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Labor Fakers Boost Boss Politicians for '48

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The New Situation In The Unions

By James P. Cannon

NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
(Speech to New York SWP Membership Meeting, Nov. 30, 1947)

During the war the trade union bureaucracy in the United States completely revealed its role as an agency of the bourgeois government in the labor movement. Its assigned task was to restrain and discipline the workers within the strait-jacket of the no-strike pledge and the wage freeze. It must be recognized that the bureaucracy in all its sections performed this task with the greatest efficiency. The Stalinists, who are a part of the trade union bureaucracy, did even more than this dirty job.

In return for this service as a disciplinary police force over the workers, the governmental machinery protected and, to a certain extent, aided the bureaucracy in maintaining and extending the membership of the unions through union shop agreements, maintenance of membership clauses, and similar devices. A section of the monopoly capitalists wanted to smash the unions, or to try to smash them, even during the war. But they were compelled to restrain themselves and bide their time in the over-all interests of the class as a whole in uninterrupted production for the war. The membership of the trade unions grew and swelled and nearly doubled during the war and in the immediate post-war period — from approximately 9 million in 1940 to about 15 million trade union members at the present time.

The great accumulation of workers' resentment and unsatisfied grievances, which had been dammed up throughout the war years by the bureaucracy through the no-strike pledge, broke through in a mighty flood in the strike wave of 1945 and '46. The dominant section of the monopoly capitalists seemed to welcome these strikes as a test of strength. They were playing with the idea of meeting the war-swollen unions head on and smashing them in direct battle. The profit hogs counted on a post-war reactionary swing in the country and tried their best to get it under way. They counted on using the returning veterans against the strikers, as they had done with considerable success in the period immediately following the first World War.

Unions Stood Up Firmly

These calculations of the monopolists proved to be badly timed. The unions, including the great steel union which had really never been tested in battle before, stood up firmly in the strikes; and the bulk of the veterans, as well as the middle class elements in the urban centers, sympathized with the strikers.

By and large, the workers and the unions came out of the first postwar conflict victorious. The

unions were maintained intact; their ranks were tempered in struggle; and some wage increases were gained, even though the latter had only a transitory value.

Following this initial setback to their calculations, the monopolists got their second wind and began to organize and whip up a real campaign of reaction in the country. As the strike wave subsided, the press and radio were mobilized to swamp the people with anti-labor propaganda. The government was compelled to abandon its pseudo-neutrality and come out openly as a strikebreaker.

The breaking of the railroad strike by President Truman in the spring of 1946, and the injunction against the miners in the fall, were the first big demonstrations of the new capitalist offensive. They served the purpose of dampening the militancy of the workers to a certain extent. The workers felt impelled to draw back, to take a more cautious attitude, to wait and see what might develop further before taking any further action on their own account.

At the same time, these blows scared the wits out of the trade union bureaucrats and softened them up still more in relation to the employers and the government, while hardening them still more against all really militant and progressive tendencies in the trade union movement.

Beginning of Campaign

But the breaking of the railroad and mine strikes by governmental action was only the beginning of what was coldly designed as a long drawn-out campaign, on the part of the ruling capitalists in this country, to terrorize the labor movement; to domesticate the unions and put them more firmly than ever under the discipline of an ever-more servile and conservative bureaucracy; to lower the standard of living of the workers; and to prepare public opinion for another war — this time against the Soviet Union.

Having tasted blood in the first two encounters of the second stage of postwar developments — the railroad strike and the mine strike — the monopolists then turned loose an unrestrained campaign of reaction, which, in its essence, is simultaneously the preparation for war and the preparation of a fascist movement in the United States.

The anti-labor offensive to domesticate the unions and beat down the standard of living; the preparation for war; the red-baiting drive, and the pre-fascist mobilization — all these are not merely inter-related phenomena; they are in reality united as different phases and aspects of one and the same campaign. This is graphically illustrated by the sequence of events.

The breaking of the railroad strike was followed by government capitulation to the "sitdown strike" of the meat trust and the removal of all price controls. Next came the injunction against the mine strike. The hue and cry against the Soviet Union then prepared public opinion for the enunciation of the Truman Doctrine, which was nothing more nor less than an announcement of the American imperialist program to dominate the world by economic pressure and military force. The Truman Doctrine was

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FASCIST THREAT MOUNTS AS CRISIS GRIPS FRANCE

Dairy Strikers Win Cost-of-Living Bonus in Toledo

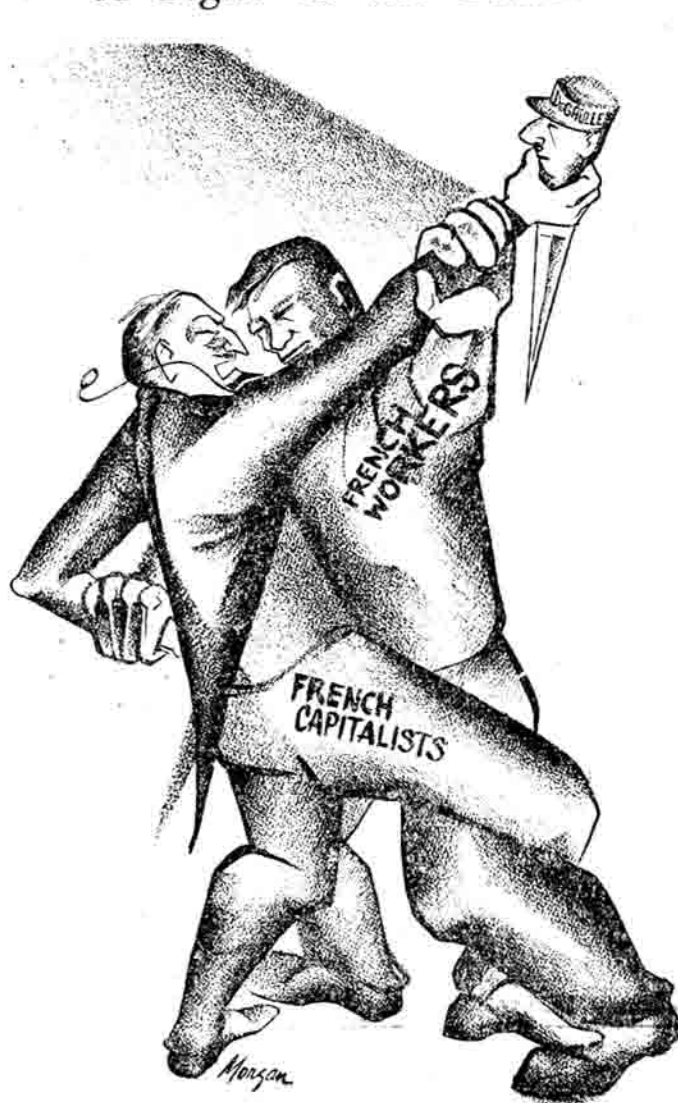
TOLEDO, Nov. 26—A four-day strike has brought a smashing victory to AFL dairy workers here. The final settlement provides for wage adjustments based upon a cost-of-living index to be made every three months, in addition to a 15c an hour increase effective immediately.

The 15c increase brings the base rate up to \$1.43 an hour. This rate becomes the minimum below which adjustments cannot be made. There is no ceiling on upward adjustments.

The brief strike was marked by an attempt by the dairy owners to create a critical situation on a city wide basis. Only the workers in one dairy actually went on strike. The other six Toledo dairies thereupon immediately locked out their workers, thereby creating a serious milk shortage. Undoubtedly they hoped to provoke a crisis and invite the Taft-Hartley NLRB into the picture.

However, the employer-created shortage of milk, the usual crocodile tears of public officials weeping over the poor kids and so on, had no effect on the strikers. They rejected successive company offers of 5c, 6c, 7c and 12c, and finally won 15c plus the important cost-of-living adjustment provision. The dairy workers of Toledo have pointed out the correct road to all labor.

A Fight to the Finish



Palestine Partition Incites Arabs Against the Jews

By Irving Dale

Widespread violence and rioting spread through the Arab countries and a three-day Arab general strike was called in Palestine in response to the UN Assembly decision to partition Palestine. Moslem religious leaders have issued a call for a "holy war" to prevent the partition. The main target of the Arab demonstrators was the Jews. At the same time their wrath against American imperialism was expressed by attacks on U. S. embassies and burning of U. S. flags.

On the other hand, the UN decision to carve a Jewish state out of Palestine was met with jubilation by virtually the entire Jewish population throughout the world. After being hounded from one country to another, after the ferocious orgies of Nazi Germany, after two years of hopelessness and despair in post-war Europe, the establishment of a state has great appeal for the Jews. To them it looks like the solution of their problems—a country of their own where they can at last be free from anti-Semitism and in which they will be masters of their own destiny.

The UN resolution calls for the partition of Palestine, a territory approximately the size of the state of Vermont, into three zones—a

Jewish state, an Arab state and an international zone. The proposed Jewish state would occupy 55% of the territory; it would contain 538,000 Jews and 397,000 Arabs. The Arab state would have 804,000 Arabs and 10,000 Jews. Approximately 100,000 Arabs and a like number of Jews will live in the UN-controlled international area of Jerusalem.

INTERIM COMMISSION

An interim commission of the UN has been set up to take over the reins of government from the British, whose mandate expires on Aug. 1, 1948. This commission will govern the Jewish and Arab states "until such time" as it declares them competent to govern themselves. It will also govern the international zone.

In adopting this decision, the UN ran rough-shod over the clearly ex-

pressed desire of the Arab majority in Palestine and over the unrelenting protests and even threats of war by the entire Arab Middle East. This violation of the democratic rights of self-determination was committed in the name of securing peace in the Middle East. But the members of the UN themselves know that their partition plan only provides the basis for continued strife between Jews and Arabs.

Setting up of artificial boundaries between peoples has never solved national problems, but served only to intensify national enmities. This was true in the Balkans after the First World War. We see a living example of it in the Indian partition today. The Palestine partition will be no less bloody. The imperialists are past masters in the art of fomenting and exploiting national hatreds to serve their own ends.

American imperialism pushed through the partition in order to utilize the Jews as a wedge in the Middle East (just as the British, Eritria, which abstained on every vote on the question, has been forced to cede her leading role in the Middle East to American imperialism. France is in the same position as Britain; her delegation would have preferred not to further antagonize the Arab world, but had

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Stalinists Bar Road to A Workers Government

DEC. 4—Capitalist France is being shaken to its foundations by a profound political crisis. Civil conflict is flaring in every major city. The ports are shut down. Transport and communications are crippled. Power is sporadic. The majority of the mines are closed. About 60% of production is admitted tied up. Some 2,000,000 workers are on the picket line.

The working class is unmistakably moving toward the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government. But the Stalinists, who gave the signal for strike action to serve their own narrow interests, stand in the way of a decisive and successful struggle. By preventing the workers from installing their own government, the Stalinists pave the road for the installation of a fascist dictatorship.

In city after city masses of strikers have taken over city halls, telephone exchanges, railway stations, power plants, factories, mines and other vital points. In some places they have been ousted by police clubs and tear gas only to move in once more and again be ousted after the capitalist government rushed armed reinforcements.

In Marseilles 21,000 troops are patrolling the tense streets with armored cars and tanks, hoping to keep the working class in check.

The Schuman regime is meanwhile paving the way for de Gaulle to assume power. Schuman took office Nov. 23. By Dec. 4 he had called up 80,000 army reservists to serve as police; detailed 50,000 troops to serve as "guards" on the railways; organized strikebreaking by the armed forces on a national scale; raised the Stalinist press in Paris, Marseilles, Strasbourg and Bourdeaux; purged the police department for suspected strike sympathizers; ordered government employees who struck suspended on half pay; rushed an emergency Army budget appropriation of 20,612,000 francs (\$173,140,000) through the Assembly; and stampeded a savage French version of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law into immediate effect.

In the face of this brutal offensive, the Stalinists limited themselves to a filibuster in the Assembly against the anti-labor legislation and to futile attempts to negotiate strike settlements with the Schuman regime. Although the crucial need is an all-out struggle to establish a Workers and Farm-

Cold War Too Cool For Walter Lippman

Walter Lippman, political pundit of the reactionary N.Y. Herald Tribune, is credited with coining the phrase "cold war" to describe the conflict between Wall Street and the Soviet Union. Now he is demanding more heat.

In his Dec. 4 column he demands that the U.S. "build up and maintain an operational striking force" in Europe capable of delivering a sustained assault at long range. "He demands that it be made 'clear to Moscow' that 'we shall not disarm but shall, on the contrary, rearm.'"

ers Government, the Stalinists limited demands to urge increases plus a sliding scale of wages.

Over this struggle looms the ominous shadow of the fascist-minded de Gaulle. As the strike wave reached a new high, General Marshall delegated his right-hand advisor, John Foster Dulles, to leave the London Conference to consult with the would-be French dictator.

Two dispatches reveal what is in the wind: The United Press reported from Paris on Dec. 3 that a spokesman at de Gaulle's headquarters said "it was expected" de Gaulle and Dulles "would discuss France's political future in the face of the Communist-inspired strike wave and mounting inflation."

On the same day a N. Y. Herald Tribune correspondent reported from London that "it was expected" Dulles would see General Charles de Gaulle "who may become leader of France in the near future." By way of emphasis this correspondent added that "There also is a strong possibility that General de Gaulle may become Premier again at any moment."

With reaction mobilizing both its government forces and de Gaulle's camp followers, the danger to the French labor movement is the greatest since the fascist drive toward power in the days preceding the outbreak of World War II.

(See page 3 for more articles on France.)

NLRB Tightens Slave Law Noose Around Organized Labor's Throat

The National Labor Relations Board is speedily tightening the noose of the Taft-Hartley Act around the throat of organized labor.

It has intensified its drive to entangle the unions in government red-tape, undermine union security, destroy collective bargaining rights of established unions and restrain union actions by court injunctions.

The NLRB has instituted court action against the AFL International Typographical Union and is threatening to invoke a strike-breaking injunction against ITU Local 16 which has struck s.x Chicago Big Business dailies.

TO UNDERMINE UNION

This NLRB threat is intended to force the ITU to sign open shop contracts in violation of its traditional closed shop policy. The law does not compel employers to hire non-union men, but the publishers are demanding that the union sign a contract allowing them to hire non-union printers.

The ITU is holding firm in Chicago and preparing to spread its strike to Detroit, Washington and other major cities.

Last week the NLRB announced it has denied petitions of 13 CIO and one AFL union for collective bargaining elections because they refuse to sign the degrading and discriminatory "yellow dog" non-communist oath.

The CIO Electrical Workers and Fur Workers, which had won collective bargaining elections in two plants prior to the time the Taft

Act went into effect, were denied certification and recognition.

