issued a statement to the press noting that the authorities did nothing to stop the fascists from addressing groups of POW's, but were very worried about protecting them from the ideas of Marxism and Trotskyism. He declared he did not feel at all ashamed of demonstrating his international class solidarity.

UAW Convention Swept by Red-Baiters

(Continued from Page 1)

should be elected before or after the debate on major policies—Reuther ran roughshod over the rights of the opposition delegates.

It was an open secret before the convention began, that Reuther and his machine intended by every means possible to forestall debate on program and policies and, if possible, to put the election of officers first on the order of business.

This was such a bald-faced violation of UAW tradition that the Reuther-ACTU minority on the Rules Committee finally brought in a proposal to hold elections on the third day—today. The rules committee majority proposed that elections be held on the fifth day. Thursday, after the delegates had heard a discussion of the issues.

STEAMROLLER TACTICS

While scores of delegates were clamoring for the floor, the Reuther machine, with Reuther in the chair, steamrollered through a motion to close debate. They then shoved through the motion to sidetrack policy discussion and hold elections early.

Committee Chairman Joe Berry, of Flint Buick Local 599, opened the fore-shortened discussion with a brief statement for the Rules Committee majority. He said: "We felt that if officers were elected too early in the Convention, all the issues would not be decided." He also pointed out that the elections are usually the climax of the convention, after which the tired delegates are anxious to wind up the business and go home.

The reporter for the Rules Committee minority, Ed Purdy of Local 99, then tipped off the real reason why Reuther wanted to rush through the elections. If the elections were held on the fifth day, as in the past, he said, "we are going to have nothing but caucusing all over this hall, caucusing all over Atlantic City." In short, Reuther wanted the elections held before his opponents could build up their forces by debate on the real issues.

Immediately following Purdy's remarks, Reuther gave the floor to Delegate Walter Henderson, Detroit Local 153, who again made the motion to adopt the minority report and then spoke at length in its favor.

Just one supporter of the majority report was given the floor by Reuther. Delegate Thomas May, of Bridgeport Local 877, merely said he favored the majority proposal and sat down. Reuther then called for a spokesman for the minority.

He picked Delegate William Caldwell of New Castle, Ind., Local 371, who promptly moved to close debate. A shout of protest rose from a large section of the delegates. Reuther could have ruled Caldwell out of order on the legitimate grounds that the chairman had given him the floor to speak on the minority position. But Reuther insisted on taking the vote to close debate, and pushed it through. It was a slicked, greased-up job with perfect teamwork between Reuther and his floor machine. Reuther trampled over all opposition protest. The vote to hold elections starting the third day, instead of the fifth, was passed by a majority of about three to one, in a hand vote.

MURRAY'S DOUBLETALK

All Reuther's efforts have been concentrated on wiping out every vestige of opposition in the leadership by his unrestrained rule. It had been rumored that CIO President Philip Murray intended to urge Reuther to modify his intended purge, and retain some of the opposition in the leadership, such as George Addes, incumbent secretary-treasurer.

Murray spoke to the convention yesterday morning. In his usual "diplomatic" double-talk, he made it plain that he was supporting Reuther all the way. He made a side, condescending reference to Vice President R. J. Thomas, as one who "makes his mistakes" and is "sometimes mischievous, but nevertheless not a bad guy."

Thomas's courageous leadership of the fight against the "yellow dog" oath is undoubtedly his greatest "mistake" in the eyes of Murray and other union officials of his mentality.

Murray made a perfunctory ref-

erence to Addes as a "man of integrity." But he waxed fulsome in praise of Reuther for whom he had "no words that can flow from me that would provide adequate appreciation for the splendid support that little red-head has given Philip Murray since his incumbency as UAW president since March, 1946."

AIDED CAPITALISM

Murray went further. He helped pave the way for Reuther to put over his resolution of capitulation to the Taft-Hartley Act. In his speech, Murray said not a word on his own reasons for personally refusing to sign the "yellow dog" oath as president of the United Steelworkers. He dwelt exclusively on the fact that the CIO Convention in Boston had left the matter entirely up to each affiliated union. "We gave emphasis to the point," Murray stressed.

Thus, Murray made clear he would raise not the slightest objection to the UAW officers signing the Taft Act Oaths, although he himself stated at the CIO Convention he would not sign a "loyalty" affidavit as "a matter of principle."

This convention of the UAW, unlike any of the others I have attended, is saturated with an atmosphere of fear, intimidation, conservatism and backward prejudices. Under Reuther's inspiration and demagoguery, all the most reactionary elements are riding high.

As Ralph Urban, president of Detroit Packard Local 190, told a meeting of the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus last night, "Reuther has put a cloak of red before the eyes of a majority of the delegates, and they can't see through this cloak to the real issues." He added: "Delegates have been

threatened, intimidated, told that barricades would be thrown around their locals, administrators appointed over them, if they did not vote along with Reuther."

PROVOKING FIGHTS

The Reuther strong-arm boys are going around trying to provoke fights with members of the opposition. Opposition delegates have been physically attacked in hotel corridors and bar-rooms. Reutherite elements are openly saying they are going to beat up distributors of the *Stalinist Daily Worker*.

Yesterday the Reutherite goons even attempted to interfere with the distribution of *Ford Facts*, official organ of Ford Local 600, representing 65,000 workers. *Ford Facts* attacked the action of Reuther in announcing the UAW would sign the "yellow dog" oaths.

The atmosphere of red-baiting and intimidation extends even to the press correspondents. The *Militant* reporter was deliberately excluded from the assignment of press seats. When he protested, he was told that only "metropolitan publications" and "only daily papers" were assigned reserved seats. He pointed out that the *Militant* is a national labor paper published in New York and that *Big Business*, *Weeklies like Time*, *Newsweek* and *Business Week* were given special seating.

He also pointed to the table where he was standing. There was the official reserve sign for the Detroit ACTU weekly, the *Wage Earner*. But he had to scramble for a place at the press table.

SINISTER TIE-UP

The sinister tie-up between the Social Democratic Reutherites and the ACTU was further indicated when the *Wage Earner* was placed on every delegate's seat and spread by the thousands throughout the convention hall. It is the real organ of the Reutherites.

No union convention in American history was ever so penetrated and manipulated by the machinery of the Catholic Church hierarchy, operating through the ACTU. Its agents are everywhere, secretly pulling strings, inflaming the red-baiting, working up reactionary sentiments under the cloak of religion.

While working with this unsavory machine, Reuther hypocritically steamed up the convention about "outside interference" of the Communist Party.

The Stalinists are actually a pitiful handful in this convention, with almost no influence. They are just managing to hang on to the fringe

of the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus, where they have no standing whatsoever. Their sole role in the convention has been to muddy the waters a little, by bucking the elections strategy of the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus and running a candidate of their own against Reuther in defiance of the caucus decision to support no candidate for president.

REAL ALIEN INFLUENCE

Reuther himself represents the real alien, outside influence in this convention. He speaks for the policy of the U. S. State Department. He is aligned with the ultra-reactionary power machine of the ACTU, a direct agency of the Catholic hierarchy designed to split the trade unions along religious lines.

In his opening speech to the convention, Reuther offered no program to solve the problems of the auto workers. His only reference to these problems of high prices, speed-up and company provocations inspired by the Taft Act, was vague, high-sounding demagoguery and statistics on profits. When it came to a program of action, Reuther made the harmless threat that if Congress doesn't "roll back prices" then the UAW would have to think about launching a "fight for higher wages."

On political action, he said merely what everyone knows, that political action in 1948 is a "top priority issue." But nothing on what kind of political action. Dead silence on any concrete program.

STRUCK NO SPARK

None of this welter of words struck a spark in the delegates. Only when Reuther came to his real program—his sole program—did his floor machine come to life and whoop it up. The biggest hand he got was when he called on the convention to "reaffirm in clear and unmistakable language the policy of the CIO when it says that the CIO resents and rejects the interference of the Communist Party."

It is unquestionable that Reuther has gone a long way at this convention in consolidating his rule and imposing a bureaucratic stranglehold on the UAW. But it is likewise clear that his ruthless, reactionary drive is generating a powerful and bitter opposition among the UAW militants. The two days of this convention and its ample of Reuther's rule have already hardened the determination of the militants to continue the fight after the convention.

Thomas sounded the key-note of this fight in his address to the

Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus meeting of some 1,000 delegates in the Chelsea Hotel Auditorium Sunday night. He was cheered to the echo when he announced forthrightly that "regardless of how the vote goes in this convention, I am going to continue the fight against one-man rule and to preserve union democracy in the UAW."

He stated further that he would not yield on the issue of the Taft-Hartley Act, come what may. He enunciated a program of militant action on the wage front and against speed-up. He scored Reuther's aid to the speed-up drive of the corporations by his "more production" statements.

