

Significance of the British Mine Strike

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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Democracy Is Key Issue At UE Parley

Minority Rights Menaced By Stalinist Bureaucrats

By C. Thomas

The sharp internal conflict within the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America will occupy the center of the stage at the union's annual convention to be held in Boston next week.

The opposition to the Stalinist leadership has been organized on a national scale in the UE Committee for Democratic Action under the leadership of Harry Block of Philadelphia and James Carney, Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO and former president of the UE.

The Carey-Block group claims to represent over 25% of the membership. They publish a caucus paper, "The Real UE," with a national circulation. A number of locals are controlled by their supporters. They also claim a steady growth in numbers and influence since the last convention when the Carey-Block slate was defeated by a vote of 6 to 1.

STALINIST CAMPAIGN

Reflecting their fear of the growth of the opposition, the Stalinists have launched a campaign to eliminate the UE Committee for Democratic Action as an organized force. Last March, the Stalinist General Executive Board of the UE adopted a resolution condemning the CDA as "a dual movement," and calling "upon the Committee for Democratic Action to dissolve."

In the months preceding the coming convention, a flood of Stalinist-inspired resolutions have poured into national headquarters calling on the convention to take drastic action against "outside interference in the affairs of the union" by the CDA. Some of these resolutions have gone further and demanded that all "factions and groups" be dissolved.

Under the formula of a campaign against "outside interference," the Stalinists propose to stifle the activity of all opposition groupings in the union. According to the Stalinist demagogues there is no need for internal groupings in a "democratic" organization. Having complete control of the national apparatus the Stalinist prohibition of opposition groups would mean the banning of all groups but one—their own.

The resort to red-baiting by the CDA, together with the fact that it shelters the reactionary ACTU group (Association of Catholic Trade Unionists), has misled some militant into supporting the demagogic Stalinist resolutions against "outside interference." Because neither of the

contending national groups offers any solution to the problems confronting the labor movement, the struggle takes on the character of a fight for power between two unprincipled cliques.

MAJOR ISSUE

The major issue dividing the two groups and one which will undoubtedly give rise to a fierce struggle at the convention is the question of "foreign policy." The CDA-ACTU group supports the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the anti-Soviet crusade. The Stalinists, of course, support the foreign policy of the Kremlin, as interpreted and applied by the American Communist Party. Neither policy represents the interests of the workers.

On the most burning question of political action both groups support the CIO-PAC policy of supporting "friends of labor" in the Democratic and Republican camp.

While these are the main lines, both groups adapt their tactics to local conditions. For example, in some locals the Stalinists voice their "third party" demagoguery while in others, as in Local 450 in New York, they declare: "We must make the CIO-PAC a living vital force, as the instrument through which we can once more reward our friends and punish our enemies." (Report of Officers.)

In a number of locals throughout the country strong groups exist opposed to both the CDA and the Stalinists. In addition various tendencies exist within the main groups. This makes for a fluid situation within the national organization.

With the further sharpening of the class struggle as an aftermath of the anti-labor offensive of the employers, regroupments are bound to take place around the vital problems that will arise.

The attempt to ban internal groups through the subterfuge of a campaign against "outside interference," is, therefore, a blow aimed at the democratic right of the members to group together to advance a program in opposition to the official leadership. The open struggle between contending groups is the best guarantee of the preservation of internal union democracy.

UN Bankrupts to Meet In 2nd General Assembly

NEW YORK, Sept. 11—Next Tuesday the second annual session of the General Assembly of the UN will convene at Flushing, L. I. Launched after three years of intense ballyhoo, the UN is now 20 months of age.

Only ashes remain of the glowing hopes and promises of yesterday. In place of "one world" are two huge power blocs, with Washington leading the imperialist cohorts, while the Kremlin digs its behind its buffer zones in Eastern Europe and the Far East.

In place of universal peace and prosperity, political and economic crises convulse the planet, threatening to engulf not only Europe but this country as well.

Despite, or rather because of the UN "disarmament" program, our globe bristles with armaments, with stockpiles of atomic, biological and rocket missiles alongside old-fashioned bayonets, tanks, planes.

Endless was the list of UN promises. Yet 20 months have more than sufficed to transfigure almost all of them into their diametric opposites.

Assuming that any of the participants, big or little, were ever capable of shame, what single achievement of the UN could they point to without blushing?

Even claim that the General Assembly will ease by an iota the lot of the victims of Nazism is to make mock of those who are now enduring identical treatment at the hands of Bevin's stormtroopers.

Go through the whole list of items on the Assembly agenda or the "holder" questions scheduled to come up there or in any of the six permanent UN bodies—the Balkan question, Franco Spain, Korea, the Atomic Bomb, the treatment of Indians in South Africa, Egypt, etc., etc.—the story is invariably the same: failure, failure and again failure!

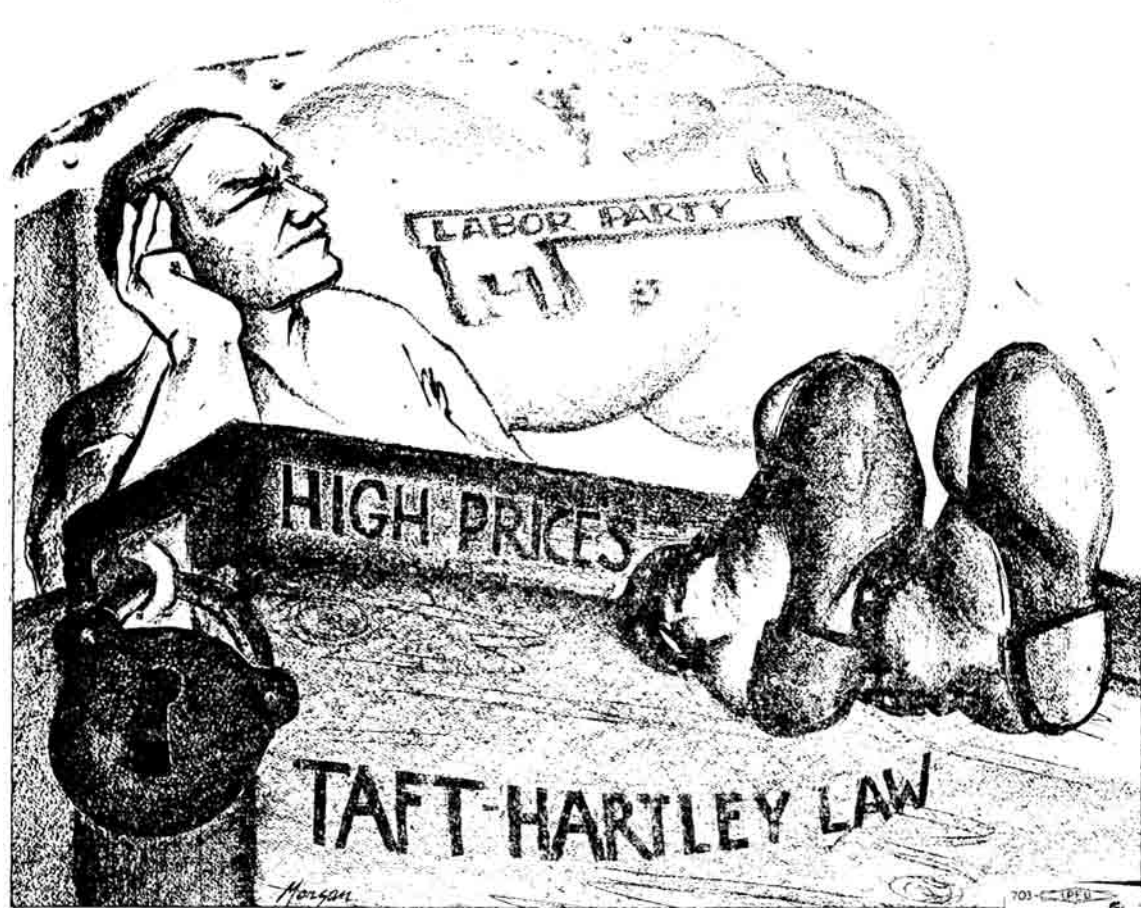
How could it be otherwise? The UN's role is identical with that of the defunct League of Nations, called correctly by Lenin the "thieves' kitchen."

The atmosphere amid which the Assembly sessions will be held is strongly reminiscent of the League in 1936 when Hitler scrapped the Versailles Treaty much as Washington-London are scrapping the Potsdam Pact today. Highlighting the international crisis is the demonstrative participation of State Secretary Marshall as against the Kremlin's indecision whether or not to send Molotov.

At all events, the UN will prove as impotent in 1947 as was its defunct predecessor a decade ago.

NEEDS OF PEOPLE BY-PASSED IN PLAN FOR SPECIAL SESSION

Key to the Situation



Organized Labor Target Of 'Red' Deportation Cases

Acting like a well-oiled machine and obviously upon orders from the highest federal agencies, the New York immigration authorities last week seized for deportation two union officials suspected of affiliation with the Communist (Stalinist) Party. One is John Santo, international organization director of the CIO Transport Workers Union; the other is Michael J. Obermeier, president of Local 6, Hotel and Club Employees Union, AFL.

CIO Leaders Act To Halt Jim Crow School Strike

CHICAGO, Sept. 9—Top union leaders of the CIO United Steelworkers of America in the Chicago-Calumet Area are taking drastic measures to end the strike of students at Emerson High School, Gary, Indiana. The strike, which is now a week old, is another attempt in this city to prevent Negro students from attending the public high schools. Although the public school officials have taken a position of denouncing the action, it has failed to seriously affect the strike.

A meeting of all the United Steelworkers leaders in the Gary suburb was called by Joseph Germano, District Director of the union. At the meeting Germano demanded that the union step into the situation and throw its weight against the Jim Crow strike.

"It is sickening to come to Gary and see members of the CIO participate in a shameful, anti-democratic, and subversive demonstration," Germano said. "The situation is deplorable because the union in Gary is so strong and could have prevented it," he continued.

Germano scolded the union leaders because they "simply haven't done a job of carrying out the spirit and intent of the anti-discrimination policy of the union." He proposed that the union suspend any member whose children are participating in the strike. His proposal was immediately adopted by the local leaders.

This action by the Gary union leaders represents the most drastic step ever taken by union leaders against Jim Crow movements in this area. This comes as a result of the fact that last year Gary was the scene of a scandalous strike at Froebel High School, where Jim Crow organizations conducted a number of attacks against Negro students.

Approximately one-fourth of Gary's 110,000 population is Negro, and the majority of them are members of the United Steelworkers of America.

The rejection of the nomination papers of the SWP and the WP was made without one single legal basis. David H. H. Felix, attorney for the joint defense committee, immediately issued a writ of mandamus asking Judge McDevitt to call the County Board of Elections

to answer why they have rejected the nomination papers of the SWP and the WP. Hearing on this writ will come up Friday, Sept. 12 in the Common Pleas Court.

In order to combat the vicious legal obstacles of the Pennsylvania election laws, the Joint Defense Committee is prepared to carry to the highest state court the fight for the political rights of independent labor candidates to appear on the ballot.

The defense committee is proceeding to rally the support of all labor and liberal groups in a fight for elementary democratic rights. A defense rally and social is projected for Saturday, Sept. 20, at 1303 W. Girard Avenue, where David H. H. Felix will present the legal aspects of the case and the candidates will speak on the fight for labor's rights to the ballot.

The rejection of the nomination papers of the two parties is arousing a great deal of interest from two sides of the class struggle. On the one hand, friends and sympathizers of the movement are rallying to the support of the candidates, while, on the other hand, reactionary elements are seeking to find further ways of persecuting the spokesmen for labor and minority rights.

The pre-emptors and candidate of the Socialist Workers Party have received poison pen letters with such filthy remarks as "Hitler was too good for kikes like you. . . . It's time that all kikes and communists be sent back to Russia," etc.

The candidates and pre-emptors still face charges of contempt which will also come up at the hearing next Friday. Aid is needed to carry on the fight against the Republican and Democratic conspiracy to monopolize the ballot and to fight the contempt charges against the candidates and pre-emptors. All contributions should be sent to the Joint Defense Committee, 1303 W. Girard Avenue, Philadelphia 23 Pa.

Food Profiteers Run Wild in Gouging the Poor

With the rapacity of a wolf-pack closing in for the kill, the profiteers are sinking their greedy claws deeper and deeper into the bread-baskets of the poor. Milk prices have long passed the 20 cents-a-quart mark and keep rising. Eggs are pressing the dollar-a-dozen mark. Meats, except the poorest grades, went far out of reach of unskilled workers' families weeks ago. It is the same with all victuals, except for a few seasonal vegetables.

Last week was the tenth consecutive time that the Bureau of Labor Statistics acknowledged that "wholesale prices of basic commodities" again reach a new peak. Prices, especially food prices, which have climbed steadily, with minor fluctuations, since V-J Day are now rocketing into the stratosphere.

The general index of commodity prices for the week ending Aug. 30 was more than one and a half times the 1936 level, according to BLS statistics. The actual rise has been much larger, as every housewife knows. Many foods have doubled and tripled in price since pre-war days.

