

## Southern Revolt Sharpens Democratic Party Crisis

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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## Truman Rejects Stalin's Bid for New Conference

By John G. Wright

It was clear from the outset that the Czech events were intimately connected with the intensified "cold war" between Washington and Moscow. Now new evidence has been made public which throws additional and alarming light on the progress of the "cold war" and its connection with what is transpiring in Czechoslovakia.

There have been rumors for some time that the Kremlin had made a direct bid to Washington for another deal and that these "peace feelers" had been flatly rejected. This is now authenticated by such authoritative business periodicals as the weekly United States News and Business Week.

According to the March 5 U. S. News, Stalin's offer to meet with Truman was made "late in January." Despite official denials of any such offer, this article goes on to say flatly: "The fact is that the proposal was brought to Washington and turned down."

The March 6 Business Week corroborates this by an equally categorical assertion that "official Washington—and that means the State Department and the military—has brushed aside Russia's January peace feelers."

Stalin's Czech coup is thus directly linked to this rejection by Washington of his overtures.

What this sensational evidence highlights is the determination by Wall Street to force matters to a showdown. The U. S. News goes so far as to say that the official policy goes beyond any plans merely to hurl back the Kremlin to its original borders, but actually involves

the destruction of the regime itself. "U. S. now is committed to a policy of attempting to upset the existing Russian regime by means short of shooting war."

There is little reason to dismiss this as journalistic phrasemongering. Thus far there has been no sign of willingness on Washington's part to give an inch. In pursuit of their line the Wall Street warmakers have been dragging this country into one adventure after another, as witness their determination to step up military intervention in Greece.

The fact that previous moves have brought little results (as in Greece and China) has only tended to increase loose talk of "action" not only by means of dollar "aid" but through military "assistance" of one type or another.

What such talk and such moves imply hardly needs any comment. This situation, obviously, cannot be prolonged indefinitely. There are only two possibilities in the situation: war or — another deal.

### TEMPORARY DEAL

A temporary deal with the Kremlin, despite Washington's openly aggressive policy, is certainly not excluded. The Kremlin is anxious for such a deal, as attested by its January proposals. On the other hand, Wall Street's war plans do not exclude the possibility of a new deal with the Kremlin. A temporary "armistice" would fit into Wall Street's plans of aggression, as Hitler's pact with Stalin in 1939 fitted into the Nazis plans.

The effects of such a deal would make themselves felt most immediately on the domestic political scene. The Stalinists would execute still another one of their countless flip-flops. They would drop their current mask of opposition to "American imperialism." They would drop Wallace like a hot potato. They would start beating the drums once again for the preservation of "unity" among all "progressive forces," and throw their support without reservations behind any deal that Stalin may be able to reach with the U. S. State Department.

In connection with these new revelations, it is interesting to recall Churchill's recent speech where he proposed that a final meeting be held with Stalin at which time Anglo-American imperialism would deliver an ultimatum: "Either accept our terms along these and these lines, or we will use the atom bomb to destroy you."

## Minneapolis Teachers Still Out



As the strike by Minneapolis members of the American Federation of Teachers went into its second week, pupils pitched in on the picketlines to help their teachers. This youngster hands out coffee and doughnuts as well as good cheer. Federated Pictures

## Electric, Meat and Steel Trusts Attack Third-Round Wage Demands

America's most powerful corporations, their coffers bursting with profits and their prices hitting the stratosphere, are adopting an arrogant "get tough" policy toward CIO demands for third-round wage increases.

General Electric, biggest corporation in the electrical goods industry, on March 3 opened negotiations with the CIO United Electrical Workers by formally announcing it would grant no wage boosts. GE, which made \$1 profit for every \$3 of its net worth in 1947, said any wage increases would be "inflationary."

### THUMBS DOWN

A similar hard-boiled stand is being taken by the meat-packing trust, whose prices have gone up several hundred percent since 1939. The "Big Four" of the meat industry—Armour, Swift, Wilson and Cudahy—have turned thumbs down on CIO Packinghouse Workers' demands, already reduced by union officials from an original request for a 29-cent an hour raise to 19 cents.

After two months of fruitless negotiations, some 100,000 CIO packinghouse workers are scheduled to go on strike throughout the country on March 16.

Now the steel moguls—falsely rumored as ready to raise wages on the basis of their monumental profits and a new price boost—have swung an axe on the wage aspirations of the CIO steel workers a month in advance of negotiations.

Benjamin Fairless, head of U. S.

Steel, and Arthur B. Homer, president of Bethlehem Steel, on March 2 told the Joint Congressional Economic Committee investigating the latest steel price boost that further wage increases would be "inflationary."

### OK'S PRICE BOOST

Fairless said the steel price rises are "too small and unimportant" to be inflationary, but any wage increase would be and he was against any third-round wage boosts. Homer said he "saw no justification for any wage increases."

And just to scotch the rumor that's been going around—with not a little "off-the-record" help from Philip Murray's lieutenants in the CIO Steel workers—U. S. Steel on March 4 published full page newspaper ads which flatly stated:

"United States Steel has entered

into no agreement or understanding, private or otherwise, to grant further wage increases to its employees."

Against this mobilization of the corporations and their united resistance to wage increases, the CIO wage front is today in a state of bad disorganization.

Every international union is out for itself, conducting negotiations and making demands without regard for the needs and interests of the other CIO unions.

The steel union leaders, headed by Murray, who should be setting the example of a fighting policy, have announced their capitulation in advance. Murray has proclaimed the union will not strike under any circumstances and has literally placed the union at the mercy of the corporations. The steel union leaders have not even announced specific wage demands.

### NO CONFIDENCE

As matters stand, any union like the Packinghouse Workers that is forced to strike can expect little help from the top CIO leaders and the big unions like the steel workers.

The half-hearted, spineless manner in which the CIO leaders are proceeding in the wage drive inspires no confidence whatsoever.

If there is no drastic revision in the CIO leaders' wage policies, the CIO workers are going to end up the wage campaign with mere crumbs and less than that. A successful wage drive depends on the CIO unions being swiftly consolidated into a single, effective fighting front with a unified strategy.

General Electric, U. S. Steel, Armour, General Motors and the other corporate giants aren't getting "soft"—contrary to the impression being given by the union leaders. Only a militant program of united CIO action will wrest substantial third-round wage increases from the penny-pinching profiteers.



GEN. EISENHOWER

Brass hat in civilian clothing, who is being pushed by one wing of the Democratic top command to replace Truman as presidential candidate. CIO leaders are also reported to be backing this move.

## MURRAY PUSHES CIO PURGE WITH OUSTER OF BRIDGES

New developments in the bitter conflict between the Murray-Reuther and the Stalinist machines over the Marshall Plan and the Wallace third party movement is bringing the CIO ever closer to the danger of split.

CIO President Philip Murray has followed through on his threat to purge non-supporters of his policies by ousting Harry Bridges, CIO longshoremen's head, from his appointive post as CIO regional director for Northern California.

This is only the beginning of similar reprisals against Stalinists from coast to coast, according to Allen S. Haywood, CIO Director of Organization.

Haywood declared the Murray machine will demand nothing less than positive declarations in favor of the Marshall Plan and the two-party system as the price of immunity from the bureaucratic purge. Even "neutrality" will not be tolerated.

He specifically cited as targets for intervention and "reorganization" the New York City, Newark, Los Angeles, San Francisco and California CIO councils. All of them are controlled by the Stalinists.

### ALREADY SPLIT

Murray's purge moves and threats against elective CIO bodies which

## BOTH PARTIES OKAY JIM CROW IN EMPLOYMENT

## SWP Files Petitions in N. J., Two More States Begin Drive

MARCH 10 — The Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign has reached the action stage. New Jersey has already gone over the top and this week in Trenton filed its nominating petitions for Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, nominees of the SWP National Committee for president and vice-president. Campaign workers are now in the field throughout Pennsylvania, collecting petitions on street corners, in front of factory gates and in house-to-house canvassing. And in Michigan the first mass mobilization for gathering signatures is slated to swing into gear at the end of this week.

Close to 8,000 signatures are needed in Pennsylvania by April 6, and almost 9,000 in Michigan by May 2. In both these states a greater number than the legal minimum must be obtained as a safeguard against trumped-up technical pretexts by the bi-partisan coalition of Republicans and Democrats to bar minority parties from the ballot.

Since the Pennsylvania law compels the SWP to appear on the ballot under another name, petitions in that state are being collected under the name of Militant Workers Party. Irene P. Lecompte of Philadelphia has been chosen as state campaign manager.

In Michigan the SWP issued an appeal to readers of The Militant for volunteers to assist in the collection of petitions. For further information, contact the SWP offices at 6108 Linwood Ave., in Detroit and at 215 E. Ninth St., in Flint.

Next to the presidential contest, the U. S. Senate campaign is attracting the most attention in this state. The incumbent reactionary Republican, Albert Hawkes, has been forced to withdraw from the race by pressure from the state GOP machine.

The primary has shown the GOP to be no less boss-dominated than



WILLIAM E. BOHANNON  
Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 11th District in New Jersey.

the local Hague machine. Governor Driscoll, notorious for his attempts to break the telephone strike last year, is creating a scandal by his frenzied efforts on behalf of an obedient Wall Street servant, State Treasurer R. C. Hendrickson.

Dr. Frank Kingdon, former chairman of the Progressive Citizens of America, withdrew today from the Democratic Senate primary fight. This assures the nomination of an obscure Hague hack, A. S. Alexander. Kingdon criticized Hague's "bungling" and when asked if he would support Alexander replied: "Not enthusiastically."

Meanwhile the Wallace movement, largely controlled by the Stalinists in this state, has constituted itself as the Independent Progressive Party and picked its slate of 1948 candidates. For the Senate it is running a retired investment banker named James Imbrie.

And although they have the strength to easily run candidates for the House of Representatives from all of the state's 14 districts, the Wallaceites have filed for only ten of these. They apparently intend to support the Hague or Republican candidates in the other four districts.

## Negro Widow, Two Sons Face Georgia Death Chair

Labor and Negro groups throughout the country are rallying to the aid of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two teenage sons, who have been sentenced to death in the Georgia electric chair in one of the most dastardly cases of lynch law in American history.

A stay of execution, originally set for Feb. 27, has been granted, and a request for a new trial is scheduled to be heard on March 23. Meanwhile, Mrs. Ingram and her sons remain in jail, dependent for their very lives on the amount of mass support and indignation that can be mobilized by their friends and sympathizers.

Mrs. Ingram is a Negro widow and the mother of 12 children, the youngest of whom is 1½ years old. Her husband died last year, leaving the impoverished family no way to live except by sharecropping.