He ridiculed Reuther's notion that the Republican-Democratic bipartisan Congress could be influenced to "roll back prices." Thomas confessed, "I fell for that stuff years ago, but now I've learned better." He stressed the need for a "fight for higher wages now" to defend labor's living standards from inflation. And he raised specifically the demand for cost-of-living bonuses automatically rising with rising prices.

SIMILAR SPEECHES

Other leaders of the caucus, including Addes and Leonard, are speaking in a similar vein.

Contrasted to the free, militant atmosphere in the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus here, where red-baiting is scorned and openly denounced, is the oppressive, reactionary atmosphere that prevails in Reuther's caucus.

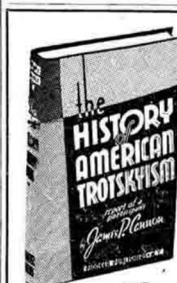
The latter is a one-man show of adulation and back-slapping for Reuther. There is scarcely a pretense of a real program of struggle for the auto workers. The only thing that gets a rise is a sneering reference to the "commies"—which covers any worker who doesn't go down the line 100% with Reuther and the Truman Doctrine.

Almost the first words of Reuther's speech to his caucus Sunday night were the boast: "At last I've got a majority of the delegates." Then he hastily corrected himself—"WE'VE got the majority."

Then he pointed to his lieutenants and running-mates on the platform—Emil Mazey who is opposing Addes for secretary-treasurer, Richard Gosser and John W. Livingston who are running against Thomas and Leonard for the vice presidencies—and bragged: "Here's where the power will be."

AMBITIOUS ROLE

Reuther has cut out a big and



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"In the last historic analysis, all the problems of our planet will be decided upon American soil. There is much in favor of the idea that from the standpoint of revolutionary order, Europe and the East stand ahead of the United States. But a course of events is possible in which this order might be broken in favor of the proletariat of the United States. . . . We must not for a minute lose sight of the fact that the might of American capitalism rests more and more upon a foundation of world economy with its contradictions and crises, military and revolutionary. This means that a social crisis in the United States may arrive a good deal sooner than many think, and have a feverish development from the beginning. Hence the conclusion: It is necessary to prepare."

-Leon Trotsky, 1929

The Need for a Congress of Labor

When Truman called the special session of Congress he placed two points on the agenda: inflation and "aid" for Europe. The inclusion of inflation, we maintained was window-dressing designed to appease the nation-wide demand for action on skyrocketing prices.
The preliminary reports to Congress made by Truman and Marshall confirm this analysis. So far they have evaded the problem of inflation. They have dwelt on "aid" to Europe; and their reports show that what they mean by this is the warming of the "cold" war against the Soviet Union.
These facts again point up the necessity for labor to find some means of making its voice heard and its influence felt in Washington.

ments of the great mass of voters.
A Congress of Labor could begin by placing on its agenda the same points the special session of Wall Street's Congress is considering—inflation and aid to Europe.
To solve the problem of inflation it could consider two simple, practical proposals: (1) Organization of mass committees of union members, consumers and farmers to exercise price control by fixing price ceilings, rationing scarce necessities, confiscating food and other goods hoarded for speculation, and exposing fraudulent and profit-gouging practices. (2) Expropriation and nationalization of all food-processing industries as a first step toward the nationalization of all monopolies.
On aid to Europe, the Congress of Labor could consider: (1) Labor supervision of all loans to Europe to end political discrimination and stop the diversion of funds into imperialist military machines. (2) Withdrawal of all occupation troops so that the peoples of Europe can work out their own destiny free from Wall Street's domination. By mobilizing millions of workers to back up its demands, a Congress of Labor could begin the job of ending Wall Street's political monopoly in Washington.

Wall Street Cracks the Whip in Chile

When Wall Street cracks the whip in its South American empire, the puppets heading the so-called "republics" move with an alacrity that is anything but dignified.
Take Chile's President, Gabriel Gonzales Videla, for instance. He won office last year at the head of a coalition cemented together by the Stalinists. He stood on a "people's platform," one of the main planks of which was a pledge to oppose "imperialist intervention" in the internal affairs of Chile.
Videla gave three posts in his ministry to the Stalinists as a reward for rounding up the winning votes. They served in a decorative capacity, the idea being to trick the Chilean labor movement into believing it had won a big victory at the polls.
Came the Truman Doctrine with its demand on all Wall Street's satellite powers to "contain communism."

proval of Chile's application to the World Bank for \$40,000,000 depended on this."
A strike among the poverty-ridden Chilean miners was seized as a pretext for spectacular action. Videla's secret police announced "discovery" of a "plot" hatched in the Yugoslavian Legation. Videla at once broke off relations with Yugoslavia and followed this with notice to the Soviet Embassy and the Czechoslovakian Legation in Santiago that they were no longer on speaking terms with Chile.
Troops were ordered into the strike-bound mines. Strikers were exiled to distant parts of the country; scabs moved in under protection of bayonets to replace them. A nation-wide witch-hunt was staged with hundreds of arrests. The U. S. Navy supplied coal from its stores to help break the strike.
"Santiago now believes it will get the World Bank loan," explains Business Week. "There are also reports in the capital that funds and equipment may be forthcoming for a petroleum refinery . . . Many important U. S. businessmen have told Gonzales that they would invest in Chile if he got rid of the Communists . . ."
Thus country by country the Truman Doctrine is making the world safe—not for democracy—but for Wall Street's investments.

Growing Assault on Civil Liberties

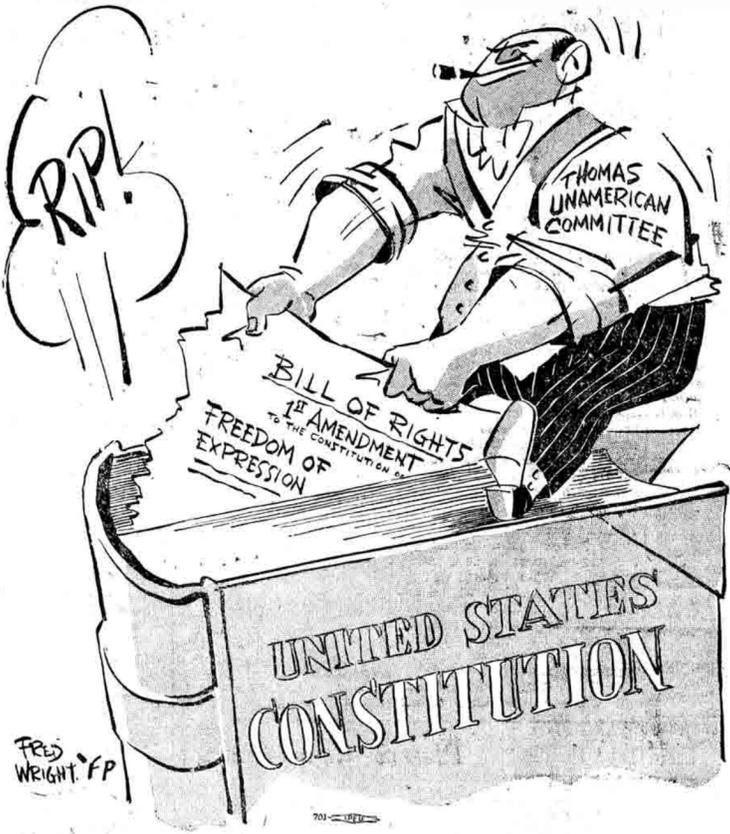
The most ominous threat to civil liberties yet is the FBI plot centering around the special Federal Grand Jury hearing in New York. Such hearings are supposed to be secret. But the red-hysteria master-minds aren't bothered by such trifles as the law. News "leaks" from the Justice Department were given to the press so they could help build up the greatest "red" scare in U. S. history.
The plot behind all this came to light when O. John Rogge, former special assistant to Attorney General Tom Clark, revealed that the stage was being set for large scale midnight raids to round up "reds" coincident with the opening of the special session of Congress.
Labor must realize the danger to it inherent in these governmental assaults on civil liberties. It must do all in its power to expose and stop them.
Equally sinister is the stirring of fascist-like repression in the New Jersey-Philadelphia area. The history of the growth of fascist gangs in Italy and Germany make these events ring out like an alarm bell in the night.
The only way to stop the organization of street gangs which destroy the rights of working class

organizations is for the workers to organize their own defense guards.
The police and the courts will not protect workers' organizations against storm troops. How clearly is this seen in the case of the Trenton and Philadelphia meetings! In both cases the meetings were "guaranteed" by court injunctions. In both cases the injunctions proved to be scraps of paper. In all the cases of suppressed meetings the police were in cahoots with the hoodlums.
The easy successes won by these reactionary forces have encouraged them. Starting with the Stalinists they have now proceeded to the AVC, whose meeting in Newark was banned by extralegal methods. Already they have dared tell trade unions to whom halls can and cannot be rented. The next step in this process is clear: Trade union meetings will be assaulted by fascist elements allied with the police.
The labor movement must heed this alarm signal. It must declare that it will defend the rights of all working class organizations to meet and speak freely. And it must organize to defend these rights in action.