The NLRB informed the Plankinton Packing Co., Milwaukee, that it did not have to bargain with the CIO Packinghouse Workers if the union did not sign Taft Act affidavits. The union won an election in Sept., 1946, which the company refused to recognize despite two NLRB orders.

In Nashville, Tenn., the Vultee Corporation has appealed to the NLRB for an injunction against 2,000 CIO steelworkers who won a collective bargaining election on Aug. 21 and are now on strike because the company and NLRB demand "yellow dog" oaths.

The notorious Remington-Rand,

Inc., is spearheading employer attempts to deny collective bargaining rights to established unions. It refuses to recognize the CIO Electrical Workers; in seven plants and is demanding a collective bargaining election. The union would be barred from the ballot because it refuses to sign the Taft oath.

The NLRB last week threatened injunction restraints against AFL employees of Western Union who are taking a strike vote. It secured an injunction against a picketing CIO union in New York.

At the same time, the NLRB reported that it has rejected on various technical pretexts, 30% of the signed affidavits of unions complying with the Taft Act.

SLIDING WAGE SCALE--FIGHTING SLOGAN OF MILLIONS

By Art Preis

Nine years ago the Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky, first advanced the program of the sliding scale of wages. In its basic document, "The Death Agony of Capitalism," the Founding Conference of the Fourth International in September, 1938, wrote:

"Against a bounding rise in prices, which with the approach of war will assume an ever more unbridled character, one can fight only under the slogan of a sliding scale of wages. This means that collective agreements should assure an automatic rise in wages in relation to the increase in prices of consumers goods."

Today the slogan of the sliding

scale of wages—known best in this country as the adjustable cost-of-living bonus and escalator clause—has become the fighting slogan of millions of workers throughout the capitalist world.

It was one of the first and central demands raised by the resurgent Japanese workers in their heroic post-war strike struggles.

Now, in France, millions have inscribed the sliding scale of wages on their banners. Nearly two million are engaged in a tremendous strike which has raised the sliding scale of wages as a key issue.

The leaders of the General Confederation of Labor last week answered the Schuman government's offer of meager wage increases with a demand for sizable increases in basic wages, plus an agreement to revise all wage scales every three

months in proportion to any rises in the cost of living. This, the Confederation leaders said, is an "indispensable guarantee to insure the purchasing power of wages."

Thus the militant French workers have made their own the slogan consistently advanced by the International Communist Party (PCI), French Section of the Fourth International, against the bitter opposition of the Communist Party (Stalinist) leaders of the Confederation. Now these same Stalinists are forced by the pressure of the masses at least to give lip-service to the sliding scale of wages demand.

The Communist (Stalinist) Party in this country has for years conducted a campaign of misrepresentation and falsification against the sliding scale of wages as advocated

by The Militant and Socialist Workers Party.

Now, without a word of comment on all its past false arguments against the sliding scale of wages, the Nov. 26 Daily Worker reports that the French workers are demanding an upward revision of all wages every three months on a sliding scale, based on the cost of living index.

In their desire to cling to the conservative coat-tail of CIO President Philip Murray, the Stalinists took the lead in attacking the sliding scale.

During the CIO Steelworkers wage negotiations last January, the Daily Worker ran articles by Andrew Onida, devoted to a slanderous attack on "Trotskyites" inside the union with their "demand" for a sliding scale.

The Stalinist-controlled Minnesota Labor, organ of the Minnesota CIO, in Aug. 1946, knifed the CIO Packinghouse Workers, who were demanding an adjustable cost-of-living bonus, with a lying editorial attack on the sliding scale of wages principle, entitled: "Escalator Trap."

For years the top trade union leaders, including the Stalinists, have demanded the "roll-back of prices" by the Big Business government as a substitute for a fighting independent wage struggle. But here too, as in other inflation-disseminated countries, the sliding scale of wages is going to become the fighting slogan of millions. Already the strong anti-Stalinist opposition in the UAW has incorporated it into its program.

CIO Will Seek Wage Raises, Leaders Say

CIO President Philip Murray on Dec. 3 announced that the CIO and its affiliated unions will seek "substantial wage increases for the American workers to restore their loss in real incomes suffered through inflation." At present profit levels, he said, industry can pay higher wages "without any justifiable increase in prices."

The proposal for a "third round" of wage increases was made by a meeting of Murray and nine CIO vice presidents in Washington. This decision was in direct response to growing pressure from the CIO workers for a more realistic and effective program to defend their living standards than the CIO leadership's futile pleas to the Big Business government for a "roll-back of prices."

However, there is no indication that the CIO leaders intend to organize a serious struggle for higher wages. They offered no program of action to achieve wage gains and proposed no preparations for a real battle.

They are still clinging to the utopian hope that the government will "control" prices. This continues to be their real program. That is why they again deferred comment on Truman's proposal for "some price controls" linked to a wage freeze.

PRICES SOARING
Prices are now rising at the rate of 2 to 3% a month. The CIO lead-

ers propose no wage action before next spring, when the cost of living will be another 10 to 15% higher. If they meant business, they would not put off wage demands until five months from now when workers' living standards will have suffered another big slash.

The very fact that the CIO leaders speak of a "third round" of wage increases within two years is evidence that they have failed to offer an effective program of defense against high prices. They have been vainly shouting "roll-backs" since 1943.

Plat wage increases will only partially and temporarily restore the loss in real wages due to past price increases. What is needed, in addition, is contractual protection against future price rises. This requires adjustable cost-of-living bonuses automatically increasing with price rises.

If the workers are not to be forced every few months to raise new demands, they must demand now the inclusion in wage contracts of clauses providing automatic upward wage adjustments as the cost of living rises.

The Present Situation in the Trade Union Movement

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soon followed by the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Law.

After that, all stops were pulled out on the red-baiting campaign. And this red-baiting campaign, which is ostensibly directed only against the Communist Party, is in reality the basic general formula which ties all aspects of the reactionary campaign of preparation for war and fascism into a unified whole. Only those who clearly understand this essential fact, and take their stand on the red-baiting campaign accordingly, are capable of rendering any useful service to the American working class in the present situation.

The Black Hundreds of reaction, united under the general slogan of anti-Communism, are aggressively invading every phase of American life today. In the press, the radio, the movies, education, in literary, cultural and scientific circles, the reaction is on the offensive.

It can and should be traced and analyzed in every one of these fields. But that would take more time and cover more territory than is possible on this occasion. Here we must confine ourselves to an analysis of the reactionary penetration in the most important and decisive field of all — the American trade union movement.

The reaction must be fought on all fronts, but first of all and above all, on the most important front which must be lined up against it. That is the front of the American working class. It is from this point of view that we should review and analyze the new developments in the trade union movement, especially as they have been reflected in the recent major trade union conventions.

The proceedings of these conventions can tell us some interesting and useful things if we examine them closely and objectively, without prejudice or phobias to blind us. If we analyze them with the single purpose of establishing what is new that helps or hinders the class struggle of the workers against the bourgeoisie.

Class Criterion

This is the criterion — the criterion of the class struggle — by which we judge everything.

These conventions, on the whole, clearly reveal the main line of the new developments in the trade union movement since the first post-war wave of labor radicalism, represented by the strike movement of 1946, subsided, and the counter-offensive of the big capitalists and their political agents got under way.

The conventions show that the red-baiting reaction has penetrated into the trade union movement through the medium of the bureaucracy, in the CIO as well as in the AFL. Adapting themselves to the terrific pressure of the reactionary anti-labor combination on the one hand, and taking advantage of the passivity of the workers on the other — the CIO bureaucracy has made a big swing to the right.

The main ingredient of this right-wing policy of the CIO bureaucrats is their tendency to tie in the unions more closely with the capitalist government and subordinate them to it. And following from this, as B follows A, is their drive to throttle the democracy which has been both the pride and the strength of the best unions in the CIO. Their aim is to fasten a monolithic bureaucratic rule over the unions, in order to deprive the rank and file of the normal means of asserting themselves against this reactionary program of undiluted class treachery.

Ample detail could be recited to prove and illustrate this trend. But a few salient facts provide graphic demonstration. Consider this: General Marshall, the representative and symbol of imperialist militarism, was invited to address the CIO Convention and was given a tumultuous reception.

Following this obeisance to General Marshall, the CIO Convention "left the door open," as they said, for the "compliance" of the affiliated internationals with the Taft-Hartley Law.

And a few weeks later Reuther, who had been one of the cheer leaders for General Marshall at the Boston convention of the CIO, led the auto convention majority through that door of shameful capitulation; also, sad to say, with cheers, including the cheers of some nitwits who solemnly assure us that the decisions of the UAW Convention were "progressive," if you please, and "in the UAW tradition."

The democracy of the UAW, which has been assured to a large extent in the past by the balance between the factions in the leadership — which gave the rank and file a means of intervening as an independent force — was dealt a heavy blow at Atlantic City by the victorious demand to give all power in the union to one faction, and that faction the one which sponsored "compliance" with the Taft-Hartley Law.

At the 1946 convention of the UAW, Murray, the dyed-in-the-wool bureaucrat, had to content himself with a few joking references to the union "caucuses" which have been an outstanding feature of the life of the UAW since its inception, and which have been the main instrument of its exemplary democracy. At the 1947 convention a few weeks ago, the

same Murray, emboldened by the conservative sweep, demanded "an end to power politics and power caucuses in the UAW."

The swing to the right and the assault on union democracy go hand in hand. Nowhere is this truism more clearly demonstrated than in the auto union.

We were slower than some others to get a clear view of the real trend of developments in the UAW faction struggle. For years there had been no differences of a programmatic nature between the two main factions in the leadership of the UAW. The Trotskyist auto workers and the militants who cooperate with them did not see any ground to take a decided position on one side or another of the clique fight. At the convention of 1946 they supported Reuther for President, mainly because at that time he symbolized the strike of the General Motors workers. But at the same time, they supported Thomas for Vice-President, as they were already apprehensive of the danger of the bureaucratic domination of the union by one faction.

"Labor Statesman"

Things began to change in the UAW after that 1946 convention. The Thomas-Addes faction, which included the Stalinists, stood still and did nothing; but, once he was established in the office of president, Reuther began to move aggressively to the right.

The strike leader blossomed out as a "labor statesman," concerned with all kinds of high-falutin "plans," employer-employee conferences, industry councils, and similar substitutes for resolute class action, which is the only thing that can do the workers any good. At the same time, Reuther put himself at the head of the reactionary campaign against the "red menace," transmitting the essence of the Truman-Marshall Doctrine directly into the UAW and the CIO.

The capitalist press, which had lambasted Reuther as the leader of the General Motors strike, noticed what was going on and changed their tune. Pegler, who is against all labor leaders including the most conservative, admitted in a recent column that Reuther had been receiving a "warm press," as he called it. "Warm press" is right. Reuther became the beneficiary of a press ballyhoo campaign of vast proportions and remarkable uniformity.

The Hearst press, Time-Life-Fortune, Newsweek, the New York Daily News, the Detroit dailies, the Toledo Blade — all abandoned "neutrality" in the UAW factional struggle and began to beat the drums for Reuther.

The New York Daily News, that well known "progressive" tabloid, headed its editorial on the struggle for convention delegates: "HERE'S LUCK, MR. REUTHER."

And the Toledo Blade put the thing explicitly so that the Toledo auto workers couldn't possibly misunderstand: "As Toledo locals ballot on the delegates who will go to the convention next month to decide which kind of union the UAW is to be, it is to be hoped that they will follow the leadership of Richard Gosser and send a solid delegation which will go down the line for Walter P. Reuther."

Our decision to oppose the Reuther-ACTU combination, was vindicated immediately after the Reuther victory in the elections of delegates became clear. The very first result of this victory for "progress" was Reuther's telegram to Washington, announcing his decision to "comply" with the Taft-Hartley Law.

This perfidious action, which was hailed by the New York Times in a front-page dispatch as a "capitulation" to the Taft-Hartley Law, broke the ranks of the CIO unions and started a flood of similar capitulations. R. J. Thomas, on the other hand, promptly repudiated Reuther's announcement; and the two other leaders, Addes and Leonard, stood with him in a last-ditch fight at the convention on this crucial issue.

Reuther rode to victory on a tidal wave of support from influences which are not only "outside" the UAW, but "outside" the working class.

State Department Line

Murray, the arch-apostle of conservatism in the CIO, who takes his line directly from the U. S. State Department, was neutral in the Thomas-Reuther contest for the Presidency at the 1946 convention of the UAW, leaning slightly to Thomas. But at the 1947 convention he openly endorsed Reuther, as testimony to the solidarity of the most conservative wing of the CIO bureaucracy with the most conservative bureaucratic tendency in the UAW.

The rightward swing of the predominant bureaucracy in the CIO is real and deep-going and incontestable. The signs cannot be read any other way. But it would be rash to conclude that this is an accurate reflection of the sentiment in the ranks of the unions. A complicated process is taking place there.

There is no doubt that some of the workers have been affected and influenced. Still more have been intimidated by the fury of the anti-red campaign which bombards them from every side, from press, pulpit and radio, and which has been carried directly into the unions by the dominant bureaucracy.

But the most important result of the substitution of a red-baiting campaign for a program of labor aggressiveness and militancy, which the situation requires, has been to stir up, encourage, and activate the most backward elements in the unions — the company men; the seekers of individual privileges; the skulkers who had to be forced into the union; the conservatives who found it wisest to remain quiet and passive in union affairs when class action was on the order of the day and militancy was the watchword.

This "third faction," which is present in all mass unions — sometimes active and sometimes dormant — this "third faction," which might properly be called the bosses' faction, responded enthusiastically to the red-baiting campaign. They played a far greater role than ever before in determining the results of the UAW elections, and were most probably the deciding factor.

But on the whole, we have no ground to assume that the main mass of the militants, who built the magnificent movement of the CIO in struggle against the employers and the government, have changed their fundamental attitude. This is shown by the conventions of the Rubber Workers, the Electrical Workers, and the Maritime Workers. Wherever the workers got adequate support and expression from the leadership, they came out emphatically against any compliance with the Taft-Hartley Law, the touchstone of labor's policy at the present moment.

This is further shown by the acclaim which John L. Lewis received throughout the labor movement for his courageous defiance of the Taft-Hartley Law at the AFL Convention. It is demonstrated again by the position taken by the International Typographical Union, which is today challenging the Taft-Hartley Law by strike action against the combined capitalist press at Chicago. Even in the UAW, where all the resources of the capitalist press, the radio, and the Catholic hierarchy — operating through the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists — were openly mobilized in support of the Reutherite capitulators, a good one-third of the union, and of the convention delegates, stood up against "compliance."

A large section of the leadership of the CIO have undoubtedly, and most consciously, made a deep and wide swing to the right. And their power over the unions is enormously strengthened and reinforced by the support they get and will continue to get from the government, and all the coercive and propaganda resources of the ruling class, in every conflict they have with the rank and file.