Last November Mrs. Ingram's pigs rooted under the fence dividing the farm on which she worked from that of a white neighbor, John Ed Stratford. Enraged, Stratford took a rifle and started out to kill the animals. Mrs. Ingram meanwhile had gone to bring back the animals, and she naturally pleaded with him not to kill them.

Stratford struck her with the butt of his rifle, inflicting a bloody wound. Two of her sons, Sammie Lee, 14, and Wallace, 17, ran to her defense. In the struggle that followed, Stratford was struck on the head, a blow from which he died.

### HELD THREE MONTHS

Mrs. Ingram sent for the sheriff, who arrested her and four of her

sons. The five members of the family were taken to different jails, denied the right to consult lawyers, and given the third degree. They were held without bail or trial for three months.

It was a clear case of self-defense, but in the South the law does not tolerate Negroes lifting their hands against white men, even when it is for the purpose of defense against unprovoked attack. The Ingrams had no counsel until the day of the trial. The lawyer appointed by the court to defend them had no chance to gather witnesses, or even to properly question his clients.

No Negro was permitted to serve on the jury. This mockery of a trial took only one day. The conclusion was inevitable—Mrs. Ingram and her two sons were sentenced to be electrocuted by Judge W. H. Harper of the Superior Court of Schley County, the same man who will rule on their appeal for a new trial on March 20.

### STILL TIME

Fortunately a stay of execution was won, and there is still time to save the Ingrams. The case is being handled by the NAACP. Mass protests are needed, to show the Georgia courts that the American people will not tolerate this crime. They should be sent without delay to Governor M. E. Thompson of Georgia and President Truman in Washington.

Funds to handle the appeal and care for the destitute Ingram children are also urgently required. They should be sent to the NAACP, 20 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y. (See article by Albert Parker on Page 4.)

## Congress Kills Anti-Bias Clause On Jobs, Schools

By William E. Bohannon

Both the Republican and Democratic Parties are making a big show about their friendship for the Negro people this election year. But in a vote taken in the House of Representatives on March 8, they showed their true colors.

By a vote of 119 to 40, both capitalist parties got together to kill a proposal to withhold federal aid to states which deny equal job and educational opportunities to all.

In killing this amendment to a Labor Department-Federal Security Agency appropriations bill, they in effect gave a slap in the face to the Negroes, Jews and other minorities in this country.

They told us in unmistakable language that they refuse to stop discrimination in employment and in the schools. If it depends on them, our children and our children's children too will be denied decent education and jobs merely on account of their color or religion.

### THEY ARE OUR ENEMIES

A majority of the members of both parties in the House deliberately stayed away from the discussion so that they would not have to vote on the amendment. The name for that is hypocrisy, not friendship.

A majority of the members of both parties who were present voted against the amendment. The name for that is a bi-partisan coalition to perpetuate Jim Crow.

Action speaks louder than words. Both parties are making lavish promises about "civil rights." As the election campaign develops, their promises will get wilder and fancier.

But when the time came for action on March 8, both parties were in the same corner as the Southern poll taxers.

### HYPOCRITICAL "FRIENDS"

Where was Truman, what was he doing on this crucial occasion? He was holding a conference with his Democratic cronies, announcing that he was going to run as a presidential candidate and that he had not changed his position on the civil rights question.

What an unholy farce! Here he was, giving lip service to civil rights at the very same moment that his party was knifing it in the back in Congress. Instead of leading a fight on the question of this important amendment—the way he did for the passage of the Truman Doctrine, for example—he was getting off some vague generalities that don't amount to a row of beans in the real fight against Jim Crow.

Where was Taft, the real boss of the Republicans in Washington? He preferred to keep mum. So did Dewey and Stassen and the rest of the GOP bosses. They all want the Negro vote, but not if it means fighting against Jim Crow when and where it really counts.

### A THING TO REMEMBER

This incident in Congress is a good thing for Negroes and other minorities to bear in mind as election day approaches.

It proves once again that the Negro people can expect nothing but double-crosses from the capitalist parties.

It emphasizes the need for the Negro people to get together with their real allies—the white workers—and to build a party that will run independent labor and Negro candidates determined to put an end to Jim Crow wherever it exists.

### TIME FOR ACTION

No messiah is going to lead the Negro people into the promised land. Nobody will help the Negroes if they don't help themselves. The way to make progress is by fighting for it—on picket lines, in the plants, at the ballot box.

The Socialist Workers Party has entered the 1948 campaign in order to advance that struggle. Our program calls for ending the horrible capitalist system that breeds war, hunger and discrimination.

If you want to help this fight, if you want to strike a blow for socialism and equality, then your place is at the side of the SWP.



GLEN TAYLOR

Senator from Idaho and Henry Wallace's third party running mate, who favors kicking the Stalinists out of certain government jobs. (See article by John F. Petrone on Page 4.)

## Truman, Big Brass Plot to Impose Militarist Censorship on Press

By Art Preis

The iron boot of militarist censorship and suppression is poised over freedom of the press in America.

So drastic and far-reaching are plans of the military authorities for control of the press that even some publishers are alarmed.

In a four-article series entitled "The Problem of Secrecy" (N. Y. Times, March 3, 5, 6 and 7), Hanson W. Baldwin, commentator on military affairs for the N. Y. Times, reveals that suppression of news, intimidation and harassment of reporters and publishers, and censorship for alleged "military security" is already far advanced.

### COMPLETE BLACKOUT

He discloses that the Big Brass and the Truman administration are building up a system of news censorship that would in a short time impose a complete blackout on any information or criticism they did not want published.

There have been "months of behind-the-scenes discussions and considerable pressure by some Government officials, particularly some in the National Military Establishment, to control the military, semi-military and even politico-military information published in this country," Baldwin reports. These officials "are plainly impatient with public criticism and would like to devise some system by which the press could be better 'controlled'."

This pressure, he adds, "has also come from the White House."

press freedom, says Baldwin, was last fall "when it became known that the Security Advisory Board of the State Department-Army-Navy-Air Force Coordinating Committee had proposed to 'classify' and to ban from public disclosure even information that might cause 'serious administrative embarrassment.'"

Such censorship, Baldwin points out, could "provide a cloak to hide" any inefficient and even criminal conduct of government and military officials, such as the case of Maj. Gen. Bennett E. Meyers.

Protest against this proposal was "so vocal" that the Security Advisory Board revised its definition of "classified" and "secret" information by rewording some of the cruder formulas. But it still defines as "secret" any information that would cause "unwarranted injury to an individual." This, says Baldwin, could obviously be used "to protect Government officials from criticism."

In addition to the extensive system of "classified" information, reports Baldwin, there are many other methods of censorship and suppression now being practiced. He cites, for instance, the repeated complaints of censorship of correspondents in Japan by Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

Recently, MacArthur refused to react to his command area the Newsweek correspondent, Compton Pakonham, because he showed "marked antipathy toward American policy and American personnel in the occupation zone." Some correspondents "have been subjected to threats and grilling; the home of

one man was searched by the Army's Criminal Investigation Department." The "MacArthur precedent," says Baldwin, "has now been extended to Europe."

A United Press correspondent, Robert Miller, who recently visited Saudi Arabia, "learned that King Ibn Saud, with the full cooperation, and perhaps at the instigation of the United States Army, State Department and oil company officials, had banned all American newspaper correspondents from his country."

In another case, an interview with Charles F. Wennerstrum, who presided over the recent trial of Nazis in Frankfurt, was subject to harsh attack before it was even published in the Chicago Tribune. "Obviously, some Army source read the dispatch before or during its transmission... despite the fact that wire communications are supposed to be inviolable," says Baldwin. He adds: "This sort of 'censorship by surveillance' or by threat was practiced extensively before the war in Nazi Germany."

### GRILLED BY FBI

Robert H. Wood, editor of Aviation Week, a McGraw-Hill publication, has been grilled repeatedly by FBI agents for publishing a story, well-known outside of Air Force circles, about the super-sonic speed of the Bell XS-1, modeled on a captured Nazi design. The Russians had also captured the design, so anything Aviation Week published was not news to them.

What is serious about this case, Baldwin points out, is that the Air Force secured the aid of the De-

(Continued on Page 4)



# Southern Revolt Sharpens Democratic Party Crisis

By George Breitman

The Democratic Party today is like a ship in a storm that has already sprung one bad leak, is on the verge of springing others and never will be the same, even if it should succeed in reaching port. In fact, we may be witnessing the beginning of the end of its power as a major national party.

This capitalist party has suffered from internal dissension, conflicts and crises since at least the end of the Civil War. That is natural, because it has appealed to and won the support of diverse and even antagonistic groups. But never before in its modern history has it been hit simultaneously by serious disaffection from its extreme tendencies on both sides.

One section has already split off from the party, and only a rash man would predict that this will be the last such split. Henry Wallace may return to the party in the future, despite his denials about the possibility of such a move this year, but for the time being he has taken a sizable chunk of the Democratic vote with him.

## Differs on Foreign Policy

Wallace's main differences with Truman are over tactics on foreign policy, but he is also able to exploit the mass discontent with the administration's domestic policy. The effectiveness of his demagoguery on these issues was made evident in the Bronx congressional election last month, when Boss Flynn's machine worked hard to bring out the registered Democrats, only to have a great number of

them vote for the Wallace-endorsed candidate.

The Wallace strength is enough to damage Truman's chances beyond repair in several important states. If not in most of them. To counteract this, Truman has had to start waving the New Deal flag again in order to try to hold on to the labor vote, and to issue a mild "civil rights program," going beyond any of Roosevelt's promises in this sphere, in order to win the allegiance of the Negro vote in the North.

Instead of helping, this has produced a new crack in the party structure, and now the Southern Bourbons, poll taxers and cracker politicians are staging a revolt of their own.

This isn't the first time. Some of them tried the same thing in the latter years of the Roosevelt regime. But it wasn't so serious a matter for the party then as it is now.

First of all, the Southern Democrats knew they needed Roosevelt to win national elections for them and were fairly sure that he could do so. Secondly, the Democrats at that time controlled not only the White House but also Congress, and a serious split would have cost the Southern Democrats a good deal of the power and patronage accruing to them from the important committee chairmanships they held as a result of seniority and the undemocratic electoral practices of the South.

## Little Confidence in Truman

Today, the Southern Democrats have little confidence in the ability of Truman to lead their party to victory in Congress. Furthermore, the Republican congressional victory of 1946 made the Democrats a minority,

and they consequently feel that they don't stand to lose as much through a possible party split as they would have under Roosevelt.

Even more important, they bitterly resent the "civil rights program," passage of which might set into motion mass forces in the South that could unseat them for good. They realize that Truman, deep down in his heart, is no more a friend of the Negro people than they are. But they know he is in a tough situation, requiring him to pay lip service to the Negroes' demands and to sign such legislation as the anti-poll tax and anti-lynching bills if the Southern Democrats cannot prevent their passage in Congress.