Washington's economists are all agreed that prices will go still higher (they have the gall to add—a "little" higher), before any decline sets in.

The warehouses and granaries are bulging with foods and other products. What the forecast is really based on is the unpublicized fact that big monopolies who have been fixing prices—but good!—are bent on squeezing every last penny of profit while the squeezing is still going.

Utterly fraudulent are such explanations as for example, that prices are going up because of huge exports to famished European peoples. Actually food exports have declined in recent months and especially in recent weeks. England has virtually ceased buying American foods. Other countries have less and less dollars with which to buy food, let alone other products.

This does not mean to say the world famine is not a factor in the current speculation. It is a big one, indeed. The same "humanitarians" who are taking bread, milk and meat from the mouths of American families are banking precisely on projected "aid" to Europe to unload on the morrow at fantastic prices, their huge inventories of foods and manufactured goods.

Most shameful of all amid this speculative orgy is the cringing silence of the official labor leaders, who are doing exactly nothing while the billionaires continue to rob the American people as well as the starving poor throughout the world.

Price Squeeze Ignored In Agenda for Congress

By The Editors

The Truman administration is rushing preparations for a special session of Congress. A special session—for what?

Is it to take action on the outrageously high prices which day by day cut deeper and deeper into the working families' living standards?

The answer to that is

no. Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans are in the least worried about the price-gouge which is doubling and tripling the already fantastic profits of their masters in Wall Street. They stage back-passing "probes" and "investigations" but do nothing to stop profiteering.

Is the special session to act on the housing crisis? No; both parties backed the bill for the "voluntary" 15% rent boost and both are serving the real estate sharks.

Is it to repeal the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law? Emphatically, no. The majority of both capitalist parties voted to shackle this fascist-minded legislation around labor's neck.

To reduce taxes on low-income brackets? The answer is obvious. Wall Street's two parties are interested only in lowering taxes for the rich.

To outlaw lynching, the poll tax or discrimination in employment? Again and again and again—NO! Both parties have repeatedly refused to enact such laws when in the majority.

In brief, the special session will not act on any of the most pressing problems facing the American people today.

To be sure, the administration contends that this special session is to be called for a great humanitarian purpose—to aid the war-stricken peoples of Europe. But we need only look closer to see that this is a threadbare lie.

In the first instance, Washington has no intention of aiding hundreds of millions in Eastern Europe. Why not? These starving and suffering people will get nothing because either they or the governments there won't accept Wall Street's politics. They can starve, so far as Washington cares—until they toe the line.

If Washington is interested in re-

liefs for Europe, why did they cut off UNRRA funds and liquidate it? Behind the current "humanitarian" pose lie other motives.

Washington's billions—the entire bill to be footed by the poor people of this country—are earmarked for those governments which will play ball, politically and economically, with Wall Street; which will accept and safeguard dollar investments in the Ruhr and elsewhere; which will line up in advance for the war against the Soviet Union; which will keep the labor movement from going "too far" and setting up genuine socialist governments.

This means the "reconstruction" of European capitalism at the expense of the peoples' political rights and a worsened standard of living; it means greatly stepped-up preparations for atomic war.

The American working people are not callous. They are deeply concerned about the plight of their European brothers. They are eager to help them. But this cannot be done through a government which pursues the reactionary Truman Doctrine and the nobler-sounding but equally base Marshall Plan.

NO STRINGS ATTACHED
Aid to Europe must be given without any strings attached. What is necessary is to rebuild Europe's industries without at the same time preventing the people from doing away with capitalism and establishing the kind of labor government they want and need. The way to help is to withdraw the troops now acting as police for Wall Street all over Europe.

Such aid the present Democratic-Republican Congress will not give just as it will not act in the service of the American people.

For progress at home as well as in Europe the crying need is for a new Congress—a Congress elected and controlled by the workers through their own political organization, an independent Labor Party.

Taft Slave Labor Law Upheld in Court Test

SEPT. 11 — Labor lost the first important court challenge to the Taft-Hartley Act this week when a federal judge in

Fort Worth, Texas upheld the Act's "anti-communist" provisions as "legal, consistent and proper."

The CIO Oil Workers had gone to court to force the NLRB to count the ballots in an election held last month. The NLRB refused, contending that under the Slave Labor Law officers of the national CIO and AFL, as well as of affiliated national and local unions, would first have to file the anti-communist affidavits and financial statements.

NLRB officials, gloating over this judicial blow at labor, point out that it will hold up 3,000 similar cases now pending.

The Oil Workers have filed an appeal against the federal court ruling, challenging the constitutionality of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Meanwhile, there were the following union developments in connection with the anti-communist filings demanded by the NLRB:

The AFL Executive Council, meeting in Chicago this week, postponed decision on the question until tomorrow. President William Green announced that he personally was in favor of complying with the NLRB's demands.

After a meeting of CIO top officials in Pittsburgh last week, President Philip Murray announced that the Act would be challenged in court and that most CIO leaders

were opposed to compliance with the anti-communist filings, but that final decision would have to await the national CIO convention in Boston next month.

However, CIO officials in Washington yesterday declared that the CIO's stand would depend on what action is taken by the AFL. This implied that if the AFL decided to file, the CIO would probably do the same.

The UAW Executive Board, meeting in Buffalo this week, re-examined its position on the question but finally concluded it would stick to its previous decision to shun the NLRB, pending further action by the national CIO.

The Taft-Hartley Act was also the main issue raised by union leaders supporting the Democratic Party candidate for Congress from the Eighth Pennsylvania District, Philip Storch. However, the Republican candidate won by a decisive majority in this traditional GOP stronghold.

The campaign showed the inability of the union leaders to arouse wide mass support for Democratic candidates, although polls show most people are opposed to the Taft-Hartley Act. As the Dayton, Ohio primaries successfully demonstrated last month, the workers want and are ready to rally to labor candidates independent of the two old parties.

Something New In the Mines

By J. R. Johnson



The relation of the miners in Great Britain to the British economy is one of the most astonishing features of production in the modern world. In the centuries-old struggle between capital and labor we have reached a pitch where the future of the economy hangs in whether a few thousand miners will or will not work. As the N.Y. Times said a few days ago, this is something new. It is.

The Times did not comment that new as this is, it is not something that is confined to Britain. Just for the sake of the record and to refresh a few defective memories I draw their attention to the following:

In 1943 the miners in the United States defied the U. S. government and the full war propaganda machine of the American capitalist class. The miners struck, and went back to work, and struck, and went back to work in a manner that showed their complete disregard for all that the government was saying about the necessities of producing for the national defense.

It is easy to underestimate what this series of strikes displayed. Since that time the miners have continued to show that they have deep-seated grievances against the coal operators and a society which condemns them to the kind of life they live and the kind of work they do.

I have written about this in my column before and shall most certainly do so again. Because what is taking place in Britain is under no circumstances to be associated with the bankrupt British economy. It is a certain stage of development of production on a world scale and a particular response that the workers are making to it.

We have a similar situation among the mine workers of the Ruhr. It might appear that among them the decisive factors of the low production are poverty, political demoralization, and all the bitter consequences of a catastrophic defeat. Before we rush to that conclusion however, let us make some comparisons between the British and American workers.

COMPARISON OF MINERS

The British economy is completely bankrupt. It lives by infection from the U. S. But the U. S. economy at the present moment cannot by any means be said to be bankrupt in the sense that we speak of the yawning abyss before Britain. So that it is not a question of perspectives of economic development.

The American coal mining industry is one of the most advanced in the world so far as mechanization is concerned. The British coal min-

ing industry is one of the most backward.

The American miners receive very high wages. But the British miners too, have been given wages and privileges during the recent period which set them far above their pre-war standards and also above most of the other workers in Great Britain.

The American coal miners are constantly being transferred from private ownership to government control and back again. The British mines are nationalized and administered by a government board.

The American miners have been persecuted by the government. The British miners have won from the government special favors.

Thus there are similarities and dissimilarities between the two groups of miners which make it impossible to unite them in any pattern except one. They are miners of 1947 and resent bitterly the circumstances and conditions of their labor. Not very long ago there were dispatches from Stalinist Russia in which the Stalinist bureaucracy spoke with bitterness about the attitude of the miners in Russia to their production schedules. The dramatic circumstances of the British crisis have brought into sharp focus the relation of the miners to British production. But it is nothing that is particularly British. It is world-wide phenomena characteristic not only of miners but of labor as a whole.

This is what is new. The British Labor Government is bankrupt before it. The British miner may or may not give way. That depends on too many circumstances for us to attempt a judgment here. But I believe that this attitude that they have taken is to be closely followed by American workers and revolutionaries. In it can be discerned an anticipation of a later stage of development of the coal miners of the U. S.

The most powerful impression that emerges from the accounts of the British miners over the last year is the impression of their im-

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

—Leon Trotsky, 1940

potence. They do not know what to do. The mines are nationalized. They have a Labor Government. They have demanded special wages and special conditions. They have got them. What next for them? It is obvious that they do not know. They can only show their dissatisfaction by grim resistance to any encroachment on their privileges and a supreme disregard for any propaganda even from their own labor leaders.

But it is precisely the same feeling which has been widely noted in the American coal fields. With nothing like the experience of their British brothers, the American miners can only strike and strike and strike. Sometimes they actually confess their impotence.

The solution is such a transformation of society as yet the British miners are not yet able to envisage. It involves a method of production in which the complete responsibility for the mines must rest with the miners themselves. The actual production must be under their direct control. The government which administers must be a government of the workers, resting upon, dependent upon, controlled by the workers, a system in which the miners can feel that every effort and even privation are contributing to their own cause and the cause of the other workers like themselves. The British miners are saying as plainly as possible that the present Labor Government is not their government. And they are correct.

The experience of the French Revolution, and of the Russian Revolution in its heroic days, showed that once the masses of the people are convinced that the government does indeed represent them, there are no limits to the endurance and creative power of which they are capable. That stage still awaits not only the American but the British miners also. That is socialism. And the sullen hostility of miners all over the world is one of the great indications of the bankruptcy of capitalist society.

The Fable of the Fox and the Bureaucrat

By Albert Parker

Once there was a fox who came from a famous family; one of his great-grandfathers had been immortalized in Aesop's fable about the fox who jumped again and again for the grapes and finally walked away, saying: "They were probably sour grapes anyhow."

This modern fox was walking down the road recently, feeling rather hungry, when he came upon a vine from which hung grapes so big and ripe and juicy that they made his mouth water.

He judged the distance carefully for he recalled what a fool his great-grandfather had made of himself and he saw that he could reach the grapes with ease. So he tensed his muscles and prepared to jump. At that moment a man interrupted him and said:

"Stop, don't be so rash. Don't you know that those grapes are probably sour? Don't you realize that you aren't big enough to reach them no matter how much you try? Aren't you aware of the possibility that in

jumping for them you may break a leg?"

The fox again looked at the grapes and again measured the distance he would have to jump. Then he leaped and got the grapes the very first time. As he trotted off, with juice dribbling down his chin, he said: "If I spent my time listening to the advice of cowards, I would have tarried to death a long time ago."

No one in the whole wide world more closely resembles the man in this fable than the average union bureaucrat at the head of the CIO and AFL unions in this country. Covered from head to foot with a yellow streak, these miserable creatures have the nerve for only one thing—to mislead, misguide and restrain the workers by preaching sermons about the weakness of the powerful labor movement.

A representative specimen of this breed is Emil Rieve, president of the CIO Textile Workers and a national director of the CIO Political Action Committee. A typical example of his kind of "leadership" was the speech he made last week at the

New York State CIO Convention in Saratoga Springs.

As is well known, Rieve, like Philip Murray and William Green and John L. Lewis, is opposed to the formation of a Labor Party. As is equally well known, Rieve, like the other top bureaucrats, answered the rank and file demand for a Labor Party after the Taft-Hartley Law was enacted by promising to drive from office every member of Congress who supported that law.

Such a program cannot amount to much if it results in the election of other anti-labor Congressmen, as it must if labor does not put up its own candidates and oppose both the Democrats and the Republicans. But even this promise now seems "too bold" to Rieve. For he tried to renege on it at the CIO convention.

He warned labor "not to dissipate its strength at the polls by trying to defeat in one swoop all Congressmen who voted for this Taft-Hartley Labor Law." He declared it would be "too big a job" for labor to accomplish its stated goal of defeating all who supported the law. Instead, labor ought to "pick out a list of 100 Representatives and Senators

and to concentrate on them." In that case, "then something might be done."

And to drive his point home, Rieve warned that those in organized labor "should not kid ourselves that labor is so strong that it can control the political destiny of the country." (N. Y. Herald Tribune, Sept. 5.)

Chicken-hearted themselves, afraid to break away from their political masters in the capitalist parties, the Rieves try to discourage and demoralize and frighten the workers so that they will fail to understand and utilize their unsurpassable strength.

