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A Report From Paris On French Strike Wave

— See Page 3 —

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NLRB THREATENS RIGHTS OF MILLIONS

Justice Dept. Issues Political Blacklist Truman Regime Whips Up Red Scare Strike Struggle in France Knifed by Stalinist Leaders

By Art Preis

The Truman Administration last week exerted further efforts to whip up the red scare to the pitch of hysteria by publishing a list of so-called "subversive" organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party.

This blacklist is part of the red-baiting campaign designed as a cover for the Big Business-government attack on the labor movement and the civil liberties of the American people.

It is likewise an attempt to smokescreen the government's responsibility for high prices and the housing crisis and to silence all opposition to the Wall Street-Washington conspiracy to drag this country into a Third World War.

Attorney General Tom Clark issued the "subversive" list as a "guide" to the Loyalty Review Board of the Civil Service Commission in reviewing cases of government employees purged from their jobs for "disloyalty" or "doubtful loyalty."

Truman's Executive Order for a "loyalty" purge among 2,000,000 government employees, issued last March, gave the Attorney General authority to designate what organizations are "disloyal" and "subversive." Any government worker the Administration or Department heads wants to fire can be charged with sympathy or membership in some organiza-



TOM CLARK

tion on Clark's "subversive" list.

Under Truman's decree, a government worker can be fired on mere suspicion, after a star-chamber hearing in which the accusers act as judge and jury and where the defendant has not even the right to confront witnesses against him. The whole procedure reeks with the Gestapo technique.

Clark's list links the Socialist Workers Party and other anti-fascist, anti-Stalinist groups with Stalinist organizations and fascist groups. It is actually two lists.

The first, compiled by the Justice Department in 1943, includes a number of German, Italian and Japanese organizations, plus the American Silver Shirts, together with the Communist Party and other Stalinist-front groups. This was in the period when the Stalinists were the most frenzied supporters of American imperialism and the Roosevelt war program. Most of the foreign fascist organizations have since been dissolved, and many of their former members are now actively collaborating with the American occupation authorities against the German and Japanese workers.

The second list, based on a "new survey," is composed almost exclusively of working class political, fraternal, civil rights and educational organizations. Most of them are considered under Stalinist influence. This list also includes anti-Stalinist organizations like the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist), Proletarian Party, Revolutionary Workers League, the Workers Party and Socialist Youth League.

Also named was the American Committee for European Workers Relief, a non-political organization which has been sending food, clothing and medicine to anti-fascist fighters and survivors of Hitler's concentration camps in Europe.

Only two fascist-like organiza-

(Continued on Page 2)

Capitulate to Ultimatum Of Anti-Labor Premier

By Joseph Hansen

Once again an upsurge of the working class that might have developed into a successful revolution has been betrayed by the Stalinists and turned into a bitter defeat. On Dec. 9, the Stalinists at the head of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) in France capitulated to the brutal ultimatum of the Schuman regime to call an end to the strike.

Some of the estimated 3,000,000 strikers had been on the picket lines since Nov. 12. They had braved police clubs, tear gas, tanks and the rifle fire of troops. They had attempted to take over the strategic centers in city after city. The workers sensed that the struggle couldn't be won without driving out the capitalist government and replacing it with their own. They had seen victory within grasp.

Then the Stalinist heads of the CGT raised the blade and sank it in the back of these heroic strikers.

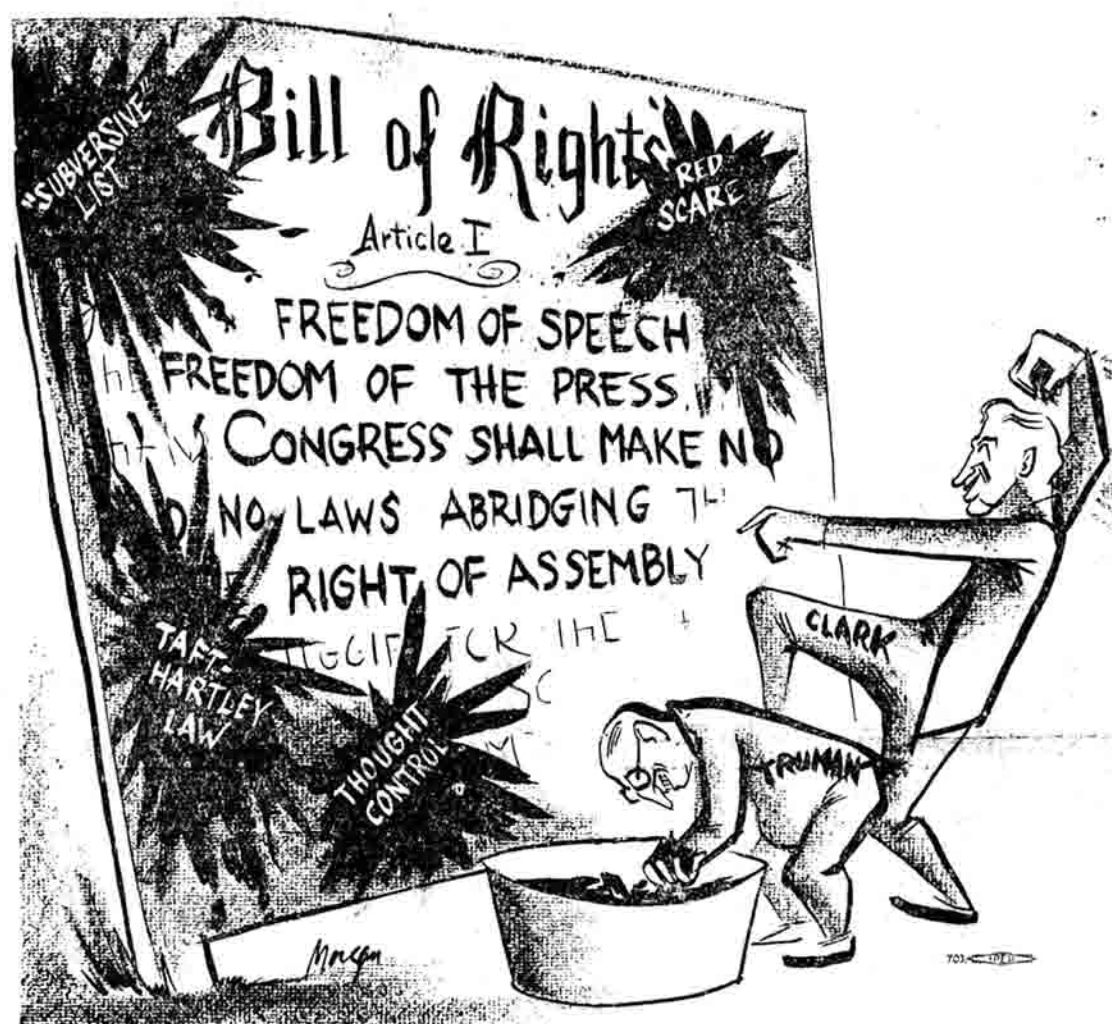
The Schuman cabinet had contemptuously offered a "concession" — a cost-of-living bonus of 1,500 francs (\$12.68) a month in Paris and 1,125 francs (\$9.50) a month elsewhere, retroactive to Nov. 24. When this "concession" was first offered, the Stalinist chieftains rejected it as completely inadequate. On capitulating, however, they hailed this miserable sop as a "substantial gain."

Sharing the guilt of the Stalinists for this defeat of the French workers are the top trade union bureaucrats, the anarcho-syndicalists and the Social Democrats.

The Social Democrats played the role that has distinguished them since 1914 — they utilized their official positions to organize the government strikebreaking drive. Vincent Auriol, the Social-Democrat President of France, designated the Catholic and pro-Gaullist Schuman as Premier. Daniel Mayer, the Social-Democrat Minister of Labor, negotiated for the capitalist government against the strikers. Jules

(Continued on Page 3)

Decorating the Constitution



"Death-to-Strikers" Law Passed by Greek Regime

Death for strikers is the penalty written by the Sophoulis-Tsaladaris regime into a Greek version of the Taft-Hartley Labor Law.

Workers accused of the "crime" of suspending work will be court-martialed. Their judges presumably will be fascist-minded officers of the royalist Greek armed forces now operating under the "advice" of a U. S. Army staff.

After the cabinet adopted the measure Dec. 7, Parliament rubber-stamped it the same day. It was then rushed to King Paul for his signature.

Minister of Justice Christos Ladas, who drew up the bill, offered as excuse for this murderous legislative blow against the Greek unions that "disturbance of tranquility on the home front is inadmissible" so long as the partisans in the mountains continue to resist the Athens regime.

This quelling regime set up by Anglo-American imperialism, remains in office thanks solely to the

dollars and arms supplied by the Truman Administration from the U. S. Public Treasury and depots of the U. S. Armed Forces.

Passage of this Greek version of the Taft-Hartley Law strips away the last pretense of "liberality" from the Sophoulis-Tsaladaris cabinet. The previous cabinet had embarrassed its State Department sponsors by staging nation-wide witch-hunts against "reds." When tens of thousands of people suspected of political opposition to the Greek government were herded into concentration camps, the Administration found it politically uncomfortable.

These developments in Greece likewise strip away the pretense that the Marshall Plan is designed to "aid" hungry people abroad. The Truman Administration exercises a decisive voice in Greek affairs; consequently, it bears full responsibility for the death-to-strikers law. Passage of that law reveals what the Marshall Plan is really designed to accomplish.

The cruel and barbarous legislation placed on the statute books in Greece is a sample of what Wall Street wants for the entire European continent. And the government Wall Street has installed in Greece is a sample of the kind of regimes it wants throughout the world.

In short order these quings of Wall Street abolished freedom of press, making it a high crime to

criticize their actions, and then they placed the Greek armed forces openly under the military wing of Washington. U. S. Army officers are now attached to the Greek armed forces down to the division level. The purpose is to bring Washington's own forces directly into the armed conflict.

The demand for extending the straight-time work week to reduce overtime wages was hailed by 3,000 capitalist executives at the annual Congress of American Industry held in New York's swanky Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

A bill to eliminate minimum wages, the 40-hour week and overtime pay by repeal of the Wages-Hours Act was introduced in the House of Representatives on Nov. 23 by Representative Schwabe of Missouri. A similar bill is under consideration by the Senate Labor Committee.

Schwabe told the House that "in order to combat inflation," it should "set aside at least for the period of aid to foreign countries the 40-hour week, the time-and-a-half for overtime, as well as the minimum wage provisions."

What is the prospect for the next six months? "In private and official-record estimates some government economists predict that between now and June, 1948, the price level of 'cost-of-living' items will rise anywhere from 10 to 20 percent," says the Dec. 7 N. Y. Times.

There is but one answer the worker can give to this: Demand a cost-of-living bonus clause in every union wage contract.

Remington-Rand Ruling Invites Employers to Scrap Union Contracts

The National Labor Relations Board on Dec. 4, invited employers of more than 3,000,000 union members to scrap existing contracts and refuse collective bargaining rights to established and recognized unions.

This threat to abrogate majority rights of nearly 20 international unions, including the AFL United Mine Workers, CIO United Steel Workers and CIO United Electrical Workers, is contained in the NLRB decision in the Remington-Rand case.

Because the UE convention voted against signing a "yellow dog" oath under the Taft-Hartley Act, the NLRB has ruled that Remington-Rand, Inc., is freed from any legal obligation to recognize the union which represents the 10,000 workers in seven plants.

To drive home the deadly point of the decision, "Labor Czar" Robert N. Denham, general counsel of the NLRB, promptly re-enforced the ruling of his Buffalo and Detroit regional directors. He publicly warned the Remington-Rand Company that it could henceforth deal with the union only "at its own peril."

This was the go-ahead signal for Remington-Rand, which has fought unionism with intimidation and violence for a decade, to promptly announce that it was severing all dealings with the union.

Of course, said the company's statement, its brazen repudiation of its contract was "forced" upon it by the NLRB ruling. Indeed, it was a "patriotic" duty for "the preservation of our American form of government and our American way of life." Remington-Rand "will not treat with contempt either the public policy of our Government or the rulings of its officers."

This is the same company which back in 1936 authored the infamous Mohawk Valley Plan of union-busting by private corporation armies and company unions, and which for years violated the Wagner Labor Relations Act and defied numerous rulings of the former NLRB.

The Remington-Rand decision is the direct result of a conspiracy between the company and the NLRB. There can be no question that the UE represents the workers, as proven by the fact that interim contracts were signed with UE just last July after a bitter strike.

The company, however, petitioned for a decertification election, knowing that under the Taft Act the

Lays Down T-H Law To NLRB Employees

The NLRB Employees Union recently sent three letters to General Counsel Robert N. Denham concerning NLRB relations with its employees. Denham did not reply. Finally this dictator condescendingly granted a union committee 30 minutes of his time.

They pointed out that Denham's failure to post job openings was considered an unfair labor practice even under the Taft-Hartley Act.

"Let's get this straight," said Czar Denham. "I'll agree to nothing... When I make a decision, I am not going to change it."

UE would be barred from the ballot and the resulting election would "obviously be strictly on the Balkan pattern." (N. Y. Herald Tribune, Nov. 30).

Working in complete harmony with the notorious open-shop Remington-Rand company, the NLRB regional directors refused to recognize the UE even for purposes of an election to decertify the union. It ruled that the UE is "ineligible for certification as a bargaining representative of any unit of your employees."

The real meaning of this decision was promptly recognized and hailed by the capitalist press. "Large segments of American industry today were in the position of not being required legally to continue bargaining with unions," crowed the N. Y. World-Telegram.

Thus, the NLRB has unmistakably bared the sharp teeth of the Taft-Hartley Act, which the press and even some union leaders have been assuring us is not "really" a Slave Labor Law.

The Remington-Rand decision confronts labor with a decisive choice: Either the unions agree to crawl on their bellies before the corporation-dominated NLRB and submit to the Taft Act; or they must enforce union recognition by militant mass struggle methods — the way collective bargaining rights were won to begin with.

(See "What the Trade Union Leaders are Doing about the Taft Act" on Page 2.)

NAM Launches Drive To End Overtime Pay

The National Association of Manufacturers last week gave Congress the signal for a major drive to abolish the 40-hour week and overtime wages.

Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors Corporation, and Morris Sayre, newly-elected president of the NAM, called on Washington to legislate a longer work week as an "anti-inflation" measure.

Their demand for extending the straight-time work week to reduce overtime wages was hailed by 3,000 capitalist executives at the annual Congress of American Industry held in New York's swanky Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

A bill to eliminate minimum wages, the 40-hour week and overtime pay by repeal of the Wages-Hours Act was introduced in the House of Representatives on Nov. 23 by Representative Schwabe of Missouri. A similar bill is under consideration by the Senate Labor Committee.

Schwabe told the House that "in order to combat inflation," it should "set aside at least for the period of aid to foreign countries the 40-hour week, the time-and-a-half for overtime, as well as the minimum wage provisions."

Wilson also linked the Administration's program of loans and military aid to reactionary capitalist regimes in Europe to the drive for wage cuts through ending overtime pay. He said record government

costs and the Marshall Plan are "an impassable bar across the path of increases in wages without longer hours."

Sayre, boasting that he was of "New England Puritan stock, opined: 'We could use a lot of the Puritan precepts, particularly that of work.' The fat parasites who applauded this sentiment don't mean it to apply to themselves.