Under the circumstances, the Southern Democrats appear willing to gamble on sacrificing the national interests of their party rather than to permit any changes in the Southern status quo. Besides, they have learned from experience that they can get along on most issues with the Republican Party as well as they can with their own Southern comrades.

## Southern Democrats Determined

Already they are taking steps to strengthen their hand in this intra-party fight, even to the point of preparing local measures to withhold part of the Southern electoral votes from Truman. This may be only a bluff, but it is a sign that the Southern Democrats have taken the offensive and are engaged in a cold war with the administration. They appear determined now not merely to regain their former dominant position in the party, but if possible to take it over altogether,

as their forefathers, the slaveholding aristocracy, did before the Civil War.

A compromise is still possible, of course, but that might ruin the Democratic Party in the North just as effectively as would a split in the South.

These troubles have produced a growing coolness to Truman's candidacy in recent weeks. Numerous Southern party leaders have laid down the ultimatum that Truman must go. At the same time the labor leaders and liberals of the Americans for Democratic Action stripe have refused thus far to come out openly for Truman.

## Possibility of Eisenhower

Serious attention is being given to the possibility of persuading Eisenhower to accept a Democratic draft on the theory that he won't antagonize anyone because no one knows what his position is and in the belief that his candidacy might also heal the breach with Wallace, who is known to have a high regard for this particular brass hat.

The situation had become so alarming by last week that Truman, immediately after returning from his Caribbean jaunt, felt it necessary to change his strategy and try to head off a possible Eisenhower boom by proclaiming his own candidacy. But this move did nothing to solve the dilemma tormenting Truman and the Democratic high command—how to successfully woo the labor and minority vote in the North without further antagonizing the Southern Democrats.

What keeps the Democratic ship afloat? It's true that it still commands the support of the local machine bosses like Flynn, Hague, Kelly, etc. But their power is not what it

used to be if the Bronx election is any kind of index, and the party would sink like a rock if that was all it had to depend on.

More important than the local machine bosses—are the leaders of the AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods. Ordinarily not distinguished by over-activity in any field, today they are bailing away like mad to keep this capitalist craft from going under. To tell the plain truth, if it wasn't for the hope that the Murphys, Greens and Whitneys can pull it through, the Democratic Party might very well disintegrate by the end of this year.

It would be hard to imagine a more contemptible spectacle. Here is a party that has been swindling and oppressing the American people for decades, a collection of corrupt machine bosses and Southern Bourbons whose only devotion is to Big Business, a gang which is just as responsible as the Republican Party for the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, to mention only recent history.

Here it is in its worst straits, ready for well-deserved oblivion, on the verge of a collapse that would necessarily make it easier for the workers and poor farmers and minorities to construct a party that would really represent their interests.

## Bureaucrats to the Rescue

And at this point—when a really golden opportunity exists to end this monstrosity forever with a minimum of effort—the labor bureaucrats come rushing to its aid like the U. S. Cavalry in the movies, flinging the workers' money around in a desperate attempt to save it and reserving its most vicious attacks for those who want to desert

it. That's what is known as "labor statesmanship."

Some of the labor leaders, more aware than others of the deep-going rank and file dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party, try to present this policy in a more "radical" cloak. A good example was the resolution adopted March 3 by the International Executive Board of the CIO United Auto Workers at a meeting in Chicago.

The Board voted to support the national CIO policy in rejecting Wallace's third party "as a political maneuver contrary to the best interests of labor and the nation and as an obstacle in the way of the establishment of a successful and genuine progressive political party in the U. S. A.," which the UAW leaders are presumably willing to help build some time after the 1948 elections.

Whom do they think they are going to kid with this kind of stuff? Instead of finishing off the Democratic Party when it is in a bad way, first they propose to rehabilitate it by striving to give it a victory in November, and then after it is strengthened, they are going to try to replace it with another new party sometime in the distant future. That's what passes for "practical politics" in the more "progressive" circles of the labor bureaucracy.

The real duty of all genuine labor fighters is not to prop up the Democratic Party in the period of its collapse, but to utilize this very collapse to launch an independent Labor Party which could emerge at once as a major party on the American political scene.

## Housing Program Offered by Milwaukee SWP Candidate

By James E. Boulton

We are reprinting excerpts from the speech of James E. Boulton, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Mayor of Milwaukee, broadcast over station WENT on March 2.

The question of housing in this campaign has been reduced to a joke. The idea of 14 candidates is to let the public in on a deep, dark secret: "Housing is the paramount need."

If Art Young, the great socialist cartoonist from Wisconsin were alive, he might do a cartoon of a politician speaking to the one thousand homeless children in the county homes; and the vote-seeker would blow off this way:

"Housing is the paramount issue. We must encourage free enterprise, etc., etc."

The wide-eyed children would gaze at each other, and ask:

"What is the dope talking about?"

How can we in all seriousness spend two and one-half million dollars for blight clearance at a time when working people and veterans, who certainly would enjoy fine homes, are competing for shanty dwellings just to have a roof over their heads. I cannot see the wisdom of evicting the Fourth Ward so that a few high-priced downtown apartments. That is what the Red Army project proposes to do. It is first necessary to build new homes for people to live in before you evict them. People will be glad to move out of the dumps and firetraps. Blight clearance can only follow housing construction.

**BOULTON'S PROGRAM**

The housing program of James E. Boulton, endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party, is this: Organize a 40 million dollar budget to build ten thousand multiple-unit homes on a large scale project basis. A legislative and legal battle may be necessary to move the 20 million dollar permanent improvement fund into the housing kitty. The five bond issues must be telescoped into a single 15 million dollar issue for housing. Federal and state aid will also be needed.

Given a genuine labor and socialist administration, free of the real estate and construction industry overlords who now rule the city

council, the will to provide for human needs will triumph.

The Socialist Workers Party calls for an 18 billion dollar federal housing program to meet the minimum shortage of five million housing units and to begin slum clearance on a wide scale.

I take the position that if it was possible to plunge the nation 200 billion dollars into debt for a constructive war, 18 billion dollars can be found for housing.

What are the causes of the deplorable shortage of housing? One important cause lies in the fact that capitalism leads to destructive wars, during which time the production of goods for human needs is halted. Then it turns out that shortages produce huge profits. People are compelled to buy shacks at inflated values; are forced to pay black-market bribes and rents to find a place in which to live. The construction industry then finds it more profitable to build a few expensive homes while it channels labor and material into building more warehouses, department stores, bowling alleys, expressways, and atom bomb factories. The lure of profits determines what will be built and what will not.

At the same time, public housing is opposed by the political agents

whose faces you see on one thousand dollar billboards. The profiteering, rent-zouging real estate interests and the construction industry have powerful machines in the halls of government.

I advocate strong national and municipal housing authorities to build and operate non-profit, all-service apartment type housing projects. The tremendous life-giving advantages of these modern community style projects have been demonstrated by the co-operatives. The city should subsidize and exempt from taxation all non-profit, co-operative housing enterprises.

Legislation is needed to abolish the criminal practice of restrictive covenants that makes it difficult for the Negro minority to move out of the Sixth Ward ghetto and into livable dwellings.

My administration would set an example for the nation in the protection of human and civil rights, in utilizing the forces of labor, in defending political freedom. When you vote for Boulton, you will understand that you are voting for a set of principles, a program, and a great social goal that will put an end to the injustices, the evils, and the abuses of capitalism.

## WITCH HUNTERS FABRICATE ATOM SPY SCARE

New depths of lying and hypocrisy were reached by the witch hunting Un-American Committee in its phony atom spy scare. Apparently in collusion with the Truman Administration, long discredited charges were used to whip up a newspaper hysteria against Dr. Edward U. Condon, noted atomic physicist.

Like many others in Washington, Condon was long ago investigated and spied on by the FBI. This secret police exonerated Condon last May. Recently the secret gestapo file on Condon was turned over to the House Un-American Committee.

This committee, which is systematically trampling the constitutional rights of citizens, issued its blast on the eve of the House vote for a new \$200,000 appropriation for the committee. The Un-American statement carefully omitted the part of the FBI report exonerating Condon.

Indicative of the deal between Truman's Justice Department and the committee was a smear on Henry Wallace, third party opponent of Truman. This section of the Un-American Committee's statement read: "In this country they (the Communists) haven't got as far as they did in Czechoslovakia, but they

got pretty far because they got a man for Vice-President of the United States and he is now their candidate for President, and he is the same man who recommended Dr. Condon."

There can be no question of the effect of the Condon smear on the government scientists. They all realize that if they open their mouths to voice any kind of criticism, they may be framed up on atomic spy charges. The atomic scientists are one of the most terrorized groups in the United States today.

## LABOR SITS BACK

Along with the phony spy scare the persecution of the Stalinists continues as new deportation arrests are made. The tragic feature is that organized labor, which should be in the forefront of the fight for

preservation of civil liberties, has not put forward any real effort.

The CIO, which should surely recognize in today's witch hunt, tomorrow's attacks on itself, has merely made some half hearted gestures of protest. The official CIO line on the deportations is expressed in a telegram sent to the government by Murray and the motion of the New York State CIO. These did not demand the freeing of those held for deportation proceedings, but merely asked that the accused be given speedy trials.

The reactionary red-baiting campaign must be fought and defeated. Otherwise history may repeat itself in a short time and the whole labor movement, rather than just the Stalinists, will find itself in the position of the accused and persecuted.

## THE MILITANT ARMY

### New York Leads in Subscriptions

Although New York Local has not yet held its *Militant Sub Week*, it nevertheless leads the country in subscriptions obtained during the last two months—a total of 189. These were mainly the result of mobilizations almost every week by Bedford-Stuyvesant and Harlem branches.

Bedford-Stuyvesant branch gives a Marxist pamphlet as a prize to the high scorer. Jimmie Wright wins most of these. Last Sunday Jimmie, with Sid Wynn, obtained six renewals in 10 calls. To date the branch has sent in 69 subs, nearly all renewals. However, many of the former subscribers have moved.

*Militant Sub Week* accounted for 639 subs or 62% of the 1,024 January and February returns. The success of *Sub Week* spurred several branches to regular mobilizations, weekly or monthly or at other intervals, according to the schedule of other activities.