Amnesty for the CO's by Christmas

Truman's Amnesty Board met in Washington last week and, according to a Scripps-Howard report, decided to recommend restoring civil rights to a majority of the 16,000 men convicted of violating the draft law during World War II. Eight hundred of them are still in prison.
While most of the conscientious objectors have been released from prison and work camps, they still have the status of "convicted criminals" and are denied such civil rights as the right to vote and hold office. According to the above cited report, the Amnesty Board "will urge President Truman to deny amnesty to draft-law violators in all but a few cases. Those involve unusual circumstances, such as a hill-billy farmer who honestly didn't know about the war."
But those who did know about the war and refused to participate in it for religious or political reasons are apparently to be denied civil rights which are still enjoyed by the militarists, war

profiteers, warmongers and politicians who are responsible for hundreds of thousands of deaths and are free to lay the ground for a new war that will kill millions more!
Defenders of the conscientious objectors are appealing for a presidential amnesty by Christmas and the release of the CO's still in jail. The labor movement and all progressive organizations are duty bound, in the name of defending civil liberties, to support this appeal.
Truman got a lot of unwarranted favorable publicity out of the report of his Committee on Civil Rights.
Now he should be made to do something about civil rights to which he gives so much lip-service. Among other things, mass pressure should be applied to force him to reject the reported recommendations of his Amnesty Board and to restore the civil rights and freedom of all CO's by Christmas.



Bankrupt Policy Continued In French CP's New Turn

By T. J. Peters

PARIS, Nov. 1 — The French municipal elections have been followed not only by General de Gaulle's demand for a referendum on a new constitution that would bring him to power, but also by a sharp Stalinist "left turn," announced by Maurice Thorez at a CP Central Committee meeting here this week. Mass struggle to beat back the "neo-Fascist" danger is called for, and a new "democratic" government in which the "working class and its Communist Party will have the determining influence." The Socialist Party is denounced as traitors playing the game of de Gaulle in what is described as the "American party."

The new CP turn is a direct result of the fact that the victory by de Gaulle's RPF has shaken up the whole Stalinist party — the ranks of militant workers as well as the bureaucracy which, more than anything else, feels the crumbling of its big patronage machine.
There must have been a good deal of questioning in the Stalinist ranks as to how the de Gaulle danger was permitted to arise, with the CP occupying such powerful positions as it has since 1944. Thorez therefore went into "self-criticism" much sharper and more devastatingly self-revealing than has been the case in the past with such bureaucratic comedies.
It entailed a review of Stalinist policy since the beginning of the People's Front in 1935 and going through the "National Front" of the war years and the Committees of National Liberation. The trouble in this whole course lasting a dozen years, Thorez declared, was that agreements had been arrived at only at the top; the movements had not been based on genuine participation of the masses.

BANKRUPTCY ADMITTED
Then, going into the resistance movement, Thorez became even sharper: "It must be considered," he said, "as a grave mistake that we tolerate in the organization and conduct of the resistance the same faults which were fatal in the People's Front, and which were revealed to be just as pernicious for the movement of national liberation. . . . The men of the reaction regained their courage and got into the saddle once more. . . . Today, assembled around de Gaulle, the reaction is pushing on its offensive against the working class and the Republic."

Entitled "On the Alert Against Dictatorship," the manifesto analyzes the growing threat of the de Gaulle danger and castigates the policies of the reformists and Stalinists. It calls for the preparation of a General Strike by united front action to beat down any attempt to set up the projected Bonapartist dictatorship, and to form a government of the workers' parties based on mass control and a positive anti-capitalist program: the establishment of a living minimum wage, the sliding scale of wages to combat inflation, workers' control of industry.
The annual conference of the PCI, which meets next week, will occupy itself more thoroughly and concretely with the specific elaboration of this program and the means to bring it to the masses in the developing showdown struggle.

A more clear-cut avowal of bankruptcy is hardly possible. Thorez admits black on white the complexity of the Stalinists in breaking the revolutionary upsurge of 1936 which led to the war as well as that of 1944 which has led to the rise of de Gaulle. But does this devastating self-criticism mean a real change?
NO REAL CHANGE
That it means no real change in policy is clear. Thorez finds the rest of the error only in the form of organization — "agreements at

the top" — not in the policy itself — that of class collaboration. His solution is only an organizational one: broad committees must be formed in all factories, leaders must be elected, etc. Insofar as policy is concerned, it is summed up by him in the aim set: "A government which will defend with energy the Constitution and the Republic against the RPF and all the plotters grouped around de Gaulle."
In other words, the policy of class collaboration, of the defense of the bourgeois Republic, of the Constitution which consecrates private property and colonialism, is to remain the same. The form is to be changed, there are to be elected committees — which the Stalinists hope to control because of their present great forces — but to carry out the same nationalist, class collaboration line.

DETROIT
Which Way for the Auto Union?
An Analysis of the UAW Convention
Speaker:
HOWARD LERNER
Chairman, Detroit SWP
Sunday, Dec. 7, 3 P.M.
6108 Linwood Ave.

A WEDGE IS OPENED
But the extent to which Thorez has gone in his "self-criticism" is indicative of serious unrest in the CP ranks. The worsening economic situation drives the workers to more decisive class struggles than the splintered, partial strikes which the Stalinists have felt constrained to lead up to now. The gains made in the strikes are being wiped out by raging inflation. The threat of de Gaulle takes on a serious aspect after the municipal elections and brings pressure for a showdown from the right. Thus, the new turn of the Stalinists, despite its motivations, opens up a wedge in the present situation which leads to the

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MOTHER JONES
Installment 4

VICTORY AT ARNOT
Before 1899 the coal fields of Pennsylvania were not organized. Immigrants poured into the country and they worked cheap. There was always a surplus of immigrant labor, solicited in Europe by the coal companies, so as to keep wages down to barest living. Hours of work down under ground were cruelly long. Fourteen hours a day was not uncommon, thirteen, twelve. The life or limb of the miner was unprotected by any laws. Families lived in company owned shacks that were not fit for their pigs. Children died by the hundreds due to the ignorance and poverty of their parents.
Often I have helped lay out for burial the babies of the miners, and the mothers could scarce conceal their relief at the little ones' death. Another was already or its way, destined, if a boy, for the breakers; if a girl, for the silk mills where the other brothers and sisters already worked.
The United Mine Workers decided to organize these fields and work for human conditions for human beings. Organizers were put to work. Whenever the spirit of the men in the mines grew strong enough a strike was called.
In Arnot, Pennsylvania, a strike had been going on four or five months. The men were becoming discouraged. The coal company sent the doctors, the school teachers, the preachers and their wives to the homes of the miners to get them to sign a document that they would go back.
The president of the district, Mr. Wilson, and an organizer, Tom Haggerty, got despondent. The signatures were overwhelmingly in favor of returning on Monday.
Haggerty suggested that they send for me. At Roaring Branch, the nearest town connection with Arnot, the secretary of the Arnot Union, a young boy, William Bouncer, met me with a horse and buggy. We drove sixteen miles over rough mountain roads. It was biting cold. We got into Arnot Sunday noon and I was placed in the coal company's hotel, the only hotel in town.
Sunday afternoon I held a meeting. It was not as large a gathering as those we had later but I stirred up the poor wretches that did come.
"You've got to take the pledge," I said. "Rise and pledge to stick to your brothers and the union 'till the strike's won!"
The men shuffled their feet but the women rose, their babies in their arms, and pledged themselves to see that no one went to work in the morning.
"The meeting stands adjourned till ten o'clock tomorrow morning," I said. "Everyone come and see that the slaves that think to go back to their masters come along with you."
At eleven o'clock that night the housekeeper knocked at my door and told me that I had to give up my room; that she was told it belonged to a teacher. "It's a shame, mother," she whispered, as she helped me into my coat.
I found little Bouncer sitting on guard down in the lobby. He took me up the mountain to a miner's house.
"Did they put you out, Mother?"
"They did that."
"I told Mary they might do that," said the miner. He held the oil lamp with the thumb and his little finger and I could see that the others were off. His face was young but his body was bent over.
He insisted on my sleeping in the only bed, with his wife. At eight o'clock she came into my room, crying.
"You must get up. The sheriff is here to put us out for keeping you. 'This house belongs to the Company.'"
The family gathered up all their earthly belongings, which weren't much, took down all the holy pictures, and put them in a wagon, and they with all their neighbors went to the meeting. The sight of that wagon with the sticks of furniture and the holy pictures and the children, with the father and mother and myself walking along through the streets turned the tide. It made the men so angry that they decided not to go back that morning to the mines. Instead they came to the meeting where they determined not to give up the strike until they had won.
Then the company tried to bring in scabs. I told the men to stay home with the children for a change and let the women attend to the scabs. I organized an army of women housekeepers. On a given day they were to bring their mops and brooms and "the army" would charge the scabs up at the mines.
I selected as leader an Irish woman who had a most picturesque appearance. She had slept late and her husband had told her to hurry up and get into the army. She had grabbed a red petticoat and slipped it over a thick cotton night gown. She wore a black stocking and a white one. She had tied a little red fringed shawl over her wild red hair. Her face was red and her eyes were mad. I looked at her and felt that she could raise a rumpus.
I said, "You lead the army up to the Drip Mouth, Take that tin dishpan you have with you and your hammer, and when the scabs and the mules come up, begin to hammer and howl. Then all of you hammer and howl, and be ready to chase the scabs with your mops and brooms. Don't be afraid of anyone."
Up the mountain side, yelling and hollering, she led the women, and when the mules came up with the scabs and the coal, she began beating on the dishpan and hollering and all the army joined in with her. The sheriff tapped her on the shoulder.
"Dear lady," said he. "Remember the mules. Don't frighten them."
She took the old tin pan and she hit him with it and she hollered, "To hell with you and the mules!"
He fell over and dropped into the creek. Then the mules began to rebel against scabbing. They bucked and kicked the scab drivers and started off for the barn. The scabs started running down hill, followed by the army of women with their mops and pails and brooms.
From that day on the women kept continual watch of the mines to see that the company did not bring in the scabs. Every day women with brooms or mops in one hand and babies in the other arm wrapped in little blankets, went to the mines and watched that no one went in. And all night long they kept watch. They were heroic women. In the long years to come the nation will pay them high tribute for they were fighting for the advancement of a great country.
I held meetings throughout the surrounding country. The company was spending money among the farmers, urging them not to do anything for the miners. I went out with an old wagon and a union mule that had gone on strike, and a miner's little boy for a driver. I held meetings among the farmers and won them to the side of the strikers.
Sometimes it was twelve or one o'clock in the morning when I would get home, the little boy asleep on my arm and I driving the mule. Sometimes it was several degrees below zero. The winds whistled down the mountains and drove the snow and sleet in our faces. My hands and feet were often numb. We were all living on dry bread and black coffee. I slept in a room that never had a fire in it and I often woke up in the morning to find snow covering the outside covers of my bed.
The last of February the company put up a notice that all demands were conceded.
"Did you get the use of the hall for us to hold meetings?" asked the women. "No, we didn't ask for that."
"Then the strike is on again," said they. They got the hall.
I was going to leave for the central fields, and before I left, the union held a victory meeting in Blossburg. The women came for miles in a raging snow storm for that meeting, little children trailing on their skirts, and babies under their shawls. Many of the miners had walked miles. It was one night of real joy and a great celebration.
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Workers' Forum