What they have in mind is to increase their profits by reducing their labor costs — getting the workers to work for straight-time over 40 hours a week. With a 48-hour week, the same volume of production could be secured with a 20% reduction in employees.

There is nothing in the law now which prevents workers from working over 40 hours — if they get paid overtime wages for the extra hours.

The corporations have quadrupled their profits since 1939. Prices have more than doubled. Production is nearly twice the 1939 level. Real wages, however, are now close to the 1939 depression figures.

Emboldened by the Taft-Hartley Act and using the pretext of the Marshall Plan costs, Big Business is aiming a direct blow at labor's working and living standards by the drive to lengthen the straight-time work week.

PROTEST THROTTLING OF PRESS IN GREECE

NEW YORK, Dec. 12 — Prominent leaders of American civil liberties organizations, together with a group of editors of labor and liberal papers, this week sent a vigorous protest to the Greek Ambassador in Washington, against the vicious press gag law passed by the Greek Government on Oct. 18.

Pointing out that the gag law was immediately used to prohibit publication of *The Workers Struggle*, organ of the Internationalist Communist Party (Trotskyist) and other labor papers, the signers of the letter urged full restoration of the democratic right of free expression to all labor newspapers in Greece, regardless of their political views.

The letter was signed by Roger Baldwin, director, American Civil Liberties Union; Oswald Garrison Villard; Farrell Dobbs, editor, *The Militant*; E. R. Frank, editor, *Fourth International*; Albert Gates, editor, *Labor Action*; Max Shachtman, editor, *New Internationalist*; Liston Oak, editor, *New Leader*; Rowland Watts, National Secretary, *Workers Defense League*.

A similar letter of protest was sent to the Greek Ambassador by Harry Fleischman, National Secretary of the Socialist Party and Executive Director of *The Call*.

Text of the letter follows: "It has been brought to our attention that under a new law passed on Oct. 18 by the Sophoulis-Tsaladaris Government, freedom of the press has been seriously restricted in Greece.

"This decree prohibits publication

of newspapers and magazines and imposes harsh penalties upon any papers which are in the slightest degree critical of the policies of the government. Staffs of such newspapers are subject to arrest and court-martial with possible death sentences. All facilities used in connection with publication of a newspaper, including linotypes, printing presses, etc., can be confiscated. Only such publications as meet the strict censorship requirements of the Press Ministry are permitted to be printed and distributed.

"This law is primarily directed, and has already been used, against newspapers of oppositional working class parties. For example, *The Workers Struggle*, organ of the Internationalist Communist Party (Trotskyist) has been prohibited from publication. Publications of the Communist Party have been suppressed in similar fashion.

"Some of us are absolutely opposed to what these papers stand for, but we are all seriously concerned with this violation of a fundamental principle of democracy as freedom of the press. We do not believe that any working class paper, regardless of its political opinions, should be deprived of its rights of publication and circulation.

"Solely on behalf of maintaining the rights of free speech and free press, we urgently request your government to repeal this arbitrary press gag law and restore unrestricted freedom of publication to all these papers now under virtual ban in Greece. We ask that you transmit this request to your government in Athens."

Trotskyists Arrested

PARIS, Dec. 1 — Trotskyist militants in Paris are receiving particular attention from the Schuman regime. Three of them, Jacqueline Hodeu, Claude Kahn, Jacques Danos and a sympathizer, Francis Piller, have been placed under arrest.

Their "crime" was posting a proclamation of the Internationalist Communist Party (Trotskyist) calling for a general strike.

A movement to free them is under way in the Paris factories. A number of strike committees have already rallied in support.

New Upsurge of Wage Struggles Is Coming

Until two weeks ago, Philp Murray and the other top CIO leaders were deluding the workers with the hope that the Big Business government might "roll back" prices.

Now these wishful-thinkers are forced to concede, at least by implication, that this government will not halt the scarring cost of living. That is the significance of their recent declaration that the CIO and its affiliated unions are going to demand "substantial wage increases."

It is no secret that the CIO leaders are still praying for some miracle to give them a pretext for sidetracking a real wage struggle. They have no stomach for a fight. So far, they have proposed no preparations for one.

Earl Bunting, outgoing president of the National Association of Man-

ufacturers, referred to the CIO wage statement as a "trial balloon" and contemptuously said: "I don't believe Phil Murray is out after a third round of wage increases right now."

Bunting has Murray's number, all right, but that doesn't mean the profiteers and monopolists are not fearful of a labor upsurge next spring in spite of the well-known conservatism and timidity of the union leaders.

Behind Murray and the other union leaders are millions of workers and their families clamoring for some effective action against further inflationary slashes in their living standards.

"Pressure from rank and file members, protesting against rising prices, especially food," writes Lou's Stark, labor reporter for the N.Y. Times, "was so great that despite the leaders' reluctance to move with-

out protective legislation on prices, they felt compelled to demand a third round of wages now."

Several CIO unions have already put forth wage demands and more will be forced to do so soon. The National Maritime Union is asking for another 25-cent an hour general raise. A large section of the CIO Oil Workers is demanding a 25-cent raise.

But how can these be won? What concrete wage program must be advanced to effectively protect living standards against constantly rising prices? The CIO leaders have not answered these key questions.

If the CIO leaders mean business their first duty is to draw up a program of unified and coordinated wage struggle. The "Big Three" of the CIO unions — steel, auto and electrical workers — especially must join their forces. This is what the

What Trade Unions Leaders Are Doing About the Taft Act

By Art Preis

Many union leaders have been kidding themselves and their members that the Taft-Hartley Act isn't as tough and vicious as it reads. Now we are beginning to see the Slave Labor Law in life—and it looms every bit as deadly in practice as it looks in print.

Evidence is piling up rapidly to prove how false are the notions that the unions can evade the Act or that they can "live with" the Act merely by conforming to requirements like the "yellow dog" affidavits.

It is becoming especially clear that the new National Labor Relations Board cannot and will not serve labor in the slightest degree. This governmental agency, like the law which created it, is designed exclusively to serve the employers. That is what the NLRB is demonstrating daily.

The latest proof is the NLRB ruling in the Remington-Rand case. This ruling not merely permits, but urges the corporations to tear up existing contracts with international unions representing 3,000,000 members. It tells the employers that only "at their own peril" can they deal with unions which refuse to sign "yellow dog" oaths.

LEADERS SUBMITTING

The top AFL leaders, with the notable exceptions of John L. Lewis and Woodruff Randolph, have capitulated in haste to the Taft Act requirements. They are not lifting a finger against it, and discourage and oppose any direct, mass resistance to it.

A section of the CIO leadership, like Walter Reuther and Emil Rieve, have joined their AFL counterparts in signing the Taft oaths. They give all kinds of "practical" reasons for their capitulations. But their real reason is their support of the foreign policy of the enactors of the Taft-Hartley Law and their aim to "get" the "communists" by any and every means.

Another section of the CIO leadership, represented by CIO President Philip Murray in his capacity as head of the Steelworkers, is attempting to run in two directions at once.

Murray and the Steelworkers officers have refused to sign the "yellow dog" oath. But Murray and the CIO Convention, including the Stalinists, adopted a policy of permitting any CIO union that wants to do so, to sign the "yellow dog" oaths. This was a policy of opening the door to piece-meal capitulation. It gave the green light to Reuther and his red-baiting crew in the CIO United Auto Workers.

There is a third, and powerful section of the union movement which has recognized the full implications of the Taft Act and elected to fight it all down the line. The boldest expression of this tendency is the AFL United Mine Workers.

Following the example of the mine workers, some 14 CIO international unions, including the 900,000-member Steelworkers, the 600,000-member Electrical Workers and the National Maritime Union, have refused to sign Taft Act oaths. A strong minority at the CIO auto union convention fought bitterly against Reuther's capitulation.

The AFL International Typographical Union is engaged in a courageous direct-action struggle to defend its traditional contractual rights from the open-shop invasion of the Taft Act. ITU printers in Chicago are fighting on the picket lines against the attempt of the Big Business dailies and the NLRB to destroy their union security. This battle threatens to spread throughout the country.

The Remington-Rand decision now confronts the CIO United Electrical Workers—and ultimately all unions which refuse to sign the degrading "yellow dog" oath—with the necessity of mass action struggle to enforce recognition and collective bargaining rights.

Virtually every union in the country now recognition and contracts only through bitter strike struggle. That was how the CIO was organized. No employer ever rededicated the Wagner Labor Relations Act until a union jammed it down his throat.

Today the unions face the same necessity to fight as they did a decade ago. They will not defeat the Taft Act by retreat and evasion. They will protect their present positions and go forward only through a militant, united, counter-offensive on the economic and political fields. Fight or perish—that is the choice.

4,000 Scramble For 1,000 Jobs In New York

NEW YORK — A harbinger of the times was to be seen in New York on Dec. 3 when 4,000 men stormed the Department of Parks Recreation House on West 59th Street to put in their bids for about 1,000 provisional jobs as common laborers announced as available by the City. Filling several blocks the men stood in line for hours in the cold December weather, many waiting through the night. They huddled over curb fires and can stoves, sending rays of messengers for hot coffee and sandwiches.

Four days later, the N. Y. Times, mouthpiece of the billionaires, pooh-poohed what "looked like a depression nightmare." Its polished journalists hastened to reassure a jittery public that this "bad dream" was nothing more than a "line of men simply looking for more secure jobs at better pay."

But the men on the line had a somewhat different story to tell. Official Bureau of Labor statistics claim the average factory wage is \$49.29 a week. Employment is supposed to be at record peak. Yet these men were frantic for jobs they knew paid only a little over \$40. Why?

Because higher paying jobs to them are more of a myth than a reality. "They're offering \$28 and \$30 for sheet metal work now," said a Marine veteran interviewed by the daily PM. Others told how restaurant jobs are paying \$28 today; the Edison Company is offering \$30 a week, and a machine operator who has been out of work for six months said: "I'd be willing to work for even \$30 but I can't seem to get anything."

Despite the capitalist ballyhoo about high wages and full employment, the men on the line were unanimous that getting jobs today "is tough" and getting increasingly tougher. One of them indicated what they thought the future looked like. "Next year it'll be a bread line."

Billionaire Henry Ford 2nd, boss over 102,000 auto workers, on Dec. 5 paid a private visit to Walter Reuther. The UAW-CIO president has been hailed by the anti-labor press for his red-baiting victory at the recent auto union convention, and Ford had been one of the first to heap praise on Reuther.

Ford and Reuther, according to press accounts, "chatted informally today like a pair of college chums." After Ford left, Reuther glowingly described the auto mogul as "a very decent sort of citizen." Ford said nothing. He let his visit speak for itself.

What did they talk about? Nothing related to collective bargaining, higher wages or similar matters of concern to the auto workers. Reuther said, "Ford merely dropped by for a talk. I was going to call on him myself within the next ten days. We had a general discussion of general problems facing the country." It was "very satisfactory and very pleasant all around."

Ford isn't the only auto labor exploiter who has a warm spot in his heart for Reuther. The evening before in New York City, H. W. Story, vice-president of the union-

busting Allis-Chalmers Company, lauded Reuther before the NAM's annual convention. In the same breath as he told how the Taft-Hartley Law has helped in the open-shop drive against unions and strikes, Story praised Reuther as one of the "forceful non-Communist labor leaders."

Now the auto barons, like the rest of the union-hating profiteers, don't pay "friendly" visits to union leaders and praise their merits simply out of good will. Every gesture of that type is added up in their ledgers on the side of material assets—more profits.

It is unusual for a capitalist like Ford to place himself on a social footing with a union leader like Reuther. This means he considers the stakes very high and the ultimate dollars and cents gain to be realized must be exceptional.

We can believe it is, Militant union leaders who fight to raise the wages and standards of their members have always been the target of hatred and abuse by the employers. Only those union officials who have given exceptional assurance of their willingness to "play ball" with the corporations—what Reuther calls having "satisfactory labor relations"—get a pat on the back from the bosses.

CIO and AFL Peddlers Of Wall Street's Plans

By Arthur Burch

With a vigor reminiscent of their support of the last imperialist war, the AFL and CIO top leadership are throwing their full resources behind campaigns to "sell" the Marshall Plan to the workers of the world, as well as of the U. S.

For that purpose the AFL has set up its Free Trade Union Committee with the prospect of setting up similar committees in the sixteen Marshall-aid nations. This network is to be combined later into a single organization. With this body, the AFL leaders hope to replace the World Federation of Trade Unions to which the CIO is now affiliated, after the WFTU has been rent asunder by the sharpening conflict between U. S. imperialism and the Soviet Union.

The CIO on the other hand is waging relentless war within the WFTU against the Stalinist leadership of this organization of almost 30 million workers from approximately 50 countries. James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO, has just returned from a mission to Paris where he succeeded against Stalinist opposition in presenting his views in support of the Marshall Plan before the WFTU Executive Board.

The WFTU was originally a joint enterprise of the victor powers but especially sponsored by the Kremlin which controlled most of the affiliates. The CIO and the British trade unions joined the WFTU because the interests of the respective imperialist masters coincided at the time with those of the Moscow bureaucracy. The chief program of this organization was to prevent revolutions in Europe and Asia. On this, Stalin and the CIO top leaders saw eye to eye.

Once the Kremlin had succeeded in its task of crushing or derailing workers' revolutions and thus further discrediting itself before millions of workers, Washington found itself in a position to assert its mastery and inaugurate its campaign whose ultimate goal is capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. It is obvious that under these circumstances the Stalinists can no longer be utilized as agents of American imperialism. More trusted lackeys are necessary—those whose undivided allegiance is to the U. S. State Department.

With the help of the Taft-Hartley Law and the red-baiting drive the American monopolists have coalesced a union leadership within the AFL and even in the more progressive CIO which favors before the might of American imperialism and is ready to do its bidding.

The immediate objective is everywhere the same—to cleanse the unions first of Stalinists and then of all real militant leadership. That is why the main drive is at this stage directed against the Stalinists. While Reuther goes the bidding of the State Department at the UAW convention, Carey is sent to Paris to undermine the Stalinists in the WFTU and its affiliates in Western Europe. Wall Street and its labor agents could not have asked for a better and more vulnerable target.

The entire record of the Stalinists is so infamous that it is easy for demagogues to obscure the vital class issues that are involved here. Carey was especially fitted for his assignment. He distinguished himself over a period of years by conducting a red-baiting offensive against the cynical and bureaucratic Stalinist leadership in the CIO United Electrical Workers. Like Murray and Reuther and the AFL heads, he renders his service gratis to his imperialist masters. He gained considerable experience as a lackey in beating the drums for

asked to perform dirtier and dirtier tasks. At the very time that American labor is being pounded by Wall Street's hurricane offensive, the AFL and CIO tops picture this monster as an angel of philanthropy, to the European workers.

Carey was able to score effectively against the Stalinists on one point. He reminded them that the Marshall Plan coincided with WFTU policy in 1945. It might also be pointed out that the American Stalinists failed to wage a serious struggle against the Marshall Plan at the CIO convention where they still had considerable forces. The Stalinists evaded this issue even when Carey raised it, deciding that the WFTU should not concern itself with controversy over the Marshall Plan. The reason for this crawling is obvious.

There is no principled difference between the Stalinists and the CIO bureaucracy. Today as in 1945 the Stalinists are once more ready to act as lackeys for Wall Street if only the latter come to terms with the Kremlin.