Because *Militant Sub Week* overlapped January and February the two months are combined in the

following table of branch results:

JANUARY-FEBRUARY SUBS	
New York	189
Buffalo	109
Los Angeles	104
Chicago	68
Detroit	68
San Francisco	52
Newark	48
Minneapolis	41
St. Paul	40
Philadelphia	37
Seattle	33
Toledo	18
Lynn	16
Boston	13
Oakland	12
Morgantown	10
St. Louis	9
Cleveland	7
San Diego	6
Milwaukee	5
Plint	4
Pittsburgh	4
Youngstown	3
Allentown	1
Reading	1
Tacoma	1
Rochester	0
General	53
Total	1,024

## Two "Labor Statesmen"



AFL President William Green and President Walter P. Reuther of the CIO auto workers, relax after addressing the opening session of the "Americans for Democratic Action" convention. They both backed the Marshall Plan, condemned Wallace, and denounced the idea of forming a new political party.

Federated Pictures

## Natalia Trotsky Refutes Slander in N. Y. Times

We are reprinting the following letter of Natalia Sedova-Trotsky, widow of Leon Trotsky, which appeared in the N. Y. Times of March 10. The Militant refuted Malraux's slanderous accusations against Trotsky and the Trotskyist movement in a special article in the March 1 issue.

My attention has been drawn to a dispatch from your foreign correspondent, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, in the Times of Feb. 14. The implications in the statements attributed to Andre Malraux are so palpably false that unavoidably late as is this rejoinder, I urgently request that you publish it.

It is with profound indignation that one finds Malraux, after all the years of consort with Stalinism, casting himself in the role of sympathizer with Leon Trotsky at a time when Malraux allies himself with the center of French reaction. Malraux was at no time a Trotskyist sympathizer. On the contrary, he was always an enemy, one who lent himself to diverting public attention from the real issues in the Moscow trials by speaking of them as merely a personal quarrel between Trotsky and Stalin. The act of Malraux as de Gaulle's Minister of Information in a coalition with the Stalinists, in suppressing the Trotskyist press, is itself the fitting commentary on Malraux's statement. Once more one sees the miserable attempt to form an amalgam between Trotskyism and Fascism.

The name of Victor Serge is used to lend credence to the supposed Trotskyist support of de Gaulle's movement. The break between Serge and Trotsky was complete and can be attested by numerous quotations from published literature. Try as Malraux and others will, they cannot succeed in besmirching Trotsky and the movement he founded.

NATALIA SEDOVA-TROTSKY  
Coyoacan, Mexico, Feb. 26, 1948.

## How Socialists Built a Mass Party in the U.S. Before First World War

By George Lavan

The Socialist movement, which had existed in the U.S. since Civil War days, became a truly mass movement with the turn of the century.

The Social Democratic Party, organized by Eugene Debs, grew directly out of the great labor struggles of the 1890's.

In June 1897, a last convention of the American Railway Union was called, its affairs wound up and the same delegates began a founding convention of the Social Democracy.

The new party soon merged with a sizable splittoff from Daniel De Leon's Socialist Labor Party, and a joint ticket was put in the field in the 1900 elections. This first campaign of Debs for president concentrated on the railroaders and coal miners, reflecting the party's class roots. The election results were very gratifying. The new party polled 97,000 votes far surpassing the long established Socialist Labor Party, whose vote dwindled to 34,000. Local victories were also won in Massachusetts where two socialist mayors and two state legislators were elected.

The party's growing influence among the working class is illustrated by two great union conventions of 1902.

In June, the convention of the Western Labor Union, a federation of most of the unions of the Rocky Mountain district, with a total membership of about 150,000, endorsed the Socialist Party.

The November AFL convention almost passed the socialist motion to endorse socialism and political action. The resolution was barely defeated after a long and heated debate by a vote of 3,744 to 3,334.

By 1904 the Socialist movement consisted of over 1,200 local organizations in all parts of the country. The presidential campaign was much more extensive than the previous one. Debs' vote—402,000—reflected the growing strength of the party.

The socialists were jubilant. Their party had definitely become the third party, and many predicted that in ten years the Socialist Party would have replaced the Democratic Party, making it a clear struggle between the party of capital and the party of labor.

Less than a year later the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners, Big Bill Haywood, Charles Moyer and George Pettibone were kidnapped from Colorado and jailed in Idaho on charges of murder. The conspiracy against these militant labor leaders involved the Governors of Idaho and Colorado and the mine owners.

## CALL TO ARMS

Debs immediately rallied the Socialist movement against the frame up. In a flaming call to arms Debs wrote:

"Nearly 20 years ago the capitalist tyrants put some innocent men to death for standing up for labor."

"They are now going to try it again. Let them dare!"

"There have been 20 years of revolutionary education, agitation and organization since the Haymarket tragedy, and if an attempt is made to repeat it, there will be a revolution and I will do all in my power to precipitate it."

"If they attempt to murder Moyer, Haywood and their brothers, a million revolutionists, at least, will meet them with guns."

"A special revolutionary convention of the proletariat at Chicago, or some other central point, would be in order, and, if extreme measures are required, a general strike could be ordered and industry paralyzed as a preliminary to a general uprising."

"If the plutocrats begin the program, we will end it."

This revolutionary blast and the fierce agitation of the Socialist Party terrified the capitalists. The frameup attempt was smashed and Haywood and the others freed.

By 1912, the Socialist Party had grown to mass proportions. It had

a number of electoral victories to its credit. In Wisconsin, the socialists elected a Congressman and the Mayor of Milwaukee. A socialist had been elected Mayor of Schenectady. In Pennsylvania, Ohio and other industrial centers, a number of local victories had been gained. The 1912 convention report recorded that 1,039 socialists were holding office, mainly in the municipalities.

1912 marks the high point of the Socialist Party's influence. Many "border line" socialists had joined Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose movement and had written much of its platform—borrowing liberally from the Socialist platform. Woodrow Wilson also paraded as a great liberal, preaching "the New Freedom." Against the demagoguery of both his opponents—Debs and his party held firm. Debs' vote was 900,000 that year, more than double that of 1908.

But the First World War brought the party's growth to a close. The right wing in the Socialist Party had been growing stronger and taking over more and more of the party's direction. Many of the right wingers jumped the fence during the war and plumped with Wilson for "preparedness" and later to "save the world for democracy." Papers like the *Appeal to Reason* supported the imperialist slaughter.

The Bolshevik revolution of 1917 accelerated the division inside the Socialist Party. In 1919 a major split took place, and virtually all the healthy militant left wing elements, comprising over half the party's membership, were either expelled or left the party and formed the foundation of the communist movement in the United States.

In 1924 the shattered Socialist Party endorsed the candidate of the new progressive capitalist party. This will be discussed in next week's article on the LaFollette Progressive Party, the last in our series on Labor and Third Parties in the United States

## WORKERS' FORUM

### A Stooze for General Motors

Editor:

What do you know of the record of Henry Grady Weaver, author of "Mainspring"? The General Motors Corp. thought so much of his garbage that they passed copies out to their foremen at the Electro-Motive plant and then a few days later, brought Weaver himself out from Detroit to speak to a meeting where both day and night shift foremen were required to attend—and on their own time.

I've read the book—it's a hodgepodge of misrepresentation against communism; prefers a republic to a democracy; and speaks well of the class system as it developed in England.

Henry Taylor—GM's radio voice—has also plugged Weaver's book over his national hook-up.

Probably "Mainspring" will be pushed in all GM plants, so I think the *Militant* and as many GM union papers as possible should hit it.

Please publish what you know about Weaver—I suspect he is a friend of G. L. K. Smith.

M. S.  
Chicago, Ill.

Editor's Note: Henry Grady Weaver has been on the General Motors pay-roll, as a hired propagandist, since 1921. Who's Who in America

(1944-45 edition) records that for the past 25 years he has been engaged in "market and psychological research" for GM. In 1945 he held the title of Director of GM's "customer research staff." Who's Who also lists him as "Author of numerous booklets published by General Motors Corp." and gives his office address as "General Motors Corp., Detroit."

All his works are written to order for General Motors and are designed to propagandize GM's anti-labor policies and justify its profiteering. He is one of that lowest species of the intellectual order—a bought-and-paid-for corporation pen prostitute.

## Against Factionalism in the Unions

Editor:

I have just read the article under "Worker Forum" written by Bill Thomas of Ohio.

Of all the most preposterous and stupid articles I have ever read, this is the most ridiculous. Since when is factionalism good for the bosses and bad for the workers? This most concealing boss, who straight-forwardly "admitted" this "truth," certainly must believe in the guilelessness of the workers.

This is not much different from the "divide and rule" slogan which Hitler and the Hitlers before him were

only too glad to use to their advantage—only this time a "boss" has the unbelievable gall to tell the workers that it puts him to a disadvantage.

Implying that factionalism is capable of inspiring commitment to "to call a strike just to impress the workers," Mr. Thomas evidently forgets that anyone who has to have personal gain the main driving force in his striving for the workers should be chuckled out right here and now. Is such a person any different from the congressmen, senators, etc., who allow themselves to become tools in the hands of capitalists just for their personal gains?

And that this paragon of colossal ignorance should be printed in a labor paper!

If there is factionalism in a workers' union, it indicates that there is something wrong in it, and a dividing of the union may be a necessary evil—but not a virtue.

There is no room for opportunism and personalism in a union, which must be one in aim and one in movement before anything is accomplished! If a union is on the wrong track, it must necessarily stop and cleanse itself, but it cannot go forward again until it is united!

You either go forward or stand still, but you don't divide!  
Laila Douglas,  
Los Angeles, Calif.

Mail this coupon with 50c for 6 months of

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TROTSKY

"Marxism is the system of the views and teachings of Marx. Marx was the genius who continued and completed the three chief ideological currents in the nineteenth century, represented respectively by the three most advanced countries of humanity: classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and French socialism combined with French revolutionary doctrines."

—V. I. Lenin, Karl Marx, His Life and Teachings



LENIN

## A Creeping Military Dictatorship

A creeping military dictatorship is spreading insidiously over every sphere of American life. The Big Brass, closely linked with Big Business and swollen with ambition and caste arrogance, are grasping for control everywhere—in government, industry, science, education, the press.

They are increasingly independent of civilian restraints. They dictate to Congress the program of military appropriations and expansion. They run the War, Navy and Air Force Departments, linked in the Department of National Defense, as their own private institutions.

They have at their disposal tens of billions of dollars of the people's money. Part of these gigantic sums they use in a vast propaganda and pressure drive for military regimentation and war preparations.

Their influence is dominant in the highest administrative circles of the government, and in particular the decisive field of foreign affairs. The former Army Chief of Staff heads the State Department. The foreign policy directed by this leading militarist is implemented abroad almost exclusively by high-ranking members of the officer caste. In occupied Germany and Japan, U. S. generals are military dictators and a law unto themselves. In Greece, Turkey, the Middle East, Latin America, military missions guide the strong arm of U. S. imperialist diplomacy.