But the rank and file have not yet said their last word. Not by a long shot. The decision remains for the further development of events. Ultimately it will depend in the highest degree on the ability of the revolutionists in the unions — the men of the future — to analyze the situation correctly and to employ the right policy.

This is the gist of the situation in the American trade union movement today.

Main Enemy of Workers

The main enemy of the American workers is in their own country; and the name of that enemy is the capitalist class and the capitalist government. The only policy that can serve the basic interests of the workers is one which advances the class struggle of the workers against the bourgeoisie.

This is our criterion under all conditions — in peace or in war; whether the workers are on the offensive, as in the postwar strike wave, or passive and in partial retreat before the reactionary offensive as at present. The class struggle is our guiding line in everything that concerns the life of the union. In strikes; in political campaigns; in the fight against such anti-labor legislation as the Taft-Hartley Law; and in union elections — our tactics, always and everywhere, are subordinated to this general line and designed to serve it.

The heart of the problem of trade unionism today is the unceasing drive to harness the unions to the capitalist state and to deprive them of their independence. This is the inevitable trend of things under monopoly capitalism.

We fought this trend with all our strength, even during the war. We centered our campaign then around the issue in which the whole problem was concentrated at the time — the no-strike pledge which the bureaucracy gave to the government in return for a mess of pottage, which was ironically described as "equality of sacrifice."

The fight which we and the best militants in the unions put up against the no-strike pledge during the war did not meet with success, but it came close to it in the UAW Convention of 1944. The great fight made there by the militant rank and file was undoubtedly the main factor in preparing the ground for the strike upsurge that followed immediately after the termination of military hostilities.

Heroic Struggle

The strike wave of the postwar period was at the bottom an heroic, if only partly conscious, effort of the rank and file to break out of the governmental straitjacket and assert their independence. The bureaucracy did not inspire and lead these struggles. They went along with them because they had nothing else to do.

The independence of the unions from the government was at its peak during the strike wave. The stranglehold of the bureaucracy was weakened, and rank and file democracy flowered. This is always the case when the masses are in motion.

Now the swing is again in the opposite direction. The "outside interference" of the government is again aggressively asserted in the unions, and the trend to re-establish and strengthen the bureaucratic stranglehold on the unions has been accelerated.

But now, as before, the task of the revolutionary militants remains the same: (1) the fight to free the unions, to establish their independence from government control; and (2) the fight for trade union democracy, the necessary condition for the free interplay of ideas and the intervention of the rank and file in the determination of their own affairs.

And just as this fight was concentrated in wartime in the struggle against the no-strike pledge, so it has been concentrated in the recent union elections and conventions in the struggle against "compliance" with, and adaptation to, the strangulating Taft-Hartley Law; and against all sections of the bureau-

cracy which sponsored this capitulatory "compliance."

In the union elections and conventions, we stuck persistently to this class struggle formula, and contemptuously rejected all empty abstractions such as "progressives versus reactionaries" in general, and "democrats versus totalitarians" in general. For there is no such thing as a progressive who submits to the Taft-Hartley Law; and there is no such thing as a democrat who wants to "eliminate all factions" in the union except his own faction — the bureaucratic apparatus.

Our criterion is the class struggle and we accept no substitutes. Only by struggling unswervingly along this line of principle can we fulfill our mission as revolutionists. But a mere assertion of principle, a mere reiteration of impeccable formulas, cannot advance us very far in the struggle for the liberation of the unions from governmental control and bureaucratic domination. While the revolutionary militants are as yet a small numerical force, which is the case at the present time, they are obliged to take the concrete situation in every union into account. They are obliged to take a practical attitude toward the cross currents and factional struggles between different sections of the trade union bureaucrats and strive to intervene in them in such a way as to serve their basic principles and advance their cause.

A False Formula

As a substitute for our formula, which takes the class struggle of the workers against the bourgeoisie for its criterion in every case, we have been offered once again in recent days the all-embracing slogan of "united front of everybody against the Communist Party." This political potent medicine is widely advertised as a sure cure for all the ills afflicting society and the labor movement. It is even claimed to be a remedy for rheumatism and lumbago. But we still don't like it.

This is the slogan of the U. S. State Department and the Thomas-Rankin committee, as well as of the American Legion and the Catholic hierarchy, and similar "progressive" outfits.

We know all about this slogan because we read it every day in the press and hear it every hour over the radio. It is not made any more attractive to us when it is carried into the labor movement by such demagogues as Reuther; and it is not improved very much when others try to put a coat of red paint on it. The black still shows up through the red.

We have been fighting the Stalinists as betrayers of the working class for 19 years; and it is not by chance that always and under all conditions the Stalinists see in us, their most irreconcilable enemy. But we fight them, not from the point of view of "democratic capitalism," and in combination with the capitalists and their lackeys, but from the point of view of the class struggle and working class democracy.

We fought the Stalinists from this standpoint when they were strong, and fortified in their positions by their wartime alliance with the red-baiting bureaucrats of today; and we do not relax our antagonism or moderate our hatred for these betrayers at the present time when they are weakened, hounded, and running or crawling for cover.

We fight the Stalinists always, and under all circumstances. And never have we dealt them more damaging blows than in the recent period, when the turn of events brought us to close quarters with them in the general opposition to the red-baiters in the auto union. The non-party militants, previously influenced by the Stalinists, have had an opportunity at close range to compare us with them; and not a few of these militants have recognized us as the authentic representatives of a class struggle policy, which is just as free and independent of the dictates of Kremlin diplomacy — which determines the current pseudo-militancy of the Stalinists — as it is free and independent of the diplomacy of American imperialism, which determines the conservatism and capitulationism of the other bureaucrats in the union.

We Fight Stalinists

The general oppositional struggle against the red-baiters; against capitulation to the Taft-Hartley Law; and against the monolithic domination of the UAW by a single faction sponsoring this capitulation, has momentarily thrown us and the Stalinists into one camp. But that does not eliminate the irreconcilable struggle between us and the Stalinists for influence over the non-party militants who make up the bulk of this oppositional camp. And in this struggle, at close quarters, the Stalinists are the losers in every engagement.

Let the Social-Democrats howl their heads off about our alleged "alliance" with the Stalinists, and our alleged "support" of the Stalinists. And let the little cousins of the Social-Democrats, the Shachtmanites, add their hysterical screams to the chorus. They can't convince the Stalinists that there is any profit for them in this "alliance." For proof of that, you need only to read the Stalinist press.

The Daily Worker performed the remarkable feat of reporting the UAW convention struggle, describing at length and in detail the composition of the caucuses, without saying a word about the position of the Trotskyist delegates. Labor Action performed the no less remarkable feat of producing a special convention issue which also discussed the contending caucuses and their composition at great length and in detail, without a single reference to the Gosser gang and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists in the Reuther caucus.

They were both inspired, it seems, by the same hopeful thought: "If we don't mention them, perhaps they will disappear."

The Social Democrats, and all their cousins and poor relations, can't convince the militant workers that we are "helping" the Stalinists, for these workers are not as stupid as they are taken to be. And they have not failed to notice the first results of the active and energetic participation of the Trotskyists in the general anti-Reuther opposition.

The Stalinists immediately began to cool off and lose their enthusiasm for the opposition bloc, and to sabotage its fight by putting up independent slates in the elections for convention delegates, as well as at the convention itself.

By running their own candidates against the candidates of the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus, the Stalinists showed up their pitiful numerical weakness. At the same time they

exposed the absurdity of the screaming assertions by the Stalinophobes to the effect that the Stalinists "controlled" the opposition caucus.

It is true that the Stalinists were once a great force in the UAW, reaching out for control of the union. That was yesterday. Today, as their showing at the convention graphically demonstrated, they are a weak and declining force, despised and hated by the great mass of the oppositionist militants.

Stalinist bureaucratization, opportunism and treachery, systematically repeated again and again over the years, have taken a frightful toll of what was once an imposing cadre in the UAW. The opportunists and careerists to whom the Stalinists catered, while they were slandering and persecuting genuine revolutionists with savage fury, have cynically deserted them in their time of weakness and defeat. Meanwhile, many of the best of their old militants — and they had some splendid militants at one time — have learned better and transferred their allegiance to a better party, with a cleaner banner. And many of the others of the old Communist Party cadre, disillusioned and discouraged by their unhappy experiences, have fallen out of activity.

The Stalinists still have some good men who are worthy of a better party, and we hope to win them over; but the main core of the Stalinist forces in the UAW now consists of old worn-out bureaucratic hacks, who have played out their string with the auto workers, and who can't even get elected to office or on a convention delegation anymore.

The Stalinist bureaucrats know how to fight only when they have the power of the apparatus in their hands to use against weaker opponents. In unions like the UE, where the Stalinists control the apparatus, they are an aggressively vicious and evil power. But in other unions, where they have lost the apparatus, or have definitely lost the fight to seize it, they have lost also the will and the capacity to put up a real fight. They lack the convictions and the revolutionary class spirit which alone can inspire and sustain workers to struggle and sacrifice as a small minority in the face of difficulties and defeats. There is very little fight left in the soft, flabby and cowardly Stalinist bureaucrats when they are thrown out of office, and the tide is running against them.

Under the stress of the struggle in the UAW, the majority of the opposition bloc began to recognize the barrenness of the uninspiring clique struggle which ended so disastrously. Questions of program expressing the vital interest of the workers were brought to the fore and made the center of the struggle. These new trends were already clearly evident at the UAW Convention and were greeted with emphatic approval by a large section of the best militants. These militants want to fight the capitulationism of the Reutherite bureaucracy, without putting themselves at the mercy of the treacherous maneuvers and zigzags of the Stalinists; and they want to fight the hated Stalinist clique without falling into the arms of the red-baiters.

That development, I venture to say, is even more important for the future of the UAW than the immediate results of the elections at the convention.

Tactics Consistent

Our tactics in the different union struggles may appear at first glance to be irrational and contradictory, since they vary from one union to another according to the circumstances. But in reality our tactics are completely consistent everywhere, and are designed to serve the same basic purpose everywhere — the struggle for the independence of the unions and for democracy within the unions.

And by independence of the unions, we mean not only in relation to Washington, but also in relation to the Kremlin. At the same time that we were fighting the bureaucratic domination of the UAW by the Reutherite-ACTU machine, which is subservient to Washington, we were fighting with equal vigor against the bureaucratic domination of the National Maritime Union by the Stalinist machine, which is subservient to the Stalin gang in the Kremlin. We go by principle, not by which faction among the bureaucrats happens to be on the same side with us, for reasons of their own, at the moment.

In the Rubber Workers Convention, delegates who are friendly to us, led the fight against the proposal of President Buckmaster to capitulate to the Taft-Hartley Law. They did not withdraw from the fight because the Stalinist delegates happened to be on the same side.

In the UE, on the other hand, we are irreconcilable opponents of the Stalinist gang which bureaucratically dominates this union. We defend the democratic rights of the Carey-Block opposition, even though we are far removed from any sympathy whatever with its program.

We fight for democracy in the unions under all circumstances, and for the right of every tendency to associate freely and to present its views. For without this democracy the unions cannot live as independent organs of the workers, capable of serving the class interests of the workers.

The struggle in the UAW presents the most concentrated example and the best test of revolutionary policy. The UAW is not only the largest, it is also the strongest, most dynamic, and most democratic union. The Wage Earner, organ of the ACTU, refers to the UAW as the "key union" of the CIO. That is right, and there is a reason for it. The UAW was built from the ground up in struggles which set the pace for all the others. And not the least important of its struggles has been the struggle to preserve its internal democracy and resist bureaucratic domination.

The internal struggle to determine the character and future of the UAW did not end at the recent convention. Rather it really began anew, on a higher plane, at Atlantic City, for it first began to assume programmatic form there. The old clique struggle, with deals and horse trades for offices as the predominating interest, began to give way at Atlantic City to a straight-out fight of principle over the most burning issue of the labor movement — "compliance" with the Taft-Hartley Law. In our opinion, that development in the UAW convention was really progressive.

The Shachtmanites coupled their violent denunciation of our trade union policy with an abrupt repudiation of the unity agreement, which they signed with us last February. Per-

haps there is a logic in this coincidence. There are class principles at the bottom of this trade union dispute, and we can agree with Shachtman when he says in the Nov. 24 issue of Labor Action: "Here is a difference which cannot be reconciled."

For our part, we are proud to be a minority in such a fight as that which took place in the auto union over "compliance" with the Taft-Hartley Law. And proud likewise to be a minority in the fight against vulgar and reactionary red-baiters who aim to replace the traditional democracy of the UAW by the monolithic domination of a single bureaucratic faction.

Our friends were not concerned there with any clique struggle for posts, but for basic propositions vital to the future of trade unionism in the United States. They fought for the independence of the UAW from governmental control and for the preservation of its internal democracy. The struggle for this program is a continuing struggle in all trade unions.

Our Perspectives

The first postwar wave of labor radicalism, signaled by the great strike movement of 1945-46, subsided and gave way to a strong counter-offensive of reaction which is still riding high. The victory of the right wing in the labor movement in general, and in the auto union in particular, are in the main the product of this wave of reaction which strengthens every conservative and retrogressive tendency in the labor movement.

At our party convention a year ago we somewhat over-estimated the depth and strength of the first postwar wave of labor radicalism. We counted on its continuance, when it was already beginning to decline and the reactionary counter-offensive was beginning to unfold in full force. This misjudgment of the conjuncture caused some disappointment and, perhaps, a certain disorientation in the party ranks, since the convention held out the perspective of a rate of party progress which could not be maintained in the unfavorable situation which followed the convention.

But that is an error easily corrected. The important thing for us to remember is that the class struggle develops in ebbs and flows; and that we must not take the present unfavorable situation as the fixed and final relation of forces between the classes, and between the conservatives and the revolutionaries in the labor movement. The present unfavorable situation is a conjuncture, nothing more; and it cannot be of long duration.

It would be unworthy of Trotskyists, of Marxists, to give way to discouragement and to mistake transitory phenomena for the permanent reality. The epoch of the death agony of capitalism can hold no other perspective than a continuous succession of grandiose class battles leading up to their final culmination in the victorious revolution of the working class. The present reactionary offensive against workers' organizations, and the mounting assaults on their living standards, are in fact preparing the necessary conditions for a counter-attack of the workers, for a new wave of labor radicalism which will be far deeper and stronger than the first one, and must take a more political form.

That is not a perspective of the distant future, but of the morrow. We must see it and prepare for it. A Trotskyist is above all one who knows how to fight for his principles, to remain faithful to his banner when the situation is unfavorable, when weaklings and cowards falter and desert and betray. Not to float with the stream, but to swim against the stream. That is the task of the Trotskyist cadres in the trade union movement today.

