

Rubber Workers Demand Sliding Scale Pay Bonus

Policy Committee Asks 30c Hourly Increase Plus Automatic Raises for Rising Living Cost

The 200-man Wage Policy Committee of the CIO United Rubber Workers, meeting in Cleveland on Feb. 8, voted to demand a sliding scale cost-of-living bonus, in addition to a basic wage increase of 30 cents an hour, from the rubber corporations in forthcoming negotiations.

This is the second CIO international union to incorporate in its wage demands a provision for automatic pay increases, above the basic scale, for any rises in the cost of living after the contract is signed. The CIO Packinghouse Workers presented a similar demand to the "Big Four" packers, Armour, Swift, Wilson and Cudahy, along with a 29-cent an hour basic wage increase demand.

The Rubber Workers demand for a 30-cent basic wage raise is similar to that of the CIO United Auto Workers. It would include 25 cents for a general pay increase, plus five cents for a health and welfare fund. The present average wage in the rubber industry is \$1.35 an hour.

There was little debate in the URW Wage Policy Committee on the cost-of-living bonus. The rubber workers have learned their lesson after seeing two fixed wage increases in as many years wiped out by price increases. The sliding scale cost-of-living bonus was adopted as the only immediate and realistic method of protecting real wages from further inflationary attacks.

The Wage Policy Committee, composed of representatives from the local unions, set up a 17-man subcommittee to map out the strategy of the wage fight. George Bass, president of Akron Goodrich Local 3, was elected as chairman of this committee.

An important decision of the Wage Policy Committee was to serve the wage demands on the entire industry. The policy was laid down to confront the rubber corporations with the solid and unified power of the entire union of more than 200,000 members.

Unfortunately, this sound policy within the Rubber Workers has not been adopted by the CIO as a whole. A number of leading CIO unions have set a pattern of wage demands between 25 and 30 cents an hour. But the top CIO leaders have made no effort to co-ordinate these efforts through a unified strategy.

In fact, it is becoming ever more apparent that the CIO leadership, headed by Philip Murray, is doing everything possible to prevent an effective unified struggle.

The smaller CIO unions look to



Attorney for the CIO for more than 10 years, General Counsel Lee Pressman has resigned to return to private practice. Associated with the Stalinists, he has announced his intention to work in the Wallace campaign.

Federated Pictures

the Steelworkers and Auto Workers to lead the way. Murray, who heads the Steelworkers as well as the CIO, foisted a two-year no-strike clause on his own union last year. The contract now reads that if, after 30 days of negotiations, no new wage agreement is reached, wages will remain as in the old contract. Murray is angling, as he did last year, for some slight offer from the steel barons on which to come to terms.

PAVED THE WAY

Walter Reuther, who heads the CIO auto workers, has already paved the way for a retreat on the UAW demand for a 30-cent raise. He put over the proposition at the recent General Motors delegates conference to cut ten cents from the hourly wage demand if GM grants an "acceptable" retirement pension. At a cost of ten cents an hour, this would be the most expensive pension ever paid for by workers.

The policies adopted by the Rubber Workers for a single industry point the way for the kind of program which the CIO as a whole should adopt. The sliding scale cost-of-living bonus can be made a national rallying-cry of the entire CIO. The CIO leaders should proceed for a militant wage struggle by mapping out a unified strategy of action.

House Witch Hunt Committee Drafts Repressive Laws

Deportations Campaign Will Be Intensified

The pot bubbled and boiled at the witch hunt hearings of the Thomas-Rankin un-American Committee in Washington. A parade of motley witnesses—Attorney Generals, Legion officials, retired admirals, ex-New Dealers, Social Democrats—stirred the brew vigorously.

Hearings are on two bills. One, the McDough Bill would make communists guilty of treason, and provides that they "should be dealt with accordingly." Treason is punishable by death under U. S. law. The other is the Mundt Bill, which would force members of "subversive" organizations to register with the Department of Justice as foreign agents. In addition all literatures issued by "subversive" organizations would have to carry a prominent label advertising its subversiveness.

Attorney General Clark, main competitor for the witch hunter's prize, told the committee to tighten up existing legislation against Reds. He announced that his department was about to launch 68 more deportation arrests. On the question of outlawing the Communist (Stalinist) Party, Clark followed the line laid down by J. Edgar Hoover. He said: Not just yet, wait until we have whipped up the anti-Red hysteria to a higher pitch.