The aim of the Big Brass is to establish

## Mobilizing Industry for War

U. S. imperialism is seriously gearing itself for World War III, the war of atomic annihilation. The corporation executives and the generals are putting their heads together in secret sessions to complete and implement their blue-prints for total war mobilization. Since January, continuous conferences have been going on between the heads of the biggest corporations, military officials and the National Security Resources Board.

Business Week, March 6, reports that the drive to mobilize industry in preparation for war is being pressed "quietly but firmly." Airframe, plane engine and auto manufacturers are speedily completing studies of material resources, plant and productive capacity. Stockpiling of machine tools has already passed 30% of the war goal.

Of special significance is the report that large numbers of military personnel are being moved into industry and their industrial

## "State Department Unionism"

Philip Murray and his lieutenants in the CIO are working overtime to sell the Marshall Plan to the American and European workers as a purely humanitarian and idealistic program to "aid the hungry" and "rehabilitate democratic nations."

Every fact belies this fairy-tale version of the Marshall Plan. As its concrete aspects unfold day by day, it emerges clearly as an attempt to prop up anti-labor dictatorships and strengthen them as military bases for ultimate war on Russia.

The funds being appropriated as "aid to the hungry" are going primarily to feed hungry military machines. So much of the supplies being sent abroad are for military purposes, that here and there, even the reactionary recipients are beginning to complain. The semi-fascist Turkish government, for instance, protested the fact that 95% of the new \$100,000,000 gift must be devoted to military expenditures, according to U. S. directives, thus placing a "great strain" on Turkish economy.

As for Turkey being a democracy, we need only cite a March 2 Istanbul dispatch to the N. Y. Times. It reports that 56 "leftists" are going on trial for "trying to form a society with the aim of establishing the supremacy of one class over another." The defendants were arrested "during the purge of December, 1946, which wiped out hundreds of workers' unions, two Socialist parties and four newspapers." Needless to say, the trial will be held in secret.

Washington openly proclaims that virtually all "aid" to Greece is military and that direction of the monarchist army in the Greek civil war is now in the hands of the

themselves as a ruling caste, dominating the country with an iron hand, running the people by military command. The workers to them are just "expendables" in their grandiose dreams of world domination. Democracy to them is a term of contempt.

They are putting a powerful pressure on Congress, with the full backing of the Administration, to impose universal military training on American youth and line them up as cannon fodder for World War III. Military officers and intelligence agents are working closely with the labor-hating employers. The leading scientists are virtual slaves of the military command, under day and night surveillance and fearful of breathing a word.

And as we report on Page 1, the militarists are moving rapidly to choke off all free thought and expression. They are building a system of military press censorship, combined with intimidation and terror, to silence all criticism and dissent.

Behind the military caste is the Big Money ruling class. Its program is to destroy the independent labor movement, exploit the workers at home without mercy or restraint and seize the whole world in its rapacious grip.

This cannot be done by democratic methods. It calls for dictatorship. The Big Brass, reactionary to the core and sprung from the ruling class, are itching to apply the iron heel.

training is going into "high gear." The factories will be militarized and the workers will be put under army rule. The front and the rear are to be fused into one vast regimented war machine.

Union men and women vividly remember what happened to them in the last war for "democracy." They were tied hand and foot by the no-strike pledge and War Labor Board compulsory arbitration. They were caught in a wage freeze and job freeze. Hours were lengthened, overtime pay cut and contract conditions violated.

All this is nothing compared to what labor faces in World War III. The war the capitalists are now planning will usher in military totalitarianism. The workers will be outright conscripts, without rights or voice of any kind. Thus the fight to prevent another imperialist world war is a fight for the very life of the labor movement and the freedom of the working class.

American military. And about all the "democracy" you can find in Greece is in a concentration camp or before a firing squad. The death-to-strikers law sums up the kind of "democracy" the Marshall Plan is bolstering in Greece.

Now the Marshall Plan is being used by Truman and the State Department to force through a politico-military alliance of England, France and the West-European countries. Not unexpectedly, the CIO and AFL leaders, like loyal stooges of the State Department, have jumped to attention, and are trying to split the World Federation of Trade Unions on the issue of the Marshall Plan. They are working away like beavers to line up the Western European labor movement exactly along the geographical lines of the Marshall Plan countries.

These union bureaucrats have never found it possible to achieve unity on the basis of the needs of the workers. But now—at the behest of the State Department—the AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhood bureaucrats, have at last found it possible to unite behind the Marshall Plan and the war program of American imperialism.

Everything the CIO and AFL top leaders have said and are saying about the Marshall Plan is a lie and deception. They are perpetrating a fraud against their membership. They are using the good name of the American labor movement to conceal the true imperialist purposes of the Wall Street masters. They have gone behind the backs of the union ranks and are acting in cahoots with and on orders of an "outside agency" alien and hostile to labor—the U. S. State Department.

# Left Wing Socialist Forces in Italy Establish New Working Class Party

By Marcel Rogier

ROME, Feb. 28—The Congress of the Socialist Party of Italian Workers (PSLI) came to a dramatic close in Naples on Feb. 5. Amidst the frantic efforts of the reformist delegates to drown out his voice and push him off the platform, Comrade Maitan, general secretary of the Socialist Youth, announced that his organization was leaving the party.

The Congress of the PSLI presented a disgraceful spectacle from beginning to end. No sooner did a speaker begin to attack the capitalist or capitalist parties, than whistles and shouts interrupted him from all sides. No serious political discussion, no free expression of opinion from below.

One after the other, the illustrious leaders took the platform and hurled interminable and bitter speeches at one another's heads. The real stake in this "battle" of eloquence was, of course, the appointment and apportionment of candidates at the next parliamentary elections. The 50 parliamentarians of the PSLI were fully aware that scarcely half of them would regain their seats after April 17. Hence the tension between the different "tendencies."

But the numerous resolutions presented at the opening of the congress were reduced in the course of the discussion to five, then to three: one from the left, one from the center, and one from the right.

The centrist leaders of the former tendency "Initiativa Socialista," Matteotti, Zagari, Vassalli, capitulated shamefully in the course of the discussions. They accepted the ratification of the coup d'état of that super-democrat, Saragat, who automatically decided, behind the back and against the formal decision of the party leadership, to enter the Gasperi government. They backed-tracked from day to day and finally accepted the official joint motion presented by the extreme right wing, whose leader, Simonini, became party secretary. This left the congress with only two positions to choose from—the "official" motion and one opposition motion—and made it clear that the role of the centrists in Italy is rapidly coming to a close.

Maitan, speaking for the Socialist Youth, condemned in the most exact terms the anti-working class policy of the party leadership. Other left wing delegates presented a joint motion expressing distrust of the leadership, condemnation of its participation in the capitalist government, and a break with the whole Saragat past. At the final vote, this motion received 27,000 votes against 170,000 for the official motion.

Immediately after the close of the Congress, the whole Socialist Youth leadership as well as numerous other left wing delegates announced their break with the party.

On Feb. 15 the left wing delegates of the PSLI held a conference in

## Klan on The March



In Wrightsville, Ga., a crowd watches a primary eve parade of hooded members of the Ku Klux Klan that ended in the burning of a 15-foot cross. The demonstration kept all but one of the county's 400 Negroes away from the polls the next day.

Federated Pictures

Rome, together with representatives of the Socialist Youth and left revolutionists previously grouped around the papers *Riscossa*, *Proletaria* of Rome and *Unita Socialista* of Milan. The conference unanimously decided to leave the PSLI—many of the delegates had already left as individuals. The new organization was named "Socialist Movement of Proletarian Unity" and the first issue of its paper, *Socialist Unity*, came out on Feb. 27.

The name of the new movement and the new paper are indicative of the desire to renew an old revolutionary tradition, that of the Movement of Proletarian Unity built in secrecy under fascism, to which most of the young Italian Marxists once belonged.

While the members of the new MSUP reveal excellent revolutionary intentions, their conduct is still infused with a good dose of centrist confusion. After having engaged in a difficult struggle against Stalinism two years ago within the unified Socialist Party, they courageously fought the petty-bourgeois anti-communism of the PSLI and defended the need for united action with the communist workers.

This causes them today to adhere to the "Popular Front for Peace, Bread, and Work" built by the Communist Party and the Socialist Party of Nenni. Of course, this "Popular Front" is of a different nature than the ill-reputed French and Spanish "Popular Fronts" since no important capitalist party participates and it is based on numerous popular based organizations. The MSUP members, in adhering to the Front,

have openly declared that they are in disagreement with its neo-reformist program and have refused to accept any place on the electoral lists. They have, further, made clear that they intend to work through the groups that constitute the base of the Front in order to launch the real struggle which is going to unfold in the factories and on the streets and not around the ballot box.

Nevertheless this adherence risks confusing the new movement in the eyes of the advanced workers with the policy of the Front, which tomorrow will end in bankruptcy. That is why it is important above everything else for the young MSUP to clearly differentiate itself politically from the Front. It should begin an energetic and patient campaign for expulsion from the Front of all individual capitalist elements, whose presence serves as an eternal alibi to the Stalinist leadership for restraining the fighting spirit of the masses. It must elaborate, in opposition to the miserable reformist patch-work platform of the Front, a truly revolutionary program of transitional demands, capable of mobilizing the Italian working class masses on the road of proletarian revolution.

Participating fully in all the struggles and movements of the masses, the young MSUP has an exceptional opportunity to get experience with all the half-way solutions and all the centrist panaceas which are being proposed. This experience should lead all the genuine revolutionary militants in the party to the program and organization of the Fourth International.

## How the Counter-Revolution Triumphed in Indo-China

By Lucien

Under the influence of the ICL (Indo-Chinese Trotskyists) over 150 people's committees were formed within three weeks in the southern region of Viet-Nam (Nam-Bot) and of these, a hundred in Saigon-Cholon were workers' committees. A provisional Central Committee, supreme organ of the people's committees, was constituted after Aug. 21, 1943, and it had its own independent headquarters with a military workers' guard.

On Aug. 26, the people's delegates of the Saigon-Cholon region, in general assembly, adopted a program, which can be summarized as follows:

1. The Indo-Chinese revolution is an anti-imperialist revolution. We declare that the national bourgeoisie will be incapable of playing the role of revolutionary vanguard and that only a people's alliance of working class and peasant toilers will be able to liberate the nation from the domination of foreign capitalism.

2. The people's committees are the most concrete form of alliance of the revolutionary classes; thus the necessity of grouping the proletariat and peasants under the leadership of people's committees.

3. The people's committees will maintain their political independence from the bourgeois government and from all political parties.

4. The people's committees recognize only the Central Committee, elected on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, as their supreme organ.