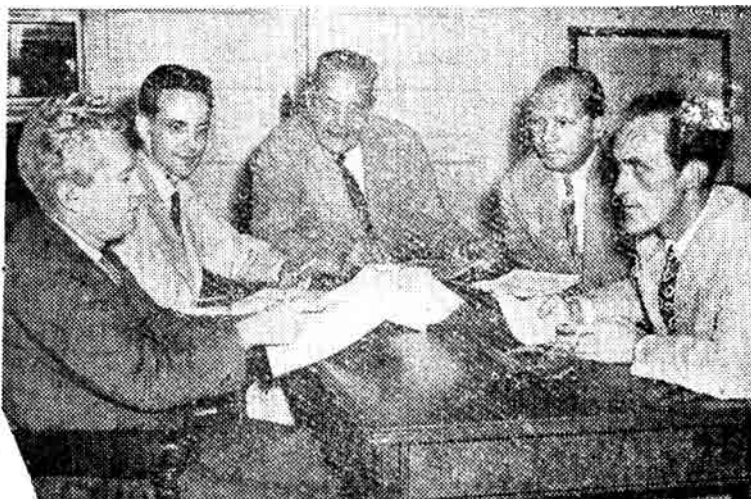
Fifteen million organized workers and their families plus their allies among the working farmers and the Negro people cannot control the political destiny of this country, they say. Why not? Aren't they the undisputed majority of the country, as even Daniel Tobin of the Teamsters was forced to admit recently? Don't they produce the things that make this country great? Don't they have the right to say how it shall be run and to run it themselves through their own party and in their own interests?

Who or what is going to stop them—a few hundred thousand bloated capitalists, corrupt politicians, brass hats and faint-hearted labor lieutenants of capitalism? Not if labor is conscious of its strength and of the need to use it politically as well as economically.

American labor has had enough of the Rieves and their counsels of pessimism, despair and defeatism. If such cravens had been listened to in 1776, the American colonists never would have been able to win their war for independence from Britain. If such misleaders had been followed in the 19th Century, the Negro people would still be groaning under the yoke of chattel slavery. If we ourselves had not had more guts in the 1930's than Rieve advises us to show now, the CIO itself could never have been built.

Like the fox in our fable, we must turn our backs on the false advice of the union bureaucrats, tense our muscles and jump for the goal which is easily within our grasp—a Labor Party of our own, through which we can begin the political job of building a new and better world.

Cooking Up New Angles



At a meeting in Washington the top legal figures of the NLRB get together to cook up new angles in administering the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law. Right now they are concentrating on maneuvering the unions into submitting "anti-communist" affidavits. Seated (l. to r.) are David Findling, Joseph C. Wells, Czar Robert Denham, Charles Brooks and Ellison Smith. (Federated Picture)

Pope's Speech Steps Up Reactionary Intervention in Italian Political Life

By George Lavan

Abandoning previous pretenses of promoting peace through neutrality in politics, the Pope last Sunday called for a crusade against communism and the Soviet Union. The Sept. 7 speech made it clear that the next World War, directed against the Soviet Union, would have the Vatican's full support.

This speech also marked an intensification of the Vatican's intervention in Italian politics. It is plain, this intervention is on the side of the reactionaries and bitterly against the working class parties, in the first instance against the Stalinist and Socialist parties.

Following up the recent exchange of letters between the Pope and Truman, the Vatican publicly announced in effect that it would go all out for the Truman Doctrine. Not only will the Holy See henceforward furnish "spiritual" support on the international arena, but it will take the leadership of the anti-communist forces in Italy.

BELICOSE TONE

Although the speech was clothed in the usual pomp and ritual of papal utterances, it was remarkable for its bellicose tone and the repeated use of semi-military terms and references. The N. Y. Times headed its dispatch: "Pope Asks War On Foes Of Church In An Attack At Moscow." It also drew attention to the statement that in this battle against communism (and the Soviet Union) "even a few minutes can decide the victory."

In addition to the open call to battle, the Pope's speech contained a liberal dose of social demagoguery. It was stated that the Vatican was opposed to the unequal distribution of the world's goods, "if those goods are in the hands of a relatively small and exceedingly rich group while vast masses are condemned to pauperism and to an economic position unworthy of human beings." This "defense" of the poor is an attempt to make the Italian people forget that the Church in Italy has sided time and again with the wealthy landowners and capitalists, and was a leading supporter and collaborator of the Fascist regime.

The situation confronting the Italian capitalist class and the Vatican is extremely perilous. The dominant moods among the peasantry and working class are anti-capitalist and anti-clerical. The working class parties have tremendous followings. Strikes are continually rocking the country. At this writing a million agricultural workers are on strike in the Po-River valley. Former partisans are bitter at the government's leniency toward prominent fascist criminals. Huge protest meetings including city-wide general strikes in northwest Italy have followed the freeing of fascists who had been arrested by the partisans.

PLIGHT CONTINUES

The economic plight of Italy shows no promise of improvement under capitalism. This coming winter again offers the workers cold and hunger. The only perspective of the Italian capitalists and government leaders is another loan from the Truman administration. They hope that they will get enough to avert an overturn and that the Stalinist and Social Democratic leaders will meanwhile succeed by their policies in reducing the masses to a state of disillusionment and apathy. Then the neo-fascist movements, which have sprung up all over Italy and which have ample financial backing, will be able, they hope, to repeat Mussolini's "March on Rome."

The urgency of the situation, mirrored in the Pope's speech, is increased by the impending withdrawal of American troops from Italy. Truman will do this reluctantly under the terms of the recently ratified peace treaty. This will leave the Italian capitalists and the Vatican face to face with the peasantry and working class—without foreign bayonets to protect them.

The masses who still follow the

in the Pope's speech at face value and conclude that the Holy See is actually fighting for freedom and democracy. The Vatican's record shows just the contrary.

FAVORS FASCISTS

The papal thunderings against dictatorship do not apply at all to Fascist Spain. Franco still remains the favorite ruler of Pope Pius XII, just as it was Pope Pius XI who spoke of Mussolini as "the man sent by Providence." The Pope accepted 750 million lire in cash from Mussolini and one billion lire in Fascist State bonds. Far from being a force for freedom and democracy, the Vatican still remains a center of world reaction.

It has openly taken its place as promoter and fighter for capitalism in Italy and for the Truman Doctrine throughout the world.

HOW TO BECOME A "FRIEND" OF LABOR

By Art Preis

Maybe I'm a little slow in the head, like my best friends say. But all these years it seems I've been going around with a cock-eyed notion about what a "friend of labor" is. Last week, thanks to the New York State CIO leaders in convention assembled, I began to see I had things turned on their head.

Now what would you say a "friend of labor" is? A militant union leader, an advocate of no taxes on the poor and bigger taxes on the rich, somebody who demands all war funds be used for low-cost government housing projects, an opponent of Wall Street's political monopoly who wants to build a labor party? If so, you're a comic. You ought to be making big money like Jack Benny.

You see, that's just what I've been saying—and not in joke either. So it's quite a shock for me to realize how wrong I've been. And that's on the authority of the whole top leadership of the State CIO.

THE CANDIDATE

It all came about when they picked a candidate for me to vote for—Mayor O'Dwyer. They called him the "next governor" right from the state CIO convention platform. They cheered and beat their palms and hailed him as a super deluxe model of a "friend of labor." And that's how I've come to see what a "friend of labor" is.

Of course a "friend of labor" is a Democrat, particularly a big-shot from Tammany Hall. But that's just a general qualification, like being a citizen before you can vote. To rate a nod from the State CIO leaders you have to demonstrate additional talents.

Right at the top of the list is strikebreaking. You've got as much chance getting political support from these CIO leaders without being a strikebreaker as I've got of winning the Pulitzer Prize for this article.

Your record must be outstanding in this field—nothing short of trying to bust more strikes than any public official in the country, excepting maybe Truman—and that's tough competition.

This politician I've been told to back for governor has been Mayor of New York City since Jan. 1, 1946. Within a month he had disaster headlines plastered on every front page, howling against the striking APL tugboat workers with scareheads about "famine" and "starvation." He shut the whole city down for 16 hours just to prove his point. Even the businessmen thought that was going too far.

Next, the CIO workers at Western Union went on strike. The Mayor put more cops around the Western Union picket lines than you'll see escorting a parade of the President down Fifth Avenue. Big, tough, scab-herding cops, thousands of them—the kind that get a thrill out of clubbing women and urchins to create a picket's skull with a blackjack. Right there you could see he was making it hard for the



MAYOR O'DWYER

state CIO leaders to back anyone else for governor.

If you think he ever supported any strike, even hinted the strikers were in the right once, you're as thick as I've been. Never—never—bust strikers, if you want the New York CIO to ask you to run for governor as a "friend of labor." Bust 'em all impartially, must be your motto.

Every time the CIO subway workers asked for a raise—the Mayor demonstratively called together all the police officials and city authorities. He let the newspapers know that if there were a subway strike he had 15,000 more cops than his predecessor and he would know how to use them in the "public interest."

His cops beat up on the Brooklyn Trust Company strikers a few weeks ago. They ran interference for scab drivers, mobilized by the Mayor, in the recent Queens strike. And when these cops have nothing better to do, they put in a little

extra practice by terrorizing the Negro people in Harlem or running in pickets protesting Jim Crow, like the Palisades Park incident a couple of weeks ago.

Yesterday, I was passing a picket-line of 12 women in front of a 14th Street department store. Hecht's. There were six big cops, armed to the teeth, "keeping order." Also a squad car standing by for "emergencies." It's these little touches that make you a "friend of labor."

Don't these 15,000 extra cops now and then nab a gangster? Well, I see by the papers that they've had 11 unsolved gang murders in a couple of months over in a small section of Brooklyn. But the police positively assure us they have a "lead." All they need is more time and fewer strikes to occupy their attention.

Our Mayor and "next governor" has many other qualifications. A month after he was in office he doubled the city sales tax. Every time I buy something for more than 15 cents, I pay two per cent more because of this "outstanding political figure." That doesn't go for stock transactions on Wall Street.

Now, that stink coming from the New York suburbs is more than their natural odor. It's the millions going yearly to the bankers and other big bondholders who "sold" the subways to the city for five times their worth and have been living off the interest on the city debt ever since. Our "friend of labor" is pushing for a subway fare boost. Another reason why he's supposed to get my vote.

That's just a few of the main qualifications for a "friend of labor," according to the model pointed out by the state CIO leaders. Frankly, I'm still not sold, but then, as I say, I'm inclined to be stubborn in my opinions. Maybe one of these days I'll be on a picket line and get a love-tap from one of O'Dwyer's cops. Maybe that will pound the right slant into my head about this "friend of labor" business.

Broker Answers \$64 Questions

A contestant on Phil Baker's "Take It or Leave It" program drew loud boos from the audience. His name was Waring and his reply to Baker's question about his work was that he was a real estate broker.

"Have you any apartments?" Baker inquired.

"Oh, yes," answered Waring. "We've got lots but we're not renting them."

"Why not?"

"Because OPA's still in existence and we're waiting until the next election for it to be voted out."

It wasn't revealed whether Waring demanded a 15% increase on the \$64 question.

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Laud Washington Envoys For Shift in Greek Regime

Loy W. Henderson, ace trouble-shooter of the State Department, has apparently succeeded in rearranging the Greek puppet government to suit Wall Street's political tastes.

On Sept. 7 King Paul of the House of Glücksburg swore in as Premier, Themistocles Sophoulis, 87-year-old, quailing who still wears a few tattered rags of liberalism. This was the best that Henderson, U. S. Ambassador in Athens, MacVeagh and Dwight Griswold, head of the U. S. Aid Mission, could do in the way of making the unsavory Greek regime look presentable. The capitalist press declared it a "big day".

Sophoulis had previously declared that he "would never under any circumstances" serve in the same cabinet as the utterly discredited arch-reactionary Tsaldaris, boss of the previous cabinet. He insisted on a "free hand" in filling posts should he be named Premier.

Tsaldaris, on the other hand, had balked at serving under Sophoulis, although he yielded to Washington's demand to oust ex-banished Napoleon Zervas, organizer of the sweeping "anti-red" purge that recently shocked American public opinion. These puppets calculated that Wall Street would not pull out of Greece any way so why not shake down all the racket would stand? It was not revealed what promises or threats Henderson might have applied, but both these Greek political racketeers suddenly made concessions glaringly divergent from their previous tough stances.

Sophoulis accepted Tsaldaris as a cabinet member. He accepted him, moreover, as head of a powerful inner combination in the cabinet. And Sophoulis proved decidedly amenable to "suggestions" on candidates for cabinet posts.

Tsaldaris claimed that he felt "humiliated by pressure . . . from the United States." But like a true quailing he swallowed his humiliation with remarkable fortitude and knuckled down to work for Wall Street under Sophoulis.

Throughout this farce, Washing-

Marshall's Advice On Shuffling Puppets

In his Sept. 10 column, Drew Pearson, the well-known Washington correspondent, reports a conversation between Secretary of State Marshall and Dwight Griswold, head of the U. S. Mission to Greece, that casts a vivid light upon the degree of State Department control over the Greek royalist government.

On being briefed for his trip, Griswold told Marshall he "would revamp the Greek Government quickly."

"Hadden't you better go a little slower?" Marshall cautioned. "We can't be dictators."

Griswold casually responded: "I dined with 10 prominent newspapermen. Every one agreed that my first move should be for a new government."