BIG BRASS MENTALITY

An interesting glimpse of the mentality of the big brass and State Department was afforded by the testimony of retired Admiral W. H. Standley, U. S. ambassador to Russia in 1942-43. Standley declared, "The demands of labor for higher pay since the war have been due to the influence of its Communist leaders."

Donald Richberg, one time big noise in the NRA and New Deal, proposed legislation that would cover not only the Communist (Stalinist) Party but organizations that might reflect its position. Louis Waldman, former social-democratic leader, supported the bill to make all Stalinists register as foreign agents and proposed some legislation of his own aimed mainly at Henry Wallace's Third Party.

The Thomas-Rankin hearings are producing tangible results. The climate of opinion had reached the right temperature for the FBI to begin the deportation arrests promised by Attorney General Clark before the committee. The latest in the deportation drive was the arrest by FBI agents of John Williamson, Labor Secretary of the Stalinist Party, for deportation. Williamson is denied bail. The FBI claims that Williamson illegally entered this country from Scotland at the age of ten in order to overthrow the government by force and violence.

REUTHER ECHOES NAM ON LONGER HOURS

Big Business propaganda for "more production" through a longer work week was the answer to inflation found a loud echo on Feb. 5 in Walter Reuther's speech before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The CIO United Auto Workers president raised an insistent cry for "more production" in his hour-long appeal for adoption of the Marshall Plan to bolster the bankrupt anti-labor regimes in Western Europe.

In his enthusiasm for all-out support to these reactionary rulers, Reuther proposed that Congress squeeze from the American people even more than the 17 billion dollars asked for Truman.

He explained, for instance, how the auto corporations could sweat 44 instead of 40 hours of work per week out of the auto workers, thereby getting 10% more production with an additional wage cost of only 4.4%.

The auto workers, Reuther claimed, "are ready to work longer

Ku Klux Klan Back in Action



Hooded Klansmen gather around a fiery cross before the county courthouse in Swainsboro, Ga., after marching through the town preaching their doctrine of hate and bigotry. Despite protests, Governor H. E. Thompson made no effort to stop the demonstration, the first in this farm community since the Klan's heyday in the 1920's.

Federated Pictures

Wallace Groups Now Active in 26 States

The Wallace movement is busy organizing groups in a majority of the 48 states, the National Wallace-for-President Committee announced last week. State committees have already been established in 12 states, with organizing committees at work in 14 others. The announcement claimed "representation from CIO and AFL and Railroad Brotherhood locals," but actually the Stalinists remain the chief labor spokesmen for the movement.

The committee's organizing activities covers all of the main industrial states—New York, Michigan, California, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Indiana. But it also includes several states in the South.

In California the Independent Progressive Party, whose leaders have endorsed Wallace, reports the collection of 335,000 signatures to get on the ballot. Legally required are 276,000 signatures, but the IPP is aiming at 425,000.

State committees are also at work in New York and Illinois. Wallace has already been endorsed by the American Labor Party, from which the pro-Truman CIO leaders of New York split last month, and by the Progressive Party of Cook

County, Illinois. In New York main attention is centered at present on the Feb. 17 congressional election in the 24th District, Bronx, where the ALP is running Leo Isaacson against both the Democrats and Republicans. The ALP was the second strongest party in the last election held in this district, and the outcome of the present contest is regarded as a test of Wallace's strength in New York City since he announced his candidacy.

No date has yet been announced for the holding of the national Wallace convention. But Wallace personally has already selected the national leadership of his movement. Elmer A. Benson, former Minnesota governor and U. S. Senator, and a leader in the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer Labor Party, has been appointed chairman. Co-chairmen are Rexford Guy Tugwell, Jo Davidson and Paul Robeson. Campaign manager is C. B. Baldwin.

Lee Pressman resigned his posts as general counsel for the national CIO and the United Steel Workers in order to participate in "such activities as the Wallace-for-President campaign." It is clear from this act that no CIO official under Philip Murray's jurisdiction will be permitted to campaign for Wallace and hold his post.

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Reuther nowdays, however, is more concerned with winning the plaudits of the Senators by his display of "statesmanship" and fidelity to American imperialism than in serving the interests of the workers he is supposed to represent.

Two years ago, as leader of the General Motors strike, he demanded that the corporations open their books to public inspection; and proved that they could more than afford to give increased wages without raising prices.

Today, as a full grown "labor statesman," he joins William Green and GM President Wilson in calling for "increased production."