Powerful pressures are brought to bear upon those who take up the revolutionary struggle against the greatest imperialist power in the world, and by that against the entrenched bureaucracy in the trade union movement who serve this power and enjoy its support. All the other radical parties and groups which have taken part in the trade union movement, have succumbed to this pressure; they have abandoned the fight for the interests of the workers; and many of their activists have taken their places in the bureaucracy as housebroken functionaries. This has been the case with the syndicalists, the anarchists, the Socialists and Social Democrats and their Yipsels, and the Lovestonites. This is the real story of the degeneration of the Stalinists.

Our Responsibility

The Trotskyists alone remain in opposition, independent and revolutionary, concerned not with posts or personal advantages of any kind, but solely with the interests of the workers and their revolutionary future. The Trotskyists are the "incorruptibles" of the labor movement whom nobody can intimidate and nobody can buy.

The forces at the disposal of the party are not yet numerous; but their quality is strong, for they have been selected out and tested in struggle. They have learned how to stand up under heavy blows, to survive defeats and come back fighting. This intrepid revolutionary quality of our party, which militates against us while reaction holds sway in the labor movement and the workers remain passive, will represent the greatest attractive power of the party when the masses, impelled by the very conditions of their lives, take the road of struggle and seek for a resolute leadership.

Destiny has laid a great responsibility on the shoulders of those who make up our party today and who will join its ranks tomorrow. To live up to that responsibility, it is necessary for us to look beyond the conjunctural episodes of the moment to the basic trends which point to the future reality.

A condition for the success of our struggle is that we never forget the transcendent importance of our mission as the heralds and the organizers of the new day; that we never falter in our confidence that the historic forces working for the new day are stronger than all the retrogressive forces working to turn the clock backward to a new dark age of fascism and annihilating wars. Our task in the present situation consists simply in this, to be true to ourselves and to our tradition. From that everything that is necessary will follow.

We must go deeper into the unions, taking our program and our tradition with us, and work for the fusion of the Trotskyist party with the mass of the American workers. This is the formula that spells the revolutionary transformation of society.

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Wall Street Moves Pawns On Chessboard of Europe

The clamor of the American capitalist press over the developing class struggle in France and Italy shows how the great issues at stake there cut across international boundary lines. The press makes no bones about its partisanship.

It is with Schuman and de Gasperi and against the French and Italian workers. It calls for "firmness" in dealing with the strike wave in both countries, meaning thereby the use of tear gas, clubs and bullets to meet the workers' demands. It worries about the "morale" of the police and armed forces in both lands, fearing that they may be reluctant to use force and violence against the strikers.

It openly disses ways and means of making the fascist-minded de Gaulle the "savior" of France just as Mussolini, Hitler and Franco, the fascist butchers of the working class, were made "saviors" of capitalism in Italy, Germany and Spain.

BIG STAKE
American Big Business has a stake in the outcome of the struggle. If the workers succeed in toppling capitalism in either Italy or France and begin building the rational, planned economy of socialism, it means the loss of huge investments held by the American ruling class in those lands.

Even worse from their viewpoint, a working class victory would bring the workers throughout Europe to their feet and inspire them to follow suit. Socialism would sweep the continent. Capitalism elsewhere could not long survive such a tide.

Wall Street is thoroughly aware of the danger to its system a single outstanding victory for the working class anywhere means today. Wall Street cannot afford to lose one major battle. In fact it cannot afford to mark time for long periods. It is forced to continually advance.

MUST STOP UP HOLES
The Truman Doctrine expressed this political necessity with the formula of "containing" communism. The Marshall Plan implemented it. Bolstering capitalism everywhere in the world means rushing with sandbags of dollars to stop up the holes continually springing in the dike.

Unfortunately for Wall Street, however, dollars are not enough. Arms too are required. And so Wall Street's last resort is a desperate program of conquest. That is why,

for instance, the Truman Administration is plunging recklessly ahead in the civil conflict in Greece. American involvement in Greece is a sample of what is projected for the rest of Europe.

To achieve this mad plan of world domination, Wall Street visualizes another war, an atomic war, with the USSR marked as principal victim.

With iron logic, Wall Street has intervened in the affairs of Italy and France in accordance with these fundamental considerations. In the first period at the close of the war when the working class surged forward and Wall Street's own agents and quislings were too weak to hurl the workers and armed partisans back, Anglo-American imperialism accepted the services of the Stalinists as professional counter-revolutionists.

The Stalinists, who had been tossed to the forefront of the working class, carried out this perfidious job of Judas-goat with their customary cynicism, taking posts in the capitalist governments to save them from going down.

TRY OUT PUPPETS
As the workers fell back in confusion, Wall Street poured billions of dollars into Europe. The aim was to provide enough relief to stave off revolution and to build up Wall Street's own political agencies with all possible speed in order to dispense with the services of the Stalinists.

In Italy, Washington and the Vatican did their utmost to bolster de Gasperi after trying out a number of other puppets. American troops remained in Italy as a measure of force. As soon as de Gasperi was deemed strong enough to stand alone, word was given to oust the Stalinists from his regime.

Since then, Washington has made concession after concession to de Gasperi to strengthen his political hand.

In France, Ramadier was Premier when Wall Street decided the time had come to kick out the Stalinists. For a while Washington gave main support to Ramadier, hoping to strengthen him politically through loans, shipments of wheat, promises of benefits under the Marshall Plan and so on.

But reaction there consolidated around deGaulle, the general who

dreams of becoming the Franco of France. When the recent elections revealed how the general's prestige has risen among the French reactionaries, Wall Street decided to go for this hatchman too.

As Wall Street watches the course of its fortunes on the political battlefield in Italy and France and does everything in its power to help reaction put the fascist yoke on labor, the American workers should show where they stand.

The smashing of the Italian and French labor movement would enormously weaken labor in America. The workers here, consequently, should do everything they can to help their class brothers in Italy and France, if for no other reason than to safeguard unionism in the United States.

But more than that is involved. Every worker should recall how the victory of fascism in Italy, Germany and Spain paved the way for World War II. A fascist victory in France today would similarly pave the way for World War III.

A workers' victory, on the other hand, could touch off a world-wide revolutionary movement that would swiftly put an end to capitalism and usher in enduring peace under socialism.

Thus the outcome of the struggle in France and Italy can prove to be a decisive turning point that will vitally affect the future of American labor. Such a struggle calls for active intervention by the unions—against Wall Street and for the Italian and French workers.

Real Issue in France and Italy Is Who Shall Run the Country?

No School in Paris



As school teachers in Paris join the mounting walkouts for increased wages, these children accept the situation cheerfully. Here they gather outside school to read the news about the shutdown in a "Notice to Parents."

By Joseph Hansen

The one issue that stands out above all others in the colossal struggle now rocking France and Italy can be stated very simply—who shall run the country?

The capitalists see this very clearly. To retain power they are prepared to resort to any means, including ruthless dictatorship cut according to the fascist pattern.

The working class as a whole does not see this key issue with equal clarity. That is so because the Stalinists, Social Democrats and trade union bureaucrats who head the working class have done their utmost to obscure, confuse and divert attention from the life and death question of who shall rule.

These sections of the labor bureaucracy seek to limit the struggle and prevent it from passing beyond the narrow, selfish goals they wish to achieve.

But the problems faced by the Italian and French workers demand a fundamental solution that can only be found on the plane of government power.

FORCED TO STRIKE
The millions of French and Italian workers have been forced into one strike struggle after another since the end of World War II because of the general breakdown of capitalist economy. Industry and transportation, devastated by the imperialist conflict, cannot be reconstructed at a rapid pace under the chaotic management of the capitalist class.

Inflation wipes out wage gains as fast as they are won and the workers are compelled again and again to resort to strike action.

The capitalist government, committed to safeguarding profits as its first task, cannot satisfy the economic needs of the workers. Even before the war, when the Italian capitalists tapped a colonial empire, they could not offer the workers a satisfactory standard of living. The poverty of Italy today is far worse.

Similarly in France, the pre-war colonial empire seethes with unrest. Parts of it have already been lost. Indo-China is in revolt. And the attempt of the French imperialists to regain their colonial empire saddles the ruined economy with the enormous costs of colonial war and the endless expense of an expanding military machine.

KNIFE'S EDGE
The strike in France places the fate of the country on a knife edge. The workers clearly have the power to set up their own government now. In the language of politics they are telling their leaders, "Go ahead; end the present unendurable situation; organize socialism."

But these leaders have no such intentions. The Social Democrats want to maintain the status quo. They performed yeoman service in Wall Street's projected conquest of the Soviet Union, and in the



GENERAL DE GAULLE

ing the "austerity" program of the capitalist class.

SAME AIM
The trade union bureaucrats such as Leon Jouhaux have the same aim. At present Jouhaux is heading a "back to work" movement, thus breaking labor's ranks during a crucial strike.

The Stalinists are playing an equally treacherous role. Up until the eve of the London Conference of Foreign Ministers they too tried to block the working class from moving forward. Even after being kicked out of the capitalist government they continued to back French capitalism.

They finally conceded to the pressure of the workers for strike action only when it coincided with the foreign diplomatic requirements of the Kremlin. Then without regard for timing they did their utmost to stage a nation-wide demonstration—not for the purpose of bringing a Workers and Farmers Government to power—but to put pressure on Wall Street in order to get better terms for the Kremlin at the London Conference.

Only the Trotskyists have explained the real issues facing the French and Italian workers and advocated the program of revolutionary socialism to meet those issues. The swift spread of that program among the workers is the great hope for a successful struggle to save France and Italy from capitalist reaction and open up the road to a Socialist United States of Europe with its guarantee of enduring peace and unlimited plenty.

French Trotskyists Call For Workers Government

By Ria Stone

In the critical situation in France today, only one party clearly calls upon the masses for united action, a general strike and the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government. That party is the Internationalist Communist Party (PCI), the French section of the Fourth International. The miserable French Socialists hang on to the coat-tails of the French capitalists. The treacherous French Stalinists are interested only in using the workers to further the passing aims of the Kremlin.

The French Trotskyists, in their paper *La Verite* (The Truth), present an anti-capitalist program: nationalization of industry without indemnity, workers control over industry, the organization of a network of strike committees and committees of defense to combat the fascist menace. Their policy is to say what is and to teach the workers to rely only upon their own revolutionary will and strength. This policy did not begin yesterday.

In the revolutionary crisis of 1934-36, after the French fascists had made their first bid for power,

the Trotskyist Party was the only one which called upon the workers to organize their own defense against fascism and go forward to the construction of socialism.

SAVED CAPITALISM

The Blum Social-Democrats were placed in power by the workers. Some 2,000,000 followed up by occupying the factories. Blum nevertheless blocked formation of a Workers and Farmers Government and saved capitalism from going down.

The Stalinists called the policy of the Trotskyists "provocations" and with their Popular Front line joined the Social Democrats in bolstering up French capitalism.

Under the Nazi occupation, the French Trotskyists, hounded and decimated by the Gestapo, continued to publish *La Verite* illegally. They were in the forefront of the workers' struggles and fought against deportations, racism and anti-Semitism. While fighting with the Maquis against the Nazis and their collaborators, they were the only party to appeal to the German soldiers to fraternize with the workers of Europe and join in the struggle for a socialist world.

During the Stalin-Hitler pact, the French Stalinists continued to sub-

ordinate the class struggle to Stalin's foreign policy. Until the invasion of Russia in 1941, they distributed their paper in France with the tacit approval of the German authorities. After the invasion, they took part in the resistance movement but at the same time called upon the workers to place their confidence in de Gaulle.

WARNED THE MASSES

Meanwhile, *La Verite* warned the French masses that both the Nazi collaborator, Laval, and the Allied collaborator, de Gaulle, were their class enemies.

After the close of the war, the Stalinists acclaimed de Gaulle as the leader of the French Nation and took key posts in his government. From 1944 to 1947, while the French Trotskyists were explaining to the workers that they could solve their immediate problems only by establishing their own rule, the Stalinists urged them to increased efforts at the bench and checked their strike struggles.

April 1947, was a turning point in the French labor movement. The strike of the Renault auto works was initiated against the opposition of the official Stalinist trade union leaders. The Stalinists were given serious setback by the workers. The Trotskyists, despite their numerical weakness, took a prominent part in organizing this strike.

HAVE WON RESPECT

Although Stalinist influence is still strong among the French workers, the ideas of Trotskyism are gaining in popularity. The loyalty of the Trotskyists to principle has won them great respect among the advanced militants.

The warm interest in the Trotskyist program shown by the youth of the Socialist Party, which has led to negotiations for fusion with the PCI, indicates what excellent prospects the Fourth International has for rapid growth in the near future in France.

BIG FOUR SPOKESMEN JOCKEY FOR POSITION IN NEXT WAR

During the first week, the London Conference demonstrated one fact—that more than two and a half years after the close of World War II, the Big Four are still at loggerheads over the peace treaties for Germany and Austria.

The reason for this is common knowledge. Wall Street, with Paris and London as junior partners, is demanding major concessions from the Kremlin under threat of atomic war. The Kremlin in turn is trying to gain time by reaching a deal with Wall Street while strengthening its ramparts in Eastern Europe.

In this conflict, the London Conference is nothing but a diplomatic bout. Take the dispute over the eastern frontiers of Germany. Marshall claims they are not definitively settled. Molotov claims they are. Marshall's aim is to push those frontiers closer to the Soviet Union. Molotov's aim is to keep them nailed down.

Similarly in the conflict over a government for Germany. Washington has threatened a separate peace if the Kremlin doesn't meet Wall Street's terms; that is, establish a puppet government in the western zones of Germany. Molotov speaks for an over-all government, but one set up in such a way that the Kremlin can maneuver it against Wall Street.

The French suggestion for a "compromise" deal over Austria again illustrates how the former Allies are jockeying. This proposed deal would pay the Soviet Union as reparations \$100,000,000, one-third of Austrian oil production, and a major part of Danubian shipping.

In return the Kremlin would give

up its claim to German assets in Austria, sign a peace treaty and withdraw Soviet troops, thus permitting Anglo-American imperialism and its satellites to penetrate and become entrenched in that territory. The Russian delegation turned thumbs down.

PRESSURE MOVES

While the Foreign Ministers sparred at London, Moscow and Washington made other pressure moves in hope of forcing the opponent to lower his terms.

The Kremlin loosened the brake on the workers under Stalinist influence in Italy and France in order to stage nation-wide strikes and political demonstrations. These are intended to convince Wall Street it should postpone armed conflict and make a deal favorable to the Kremlin.

Washington meanwhile announced the setting up of an atomic bomb testing station at Eniwetok atoll, and Lillenthal, the head of the Atomic Energy Commission, called for the doubling of atomic energy production. This saber rattling was supplemented by a U. S. Army announcement in Germany that it is now indiscriminating the GIs there on the "Communist menace."