The Real Murderer Isn't James Hickman

Editor: On Nov. 5 James Hickman went on trial for his life, charged with killing his landlord. He had been living in the attic of a firetrap like many "homes" of workers. This miserable attic burned up, killing four of Hickman's children.

His landlord had previously threatened to burn him out. With this in mind, Hickman shot and killed his landlord.

There is nothing unusual about a tenement burning down and taking whole families to their death. The Hickman case is only one example of the horrible conditions under which the working class and oppressed minorities are forced to live.

James Hickman is on trial for murder, while the real murderer, the murderer of his children and the potential murderer of others is still at large. That murderer is capitalism.

Its weapons are firetrap tenements. Its victims your family. This murderer must be stopped.

The working class and all oppressed minorities must unite and let the worst killer of all, capitalism, know that we will take no more. We must raise our voice so that the whole world can hear us.

Let us save the life of this Negro, whose fight now exemplifies the fight of all oppressed people everywhere against the capitalist courts and the capitalist society.

Josephine Sweeney
San Francisco, Calif.

Worked For 45 Years and Still Has No Savings For Old Age

Editor: This noon shift I noticed a worker roll up the bearings he takes care of and go over to a pile of bricks and sit down. He did this again in about 15 minutes, so I went over to him. Because of his age and being around this plant so long, I wanted to get his idea of it all.

"John," I asked, "how long have you been here?"

"Forty-five years," he said. "I'm getting an easier job, as I am not able because of my age to hustle around here fast enough."

I asked where he was going. He told me to a smaller mill with the same concern where he would have less to do.

"Well, you don't have to worry," I said, "because you have been in the company better than 40 years and have worked pretty steady all your life. So you must have a sizeable bank account and could retire and live moderately."

He looked at me rather peculiar and smiled. "I worked here way, way back for about \$12 a week, 12 hours a day, 7 days a week. Living was cheap but I couldn't save. I worked here the first World War. Made big money, saved a little. I spent all of my money when Mr. Hoover was the President because I didn't have a job."

"Then I borrowed money too and worked on WPA. Then they called me back. I paid all of my debt off on the 30th. Now, I don't understand. I make big money, \$1.18 an hour. No can save. I think, 'Born to die poor.'"

I've seen them transfer other workers to easier jobs in the past to make room for youth; and this is how it works: First they transfer you. Then you lose department

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.

Calls Swamp Couple In \$13 a Week Offer

Editor: My husband and I had an experience which strikingly demonstrates the declining standard of living of the American workers. Because of the inflation I had to take a job and board out our baby for a while.

After long discussion and hesitation, we ran an advertisement in the paper: "Wanted. Housewife to board 8-months-old baby while mother works. Week ends off. Will pay \$13 per week."

That was more than we could afford, but who, we wondered, could afford to take a baby for less than that? Milk, oranges and baby food alone would cost the housewife something more than \$3 a week. That left \$10 a week in wages, or \$2 a day.

For two lousy dollars a day, the housewife would have to do the baby's laundry, make the formula, feed him and bathe him and dress him. She would have to train him in toilet habits, wear him and discipline him. She would have to carry 21 pounds of wiggling humanity around her house and she would have her nerves worn thin by an infant in the process of becoming a social human being.

She would have to do all of this in addition to caring for her own children and going through the endless grind of her daily routine.

After thinking it over, I threw caution to the winds and bet my husband a chocolate cake that no one would answer the ad. Today I baked a chocolate cake.

The calls started coming in the day before yesterday at 4 in the afternoon. I sat by the phone from 1 until 8 P.M. when my husband took over until 10 P.M. Since we both had to get up at 5 in the morning, we went to bed and shut the door in order not to hear the phone ring.

Our irate neighbor, who is on the same party line, informed us the next day that the phone rang until midnight. At 6:30 the next morning it started in again and the next day, as I write this, it is still going strong. All in all we must have had about 50 or 60 calls.

Who were these women who called and practically begged us to consider them? As they gave their qualifications, most of them also gave their stories. They were all the same. They, too, wanted to go to work, but most of them had two, three or four children and so couldn't leave their homes.

Inflation was eating deeper and deeper into their husbands' pay checks, and this was a way they could earn a little something and remain at home. There had been sickness in the family. Christmas was coming up. Somehow or other warm winter clothes for their children had to be bought. And above all, though unexpressed, how can we eat if things continue like this? Anxiety and worry was in every word they said and in every tone of voice.

I couldn't help thinking of the socialist state as pictured in Edward Bellamy's book *Looking Backward*. How fantastic it will some day seem to look backward at today's conditions!

M. W.
Massillon, Ohio

Advocates Marriage For Church Hierarchs

Editor: According to a recent Associated Press dispatch the Vatican denied that "church and state could be entirely separate." The Pope denounced "all totalitarianism," said the dispatch, which seeks "to make the church submit to the state."

If the Church is not supposed to bow to the state, then the government and laws of any country should not be expected to conform to the desires of the Pope or any church.

The controversy between the Catholic Church and various governments concerns personal or moral issues and the differences between church and government laws regulating marriage and divorce.

It seems to me that what is needed is cooperation between the church and state so as to help and encourage every person to become a better human being.

What the Pope, bishops and priests need are wives and children of their own. Then they would have a better understanding of morals, marriage and divorce. Thus they would be too busy to worry about the behavior of others.

Anna K. Sager
Toledo, Ohio

Holds It Is Possible To Capture Machine Of Democratic Party

Editor: I deny that the true, honest, anti-capitalist Socialists cannot in the primaries capture the Democratic Party and make it the political machine for abolishing capitalism and establishing a democratic production for use economy.

I deny that a third party in America would hasten this end. I have advocated labor third parties long before your party and paper came into being, and I wasted years of my early life in futile, weak third parties.

That effort of mine in the Democratic primaries should have been productive of much greater results. Be realists. Be honest. Don't be pinheads!

Samuel S. Shapiro
Los Angeles, Calif.

Ed. Note: What's the opinion of our readers?

Militant Fund at Halfway Mark With Less Than a Month to Go

By Rose Karsner
National Campaign Director

Response to our circular letter to subscribers asking for contributions to the Militant Fund are still coming in. The following inspiring letter tells simply and clearly how much The Militant is appreciated.