The ICL led the revolutionary masses through the intermediary of the people's committee. It was thanks to these, that it succeeded in politicizing the most advanced layers of the revolutionary classes. Despite its numerical smallness, the ICL for the first time in the history of the Indo-Chinese revolution accomplished a grandiose historical

task—the creation of the people's committee or Soviet.

When the problem of armed struggle against imperialist invasion was posed at the beginning of September, the People's Committees played an extremely important role in preparing the political and technical conditions for the struggle.

The people's committees became an increasingly grave threat to the Stalinist government which, on its side, was the object of incessant reproaches from the bourgeois parties, who accused it of being powerless to suppress the revolutionary masses.

On Sept. 6, the government opened a fierce attack against the Trotskyists, charging them with being responsible for disturbances and provocations. The entire Stalinist press joined together against the Trotskyists, endeavoring to distract the people from the imminent danger of imperialist invasion. On Sept. 7, Than-Van-Giau gave the order to disarm all non-governmental organizations. According to the terms of this decree, "those who call upon the people to arm themselves and above all for a struggle against the imperialist Allies shall be considered provocateurs and saboteurs."

On Sept. 10, English troops disembarked at Saigon, while French planes flew over the city in successive waves. In the face of the approaching danger, and despite the slanders and threats of the Stalinist government, the ICL launched an all-out campaign to prepare the revolutionary masses for the coming armed battles.

### DENOUNCED STALINISTS

On Sept. 12, the People's Committees and the ICL composed a common manifesto openly denouncing the treacherous policy of the Stalinist government in its capitulation before the threat of the general staff of the English troops. The

militancy of the people grew enormously.

On Sept. 14, the Stalinist police chief, Duong Bach Mai, sent an armed detachment to surround the headquarters of the People's Committees, where the assembly was in full session.

Our machine guns and pistols were taken from us. The headquarters were destroyed by smashing the furniture, tearing up the banners, stealing the typewriters and burning all our papers.

Crushing the Party of the Fourth International had a two-fold purpose: physical extermination of the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat and surrender of the Indo-Chinese people to the democratic imperialists.

### SYSTEMATIC MASSACRE

After accomplishing the first operation, Tran-Van-Giau gave the order, with the consent of the government of the northern region, for the systematic massacre of all Trotskyist elements in the country. Tran Van Thach, Ta Thu Thau, Phan Van Hum, Nguyen Van So, and scores of other revolutionary militants were assassinated under circumstances which have not been clearly determined to this day. The two former Japanese police chiefs who had been accomplices of Tran-Van-Giau in the coup d'état operation of the Viet-Minh, were also murdered as Trotskyists. The woman doctor, Ho Vinh Ky, former member of the government, was shot by an agent of Tran-Van Giau as a Trotskyist sympathizer, as were the leaders of the "La Lutte" group. The three most devoted comrades of our party—Lo Ngoc, member of the Central Committee; Nguyen Van Ky, mechanic and trade union leader; Nguyen Huong, young Trotskyist and fighter in the workers' militia—were assassinated by a Stalinist police chief in July, 1946.

(This concludes the series of articles on the Indo-Chinese uprising and the role of the Trotskyists.)

## Events on the International Scene

By Paul G. Stevens

### NEW SOCIAL CRISIS BREWING IN FRANCE

A new social crisis, overshadowing the events of last November and December, is brewing in France. Both the increased diplomatic tension between US-USSR as well as internal unrest resulting from the devaluation of the franc are bringing matters to a head.

Making a bid for popular backing to set up an authoritarian regime, General Charles de Gaulle said in a speech at Compiègne last Sunday, "we are in one of those periods where everything is going to be decided."

First dispatches indicate that his demagogic appeal for a "government above the parties" and of "social justice," coupled with a direct call for U. S. military aid against Russia was received "not with the wild enthusiasm he roused at the time of liberation." In other words, rather coolly. It is also noted that he "seemed to disdain the elections that he formerly desired."

Indeed there has been a considerable decline of the de Gaulle movement, particularly in the electoral field. In a recent column we mentioned the by-election at the Parisian suburb of Malakoff as indicating this trend. It was further confirmed several weeks later in a by-election at the city of Versailles. The Communist Party showed substantial gains. Therein lies the reason for the general's cooling off on the parliamentary offensive he began with his victory in last October's municipal contest.

The CP forces have also recouped some of their losses in the trade unions. In contests for job stewards held in all the mines and printing establishments, for instance, the Stalinist-led General Federation of Labor defeated by enormous majorities the reformist "Force Ouvrière" Federation.

What the French masses following the CP want is shown by a re-

newed wave of short walkouts taking place in many industries. "All have as their objective new wage adjustments in line with the devaluation of the franc. The government is resisting the workers' demands. Their slim majority in parliament (the latest tax bill got through by barely three votes last Monday) is already threatened. The new wage movement is bound to culminate once again in revolutionary action."

A new social crisis is thus inevitable. The menace of a de Gaulle coup, backed by Wall Street, cannot be dismissed in spite of the movement's parliamentary decline. This danger is re-inforced by the Stalinist policy of chauvinism and inaction on class struggle issues. De Gaulle is reported to be penetrating the "Committees for the Defense of the Republic" organized by the CP in a daring tactic to challenge its "nationalism." On the other hand, great ferment is reported in the ranks of the CP itself for a revolutionary line.

The outcome of the crisis that is brewing depends upon whether a new leadership will be able to rise to challenge the Stalinists for the allegiance of the working class. Recent steps toward the development of such a revolutionary leadership have been reported in these columns. Negotiations for the unification of the Trotskyist International Communist party (PCI), the Socialist Youth and the Revolutionary Socialist Action group—both of which split away from Blum's Socialist Party last year—have been under way for some time. Now these three organizations are approaching two new groups for unification. One is the group around the weekly *Bataille Socialiste*, expelled from the Blum party for demanding a bloc with the CP. The other is grouped around the daily *France Travail* which broke with the Stalinists on the issue of unity with the Socialists.

### GREECE

No. 1 of the illegal "Workers Struggle" organ of the International Communist Party (Trotskyist) has appeared. The reactionary Athens government had banned it as well as the party. A letter reports that among the soldiers held "under suspicion" at the concentration camp on Makronisi Island there are several members of the party, including a member of its Central Committee. Three other Trotskyists have been sentenced to long prison terms. The white terror is being intensified in the whole country.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

One conclusion from our Ichabod's final stumping question: "Are you for a democratic struggle against the Gottwald dictatorship, or would you stand with its opponents?"

Which opponents of the Stalinists? That's the question for us. We stand with the working-class opponents of Gottwald, as of Belrut in Poland. With whom do the Schachtmanites stand? With the Czech equivalents of Mikolajik? They would do better to look for their own lost heads and re-read their own issue of March 1 where, at long last, "Mikolajik's Role" is "Exposed."

## Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 7 to 9 p. m.; Branch meeting Sun. 8 p. m.; Socialist Youth Club meeting Sun. 3 p. m.

BOSTON—30 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p. m. Tues., 7:30-9:30 p. m.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 8960. Every afternoon except Sun.

CHICAGO—577 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Phone DEarborn 4767. Daily except Sun., 11 a. m.-5 p. m. Library, bookstore.

CLEVELAND—Lafayette Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m.; Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-4267. Mon. through Sat., 12:45 p. m.

FLINT—215 E. Ninth St. Daily 7-9 p. m. Open house, Sat. eve. Forum, Sun. eve.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., 313 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Phone Richmond 4644. Daily, 12-5 p. m.

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

WATTS—Militant, 1720 E. 97th St. LYNN, (Mass.)—44 Central St., Rm. 11 Sat. 1-5 p. m. Discussion, Tues., 7:30 p. m.

MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone Broadway 9445.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m.-6 p. m. Library, bookstore.

NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.)—Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p. m. Militant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).

NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8:10-9:30 p. m.

NEWARK—428 Springfield Ave. Phone Rigelow 3-2574. Reading room, week nights, 7-10 p. m.

NEW YORK CITY (HQ)—116 University Pl. Phone GR 5-8149.

EAST SIDE—251 E. Houston St. Rm. 41

HARLEM—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23. Phone MO 2-1866. Open discussion, Thurs. 8 p. m.

BROOKLYN—1634 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LU 9-0191.

BROOKLYN—635 Fulton St. Phone ST. 2-9434.

CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone CH 2-9434.

OAKLAND (Cal.)—Write P. O. Box 1351, Oakland 4.

PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4550. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Open meetings, 1st & 3rd Sun., 3:30 p. m. Marxist Study Class, Thurs., 7-9 p. m.

SAN DIEGO (Cal.)—For information write P. O. Box 857.

SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0416. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m.

SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. South & Washington. Phone MA 9-273. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.

ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Forum, Thurs., 7:30-10 p. m.

ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St. Phone GR 6-1137. Open daily. Bookstore, Room 3rd Sun. of each month, 3:30 p. m.

TACOMA (Wash.)—Write P. O. Box 1079. Meeting, Wed., 8 p. m. Odd Fellow Hall, 6th & Fawcett.

TOLEDO—113 St. Clair St., 2nd fl. Open daily.

YOUNGSTOWN—115 E. Federal St., Rm. 302. Phone 3-1255. Mon. through Sat., 11 a. m.-4:30 p. m.



## An Old Man and A Century

By Theodore Kovalesky

I met an old man once, who was very young. He had never been successful in his ambitions, but he was a success.



The words sound foolish when said, like the incantations in a fairy tale. The words have opposite meanings, and how can you put them together? How can you say black is white?

But this old man was young. You saw it in his face and his movements. And most of all you heard it in his words. For he was a fighter, and the vigor of his youth rang in his 65-year old voice.

All his life he had fought and struggled for freedom. His hands were two fists; his mind was a keen-edged weapon. Always he had been speaking to crowds and to individuals writing leaflets, studying history and economics, attending meetings, always organizing and teaching the workers... and all this during the hours when he was not working in the factories, for he was a worker and had to work to live. You see, he never really had time to grow old. That, I think, may be why he was still a young man when I met him.

And his success... well, what is success? Is it success to live in luxury wrought from the blood and exhaustion of the peoples of the earth, to rock on a quaking throne of gold while the hungry hands of the gathering poor curl slowly into fists?

I think success is something very different, something like this: To do well the things you consider important, and to love doing them regardless of fatigue, regardless of cost, regardless of danger. From this point of view, the old man was a successful man... although his life had been filled with failures, or at

least things that had not been successful. For he was a revolutionary (and is today; he is still living, still fighting). The great, final success that he always held before him didn't come, hasn't come yet. Always he fought for Socialism, for the society of free men and women, the era of peace and plenty. All his working life he struggled, agitated, taught, labored patiently at the little tasks of drudgery and the bigger tasks of action, doing his utmost in the great task of freeing the world from its chains. But the world is still chained.