It is thus crystal clear that the Foreign Ministers are not making "peace" at London but dealing thrusts and counter-thrusts in preparation for the new war they view as inevitable.

On Dec. 1, in a threatening display of force, three American cruisers steamed into Naples, the ad-

Trotsky's Book 'Whither France' Gives Key to Situation of Today

By Evelyn Atwood

The mounting wave of mass strikes and political demonstrations in France continues today—after interruption by the war—many features of the heroic struggles of the French workers in the middle 1930's. Then, they sought a revolutionary solution to capitalist anarchy, wars and the threat of fascism.

In 1934, soon after Hitler took power in Germany, a similar social crisis began unfolding in France. In wave upon wave of gigantic class battles, the French workers resisted the rise of reaction. They had the numbers and fighting capacity to enable them to set up their own Workers and Farmers Government. But they were held back by the leaders of the Communist (Stalinist) and Socialist parties and by the heads of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) who feared to mobilize them in the struggle for revolutionary victory.

"WHITHER FRANCE?"
In a series of articles, later published as a book, *Whither France*, Trotsky explained the revolutionary nature of the crisis.

Trotsky began with the fundamental fact that world capitalism, and French capitalism in particular, was heading toward complete bankruptcy. It could no longer assure the people either bread or peace. Capitalism could no longer afford even democratic reforms, but must take back those it reluctantly granted in the period of its rise and replace them with fascism.

Since capitalism could no longer be made to work for the people, Trotsky said the workers must make a "revolutionary invasion" of the right of capitalist private property. The means of production must be placed in the hands of the whole people.

Trotsky explained that a genuine struggle against fascism could only be carried out by the independent class action of the working people. The anti-fascist struggle, he pointed out, might begin as a defensive one. But it must pass over to an offensive under the general slogan

of "All Power to the Workers and Farmers Government." Such a struggle requires the formation of a Workers' Militia. In sharp contrast to every other political tendency, Trotsky emphasized that "Other than the socialist revolution, there is no way out."

RAISED RED FLAG
In 1936 a million and a half French workers undertook the offensive that Trotsky predicted. They engaged in gigantic sit-down strikes and raised the red flag over the factories they occupied. They had power within their grasp, but were robbed of this power through the treachery of the "Popular Front" leadership. In 1938 the French workers were poised on the verge of a general strike.

The general strike, Trotsky said, is "by its very essence a political act. It opposes the working class as a whole to the bourgeois state . . . The general strike poses directly the question of the conquest of power by the proletariat." But the Stalinist and Socialist leaders, who light-mindedly played with this "sharpest weapon" of the class struggle, had no intention of mobilizing the working class with the perspective of establishing a Workers and Farmers Government.

In a revolutionary situation—such as exists today in France—Trotsky demonstrated that the question of victory for the working class hinges upon a bold revolutionary program and an incorruptible leadership capable of carrying the struggle through to the very end.

Once more, "the French people have arrived at the crossroads: one way leads to the socialist revolution; the other to Fascist catastrophe. The choice depends on the working class." As in 1936 the workers will have their chance, but "victory is conceivable only on the basis of the methods of Bolshevism." Today in France that means the program of Trotskyism.

The big question now facing Italy is whether the Stalinists will succeed in preventing the workers from going forward. If the workers take power in other cities as they did in Milan and refuse to hand the reins back to the capitalist regime, then it is but a step to the formation of a Workers and Farmers Government and the beginning of a decisive struggle to end capitalism in Italy.

BIG QUESTION
But the Stalinists once again insisted that all they want is posts in de Gasperi's cabinet. They have sabotaged a concerted general nation-wide struggle, having refused up to this point to call out the workers under their influence in such key industries as the railways.

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ing the committee, agreed to relinquish power could de Gasperi's political machine again assume office.

This seizure of power was a graphic demonstration of the ease with which the working class in Italy could set up a Workers and Farmers Government if the Stalinists did not stand in the way.

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International Notes

With the help of generous emergency allocations of coal from the Truman Administration, the Videla government's armed suppression of the Chilean coal miners has succeeded in breaking their strike. During the reign of terror, an estimated 1,000 union leaders from the coal mines and copper and nitrate plants were arrested. These unionists are being held prisoners aboard naval craft or exiled to remote barren regions such as Tierra del Fuego, the "Siberia" of Chile.

When the Tories made considerable gains in the recent municipal elections, Winston Churchill, arrogant spokesman of British imperialism, declared that the Labor Party had lost its mandate. "Henceforward," said this political watchdog of the British capitalist, "they will govern without the moral support and against the will of the people."

Consequently the next by-election in England attracted wide attention. Would the voters of Gravesend back Churchill by electing a Tory, or would they repudiate Churchill once more by voting for a Labor Party member?

The dock and factory workers were fully aware that both Tories and Laborites regarded this election as a test of strength and a test of national political sentiment. They came through by rallying a larger total vote for the Labor Party than they did in 1945.

The Labor Party leaders hailed this expression of sentiment. Churchill chewed his cigar in sour silence. Despite the increased total for the Labor Party, however, the majority over the Tories declined from 7,000 to 1,675. This indicates a shift in the middle class sentiment. Like the results in the municipal elections this is a grave warning of growing impatience over the failure of the Labor Party leaders to reconstruct British economy and go

forward to socialism in accordance with the mandate given them in 1945.

Hoping to capitalize on middle class disillusionment with the Labor Party, Mosley, the British fascist, has just announced the formation of the "Union Movement," with an anti-parliamentary and anti-Semitic program.

Mosley's scheme, like that of Hitler's, is to come to power on the basis of a crisis in which "people look for anyone to show them the way out."

Between 40,000 and 60,000 government workers in Finland struck for two days, November 26 and 27, in protest against the high cost of living. Despite official warnings that the action would be considered "revolt" against the government, the strike was almost 100% effective in telephone, airplane traffic, railways and schools. To break the strike, Leino, the Stalinist Minister of the Interior, ordered the occupation of the Helsinki post office and telegraph building. The strikers returned to work after Premier Mauno Pekkala, whose Socialist Union Party had merged with the Stalinists, threatened them with conscription into the army and loss of their jobs.

Chiang Kai-shek ran into a little trouble in fixing the elections to the National Assembly. To foster the illusion that the Assembly would institute a national coalition government, Chiang made a deal with the Young China and Social-Democratic minority parties, assuring them of election in a few districts.

But if these parties were anxious to share in the spoils of office in collusion with Chiang, the Kuomintang machine politicians whom they were to supplant were no less greedy.

Running regardless of national party orders, these Kuomintang ward heelers "won" in their localities by stuffing the ballot boxes with "write-in" votes. So Chiang now faces the dilemma of overruling the results of the "democratic" election or of double-crossing his political allies.

Braving Chiang's gunmen, many voters expressed their disgust with the whole farce by writing on their ballots as choice of candidate: "more rice and more land."

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TROTSKY

"Whatever may be the slogans and the motive for which the general strike is initiated, if it includes the genuine masses and if these masses are quite resolved to struggle, the general strike inevitably poses before all the classes in the nation the question: Who will be the master of the house? The leaders of the proletariat must understand this internal logic of the general strike, unless they are not leaders but dilettantes and adventurers. Politically this implies that from now on the leaders will continue to pose before the proletariat the task of the revolutionary conquest of power. If not, they must not venture to speak of the general strike. But by renouncing the general strike, they renounce thereby all revolutionary struggle, that is to say, they betray the proletariat to Fascism." —Leon Trotsky, 1935



LENIN

"Austerity" Program Faces American People

U. S. TOLD IT FACES HARDSHIPS BUT MUST SPEED EUROPE AID; 'AUSTRERE' CONTROLS PRESSED.

That is the main front-page headline in the Nov. 27 New York Times. What the American people face in the immediate future is described in two special articles.

One begins: "The European recovery program may cause definite hardship in this country . . . the Truman Administration conceded for the first time today through an authorized spokesman at policy level." The other states: "An austere program in aid of Europe's hungry . . . was laid out for Congress by the Administration today."

Austerity and hardship. Those are the very words used to describe the hunger program put into effect in war-ravaged and partially-devastated England. For weeks the American Big Business press has snickered and sneered at the British Labor government's "austerity" program and blamed England's ruin on the alleged "socialism" introduced by Attlee and Bevin.

Now we are openly informed that in the United States, the very citadel of capitalist "free enter-

prise" and a country untouched by war's devastation, we face a future of "austerity" and "hardship."

Is it to ease the plight of Europe's hungry? That is a lie. The Truman-Marshall "foreign aid" program contains not an atom of humanitarianism.

It is designed solely to prop up reactionary capitalist regimes which are this very day repressing and murdering workers—in Greece, in France, in Italy. It is designed to build Wall Street's spring-board in Europe for world war.

We face austerity and hardship for reasons the Times articles fail to state. Here are a couple from other news releases last week:

"If it really means business," the U. S. government will have to double its expenditures for atom bomb plants—spend 5 billion dollars—said David Lilienthal, Atomic Energy Commission chairman.

The United States must spend new "billions" for a military air fleet with bases throughout the world, Truman's Air Policy Commission is proposing.

In short, American Big Business is getting ready for atomic war to dominate the whole globe. That is why Washington offers only "austerity" and "hardship."

Christmas Spirit, Capitalist Style

This is the Christmas season, when parents think of toys for children, when Christmas trees are ordered for decoration, when the newspapers remind you that the days for gift shopping are numbered and fill their pages with enticing ads. This is the season portrayed in press and pulp, in schools and homes, in offices and shops as the harbinger of "Peace on Earth, Good Will Toward Men."

This ballyhoo exploits the genuine desire of the people for peace and good will. But just how much good will is there in this capitalist United States?

There's scarcely peace, let alone good will for those whose skins are colored. In Logansville, Georgia, near which two Negro men and their wives were lynched last year, every Negro church and school in the community was recently destroyed by fire, and white mobs have let loose another reign of terror. And in the far North a 19-year-old Negro veteran, returning from a visit to the "Freedom Train" in Rochester, N. Y., was murdered in cold blood by six white policemen, who were promptly exonerated.

Sealed Train in Indonesia

Brutality has become such a standard part of the capitalist system in this epoch that a new shocker rarely rates more than a brief inch or two in the press. After all, what difference does it make if a few more die before their time? And what difference how they die? Is there anything less sacred or less valued under capitalism than human life?

Take, for instance, the small dispatch from Indonesia sandwiched the other day between the joyous Christmas advertisements.

The Dutch Army in Indonesia, said the dispatch, loaded three box cars with 100 Javanese they had taken in the colonial war. They sealed the box cars. Then they hauled this human cargo across Indonesia on a 15-hour journey.

Since this cargo was less valuable than cabbages, fertilizer or hogs, no inspection was made until it arrived. No food. No water. No fresh air.

When the Dutch officers finally got around to opening the first carload of 44 Indonesians, 11 had to be taken to the hospital. In the second car of 29, they found 8 dead. In the third car of 38, not one survived.

If we were in the spirit of the times we would

Miners Tell Gov't "Hands Off!"

The AFL United Mine Workers has served notice that it doesn't want government intervention in any way, shape or form when coal wage negotiations begin in 1948.

The current issue of the union's Mine Workers Journal bluntly says: "The coal miners have had enough—in fact too much—of government meddling in coal affairs and we want no more of it."

The Journal especially points out that "some anti-union-minded coal operators" want government controls restored so "they can have the Government front for them when wage negotiations start."

It is easy to understand why the miners distrust any government "regulation" in the coal industry, even when it is camouflaged as "price control" or "aid to Europe."

They have learned through bitter experience that no matter what pretext the government uses for intervening in the coal industry, the miners always get it in the neck.

This capitalist government has repeatedly wrangled an anti-union club in an American flag and

pass up this incident as nothing out of the ordinary in the capitalist press. But with our revolutionary socialist ideas about the importance of humanity and the need to build a better world, we couldn't help thinking of that train as it crossed Java with its cargo of doomed men.

What were their thoughts as they pitched against the box car walls in the dark, fighting for air? Did they waste breath screaming for help? Did they perhaps repent their "crime" of fighting for the freedom of their country the way the American patriots of 1776 fought for freedom from the foreign tyrant?

As they died, did they spare a thought for the America of 1947 that supplied the arms used by the Dutch imperialists to subjugate their land? Did they recall the American promise during the war to bring them "Four Freedoms?"

The dispatch didn't say anything at all about such things. Nowadays horror and suffering under capitalism isn't news. The murder of 46 Indonesians in sealed box cars isn't worth more than a couple of sentences alongside the cheerful and highly profitable Christmas ads.

beaten the miners over the head with mine "seizures," injunctions, troops, million dollar fines and other types of plain and fancy strikebreaking.

Every time the miners have fought for better wages, decent working and living conditions or mine safety, the government has done the coal barons' dirty work. No wonder the miners prefer to battle it out with the operators without government interference.

The miners have learned their lesson. Other workers whose strikes have been busted from Washington have learned this lesson, and more workers will learn it in the not too distant future. The lesson is a simple one. It is that this government, under the thumb of Wall Street, and run by Wall Street's hired hands, always intervenes against the workers.

Only when the American workers throw these Big Business flunkies out and put in a Workers and Farmers Government will the situation be altered. The way to start is to build a Labor Party now.



"So what if you did give the General a new house in Palm Beach — wasn't he a close friend of ours?"

The Role of the Stalinists In the CIO Auto Workers

By Art Preis

The Big Business press, and its echoes among the professional Stalinophobes within the labor movement, deliberately misrepresented and exaggerated the influence and role of the Communist (Stalinist) Party in the recent CIO United Auto Workers convention.

They tried to smear as Stalinist "fellow travelers" and "stooges" all opponents of Walter Reuther and his arch-reactionary allies of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, whose battle-cry was "Get the Commies!"

Prior to the UAW convention, The Militant exposed this attempt to tar the militant opposition to the Reuther-ACTU machine with the Stalinist brush. We pointed out that the Stalinists were a weak and discredited influence in the UAW, without weight or influence.

PASSED JUDGMENT

We showed that the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus, which contained the best and most conscious UAW militants, was overwhelmingly anti-Stalinist in its ranks and contained not a single Stalinist in its leadership. The auto militants, without resort to red-baiting, had already passed stern judgment on the Stalinists for their anti-labor crimes and betrayals.

The events of the convention fully confirmed our analysis. The Stalinists were reduced to such desperation and frustration by their pitiable influence and isolation within the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus that all their energies were devoted to attempts to disrupt and split the caucus.

These disruptive attempts became more open and furious as the genuine militants came to the fore in the caucus and its leaders fought more vigorously on basic issues and program. It was precisely when the Thomas-Addes-Leonard group took a firm and uncompromising stand on the basic issue—opposition to

the Taft-Hartley "yellow dog" oath—that the Stalinists found the atmosphere of the caucus intolerable.