On his return Carey boasted that the Stalinists would be defeated by the Marshall Plan. All working class militants would like to see the Stalinist grip on the trade unions destroyed. But it must be borne in mind that if they are defeated by American imperialism instead of the militant workers, this could mean the crushing of the unions altogether. That is precisely one of the main purposes of the Marshall Plan.

The AFL and CIO leaders vie with one another to prove that they are the most reliable agents of Wall Street. The Stalinists serve their Kremlin masters no matter what crimes are committed against the workers.

Each shields his master while pointing to the perfidy of the other. The genuine militants must cleanse the labor movement of both the Stalinists and the red-baiters of Carey's stripe in both the AFL and CIO. Only then will the trade unions become the independent and democratic instruments of the working class.



JAMES CAREY

Wall Street's war; he is anxious to knuckle under to the Taft-Hartley Law; he is satisfied with the monopoly-controlled Democratic Party.

As befits a labor statesman, Carey lied to the workers abroad in the best diplomatic fashion about the "benefits" of the Marshall Plan. He swore that the liberals and workers of this country backed the plan while only the reactionaries opposed it. Naturally, he omitted to explain how the same Congress which passed the Taft-Hartley Bill also approved the Marshall Plan.

Carey lied when he stated that no political conditions were imposed by Washington, on whose orders the Stalinists were removed from the Italian and French governments; this was a pre-condition for U. S. aid. Carey peddled the most brazen lie of all when he alleged that Washington was interested in raising the living standards of the European workers, and this at a time when the living standards of the American people are being slashed ruthlessly at home.

As capitalism sinks ever deeper into the abyss the labor fakery are

Our Program:

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

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WHO ARE THE SUBVERSIVES?

Anyone or any group the capitalist minority doesn't like is apt to be labeled "subversive." Propagandists of wealth and privilege surround the word with evil implications and hurl it at the labor movement, particularly working class political parties. Attorney General Clark has just pinned this tag on the Socialist Workers Party.

"Subversive," we learn from Webster's Dictionary, means aiming to overthrow or destroy. It may be good or bad according to who is attempting to overthrow what. The American revolutionists of 1776 were called "subversive" by King George III. We honor them for it.

What the American people have to be on guard against and fight are groups who seek to "subvert" the interests of the working majority, overthrow their democratic rights and liberties and destroy their living standards.

NAM REAL "SUBVERSIVES"

Who are they? They are the tiny ruling class and the political agents who serve it—the very ones who hang the word "subversive" at workers' organizations.

A rats-nest of these sinister elements gathered in New York City two weeks ago to plot how to overthrow the unions, slash living standards and strengthen the grip of monopoly over the productive resources and labor power of this country and the world.

This was the convention of the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), representing 16,000 companies which between them control 85% of all industrial production in this land. Among these 16,000, most of them subsidiaries of huge central holding companies and trusts, are 350 super-giants that hold two-thirds of the plant capacity of the United States.

Among other conspiracies they

were hatching was a scheme to overthrow the 40-hour week, to end overtime pay and to pile up more billions in profits than ever before. They also were cooking up ways and means to make workers "forever" wage demands while prices shoot higher and higher. And naturally, they demanded that their agents in Washington "strengthen" the Slave Labor Law with the aim of destroying free unions altogether.

The interests of the American

people are indeed in dire jeopardy.

The danger comes from men in the highest financial and political positions—but you will not find them mentioned anywhere on Attorney General Clark's blacklist.

JUSTICE DEPT. ISSUES POLITICAL BLACKLIST

(Continued from Page 1)

Groups are included in this list, the Ku Klux Klan and the Columbians, both of which have been involved in cases of criminal violence. But there is significantly missing from the list most of the active native fascist organizations, including Gerald L. K. Smith's "America First" movement and Father Coughlin's off-spring, the Christian Front.

The Dec. 7 N. Y. Times admits: "Although the list included right-wing groups, it was conceded privately that these were 'window-dressing,' that the real targets of the loyalty check were Communists and their sympathizers."

To be more exact, the targets are any working class or liberal organization which dares to voice opposition to the Truman Doctrine, now parading under the guise of the Marshall Plan. And ultimately, the target is the entire labor movement, which stands as the potentially greatest barrier to the designs of the Wall Street war-makers and their government.

This attempt to brand as "subversive" and "disloyal" any group or person opposed to the Wall Street-Washington Axis and the administration's policies, is part and parcel of the whole reactionary drive that has already put over the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law.

The red-baiting aspect of this drive is reaching new heights because of the frenzied fear of the American capitalists of a renewed

upsurge of American labor in the not too distant future. Wall Street and its political agents are trying to divide the labor movement with a red scare and to smear the most militant and politically conscious elements within the working class. The capitalists and their government cannot solve any of the problems confronting the American people. Profiteering and monopoly are running rampant. Price inflation is becoming more and more unrestrained. Rents are shooting up. Living standards are being slashed deeper and deeper. Insecurity and fear of depression haunt the people. Over all hangs the threat of atomic annihilation.

Thus, the American ruling class must find a scape-goat against whom all the evils of their own system can be blamed, or some fake issue which can divert the attention of the people from their real enemies. Once more the billionaires find an answer in—the "reds."

They think if they scream "reds" and "communists" long enough and loud enough that this will keep the people's minds off their real needs and problems.

This red scare is being pumped up artificially. It may distract and confuse the workers for a time, especially because the Stalinists have such a reactionary record in the labor movement. This makes it all the easier for the government to obscure its real target—the labor movement as a whole.

But the red scare cannot succeed in permanently blinding the militant workers to the mortal danger of the anti-labor drive. It cannot take the place of food, clothing, shelter, medical care. It cannot relieve the terrible weight of insecurity that presses upon the masses.

The task and the duty of every individual and organization that remains loyal not to the predatory minority of rich but to the working population, is to stand firm and fight with all their strength and resources against the red-baiting assault on labor and civil rights.

The labor militants will rally against the reactionary red-baiters and mobilize on every front to defend the rights and liberties of all working class organizations.

That defense must also include an attack—an attack against the profiteers and monopolists, their conspiracy to drive down the living standards of the American people and their plot to plunge this country again into a frightful imperialist war.

Shape of Things to Come



These 4,000 men waited all night long to get an application for a laborer's job after New York City announced 1,000 openings were available. More than 2,000 others applied in the next two days. And the job pays only \$41.54 per week.

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Nation-Wide Strike Wave Rocks Capitalist France

The following article, giving a first-hand account of the crucial French strike struggle, was mailed from Paris nine days before the ignominious capitulation of the Stalinist leadership. Although the strike was thus ended, the article retains its full validity as an analysis of the nature, course and scope of the struggle and of the basic political problems and tendencies involved in it.—Ed.

(Special to The Militant)

PARIS, Dec. 1 — The scope of events here is much broader than one might gather from the lying bourgeois press and radio. At present nearly 2,500,000 strikers are out. Mines, steelworks, railways, electricity are tied up, even though all the workers are not on strike. One can say without exaggeration that, at least in Paris, the strike has had the same effect as a completely successful general strike would have had.

Up to now, no call has been issued for a nation-wide general strike. The Executive Committee of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) discussed only the possibility of such a call. Twenty trade unions, mostly of key importance, voted for immediate action, 18 against. The federations favoring immediate action have proclaimed nation-wide stoppages in the industries under their jurisdiction.

Naturally, the refusal of the 18 reformist-led trade unions to go into action was gratefully seized by the Stalinist bureaucrats as a pretext to get around the rank and file demand for a nation-wide general work stoppage.

Their motivation is very clear. The Stalinist leadership has desperately tried up to now to keep the strike within the framework of general economic demands. A general strike would put the political issue squarely before the working class. In actuality, proclamation of the general strike today would mean the beginning of the French revolution.

Even without a formal call, the strike has gone far beyond the limits of economic demands, not only in scope but in the extraordinary militancy and ripening political consciousness of the striking workers.

DECISIVE BATTLE

The strikers clearly feel this strike is a decisive battle. They know that they will not be able to repeat such a showdown every three months. They feel that what is at stake for the capitalist class is the whole authority and strength of its government and all its class privileges. And they therefore sense quite clearly that a showdown is in the air.

Leon Trotsky once said that a general strike was a potential civil war. Actually, we are already beyond the stage of potentiality. There is incipient civil war in the militant actions of the striking railroad workers and miners. It is beginning in the actions of the government itself which is sending armored cars into the mine areas, and using its armed forces to dislodge the workers from the occupied factories.

The high point of those developments to date was reached Nov. 28 when 100,000 demonstrators at the great industrial center of St. Etienne tried to occupy the City Hall. For the first time troops were sent against the demonstrators — the famous 17th regiment —



LEON JOUHAUX

but they refused to shoot and some of them seem to have actually joined the demonstration (reports are not clear).

It is obvious that the temperance is rising. Workers in the big metal factories of Paris are openly oiling their Sten guns and capitalist circles are saying that blood must be shed in order to "clear up the mess." Minor incidents can precipitate civil war at any moment provided the present conflict continues.

How can one explain this development since obviously neither the Stalinist leaders nor the bourgeoisie wanted civil war at this time? There are two explanations which complement each other.

The objective explanation, of course, is very plain: the basic forces of French society have been moving inexorably toward a definitive showdown since the Renault strike. For the last nine months we Trotskyists have been patiently explaining this to the working class of France. Events have now most strikingly confirmed that prognosis. From the moment the workers showed their readiness to fight for their standard of living regardless of their Stalinist leaders, two things became clear: (1) that the Stalinists would have to make a sharp turn to the left in order not to lose control over the working class; (2) that this would ultimately lead toward civil war because the French bourgeoisie, in the present tottering state of its economy, is absolutely unable to guarantee food to the working class.

The subjective explanation is this: both the Stalinist and capitalist leaders, while unwilling to engage in a decisive battle, felt that things had reached the breaking point and that they had to do everything possible to win at least a semblance of victory. They both hoped to

gain their ends by bluffing, rather than by struggle.

The bourgeoisie knows that it is unable today to halt a real workers' upsurge. The French government is scraping the bottom of the barrel of its dollar resources. All imports of petroleum, wheat, coal, etc., are blocked. In all France and the German Zone not more than 80,000 French troops were under arms.

SCRAPING THE BARREL

In the department of Pas-de-Calais, 5,000 Stalinist workers closed all the pits with flying squadrons. On that day the government had an armed force of exactly 200 in the same department to "prevent" such violence. . . . It is clear that under such conditions, the bourgeoisie could only bluff and not wage a successful civil war.

The Stalinists on the other hand experienced a frightening spontaneous revolt in their ranks a month ago during the subway strike, when even the lower ranks of the party apparatus refused to carry out strikebreaking orders of the Central Committee and came out in support of the strike. The Stalinist leaders grasped the meaning of that lesson. They had to stage a demonstration in order to win back the confidence of French militants.

But they also wanted to bluff — not actually to start something which could lead to civil war. Forced against their will to go along the road toward mass mobilization, the Stalinist leaders are learning the bitter lesson that, on the one hand, without real workers' democracy great gains cannot be made, and on the other, that workers' democracy advances the program of Trotskyism wherever it is applied.

The bourgeois press has played up the so-called "workers' resistance" against "Stalinist-led strikes." Its lies are exceeded only by the lies of the reformists, who have once again exposed themselves as cynical betrayers. They are not an iota less gangsterlike than the Stalinists when their own posts are at stake, only more cowardly. One example among dozens: the reformists claim as a great "victory" the fact that "two-thirds of the workers" voted against strike at the big Citroen auto plant in Paris.

In reality, the slogan of both the Trotskyists and Stalinists was to boycott the government-sponsored plebiscite. Some 14,000 out of 20,

000 workers therefore did not vote. About 2,000 voted for the strike, 4,000 against. On that basis — a bare 20% for their line! — the reformists boasted they had two-thirds of the workers behind them.

If, however, it is quite natural to see a Jouhaux, as rotten and treacherous as the most rotten Stalinist bureaucrat, push his class-collaborationist line to its logical conclusion; if, as always, strike-breaking leaders try to mobilize the most backward layers against the movement — still there is also no doubt that some advanced layers do really oppose the strike, especially workers influenced by the anarchists and left centrists.

A HEALTHY ELEMENT

They argue that the Stalinist leaders opposed strike when the defense of their living standards was at stake, consequently they see no reason why they should strike now for political reasons. Obviously this is a result of Stalinist treason; but there is also a healthy element in it. These workers have freed themselves from the Stalinist demagoguery.

But no Marxist can deny that as a whole this reaction is one of demoralization and retreat. These workers, hypnotized by Stalinism, lose sight of the decisive point: that this is a life-and-death class battle. Defeat of the strike would be a disastrous setback for the working class that would place de Gaulle's bid for power on the order of the day!

Great political events have this great advantage — that they completely expose all false ideas. It is now clear how criminal was the "advice" certain faraway "strategists" gave the Trotskyists to form a "united front" at this stage with the "left" anti-Stalinist workers against the Communist Party. Such a "united front" has in fact been formed — it is the united front of the strikebreakers, reaching from de Gaulle and the bosses to Jouhaux, Marceau Pivert and the anarchists.

However, not only the criminal past policy of the Stalinists, but also their present bureaucratic handling of the strike situation fosters demoralization. Wherever they could, the Stalinists launched the strike by bare committee vote, without even consulting the workers, trying to trample opposition, even with physical violence, and spread-

Head of French Capitalist Gov't



Robert Schuman, 61-year-old member of the Catholic Popular Republican party, is interviewed after his appointment as Premier of France. Immediately after forming a coalition government, he launched a drive to smash the strike wave through use of police, armed forces, and passage of anti-labor legislation.

Federated Pictures

ing the impression that this was "their" affair and not the workers'.

The Communist rank and file elements, however, displayed a healthy reaction. And wherever Trotskyists were present, they succeeded very quickly in turning the tide in favor of workers' democracy. At the Renault plant, for example, the Stalinists had to relinquish control to a genuine strike committee.

The Trotskyists explain to the workers that this is the workers' strike and not the CP's; that workers have to lead it themselves through democratically elected strike committees; that they have to decide their aims themselves; that under these conditions to desert the strike means not to be "anti-Stalin-

ist" but to desert the working class.

An all-important feature of the situation is the complete change in attitude of the Stalinist rank and file and even lower apparatus people toward the Trotskyist militants in factories and even toward the Trotskyist party as a whole. By the thousands, one can say without exaggeration, rank and file Stalinists have come to understand the correctness of the program of Trotskyism. They have witnessed the confused and precipitate attempts of the Stalinists to take over slogans advocated for many months by the Trotskyists.

Stalinist party speakers in the factories are now obliged to repeat the words of the Trotskyists about the need to kick out the reaction-

ary, strikebreaking government.

This tremendously increases the prestige of the Trotskyist militants.

The Trotskyist paper *La Verite* (The Truth) is read with sympathy by all the CP militants who see it. Big groups form around its distributors. For the first time, animated discussions occur as hundreds of workers collect around one or two Trotskyists explaining their program.

Everything now depends on the outcome of the strike. The government tested the combativity of the workers on the political field by seizing an issue of the two Stalinist dailies, *L'Humanite* and *Ce Soir*. The answer of the Paris workers was very clear — that would mean civil war!

The government, which had planned to proclaim martial law, prudently substituted a law increasing the penalties for disorder, violence, sabotage, etc., and mobilized 80,000 reservists to have enough soldiers under arms to defend itself.