It pretended it was not intervening in the internal affairs of Greece against the will and interests of the Greek people. The purpose of this pretense was to avoid political responsibility for the cleaned-up cabinet and to continue the Allied fairy tale about the royalist regime salvaged from the gutters of Europe being a sovereign government "democratically" chosen by the Greek people.

But apparently careerist throat-cutting between MacVeagh and Griswold fouled up the quiet behind-the-scenes rearrangement of puppets. It was necessary to fly a top drawer trouble-shooter to the scene. Henderson's spectacular flight thus exposed the whole game so thoroughly that it is difficult to see how even the most optimistic liars on the capitalist press expect to brazen this one out successfully.

POLITICAL REASONS

What were the political reasons for this shift in the puppet regime? Washington hoped to shake off the onus of keeping in office the most hated quislings like Zervas—particularly since these puppets failed in the task assigned them of crushing all political opposition in Greece.

In preparation for a better prepared and more peaceful drive against the insurgent Greek people, Washington thought it advisable to begin with a liberal gesture or two such as offering "amnesty" to the partisans and "reviewing" the tens of thousands of cases of people railroaded into concentration camps and prisons in the recent purge. They needed a "liberal" premier to make these gestures look plausible. Consequently, the day after it was sworn in, the Sophoulis-Tsaldaris cabinet proclaimed a general amnesty for the partisans, provided they "lay down their arms." Few partisans are likely to be taken in by this move. In the previous "am-

nesty" the government no sooner disarmed as many of its opponents as possible than it redoubled the blood-letting. It is far easier and much less dangerous to liquidate an unarmed citizen than one able to defend his rights gun in hand.

The Sophoulis-Tsaldaris cabinet likewise announced that it would screen the survivors of the tens of thousands purged under Zervas and judge their cases in a spirit of broad-mindedness and justice and without political prejudice. How many will be released from prison under this noble-sounding pledge remains to be seen.

At the same time the Sophoulis-Tsaldaris cabinet announced its intention to "crush the rebellion, as well as those adhering to it or supporting it, in the most relentless way." This means that the proclamation of "amnesty" will shortly be followed by intensified civil war.

Meanwhile "under pressure and promises" from the State Department, the British Government has indicated that it will delay withdrawal of all British troops a little longer. Wall Street wants more time to prepare public opinion for the replacement of these troops by American GIs. Without Allied troops in Greece, the puppet government would be threatened with quick collapse.

New Note in Kremlin Propaganda Designed to Frighten Wall Street

By Joseph Hansen

For the past month the Kremlin has scudded a note in its propaganda not heard for a decade or more. The Moscow bureaucracy is recalling the Bolshevik revolution of November 1917.

This long disused note was struck on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Sixth Bolshevik Congress which convened Aug. 8, 1917. Pravda reprinted an article "American Billions" written by Stalin in August 1917 for the newspaper Proletari.

That article, printed when Lenin and Trotsky headed the Bolshevik Party, was aimed at American imperialism and the support it was then giving the Kerensky regime. "They used to say in Russia," the Stalin article declares, "that the light of socialism comes from the West. And that was true. From there in the West we learned about revolution and socialism."

In the 1905 revolution, however, "the West helped the Czarist reac-

Look Over New Domain



Members of Congress are taking off in all directions to "study" the situation in various parts of the world which Wall Street has asked out for its domain. At taxpayers' expense, they are combining vacations and opportunities to get new "arguments" to buttress the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. Shown here are members of a House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee preparing to leave New York for Europe. Left to right: Reps. James G. Fulton (R-Pa.), Jacob J. Javits (R-N.Y.) and Frank Chelf (D-N.Y.). (Federated Picture)

tionary regime," and again in 1917 "American capital furnishes billions" to the coalition of Kerensky-Milyukov-Tsereteli, so that having finally cured the Russian revolution it may defeat the growing revolution in the West."

Pravda utilizes the article to draw a parallel between Wall Street's role in 1917 with its role in 1947, pointing to the American tanks, planes and guns used against the people of Indonesia, China and Greece. "Imperialist states still lavishly finance the type of regimes which culminated in the October Revolution."

Pravda then repeats the Stalinist concoction about Stalin delivering the "principal report" — allegedly against Trotsky — at the Sixth Bolshevik Congress, calling for overthrow of the bourgeois coalition and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "When the Trotskyites and other oppositionists raised the stock objection that there could be no socialist revolution in Russia save in conjunction with a similar revolution in western Europe," declares Pravda, Stalin replied that "the possibility is not excluded that Russia will be the country that will lay the road to socialism . . ."

This, of course, is a lie. Stalin, so far as his activities prior to August 1917 are known at all, stood among those opposing Lenin's and Trotsky's views on the possibility of socialist revolution in Russia. But aside from that, mere references nowadays to "socialist revolution" is a novel departure for the Moscow bureaucrats whose hands are stained with the blood of countless revolutionary socialists.

To this must be added Stalin's Sept. 8, 1947, speech on the occasion of "Moscow's 800th birthday." Stalin took as his main theme "capitalist slavery" versus the "new Soviet social-economic order," and denounced "agents of imperialism" who are "endeavoring" to "provoke a new war."

The press likewise reports that the celebration in the USSR of the 30th anniversary of the November, 1917, revolution is being prepared on a motif that in "tone, content and approach," is "highly reminiscent of the great Bolshevik surge toward world revolution in 1917."

The main inspiration for this shift

The spotlight in Great Britain last week remained on 140 miners at Grimethorpe, a colliery surrounded by hills of slag in a bleak, grim valley of Yorkshire. These 140 miners were still holding out in a wildcat strike that began Aug. 11.

What gave this strike dynamic impact was the rank and file solidarity of miners in other pits. As many as 60,000 downed tools in sympathy.

The forces arrayed against the Grimethorpe strikers were enormous: the district officials of their own National Union of Mine Workers, the national officials of the union, the members of Parliament from the area, the Coal Board and the rest of the Government apparatus and the capitalist press.

Washington indicated its concern, and such powerful mouthpieces of Wall Street as the N. Y. Times angrily declared that the fate of the British Government, the problem of the Ruhr, the nature of Europe's economic crisis and the Marshall Plan were all tangled up by this wildcat strike.

But the 140 strikers remained firm. Their heroism can be judged by the fact that they have stuck for a month although denied strike benefits. The union bureaucrats, including the Stalinists, hoped to start them into submission.

The strike began when the bureaucrats heading the union agreed to a Coal Board decision to increase

the daily "stint" of the Grimethorpe miners from 21 feet of coal face to 3 feet. These miners had already had their "stint" increased to the maximum. So they walked out.

One of them patiently explained to N. Y. Times correspondent Herbert L. Matthews: "It is like a camel crossing the desert with a load of straw which is all he can carry. The driver puts another straw on and he loses the camel, load and everything. If he only had fed that straw to the camel he would have been all right."

TURNED DOWN OFFER

The Attlee Government used everything but armed force attempting to break the strike. Emmanuel Shinwell, Minister of Fuel and Power, proposed an investigation committee to check up the complaint about the unfairness of the order for increased production. But the 140 must first return to work. The 140 saw no need for an investigation. They turned down the offer.

Will Lawther, President of the union, told the 140 to go back to work and in return the increased production order would be "discussed." The Grimethorpe miners replied by painting on a wall in large white letters: "Hang Will Lawther."

The most violent attempt to break the strike came from Arthur Horner, well known Stalinist who is secretary of the National Union of Mine Workers. He called the valiant 140 strikers "traitors to the nation," according to the Sept. 9 Daily Worker. Horner was backed by Harry Pollitt, General Secretary of the Communist (Stalinist) Party. At a mass meeting in Hyde Park Sept. 7, Pollitt insisted that the 140 get back on the job and dig the 23 feet of coal demanded of them.

MILITANT ANSWER

The Yorkshire miners answered by sending flying squadrons to spread the sympathy walkout still further.

The Attlee Government and the union bureaucrats called a meeting of the Yorkshire miners with the objective of getting a vote to return to work. Out of 2,600 in the mine area, only 700 showed up. They listened and argued for three hours and then the majority voted to stay out.

The widespread sympathy among

British Stalinists Lead Strikebreaking Pack

The Sept. 9 Daily Worker glumly admits that "Communist trade union leaders are to be found alongside Tory denunciation" of the striking British coal miners as "traitors to the nation."

The Daily Worker admission, it should be added, is not quite accurate. The Stalinists are not "alongside," they are in the forefront of the pack of watchdogs for capitalism baying at the heroic British coal miners.

Arthur Horner, Stalinist secretary of the National Union of Mine Workers, in particular has made herculean efforts to smash the strike. He threatened the rank and file of the union that unless they get back to work at once and produce as much in 5 days as they formerly did in 5 1/2 days, they will "jeopardize" their newly-won 5-day week.

This Stalinist trade union bureaucrat, frightened at the possibility the British miners might brush aside all those trying to hold them back and proceed down the road toward a socialist society, cried: "If there is another coal crisis such as last winter's, it can bring down the Government. Lack of coal can bring down any Government in this country. It is not even the fate of the Government which is involved. It is the fate of the country."

It was the fate of Horner to get the answer he deserved from the miners—flying squadrons to spread the strike.

the miners for the 140 at Grimethorpe is of great political significance. It shows how dissatisfied the miners are with the failure of the Attlee government to end the capitalist system and build socialism.

Instead of carrying out the mandate of the people to organize a socialist society, the Attlee Government has done everything it could to shore up capitalism. All they have given the workers is a bureaucracy intent on carrying out the will of the British capitalist class.

But the miners want the people to derive the benefits from Britain's coal resources. That is why they are so firm in their refusal to do 5 1/2 days work in 5 days while the capitalist system still remains. Said a Grimethorpe miner, "We dislike being managed by a horde of bureaucrats."

International Notes

MIDDLE EAST OIL—Some of the small time oil companies, known in the trade as "pirates," are trying to set up their own siphon in the lake of black gold underlying the Middle East. Eleven of them organized the American Independent Oil Co., issued \$100,000,000 in capital stock and applied for concessions.

Former Deputy Petroleum Administrator Ralph K. Davies, who heads this gang of operators, hopes that the State Department will "incline toward the new group" in taking out concessions. He argued that the giant oil interests already "entrenched in the Middle East will benefit" by letting in the small operators "from the standpoint of their relations with the public and the government by the introduction of wholesome rivalry into areas where control is now concentrated."

He said nothing about any benefits to the people of either the Middle East or the United States.

ALLIED SLAVE LABOR — Two years after the end of World War I, at least 2,000,000 men are still held prisoners of war by the former Allied powers. These workers are being used as slave labor. Although no more prisoners are held in the United States, the Truman administration shares in the guilt for this crime against humanity. Of the 500,000 men performing slave labor for the French capitalists, about two-thirds were delivered into their hands by the White House.

MEXICAN BUILDING BUST — During the war, Mexico City enjoyed a building boom. Today that boom has been punctured, construction dropping in a few months 50% to 75% of what it was last year. The lack that burst the balloon was a government request to the banks to tighten up on credit in view of Mexico's declining dollar balance.

Building trades workers are hard hit. One union reported that half its members are combing the streets for jobs. Yet the metropolitan area still lacks adequate housing even by the most modest standards.

COLOMBIAN CP—Some of the issues that led to the three-way split in the Communist (Stalinist) Party of Colombia are coming into the open. Last April a group headed by Diego Montana Cuellar, a leader of the National Petroleum Workers Federation, was read out of the party for advocating more militant opposition to Wall Street imperialism.

Then on July 17, after 10 years as party boss, Augusto Duran was given the skids. Duran set up the Democratic Socialist Party.

Advocating "inter-American unity," Duran hailed the Petropolis Conference, refusing to reprint even Henry Wallace's mild criticism in the Aug. 18 New Republic of that militaristic gathering. A capitalist reporter, astounded at Duran's support of the military pact, observed that the group shows "an amazingly conciliatory pro-United States tone."

That leaves the official party, headed by Gilberto Verrera White, playing the center between the two other groups.

VENEZUELAN AND RIO—The Venezuelan Stalinists likewise reacted in various ways to the Petropolis Conference. The official leadership attacked Wall Street domination of the parity.

The opposition, which calls itself the Unified Communist Party, did not attack the Petropolis Conference. Instead it renewed its drive on the official group, denouncing them as "Browderistas," or followers of Earl Browder.

THREE BRASS BALLS—George J. Richardson of the AFL Fire Fighters Association was drowned by jeers at the British Trade Union Congress when he tried peddling Truman Doctrine propaganda against the Soviet Union.

A British trade unionist, L. McGree, answered him: "If there is one shred of honesty left in President Truman, he ought to climb the Statue of Liberty to move the torch of liberty and replace it with three brass balls."

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PERU DECREE ENDS CIVIL LIBERTIES

By Tomas Robles
NATIONAL SECRETARY,
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(GOM)

LIMA, Peru, Sept. 1 — Through a legal coup d'etat, L. Bustamante, President of Peru, has just established a virtual dictatorship, announcing in a sensational radio address at 9:30 P.M. the suspension of civil liberties, and invoking the powers conferred on the President by Article 70 of the Constitution.