EXPOSED WEAKNESS

They exposed their weakness and isolation before the whole convention when they treacherously violated the democratic decisions of the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus and twice ran their own candidates in opposition to the caucus. The overwhelmingly bulk of the anti-Reuther delegates decided to vote against Reuther for president by recording an abstention or absentee vote. The Stalinists ran John De-Vito of Cleveland who got the votes of only a tiny handful of delegates.

They swung a few more votes by running for vice president a Negro, Shelton Tappes, who is a close associate of the Stalinists. Tappes ran against both Reuther's candidates, Livingston, and the official candidate of the anti-Reuther caucus, Richard T. Leonard.

Even before the convention, the Stalinist Daily Worker gave several hints of the CP's intention to blow up the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus where the Stalinists had already been pushed into a corner by the genuine militants.

On the very eve of the convention, George Morris, professional Trotskyist, baiter of the Daily Worker, wrote that "it is wrong to characterize the bloc (Thomas-Addes-Leonard) as even 'left.' The Communist (read Stalinist) and 'lefts' are a minority within it. The policy makers and strategists of the Addes-Thomas-Leonard bloc could best be described as 'middle-of-the-road.'"

DEADLY BLOW

On the second day of the convention Morris wrote: "The truth is that old relationships no longer hold in the UAW. There is no longer any Addes-Thomas-Leonard caucus in the sense that it has been known in the past . . ."

In reality, "old relationships" could "no longer hold" because the genuine militants in the caucus had exposed the "leftist" pretenses of

the Stalinists and reduced them to a feeble and stranded right wing. That was the deadliest blow of all to the Stalinists.

Immediately after the convention, Morris wrote: "However distasteful the result in Atlantic City is to many people, there may be good in it with the opportunity to rebuild the progressive movement in the union on a fresh basis . . . The future in the UAW belongs to those who get down to the ranks NOW to build a fighting rank and file movement."

In short, the Stalinists now aim to build a "rank and file" faction strictly under their own control.

A revealing picture of Stalinist influence and aims in the UAW was painted in two articles by John Williamson last week in the Daily Worker, called "Why Reuther Won in UAW." It is a bitter lament.

HEADS WILL FALL

"It is clear," writes Williamson, "that the influence of the Communists was only exerted in specific places and not uniformly, and that the disease of factionalism and jobs had penetrated even the fabric (sic) of more than a few in the Communist ranks. In those instances when the Communists found it necessary to disassociate themselves from the coalition (Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus), it was not always done in a public way, so that the workers would know of our criticism."

Despite the correct estimate of the Party nationally as to the decisive importance of influencing the auto workers on the political issues of the day, and building the Party among them, the Party as a whole did not show a day-to-day understanding of this and there must be registered an unsatisfactory ideological, political and organizational status of work of the party in many areas as far as auto workers were concerned."

Thus, the Stalinists themselves record their debacle in the UAW. And, as usual, heads will fall among the lesser CP lights to atone for the sins of the top leaders.

Atomic Scientists and the Warmakers

By John G. Wright

The Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists is still seeking to rouse public opinion to the fact that the next war is certain to see atom bombs used on a large scale. These bombs, already far more effective than those used over Japan or at Bikini, asserts Albert Einstein, who is surely in a position to speak with authority, "will be plentiful and they will be comparatively cheap." Moreover, he warns that large scale use of radio-active poison gases is likewise a stark threat.

Monopoly of atom bomb "secrets" is out of the question, Einstein, chairman of this Committee, assumes that "the Russians will have this atom bomb through their own efforts within a short time." No less myopic is the dream that this country is immune to attack. On the contrary, it is rendered more vulnerable precisely by the discovery of atomic explosives.

In all this, Einstein and his fellow scientists are performing a highly progressive service, especially in so far as they seek to awaken public opinion to the realization of what the consequences of atomic warfare will be. With these weapons as "the most economic form of destruction," unless war is prevented, "it is likely to bring destruction on a scale never before held possible and even now hardly conceived, and

that little civilization would survive it."

BUT NO SOLUTION

There is no denying the urgency. But when it comes to offering a solution, Einstein and his Committee remain as blind as the darkest reactionaries. Einstein himself dismisses as "irrational" a drastic change of economic systems, the replacement of capitalism by socialism. This is the sole means of averting war, because it alone provides the basis for a genuine world federation. He and his colleagues continue instead to plead for the formation of a capitalist "federation of nations." Such a "supranational" state, with or without Russia's participation, they feel sure, will just about fix everything.

They have learned exactly nothing from the experience with two such "supranational" capitalist bodies, namely: the defunct League of Nations, and its even viler replica, the United Nations. They apparently remain oblivious of the fact that Wall Street billionaires are hell-bent on building a "supranational" empire, "peacefully" or by brute force, but completely under their own domination.

UNDERSCORES SPEED

Simultaneous with the circulation by the "Emergency Committee" of its latest letter appealing for contributions to its million dollar fund, Robert A. Lovett, Acting Secretary of State, appeared before the Air Policy Commission to demand the immediate formation of an air

fleet of wartime proportions, regardless of the admittedly "staggering cost."

And as if to underscore the speed with which atomic war plans are being pushed, Washington has just released news of the establishment of a "permanent experimental station" on Eniwetok atoll in the heart of the Pacific.

By advocating an utterly fictitious solution to a grave danger, the atomic scientists not only help aggravate it, but they distract attention away from the warmakers who are thereby enabled to proceed all the more easily and rapidly with their death-dealing preparations.



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THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MOTHER JONES

THE MARCH OF THE MILL CHILDREN

In the spring of 1903 I went to Kensington, Pennsylvania, where 75,000 textile workers were on strike. Of these children at least 10,000 were little children. The workers were striking for more pay and shorter hours. Every day little children came into Union Headquarters, some with their hands off, some with the thumb missing, some with their fingers off at the knuckle. They were stooped little things, round shouldered and skinny. Many of them were not over 10 years of age, although the state law prohibited their working before they were 12 years of age.

The law was poorly enforced and the mothers of these children often swore falsely as to their children's age. In a single block in Kensington, 14 women, mothers of 22 children all under 12, explained it was a question of starvation or perjury. That the fathers had been killed or maimed at the mines.

I asked the newspaper men why they didn't publish the facts about child labor in Pennsylvania. They said they couldn't because the mill owners had stock in the papers.

"Well, I've got stock in these little children," said I, "and I'll arrange a little publicity."

We assembled a number of boys and girls one morning in Independence Park and from there we arranged to parade with banners to the court house where we would hold a meeting.

A great crowd gathered in the public square in front of the city hall. I put the little boys with their fingers off and hands crushed and maimed on a platform. I held up their mutilated hands and showed them to the crowd and made the statement that Philadelphia's mansions were built on the broken bones, the quivering hearts and drooping heads of these children. That their little lives went out to make wealth for others. That neither state nor city officials paid any attention to these wrongs. That they did not care that these children were to be the future citizens of the nation.

The officials of the city hall were standing in the open windows. I held the little ones of the mills high up above the heads of the crowd and pointed to their puny arms and legs and hollow chests. They were light to lift.

I called upon the millionaire manufacturers to cease their moral murders, and I cried to the officials in the open windows opposite, "Some day the workers will take possession of your city hall, and when we do, no child will be sacrificed on the altar of profit."

The officials quickly closed the windows, just as they had closed their eyes and hearts.

The reporters quoted my statement that Philadelphia mansions were built on the broken bones and quivering hearts of children. The Philadelphia papers and the New York papers got into a squabble with each other over the question. The universities discussed it. Preachers began talking. That was what I wanted. Public attention on the subject of child labor.

THE CHILDREN GO FOR A TOUR

The matter quieted down for a while and I concluded the people needed stirring up again. The Liberty Bell that a century ago rang out for freedom against tyranny was touring the country and crowds were coming to see it everywhere. That gave me an idea. These little children were striking for some of the freedom that childhood ought to have, and I decided that the children and I would go on a tour.

I asked some of the parents if they would let me have their little boys and girls for a week or ten days, promising to bring them back safe and sound. They consented. A man named Sweeney was marshal for our "army." A few men and women went with me to help with the children. They were on strike and I thought they might as well have a little recreation.

The children carried knapsacks on their backs in which was a knife and fork, a tin cup and plate. We took along a wash boiler in which to cook the food on the road. One little fellow had a drum and another a fife. That was our band. We carried banners that said, "We want more schools and less hospitals." "We want more time to play." "Prosperity is here. Where is ours?"

We started from Philadelphia where we held a great mass meeting. I decided to go with the children to see President Roosevelt to ask him to have Congress pass a law prohibiting the exploitation of childhood. I thought that President Roosevelt might see these mill children and compare them with his own little ones who were spending the summer on the seashore at Oyster Bay. I thought, too, out of politeness, we might call on Morgan in Wall Street who owned the mines where many of these children's fathers worked.

The children were very happy, having plenty to eat, taking baths in the brooks and rivers every day. I thought when the strike is over and they go back to the mills, they will never have another holiday like this. All along the line of march the farmers drove out to meet us with wagon loads of fruit and vegetables. Their wives brought the children clothes and money. The interurban trainmen would stop their trains and give us free rides.

Marshal Sweeney and I would go ahead to the towns and arrange sleeping quarters for the children, and secure meeting halls. As we marched on, it grew terribly hot. There was no rain and the roads were heavy with dust. From time to time we had to send some of the children back to their homes. They were too weak to stand the march.

Everywhere we had meetings, showing up with living children, the horrors of child labor.

At one town the mayor said we could not hold a meeting because he did not have sufficient police protection. "These little children have never known any sort of protection, your honor," I said, "and they are used to going without it." He let us have our meeting.

I called on the mayor of Princeton and asked for permission to speak opposite the campus of the University. I said I wanted to speak on higher education. The mayor gave me permission. A great crowd gathered, professors and students and the people; and I told them that the rich robbed these little children of any education of the lowest order that they might send their sons and daughters to places of higher education. That they used the hands and feet of little children that they might buy automobiles for their wives and police dogs for their daughters to talk French to. I said the mill owners take babies almost from the cradle. And I showed those professors children in our army who could scarcely read or write because they were working ten hours a day in the silk mills of Pennsylvania.

"Here's a text book on economics," I said, pointing to a little chap, James Ashworth, who was ten years old and who was stooped over like an old man from carrying bundles of yarn that weighed 75 pounds. "He gets \$3 a week and his sister who is 14 gets \$6. They work in a carpet factory 10 hours a day, while the children of the rich are getting their higher education."

That night we camped on the banks of Stony Brook where years and years before the ragged Revolutionary Army camped, Washington's brave soldiers that made their fight for freedom.

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Workers' Forum

"Good Reading In the Paper"

Editor:

I am not a member of the Socialist Workers Party and don't expect to become one as I am not quite in accord with your program, but there is much good reading in your paper. I always like The Diary of a Steel Worker and now the Autobiography of Mother Jones. Of late we have missed Grace Carlson's articles.

Mr. A. Cortez
Milwaukee, Wis.

Objects to Printing Mother Jones Serial

Editor:

I will admit that the Mother Jones book you are serializing has some good aspects; this fine old working class fighter had an interesting life and she wrote simply and effectively. But I think space in The Militant is too limited now to cover the many crucial problems and the important events now taking place. The Mother Jones' material takes almost 5% of your space. Don't you think that space could be put to better use? If it's history you want, how about dealing with a more recent period, such as the rise of the CIO, which is not properly handled in any book available and which is more pertinent to today's problems? Mother Jones' book should be recommended to your readers and those who are interested can get it at the public library.

D. L.
Newark, N. J.

Ed. Note: The above are the first two letters we have had from our readers on the Mother Jones serialization. We would like to hear from others. If you have any opinions on it one way or another, please drop us a note. Depending on the expressions of opinion, that we receive by January 1, will depend our decision on how many more installments we print.

Dislikes Review Of Steinbeck Book

Editor:

Like Sinclair Lewis, John Steinbeck has been threatening to write a truly worthwhile book. The Wayward Bus is not one, contrary to Norma Christensen's citation of one worth-while chapter in an attempt to log-roll it as being worth-while as a whole. It is rather surprising to find The Militant wasting space in reviewing a book totally lacking in interest to working class people, especially at the price. As a 25 cent reprint, the book would be a fair buy. The reviewer's obvious lack of understanding of what Steinbeck is here attempting is also disappointing.

Here we have a bus named "Sweetheart," a name painted over its former title which is beginning to show through. Underneath can

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

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

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

FLINT—215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3. Mich. Open every night 7-9 p.m., Saturday nights Open House, Sunday nights Meetings and Forums.

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

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

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

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant." Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you want your name printed.

be ascertained "el Gran Poder de Jesus." It's route is from "Rebel Corners" to San Juan de la Cruz. The pendant of the Virgin which dangles in the windshield denotes supernatural guidance. What then is to be surmised, given these significant facts? The author charts the route symbolically: From "Rebel Corners" (a suggestive enough name) to San Juan de la Cruz (St. John of the Cross). In other words, from proletarian awareness to spiritual mysticism. As though this were not enough, he carries his characters on the fading "Sweetheart" which betrays its original name, "The Great Power of Jesus." This along with the pendant in the windshield guiding infallibly toward the destination should be evidence enough as to what Steinbeck is pointing out. A withdrawal from life (class consciousness) to spiritualism (salvation, the here-after). The reviewer would have us waste our time wading through a book to get to one "significant chapter!"

Steinbeck by his penetrating presentation causes characters to take on a far greater significance than is their due. There are points in the story where he seemingly forgets himself and they make some trenchant remarks. Steinbeck evidently hasn't lived through his period of social awareness: In Dubious Battle, Grapes of Wrath. But like the pilot, which too had its wayward moments of wavering, he will once again get back on the road of salvation, taking his readers with him.

As Eleanor Clark stated in her review in The Nation: "It is also a current Book-of-the-Month Club selection. If it were not, at least if it were not by Steinbeck, it is doubtful whether anyone would have reviewed it." Conspicuously absent in The Militant are reviews of End As a Man, Knock on Any Door, etc. Why waste readers' time and money in speculative over books of dubious merit? Fortunately there are a few being published that warrant study and are worth the time spent in reading them.

Norman Johnstone
Westville, N. J.

Ed. Note—The novel, End As a Man, was reviewed in the July 14 Militant. A review of Knock on Any Door has been in preparation for several weeks and will be printed in the near future.

The Greedy Must Have Fat Profits

Editor:

The problem of high prices and food shortage has been solved. The worker's wife need no longer lay awake nights planning a budget that will fit her husband's pay check, thanks to Robert A. Taft, who would be president, and Harry S. Truman, the incumbent. Taft asserts that food conservation can be effected by the simple medium of tightening our belts and not eating. Truman says, don't request a second helping, and don't make the first one too liberal, starve the stock and poultry so that when the meat is cooked, it will not appear too inviting. Result, poor appetite. All this to be done (as the claim) for a good purpose. Americans must conserve food and

grain so that we can feed a hungry world.