COMPROMISE SOUGHT

The Stalinists in the National Assembly filibustered for three days against passage of the anti-labor law. Jouhaux and his reformists were disturbed by its threat. The danger of a split in the CGT now seems delayed; a compromise is being sought to permit the Stalinist leaders to call off the strike movement without discrediting themselves.

The emergency law proposed by the government also had another important result. It forced the Stalinists to include a political point in the strike demands ("Immediate withdrawal of that law!") and

caused fresh hesitation among those workers opposed to the strike. The anarchists especially see that this law is directed not so much against the Stalinists as against the militant workers.

The Trotskyists are now trying to broaden the authority and significance of the strike committees. They urge (1) that the committees should organize the workers' defense, food supply, truck transportation, etc.; (2) that they should set up permanent local, regional (and later national) bodies to coordinate the struggle and authoritatively represent the whole working class. Such committees could play the role in France that was played by the Soviets in Russia in establishing a Workers and Farmers Government.

A strike victory would almost immediately transform the French and European situation, which is now pre-revolutionary, into a fully revolutionary one. The enthusiasm and confidence which it would create in the French working class, together with the development of the Trotskyist party into a leading working class party, would inspire the greatest hopes for the future.

A defeat, on the other hand, would encourage the bourgeoisie to speed up civil war preparations, and de Gaulle would again come to the forefront.

The Fourth International can be proud of the French Trotskyists. What they have done in three brief weeks now ranks as an essential contribution to the building of the Fourth International. The outcome of their struggle can decide the future of the European continent.

Bitter Conflict Flares Over Palestine Division

By I. Dale

The first result of the UN partition of Palestine was the sharpening of relations between Arabs and Jews throughout the Middle East. While the heads of Arab governments held a "war council" in Cairo, the Jewish Agency for Palestine called for full mobilization of all Jews between the ages of 17 and 25.

Jews, in their exultation over the

establishment of a "Jewish state," have closed their eyes to the full implication of the strife that lies ahead.

The Zionist leadership is proceeding to paint up their miserable fate "independence." A Jewish army, being established in Palestine, and plans are being made to flow a "state loan" to purchase heavy military equipment. They are making plans to replace the British in policing the environs of the all-Jewish city of Tel-Aviv which is next to the all-Arab city of Jaffa—the area in which most of the conflict thus far has taken place.

Unfortunately, the Jewish masses in almost all countries—blinded by the miserable fate of the Jews during the war and by the glowing promises now being made to them—are supporting the Zionist leaders.

The Jews of the Middle-Eastern countries, however, are not a whole-hearted sympathy with the "Jewish state." Despite the conflict which has existed in Palestine, Jews in other Arab countries have lived peacefully with their neighbors for many years. Now scores have been murdered in Aden and other Arab lands. The partition plan has jeopardized their position to the point where the Chief Rabbi of Baghdad called for Jews in Iraq to support the Arab cause. In response to this call the Jews collected \$2,000,000 to help the Palestinian Arabs.

A break in the Arab front occurred when the mayor of Jaffa proposed a truce to the mayor of Tel-Aviv. The Arab Higher Committee immediately forced him to halt the negotiations. The Arab mayor feels the direct pressure of the population who are endangered by the struggle as well as that of the Arab bourgeoisie who stand to lose business in the conflict. The Higher Committee represents the interests of the Arab feudal lords who own most of the land and control the oil-rich territory of the Middle East. They are committed to a last-ditch fight against partition.

Of all possible solutions to the Palestine problem, partition is the worst for the Arab and Jewish masses and the best for the imperialists. To drive the imperialist rulers out of Palestine it is necessary for the Jewish and Arab masses to unite in common struggle. Partition works to divide them even more deeply.

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Stalinists Knife Strike Struggle in France

(Continued from Page 1)

Moch, the Social-Democrat Minister of Interior, deployed the armed forces against the strikers. It was his office that relayed Schuman's order to fire on the demonstrators.

Leon Jouhaux, another Social-Democrat, utilized his high position in the CGT to start a strike-breaking "back to work" movement. Many anarchists, blinded by their justifiable hatred of Stalinism, permitted themselves to be sucked in.

The Social-Democrats likewise share responsibility for passage of the Taft-Hartley type legislation that now threatens the entire labor movement in France.

THE MOST GUILTY

Nevertheless, chief responsibility for the defeat lies squarely on the Stalinist leaders. Because of the Soviet victory in World War II and the memory of the November 1917 revolution, a decisive majority of the organized French workers placed their confidence in the leadership of the Stalinists. These workers envisioned a victory in France comparable to that of the Russian workers under Bolshevik leadership in 1917.

They had found the wrong address, however. To the Stalinists, this confidence was only political capital to be expended in the interests of the Kremlin's foreign policy. For two years after the war, they followed a policy that was a deadly repetition of the one followed by the Social-Democrats after World War I.

They took posts in the capitalist government to bolster it up and to prevent the workers from over-

turning it. In return they expected, Wall Street to make concessions to the Kremlin.

Wall Street and its French agents followed the policy the European capitalists had found successful in handling the Social-Democrats, particularly after World War I. They accepted the counter-revolutionary services of the Stalinists for the time being while they built their own native French forces to put down the workers. When these forces became strong enough, they ousted the Stalinists from office.

For a while the Stalinists continued to swear allegiance to French capitalism and its government. Then on orders from Moscow, these opportunists turned adventurist, once again demonstrating that opportunism and adventurism are two sides of the same coin.

On an arbitrary date, chosen to coincide with the opening of the Foreign Ministers Conference in London, the Stalinists loosened the brakes and permitted the workers to move forward. The Stalinist objective was to frighten the American imperialists. Wall Street could have conceded to the Stalinists at any time and thus got them to end the strikes. But these aspirants to world rule, armed with the atomic bomb, preferred to call the Kremlin's bluff.

The situation could have been saved even then had the Stalinists come out for a Workers and Farmers Government and coordinated the energies of the entire working class in a general strike to make possible the immediate establishment of such a government. This would have required all-out efforts to organize workers committees to serve as the base of that government and heroic attempts to organize squads to defend the working class from the capitalist counter-offensive that was certain to come.

The fight would have been more difficult than two and a half years ago when the Stalinists were raised to key government posts on the shoulders of the working class, but victory was almost certain, as was clearly demonstrated by the universal fear expressed in the capitalist press at the outbreak of the strikes.

SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES

The consequences of the defeat are grave. First of all, strikes of such widespread character, if they lead to nothing, deeply drain the energies of the workers.

By the same token reaction is invigorated and emboldened. The danger of fascism is brought much closer.

The fundamental causes that drove the workers onto the road of action still remain — inflation, skyrocketing prices, hunger, cold, lack of housing, the general ruin. These

conditions will again force the workers to move forward; however, under more difficult circumstances.

The petty bourgeoisie, disappointed by the failure of the workers to take power when they had the chance, will be inclined to shift more decisively toward the camp of de Gaulle.

At the same time the government itself will come more and more under the influence of de Gaulle. The so-called "center" parties, formerly based on the petty bourgeoisie, will lose the last remnants of support. The Social-Democratic Party, loaded with guilt for its strikebreaking role, will splinter and disappear as an effective political force.

The polarization of reaction in one camp and the working class in an opposite camp will reach the point where class tensions will become unendurable. A qualitative change must occur. And it will occur — either socialism or fascism will come to power.

This process occurred in Germany. There the Social-Democrats and Stalinists blocked the road to socialism and thus assured the victory of fascism. Hitler was preceded by transitional regimes that bear startling resemblance to the present Schuman regime in France. How well this is understood by the capitalists can be judged from a few sample remarks in their

press. When Schuman took office, the Nov. 23 N. Y. Herald Tribune observed that "He may remain in power . . . as long as General de Gaulle wants him to stay, for he was elected with the general's help."

The Dec. 7 N. Y. Daily News saw a parallel between the 1947 strike wave in France and the Paris Commune of 1871. It likened Schuman to Adolphe Thiers, who headed the capitalist government that put down the Commune, and asked, "Will history give him a place similar to that of Thiers in 1871?" De Gaulle is compared with General MacMahon, the blood-thirsty butcher who commanded Thiers' troops and later replaced Thiers as dictatorial head of France. "Will Gen. Charles de Gaulle, a military man with political talents, more or less repeat the story of Marshal MacMahon?" asks the News editorial.

Wall Street views the Schuman regime as an interim government that may be replaced by de Gaulle as early as March. It is obvious that no matter what temporary oscillations may occur, Wall Street calculates on bringing a fascist government to power in France.

The victory of fascism, however, is still far from assured despite the treacherous stab in the back the Stalinist bureaucrats dealt the French workers. A strike wave of the proportions just experienced does not recede without leaving its

mark among wide sections of the working class, especially the most politically-conscious militants.

Under Stalinist leadership they found themselves forced to organize city and area strike committees under terrific pressure. They were thrown haphazardly into battle with inadequate preparation, virtually bare-handed. The Stalinists maintained dead silence on the all-important question of who shall run the country, confined the struggle to economic issues and tried to maneuver the masses for their own despicable bureaucratic ends.

Militants thinking over these things will inevitably come to the conclusion that such life-and-death matters as the fundamental aim of the struggle and its pattern of organization must be worked out well in advance. They will conclude that the betrayers and political gangsters in the labor movement must be driven out of leadership and replaced by devoted, self-sacrificing revolutionaries. These conclusions will lead them straight to the program of Trotskyism.

The end result of the strike wave thus can be a rapid spread of Trotskyist ideas among the workers and a catastrophic decline for Stalinism. If that occurs, then the next great upsurge will find the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government in France on the order of the day.

A Page from Trotsky's Works

By Evelyn Atwood

American workers who are watching events in France today and wondering what comes next, can learn a great deal from Trotsky's book "What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat," written in 1932, a year before Hitler came to power in Germany. The situation in France has many parallel features.

In Germany then, as in France today, the capitalist regime was shaken to its foundations. As the living standards of the masses were driven steadily downward, tremendous discontent mounted in all sections of the population.

Trotsky pointed out that the desperate and declassed petty bourgeoisie, which was wavering between the two decisive forces of labor and Big Business, would follow the workers if they offered a bold, revolutionary program and showed the capacity to carry it out in action. Failing this, he warned, the middle class elements would swing behind the aggressive fascist movement.

In this critical pre-revolutionary period, a succession of coalition cabinets (Bruening, Von Papen, Schleicher) each one weaker than

the last, attempted to prop up and give a breathing spell to the tottering capitalist structure in Germany. What they actually did was to pave the way for Hitler. Similar regimes in France today (Ramadier, Schuman) perform a like role. De Gaulle in France is preparing his forces and biding his time to make his definite thrust for power, just as Hitler did in 1932. But he can succeed only if the workers fail in their revolutionary task.

When the masses are in motion and the capitalist ruling class is badly shaken, the time becomes ripe for the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government. But the fulfillment of this task, as Trotsky warned the German workers, requires more than numbers and fighting capacity. It requires a revolutionary program, a clear perspective for a socialist goal and a leadership capable of carrying out that program.

The terrible defeat in Germany in 1933 resulted from the failure of the leading working class parties to adopt such a program. In its suicidal course, the Communist (Stalinist) Party, with five million members and followers, refused to mobilize the workers into a united front with six million Social Demo-

crats to meet the fascist threat. Trotsky explained that in 1932 the hour was so late that the fight against the Nazi menace must at first take on a defensive character, but it would soon pass over into an offensive struggle under the slogan of "All Power to the Workers and Farmers Government." Such a program would inspire the whole people to extraordinary efforts and lead them to victory against the storm troops of reaction.

But Stalinist policy then, as today, was dictated not by the needs of the people but solely by the bureaucratic aims and dictates of the despots in the Kremlin. In Germany the Stalinists covered up their capitulatory policy with the boast: "Let Hitler come to power; he will last only a day and our turn will come next."

Millions of German workers paid for this treachery with their lives.

Today the Stalinists are repeating the role they played in Germany by blocking the French workers from heading off the threat of de Gaulle. But if General de Gaulle rides to power, his main task, like Hitler's, will be to smash the organizations of the workers and clamp the iron bands of a military dictatorship on the French workers.

International Notes

The Ceylon Parliament on opening, did its best to ape the "colorful" ceremony of the British Parliament. The Governor read a speech from the throne. The Army and Navy big brass added their bit to the pageant. The Senators and scarlet-clad judges marched in procession to the House.

Yet something went awry which the London Times did not fail to observe. "The ceremony," it declares, "was boycotted by the six members of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party, who held their own meeting in another part of the building."

The entire BLP fraction refused to participate in this ludicrous and servile pageant.

Comrade D. W. T. Perera, a leading member of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party, Indian Section of the Fourth International, was elected to the Senate by the House of Representatives.

His first action at the opening session was to demand abolition of the Senate to make way for a one-chamber parliament. Comrade Perera is the only Trotskyist in the Upper House.

How little freedom can be expected under the Nehru government in India is shown by its action in the case of Comrade Mandekar, a leading member of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, who is still confined in a Bombay dungeon.

The measure under which he is being held was labelled by the Congress Party itself as the "lawless law." That, of course, was in the days when the Congress Party was in opposition to British rule and its leaders suffered under its brutal provisions.

Comrade Mandekar was arrested for leading a strike of textile mill workers in Bombay. An intensive campaign is now under way to secure his release.

The first conference of the Communist Workers Party (POC), Ital-

ian Section of the Fourth International, was held Nov. 16-17 at Foggia, Italy. Among the cities represented were Rome, Milan, Naples, Puglia and Campania.

The agenda included the international political situation, national political questions facing the Italian workers, trade union problems, the relationship between the POC and the Fourth International, party statutes and a report on the accomplishments of the outgoing Political Bureau.

On the question of the character of the Soviet Union, the conference decided to hold over taking a definitive position until the party ranks have had an opportunity to become more fully acquainted with the issues.

The conference reaffirmed its affiliation to the Fourth International and recognition of its authority. Despite sharp debates, the conference ended on a note of cordiality and unanimous loyalty to the Fourth International.

When General MacArthur's headquarters threatened the Japanese coal miners with slashes in their already meagre food rations unless they at once stepped up production, they responded with a call for a nation-wide strike.

This militant action won an immediate concession from the Japanese puppet government. It granted the miners a cost-of-living bonus for October and November amounting to 220,000,000 yen or 1,000 yen (\$20) for each miner.

Some 13,000,000 people are on the payroll of the Chinese government bureaucracy. This does not include the 10,000,000 men in the armed forces or the 350,000 students subsidized by the government. About 80% of the Chinese national budget is devoted to military expenditures.

In the past two and a half years, 17,454 cases of graft and corruption in government office have been officially reported.

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TROTSKY

"In all countries the same historic laws operate, the laws of capitalist decline. If the means of production remain in the hands of a small number of capitalists, there is no way out for society. It is condemned to go from crisis to crisis, from need to misery, from bad to worse. In the various countries the decrepitude and disintegration of capitalism are expressed in diverse forms and at unequal rhythms. But the basic features of the process are the same everywhere. The bourgeoisie is leading its society to complete bankruptcy. It is capable of assuring the people neither bread nor peace. This is precisely why it cannot any longer tolerate the democratic order. It is forced to smash the workers by the use of physical violence."

—Leon Trotsky, 1934, "Whither France," P. 8.