(See Reuther Story on Page 4)

Labor Candidates Receive Backing Of St. Paul CIO

Stalinists to Sabotage City-Wide Labor Slate

ST. PAUL, Feb. 9.—Endorsement of a slate of labor candidates for the St. Paul City election campaign was voted by the St. Paul CIO Council at its regular meeting last Tuesday.

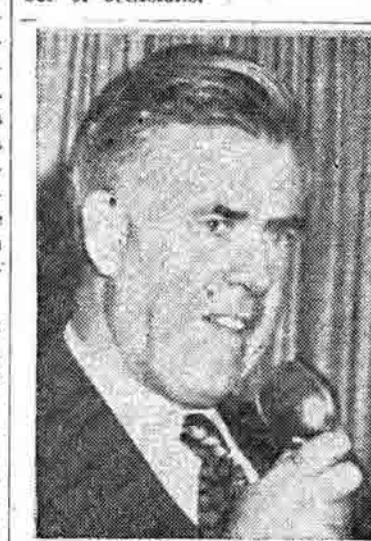
Leading the fight for the endorsement of candidates directly from the ranks of labor were delegates from the CIO Packinghouse Workers, who insisted that if labor is ever to make any advances in politics, it must get endorsing businessmen and phoney liberals and endorse people directly from their own ranks.

A motion for the endorsement of a labor slate carried by more than a 2 to 1 majority. The Stalinist delegates from the United Electrical Workers dissented and openly announced to the Council that they were not going to be bound by council action. This was followed by an announcement to the public press that the UE delegates had voted not to support the slate of candidates endorsed by the majority of the St. Paul Council.

The Council went on record to support John H. Wyant of the Brewery Workers Union for Mayor; and for City Council, William Peick, United Auto Workers; Frank Marzietti, Local 41, AFL Bakers and Confectioners Union; and John Findlan, Railroad Brotherhoods, who is now serving on the City Council.

In opposition to the above labor slate, the Stalinist minority on the Council is proposing Max Karl, publicity man and director of personnel of radio station WTCN, who was endorsed by a city-wide Stalinist-controlled liberal conference held prior to the CIO Council meeting.

The CIO endorsement of the slate of labor candidates was made after the AFL Trades and Labor Assembly of St. Paul appeared before the Council and attempted to get its backing to endorse businessmen and present incumbent councilmen who had voted against labor on a number of occasions.



HENRY A. WALLACE

Fear Sweeps Country As Farm Prices Fall With Record Speed

By Art Preis

"Is this it?" was the fearful question that flashed through every worker's mind last week as press headquarters screamed of tumbling commodity prices and stock market jitters. Is this the beginning of the bust that must inevitably follow the collapse of the inflationary boom?

It is a grim irony that under capitalism our anxiety outweighs our hope at the prospect that skyrocketing prices may now be on the way down. For the profit system swings us continuously between insecurity and want. Either inflated prices to rob us of our purchasing power during "prosperity," or a fall in prices that heralds mass unemployment, wage cuts and relief lines.

No one—least of all the capitalist soothsayers—can say with certainty whether the drop in commodity prices will continue, or whether the government will succeed in temporarily holding them up by huge subsidies, purchases and other means of artificial respiration. We do not yet know whether we are hearing another subterranean rumble—a warning—or whether the earth will rock and open under our feet by tonight.

What we can be sure of is the instability and anarchy of American economy and the need for the American workers to be prepared for the worst. We may be receiving only the most urgent warning to date. But this may well be IT—the beginning of the bust: American labor must PREPARE.

Previous Warning Signs

There have been previous warning signs—the stock market break in September, 1946, and the cotton market crash shortly thereafter. Government measures succeeded then in shoring up the cracking walls of the economy.

This time the cracks appear broader and deeper. The price structure has been raised to shakier heights. The foundation has been riddled by the speculative-termites. A slight breeze might topple the works. That fear gave a tone of near-panic to press headlines when grain prices fell farther between Feb. 4 and 6 than during any three-day period in 100 years.

In the wake of this violent break in grain prices, followed all along the line by other farm commodities, there came a reaction in the stock exchange. That barometer of the hopes and fears of the ruling capitalist circles started to sink at once, warning of an economic storm in the offing. If the stock market prices did not break as sharply as commodity market prices, that is because securities prices had never regained much of the ground lost in the summer of 1946.