"Please find enclosed \$5 which represents my part of the expense of keeping The Militant going. (Our emphasis.)"

"I appreciate very deeply the effort and self sacrifice you people of The Militant must go through to keep this paper going and alive. You do a wonderful job and you are to be congratulated by all who have the working class interest at heart."

"I regret that I am not able to send in a much larger amount than above stated. I hope the campaign will be a great success and The Militant will always be with us, as I read it each week with great interest and always look forward to receiving it, although some times I do not get it until the following week and occasionally it does not get to me at all as it seems to get lost in the mail. So with the greatest admiration and respect for The Militant and the noble people who keep it going I say:

"Happy birthday and many of them. I am sincerely yours, L. Marth."

Then we have the note from Mr. Bick:

"I am sending you \$10. It's little when one realizes the importance of the task and the immensity of the problems you face."

Letters like these are very comforting. They help us far more than the writers of them realize. Even the staunchest fighters need encouragement—and that is what these letters are for us.

Garcia, of Los Angeles, writes: "Received your appeal for funds. Am an older of limited means and what I can spare is for another cause." This reader, however, is not hostile as is the following:

"Sirs, Please cancel my subscription at once, because I'm satisfied with our type of government and very strongly opposed to your ideas. George Kotchisch."

FROM OUR READERS
Santora \$1.25; Callender \$2; Cron \$5.00; Barbara \$10; Crook \$1; Desando \$1; Feingold \$5.00; Rhoads \$1; Martin \$5; Llock \$10; Hernea \$1; Goosby \$1.25; West \$1.25; Laws \$1; Andrews \$10; Pace \$1; Terrell \$1; Tromm \$1; Morey \$1; Lapin \$1.50; Fox \$1; Webb \$5.00, and three anonymous friends sent in \$2.35.

H. L. of Newark sent us \$3 through a friend.

Allentown Branch is the surprise of the week. From 7% this branch jumped in one leap to 84%. Robert writes: "I regret that I was



Scoreboard For \$15,000 Militant Fund

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
ST. LOUIS	\$ 50	\$ 97	194
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	63	84
Flint	200	160	80
Milwaukee	200	141	70
Newark	500	349	70
Buffalo	600	393	65
Cleveland	250	164	64
Philadelphia	300	187	62
New York	4,500	2,724	61
Oakland	250	148	59
Twin Cities	1,000	555	55
Youngstown	600	328	55
Los Angeles	1,500	793	53
Pittsburgh	150	60	40
Rochester	25	10	40
Tacoma	25	10	40
Akron	300	107	36
Boston	275	99	36
San Francisco	1,250	419	34
Lynn	125	40	32
Seattle	300	97	32
Connecticut State	200	59	29
Chicago	1,500	389	26
San Diego	100	26	26
Toledo	150	39	26
Detroit	600	152	25
Reading	100	23	20
West Virginia	25	5	20
Messillon-Canton	50	0	0
TOTAL THROUGH NOV. 10		\$7,634	51

unable to send a remittance to The Militant Fund at an earlier date. Enclosed find money order. We expect to be able to send the balance before the end of the month."

Youngstown—M. Jones: "Enclosed find a money order to apply on our quota in The Militant Fund. We hope to be able to raise the balance, in a few weeks."

Seattle—Joyce: "I am confident that we will meet our pledge in full."

Massillon-Canton—Mac: "We regret the fact that we still have zero on the scoreboard in the Fund Campaign, but we have had a little financial difficulty. However, you may rest assured that we will have 100% paid."

German Workers Resist Dismantling of Factories

By Ernest Germain

Oct. 18—During the second week of September the British Military Government ordered the dismantling of the Holmag plant in Kiel, Germany.

This plant had been completely reconstructed since the end of the war. The British authorities themselves had called it vitally important for the economy of the British occupation zone.

When the workers of the Holmag plant learned of the decision to dismantle it, their factory committee decided unanimously to refuse to collaborate in any way with this demolition decree. All the workers immediately went out on strike.

Foreign workers employed in the plant participated solidly in the strike. After four weeks of struggle the strike still goes on. British troops have occupied the factory but it has not yet been dismantled.

The action of the Holmag workers is of historic importance. It constitutes the first public and organized demonstration by the working population against the savage plundering measures imposed on vanquished Germany by the Potsdam agreement. The Holmag workers have shown by this action that a decisive change is beginning to take place in the psychology of the German working class.

This working class had been paralyzed for two years by a mood of total impotence in the face of the overwhelming military, economic, and political superiority of the occupying powers.

The great movements of April and May were by and large movements of despair—an elementary but already organized reaction against the famine strangling the people. As against these movements, the strike at Kiel represents a step forward. It is an organized expression of the fact that the poli-

tical consciousness of the German workers is maturing.

EXAMPLE BEARS FRUIT
An audacious and demonstrative act by a small vanguard often suffices during a profound crisis to touch off movements of unexpected scope. Not long after the action at Kiel, the American military government announced the coming dismantlement of a long list of factories totaling a billion dollars in value. The complete list of these plants has not yet been published, but reports indicate the stupendous figure of 1,800 factories. (Since this was written, 682 plants have been earmarked for dismantlement, with decision still pending on the remainder—Ed.)

Encouraged by the example at Kiel, the German working population is now protesting with an unaccustomed vigor. So great is the pressure of public opinion on the political and trade union organizations, that the president of the Hamburg Federation of Trade Unions and the conference of Social Democratic functionaries in Berlin have both taken the initiative by condemning in public documents all the dismantling measures of the Allies.

These two documents are hesitant, timid and full of reservations; they do not reject the policy of reparations "in principle;" they do not condemn the principles of the Potsdam agreement; they say nothing about the occupation or the dismemberment of the country.

But in their historic connotation these two documents are remarkable in their audacity. For the first time since 1945 German workers' organizations have called into question the "right" of the "conquerors" to dispose as they please of the lives and belongings of the vanquished people. Up to now, this "right" has provided the basis for not only all the policies of the four occupying powers, but also all the activities of the legal parties.

With the action of the Holmag workers; with the ensuing threat of a general strike on the railroads; with the appeal of the Independent Social Democratic party of Berlin for an "immediate moratorium on all dismantling;" the working class political opposition to the occupation, division and pillage of Germany has from this point on assumed an organized form.

The great hunger protests of March and April, we emphasized at that time, were only the beginning of the awakening. The movements taking place today are only the first steps on the road of political action.

The relation of forces remains extremely unfavorable to the German workers. Economic stagnation has caused a grave decrease in the number of workers actually employed in industry; class consciousness is continually undermined by demoralization and moral degradation.

But from now on the worst lies behind. Time begins to work in favor of the proletariat. The subjective factor will become, here too, the decisive factor. The Fourth International will continue to explain to the German workers that the struggle for each of their economic and democratic demands, the struggle for the right to live, to work for liberty which decaying capitalism can no longer guarantee them, reaches its culmination in the struggle against the occupation, the dismemberment and pillage of the country.

The awakening of the German proletariat will be decisive when the

THE MILITANT ARMY

Sub Drives Gain Ground And Street Sales Rise

New and renewal subscriptions picked up in October after the summer vacation lull. The month's total of 391 surpassed either August or September figures. However, even this figure falls far short of registering the actual accomplishment of the branches in spreading The Militant, for many thousands of individual copies were sold in connection with election campaigns and other party activities.

New York not only led the cities with 62 new subs during October, but every week sold hundreds of single copies, mainly at Harlem street meetings but also throughout the city. On Nov. 1, the last Saturday night of the Harlem campaign for Robert Williams for State Senator, New York comrades sold 157 copies of The Militant, although it was such a cold night people hated to take their hands out of their pockets. At the same time 45 pamphlets were sold and several thousand election leaflets were distributed.

Boston, with some of the liveliest sub-getters in the country, sold 40 subs for second place. Most of these were renewals, representing consistent back-bank work. At the same time Boston supporters of The Militant conducted a spirited election campaign for Lawrence P. Trainor for the School Board.

Milwaukee, Flint, San Francisco, and New Haven also stressed renewal work in their subscription activities.

Reporting on Flint's last dozen subs, Jerry Kirk said they were obtained on a mobilization. "The branch is divided into four teams. At the moment Sid Bannon's Dead

End Kids are in the lead with 22 to their credit, followed by Jim Kramer's Stump Jumpers with 13. The Ridge Runners have 8 and the Hollow Tree Gang 3. We have our sights raised on 200 subs in this campaign."

Milwaukee is also holding weekly mobilizations. Literature Agent Carol Andrews reported: "We are contacting the pickets who were arrested in the AC strike."

Seven of Buffalo's 12 subs were turned in by T. D. who is "our leading sub-getter in steel," according to Agent Charles Carlson.

New Haven combined sub-getting with sale of tickets for its Russian Revolution Anniversary meeting.

Philadelphia Branch sold all its last dozen subs right in the headquarters, most of them at a social. That's one way to bring in the subscribers instead of going out to call on them.