LENIN

The SWP Is Loyal to the Working Class

Truman's Attorney General Tom Clark has put the Socialist Workers Party on his blacklist of "disloyal" organizations.

Who and what are the Trotskyists "disloyal" to? To Truman? To the Democrats and Republicans, the Big Business Congress, monopoly capitalist "free enterprise," Wall Street? To American imperialism and its conspiracy to drag this country into a Third World War?

The Socialist Workers Party can't be disloyal to any of these, because it never promised loyalty to them to begin with. As a matter of fact, the SWP has openly and consistently maintained an implacable opposition to the capitalists, their system of labor exploitation, depressions, oppression and war.

The SWP prides itself on its steadfast fight against the political rule of American Big Business and its two-party political monopoly.

Trotskyists pledge their loyalty only to the working class, the exploited, the dispossessed—that

is, to the overwhelming majority of society. To profess or demonstrate loyalty in any way to the capitalist rulers and their agencies would indeed be disloyalty—to the workers.

During the war, the Trotskyists demonstrated their loyalty to the fundamental interests of the American working people by opposing the imperialist war and warning it was a war for imperialist profit and plunder. For that loyalty, 18 leaders of the SWP were railroaded to federal prison.

But the SWP did not yield an inch. It has continued and will continue to fight for the working class. It puts forward the program of independent labor political action through formation of a Labor Party. It urges the labor movement to fight uncompromisingly against Wall Street rule, to win political power, to establish a Workers and Farmers Government, to replace corrupt and decayed capitalism with the planned economy of socialism.

The SWP is loyal to this program. Nothing and no one will swerve it from such loyalty.

Lovett Gives the Tip Off

Despite some haggling in Congress over the precise amount of interim aid to be allotted various countries under the Marshall Plan, both Republicans and Democrats are solidly behind its reactionary aims. The bill was passed by the Senate, after a debate so perfunctory that neither party took all the allotted time. The House is now preparing to place its rubber stamp approval on the bill.

The interim aid plan is being played up in the press as "relief" for the stricken European peoples. But Congress is not being moved by charitable feelings toward the hungry Europeans. In voting this money they are concerned solely with propping up the existing anti-labor governments in France, Italy, Greece, etc., and to further Wall Street's drive for world conquest.

Testimony at hearings in Washington brings out with deadly clarity the true nature of the Marshall Plan's "interim relief." On Dec. 5 Under-Secretary of State Robert A. Lovett urged Congress "not to be frightened out" of subsidizing this imperialist plan, no matter how costly it might be, because of the militancy displayed by the millions of French workers in their mass strikes. He lauded

the Schuman government, which had ordered out some 230,000 troops against the striking workers. Thus he plainly indicated how U. S. backing would stiffen the anti-labor forces abroad.

Lovett also explained that the bill empowered the President to terminate aid to any nation when it is considered no longer necessary "or desirable." This, he said, should give assurance that if the "Communists" gained control over the governments in France and Italy, interim "relief" could be promptly cut off.

What Lovett really meant is that regardless of the needs of the people, if any governments should be installed which resisted Wall Street's dictates, the U. S. would promptly attempt to starve them into submission.

To remove any remaining misunderstanding, Republican Senator Homer Ferguson drove the same point home more bluntly. The interim "aid" program, he said, "is the same as spending money on guns here." In other words, "relief for Europe" really means aid to the anti-labor regimes abroad in their efforts to keep the workers from setting up their own governments.

French Workers Demand Sliding Scale

One of the demands some 3,000,000 strikers fought for in the great strike wave in France was a sliding scale of wages. They wanted this provision to protect their wage standards against further increases in the cost of living. They demanded that wages be adjusted every three months to bring them into accordance with the latest price jumps.

The Schuman cabinet admitted that this demand was "logical." However, they "unanimously" rejected it. They argued that it would be "disastrous for French finances" if it were applied.

There is an instructive lesson here. It was the Trotskyists who first suggested that the workers should fight for a sliding scale of wages to safeguard their living standards. In America, the Socialist Workers Party advanced this demand in 1938 and The Militant has consistently advocated it ever since, explaining its special applicability in periods of inflation.

In France, the publicity given this slogan by the Trotskyists, has now borne important fruit.

Cheers from Taft Law Supporters

The French and Greek capitalist governments have just written into their statute books anti-labor laws that match the savage measures invoked in the days of Hitler and Mussolini.

Run-of-the-mill strikebreaking devices, including police orders to shoot to kill, proved unavailing to break the ranks of strikers in France. Thereupon Premier Schuman jammed through the "democratic" French Parliament legislation that strips labor of elementary civil rights and virtually outlaws strikes.

The French Minister of Interior is henceforth empowered to employ troops against strikers. "In-citing strikes" is made a crime punishable by long prison terms and heavy fines. Doubly severe penalties are imposed for "sabotage."

The Greek "democrats" dispensed with all camouflage and flatly outlawed all strikes, fixing not only prison terms but the death penalty. This bestial decree, which goes beyond even the Nazi labor code, will be enforced not by regular courts but by court-martial.

It has become one of the main demands of the working class of an entire country. Here is another convincing proof of the validity of the program of Trotskyism and its ability to solve the problems of the workers.

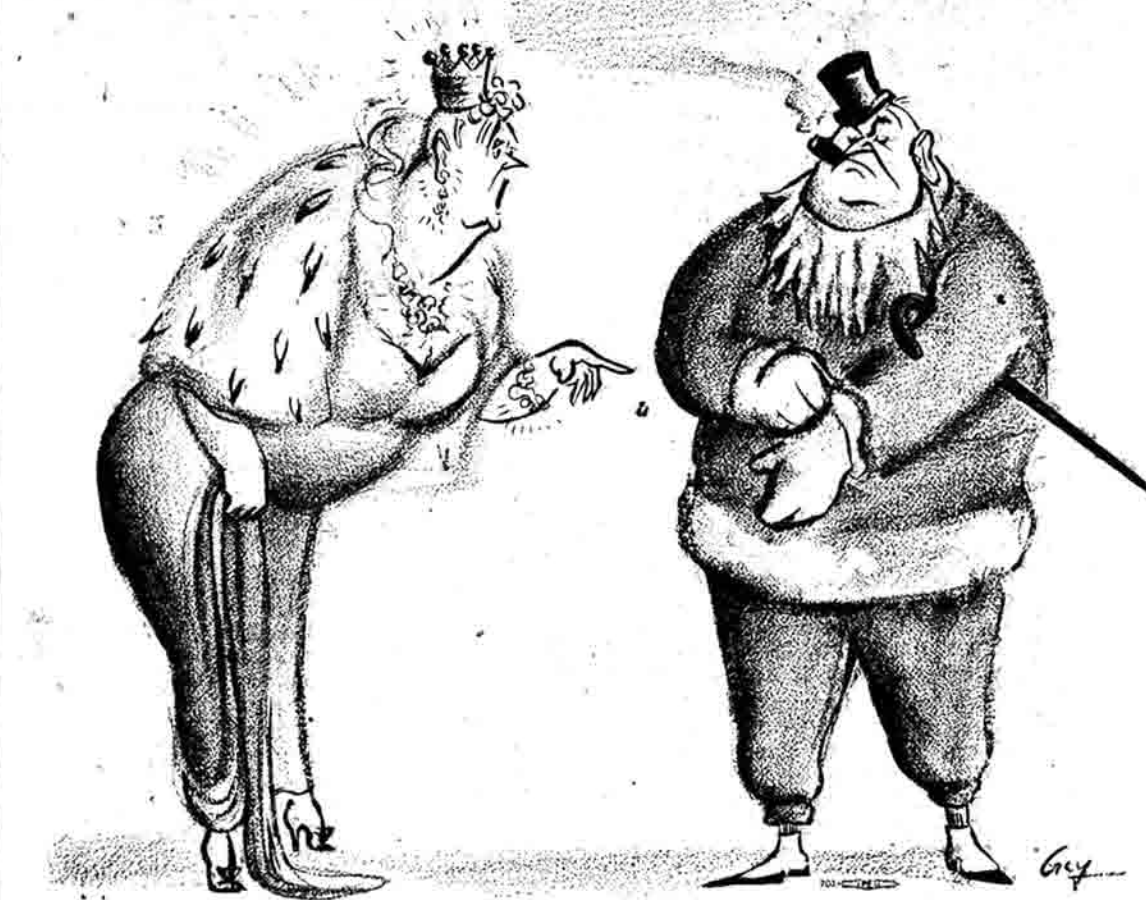
This demand has served to call sharp attention to the utter inability of the capitalist system and its government to guarantee the workers a decent standard of living. The Schuman cabinet was compelled to admit that they cannot maintain real wages. Their only "solution" to inflation is to hold down wages while prices soar. Naturally they said nothing about limiting the profits of the capitalists.

Rejection of this demand leads to only one logical conclusion: the necessity of replacing the capitalist government by a Workers and Farmers Government and the building of the planned economy of socialism. For if capitalism cannot guarantee the living standards of the masses then by that fact alone it has shown that it is not fit to run the country.

These acts of naked reaction are cheered and defended by the American capitalist press. And why not? As the N. Y. Times, Dec. 8 points out, the principle that underlies them—that "there is no right to strike against the government or in cases of a national emergency"—has been "established" here in the U.S. "not only in the Boston police strike but also in the railroad and coal strikes and is specifically laid down in the Taft-Hartley labor law."

In other words, the anti-labor laws passed in France and Greece are nothing less than adaptations to conditions in these countries of the basic propositions contained in the Taft-Hartley Act. They are all part and parcel of the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan.

And for that reason they constitute a serious warning to American labor. The laws in Greece and France foreshadow what the Taft-Hartley Act will mean to labor when it is drawn to its logical conclusion in this country.



"For heaven's sake, don't let the servants see you in that Santa Claus costume - they might ask for a raise!"

BOOKSHELF

THE STOIC, by Theodore Dreiser, Doubleday, 310 pp., 1947, \$3.

The Stoic completes Dreiser's Trilogy of Desire begun in 1912 with *The Financier*, and continued two years later in *The Titan*. Dreiser was within one chapter of completing this mammoth work when death struck him down. The last of his posthumous novels shows him at his mightiest; nothing is lacking in Dreiserian method except, happily, extraneous detail and wandering speculation. Apparently *The Stoic* was taken up and put aside again and again during the course of some thirty years. It does not suffer from its late appearance. It is a dying man's testament to his prowess and genius.

Frank Algernon Cowperwood is a character modeled on the famous financial swindler, Charles Tyson Yerkes, who began life in Philadelphia, son of a moderately successful Quaker banker. His meteoric rise begins when as a youth he buys several cartons of soap at wholesale and sells them to his neighborhood grocer. This starts him off on his career which leads to the sackings of the city treasury. At the age of 15, having left high school, he obtains work in a grain commission house; at 22 he has his own brokerage business, and at 25 he is in the banking business specializing in high grade bonds.

His exploits, both financial and amorous, are graphically described by Dreiser. Having partially served his sentence in prison for marketing city bonds, he strikes out for Chicago with his mistress, Aileen Butler. *The Titan* deals with his machinations in obtaining control of the street railway systems in that city. Here can be ascertained Dreiser's ability to effectively use documentation without resorting to journalism.

Cowperwood, an alien in the city, attempts to buy himself into favor by donating a fountain to beautify a park. Later he endows the University of Chicago with a telescope. He attempts to crash Chicago society, but the avant garde is wary of this brusque, individualistic and somewhat vulgar interloper. He

builds a mansion in New York and ensconces Aileen, now his wife, as mistress there. Intervened with his financial dealings are his affairs of the heart. He seduces his secretary or any likely prospect who meets his approval.

The Stoic, while an entity in itself, continues his exploits in promoting traction interests; but like his counterpart, Yerkes, his scene of action is London, England. Unloading his Chicago holdings, and with the aid of excellent espionage work by his agents, he ingratiates himself to various of the London financiers who hold rights to underdeveloped and undeveloped systems, most of which are in embryo. Dreiser is painstakingly precise in recording the legal and near-legal methods by which he comes into control of these lines.

An interesting sidelight on power, prestige, and financial status is witnessed in his supplying a gigolo who interests himself in Aileen. She has long since passed the age of ravishing beauty. Never a possessor of social poise and acumen, she is a detriment to Cowperwood in his social intrigue with the titled set in England. Despite her dogged devotion to him, he realizes that his affection for her has faded. He cannot understand that she should wish to continue as his wife, when there is no longer a bond between them. His current passion, Bernice, has everything Aileen lacks—social poise, bursting beauty and a realistic understanding that in time either of them is likely to become tired of the other.

Dreiser swiftly charts Cowperwood's course. Bernice, devoted, impeccable, aids him by her ingratiating manner with the English financiers who are wary of this American man of action. It is a streamlined Dreiser we now read in this, his last testament. As an after thought, it would seem that he is racing with time to get all of his story finished before death can catch up with him.

Aileen, meantime, spends her time in Paris, under the tutelage of her hired gigolo, who with carte blanche from his employer, moves in the most exciting and exclusive circles. Aileen is flattered with this apparent sin-

cere attention being paid her by this fascinating young man. She fleetingly thinks of her husband and Bernice, but her admission into continental society placates her somewhat. She is worked upon by a masseuse, a hair dresser, boot makers, dress makers, and beauticians. In short, everything money can buy. She has lost some of her embonpoint, and anticipates confronting Cowperwood once again, hoping to rekindle his desire. Gone is the caked powder on her face, impressively noted by him, and her habilliment and general appearance serve to lighten her spirits.

Cowperwood, nearing his end, is making grandiose plans to perpetuate himself into posterity. He collects objects d'art, and makes bequests for the building of a hospital to bear his name and financing his home as a museum for the public. He parcels out largesse to his former associates and mistresses, some of whom he has dispatched to various capitals in Europe when he tired of them. A mausoleum is erected to house his remains. Everything he does is in consonance with what his historical counterparts have done.

Bernice, after his death, takes up the study of Yogism in India, and from her inheritance sets in motion the building of a hospital which Cowperwood wanted. Litigation, claims, counter-claims, court actions, process servers, and haggling over the remainder of his estate causes much of his philanthropy to be disregarded. Aileen witnesses the sad spectacle of her home being auctioned off piece by piece. She refuses to attend his funeral because of his unconscionable deceit with Bernice. Upon her death, she requests that she be laid to rest beside her fabulous husband.

A voluptuary at heart, Cowperwood found little permanent satisfaction in either his mistresses or the power which his money gave him. Dreiser, to his very end, preached no sermon. He put down in his works what he saw of life, and allowed his portrayals to teach their own lesson. No more could be asked of any artist.

—Norman Johnstone

Congressmen at Work

The "Aid-Europe" Debate

Wall Street's hired hands down in Washington have been bringing their giant brains to bear on the proposed "stopgap aid" bill for Europe. While Austria gets a smaller share, the bulk of this "aid" is to keep the French and Italian governments functioning till the Marshall plan can be put into effect. By something more than coincidence these are the countries where gigantic strike struggles broke out.

The debate in Congress shows that the Congressmen know better than to share the belief, widespread among newspaper readers, that the aid is humanitarian.

Senator McClellan (D., Ark.): "The contract of which the Senator (Vandenberg) speaks could be so drafted that it would preclude any of this aid or relief to strikers in vital industries, could it not?"

Senator Vandenberg (R., Mich.): "I would think it could. I can understand the Senator's point of view, and I sympathize greatly with his ultimate objective."