From now on the authorities can legally invade homes, without specific warrant, jail citizens without cause, ban freedom of travel within the country, prohibit entry into the country or exile whomever it wishes, deny the right of assembly, persecute, imprison and "liquidate" those who oppose these measures — and all this without previous notice, court decision or congressional approval.

Bustamante's decree did not expressly abolish freedom of the press, but the suspension of civil liberties placed journalists, writers and political opponents at the mercy of the government. Thus, the "democratic" Bustamante regime took up the arms of dictatorship.

The pretext for this decree was the general strike in Lima that began Aug. 28 amid a profound economic and political crisis. Labelling it a seditious political strike, Bustamante declared it illegal.

The political scene in Peru is dominated by the struggle between the reactionary plutocracy and the Apra, a petty bourgeois party with support among the workers.

The plutocratic reaction includes the most important sections of the native bourgeoisie class. It has made political capital of the discontent of the petty bourgeoisie and enjoys the scarcely dissimulated complicity of the Communist (Stalinist) Party. Far from having been eliminated by the 1945 election victory of the Apra party and a combination of conservative "liberals" (that is, those

not too closely tied up with the previous dictatorships), reaction was in reality strengthened by the weak, conciliatory and capitulationist policy of the Apra.

Despite its powerful working class support, the Apra party after its election victory in 1945 opened the door of legality to reaction, lifting to power the very same Bustamante who now threatens the Apra with persecution.

Although the Apristas, together with their sympathizers, controlled the Parliament, they abstained from passing any measures whatever to change the social order. The revolutionary democratic program which had attracted the masses was tossed into the waste-paper basket. The Apra did not have the slightest intention of touching a stone in the economic foundation of the feudalistic bourgeoisie.

ACT AS STRIKEBREAKERS

Still more, the early anti-imperialism of the Apristas gave way first to "anti-fascist" phrase-mongering and then to the most shameful pro-imperialism. The Apristas joined the Bustamante regime in proposing the payment of the foreign debt and the granting of new concessions to Wall Street. Today they are the loudest-mouthed advocates of the Truman Doctrine in the trade union field, they have acted as strikebreakers since 1945, with rare exceptions demanded by momentary needs.

The traditional reactionaries were not long in recovering from the fear aroused by their defeat in the 1945 elections. They took advantage of those aspects of the Apra program which in the eyes of the masses represented nebulous democracy. They launched a furious campaign of propaganda and intrigues, ostensibly directed against the Apra but in reality aimed against the popular masses and against the democratic conquests of the masses, which they found intolerable even in a nebulous form.

The Apra replied with fits of impotent hysteria and episodic violence against all its political opponents. But it capitulated step by step to the reactionary forces.

Dropping the pious mask of democracy, the Bustamante government, aided by the Apristas themselves, demonstrated its increasingly reactionary character day by day.

From the beginning, Bustamante appeared as a bitter foe of the trade union movement. Today his regime is developing a line suited to the National Alliance — a political conglomerate in the pay of the plutocracy.

CHIEF PROPAGANDIST

Chief propagandist of these pseudo-parties is Eudocio Ravines, ex-leader of the Communist (Stalinist) Party, expelled in 1940 for personal feuds, now a servant of native reaction. He has not failed, naturally, to proclaim the Stalinist thesis of the "democratic-bourgeois revolution" and to advocate an alliance between the workers and capitalists of Peru.

As for the Stalinist leaders, despite their loud shouting over the cynicism of Ravines, they openly advocate an identical policy of National Unity, denouncing the totalitarianism and pro-imperialism of the Apra as the main danger. The Stalinist leaders have little support among the working class. Their policies tend to coincide more and more with the desires of the reactionary forces.

While they have not yet joined the National Alliance, they have many times indicated their desire of reaching an understanding with it. Recently they proposed a common program. In return for openly joining the traditional "civilistas" (old line reactionary political currents), they asked for nothing more than a struggle against red-baiting and "against imperialism." We know how worthless promises on such demands are and we understand the demagogic and reactionary character of the "anti-imperialism" which the Stalinists serve up for the native bourgeois lackeys of Wall Street.

The Jan. 7 assassination of Francisco Grana, editor of *La Prensa*, mouthpiece of the sugar and cotton magnates, was attributed to the Apra. A rabid campaign against the Apra followed. Up to now the

court has not handed down a verdict. Many suspected Apristas are being held, among them A. Tello, a parliamentary representative known as head of the "buffaloes" (Aprista shock forces).

REACTIONARY MANIFESTO

With the sharpening of the political crisis, almost half the Senators, many of them elected by Aprista votes, issued a reactionary Manifesto in the spirit of the National Alliance, and agreed not to return to the Senate. They issued a Manifesto written in consonance with the political line of the National Alliance.

Parliament was thus suspended, for according to the Constitution in the absence of a quorum the Senate could not legislate. The House of Representatives in turn could not secure ratification of its measures by the Senate. Later 72 Representatives (the Apristas with their allies number 74) decided to follow the example of the Senate abstentionists. The five "Communist" Representatives played along with this reactionary maneuver.

The emboldened forces of reaction redoubled the offensive against the Apra. This party, which in other times had resorted to rash extremes in demagogically appealing to the masses, now did not know how to answer.

The feudalistic bourgeoisie, certain of government support, is preparing an audacious maneuver. It accuses the Apra of fomenting a political strike in order to replace the cabinet with a gang favorable to the Apra. Such was the keynote of reaction echoed by the Stalinists at the end of August.

The general strike of Aug. 28 in reality was neither properly prepared nor guided by the Apra. The Aprista chiefs feared resorting to the kind of working class action which could carry them farther than they wanted and endanger their legal position, parliamentary representation and trade union and government posts through which they hope to gain standing among the feudal bourgeoisie. In any event, the Aprista trade union bureaucrats did everything to restrain the rank

and file and avoid the general strike that was widely demanded to defend the unions.

After wasting two weeks in bureaucratic maneuvers, they finally called the general strike on Aug. 28. The Workers Trade Union of Lima (USTL) raised only one strike demand—solidarity with the unionists in three factories whose leaders had been victimized by the employers. They insisted that the strike was not political and could not have any other social demands. They went into the strike with the intention of selling it out, for them it was all a political maneuver.

The government indicated its stubborn decision to break the strike, declared the strike illegal and called out the army.

REPEATED SLANDERS

The Stalinists and their prodigal Ravines played the role of strikebreakers. The parties and trade union groups controlled by these traitors condemned the strike, repeating the slanders circulated by the reaction and calling on the workers in the neighboring port of the USTL.

This seriously weakened the strike, but the textile workers and many workers in the neighboring port of Callao went out anyway. For four days the workers demonstrated a magnificent spirit of militancy. But when the government announced the suspension of civil liberties, the Aprista leaders at once reduced the strike demands to a proposed settlement already rejected by the unions. The betrayal was complete.

The Apra agents and the Stalinists who kept the transportation system moving under army protection during the strike inflicted a traitorous blow. The bourgeoisie is firm and aggressive. The government hopes to inaugurate an era of dictatorship.

The same night Bustamante issued his decree, troops attacked USTL locals. The locals remain padlocked. Not a whisper of protest from the Apra.

The largest section of the working class, not infected up to now by the virus of Stalinism, boiled

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"Fascism in the United States will be directed against Jews and the Negroes, but against the Negroes particularly, and in a most terrible manner."

Leon Trotsky

Democracy in the Unions

Internal union democracy will be one of the main issues before the annual convention of CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers which convenes next week in Boston. The debate centers around the right of members to group together in opposition to the official leadership. Maintenance of this right is fundamental to the democratic functioning of the union.

The Stalinist faction, controlling the UE, has been conducting a campaign to ban all opposition groups. Ostensibly this campaign is aimed against the UE Committee for Democratic Action. This grouping, organized on a national scale, publishes its own faction paper and claims to represent over 25% of the membership.

Because it thus functions as an organized group, the CDA has been stigmatized as a "dual organization" and has been ordered to dissolve by the Stalinist-controlled General Executive Board. The CDA has defied this ukase and this controversy will be aired at the Boston convention.

The "dual organization" charge against the CDA is a patent fraud. Every bureaucrat tends to identify himself with the union. In the minds of union bureaucrats any opposition to the official leadership is an attack upon the union itself. According to their logic, an opposition group becomes a "dual organization."

Another bit of crooked argumentation indulged in by union bureaucrats is that formation of groups is unnecessary in a "democratic union." Upon coming into control of a union apparatus—which is itself an organized group that supports the administration—the bureaucrat is readily inclined to outlaw all other groups.

The same is true with respect to the official union paper. The UE NEWS, for instance, is being used to attack the opposition and to defend the administration, while, in its columns, the opposition is denied the right to present its viewpoint. Under these circumstances, by no means peculiar to the UE alone, the "official" paper functions as the reigning faction's mouthpiece.

We hold no brief for the CDA. Its leadership is reactionary, its red-baiting method plays into the hands of labor's enemies. This makes them a vulnerable target for the Stalinist campaign. But while we disagree sharply with the policies of such groups as the CDA and while we condemn their methods and lack of a constructive program, we nevertheless firmly defend their right as union members to function as an organized caucus.

To trade union militants, internal democracy is no abstract principle. It is an issue upon which hinges the future of the American working class. It is through the clash of ideas, expressed in the struggle between organized groupings inside the unions, that the genuine militants will emerge as the authentic leaders of the trade union movement.

Free James Hickman!

The following letter to The Militant from the Hickman Defense Committee in Chicago is in reality addressed to all of our readers who are participating in the struggle against the housing shortage, Jim Crow and capitalist injustice:

"James Hickman is in a fight for his life. Perhaps you have not even heard of the case of James Hickman, for he is not a 'prominent' man. He is a Negro steelworker who brought his family from Mississippi to Chicago several years ago. He had heard that the north was a land of promise. But all he found was misery, injustice, persecution and finally . . . the greatest agony that any human being can suffer.

"His four youngest children were burned alive . . . victims of inhuman housing conditions, of doubly insufferable conditions in the Negro ghetto, and of an unscrupulous landlord who sought to profit from their misfortune. Stunned by this terrible tragedy, burning with hatred, he shot the man whom he justifiably held responsible for the death of his dear ones.

"Now the state (of Illinois) proposes in the name of justice, to add another chapter to this series of tragedies by depriving James Hickman of his life or his liberty. This would accomplish nothing but add more suffering to this

unfortunate family.

"The real solution to this and millions of other tragedies, big and small, is to eliminate the SOCIAL CRIMES which bring them about—the lack of adequate housing, and the racial restrictions which compel the Negro people to live under conditions of congestion which are a constant danger to life and health. The fight to free James Hickman can in some measure dramatize these conditions and bring public pressure to bear on the authorities to alleviate them.

"James Hickman is without influence or financial means. It is the clear obligation of fair and liberal minded people to come to his assistance. By so doing, we will serve two aims: we will help this man and his family and in the process we can to some degree help the millions of underprivileged. The defense committee has retained three prominent attorneys—Leon Despres, M. J. Myer, and W. H. Temple.

"We are writing to you in the belief that you will be anxious to assist to the fullest of your ability. You will realize immediately that financial assistance is of paramount importance. We feel justified in asking all people of liberal reputation for substantial contributions. Please send your donation to the Hickman Defense Committee at the above address (4619 South Parkway, Chicago 15, Illinois). We must also stress that time is of the essence, as the trial date is September 29.

"You can also help by sending protests to the state's attorney and letters to the press."

Let 'Exodus' Victims Come Here

Hitler is gone. But Hitlerism, this time with an Oxford accent and in British uniforms, continues from where the Nazis left off. We refer to the case of 4,300 refugee Jews who were forcibly removed, outside Palestine, from EXODUS-1947 and transported back to Germany in three British prison-ships.

Last week they were unloaded at Hamburg in a scene that caused a German station-official standing nearby to mutter with revulsion, "This is where we came in."

Out of sight of reporters, down in the holds of OCEAN VIGOUR, the first ship to unload, baton-wielding troops charged the passengers, including old men and orphans and widows whose husbands and fathers and families had perished in Nazi gas chambers. Emulating the Hitlerites, a loud speaker blared dance tunes to drown out the cries and sobs of the victims.

The assault mounted in fury by the time the RUNNYMEDE, last of the British ships was unloaded, when high pressure fire hoses were turned on the captives, rubber truncheons and clubs were wielded as scores of bleeding, battered Jews were dragged out of the holds. All of them were then dumped into sealed trains and rushed off to "displaced persons" concentration camps.

The British rulers are not alone in bearing responsibility for these hideous crimes. While Bevin's storm-troopers carry out their bestial orders, President Truman and all of Wall Street's servants in Congress turn their eyes the other way. At regular intervals Truman issues "humanitarian" statements and sheds crocodile tears—just for the record's sake. But neither he nor Congress do anything to alleviate the sufferings of these helpless refugees.

All doors remain closed to them. The entire American labor movement should raise its mighty voice to demand that at least America's doors be opened to these persecuted, tortured Jews and all other "displaced persons."