Of course (of course, of course) another sub came this week from James W. Connelly of Kewanee. That makes seven for Connelly in October.

OCTOBER SUBS	
New York	62
Boston	40
Milwaukee	40
Flint	32
San Francisco	25
New Haven	21
Los Angeles	19
Minneapolis	17
Chicago	13
Philadelphia	13
Buffalo	12
Newark	11
Oakland	11
Cleveland	9
Allentown	8
San Diego	6
Toledo	6
Youngstown	6
Lynn	5
Pittsburgh	5
St. Louis	5
Akron	4
Detroit	4
St. Paul	4
Seattle	2
Morgantown	2
New Britain	1
Calumet	0
Reading	0
Rochester	0
Tacoma	0
General	31
Total	391

Buy 'The Militant' Here:

- AKRON**
News Exchange, 61 S. Main.
270 W. Division
The Sale Confectionery, 620 S. Main.
Kallas Cigar Store, Main & Howard, N.W. corner.
- BOSTON**
Sam's Corner, Central Ave., Lynn.
Uptown News Co., 234 Huntington Ave., Boston.
- BUFFALO**
N. W. corner, Main & Chippewa.
Delaware Ave. & Chippewa S.E. Cor.
CAMPBELL, E.
Edelman's Newsstand, Wilson Ave.
near Sheet and Tube Employment Office.
- CHICAGO**
Cesinsky's Book Store,
270 W. Division
Socialist Workers Bookshop,
777 W. Adams
- CLEVELAND**
G & M Newsstand, 9th and Superior
"Militant" Bookshop
- DETROIT**
"Militant" Bookshop
6108 Linwood Ave.
- LOS ANGELES**
316 1/2 West Pico Blvd., Room 1.
Downtown: NE corner 5th and Main; 326 W. 5th St.
Socialist Workers Party, 316 1/2 West Blvd., near Olive St.
Tessler's Newsstand, 335 1/2 South Hill Street.
Ted's Stand, P.E. Station, 103rd and Graham.
Wright's Record Shop, 95th near Graham.
2210 1/2 Brooklyn Ave.
Hollywood: Stands at Hollywood and Chahuena, Hollywood and Los Palms.
- MINNEAPOLIS**
Labor Book Store, 10 S. 4 St.
Shinder's News Agency
Hennepin Ave. and 6th St.
- NEWARK**
Socialist Workers Party, 425 Springfield Ave.
S. W. Corner, Broad & Market.
Broad & Academy Sts.
NEW BRITAIN, CONN.
Ideal "Cat-Rite", 482 Main St.
Ross's Store, Stanley & Church St.
- NEW HAVEN**
106 Church St.
- NEW YORK**
Manhattan, near 14th St.:
101 University Pl.
116 University Pl.
42 E. 14th St.
52 E. 14th St.
SE 4th Ave. and 14th St.
SW 4th Ave. and 14th St.
SW 3rd Ave. & 14th St.
64 E. 14th St.
SW 3rd Ave. and 14th St.
NE 6th Ave. and 14th St.
Near Astor Place
- NE Broadway and 8th St.
Broadway and Astor
Broadway and Waverly
SW Cooper St. and Waverly
NE Third Ave. and 9th St.
Uptown Side Astor and 8th St.
Lower East Side
NE cor. Delancey and Essex
NW cor. Delancey and Suffolk
NW cor. Delancey and Clinton
Manhattan, near 42nd St.:
SW 5th Ave. & 42nd St.
S. 6th & 6th Ave. & 42nd St.
SE 6th Ave. & 42nd St.
SW 5th Avenue & 42nd St.
SW 7th Ave. & 42nd St.
SW 8th Ave. & 42nd St.
Manhattan, at 123th St.
Lewis S.W. Corner
7th Ave. N.W. Corner
8th Ave. S.W. Corner
8th Ave. N.W. Corner
St. Nicholas Ave. N.W. Corner
St. Nicholas Ave. S.W. Corner
- PITTSBURGH**
P. & A. Newsstand, 226 Federal St.
M. Rose, 1232 Fifth Ave.
Good Luck Shoe Repair, 1922 Centre Ave.
SW 7th Ave. & 42nd St.
- PORTLAND, ORE.**
Rich's Stand, cor. S.W. Washington and S.W. 6th Ave.
- SAN DIEGO, CALIF.**
Grocery at 2808 Clay St
- SAN FRANCISCO**
MacDonald's Book Store, 867 Mission St.; Golden Gate News Agency, 81 - 3rd St.; San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant.
- SAN PEDRO**
Militant Pub. Assn.,
1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.
- SEATTLE**
Eckert's, corner Washington St. and 1st Ave.; Bihon's Drug Store, 597 Jackson St.; Raymer's Book Store, 905-3rd Ave.
- ST. PAUL**
540 Cedar St.
- TACOMA, WASH.**
Amusement Center, Between 11 and 12 Sts., on Pacific.
- TOLEDO**
De Luxe Hat Shop, 403 Indiana Ave. R & G Shoe Repair, 456 Indiana Ave.
Herbstein's Beauty Shop, 2026 Canton.
Hirsch Newsstand, 319 St. Clair.
- YOUNGSTOWN**
Terrace Confectionery,
1947 Jacobs Road.

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- 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. 5-6149.
- HARLEM:** 103 W. 110 St. Room 23. MO. 2-1866.
Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.
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- BROOKLYN:** 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433.
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Revolution Is a Natural Thing

By Theodore Kovalesky

"The Great Unwashed," they used to call us. A "many-headed monster," the "mob" . . . those were the names given to the people in arms, the workers on the march. The fight for freedom, either a small one like a strike or a great one like a revolution, was called "anarchy!"

But a strike is a natural thing, a thing like eating or drinking or breathing, you feel, when you're in one. You're on strike, your brothers are on strike, and even your wife and kid may take a turn on the picket line or help out in the soup kitchen. It's part of life, and the people who strike with you are the people you live with and work with.

And a revolution is a natural thing too. Forget for a few moments that you have ever read the newspaper denunciations of anarchists and agitators. We're talking about you and me and the millions of others just like us, kissing their wives and quarreling with them, carrying black lunch pails to the steel plants, the shops, the mines, the flour mills and warehouses, working ships across the ocean and trucks across the land.

Look at it this way: Life has moved on with each year growing worse, each paycheck buying less of the things you need. Here and there strikes break out, and troops are sent in with orders to shoot to kill the strikers. Corruption and graft in the highest branches of the government become worse, exist almost out in the open. You begin to feel trapped, desperate. The life you have been living can't go on, and even if it could, you don't want it. You've had enough of it. There has to be a change.

You're not alone, holding a minority position. No, Slim and Johnny and Frank and all the rest of the fellows you work with feel the same way. You talk about pulling the pin and shutting the plant down. Sometimes when a ladle blows up on the furnace or when a grinding wheel flies to pieces in the shop, you get particularly angry. It scratches a raw sore.

All over the land it's like that. No other worker feels much differently. The way you think is the way they think. Not all of them read *The Militant* like you do. No, not all, but plenty. When the paper is banned by the government, you're awfully sore about it . . . but you manage to get hold of it anyhow. You read it and think seriously.

Then something happens, perhaps a very little thing, but it's the straw that breaks the camel's back. The workers boil over, and Bethlehem, Republic, or Carnegie-Illinois is shut down. What you've felt like doing they went ahead and did. And it spreads, how it spreads! The whole town around the struck plant shuts down. The news hits you and the boys in your plant, the enthusiasm hits you, and all of you pile out of the gate. You form your committees, and contact the other plants in the area.

This strike is a lot different from others you remember. It's so big that your strike committee has to assign workers to help get food moved into town, to keep electricity and the phone system operating, to direct traffic.

You've made a big step, but where are you going from there? Are you going to give the town back to the old authorities and have the cops and troops break the strike? It's like this all over the country. The question is, what to do? Your strike committee and the committees in the other towns have control of the land. Who will rule next? You read *The Militant*, and it says "All power to the Council of Workers, Farmers, and Soldiers!" And, truly enough, the soldiers have their councils too.

Finally your strike committee goes on record for it, along with strike committees the whole country over. So you do it . . . and what do you know! . . . it's a revolution. Funny, it didn't seem radical or strange. You were for it. All the boys in the shop were for it. Everybody, almost, that you knew was for it, and so it came to be.

That's something like it was thirty years ago, Nov. 7, 1917, in Russia. And that's a lot like what it will be in America . . . but you fill in the date yourself.

Careful With Those Adjectives!

By Albert Parker

The Negro, trade union and liberal press last week went off on a literary bludge over the report of the Truman Committee on Civil Rights. They dug up and used every adjective in the dictionary; they yelled halallelujah until they hoarse; they hailed the dawn of a new day for minorities in the United States. If you didn't know what was going on, you would have thought the second emancipation had come, or at least that some substantial victory against Jim Crow had been won.