Vandenberg, however, knows the way to discriminate against strikers is at the administrative end. He doesn't want to put it down in black on white for all the world, including the French workers, to see. So he suggests it is wiser not to write it



into the bill.

In the House Rep. Lodge (R., Conn.) who has been touring Europe at the taxpayers' expense intimates that this "aid" is as good as far as it goes but maybe troops should be sent, too. Says Lodge: "In wartime we are not averse to using flame throwers, incendiary bombs, and atom bombs to achieve victory. Had the Germans used poison gas, we, too, were prepared to use it. But we seem unwilling to meet the threat of internal force (in France and Italy). In this undeclared 'cold war' we somehow have failed to realize that we are not meeting the challenge merely with economic aid and an information service."

Lodge hints at "real" measures: "We have the means to assist

France and Italy, to combat internal force. It may not even require force on our part but it will certainly require action."

Lodge wound up by urging his fellow politicians to resort to "actions" and not to be "squeamish."

When Lodge was asked exactly what actions he had in mind he replied "that we are in a cold war and that, as I remarked in my speech, a disclosure of details might compromise the aims."

To this, the questioner ventured: "Too many things are being kept from the American people under the specious argument that the people should not know."

But nobody paid much attention to that point.

In the House debate another point relating to the "aid" program and its effect on living costs was ignored with equal agility. The following exchange is illustrative.

Rep. Gore (D., Tenn.): "...If we finish the foreign-aid program too soon, then a lot of questions might be asked why something is not done about the high cost of living before Congress goes home for Christmas."

Rep. Keefe (R., Wis.): "That is a demonstration of the little cheap politics that usually comes from the gentleman from Tennessee."

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MOTHER JONES

The Fight Against Child Labor
 (Determined to focus public attention on child labor, Mother Jones in 1903 organized a march of young children employed in the Pennsylvania textile mills, then on strike.)

From Jersey City we marched to Hoboken. I sent a committee out to the New York Chief of Police, Ebstein, asking for permission to march up Fourth Avenue to Madison Square where I wanted to hold a meeting. The chief refused and forbade our entrance to the city.

I went over myself to New York and saw Mayor Seth Low. The mayor was most courteous but he said he would have to support the police commissioner. I asked him what the reason was for refusing us entrance to the city and he said that we were not citizens of New York.

Well, finally they decided to let the army come in. We marched up Fourth Avenue to Madison Square. They insisted that the meeting be held in Twentieth Street.

I pointed out to the captain that the single-taxers were allowed to hold meetings in the square. "Yes," he said, "but they won't have twenty people and you might have twenty thousand."

LIVING EXAMPLES OF CHILD LABORERS

We marched to Twentieth Street. I told an immense crowd of the horrors of child labor in the mills around the anthracite region and I showed them some of the children. I showed them Eddie Dunphy, a little fellow of twelve, whose job it was to sit all day on a high stool, handing in the right thread to another worker. Eleven hours a day he sat on the high stool with dangerous machinery all about him. All day long, winter and summer, spring and fall, for three dollars a week.

And then I showed them Gussie Rangnew, a little girl from whom all the childhood had gone. Her face was like an old woman's. Gussie packed stockings in a factory, eleven hours a day for a few cents a day.

We raised a lot of money for the strikers and hundreds of friends offered their homes to the little ones while we were in the city.

The next day we went to Coney Island at the invitation of Mr. Bostick who owned the wild animal show. The children had a wonderful day such as they never had in all their lives. After the exhibition of the trained animals, Mr. Bostick let me speak to the audience. There was a back drop to the tiny stage of the Roman Colosseum with the audience painted in and two Roman emperors down in front with their thumbs down. Right in front of the emperors were the empty iron cages of the animals. I put my little children in the cages and they clung to the iron bars while I talked.

I told the crowd that the scene was typical of the aristocracy of employers with their thumbs down to the little ones of the mills and factories, and people sitting dumbly by.

"We want President Roosevelt to hear the wall of the children who never have a chance to go to school but work eleven and twelve hours a day in the textile mills of Pennsylvania; who weave the carpets that he and you walk upon; and the lace curtains in your windows, and the clothes of the people. Fifty years ago there was a cry against slavery and men gave up their lives to stop the selling of black children on the block. Today the white child is sold for two dollars a week to the manufacturers. Fifty years ago the black babies were sold C. O. D. Today the white baby is sold on the installment plan."

"In Georgia where children work day and night in the cotton mills they have just passed a bill to protect song birds. What about the little children from whom all song is gone?"

"I shall ask the president in the name of the aching hearts of these little ones that he emancipate them from slavery. I will tell the president that the prosperity he boasts of is the prosperity of the rich wrung from the poor and the helpless."

The trouble is that no one in Washington cares. I saw our legislators in one hour pass three bills for the relief of the railroads but when labor cries for aid for the children they will not listen.

STEAL A RAILROAD AND BE SENATOR

"I asked a man in prison once how he happened to be there and he said he had stolen a pair of shoes. I told him if he had stolen a railroad he would be a United States Senator."

"We are told that every American boy has the chance of being president. I tell you that these little boys in the iron cages would sell their chance any day for good square meals and a chance to play. These little toilers whom I have taken from the mills—deformed, dwarfed in body and soul, with nothing but toil before them—have never heard that they have a chance, the chance of every American male citizen, to become the president."

You see these monkeys in those cages over there." I pointed to a side cage. "The professors are trying to teach them to talk. The monkeys are too wise for they fear that the manufacturers would buy them for slaves in their factories."

I saw a stylishly dressed young man down in the front of the audience. Several times he grinned. I stopped speaking and pointing to him I said, "Stop your smiling, young man! Leave this place! Go home and beg the mother who bore you in pain, as the mothers of these little children bore them, go home and beg her to give you brains and a heart."

He rose and slunk out, followed by the eyes of the children in the cage. The people sat stone still and out in the rear a lion roared.

The next day we left Coney Island for Manhattan Beach to visit Senator Platt, who had made an appointment to see me at nine o'clock in the morning. The children got stuck in the sand banks and I had a time cleaning the sand off the littlest ones. So we started to walk on the railroad track. I was told it was private property and we had to get off. Finally, a saloon keeper showed us a short cut into the sacred grounds of the hotel and suddenly the army appeared in the lobby. The little fellows played "Hall, hall, the gang's all here" on their flutes and drums, and Senator Platt when he saw the little army ran away through the back door to New York.

I asked the manager if he would give the children breakfast and charge it up to the Senator as we had an invitation to breakfast that morning with him. He gave us a private room and he gave those children such a breakfast as they had never had in all their lives. I had breakfast too, a reporter from one of the Hearst papers and I charged it all up to Senator Platt.

We marched down to Oyster Bay but the president, Theodore Roosevelt, refused to see us and he would not answer my letters. But our march had done its work. We had drawn the attention of the nation to the crime of child labor. And while the strike of the textile workers in Kensington was lost and the children driven back to work, not long afterward the Pennsylvania legislature passed a child labor law that sent thousands of children home from the mills, and kept thousands of others from entering the factory until they were fourteen years of age.

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Workers' Forum

Who Are the Real "Subversives" in U. S.?

Editor:
The name of the Socialist Workers Party stands out on the list of "subversive organizations" prepared by that Wall Street lackey, Attorney-General Tom Clark. It stands out, my friends, to challenge the whole vicious un-American crowd in control of Washington today.

You are guilty of what? Standing for a liberation of colonial people and against all brands of imperialism. Defending with your very lives the cause of labor. Fighting Jim Crowism, anti-Semitism and all other brands of racism. Exposing the warmongers. Fighting for a free ballot and a free electorate. Yes, fighting for humanity against its capitalist enslavers. Guilty — of being the faithful friends of the people.

No, Mr. Clark. The Socialist Workers Party is not subversive. It is you who are subversive, and Harry S. Truman, and J. Parnell Thomas and all the rest of the Democratic — Republican — capitalist party who fear the might of the workers. You, ward-healers, witch-hunters, defenders of imperialism, lynchers, poll taxers, strikebreakers, are really un-American and subversive. The record is clear and we hurl it back in your face, Tom Clark & Co.

George R. Stryker
Bayport, New York

Criticizes UAW Convention Article

Editor:
I have long been interested in your paper, especially in the style of the articles. I used to try to imitate it sometimes in my high school themes (I just graduated) and once brought an article to class to read. Some day I will write you another letter and tell you what my teacher said.

That was why I was surprised to find one of your correspondents, Art Preis, call the UAW convention "dull and lifeless." From the rest of the article, the convention seemed to be very far from dull and very lively indeed. And I must admit I was surprised to find *The Militant* on the other side from Reuther. Surely, *The Militant* doesn't condone such tactics as the recent action of the old UAW executive board in forbidding Reuther to send out any statements to the membership unless he first submitted them to the secretary-treasurer for approval?

E. S.
Montague City, Mass.

Indignant About The Nature of U. S. "Relief"

Editor:
An editorial entitled "Gambling with World Peace" caught my eye in the Youngstown paper the other day. I read that the House Foreign Affairs Committee has added 60

MINNEAPOLIS

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BOSTON—30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Tuesdays 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

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

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

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

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

FLINT—215 E. Ninth St. Flint 3, Mich. Open 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 1-6 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.

The Troubles of a Government Worker

Editor:
When I was a child, my parents often expressed the hope that I would be able some day to get a civil service job. I believe that among the older generation, of people born in Europe, it is a widely held thought that it is a good thing to be working for the government. The pay may not be the highest, they say, but at least it is steady.

After the war I got a civil service job after getting out of the Navy. This pleased my parents very much. But, I am sorry to say, it leaves me highly dissatisfied.

Not only are the wages inadequate, except for the people at the top, but I am no longer a free man, or at least not as free as I was working elsewhere. I cannot express my opinions freely any more, for one thing. Freedom of speech may still be on the books, but on the job, which is only a routine and unimportant one, you've got to watch every word you say. If you are not careful, you get tagged as a radical or something, then you are on a blacklist, and the next thing you know you are unemployed. The spirit of intimidation is so great that one instinctively glances around before saying anything if one is going to discuss anything but the weather, sports, the office routine, etc.

Working for the government that calls itself "the bastion of democracy" means enjoying less democracy than anyone else in the country.

"Gag and Padlock"
Philadelphia, Pa.

Need for Independent Candidates Debated at Connecticut CIO Parley

By Alvin Royce

NEW HAVEN, Dec. 8 — Bolstered up by the victories of the reactionaries in the national CIO and UAW conventions, the leaders of the Connecticut CIO (members of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and Reutherites) steamrollered their way to victory at the State CIO convention held here yesterday. But they could not prevent a fight on the floor around the demand by progressive delegates for independent labor political action.

John Driscoll, victorious incumbent for the post of secretary-treasurer, was the leader of the red-baiting, union-splitting provisional Metalworkers' Committee which last year bolted from the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Union. Mitchell Sidoroff, Reuther hatchman in Connecticut, was elected president.

There were three high points in the convention. The first occurred when Gov. McConaughy walked toward the platform expecting to be greeted by cheers. Instead the Governor was showered with boos and pennies as a reminder of the delegates' attitude toward the sales tax which he had sponsored.

Considerable enthusiasm was also evoked when the delegates reported on the plans to combat police brutality in the Ansonia steel strike. A company car intentionally ran into three women pickets from the rubber workers union who had volunteered to help the strikers. One

Militant Fund Goes to \$16,000, Exceeds Quota Before Deadline

By Rose Karsner

National Campaign Director
Members of the Socialist Workers Party went all out last week to meet their pledges in the \$15,000 Militant Fund campaign, bringing the total collections to \$16,161 — one week ahead of schedule. This was a phenomenal achievement, considering the high cost of living which has affected everybody's pay envelope.

FROM THE BRANCHES

New York — D. Conway: "New York Local has gone over the top. Four of our branches went over the 100% mark. East Side, Central, Bronx and the combined Brooklyn-Bedford Stuyvesant, Chelsea and Harlem assure us they will top their quotas next week. East Side branch came from behind in a dramatic whirlwind finish and now leads all New York branches with 130%." The Youth Group, which had not been assigned a quota, came in with \$39 on their own initiative. In addition to money from the branches, we also collected from friends and sympathizers and netted over \$200 at the Annual Militant Frolic.

Lynn—Franklin: "Enclosed find our final payment. We feel proud to be among the 100 per centers."

Los Angeles — Myra: "Enclosed find check which puts us over the top on our quota. I hope to send more before the deadline."

Seattle — Joyce: "Here is another payment on our quota. Every effort is being made to send in the full amount in time and we hope to succeed."

San Francisco — Anne: "Enclosed check brings us to 100%. We have been having a very difficult time. The spiraling cost of living plus the threat of lay-offs has cut our regular income, while our expenses have increased. We are able to come through with the help from the Oakland Branch and Bobbie, our local director, who has done an excellent job under the circumstances."

Tacoma — Herbert: "Sorry we waited until so close to the end to make our 100%, but even our small quota seemed hard to raise."

Flint — Genora: "The enclosed check brings our branch to 129%. We'll be sending in more money yet. I bought 20 Repeat-Talk-Harley Law neckties at the UAW convention and am selling them at cost plus \$1 contribution to the Militant."

That's \$20 for the paper. You'll be interested in the following story. A militant union couple celebrated their 8th wedding anniversary at our Saturday night social. In honor of the event they made a contribution as their anniversary gift to us. Emily Post would say the gift was given in reverse — but it's little actions like this that prove the

When continuous pressure finally forced the issue to the floor, a noisy, inattentive, almost empty hall filled up and became quiet as the delegates listened carefully to both sides in the debate.

Most observers agreed that at least half of the delegates did not vote in spite of the tremendous steamroller pressure employed to defeat the resolution.

Leaders of the opposition were not disheartened by their defeat but instead were taking measures to solidify their forces around a militant program in preparation for next year's convention.



Scoreboard For \$15,000 Militant Fund

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
ST. LOUIS	\$ 50	\$ 115	230
FLINT	200	258	129
CLEVELAND	250	316	126
LOS ANGELES	1,500	1,812	121
NEWARK	500	576	115
DETROIT	600	672	112
TWIN CITIES	1,000	1,075	107
NEW YORK	4,500	4,534	101
Akron	300	301	100
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	75	100
Buffalo	600	600	100
Chicago	1,500	1,506	100
Connecticut State	200	200	100
Lynn	125	125	100
Massillon-Canton	50	50	100
Milwaukee	200	206	100
Oakland	250	250	100
San Francisco	1,250	1,250	100
Tacoma	25	25	100
West Virginia	25	25	100
Youngstown	600	600	100
Pittsburgh	150	142	95
Philadelphia	300	272	91
San Diego	100	91	91
Toledo	150	122	81
Seattle	300	238	79
Boston	275	179	65
Reading	100	50	50
General Contributions		497	
Total		\$16,162	107

fine appreciation real militants have for our work."

FROM OUR READERS

Last week we received 25¢ from young Spencer of Ohio who writes:

"Gentlemen: Enclosed find 25¢ for your fund. I am sorry I couldn't send any more, but I am only in junior high school. I wonder if there is a youth division of the Socialist Workers Party? If there is, I would like to become a member."

A quarter may seem like a small sum in a \$15,000 fund, but the expression of solidarity it represents cannot be measured in dollars.