And yet, in the darkest days as in the brighter ones, he was a free man. A rebel slave is not a slave but a prisoner of war, and a fighting man can never be humbled and degraded. Such a man may be imprisoned or killed but never defeated. Such a man may die before seeing and sharing in the last great success, but he can never be called a failure!

That's how the old man was when I met him, and when I ask about him from people passing through our town, they tell me he is still the same. I always ask about him, but before they speak, I know what their answer will be. He is still a fighter, still a thinker, still a doer of the things that must be done.

Perhaps you think this is a story with a trick ending, that I will describe this man and then, in the last line, the last sentence, say, he is my father, or my brother, or name some famous name that will open your eyes in wonder and admiration that I should know him. No. This man is a stranger to fame. And perhaps even after the people's victory in the days of Socialism the name will still be lost among the other millions. But that's all right. He's not struggling, fighting, and laboring for fame.

He's one of the many millions who have answered the call of battle, one of the self-sacrificing rebels that fight under the banner of Karl Marx.

## The Negro Struggle

## Save the Ingram Family

By Albert Parker

Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two young children are Georgia sharecroppers who have been sentenced to the electric chair because they defended themselves against a murderous attack. The blood-stained system oppressing the Negro people has marked them down as its next victims and can be expected to fight to the last ditch to see that they do not get away.

Read the article about the Ingram family on Page 1 of this issue, and you will have most of the essential information about the case. Then ask yourself these questions:

Suppose the Ingrams had been white and the dead man had been a Negro—do you think the Georgia sheriff would have arrested the Ingrams? Do you think they would have been thrown into jail and denied the services of a lawyer until the day of their so-called trial? Do you think there would have been a trial, or that anybody outside of Georgia would ever have heard about the case?

The answer to all these questions is, of course, No. There never would have been any arrests, there would have been no trial and no conviction, and the whole thing would have been written off as a case of self-defense. But everything happens differently in the South when a Negro is accused.

Why? Are the rulers of Georgia and their servants on the judge's bench and in the sheriff's office afraid of Mrs. Ingram? Do they think that this poverty-stricken widow is going to threaten their power if she is set free? Of course not. They know very well that if she is let alone, they will never see her again.

Nevertheless, they want her blood, because they regard her as a symbol. She and her sons dared to lift their hands in self-defense, they committed the unpardonable sin of fighting back when they were assaulted by a white man. The rulers of Georgia want to burn the Ingrams to death in order to "teach a lesson" to the Negro people as a whole, to terrorize them so that they will be afraid to resist, so that they will "stay in their place," so that they will never on any occasion attempt to fight for their rights—whether in a dispute on a farm, or in a controversy over wages, or in a struggle at the ballot.

And that is why the Ingram case has an importance even greater than the ordinary individual instance of tragic injustice. Mrs. Ingram and her sons are a symbol to us too—to all of us who want to smash the oppressive Jim Crow system. That's why we have a double reason for snatching them out of the hands of their would-be executioners—first of all, because they're not guilty and secondly, because saving them will help to undermine Jim Crow rule. Do everything you can to stop these murders!

## Senator Taylor—Liberal, First Class

By John F. Petrone

A note of uneasiness mixed with crankiness was evident in the Communist Party press after Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor issued their statements on the recent Stalinist coup in Czechoslovakia. "Wallace and Taylor Didn't Think It Through," complains Joseph Starobin in the March 1 Daily Worker, chiding Taylor because he said, "I imagine it was the result of pressure by the Russians." Wallace said the Czech events were "unfortunate" and could have been prevented by a different U. S. foreign policy. Milton Howard, in the March 7 Worker, keeps asking him how was it unfortunate, doesn't he realize it was the best possible thing that could have happened under the circumstances?

The Stalinists are of course still whooping it up for Wallace and Taylor, because after all they did try to condone the Stalinist coup. But even this little incident relating to foreign policy indicates that the CP attachment for its beloved "progressive standard bearers" is not going to be a wholly idle love affair, and that it is not likely to be any more permanent than their previous entanglements with Roosevelt and Truman.

This incident dealt with foreign policy, where the Stalinists felt they had to demur publicly. But there was another incident around the same time, relating more to domestic policy, and although I searched the Daily Worker very carefully for several days thereafter, they never had a word to say on it. It's worth discussing.

On Feb. 29 Taylor spoke over the radio in New York City and said: "I'm against Communists occupy-

ing positions in government where they might possibly turn secret information over to the Russians after what happened in Canada." But, he added, "it is a different thing to kick them out of the Labor Department. They can be as good public servants there as anybody."

That certainly throws a new light on the whole question of the "red purge" which the administration has been carrying on for more than a year. Moreover, it shows what a tremendous distinction there is between a reactionary like Truman and a "shining young knight" from the West like Taylor. Truman, you see, wants to drive the Stalinists out of any and every government job there is. That makes him a witch hunter. Taylor thinks Truman is going too far. He thinks it's OK to purge them out of some government jobs—say, in the State Department. But he thinks it would be smart to employ them in less important jobs, such as in the Labor Department, where they could be useful in compiling statistics and in persuading unions not to go on strike. That makes Taylor a liberal, first class.

Do you see the fundamental difference? If you do, maybe you'll want to join with the members of the Communist Party in supporting the Wallace-Taylor ticket, ring doorbells for them, get petitions signed for them, donate money so that they can spread more such "progressive propaganda," etc. If you do, here are a couple of slogans you may find useful: "Vote for Wallace and Taylor—They Stand For Only a 50% Purge." "Civil Liberties Must Be Maintained—In the Labor Department."

## Notes from the News

**CIO SPLIT**—114 delegates withdrew from the Los Angeles CIO Council last week (about 20% of the total number of delegates). 40 were from eight rubber locals, 19 from eight auto locals, 17 from eight steel locals, 8 from seven clothing worker locals, 8 from an oil workers local, 7 from five Packinghouse locals, 4 from a shipyard local, 4 from a utilities local, 3 from three textile locals, 3 from two retail workers locals, and one from the fishermen's union.



**RIGHT FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH**—"Don't be surprised if the Cannonite Trotskyites (meaning the Socialist Workers Party) announce their support of Wallace and his so-called 'new party'." says the Feb. 27 Socialist Call. Guess again, boys.

**OVER THE TOP**—The Independent Progressive Party of California finished its petition campaign by filing 486,000 signatures of registered voters. The party needed only 276,000 names to qualify on the ballot, according to the tough California election law.

**CATHOLIC PAPER**—The tenth anniversary issue of the Labor Leader, publication of the priest-ridden Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, features congratulatory letters from such well-known exponents against "outside interference" in the unions as Secretary of Labor Schwelienbach, AFL President William Green, John J. Moran, vice chairman of the CIO Telephone Workers Organizing Committee, Joseph

A. Fisher, president of the CIO Utility Workers and others.

**RETAIL WORKERS DISAFFILIATE**—Climaxing its battle with International President Wolchak, the St. Louis Joint Board of the CIO Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union unanimously voted to disaffiliate. The organization will be known as the United Distribution Workers. Director Harold J. Gibbons sent a telegram to CIO President Murray: "If I have to leave CIO it will be because we were forced out."

**TAX CHEATING**—An expose in American Magazine quotes Under-Secretary of the Treasury A. L. Wiggins as estimating that tax chiselers "amounts to no less than eight billion dollars annually." Most of the cheating is done, the magazine reveals, by business and professional men who handle a lot of cash and don't record it in their books.

**DEMOCRACY LIMITED**—The General Executive Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, meeting at Miami, Florida, ordered the expulsion from office of all local officials who refused to sign the Taft-Hartley loyalty affidavits.

**RELIEF FOR CHINESE GRAFTERS**—The State Department received word that a large portion of the 130 million rounds of ammunition that the U. S. released to Chiang Kai-shek last year to fight the Stalinist-led forces was sold right off the docks of Shanghai to Chinese Stalinist agents. This ammunition cost the U. S. taxpayers \$6,600,000.

## THE MILITANT

## Detroit SWP Chairman Assails Fare Boost at Council Hearing

## Program of Action For UMW Contract

By Morgan West

The present contract of the United Mine Workers expires on June 30 of this year. For the next five months yellow journalists will fill the boss press with slanders against the union. Already speculation about the demands of the miners is a topic all across the country. The miners themselves are more intimately concerned with the union demands but just as much in the dark as anyone else.

The rank and file is excluded from any participation in the formulation of policy in the UMW. But the rank and file, nevertheless, has strong opinions on this matter. As far as the miners are concerned, three major problems should be dealt with in the coming negotiations. These are: 1. Inflation and the cost of living; 2. The speed up; 3. Depression.

Last year the July contract brought the highest wage rate in mining history. But within a few short weeks all of the gains had been wiped out by inflation. Today the wage rate is far below what is necessary for life in a company town. To meet the rise in prices since last year, a 20-cent per hour wage increase would be necessary.

But as every miner knows, such a wage increase would be met at once by even greater increases in the prices charged by company stores. It is no great victory to win a strike in July and lose it in August. There is only one solution: the new wage scale must be basic, but every time prices rise after the contract is signed an equal wage increase must automatically follow and be added to the basic rate. This is called the "sliding scale of wages." The miners in Japan have found that the sliding scale is the only weapon with which to combat inflation.

**OLD TIMERS FIRED**  
It is reported that in late 1945 a group of old timer miners were fired in Scotts Run, a coal mining center in West Virginia. The Super told them that their work wasn't satisfactory and cynically stated "The war is over now." Since then the speed up has gained throughout the coal fields. New machinery is being introduced at a tremendous rate and young men are being hired to replace those who are older. Safety laws are being violated to an increasing extent. Management is getting tougher. The older men (and this frequently means those over 40) expect to find themselves not wanted in the coal mines and with no opportunity to work anywhere else.

This highlights one of the scandals of the UMW. The miners have no seniority provisions in their contract. This leaves the men at the absolute mercy of the operators as far as job placement, hiring and firing is concerned. Only recently, a capable but elderly timberman was transferred from timbering to shot-firing, where he could not keep up. His section boss had had an argument with the old timer, and knew that this was one way to get rid of him. The old timer is now on his

way to relief. As minimum protection for the workers, the new contract must have seniority provisions.

The coming depression will force thousands of older miners on to public relief. Already there are thousands who live in poverty because old age pensions are hopelessly inadequate. The UMW Welfare and Retirement Fund was supposed to come to their aid, but it is inadequate at best, and has been effectively blocked by the operators. The administrative board is supposed to represent the workers, the operators, and the public. Naturally, this mysterious "public" representative (a New York industrialist!) always votes with the operators and as a result the retirement fund is blocked. (Can the operators be waiting for the government to outlaw such welfare funds so they will get the money of the needy miners into their own treasuries?) The principle of union autonomy in the administration of the Welfare Fund must be established plus an immediate increase in the rate from 10 to 20 cents per ton. Only in that way can the size of the fund be adequate and its administration insured.