Fortunately or not, take your choice, we still can read and reason, and some of us remember that just a few days ago Marquis Childs informed us that all the granaries in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Montana were bursting with grain. What became of it? It is significant too, that just a short time ago the government destroyed a hundred million bushels of potatoes, car loads of canned goods and other food items. Still more waste going on, while Taft and Truman never raise a finger in protest. Yet they tell us we must eat less.

Of course, this wanton waste is necessary in order to keep prices up. Never mind the hungry and needy people, the greedy must have fat profits.

The 20 billion dollars spent for overseas relief went to support capitalist armies whose function is to keep in subjection the very people whom they profess to want to help, workers just like you and me. A great game, gentlemen, but we common people get very little fun out of it viewed from where we sit.

Finally, I wonder just what items and what grades are deleted from the respective tables of eat-less Taft and the No. 1 Boy of the Democratic Party? Do they take skimpy helpings, or refuse choice cuts of meat? We workers have been doing just that all our lives, because our economic condition prevents our doing otherwise.

H. G.
Youngstown, Ohio

Technocrat Pamphlet Lauding the Fascists

Editor:

A pamphlet was given to me by the Technocrats at one of their meetings in 1937, called "Questions and Answers on Technocracy." In reply to the question, "What is the attitude of the Technocrats towards the Nazi and Fascists?" the pamphlet indicated admiration of their "achievements" and of their method of seizing power.

I do not remember the exact wording, but could not forget the meaning their answer was intended to convey. I have tried since then to buy another copy of this pamphlet from their San Francisco office, but they seem to have gotten rid of it.

However, it may be possible for some Militant reader to find a copy in an old book store or attic. Perhaps some member of Technocracy, Inc., can be found who will produce one.

Don Barry
Oakland, Calif.

Partition Incites Arabs Against Palestine Jews

(Continued from Page 1)

to bow at the last moment to U. S. pressure.

The role of the Kremlin is equally cynical and sinister. Stalin is playing with the destinies of Arab and Jewish peoples as with so many pawns, hoping to maneuver himself thereby into a more advantageous bargaining position with respect to the United States.

The reaction of the Arab masses to the UN partition scheme is an expression of their desire to conduct a struggle for genuine inde-

pendence. But the tragedy is that the reactionary Arab leadership is successfully sidetracking the wrath of the masses into attacks against the Jewish minority rather than against their real enemies—the imperialists. Here the Arab leaders play the game of Washington, London and Paris. So long as Arabs and Jews are at each other's throats, the imperialist stranglehold on the Middle East is assured.

TRAP FOR BOTH

The partition plan is no less a trap for the Jews than for the Arabs. Their gains are purely illusory. The Jews will not have gained a free and independent state such as emerged in Europe after the national revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries. This caricature of a "Jewish state" comes into being in a world of declining capitalism when no small people—even those already with a "state of their own"—has any independence to speak of.

Even if maintained against the assaults of the Arabs, this "Jewish state" will remain completely at the mercy of the UN, that is, of the imperialists who dominate the UN.

Moreover, this "Jewish state" is being established in a country where the Jews are a minority. So long as the Arab majority remains opposed to this minority Jewish state, the Jews in Palestine must live dangerously indeed. As loyal supporters of this reactionary partition plan, they will only retain and increase the hostility of the Arabs, without whose collaboration the Jews can never gain any permanent security or peace in the Middle East.

Not is this all. The Middle East is one of the key areas for imperialism, both because of its oil reserves and its strategic position.

In the light of imperialist calculations and the threat of another world war, it should be obvious that the "Jewish state" can easily become another bloody trap for the Jewish people.

Instead of solving the problems of either the Jews or Arabs in Palestine, the partition scheme will only aggravate them. The precondition for the liberation of Palestine is unity between the Arabs and Jews. This unity can be welded only in a joint struggle against the imperialist oppressors on the basis of a revolutionary socialist program. Partition, on the contrary, erects another barrier between Arabs and Jews.

Chicago — Harold: "We are sure we will go over the top before the end of the campaign. Many of the members here have sacrificed to meet their pledges."

Connecticut — White: "The enclosed payment brings us up to the 100% mark. Half of our quota was raised through Militant socials, the rest from sympathizers and members."

Detroit — Ruth: "The enclosed check brings us to 88%. We will have the balance and may even go over, by Dec. 7."

The last Scoreboard will appear in the Dec. 22 issue of The Militant. All final payments must be in New York by Dec. 15 the very latest.

FROM OUR READERS

We take this opportunity to thank all readers who contributed to the Militant Fund campaign, as well as those who wrote explaining they could not make a donation at this time. By this act, each has expressed his and her solidarity with our fight for a better world.

Although the total amount received from our readers was not as large as we had hoped, the knowledge that so many are true friends of The Militant is a great inspiration. The Militant has very few friends

like B & C who are more fortunately situated for the moment and are able to send \$200, as they did recently. In the main, the paper is sustained by the nickels, dimes and quarters from people who appreciate the importance of supporting a militant workers' paper, especially in these days of reaction.

One such example is Mr. and Mrs. E. S. of Sandusky. They write — "Dear Sirs: We are sending a very small amount (\$1.15). If you wonder why the odd change, we are sending just what is left from last pay day, after our bills were paid. Wish we could send a lot more, but then if we could, we would probably not be the type to pay attention to The Militant, which is the only paper printed, as far as we are concerned. It seems plain stupid to us for anybody not to be able to

see what is going on in this country."

Then there is R. B. of Chicago who sends \$2.20 and says: "Dear Friends: I don't seem to have much luck with collections, but I can say for myself I enjoy reading this little paper. I still want to be a member so I am filling out the card and sending it real soon. I wish you very much good luck with your work and the news this paper carries."

Since the last report, we received the following from our readers: Tondewald 50c; Hampton 1c; Osborn 50c; Curtis 1c; Moore 23c; Klingberg 25c; McKay 1c; Harmin 1c; Wagner 2c; King 25c; Porter 45c; Washburn 45c; Siegel 1c; Gurule 33c; Mondrus 55c; Abrams 1c; Haglund 1c.

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But the present congressmen have small interest in all this. Not only do U. S. industrialists get shipping service cheaper from foreign nations, but this also builds up dollar credits abroad in direct proportion to what is paid out for these services, thus enabling more American goods to be sold on the foreign market.

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The Case of Marty Kernahan

By Theodore Kovalesky

It's like a diamond with layers of dust that have gathered over it one by one until it is completely hidden. But it's still there, still beautiful and unchanged, waiting for the layers to be swept off. It's something that happened, a part of life that has passed but still lives somewhere inside of Marty Kernahan.

Today when you talk to Marty he doesn't impress you very much. He votes a straight Democratic ticket, thinks the Soviet Union should start a war any day now and that Communism must be stopped. He never bothers to go to union meetings and is in general a pretty reactionary guy.

You'd never dream that there's a key that will open a door in Marty and show you something in him that's entirely contrary to the man you think he is. Just mention Flint, Michigan or the sit-down strikes.

I met Marty once in Emil's place when we were cashing our checks, and I didn't care much for him. But then, somehow or other, the magic word was said. The key was turned.

Marty forgot what he had been saying. His face lighted up. "Boy," he exclaimed, "those were the days!"

"Where you there?" I asked, surprised.

"Was I there! I was in that plant from start to finish!"

Pete, Jimmy, and Gus Miller gathered around to hear. We got another beer, and Marty told us all about it.

He told about the committees that were formed, about the meetings they held in the plant. He told us about the scared, sullen cops that clustered outside. "We got some big, strong pieces of rubber and made slingshots out of it. When those cops tried to get funny, we'd shoot heavy bolts out of the windows at them."

"Why," he went on, "we owned that plant! We had the plant lock, stock and barrel, and we had the

town too. There were, just a bunch of workmen, a gang of guys in a union, and we controlled the whole town. When we were inside, we used to say, 'Why should we give it back? We got the plant, and we got the town. We ought to keep them, because we sure as hell can run them a lot better than the guys that have been running them.'"

I looked at Marty. I looked at his self-satisfied grin, and for a moment I couldn't make him out. Here was this reactionary guy, you'd almost call him a flunk, grinning his head off, telling us about how he had helped to stand off cops that were trying to "protect" General Motors' property. Here he was happily telling us how the workers could run the plants and control the cities better than the bosses.

Then it came to me with a rush, and I felt a real thrill. It's hard to say how many guys there are like Marty. There may be millions. He votes Democrat; others vote Republican. Although they're workers, they do nothing for labor's cause, and many of them even red-bait people that do fight labor's battles.

But, just as salt is made up of two entirely different chemical elements, Marty, and the rest like him are living contradictions.

You can turn the key today; you can say the magic word, and Marty will open up and show you what's there inside of him.

Tomorrow life itself will turn that key and then throw it away, and the door will stay open. When labor shakes off its inertia and gets into action once again, Marty and all of his buddies will feel a surge of memory, an enthusiasm in their blood. Once more they'll reach out their hands for the factories where they work and for the very reins of government.

Although they may never join the Socialist Workers' Party, although they may keep their prejudices and backward ideas to the very end, nevertheless their strength and their fighting spirit, once aroused and led in the right direction, will help to build the Socialist future.

Truman Pardons Another Crooked Boss Politician

If you're going to be a crook, it pays to be one with political power and influence. This was proved again when President Truman pardoned Mayor James M. Curley of Boston the day before Thanksgiving.

Curley is the head of a corrupt political machine in Massachusetts, through which he has been elected as Governor, member of Congress and twice as Mayor of Boston.

Not satisfied with his political spoils, Curley dabbled in other money-making schemes on the side—an accepted practice among capitalist politicians. This led to some complications, including a conviction for using the mails to defraud, and a 6 to 18 months' term in jail.

Although he is a Democrat, Curley managed to get an agreement with his political "opponents" in the Republican state administration, by which he remained Mayor of Boston and continued to draw his \$20,000 a year salary.

But Curley did not have to serve even the minimum term of six months. Truman took care of that by commuting his sentence and restoring his full civil rights five months after Curley went to jail.

In explanation, Truman pointed out that "many, many petitions have been received from men of both political parties for the release." No capitalist politician likes to see other capitalist politicians in jail. And Truman is no exception.

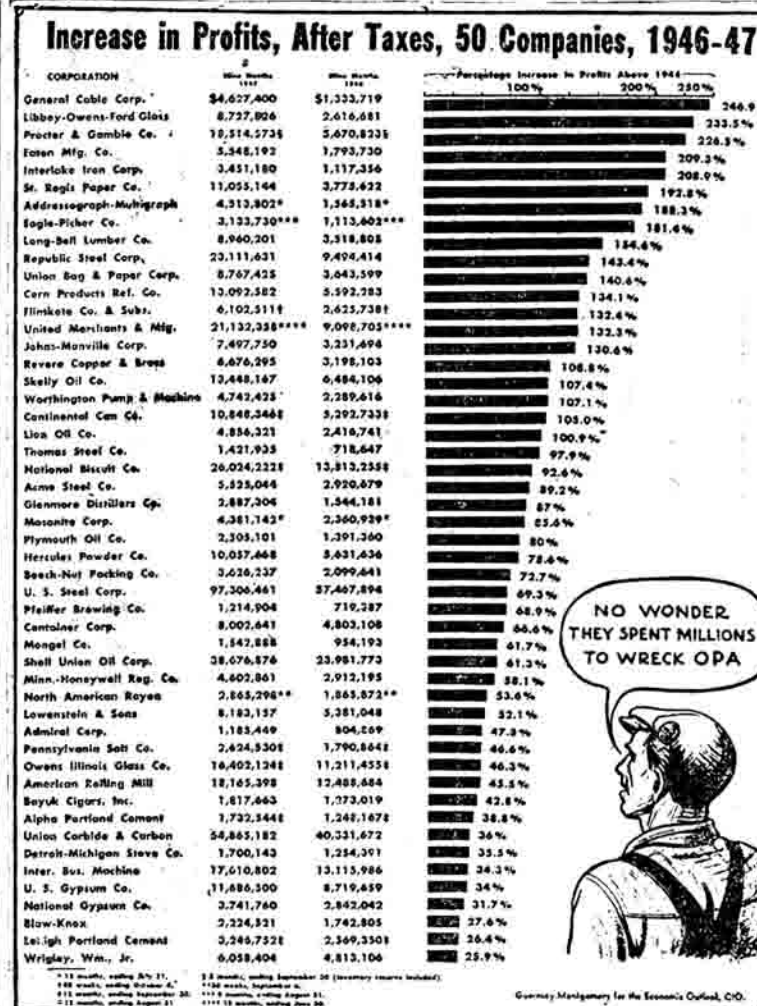
Also, Truman continued, Curley's "age and physical condition" entered into his decision to turn Curley loose. This referred to the press buildup given Curley as a poor old man who had only a few months to live. But Curley, when released, went right back into the Mayor's chair, remarking that he felt ten years younger.

And finally, said Truman, he had acted in order to permit Curley "to have his Thanksgiving dinner at home." A truly touching sentiment—but one that Truman when he sent Curley to jail in 1946 when he was petitioned to grant a Christmas amnesty to thousands of conscientious objectors, whose only "crime" was their reluctance to participate in the imperialist war.

Truman is an old hand at this game. That was how he got the nickname of the Pendergast Kid.

The Pendergast machine was the Missouri counterpart of the Curley machine. It lifted Truman out of well-deserved obscurity and gave him a seat as its spokesman and defender in the U. S. Senate, from which he was able to rise to his present office. When the machine came to grief over stealing an election in St. Louis, Truman used his power as president to pardon its members.

Thus, Truman was being consistent by pardoning Curley. Everything he is and everything he hopes to be he owes to his connections with just such corrupt politicians. That goes for 1948 especially.



This chart from the November CIO Economic Outlook tells the tale of high prices. For 1947, corporate profits, after taxes, will be 17.4 billion dollars as compared with 8.4 billions in the lush days of 1929.

Conscription Law Will Be Pushed in January

Renewal of the drive to draft all 18-year-old boys for at least a year got under way as President Truman announced that Universal Military Training was "must" legislation.

The UMT (HR 4278) will come up in Congress's regular session in January. Truman's message to Congress will urge immediate passage.

This bill to prussianize American youth would compel every boy of 17 to register. At 18 he would be drafted. Nothing in the bill prohibits racial discrimination. No provision is made to protect the young draftees from the injustice and brutality of the officer-run court martial system.