From Mrs. P. S., of Pennsylvania we received the following interesting letter: "Enclosed find my small contribution of \$2.20. I would have sent more if I had it to spare. When I saw in *The Militant* the contributions the other readers send in, I just thought I had to do my little bit."

"There is one article in *The Militant* that I enjoy thoroughly, that is the story of Mother Jones. Very interesting reading. The workers were being pushed around in her time too, especially the miners. I also find that she was one of the organizers of the 'Appeal to Reason.' I just thought I had to let you know that my father was an enthusiastic subscriber to that paper. I was rather young then. I was born in 1907. At that time my

young mind was unable to comprehend the poor workers' struggles. I wish you had headquarters here. I would like to attend some of your meetings."

"In the recent elections here, my husband's uncle ran for sheriff on the Democratic ticket. He's only a small business man. Comes from a large family, all poor workers. Well! He was cheated out of that office. He was told that the reason he did not receive more votes was because he was Jewish. He is no more Jewish than I am. Now please don't misunderstand me. I am not against the Jewish people or any other race. The point that I'm trying to make is this. Don't you see, that's racial discrimination. His opponent had money and my husband's uncle did not. So there you are. You have the money, you can buy your way into office or out of anything for that matter. I'm neither Democrat nor Republican."

"I find *The Militant* more interesting after each issue. Success to your paper and everything it stands for."

A post script says: "Grace Carlson's articles I also find very interesting."

In addition to the above two donations we received as follows from readers: La Polla \$2; Samuel \$1; Martin \$1; Kusmit 45¢; Schwen \$1.70.

U. S. OIL RATIONING AND MARSHALL PLAN

By John Fredericks

One of the many phases of the Marshall Plan will be supplying Europe with \$600,000,000 worth of oil and petroleum products annually. American oil barons plan to increase their shipments abroad to a point where, by 1951, they will achieve a volume of 78 billion metric tons of oil per

year, twice the present export rate.

Given the present capacity of American industry to produce these oil supplies, the only way in which the quota can be met is by the immediate institution of gas rationing on a nationwide basis. The government is already acting on the question and is expected to announce rationing plans within a few weeks. The American worker

will foot the bill, the oil imperialists will pocket more huge profits.

To increase oil exports to the point proposed in the Marshall Plan is impossible without seriously curtailing the domestic consumption of gasoline and fuel oil. The House Committee which reported on the exact nature of European aid under the Marshall Plan, at the same time reported that world oil production could only be increased by 30% by 1951. The natural consequence of pouring American oil on troubled European waters will be a period of five years in which American workers will do without sufficient heat for their homes, and less gasoline, or none at all, for their cars.

Crude oil production in the United States is at an all time high. Refineries are producing more gasoline than ever before. Foreign oil fields owned and controlled by American interests are producing more crude oil than ever before.

Yet only last week the Sun Oil Co., which produces little crude from its own wells, raised its offering price for crude by 50 cents per barrel, on the assumption that by raising the offering price it could more readily obtain crude for its many refineries. This was soon followed by the same offer from Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., Sinclair Oil Co., and Sinclair-Prairie Oil Co. The net result is an overall increase in the price to the consumer without substantially increasing the production of crude oil by so much as one barrel.

Meanwhile the U. S. Government is holding 96 idle tankers as part of the "mothball fleet." These modern government-owned tankers are lying idle while deals are being made to sell them to foreign shipping lines. At the same time thousands of American union seamen,

THE MILITANT ARMY

Direct Subs and Renewals Supplement Branch Sales

You have a date with *The Militant*. It is printed right under the name and address on nearly all address labels and wrappers. That date is the expiration date of your subscription.

We try to remind readers direct by mail about a month before their subs expire, and a second time whenever possible. But you can avoid missing any issues by watching your "date with *The Militant*" and renewing well in advance.

A few address plates still have volume and issue numbers instead of date, but we are rapidly replacing these with month and year, for readers' convenience.

During November, 61 readers subscribed or renewed direct with *The Militant* office, while many others turned their renewals in to Socialist Workers Party branch offices. These 61 included two Canadian readers, one in Scotland and one in imperialist-torn Palestine. SWP branches received credit for any subs received direct from their cities.

"I do hope I don't miss any issues," wrote V. O. from Canada when he renewed for a year. "I look forward to *The Militant* each week for a working class answer to the many events taking place in the world today. . . . Wish I could contribute to your financial drive but we have just come through a very strenuous financial campaign ourselves. . . . Revolutionary greetings to all the comrades."

New York held a brief mobilization on the lower East Side last Sunday and signed up 19 new subscribers besides selling 16 pamphlets and 51 single copies of *The Militant*. Fourteen persons visited, showed special interest in the Socialist Workers Party and asked to be notified of meetings. One donated 85¢.

New York painter comrades, conducting their own sub campaign, have obtained 43 readers in two months.

"Enclosed are five subs," wrote Beverly Wise, Oakland agent. "Three are from one comrade's shopmates who liked the UAW articles."

Reporting on four subs from Milwaukee, Carol Andrews wrote: "The

two new subs were obtained by one of our most active comrades; one from a shopmate and one from a housewife."

New and renewal subscriptions totaled 334 in November, 57 less than in October but 44 more than in September. Totals from the branches were as follows:

NOVEMBER SUBS	
New York	62
Chicago	41
Flint	33
Oakland	24
Newark	20
Milwaukee	15
Philadelphia	15
Los Angeles	14
Connecticut	13
Minneapolis	12
San Francisco	10
Detroit	9
Baltimore	6
Boston	5
Cleveland	5
Lynn	5
Toledo	5
St. Louis	4
Youngstown	4
Pittsburgh	3
St. Paul	3
Buffalo	3
West Virginia	2
Reading	1
Akron	1
Rochester	0
San Diego	0
Seattle	0
Foreign	4
General	19
November Total	334

SWP Denounces Tammany Hall's Move Against CP

NEW YORK, Dec. 10 —

Tammany Hall's maneuver to deny the Communist Party the right to name a successor for the City Council seat held by the late Peter Caccione was branded today by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party as a reactionary attack on the rights of workers and minority groups.

The Democrats are using every legal device they can find, the statement continued, to disfranchise the 75,000 voters in Brooklyn who put Caccione in office in the 1945 elections. The City Charter specifies that in the event of a vacancy occurring through death or resignation, the party whose seat has been vacated is entitled to nominate a successor.

In urging the labor movement to support the right of Simon Gerson, CP designee, to assume Caccione's post, the SWP by no means supports or condones the policies of the Stalinists. It was these very policies which have led to the present episode. The Stalinists supported O'Dwyer and the Tammany Gang in the 1945 elections. The move to deny Gerson Caccione's post is part of the inevitable payoff for that treacherous policy.

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Auspices: The Militant

Red-Baiters Run Wild at CIO State Convention in New Jersey

TRENTON, Dec. 8 — The red-baiting right wing in the New Jersey CIO ran wild at the organization's tenth state convention, which ended here yesterday. The result is a threatened split which may further divide and seriously weaken CIO strength in this state.

The right wing lined up squarely behind Wall Street's program for world domination by pushing through strong endorsement of the Marshall Plan for Europe. The vote was about two to one, with a considerable number of non-Stalinist delegates voting against it.

The red-baiters then sought to pass a resolution prohibiting "communists" from holding office in the State CIO Council, but they could not whip up sufficient support for this. Instead, they pushed through a resolution denouncing interference in union affairs by "communists and fascists" and called on all local unions to "fight and defeat for office all members of the Communist Party and their fascist adherents." The voice vote on this measure was close, but President Carl Holderman declared it adopted.

The blow-up came in the elections of vice presidents and executive board members. The traditional practice has been that the delegates of the various international caucuses, nominate and thus elect their own choice for the posts.

When this was done, yesterday the right wing proceeded to ignore all the nominations of the Stalinist-influenced internationals and elected their own right-wing supporters from these unions. The only exceptions to this procedure were such unions as the Fur Workers,

where there were no right-wing delegates at all.

Thus, for example, the UE delegation had picked James McLeish as its nominee for vice president by a vote of 79 against 9 for the right winger, Ernest Pollack. Yet Pollack was elected.

The result was that most of the UE delegates and many others walked out of the convention, and have since announced that they will not pay dues to the State Council until they begin to get some representation along with taxation. This, of course, does not displease the red-baiters, who are glad to have undisputed control of the state CIO.

Today's papers give some additional facts. The right wingers had offered a deal whereby they would let McLeish be elected state vice president only if the Stalinists permitted a right winger to be elected president of the Stalinist-dominated Greater Newark CIO Council.

President Carl Holderman and other state leaders who have repeatedly expressed a desire to keep the state CIO united, had supported this deal as "reasonable." When the Stalinists turned it down and the right wingers went ahead to deny them proper representation on the State Council, Holderman placed the major responsibility for the threatened split on the Stalinists.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor.

Open meetings every 1st and third Sundays at 3:30 p.m.

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SAN DIEGO—Headquarters 432 F St., R. 213. Open Tuesdays, Thursdays & Saturdays, 1 to 5 p.m.; Monday, Wednesday & Friday, 7 to 9 p.m.

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SEATTLE—Maynard Building, 1st Avenue South & Washington, Open Mon. thru Sat. noon to 5 p.m. Phone SE 0453—Library, Bookstore. Fridays, 8 p.m. Branch Meeting.

ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Room 312. Forums, Fridays, 7:30 to 10 p.m. Phone Jefferson 3642.

ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St., St. Paul 2, Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily 2:30-9:30 p.m.

TACOMA, Wash.—Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Odd Fellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P.O. Box 1079.

TOLEDO — 113 St. Clair St.,

The Class

By Theodore Kovalesky

"C-M-C," it said on the old blackboard in the front of the room. I stirred a little uncomfortably on the straight wooden chair. Jimmy, sitting beside me, was listening intently to the girl who stood next to the blackboard.



I turned a little and looked at the other people sitting in the room. There were perhaps a dozen this evening, all sitting quietly, all listening intently, trying very hard to understand and learn.

"C-M-C," the girl was saying in the front of the room, "was the formula Marx used to explain the circulation of commodities."

I smiled inwardly. How many years ago would I have sat here like this? Here I was, old enough to be this girl's father, listening, straining every nerve, every mental cog and wheel to get the full meaning of what she was saying. Age didn't matter any more. The youngest or the oldest listened, asked questions, or spoke up with some fact or idea that fitted into the discussion.

"Labor power," she went on, "is a commodity, as we have explained. The worker takes this commodity to the labor market. For it he is given money. With the money he buys other commodities. C-M-C—Commodity—money—commodity... that goes on every hour of every day. That is the pulse and the bloodstream of the capitalist system. That is the life of every one of us here in this room and everybody else outside who works for a living as a factory worker, a clerk, a professional... anyone who works."

It was no later than nine o'clock, and life out in the streets was pouring past the party headquarters. Lights blinked off and on at the marquee of the movie across the street throwing a dim, intermittent flash through the window, silhouetting the words, "Socialist Workers Party," printed backward. Claxtons blared, trucks roared as they climbed into motion at the intersection, and occasional street cars rattled and clattered past... C-M-C.

Jimmy and the rest of the class sat there still and intent, still laboring with these ideas which were new, entirely new... but yet... just as old as we were, ideas that were at the root of our life, that came

from us and were about us. For me the class was gone. The girl and the blackboard were gone. Only three letters remained, C-M-C. How strange and wonderful to find a tiny formula like that to explain all of life!

My mind went out to the furnaces and the sweaty gangs panting there in the heat of cast time and the cleanup. I thought of the skinny assistant manager of the supermarket in our neighborhood, kidding with the housewives on payday. I saw the engine room and the forecastle of a ship with ocean all around it, ocean and sky and nothing else. I caught a vague glimpse of a dentist bending over his drill and his victim; of a professor of anatomy lolling back in his chair in the front of a classroom, twisting half around to point over his shoulder at a diagram on the blackboard.

They were all there, railway clerks, machinists, bakers, postmen, lawyers, ditchdiggers. They were all there in that one formula, C-M-C. That formula explained their whole lives, and it explained the world they live in. It painted a picture of me and Jimmy and the girl at the blackboard, of the youngest and the oldest of the workers sitting in the class.

The girl was explaining the other formula, M-C-M, which demonstrated how the capitalist operated under capitalism, how he started with money, bought the commodity, labor power, and ended up with money again, only this time, with more money than he started with.

I looked once more around the room at the intent, interested faces, at the neatly lettered sign over the literature stand near the door, "Knowledge Is Power." I was suddenly lifted to the bursting point with a great, calm joy, for here was the workshop of tomorrow!

Here in this room and in other rooms like it across the land were being forged the weapons, the tools to build a new society. These workers learning economics, learning from old Karl Marx himself how the capitalist system operates, were much more than workers; these were the officers of the people's army of tomorrow, the army that will one day sweep all before it in its march to victory.

In such places as these, tomorrow's leaders of the people are being trained. Are you one of them?

The Negro Struggle

Politics and the '48 Elections

By Albert Parker

Will the Negro elect the next president? That is the question Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, discussed at some length in the Nov. 22 *Colliers*. In it he showed that there are enough Negro voters now to swing any "reasonably close election" next year. And he pointed out "These facts, very disturbing to old-time politicians, have given rise to a whole series of questions which are perplexing the masterminds of both major parties: for the next year you'll see them scrambling frantically to learn the answers."

That's true enough; in fact, you can see the capitalist politicians scrambling both for the answers and ways to garner the Negro vote right now. Truman's civil rights committee report was one sign of this scramble. Stassen's demagogic remarks about plying white Republicans in the South was another; the Republican leaders' promise to act on anti-lynch and anti-poll tax bills in the near future was still another.

But there is "a whole series of questions" perplexing the Negro people as well as the politicians. The most important is: How should the Negro people vote in 1948? You might expect Walter White and the other Negro leaders to take a stand on this, which really gets to the heart of the 1948 political problem so far as the Negro people are concerned. But White and practically all the other Negro leaders are as

innum as a tomb when confronted with this question.

Precisely because the Negro vote is going to be very important, the capitalist politicians are going to try all kinds of fancy tricks to cover up the Jim Crow character of their parties. If the Negro people aren't on the alert, large numbers will go to the polls next November and help to elect an administration that talks good before elections and then stabs them in the back after elections.

This places a special responsibility on so-called Negro leaders. If they are to be of any use at all, they should be helping the Negro people to avoid this trap by speaking up and telling the truth about the hypocritical reasons behind the capitalist "scramble" for the Negro vote. And—much more important—they have got to speak up and indicate where they think the Negro people should go politically next year.

More and more the Negro struggle for equality becomes a political question; less and less can it be separated from all the other big political developments in the country. The old-time Negro leader, with no leadership to offer on the political field, is fast becoming obsolete. What the Negro people need and what they are going to get is a leadership that functions in the fight against Jim Crow on all fronts, including the crucial political front. And the Negro people themselves will have to form such a leadership.

A Silk Hat for Santa

By Mary Wood

I've always had a sentimental liking for Santa Claus; in spite of all his faults. Like most other kids whose parents had to work for a living, I was sometimes puzzled about the way he saved his best presents for the rich kids who didn't need them, and gave the rest of us just the leftovers. But I forgave him. He meant well. I thought, even if he didn't have much judgment. Even later, after I realized that Santa Claus had to act that way because he was hired by the big department stores to make people buy presents, I didn't really object.



Behind all the commercial buildup of the jolly gentleman lay a good idea. Santa brings out the best in people, and gives them a good excuse for releasing their generous impulses. He makes people behave, once a year, like warm-hearted human beings.