But the depression will do more than throw old timers out of work. No miner has forgotten the last depression when the miner worked only two or three, or even one day a week. In addition, great numbers of mines completely shut down. The coming depression will bring another great "surplus" of coal. Overproduction, while millions of workers suffer from the cold. To combat that, the new contract must establish the sliding scale of hours. In other words, before any layoffs are instituted, the working hours will be reduced with no reduction in the pay.

Such a program, aggressively fought for, would unite the solid strength and enthusiasm of the rank and file miners behind the union, in a manner that has not been seen since the early organizational days of the UMW.

## New York Jam Session Features All-Star Band

New York dance fans will need no urging to attend the special Dance and Jam Session, featuring the famous Albert Nicholas Quartet on Friday night, March 26, at Caravan Hall, 110 East 59 Street.

Bertha "Chippie" Hill, one of the jazz "originals," who's been "holier" the blues from "way back," and still leads the field, will assist the Quartet.

The Albert Nicholas Quartet became nationally known through its WOR network program "This is Jazz!" Included in the all-star band are Albert Nicholas, renowned New Orleans clarinetist, Johnny Glaser, trumpet star of Wilbur's Wildcats, James P. Johnson, composer and pianist, and Freddy Moore, star of the Hodes Trio of the Village Vanguard.

Readers of The Militant should call this entertainment to the attention of their friends and shopmates. Admission, \$1.20, tax included.

As the meeting broke up, many voiced dissatisfaction with Wallace's speech. The vanishing of radicalism was spread a little too thin over this party of "progressive" capitalism.

## At Home in Mayor's Office



Mrs. Adeline Hunnefeld was evicted from her Boston apartment house. With her sailor husband at sea, she decided to fight for housing on her own by taking her children to the mayor's office until the city found the family a home. City officials got busy and placed her in a municipal housing project.

## Wallace Program Calls For Planned Scarcity

By Joe Simpson

WILLMAR, Minn., Feb. 23

—Wallace chose this farm center—rich in populist, Farm Holiday and Farmer-Labor tradition—to launch his campaign for the vote of the American farmer.

The crowd, which made its way to the meeting over snow-blocked roads, was disappointed to find the Wallace farm program nothing but the warmed-over agriculture program of the New Deal.

They were all there, all the complicated and inadequate plans of the Roosevelt period—the ever-normal granary, the AAA, the CCC, and even the ploughing under of crops—that plan which typified the economy of scarcity which gave it birth.

The crowd listened hopefully when Wallace mentioned co-operation. But it turned out he was not talking about co-operatives, but the co-operation of government and industry. This he defined as a new type of capitalism, "progressive capitalism" he termed it. He did not even mention the farmers co-operative movement.

**EMPTY PHRASES**  
His attacks on the "Republiocrat" parties stressed their "speaking liberalism," but his own radical phrases rang with as empty a content.

His criticism of the war drive of the Truman administration? It's too expensive, he said. "We're not calculating as business men should calculate, according to our ability to spend," said the man the Stalinists proclaim to be the Soviet Union's friend. His criticism of universal military training? It's not an effective weapon in the atomic age, he said.

As the meeting broke up, many voiced dissatisfaction with Wallace's

DETROIT, March 7—At a hearing of the Detroit Common Council on March 4, Howard Lerner, local SWP chairman, denounced the proposed raise of street car and bus fares from 10 cents to 13 cents as a scheme of the "political and economic interests who wish to increase railway revenues" for their own profit.

Attacked by Council President George Edwards as spreading "untruths" concerning the inefficiency of the Detroit Street Railway system, Mr. Lerner quoted figures put out by the DSR itself showing 500 of its 1,870 buses out of commission at one time. Said Mr. Lerner: "... institute suit against the sellers of these new buses for fraudulent sale of misrepresented material. Make the billionaire corporations who profited from this worthless equipment pay the cost of maintaining it. Detroit workers should not suffer with fare increases."

## DEMANDS REFERENDUM

Mr. Lerner demanded a referendum on the proposed increase. The referendum, said Mr. Lerner, should carry two questions: "1. Do you favor a return to the six cent fare, additional operating revenue to be made up by taxing downtown and corporate real estate? 2. Do you favor a 13-cent fare?" Councilman Oakman, attempting to discredit this proposal, asked whether Lerner would support a referendum on raising taxes, if revenue were needed for various city functions. The answer of the SWP chairman was that if there were such widespread suspicion and hostility to such a tax boost as there is today to the proposed increase in street-car and bus fares, he would certainly support such a referendum. Said Lerner, "Let the people decide. They are responsible for the city-owned DSR. And they should have the right to decide on how the revenue should be raised."

To end inefficiency, Mr. Lerner proposed that the DSR commission be elected by DSR employees. "Take control out of the hands of \$20,000 a year office men, and put it in the hands of those who are familiar with every nook and cranny of the system."

## DENOUNCED SECRECY

Also proposed by the SWP representative was that automatic wage increases to keep up with the rising cost of living be granted to all DSR workers.

Lerner also denounced the secrecy with which lists of bondholders are kept. "Shouldn't the owners—the public—know who is loaning them money, and at how much interest?" asked Lerner. "Let's get all the facts behind this conspiracy to blackmail Detroit workers into paying higher fares."

Others protesting the proposed fare increase were: Tracy Doll, CIO Council head; Frank Martel, AFL head; and representatives of many unions and fraternal bodies, as well as the Communist Party. About 75 attended the hearings. Among them was Ernest Mazey, chairman of the powerful UAW-CIO Briggs Local 212 PAC committee. Mr. Mazey charged inefficiency, graft and corruption, and demanded a full and open investigation.

## U. S. IMPERIALIST TREACHERY ON PALESTINE

By Irving Dale

The hypocrisy which characterizes U. S. policy on Palestine was again displayed on Feb. 24, in its statement of policy to the UN Security Council.

After pushing the partition scheme through the UN, the entire situation is now permitted to remain suspended in mid-air while open warfare is in progress. Thus far net results of the American-inspired partition plan has been the killing of more than a thousand Jews and Arabs, the growth of rampant chauvinism on the part of both peoples, resulting in attempts on both sides to raise international armies for the purpose of mutual extermination.

## CYNICAL BETRAYAL

U. S. government policy, in relation to the Jews, has from the first, been one of cynical betrayal. When the entire world was shocked by the mass-murder of six million Jews in Nazi-Europe, President Roosevelt voiced noble sentiments and even called a conference to assist the remaining DP's, but he did not let down the immigration barriers to the U. S.

The Truman administration follows in Roosevelt's footsteps. The DP's still cannot enter the U. S., although a country as rich as the U. S. could assimilate several hun-

dred thousand refugees with no difficulty.

The significant lesson for the Jewish masses of the recent events is that the reactionary partition plan—which was hailed by the Zionist leaders as the one "practical" solution of the Jewish problem—will probably not be realized, and that they have again been led up a blind alley by the Zionists.

Partition was originally viewed by U. S. imperialism as a cleverly contrived scheme to gain a greater foothold in Palestine by intensifying and exploiting Arab-Jewish differences. But the fierce struggle of the Arabs against partition presents great dangers to the imperialists. That is why, after Truman's first hesitant steps which seemed to favor Zionist ambition, the monopoly interests stepped in and laid down the line of dumping the partition scheme.

Since the Arabs hold the key to the Near East, as well as its oil wealth, America—as British imperialism before it—plays ball with the Arab feudal rulers. This means that there is place for only a small and isolated Jewish settlement in Palestine, so far as the imperialist plans are concerned.

## NARROW VISION

The supposed friendship of the U. S. administration for the Jews—which the Zionist leadership took

for good coin—is fraudulent. The Zionist leaders are only now becoming aware of this and are making panicky appearances before the UN, issuing statements, etc. The narrowness of vision of these men, their lack of realism and their complete incapacity to serve as leaders of the Jewish people is evidenced by the fact that they did not foresee the present development and permitted themselves to be led like lambs to the slaughter—while singing hymns of praise to the slaughterers.

In an excellent article in The Nation of Jan. 31, Lillie Shultz addresses facts and figures to prove that "British and American oil interests mesh throughout the Middle East and with them, military interests as well." This means that with the exception of secondary differences and instances in which Britain tries to gain some concessions for herself at the expense of her more powerful rival, America and Britain are allies in this period in the Middle East.

This alliance gives rise to a division of labor in which Britain openly sabotages the partition proposal, instigates warfare, arms Arabs and disarms Jews—while Wall Street makes certain nothing is done to interfere with Britain.

It has been the consistent policy of the British colonial administration to foment ill-will and hatred between the Jews and Arabs. The

Zionists were guilty of complicity in this by their chauvinistic policies: Purchase of land for Jewish settlement without regard for previous Arab inhabitants; exclusion of Arabs from work in Jewish enterprises; organization of an exclusively Jewish trade union and labor movement, etc. From time to time—and usually at the instigation of the imperial power—these antagonisms flared into armed clashes between the two peoples. This occurred in 1920, 1929, 1936 and now again in the current armed conflict.

Until the Second World War it was Great Britain which lighted the match to the tinderbox. The decline of British imperialism and the parallel strengthening of American imperialism has led to the emergence of the U. S. as the dominant imperial power in the Middle East. And American imperialism has now written the latest and one of the dirtiest pages in the annals of imperialist history in the Near East.

## MUST OPPOSE PARTITION

Today the fight against imperialism and for freedom of Palestine involves opposition to the imperialist partition plan. Zionist support of partition is reactionary to the core. It is imperative to oppose this set-up which would provoke a ceaseless struggle between Jews and Arabs; and could be used to forestall for a whole period the gathering of the revolutionary forces of

the Arab world for the battle against imperialist oppression.

The position of the Fourth International on the Palestinian problem is clear: It will be in the forefront of the struggle against partition, for a united and independent Palestine in which the masses will sovereignly decide their fate by the election of a Constituent Assembly. Against the efforts and the agents of imperialism, against the maneuverers of the masses for emancipation into a war against the Jews—the Fourth International issues the call for the agrarian revolution, for the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggle—the essential driving forces of the Arab revolution. But this struggle can be led only on condition that it take its stand unequivocally against the partition of the country and against the establishment of a Jewish state.

It is necessary at the same time to call upon the American, British, Canadian, Australian workers—the workers of all countries—to struggle for the opening of the gates of their countries to refugees, the DP's, to all the Jews who wish to emigrate. It is only by leading this fight effectively that one will be able to explain to the Jews why they must not permit themselves to be caught in the Palestinian trap.