Powerful and sinister forces are pushing the peace time draft. Reactionary politicians, fronting for Big Business, have formed committees to influence editors, clergymen, politicians and other molders of public opinion. The Hearst gutter press carries daily cartoons and "news" stories for military conscription. The American Legion, likewise, is putting the heat on Congressmen and publicly clamoring for UMT.

While pro-war forces are shouting that UMT is necessary for the education of American youth, the role of the officer caste that would "educate" these youth is being exposed. The Meyers investigation revealed

The political bankruptcy of the top trade union leaders was vividly illustrated last week when Daniel J. Tobin and A. F. Whitney declared their choices for the next President of the United States.

Tobin, head of the AFL Teamsters and a member of the Democratic National Committee, appealed to the Republican Party to nominate Governor Warren of California, agent of the West Coast industrial and shipping interests.

Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, said that if Democrat Truman is nominated, "I will give him my support."

His public pronouncement in favor of Truman, who broke the railway strike last year, requires a lot of explanation. Whitney gives it in a sentence: "My good Christian parents taught me it is a good thing to forgive and forget."

It will be hard for the railroad workers to "forgive and forget" the fact that Truman ordered an army "seizure" of the railroads and demanded that Congress pass a law to draft strikers into the army.

Whitney himself had said in 1946 that he would raise a two million dollar fund to aid in defeating Truman, whom he called "a political accident and a one-termer." Whitney's attack on Truman at the CIO convention last year was so vitriolic that the press called some of his remarks "unquotable."

TOBIN'S CHOICE

Tobin's choice, Governor Warren, is the politician whom the California State Federation of Labor last July publicly struck off its list of "friends of labor," when Warren signed California's "Little Taft-Hartley Act." C. J. Haggerty, AFL state secretary, then said that "labor can no longer consider his judgment impartial, as he always wanted us to believe and for which we gave him support."

Tobin writes a whole article in the International Teamster, December issue, lauding this same Warren's alleged merits. The AFL Teamsters "Car" finds Warren as governor "has been right on nearly everything for labor with the exception of one or two matters."

Indeed, Tobin assures us, Warren "will have an enormous backing from organized labor throughout the country."

What's wrong with Truman this time, we ask Tobin. If Whitney can stomach Truman after what happened in the railroad strike, surely a person with Tobin's capacity for swallowing anything the capitalists offer should not balk at his own party colleague?

Tobin tells us "labor may be all very well, but what is labor going to say about supporting the Democratic party and its platform? It is possible that that platform will be much more progressive than the Republican platform. What is labor going to do about a party that has 20 Senators who will not vote even to stand behind the head of the United States, when he vetoes a measure?"

PARTY "STINKS"

It is all very "difficult" Tobin concludes, and he can only "hope and trust that one of the two parties will see the light . . . so that labor may have some place to go in November, 1948."

It is obvious that labor will go

nowhere except into a blind alley if it follows the advice of either Tobin or Whitney.

Here is Tobin, a Democratic bigwig himself, who says, in effect, he can't endorse Truman because his party stinks so bad. Yet he is ready to endorse Warren, denounced by the California AFL just five months ago and a spokesman of the Taft-Hartley Republican Party!

And here is Whitney, who finds the Republican Party so smelly that he is even willing to do the "Christian" thing and back strikebreaker Truman!

Why are these "labor statesmen" going through such weird political gyrations? Because they are defenders and upholders of Wall Street's two-party political monopoly. They are trying to keep labor trapped within the blind alley of Democratic-Republican politics.

They follow the theory of the "lesser evil," trying to find "differences" between the candidates of the two utterly corrupt Big Business parties. Those "differences" are so minute, that the labor leaders cannot even agree among themselves on the "lesser evil."

Instead of hoping for the Democrats or Republicans to "see the light," labor will have to build its own party and run its own candidates to have "some place to go in November 1948."

Big Bargains Offered at N.Y. Bazaar

New Yorkers will have an opportunity to do their Christmas shopping at bargain prices, and at the same time help the needy workers of Europe. The Annual Christmas Bazaar of the American Committee for European Workers Relief will be held for two days—Dec. 13 and 14—at 130 West 23rd St.

Those who attended last year's ACEWR Bazaar will remember the fine articles offered at bargain prices. This year promises an even wider selection of Christmas gifts. Art objects and curios from all over the world will be on sale as well as many articles donated by New York merchants and manufacturers.

The Bazaar will open at 2 p.m. on Saturday, Dec. 13. Saturday night from 8 p.m. on there will be a social with dancing, refreshments, and novelties. Sunday, Dec. 14, the Bazaar will again be open from 2 p.m. till late in the evening. One ticket entitles the bearer to attendance on both days as well as to the social. Tickets are 60c including tax.

All proceeds will be used for the work of sending food, clothing and medicine to needy European workers. All are welcome and urged to bring their friends.

The Negro Struggle Here Lies the NNC

By Albert Parker

Last month the Communist Party buried the National Negro Congress by "merging" it with another Stalinist front organization, the Civil Rights Congress. There were few mourners present at the burial ceremony, which was brief and held in private. But the deceased really deserves an obituary of some kind.

The history of the NNC was a history of the rise and decline of the Stalinists among the Negroes, paralleling a similar development in the trade union movement. In the early Thirties the CP had made a good name for itself among Negroes through the Scottsboro, Herndon and similar cases. In 1935, however, on orders from Moscow it adopted the "People's Front" line—which preached collaboration between the workers and capitalists, rather than struggle between them. The Stalinists then began to tone down all emphasis on struggle, including the struggle against Jim Crow.

The NNC was created around then, shortly after the birth of the CIO, with which it was closely connected for several years and from which it got considerable support and standing. The new class-collaboration line of the CP was not understood by many workers for at least a few years, and during that time the NNC coasted along on the past prestige of the Stalinists, winning more Negro followers than the CP had ever had before.

Then came the war, and the Stalin-Hitler Pact. Stalin's orders this time were for the CP to quit playing lovey-dovey with Roosevelt and other Jim Crow elements; and the NNC obediently denounced

the war as imperialist and called for a fight against the Jim Crow system. But in 1941 Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, and the American Stalinist line changed still another time—and with a vengeance!

Now, they said, the war was OK, in fact, it was the finest thing that had ever happened and all Negroes should support it without stint and without reservation.

Moreover, they shouted, the "foes of Negro rights in this country should be considered as secondary." Break strikes—yes; fight against Jim Crow—no. That was the line peddled by the NNC all through the war. It went along this scabby road further than the labor bureaucrats, endorsing peacetime conscription and a labor-draft bill which even they were afraid to do.

That did it. The Negro masses could not get enthusiastic about a so-called war for democracy that began and ended without any change in their own second-class citizenship status. They were even less enthusiastic about the NNC, which they saw was trying to whitewash Jim Crow. After the war, when relations began to cool off between Moscow and Washington, the NNC attempted to recover its following by sounding "militant" again, but it proved a miserable flop.

So here lies the National Negro Congress, unhonored and unsung. Its demise was due partly to the current red-baiting drive, but mostly to the fact that it betrayed the Negro struggle so flagrantly that everyone knew it. Let its shameful life and death serve as a public notice that the Negro masses have no further use for Uncle Tom outfits.

Medical Fraud!

By Grace Carlson

In the Nov. 22 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*, Rita Kleeman writes a little warning against the "medical frauds," who peddle such "cure-alls" as the Spermatochrome, the Vapo-Path, the Sinothermic Machine and scores of other completely worthless mechanical devices.

It is a tragic fact that thousands of sick people are taken in by these medical hysters, who have no medical education but fake a knowledge of scientific medicine in order to fleece their victims.

But medical fraud does not occur only in the medical wastelands. Medical scientists, who are loaded down with professional degrees and scholastic honors, are often guilty of medical fraud when they enter a field about which most of them know nothing—the field of scientific sociology. Take the case of Dr. Harry Stark Sullivan.

President of the Washington School of Psychiatry, founder and editor of the journal, *Psychiatry*, Dr. Sullivan was selected to give the first William A. White Memorial Lectures in 1940. Recently the "White Lectures" have been revised and reprinted under the title, "Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry." Dr. Sullivan's attacks on radicals in these lectures provide a perfect illustration of what I mean by high-sounding medical fraud.

Dr. Sullivan is pretty sure that something is wrong with our social order. He says:

"Today, the acceleration of social process has become so great that almost every psychiatrist has some occasion to realize that the level of general insecurity is rising, that the social order is in a sense itself gravely disturbed, and that psychiatry as a therapeutic art is confronted with new tasks that require a change of orientation and the perfection of new techniques."

So far, so good! But what does Dr. Sullivan propose?

"But I, certainly, can offer nothing particularly inspiring for the general benefit of our people in their particular present state. I must say that I feel deeply disquieted by what I perceive to be the general attitude towards the course of world events."

One may well wonder if the emergence of our psychiatry was not much too late in the era of realizing democratic ideals.

By his own admission, Dr. Sullivan has no solution to the devastating problems of world-wide warfare, fascism, poverty and "general insecurity." But do you think that he has an open mind towards Marxist scientists, who say that in order to solve these problems, the majority of the people must take over the banks, railroads and factories and run them in the interests of the majority? Do you think that he will listen with any tolerance to the idea that workers of all countries are brothers and shouldn't kill each other? Quite the contrary! Dr. Sullivan believes, says and writes that "radicals" are "psychopaths"—in plain words, crazy!

In psychiatric jargon, here is what Dr. Sullivan has to say about "radicals":

"The apparent psychopathy of persons entertaining radical views arises chiefly from the institutionalization of their feelings of difference. If one is alone in this feeling, a paranoid state or a schizophrenic development is apt to ensue. If, however, one finds a group, who have a rationalization for active hostility to the 'in-group,' one is spared the more serious disorders. . . . The group approaches a paranoid attitude to everyone outside it, but saves its members from deep regression under pressure of conflict."

But if the eminent psychiatrist will permit me to make a little "analysis" of his motives, I believe that we will find that Dr. Sullivan's hatred of radicals springs from a deep-seated desire to protect his economic interests. In fact, he reveals this himself at one point in the lectures, when he says:

"I am clearly of the privileged class as are all of my intimate friends."

How 1919-21 Red Scare Smashed Labor

By George Lavan

This country's greatest "red" scare to date was staged immediately after World War I. It reached its greatest intensity and savagery from 1919 to 1921.

A national hysteria was whipped up by Wall Street, the federal and state governments and the newspapers.

Big Business aimed first to smash the unions. Soaring prices led the workers to organize as never before. Fearful of the spread of unionism, the employers launched a ferocious open-shop drive under the official name of the "American Plan."

The other aim of the red scare was to stem the wave of enthusiasm for socialism inspired by the victory of the Russian Revolution.

PREPARED WAY

The years 1916-18 had prepared the way for Wall Street's offensive. Woodrow Wilson's "New Freedom" administration had seen the persecution of anti-war socialists and IWWs, the imprisonment of Debs, the frame-up of Mooney and Billings and general repression of labor militants.

In 1919 the papers were filled with scareheads about strike and the Bolsheviks. People were led to believe that a Bolshevik attempt to

overthrow the government was due any month. Each strike was labeled part of this "red plot."

Strikes occurred all over the nation as workers tried to catch up with the cost of living. Construction, longshore, packinghouse, shipyard workers and many others struck. When the steelworkers went out in the autumn of 1919 the total on strike was around two million.

The steel strike was the show down. Its success would determine whether unionism would sweep the country or be defeated and enfeebled for more than a decade.

STRIKE WAS LOST

Martial law was declared in all steel centers. Police and company thugs beat strikers and their families. The federal government openly aided the U. S. Steel Corporation. The press screamed "Bolshevik." Wilson's Attorney General, the notorious A. Mitchell Palmer, by injunction forced the coal miners to call off their strike in support of the steel workers. The cowardly AFL bureaucrats abandoned the strikers. The strike was lost.

While the steel strike was being fought, Palmer and J. Edgar Hoover directed the campaign against the political speech of the labor movement. The newly-formed Communist Party and the Socialist Party were subjected to a reign of terror. This Communist Party had nothing but the name in common

with the corrupt, reactionary Stalinist organization being persecuted today. Then it was a party of honest, courageous militant fighting for the program of Lenin and Trotsky.

The Department of Justice forgot all other work and devoted itself to persecution of communists and socialists. The FBI and labor spy agencies flooded the radical parties with secret agents. In January, 1920, gigantic raids were staged. It is estimated that 10,000 arrests and searches without warrants took place. For days homes were raided. Foreign born workers were singled out for deportation. Women were subjected to all sorts of indignities and brutalities. Prisoners were held for long periods, third-degree, beaten and refused the right to engage legal counsel. Over 1,000 were deported, many leaving dependent wives and children in this country.

KEPT IN BULL PEN

In Detroit over a hundred men were kept for a week in a 24 x 30-foot bull pen. In Hartford people coming to visit prisoners were arrested.

In Massachusetts two Italian workers were picked up for radical activities. They had been active in strikes and organizing drives. Their names were Sacco and Vanzetti. The State of Massachusetts framed up a murder charge against them.

The Post Office, using a clause against literature inciting "arson, murder or assassination," deprived Communist and Socialist newspapers of mailing rights.

Mobs, aided and abetted by the police, wrecked socialist, communist, IWW and Non-Partisan League (a militant farmers' organization) offices and schools. IWWs were lynched by Legionnaires in the Northwest. The Ku Klux Klan became the real power in the South. "Foreigners," "reds," Negroes, Jews and Catholics were whipped, tarred and feathered, and murdered by these masked nightriders. In Chicago and other cities savage race riots were unleashed against Negroes.

Practically every state adopted "sedition" or "criminal syndicalist" laws. Under these, working class leaders were tried for their beliefs and given long prison sentences.

City ordinances forbidding radical activity, leaflet distribution, picketing, etc., were widely adopted. In Spokane over 1,000 IWWs were convicted in a year and a half. In Hartford a man was given a six-month sentence for telling an acquaintance that he considered Lenin a great man.

DRIVEN UNDERGROUND

Under these mass persecutions the young Communist Party was driven underground. It had to function in "the land of the free" as it

did where open dictatorship existed. Six Socialists were elected to the New York Legislature. Presenting themselves in Albany, these moderate socialists were assailed as "foreigners" and "bolsheviks" and denied their seats. A special election was called and the voters again elected them. Again they were denied the offices for which the voters had picked them. The N. Y. Times hailed the State Assembly's expulsion of the Socialists as "an American vote altogether, a patriotic and conservative vote."

In Washington the same travesty on democratic government was enacted as Victor Berger, Wisconsin socialist, was twice elected to Congress and twice deprived of his seat.

The Lusk Committee of New York, the grand-daddy of our current Un-American Committees, set the tempo for which hunts in the schools, civic groups and so on.

The rulers of America won a big victory in the "red" scare after the First World War. The great strikes were smashed. The