A Brass Hat for President?

Among the most vigorously promoted candidacies for President is that of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Army Chief of Staff and president-elect of Columbia University.

A Gallup poll has already been conducted on his chances in the elections. This suffices to show that an important group among the ruling class has chosen him as the man they want in the White House.

In his radio broadcast last week Walter Winchell said that behind the Eisenhower presidential boom is "the big secret money backer . . . Mr. Tom Watson, the top man at International Business Machines."

According to columnist Drew Pearson, the Eisenhower bandwagon is now rolling along merrily, with "Joe Pew, head of the Sun Oil Co. and Republican boss in Pennsylvania (being) the latest to get aboard."

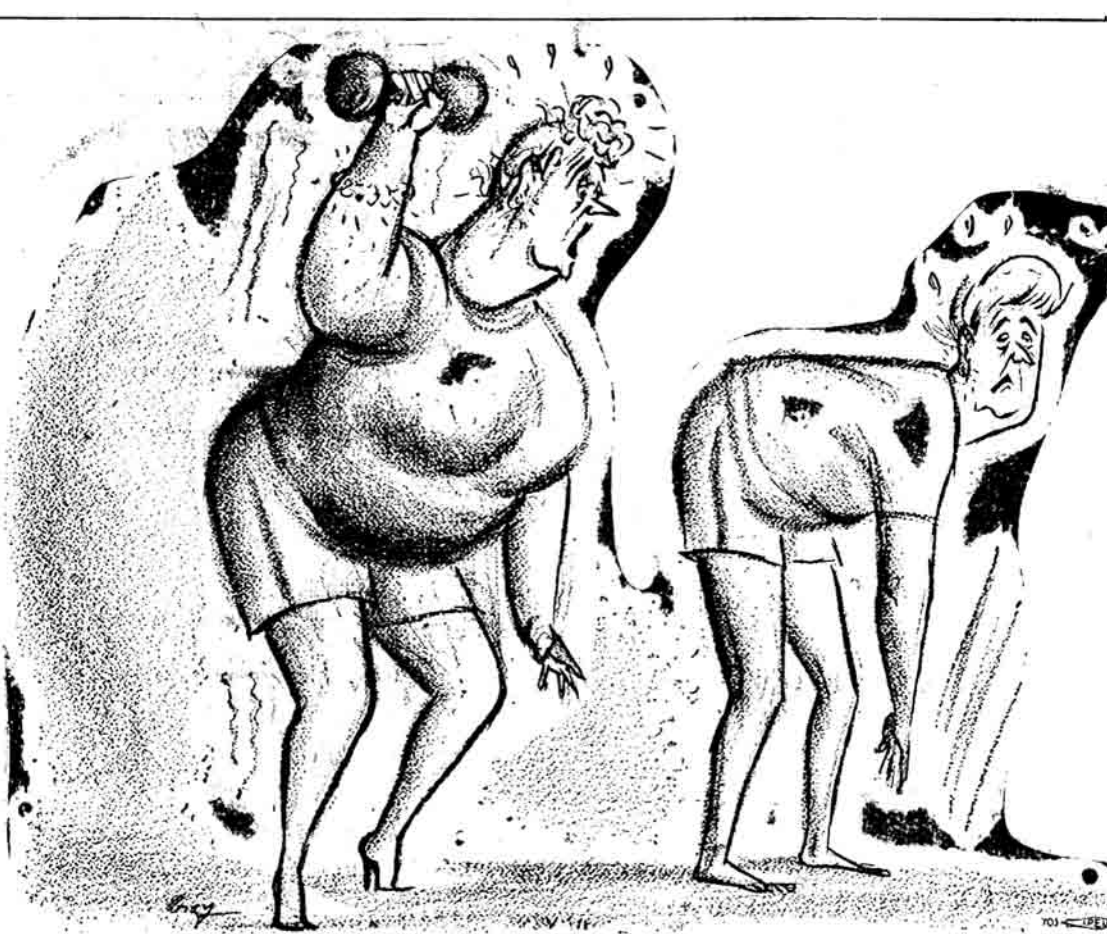
This "Eisenhower-for-President" ballyhoo illustrates strikingly how systematically and deliberately the capitalists proceed when it comes to handpicking figureheads for such key political posts as the White House.

They stint neither money nor effort. They leave nothing to chance, prepare carefully and well in advance, manufacturing prestige for those who will best serve their class interests. They are truly class conscious, as they show, among other things, by their conduct long before the presidential elections.

Contrast this with the passivity, if not stupor, of the official labor leaders. Furthest from their minds is any thought of selecting a presidential candidate from labor's own ranks who would truly serve labor's interests. What are they doing to safeguard the workers' vital stakes in the key of all key fields—politics?

They twiddle their thumbs on the sidelines while plutocrats like Tom Watson and Joe Pew set a vast machinery in motion in order to palm off a member of the Big Brass as the "people's choice."

The mass of the workers cannot afford such foolhardy negligence. Isn't it about time for them to begin thinking as seriously as do the heads of big corporations about such important problems as choosing their own presidential candidate to head labor's own ticket in 1948.



"My husband says the unions are getting so big, they'll have to be trimmed down to size."

WORKERS BOOKSHELF

STRUGGLE FOR GERMAN

MANY by Russell Hill, Harper & Bro., 1947, 260 pp., \$3.

No sooner had Germany been defeated than the conflicts among the Allied conquerors, suppressed during the war, broke out in full force. Their struggle for power, the author makes clear, is world-wide in scope, but Germany became its "European focal point" because of its "geographical situation, its resources, its industrial potential, its large population."

Defeated Germany was carved up into four zones between the U. S., Britain, France and Russia. Before long, the true power relationships emerged sharply in the growing clash between the "only two great powers in the world: the Soviet Union and the United States." The author warns against this "two world" cleavage and its potentiality as breeder of World War III. But the book deals mainly with the disastrous effects upon prostrate Germany of Allied rivalries.

Hill is correspondent for the N. Y. Herald Tribune and has been lauded for his accurate reporting from Germany where he is stationed. In his book he describes many of the crimes committed by the U. S. authorities against the long-suffering German people. He condemns all the victor nations which looted the country and points out: "Just to keep the record straight, it must be added that Americans are in no position to be righteous about loot; the millions of dollars worth of goods looted by Americans and sent home with the cooperation of the Army authorities, not only from Germany but from liberated countries, places us on the same moral level as the Germans in this respect."

He shows the effects upon the people of the cities bombed to rubble; of the increasing starvation which

plighted millions of homes and forced women to sell themselves for food. The unrelenting hunger "creates an atmosphere of depression and futility from which even well-fed occupying forces cannot escape. And it has profoundly influenced occupation policies and relations among the Allies. Food is politics in Germany."

The division of Germany and the conflicts of interest among the occupying powers have created a pro-ongation and deterioration of Germany's already desperate situation. The author indicates the most brutal of the conquerors: "America suffered far less at the hands of Germany than did Britain. Yet there were many more voices in America raised in support of the most fantastic plans for wrecking the German economy." Among these he lists the monstrous Morgenthau plan and the Potsdam treaty.

Hill complains that despite the official war slogans against fascism, the U. S. military authorities did not proceed to "denazify" Germany. They kept many Nazis in high places. He quotes General Patton's notorious comment that "this Nazi thing is just like a Republican-Democratic election fight." He apologizes for this by saying that Patton, "like most Americans in Germany, did not understand what Nazism was."

In truth the Big Brass, like the Big Business interests they serve, know very well what Nazism is. They deliberately kept Nazis in high places to help prevent the German working people from getting rid of their capitalist rulers and establishing a government of their own.

The author pleads for a new policy in which the U. S. should introduce genuine "fundamental democratic liberties" in Germany. But he does not mention, much less propose, the first step toward such a

goal: the withdrawal of the American and all other foreign troops from German soil.

—Evelyn Atwood

MEDICAL CARE AND THE FLIGHT OF THE NEGRO

by W. Montague Cobb, 1947, NAACP, 20 W. 40th St., New York 18, 40 pp., 10c.

This new NAACP pamphlet by a noted Negro physician is filled with information showing the evil effects of segregation on Negro medical care and is an uncompromising attack on segregated medical training and hospitals.

To summarize just a few of the facts Dr. Cobb supplies about the health status of the Negro and the position of the Negro physician: Negro life expectancy has shown a constant lag of about 10 years behind the white. The Negro mortality rate is 71% higher than the white. While the national average is one doctor to every 750 in the population, the proportion of Negro physicians to Negro population is one to 3,377. Only 145 Negro doctors are graduated yearly, about 3% of the total, most of them from the two Negro medical schools and a few from northern colleges.

Dr. Cobb emphasizes the need for a fight to "remove the entrenched and discriminatory practices in education, professional training and hospital customs." As for segregation, it is "ethically and constitutionally wrong. Anthropologically it is without basis. Practically it is a failure. In no field is this more dramatically obvious than in health."

The facts in this pamphlet should become more widely known. They are ammunition in the struggle to end the Jim Crow system.

—Albert Parker

Will Export Sag Puncture the Boom?

By John G. Wright

Evidence that the sag in American foreign trade is not episodic but deep-going, is already at hand. Last week the Department of Commerce reported a decline in foreign trade for the second consecutive month. Exports, which had fallen in June by 180 million dollars below May peaks, slid off an additional 90 million in July, for an overall dip of more than a quarter of a billion within the brief space of sixty days.

The drop in the volume of exports is actually larger than indicated by the dollar shrinkage, because prices in June and July were higher than in May.

The down-plunge of foreign trade has been steady, rapid and sizable, denoting beyond reasonable doubt that a definitive trend has set in, even though the available data thus far covers only a two month interval (a period which, as a rule, may be considered much too brief for establishing definitive trends).

The likelihood of a reversal is so slim that future severe declines are today accepted as a matter of fact by such conservative capitalist institutions as the National City Bank.

While seeking to counteract "pessimistic interpretations" of what is involved in the construction of foreign outlets, these bankers found themselves compelled nonetheless to make the following gloomy comments in their monthly review of current economic conditions for September:

"Exports provide employment and purchasing power indirectly as well as directly. They take potential surpluses off domestic markets, and they have a stimulating influence on business sentiment through the support they give to prices and domestic trade. Some industries and some branches of agriculture depend

upon them to a far greater degree than is suggested by overall or average figures. A shrinkage of markets in these lines would affect not only their current operations, but their plans for capital expenditures."

ALREADY SEVERE As of July, this shrinkage has already proved severe. Among industries hardest hit thus far are textiles. N. Y. Times, Sept. 6, estimates that "rayon goods exports for the balance of the year will show a drop of approximately 50%," while cotton goods "are expected to fall off by 20%."

Textiles confront this bleak prospect in the face of many months of curtailed production. The disappearance of outlets abroad must unquestionably result in further production cutbacks, after the seasonal spurts expend themselves. This will tend to drag down the rest of the soft goods or non-durable sector, where production has been sliding off since January.

The weekly U. S. News, Aug. 29, is alarmed that cutbacks have been "most severe for rubber products, textiles, leather goods and paper-board."

In durable goods the drop up till now has not been as marked. But it has made itself felt here, too, as the same source notes, "heaviest in machinery, in stone, clay and glass products, and metal products other than iron and steel."

CUTBACKS TO EXTEND

With the continued export shrinkage, cutbacks in these branches will become progressively more severe, and, what is more, hitherto unaffected branches like iron and steel must presently feel the squeeze.

Exports of iron and steel mill products fell off from 79 million dollars in May to 67 million in July, or

a drop of more than 15%. Coal exports registered an even steeper sag of 27%. Such figures bode ill for the future of the durable goods sector.

Declines as steep and even steeper were suffered by exports of grain, meat products and raw cotton. Here we have unmistakable danger signals for agriculture, now in the throes of a speculative orgy transcending the hectic days after World War I.

How will the remaining major sector of industry—the construction industry—react to shrinking exports? The outlay for new building in the second quarter failed to maintain the abnormally low level of the first quarter. "It now appears unlikely that construction will hit the expected 12.2 billion dollars this year, and that is a downward revision of the original estimate of 15 billion," laments the above-cited issue of U. S. News.

While soaring prices choke off building on the one side, declining national output and dwindling exports are closing the vise on construction from the other side.

Ever wider fissures are yawning throughout the foundations of the speculative post-war boom. Capitalist spokesmen are crawling out of their skins to minimize the consequences of shrinking exports, declining domestic production and retail trade. The behavior of the stock market, in a slump for three consecutive weeks, and the preparation of public opinion for an emergency session of Congress—believe this take optimism.

Our task is to sound the alarm and arouse the workers to the fact that the boom-bust pattern is looming more and more distinctly and ominously before their very eyes.

The Mysterious Case Of the Displaced Island

By Joseph Hansen

For your notebook on dialectics, here is an item reported by Joseph and Stewart Alsop in their article, "Are We Ready for a Push-Button War?" in the Sept. 6 Saturday Evening Post.

During the fighting in the Mediterranean in World War II, they say, a bomber was ordered to take off from Corsica for a "crucial Italian target, hard to hit by visual bombing." The bomber flew by the "magical system" of radar navigation which can locate a point a few hundred miles away with an error of only a few yards. Yet the bomber overshot the target by nearly a mile.