Actually, of course, nothing has changed. Truman has received some favorable publicity. His committee has gone on record for some good legislation, which the Negro and labor organizations have been demanding for decades and which both the Democratic and Republican majorities in Congress have refused to pass for decades. And that is about all.

Will Truman force his party to adopt this legislation and try to enact it? Then why didn't he do it last year when his party was a majority in Congress? Will the Republicans carry out the committee's progressive proposals? Then why didn't they do it earlier this year when they had the votes to do it easily?

In other words, we have to fight just as hard as before if we want legislation against Jim Crow and we still must defeat the Jim Crow capitalist parties if we intend to win these laws. Anybody who doesn't understand that is only kidding himself.

and won't be of much use in the bitter struggles that lie ahead.

Almost a whole year ago, when the Truman committee was first appointed, William E. Bohannon wrote in this column: ". . . we can predict with the greatest confidence that Truman's committee will have no more effect than a snowball in hell."

That was a pretty accurate prediction, and one we are still willing to stick by today. We urge the readers of *The Militant* to remember it, and also to remember the extravagant wishful thinking indulged in by the liberals last week, and to check them both about a year from now and see who was right.

Why are we so sure about this at a time when so many rosy hopes are being expressed? Because we have studied history, especially American Negro history, and because we have tried to learn from our own experiences in the last 15 years, and we have come to the following conclusion: The oppressed and exploited never get anything from the oppressors and exploiters except by fighting for it. That is why we have no confidence at all in Jim Crow governments and parties.

The oppressors and exploiters and their stooges would like to have the Negro and working people believe that the government wants to protect their civil rights; then maybe the Negroes and workers would stop fighting for these rights themselves. Our job is to destroy all such illusions: Relying on the Trumans and Tafts is like putting your head into the lion's mouth.

Reactions to an SWP Campaign

By Frank Barbaria

I would like, for the benefit of *The Militant's* readers, to report on the typical reactions we received from union members during the Socialist Workers Party campaign for Mayor, which took us on a tour of many union locals in San Francisco.

When I would knock at the door of a union meeting, the face of the sergeant-at-arms would take on a pained look. I could see what he was thinking: "What another politician!" But in bored resignation he would present my credentials and I would be admitted.

In a typical AFL meeting there would be from 75 to 200 members, with a sprinkling of young people among the older ones. Often the meeting would be almost half-composed of women; many had a good proportion of colored members. They would all stand at the three raps of the gavel as I was escorted to the rostrum. Eyebrows would raise at the idea of such a young man running for Mayor.

When I started introducing myself as a working class candidate, active in the labor movement since 1934, I would get just a slight amount of attention. Members looked bored and whispered to each other. I would then present a brief analysis of the causes of the rising cost of living, pinning the blame where it belonged, on Big Business. When I would analyze how the cost-of-living bonus would handle this prob-

lem, I could see an awakening interest.

By the time I had dealt with the organization of consumer-union committees to investigate business prices and climaxed it with the slogan of "Open the Books of Big Business," I had the undivided attention of the members. All private conversations had stopped.

Then I launched an attack on the main task — expose the outworn policy of "reward your friends." A brief review of the record of these "friends" caused several heads to nod in agreement. When I explained "the only road — labor into independent politics," it was plain to see that this was a novel idea for most in the audience and that it amounted to a full-fledged challenge to the bosses by the workers.

No doubt, few were completely convinced by what we had to say, but they were certainly aroused to the point of reading our program, and thinking about it, and talking about it. The fighting class angle was what received their approval. There was always a good solid hand, and a fine response on their faces as I walked out. Later on the outside, a few workers would invariably come up to me and shake my hand. "You were the first one who has really said something," was their most frequent comment. "You sure don't pull any punches."

Notes from the News

SUPPORT HICKMAN — The State Executive Board of the New Jersey CIO Council last week voted support to the defense movement for James Hickman of Chicago.

ANYTHING BUT AN INDEPENDENT — Drew Pearson says Henry Wallace is talking about backing Eisenhower for president next year. But Walter Winchell says he'll back Truman.

MARBLES IN MOUTH — Sen. Taft is still trying to explain what he meant when he said on Oct. 15: "The Kentucky election will reflect to a large degree which party will elect a president in 1948. As Kentucky goes, so largely goes the nation."

SURPRISE — Carnell Simmons was acquitted in Baltimore for shooting a white hoodlum who tried to keep him, his family and other Negroes from escaping from their home after it had been set afire by "white supremacists."

BUT WILL THEY VOTE? — There are over 5 million Negroes old enough to vote in the South next year (out of about 7½ million nationally).

ANYTHING GOES — According to the New York City election law, a City Councilman who dies must be replaced by a member of his party from the same borough. Tammany Hall is reported trying to get around this after the death of Peter Cacchione, Brooklyn Stalinist.

HIT ANTI-RED HYSTERIA — The House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church warns against anti-communist "hysteria," declaring an "inquisitorial investigation of men's personal beliefs is a threat to freedom of conscience."

SHIP STRIKE ENDED — The 19-week Bethlehem Shipyard Strike was settled last week with a 12-cent raise, no change in seniority rules and a slight weakening of vacation and grievance clauses in the contract.

POLL TAXERS HELPED — The Democratic National Committee has strengthened the Southern wing of the party by giving four extra convention votes to states that went Democratic in 1944.

NO SURPRISE — The Georgia warden and four guards who murdered eight Negro prisoners last July were acquitted by a lily-white jury in 13 minutes. Even if convicted, their maximum sentence would have been one year in jail.

BUSINESS PICKING UP — There were 726 evictions in New York City in August, last month for which figures have been released. The 83 City Marshals, whose duties include carrying out eviction orders, are not paid salaries but get a fee of \$7.50 per eviction.

FAVOR DISCRIMINATION — The Los Angeles City Council turned down a request for a city FEPC by 8 to 5.

Elections This Year Emphasize Need for Labor Party in 1948

Condemned to Eviction



Like millions of Americans the McDonaids were hunting for a new home — any adequate place to bring up their nine children. But Brooklyn housing authorities refused to wait, condemned their present apartment, and ordered them out. So Mrs. McDonald barricaded herself inside with two children and declined to budge unless 'they got them a decent place to live. Her husband is about to kiss son Jimmy. (Federated Pictures)

The 1947 elections gave only a partial picture of national political trends because they were conducted chiefly around local issues, because they were not held in all states and because in many places the labor movement did not devote much attention to them.

Nevertheless, certain conclusions can be drawn: The swing to the Republican Party, which began last year, appears to have been checked for the time being, and there was the beginning of a slight middle class shift back to the Democrats. This was due partly to resentment against the more blatant high prices program of the GOP. Present indications are that next year's election will be a close thing.

At the same time, the CIO-PAC and AFL policy of supporting "friendly" capitalist politicians got a new test, and again proved its utter bankruptcy in several important communities. Attempts at independent political action were few and were weakened in two ways: 1. By the over-all PAC policy, which confused the workers in areas where independent candidates were run. 2. By the absence of a national Labor Party which could inspire and give confidence to local independent campaigns. Even so, there were some surprises in this field.

There were only two state-wide

elections of importance: In Kentucky the Democrats threw out the Republican state administration. In Mississippi, Bilbo's U. S. Senate seat was won by John C. Stennis, the only one of the four Democratic candidates who did not stress "white supremacy," although he believes in it too.

The Democrats swept the Republicans out of Buffalo, Erie and McKeesport; made a clean sweep in Pittsburgh, Gary and Warren; won easily in Cleveland, Paterson and the 12 biggest cities in Indiana; and in Reading beat the Socialist Mayor in his fourth-term bid.

The Republicans kept control of San Francisco, Akron and Philadelphia, although in the latter their percentage dropped from 60 to 56. They won the office of Mayor in Youngstown, partly as a result of the Democrats' determination to concentrate on the Fourth Ward and prevent the election of an independent labor candidate. (See story in last week's *Militant*.)

In San Francisco both the CIO and AFL backed Rep. Haverner, a Democratic hack with a liberal reputation. But his Republican opponent was elected. (See story on this page.)

In Detroit the Stalinists at the eleventh hour forced through the CIO Council a motion to support Mayor Jeffries, a capitalist politician with an unsavory anti-labor and anti-Negro record, whom the CIO had opposed several times in the past. Jeffries lost.

COALITION POLITICS

In New York, the American Labor Party and Liberal Party supported Democrats and Republicans wherever they could, running independent candidates only where the capitalist parties rejected their endorsement. Coalition politics paid off with the defeat of the proportional representation system of voting for City Council, which will tend to eliminate minority parties from that body.

Despite the sabotage of the top union leaders, who continued to support capitalist politicians even after passage of the Taft-Hartley Act and have already indicated they intend to do the same next year, some of the 1947 campaigns showed headway for independent labor political action.

It is significant that where the ALP and LP ran their own candidates in New York City, they got a higher percentage than ever before. Their combined city-wide vote was 25% of the total, or more than last year.