The Christmas spirit at its best, I've always felt, was a sort of preview of the way we'll all be under socialism. Only then our generosity won't have to be artificially stimulated by profit-making merchants. It will come naturally, all year round.

That's why I'm so mad about an article I saw in the press a little while ago. Read it yourself: "An up-to-the-minute note is struck by M. A. Knight, of Newport Landing, Nova Scotia, in *The Strike in Santa Claus Town*, an exercise for five intermediate pupils, printed in the *Canadian Teacher*. The first pupils speak:

"All the work had shut down in Santa Claus Town,

The trains would not move from the station; The elves all did shirk; not a brownie would work; They, every one, took a vacation. Said one, with a yawn, well the strike is now on; I think we shall find that it pays. Down hammers and saws until Old Mr. Claus Has decided to give us a raise. Our pay is outrageous; we want better wages Before we are put on the shelf; For a bottle of pop and a chocolate drop Is a very small wage for an elf."

This inspired ditty according to the news item, then describes how awful things were on Christmas morning, until the boss, Santa Claus himself, came in to promote a back-to-work move. Did he offer to pay two chocolate drops? Or even an old-age pension for worn-out elves? No such thing! He told the elves they had to work for the sake of the poor kids (not a word about the rich ones, of course).

Thus the rosy, laughing Santa Claus is just a glorified capitalist, putting the screws on his workers while he parades as a philanthropist. Apparently the bosses, not content with making him a salesman, have now turned him into one of themselves.

And to the poet's delight, he wins. The elves and the brownies go back to work without any gains, convinced that

"Tis better than pay to labor each day For others less happy than we."

I don't think the kids are going to like this silk-hatted Santa, who makes the elves work for nothing while he grabs all the glory. He sounds too much like Papa's boss.

Notes from the News

HOUSING SABOTAGED—Nathan Straus, former U. S. Housing head, asserts that "not a single proposal for easing the housing shortage" has been permitted to come on the floor of the House of Representatives. The House Banking and Currency Committee is conducting the blockade, Straus says.

RIGHT HAND, LEFT HAND—For three years in a row General Electric has rejected UE contract demands to bar racial discrimination. GE's President, Charles E. Wilson, was chairman of Truman's civil rights committee which recommended an end to racial discrimination in industry.

NEGRO SHERIFF OUSTED—The first Negro sheriff in Savannah, Ga., was forced to resign after holding office nine days. His offense was a statement that he would defend the rights of the colored people in his district.

A MILLION EACH—A House subcommittee investigating wartime activities of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation learned that Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corp. received \$187,000,000 for Navy planes but only 180 were delivered.

PROGRESSIVE BACK—The *Progressive*, LaFollette's weekly paper, which recently ceased publication because of high printing costs, will soon re-appear as a monthly magazine.

EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE—Major General Bennett E. Meyers was retired on a disability pension of \$550 per month. He never saw combat and his physical injuries apparently was a strain from hauling off too much loot. A combat GI, 100% disabled, can receive at the most only \$138 per month.

EVICTIONS—Despite a city ordinance to protect tenants, 40% of all landlord applications are being granted, the New York City Rent Commission revealed.

THE MILITANT

Unions with 15 Million Members Set Up Political Action Groups

CIO Wage Parley



Under pressure from the rank and file for another wage increase to meet skyrocketing living costs, CIO Pres. Philip Murray and the CIO's nine vice presidents met in Washington to discuss what to do when present contracts expire. (See story on Page 1.) Seated left to right, Rieve, Murray and Haywood. Standing, Curran, Fitzgerald, Green, Potofsky, Reuther, Knight and Backmaster.

Federated Pictures

Hickman Defense Chairman Outlines Committee's Plans

CHICAGO, Dec. 9.—"We're going to see this thing through to the finish," said Willoughby Abner, chairman of the Hickman Defense Committee, in outlining further plans to win freedom for James Hickman, Negro steel worker facing a second trial on a murder charge.

In a letter to all supporters of the Hickman defense movement, Abner outlines the status of the case following a trial that ended with a "hung" jury last month. Hickman had been tried for shooting the landlord he held responsible for the death of his four children.

"The members of this august body (the jury) were unable to agree on a verdict," Abner writes. "Unquestionably a majority of them were for acquittal, but another vocal group was for conviction."

NOT SURPRISED

"The Hickman Defense Committee is not surprised at the failure to gain an acquittal. We bitterly condemn the social system which was oblivious of the housing and personal difficulties of a law-abiding and absolutely harmless family, but now tries to prosecute the father for a crime which he is not guilty of."

"It seems to us that the Hickman case epitomized the whole brutal housing shortage, racial restrictions for Negro tenants, and many other evils of the post-war world. To permit this man to be convicted, while thousands of landlords are waxing fat on circumstances which may lead to future Hickman cases, is an insult to any man with a progressive point of view."

"The Hickman case is a challenge to all liberal forces: does a society which attempts to convict a man of a 'crime' have to undertake responsibility for its own lethargy and criminal neglect or doesn't it? No one helped this family when it needed help, yet now the state mechanically and 'legally' is trying to railroad Hickman to jail. It must not happen!"

"The Hickman committee again appeals to you for help. You can do three things:

"1. Help us with additional funds. The new trial starts Jan. 5. \$300 is needed to print the record and hundreds more for publicity and other expenses. (Send contributions to Hickman Defense Committee, 4619 South Parkway, Chicago 15, Illinois.)

"2. Strengthen and enlarge your Hickman Defense Committee. The only effective weapon that will bring Hickman's release is mass pressure, publicity and protest.

"3. Send a wire or letter to States

Attorney William Touhy, Chicago, Illinois, and request that the charges be dropped."

The Hickman Defense Committee in the space of a few short months has mobilized the support of labor, Negro and progressive organizations representing close to a million people. Additional endorsements of the fight to win freedom for Hickman will mean added pressure on the State of Illinois, which still demands a conviction although the first trial failed to secure one. Every labor and Negro organization in the country ought to act on this question without further delay.

Mass Protest Movement Is Only Way to Defeat Fare Rise in N. Y.

By George Clarke

NEW YORK, Dec. 10.—One week has passed since Mayor O'Dwyer announced over the radio, to the joyous acclaim of the entire capitalist press, his plan to sock the working people with a 60% tax on subway fares, raising them from a nickel to eight cents.

The week has passed without any indication of a serious counter-offensive to save the nickel fare by the parties claiming to represent the workers. Although both the American Labor Party and the Liberal Party are committed by a thousand declarations to save the nickel fare, neither party has announced any program of action to fight O'Dwyer on this issue. They did not follow O'Dwyer on the radio to blast his plan, nor are they mobilizing their members for a campaign against it. The leaders of both the ALP and CIO are following a similar course of discreet silence on the question.

There is therefore ample reason to believe that O'Dwyer was safely assured by ALP, Liberal Party and trade union leaders that he need expect no serious opposition to his

proposal to raise the fare. Unless there is a genuine and rapid turn on this question, the leaders of the ALP and Liberal Party will stand convicted of trading the living standards of the workers of New York in return for a secret electoral deal with Tammany Hall.

O'Dwyer's proposals were deliberately couched in a fashion designed to permit ALP and Liberal Party leaders to duck the struggle. In addition to raising the fare he proposed to raise taxes on real estate and increase the borrowing powers of the city so as to provide funds for hospitals and other city services. The program was a transparent fake. While fares would rise immediately, any other benefits would be postponed until the fiscal year 1950-51.

Governor Dewey and the Republican majority in Albany have now expressed their opposition to most of O'Dwyer's program with the exception of the fare increase. O'Dwyer blusteringly replied that his package could not be opened and separated. But that won't prevent him from making a compromise in which the only tangible change is the eight cents fare.

As the stage has now been set, and as we have warned time and

time again, the increase in the fare will not only not mean improvement in other city services, it will not provide funds for much needed raises for the transport workers.

STILL TIME
O'Dwyer justified his proposal to circumvent a referendum on the fare by claiming a desire to take the matter "out of politics." In reality his proposal takes the fare question out of the hands of the working people and turns it over to the real estate interests. If the Board of Transportation is given the uncontrolled power to raise fares, as O'Dwyer demanded, the eight cents fare will soon be replaced by ten cents and that won't end the raises on bus and subway rides.

There is still time for a movement to save the five cents fare. But it must come from the rank and file of the unions, ALP and Liberal Party. A public repudiation of O'Dwyer, an announcement that he is through as far as labor is concerned, combined with huge protest demonstrations opposing any attempt to interfere with the right of referendum on the fare question—that alone can save the nickel fare.

On Dec. 5, the AFL, with over 7,000,000 members, set up the machinery of its Labor Educational and Political League. A national committee, including presidents of all affiliated unions but the United Mine Workers, was organized.

Two days later, presidents of 18 railroad unions organized Railway Labor's Political League to inform their 1,250,000 members of the records of political candidates and mobilize the rail workers' votes in the 1948 elections.

A. P. Whitney's Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, headed by Alvanley Johnston, are not in the new RLPE. Whitney has called all state legislative agents of his union to Cleveland on Dec. 10 to map out the trainmen's political action program.

The IAM, with 600,000 members, and the independent Telephone Workers Union likewise set up their own political action organizations.

RAISING FUNDS

All these political action groups have launched campaigns to raise huge political funds in preparation for the 1948 election campaign. The AFL is seeking a dollar per member, as is the CIO. Together the political action groups may raise a total of \$20,000,000.

Even if only half this sum is raised, it will still be a tremendous fund for organized labor to use in the national political campaign for the next President and Congress. These dollars will represent millions of hours of toil and sacrifice by

America's union men and women.

The question which remains to be answered is what will this tremendous organized political force and these great political funds be used for?

From present indications, they will be mobilized only in the service of one or another of the Big Business political parties and capitalist candidates.

More particularly, it is now apparent that most of the union leaders, CIO and AFL, are deliberately scheming to corral labor's votes for the Democratic Party and Truman.

So tremulous are the CIO leaders for Truman's reputation, for instance, that they have not even dared as yet to comment on his proposal for "some" price control linked with a wage freeze.

Scarcely a line appears in the labor press recalling Truman's infamous strikebreaking against the railroad and mine workers, his demand for a draft-strikers law, his capitulation to the meat trust, his universal compulsory military training program, his inflationary tax and war-preparations policy.

When the Democratic-controlled 76th Congress was in session last year, the union leaders denounced it as the most reactionary Congress of modern times. Now they are announcing the Republican-dominated 80th Congress as the most reactionary.

All these union leaders are concerned about is keeping the workers tied to the capitalist two-party system by hook or by crook. But they have almost played out their game. That is why they must now make the pretense of "independent" labor political action and organize the workers politically in their own organizations.

Fifteen million workers organized politically in their own union-sponsored organizations are potentially the mightiest political force in the land. United behind their own candidates and in their own party, they could sweep the whole unwary crew of Democrats and Republicans out of Washington.

No one is more acutely aware of labor's political potential than the capitalists who control the government and the two old parties. That is why they are screaming their heads off against any form of labor political organization. That is why they are spending millions in propaganda against the workers being politically organized—one example being the McGraw-Hill ads "Political Action—Labor's Blind Alley." That is why the Taft-Hartley Act specifies that it is a "crime" for unions to contribute funds to federal election campaigns.

Labor will only sink further into the morass of political helplessness if it uses its great new political organizations merely to scrape up votes for alleged "friends of labor" who will stab the workers in the back the day after elections.

The vital, unpostponable task is to join the political organizations of all the unions, consolidate the greatest political apparatus this country has ever known, launch a Labor Party and run labor's own candidates.

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THE MILITANT

Red Scare Couldn't Stop Formation of CIO

By George Lavan

The American workers went into the great depression with weak trade unions. In 1934 the workers began to reassert their militancy in strikes. These strikes, in Toledo, Minneapolis and San Francisco, were met with Wall Street's tried and true anti-labor device—the red scare. Trotsky-baiting was used in Minneapolis, while the San Francisco strike was smeared as a "subversive" uprising inspired by the communists.

The Frisco papers ran front page editorials demanding all radical organizations be crushed. Vigilantes defended "Americanism" in the 1919 style by throwing typewriters out of windows, smashing the furniture in workers' halls and beating up "reds." The *Los Angeles Times*, branding the strike as an "insurrection," declared: "There is but one thing to be done—put down the revolt with any force necessary." This was re-echoed throughout the nation's press.

Despite this newspaper propaganda, vigilante brutality and the calling out of troops, the workers won a partial victory that enabled them in a few years to make San Francisco one of the best organized cities in the country.

TERRIFIED WALL STREET

The strike victories of 1934 and the formation of the CIO in 1935 terrified Wall Street. Anti-red, anti-labor propaganda was now given first priority in the nation's press.

Barely had the CIO been organized than the Iron and Steel Institute and other boss agencies flooded the newspapers with ads and releases linking the CIO with communism. In the steel and other industrial centers the "free" press called John L. Lewis and his aides "reds."

Despite the witch hunt atmosphere, workers by the millions flocked into the CIO. After the victorious sit-down strikes in auto, U. S. Steel capitulated and signed a contract. In Little Steel the boss-

es decided they could break the union. In May, 1937, the Little Steel Strike began.

Tom Girdler, Little Steel's strategist, had served his anti-labor apprenticeship in Colorado during the Ludlow Massacre, when evicted strikers, their wives and children were shot and burned to death.

RUTHLESS VIOLENCE

Under his leadership the steel corporations met the strike with a howling red scare and ruthless violence. In every steel town the newspapers cried "Red!" Like editors, steel town officials were servants of the steel barons, and the police were used against the strike. Hundreds of local strike leaders and picket lines. In Johnstown, Pa., Mayor Shields received \$31,456 of Bethlehem Steel money to organize vigilantes. The capitalist press hailed him as a national hero when he personally led assaults on picket lines and personally sentenced those arrested.

Virtually every newspaper in the country with few exceptions, poured abuse and slander on the CIO. Columnists like Walter Lippmann and Dorothy Thompson descended from their heights to scream against the unions. Westbrook Pegler found his "mission" as a reviler of workers in this period. Radio commentators added their venomous bit. Sermons were preached against the CIO.

With the red scare in full swing, the Ohio National Guard was called out, although Ohio laws banned use of the Guard to break strikes. The commanders of the troops met in secret conference in Youngstown with top officials of Girdler's Republic Steel. The strategy was doped out. The Guard made a big swing through Ohio breaking picket lines, arresting local leaders, in each steel center. In Canton these were imprisoned in the basement of Republic Steel's plant. Workers' children were driven off a Canton playground by the troops, several youngsters under 16 being badly cut by

bayonets. In Chicago police slaughtered 10 strikers in the company-ordered Memorial Day Massacre.

This combination of red scare, police and vigilante and military violence broke the Little Steel strike. Many employers recovered their confidence and unions met with greater opposition in their organizing drives. In the South employers financed the revival of the Ku Klux Klan.

The press continued to grind out anti-union and red-scare propaganda. Employer organizations put out booklets entitled *Join the CIO and Help Build a Soviet America*. Newspapers agitated for the deportation of foreign-born labor leaders.

The red scare of 1937 was but a limited and temporary victory for Wall Street. The unionization of Little Steel was completed in a few more years. The American workers had shown that they had the power to defeat and overcome both red scares and the thugs, troops, and politicians of Big Business.