The brass hats blamed the leader of the mission and ordered another try. The second bomber did as well as the first, scoring a clean hit—"on the bomb crater: left by the first."

This astounded the brass. They ordered an investigation and found—that the very best maps of Corsica showed that island one mile away from its true place in the Mediterranean! Had the island shifted?

Further investigation proved that accurate as the map makers had been in determining Corsica's position, still they had made slight errors because of minute imperfections in their instruments. The best maps were only approximations of Corsica's true position on the globe.

These approximations were so good that no one had ever noticed the least error in the maps. For ships and airplanes in ordinary transport service, the maps were perfect.

Yet the error in the maps made a qualitative difference for the bombers—they missed their target. And it made a qualitative difference for their prospective victims. They missed a rendezvous with death.

The shocking discovery that our modern maps, the product of hundreds of years of arduous toil, are not good enough for World War III has sent a cold chill down the spine of the militarists. They are pouring billions of dollars into the development of missiles capable of flying half around the world and, for example, planting an atomic bomb squarely in Paris, Rome or Moscow.

But how can they be sure they know where these particular cities are? Or any other of the great cities teeming with human beings? After spending billions of dollars on the project what if the atomic bombs land five or ten miles away from the target?

To me this was a comforting thought at first. There's an outside chance, I thought, that some of us may survive even if worst comes to worst and the ruling class actually gets away with its plan of conquest.

But the authors explain that "the revision of all existing maps, beginning with the determination of the exact relative locations of the Western Hemisphere, Europe and Asia, is already in progress." When that's finished, the maps of the earth will be so precise that if the capitalist rulers realize their dream of another war they can put tens of millions of people in a collective grave with little chance of overshooting their target.

Worse yet, even if they don't get this part of the preparations for World War III completed in time, there's still an excellent chance they will be able to write "mission accomplished" on the lifeless deserts where tens of millions of human beings once lived. Besides atomic bombs, they have radioactive clouds, and deadly viruses that can sweep vast areas clean of every speck of life. For those weapons, the present maps are quite accurate enough.

However, the discovery that all the maps of the world are a little off caught my imagination. It shows how even the best accomplishments of the past become outmoded and need to be brought up to date.

If our maps are behind the times what are we to say about the capitalist system? There's an economy and a way of life that is so far behind the times, it has set as its major goal the extermination of humanity. This particular error, in my opinion, is one that really needs correction.

We must readjust our economy to fit the real needs of mankind. That requires a qualitative change, tossing the old economic maps into the ash can and putting into effect the new scientific maps of planned economy under socialism.

Monopolies Devour Lion's Share of National Income

How much profits do corporations actually rake in each year in proportion to wages and salaries they pay? This is one of the jealously guarded secrets of the monopolists who gladly shell out thousands of dollars a year for publicity that represents their profits as a water thin slice out of a juicy pie, the bulk of which ostensibly goes for wages and salaries.

The most any of these profiteers will admit is that he piles up in his coffers one dollar in profits for every 10 paid out in wages and salaries. This piece of statistical jugglery is achieved by comparing total national wages and salaries (before taxes) with corporate profits (after taxes). In 1946 the former amounted to 111 billion dollars and the latter to 12.5 billion. This gives a ratio of approximately 10 to 1.

Another fraud of capitalist economists is to compare corporate profits after taxes with the total national income. For 1946 this gives the figure of 7½%, even less than one in ten.

Hitherto sufficient data has not been available to establish what the real ratio of corporate booty is. But with the new set of statistics issued by the Department of Commerce, it is possible today to obtain a much more precise estimate than ever before.

An excellent approximation was made by Hobart Rowen, member of Washington Bureau of the weekly Newsweek, a specialist in "business and industrial news interpretation," in an article entitled "The Corporate Clean-Up" (The Progressive, Sept. 1).

Bringing the "ten to one" tricks of corporate apologists as "flagrantly phony wage-profit comparisons," Rowen shows from the new data that a correct comparison gives the ratio not 10 to 1, but three to one.

For the total paid out by corporations in wages and salaries before taxes in 1946 was not 111 billion dollars but 68 billion (of which 4 billion were paid out to corporation executives in fees, salaries, bonuses, etc.). On the other hand corporate profits—before taxes!—were about 21 billion.

In the phenomenal profit year of 1947, Rowen goes on to correctly point out, this ratio runs as high as \$2 in profits for every \$5 in wages, with many corporations doing even better than that.

As against the fraudulent comparison of corporate profits after taxes with total national income, Rowen takes a far more correct comparison of corporate profits with corporate income. The calculations show that in 1946 corporate profits before taxes swallowed up one-quarter of the corporate income; after taxes—14%. In 1947 the corresponding figures are one-third and 18% respectively.

Rowen, a champion of capitalism and of profits, "the lifeblood of capitalism," is appalled by this pillage of the national income for the benefit of a small handful. His solution? He remains frightened and hopes for—"a depression to knock sense into some people," if only temporarily.

This passes today for realistic thinking in liberal circles.

The Lucky Guy

By Theodore Kovalesky

I want to tell you about a very lucky guy, in fact, one of the luckiest guys in the whole world.

He's not a millionaire, and he's not a movie star getting paid to make love to Hedy LaMarr all week long and going home to his private swimming pool and bar weekends. For that matter, he's not rich at all; he's quite poor.

And he's not one of those queer people who live out in a valley somewhere and go barefoot and worship the sunrise and just with a crust of bread and a drink of spring water. I guess there aren't many people like that left, but there are quite a lot of fellows like the one I want to tell you about . . . and there are more of them coming along every day.

This guy isn't lucky because he's rich, as I said, or because he doesn't have to work, or because the dice always come up seven for him, or because he can tell ahead of time what horse is going to come in first at Preakness or Saratoga. No, it's nothing like that. He has to work just as hard as any other workingman, and he owns just as little. Nobody hands him any dimes, and he can roll snake eyes just as soon as you or me.

So what is it that makes him so lucky? Well, he's got something that most people don't have yet. He has truth. He has the answers to the biggest questions in the world. He has a road to travel on, and he knows that road. He has a life to live upon the earth, and he knows it is not just another life; an ordinary life lost in the millions of footprints on the ground and the millions of breaths breathed into the air. His life will mark the world. The world will never be the same because of it.

He's a lucky guy because he doesn't have to close his eyes to life and mutter, "Oh, well, what the hell!" He's lucky because he doesn't have to keep break-

ing his heart every time some capitalist politician foos the workers with fine words and then turns on them viciously. He knows what he must expect of the capitalist class, and he knows what he can expect of his own class. He doesn't get surprised or "betrayed."

He's a very lucky guy, because when he stands in front of the bathroom mirror shaving he can look his reflection right in the eye and say, "If there are kids hungry anywhere in the world, it's not because you're not doing your best to prevent it. You're doing all you can to change this world from a battlefield, for atomic bombs to a place with sunshine and green grass for healthy, growing kids to play in. You're working and fighting to put an end to poverty and insecurity, to wars and depressions, and to all the lies that the capitalists teach."

Oh, it's not all beer and skittles. He has sacrifices to make for the things he believes in, but he's still lucky, because the reason he makes them is that he wants to make them . . . and when he does, he feels himself repaid a thousand times.

He works in a mine or a mill or a shop. He runs an engine or ships out on the high seas or looks out at the long roads from the cab of a trailer truck. Wherever he works, he's in the union or helping to organize it, and he's the best union man there.

But the real, basic reason why he's lucky is that he's a member of the Socialist Workers Party. He's found the organization that teaches him how he can best fight for a decent world. He doesn't have to stumble around in the dark anymore. He knows where he's going. He knows what he wants; he's fighting for it. And he's not fighting alone either. His wife is probably in the party too.

What's the name of this lucky guy? Well, it could be any one of a lot of names, Irish names, Polish, Italian, English, or Jewish names. It could be my name. What about you? Could it be yours?

The Negro Struggle

Southern and European DPs

By Albert Parker

In a recent column George F. McCray, ANP writer on labor affairs for several Negro papers, puts his finger on an important threat to Negro employment. But his attempt to find an answer to that threat is short-sighted, weak and reactionary.

In general, McCray declares, employment prospects for Negroes would be good because essential goods are still short here and because the U. S. is supporting the economic systems of many other countries.

However, "the Negro population in the South, long under terrific social pressure, is now being menaced by the steady mechanization of southern agriculture. Negro cotton pickers and choppers are being driven off the plantations by the gigantic pickers, planters, weeders, and cultivators."

As a result, "the displaced Negro workers must migrate. Indeed Negro workers are migrating northward and westward and nobody in the South is complaining. . . . Will the North and the West be able to absorb a substantial migration of Negroes from the South? The answer is yes, if necessary! It will be necessary, as it has been necessary in the past, only when other sources of labor cannot be found."

"This is one reason why Negro workers and Negro leaders should fight vigorously all efforts to permit more migrants from Europe to enter the United States. The question of permitting 400,000 additional migrants to enter the country is now being investigated by a Senate sub-committee. . . ."

"Every new migrant will compete directly or indirectly with displaced Negroes who certainly should have preference over displaced persons from Europe."

The sooner we impress this on the powers in Washington, the more secure the Negro worker's future will be."

What a pitifully misguided "solution" that is! The real threat to employment comes from the capitalist system which is heading for a depression that will throw millions of white and Negro workers out into the street in the North as well as the South. That coming depression does not depend for a minute on the admission of 400,000 unhappy refugees from Europe; it will take place even if not a single one of them is permitted to enter this country.

The real enemy to be fought is the American capitalist class, which runs production for its own profit and benefit and which is responsible for barring Negroes from industry and not a few hundred thousand displaced persons who, like the Negroes here, are the victims of racial or religious prejudice.

McCray probably doesn't realize it, but his way of thinking can be very dangerous for the Negroes. When the depression comes, many fascist-minded demagogues are going to pretend that the only solution to unemployment is to "limit" the "sources of labor" and they will use this argument to try to deport and destroy the Negroes, just as the Nazis used it to deport and destroy the Jews. If Negroes accept such arguments today, they will be undermining and weakening their own struggle for survival tomorrow.

The answer to unemployment is to end the profit system and set up a socialist system, providing decent jobs for all. For that we require no quarrels and conflicts between the various oppressed groups and peoples, but their collaboration and solidarity — nationally and internationally — against the common foe, the capitalist system.

Six Who Chose Death

By Mary Wood

Melvin C. Roberts, 27 years old, has kept a promise. Two years ago when he and seven buddies were freed from a prisoner of war camp, they vowed to endure no more suffering and misery. If they could not find happiness in the post-war world, they decided, they would all commit suicide.

On Aug. 9, 1947, the second anniversary of their liberation, young Melvin Roberts took stock of his personal troubles and assessed the whole future. The Canadian government, which had sent him to the hell-hole of Hong Kong, had turned its back on the veterans after the job was done; it had refused to pay him for his years in the camp.

He was bitter about that — but far more bitter about the whole mad waste of World War II. He listened to all the speeches of the imperialist warmongers, he read the news of preparations for the coming slaughter. Rather than be dragged into another bloody war to swell the riches of the millionaires, Roberts chose to die.

The story of the death-pact was told at the inquest. A few months ago, Roberts had tried to visit one of his buddies, only to find that the soldier had already kept the vow. On Aug. 9, 1946, just one year after their release, Roberts' friend had decided that there was nothing to live for and quietly tossed in his losing hand.

Then Roberts had sought out the others. Four more of them had fulfilled the desperate pact. Now six of the eight young Canadian and American sol-

diers are gone. The fate of the others is not known. The dramatic tragedy stirred the indignation and sympathy of countless millions. But the case was hastily removed from the daily papers, with one half-hearted attempt to deny the evidence. Perhaps the capitalist press was worried; perhaps those who read the reports might see another alternative that these veterans had missed.

The capitalists don't mind a bit, you see, when discouraged workers take the path of suicide. That means only a few more wasted lives, in a society that cares nothing for human life. What are six men, when millions are slaughtered in war, and starved in peacetime?

There is a danger to the bosses, though, in the vast disillusionment among the workers and veterans. When the masses of men and women are fed up with broken promises, and see nothing worth while in their lives today, they won't decide on self-destruction.

It is tragic that these six young men did not learn in time that there is another way. All over the world, the forces of the socialist revolution are gathering. The colonial world is aflame with the battle for freedom. In thirty countries the parties of the Fourth International are steadily teaching the workers to organize against their oppressors, to wipe out the capitalist system which stands in the way of peace, security and happiness. They are issuing the great rallying-call written by Marx and Engels to the depressed and discouraged of all lands:

"Workers of the World, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains . . . you have a world to win."

Notes from the News

FREEDOM FROM FEAR — When the famous Ohio River boat, the Island Queen, exploded and burned last week the ground trembled and persons in nearby cities were shaken. People rushed into downtown Pittsburgh streets crying, "Atom Bomb! Atom Bomb!"