In Dayton, O., the two PAC nominees for City Commission, although defeated last week after a good showing in the primaries, polled almost 30% of the vote.

The big surprise came in the Chicago judicial elections, where the Democrats ran a joint slate. Here the Independent Progressive Party, a new organization with little groundwork or publicity, got 110,000 straight votes, or 16% of the total cast. It carried many districts decisively, and its top candidate barely missed election.

PR Defeat Followed by Drive to Raise 5c Fare

By George Clarke

NEW YORK, Nov. 12—Encouraged by their election victory over PR, the Wall Street gang has now gone into action to raise transit fares without consulting the people.

This drive is being openly and brazenly led by Mayor O'Dwyer, who only eight months ago was making political capital as a champion of the nickel fare. Despite the lavish praise heaped on O'Dwyer at that time by ALP, Liberal Party, Stalinist and trade union leaders, we warned that O'Dwyer's defense of the five cents fare would be short lived.

The danger now is that O'Dwyer's plan will be put over without meeting any organized opposition. Neither the ALP nor the Liberal Party has given any indication of organizing a fight to force a referendum on the question.

Without a struggle for a referendum, their statements of opposition to raising the fare aren't worth the paper they are written on. Unless a great movement is aroused to halt him in his tracks, O'Dwyer will ask the Republican legislature in Albany to pass an amendment to the Rapid Transit Law which will give power to the Board of Transportation to raise fares without submitting the question to popular referendum. After that, statements of opposition may look good

on record, but the strap-hangers will shell out from two cents to a nickel more for each ride.

Since memory can recall, it has been an unwritten law of New York politics that a politician who opposed the nickel fare was buying a ticket for oblivion. How does O'Dwyer now so blithely propose to raise the fares—and raise them without a referendum?

Stories are current in the local press that O'Dwyer secured himself against reprisal by deals with ALP and Liberal Party leaders. It is reported that the ALP will not make a real fight because wage raises for transit workers and municipal employees have been coupled with an increase in the fare. The motive of the Liberal Party is said to be a deal which will permit them to occupy the place in a coalition with the Democrats from which the ALP is being ousted.

PAVED THE ROAD

Regardless of the accuracy of these stories, the entire past politics of the ALP and Liberal Party leaders prepared the road for O'Dwyer to take his present position without fear of opposition from them. Neither party exposed O'Dwyer's cheap demagoguery during the fare hearings last February.

Without a program to raise finances for city services by taxing the real estate interests to the limit and taxing stock exchange securities, the ALP and Liberal Party leaders played directly into O'Dwyer's hands. Instead they begged him to go to Albany and get a larger subsidy for the city. O'Dwyer readily acceded, knowing full well that Dewey would refuse and there would be no other apparent alternative than raising fare.

The same miserable game was played in the last election. Democrats and Republicans hammered at PR but the ALP and Liberal Party continued their coalition politics. O'Dwyer was given favored treatment because he personally maintained a position of neutrality while every ward healer in his party raged up and down the city to kill PR. Even the election results striking a terrible blow at the ALP and Liberal Party did not force a change in their position.

The fight to save the nickel fare can only be made by spiking O'Dwyer's plans to disperse with a referendum. This fight can only be made by mobilizing the labor movement of the city, by a huge campaign of petitions, mass meetings and demonstrations. Speeches by ALP legislators in Albany may publicly clear their skirts of responsibility but only a mass movement can make a referendum possible.

QUIT DIRTY POLITICS

Above all, it is necessary for the ALP and Liberal Party members to compel their leaderships to quit playing capitalist politics. This game has already cost the working people the loss of PR. Now the dagger is that the loss will be trans-

lated in terms of dollars and cents through higher fares. The banks and real estate interests are determined to make the workers of this city pay the higher fare as only the first of a series of sales taxes.

In the last election the ALP and Liberal Party rolled up close to 600,000 votes, to save PR. Wherever they ran independent candidates their percentage of the total vote rose. This is a tremendous power. O'Dwyer will never dare to propose a higher fare without a referendum if he feared this power in the next election.

The split in the labor vote may be used as a pretext by Liberal or ALP politicians to abstain from a struggle for the referendum. But the argument is false to the core. If one of these parties took the lead, the other could not obtain except at the risk of complete discreditment.

The working people of New York are against higher fares. But without organized leadership they will not get the opportunity to express this opposition. Without independent politics the Democratic and Republican tools of the banks and landlords will escape punishment for their tax-the-poor program.

The responsibility rests with the ALP and Liberal Party. They have the power to force a referendum. A referendum can save the nickel fare.



L. P. TRAINOR

4850 Votes Cast For Trainor in Boston Elections

BOSTON, Nov. 10 — Lawrence P. Trainor, candidate of the Socialist Workers Committee for the Boston School Committee, received 4,850 votes last Tuesday's election.

When the returns were completed, the Socialist Workers Committee made the following statement to the press: "It is extremely gratifying to know that 4,850 workers voted for a Trotskyist for our School Committee. Their vote was a strict class vote because Trainor was the only candidate who campaigned on a strictly class basis. The capitalist press, in their numerous articles about the election, made sure that the people were aware of Trainor's political affiliations with the Socialist Workers Party."

"Despite our meager resources, as contrasted to the tens of thousands of dollars spent by the capitalist candidates, we were able to impress 4,850 workers with the fact that labor must vote its own class. Many times this number of workers would have voted for Trainor if we had had the resources to reach them with his message."

This campaign was the first electoral activity that the Socialist Workers Party has conducted in New England. It marks a turning point in the SWP's growth and activity here. From now on the workers of this section will be given the opportunity to vote for a genuine socialist party and program.

An interesting sidelight of the election was the vote cast for the Stalinist, Otis Archer Hood, who had the first place on the ballot in 1945, being the only candidate with an old Yankee name among a field made up of candidates of Irish descent, he received 2700 votes through ignorance about his political affiliation.

When he drew first place for this election, the Stalinists "smelled" the possibility of victory. They spent thousands of dollars on radio time, printing, mailing and subway advertising. Typical Stalinist demagoguery was used in appealing to the various minority groups.

Outside of these appeals his campaign was no different than any of the capitalist candidates: that is, he slobbered about the welfare of the school children, was against corruption, etc. He received 12,656 votes — far lower than all political commentators expected because of his place on the ballot.

Barbaria carried the SWP campaign into many unions, public school meetings, consumer and civic groups, colleges and onto the streets in street corner and waterfront meetings.

The SWP candidate was first met by silence from the press, but as the campaign unfolded, they were forced to make frequent mention of him. As election day drew near, he was well known as the "Socialist Workers candidate who advocates a Labor Party." His speeches were received with great interest and in question periods his answers were invariably met with applause.

It is estimated that Barbaria spoke before audiences that totaled over 12,000. A 500 word statement of his program was printed in one of the daily papers with a circulation of over 100,000. Each voter received an election pamphlet in which Barbaria's record and program were printed. His vote was a clear-cut conscious one for Socialism and for a Labor Party. Out of the rich experiences of this campaign the SWP has laid the ground for 1948 and other larger and better campaigns.

Encouraging Vote for San Francisco SWP

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 5 — Frank A. Barbaria, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of San Francisco, polled 1,654 votes in yesterday's elections. This successfully completed the first municipal election in which the SWP has participated, and also marks the first time in decades that the city had a socialist candidate for Mayor.

The elections climaxed a bitter three-cornered struggle between the capitalist candidates in which few holds were barred. Judge Elmer E. Robinson, who used every trick in the book, emerged as the victor. MacPhee, who was backed by Mayor Lapham and the shipping interests, finished a poor third. The voters were: Robinson 116,937; Haverner 101,408, and MacPhee 60,508.

CENTRAL ISSUE

Barbaria conducted his campaign around the central issue of "Build the Independent Labor Party." In spite of the pressure on the labor movement "from on top," he was able to aggressively bring home the idea that now is the time to break with the boss parties and build labor's own political organization.

Both the AFL Union Labor Party and the CIO Political Action Committee, under pressure of their leadership, went all-out in support of Haverner as a "friend of labor." Haverner's sizable vote came in

great part through the efforts of labor. He had no support from the daily press which split evenly in endorsing the other two boss candidates. His opponents used every means to blast away at Haverner's "left-wing labor ties." Actually, Haverner's program and speeches were slanted above all to the middle class and white-collar vote. But instead of holding middle class support through this means, he lost support of the more militant sections of labor.

A Democratic wheelhorse, Haverner ran his campaign through the apparatus of the party county machine. While most of his campaign workers came from labor they were forced to work through this Democratic machine. Thus labor emerges from the elections without any gains.

In discussing this point Barbaria stated: "Had labor used the effort and funds it spent on this campaign to build its OWN political apparatus, it would be in a far better position to defend itself as well as to fight for future gains. Now it has nothing to show for all its sac-