HE'S A CIVILIAN — "At least no one beat me with a hose," was Robert Ruark's reply to reporters. He had been questioned by a General investigating his charges against the brass hat rule of Lt. General Lee, U.S. Commander of the Mediterranean Theatre.

VETS' COMPENSATION — Official statistics answer the slanders of those who claim vets don't want to work but prefer to live off their 52 weeks of unemployment compensation. Only one-half of World War II vets have drawn any compensation, and less than

8 out of every hundred have drawn the 52 weeks they are entitled to.

TRIGGER-HAPPY COP — A rookie cop in New York ordered Lloyd Jones, a Negro music student, to get off a park bench and then shot him in the stomach. Witnesses claim the shooting was unprovoked and deliberate. The police story that Jones tried to seize the gun has been changed to "the gun went off accidentally." Jones, who was near death, has been released from the hospital and is being tried for disorderly conduct.

MOURNFUL HOPE — The Socialist Party's Call is unhappy because Dubinsky is donating funds to the Socialist Party of Italian Workers and not to the American SP. "It is hoped," they mournfully declare, "the ILGWU will one day support American Socialism also."

THE MILITANT

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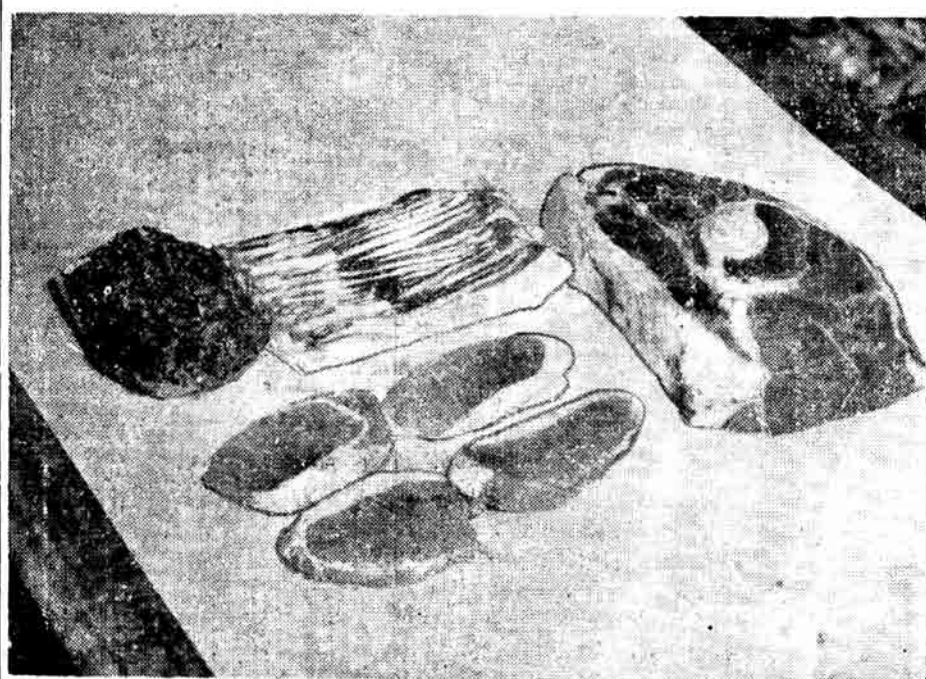
NEW YORK, N. Y.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1947.

Facts and Figures Prove How Meat Profiteers Gouge People

Just One
Year Ago
You Could
Buy This
Much Meat
For \$4.53

6 1/2 pound roast \$2.40
6 pork chops 75
1 pound bacon 45
Round steak 92
\$4.53



—But Now
This is All
You'll Get
With the
Same Sum
Of Money

1 1/2 pound roast \$2.75
1 pork chop 85
1/2 pound bacon 42
1 pound hamburger 48
\$4.50

Defense Committee Asks State to Free Hickman

CHICAGO, Sept. 10 — In a letter to State's Attorney Touhy last week, the Hickman Defense Committee strongly urged the state to drop the prosecution of James Hickman and set him free to return to what is left of his family. Hickman, a Negro steel worker, is charged with shooting his landlord after a fire had burned to death four of Hickman's children. (See editorial on Page 4.) The Defense Committee also asked for a conference to discuss the case with the State's Attorney. Meanwhile the campaign to free Hickman grows stronger each day as resolutions of support and contributions are being offered by unions, progressive organizations and prominent individuals.

SWP Election Drive Stepped Up in Detroit

DETROIT, Sept. 8 — Howard Lerner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Detroit, opened his campaign with a ringing attack against Mayor Jeffries for his inability and unwillingness to solve the critical housing condition existing in Detroit.

At the banquet launching his campaign yesterday, Lerner presented to the audience of over 100 people the need for raising and rebuilding a minimum of 20% of Detroit's slum area. Using the facts of the ninth annual report of the Detroit Housing Commission to bear out this statement, Lerner, former executive board member of Ford UAW Local 600, further stated:

"The Mayor of this city has the power to do away with this scandalous condition. We must demand of the Mayor an immediate end to the evictions of 4500 families a month, and the levying of a corporation tax to finance the construction of a plant to build prefabricated homes. Only by these means, together with the confiscation of the large mansions throughout the city, can this housing emergency be solved."

OTHER SPEAKERS

Among the speakers was Rev. Charles A. Hill, chairman of the Michigan Committee for an FEPC and long prominent as a fighter for Negro rights throughout the city. In his candidacy for the Common Council, Hill has received the endorsement of the Wayne County CIO Council and of the Socialist Workers Party.

Mr. Hill pointed out the need for a complete change in the city ad-

ministrations are being offered by unions, progressive organizations and prominent individuals.

VOYE SUPPORT
The Chicago Council of the AFL Building Service Employees Union, representing 39,000 workers, has adopted a resolution expressing the belief that "the real responsibility for the shooting and for Mr. Hickman's plight is the terrible housing situation in Chicago." The Council voted moral and financial support to the Hickman Defense Committee.

Other organizations which have voted support are the Executive Board of the Chicago CIO Council; Locals 734, 281 and 477 of the UAW; the Progressive Steel Workers of

America; Committee of Racial Equality; Chicago NAACP and NAACP Youth Council; Labor's Council for Community Action; Baptist Ministers Conference; Chicago Area Council of the AVC; Workers Defense League; and the Socialist Workers Party.

Willard Motley, author of Knock On Any Door, was among the prominent individuals who have endorsed and joined in the activities of the Defense Committee. Others were Willard Townsend, president of the CIO United Transport Service Employees, and Robert Ming, professor of law at the University of Chicago.

FUNDS NEEDED

Financial contributions to the defense fund are now beginning to come in, although far more are needed for the work that lies ahead. The following organizations have sent money: UAW Local 281—\$50; UAW Local 734—\$50; UAW Local 477—\$10; Socialist Workers Party—\$25; Baptist Ministers Conference—\$200; Pilgrim Rest Church—\$25; Hotel and Restaurant Local 593—\$25; Woodlawn AME Church—\$20. Other funds have been raised from collection lists and mass meetings.

The Defense Committee is making plans for a mass meeting on the South Side on Sept. 28, the day before the Hickman trial is scheduled to open.

As a guest speaker, Manny Terbovich of Chicago, former District Director of the CIO Steel Workers and International Representative of the United Mine Workers, praised the Detroit Branch of the SWP for running a candidate against Big Business opposition. He condemned the official leadership of the Detroit labor movement for the spectacle they have presented in recent months of kowtowing and kneeling before the candidates of Big Business.

He sharply attacked the talk of support of Jeffries, a man whom the CIO in past campaigns has spent \$250,000 to defeat, one who has time and again demonstrated his anti-labor character. In contrast, he showed the power in an independent policy by adding up the overwhelming vote a labor candidate would receive.

The affair wound up with a fine collection exceeding \$300 in donations and pledges, which will be used for the purchase of radio time, rental of sound trucks and for other facilities to further the campaign.

By Norma Christensen

ST. PAUL, Sept. 7—Illustrating pictures of how the workers are being robbed of the gains for which they fought on the picket lines in 1946 appeared in yesterday's St. Paul Pioneer Press, and are reprinted here.

In the 1946 strike wave the workers forced the bosses to grant an average increase in wages of 18 1/2%. Take the meat packing industry, for example, and see what the robber barons who control the meat trust have done to dispose of the 16 1/2 cents hourly increase for which the packing-house workers went on strike early last year.

The top illustration shows the amount of meat which could be purchased for \$4.53 one year ago. Today the same meat would cost \$7.92. This is an increase of \$2.39, or figured on a percentage basis, it amounts to approximately 53%.

In June 1947 the packinghouse workers received another 6 1/2 cents an hour increase, this time without resorting to strike action. This makes a total increase of 23 cents an hour since January 1946; or figured on a percentage basis, an increase of approximately 31%.

Compare this 31% increase in wages with the 53% increase in the price of meat. Multiply this by all the necessities of life for which the

worker must pay inflationary prices. It leads to only one conclusion—the economic gains wrested from industry by militant action on the picket lines do not necessarily improve or even maintain the economic position of the worker. As a matter of fact, the worker's position is worse now than it was a year ago.

These facts show clearly that real wage gains can be protected and secured in one way; that is, by a rise in the wage scale in proportion to the rise in the cost of living index. Only by including a sliding scale of wages in their contracts can the unions hope to counteract this inflationary scheme of robbing the workers of every hard-won gain.

Hand in hand with the struggle for a sliding scale of wages must go a political fight against the price-gougers and their puppets in the halls of Congress who have helped to place the main burden of inflation on the workers and working farmers. That means an Independent Labor Party, and a Labor Slate in '48.

Robert Williams Blasts Conspiracy Against PR

NEW YORK, Sept. 11—"The attempt to abolish Proportional Representation voting for City Councilmen by referendum in the November elections is part of a plan inaugurated by Tammany Hall to introduce reaction piecemeal into New York City," Robert Williams, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for the State Senate, de-

clared in a statement today. "The fountainhead of this plan is the so-called friend of labor, Mayor O'Dwyer."

"O'Dwyer's machines deliberately separated the issue of PR from that of the fare increase. They know that placing the fare question on the referendum this fall simultaneously with PR would ensure a large turnout of voters who in all likelihood would both defeat the proposal to raise the fares and uphold the PR system."

"O'Dwyer himself has maintained a discreet silence on the question of PR. But that should fool no one. This is the same deceitful pattern he followed on the fare question, with only slight variations. First loud-mouthed opposition. Then studied neutrality. And finally, when the working class public is

beguiled into trusting O'Dwyer's 'liberalism,' he jumps over onto the side of reaction.

"The movement to save PR is seriously weakened by the Stalinists, the leaders of the ALP, the Liberal Party and the trade union bureaucrats who are fighting to maintain PR. They supported O'Dwyer in the last election and continue to support him today. The shameful demonstration organized by the bureaucrats at the State CIO convention for O'Dwyer for Governor gave him new encouragement to continue his reactionary game unhindered."

"This is just another example of the bankruptcy of the policy of supporting capitalist 'friends of labor.' And it comes on the heels of one of the worst strikebreaking records of a New York City administration in a long time."

"It is extremely important that the working class and Negro public rally to the polls this November to save PR. Loss of PR will immeasurably increase the difficulty for 'trade unionists, for the Negro community and for minority groups to send their representatives to the City Council."

"Loss of PR will immeasurably strengthen the influence of the corrupt Wall Street-bossed Tammany and Republican machines over the affairs of the city. To save PR is to strike a blow at reaction."

Great Majority Now Favor Unions

A Gallup poll on the question of approval or disapproval of labor unions shows a rising sentiment since 1941 in favor of unions. Today 64% approve, 25% disapprove. On the question should workers have the right to strike, 62% voted yes, 28% no.



ROBERT WILLIAMS

Labor's Independent Campaign Off to Good Start in Youngstown

YOUNGSTOWN, Sept. 6—Over 1,000 workers and members of their families have signed endorsement and backing sheets for John Ausnehrmer, labor candidate for council in the Fourth Ward here in Youngstown. About 700 of these signatures were obtained at the huge Local 1330 picnic held on August 31. The Ausnehrmer campaign was launched at the picnic, one of the largest in the history of Youngstown.

In addition to the wide circulation of endorsement sheets among the workers of the ward and of the whole city, the Ausnehrmer supporters are concentrating on bringing the campaign to other Steelworker locals in this area. Republic Steel Local 2216 has already unanimously endorsed Ausnehrmer's campaign.

Large buttons reading "Ausnehrmer—Labor's Independent Candidate" were widely distributed among the 20,000 who attended 1330's picnic.

to announce publicly the opening of my election campaign. I am running for councilman from the Fourth Ward and am running independent of the Republican and Democratic parties.

"I considered this step very seriously. I consulted with my union, and was assured full support if I ran. If my union would not have assured me support, I would not have filed for office."

"I pledge myself to you to work in close collaboration with the union movement, and fight for our needs. 'The union movement is the best friend of all of us workers. Labor should have direct representation in the legislative halls. I believe this election contest to be the fight of all the workers on the West Side, and urge that we all act accordingly now."

The following statement by Ausnehrmer appeared in the last issue of Ohio Works Organizer, Local 1330's paper:

"I want to take this opportunity