When plummeting grain prices were temporarily braked over the week-end, livestock prices started to toboggan, falling in one day, Feb. 9, to a 16-month low. The next day all commodity market prices, including such products as cotton and rubber, resumed their plunge. Prices of securities in the New York Stock Exchange felt the worst slump in eight months.

Business journals and financial columns have cited the immediate factors that started the skid in commodity prices. Crops in Europe are better; Australia, Argentina and Russia are exporting more wheat. It is the bitterest jest of all that U. S. capitalism is getting jittery because there is a little more food available for the hungry of Europe and Asia. These factors are described and analyzed in John G. Wright's article on Page 2.

Elements of Capitalist Crisis

But more deep-going and explosive elements underlie the instability of American capitalist economy—the classic elements of capitalist crisis. The widening gap between the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many; the inability of the workers to buy back what they produce; the growing glut of goods that cannot be sold profitably either at home or to the ruined peoples abroad. "Supply pipelines have been rapidly filling up," wails the Feb. 5 Journal of Commerce.

Average real take-home pay per week for American factory workers fell from \$35.33 in January, 1945, to \$29.58 in December, 1947. Factory inventories have reached an all-time peak of nearly 28 million dollars. Savings have fallen to 5.6% of national income, a dangerously low level. Business failures have tripled over a year ago. Industrial production has been declining since November. On Feb. 6, the U. S. Census Bureau reported unemployment on the rise, up 400,000 in January alone. Retail sales are down in many cities. Credit and loans have swollen to topsy-turvy dimensions.

Despite the drop in commodity market prices, workers must not think that retail prices will necessarily fall sharply at once. Here, and there retail grocery chains have cut prices slightly on the most inflated items. But only a drastic over-all slash in retail prices can restore the buying power of wages of even a year ago. Moreover, clothing, industrial products and rents are still going up.

Labor therefore faces a two-fold task: 1. To press more strenuously than ever for higher wages and for assured protection from possible further inflation—the sliding scale cost-of-living bonus; 2. To demand the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay, and unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages.

The handwriting on the wall is clear. The crisis may be forestalled a while; on the other hand, it may be under way right now. To delay protective measures may be ruinous. We repeat: **LABOR MUST PREPARE NOW.**

Medical Group Blocks Free Blood-Bank Plan

NEW YORK—The powerful Medical Society in New York has just killed a Red Cross blood bank plan that would furnish free blood transfusions

to all hospital patients unable to pay for them. Hospital patients now will have to pay \$15 a pint to the Medical Society-controlled Blood and Plasma exchange. The reactionaries in control of the doctors' organizations and hospitals literally demand blood money.

The success of the blood bank system set up by the Red Cross during the war led New York Red Cross officials to continue collecting blood—this time minus Jim Crow distinctions—for civilian use. Blood bank officials stated they could supply the blood needs of all the hospitals in New York without a penny's charge to any patient. But National Red Cross policy is never to do anything in opposition to any entrenched business interest. The New York Red Cross was ordered to get the approval of the medical societies.

The local medical bigwigs strenuously objected to the free blood program. The Red Cross whitened its program down and proposed that it be permitted to supply free blood to one city and one private hospital in each county of New York. The medical societies said no to that also.

The program that the medical societies dictated was so restricted as to be meaningless. For instance members of a group that had donated blood—trade unions and other

groups contributed 80% of the war-time blood—would not be entitled to free transfusions because of membership in the donating group or organization. The N. Y. Red Cross asked the doctors to permit the co-operation of unions and other organizations. The medical societies turned thumbs down. Patients now will have to pay for each drop of blood they get in transfusion.

Protected by the medical societies is the very profitable "non-profit" organization known as the Blood and Plasma Exchange. This Exchange buys blood at \$5 per pint and sells it for \$15. The Red Cross says that processing blood during the war cost it \$4 per pint. The Exchange claims it costs \$7.50 per pint. Even accepting the Exchange's figures, there is a difference of \$200,000 a year between costs and selling prices. This undoubtedly has a lot to do with the medical societies' hostility to the free blood bank.

Doctors should realize that the medical profession is getting a bad reputation because of the reactionary policies of their official organizations. These organizations have long been controlled by a self-perpetuating gang of Big Business stooges who, in the name of the whole medical profession, oppose all forward-looking measures which would bring better hospital and medical care to the people of this country.

Wallace's Program and the Fight Against Monopoly

By J. R. Johnson

In the weekly articles he is writing for the New Republic, Henry Wallace is taking great pains to present his party as representative of the American tradition.

This is not due to any literary quirk of Wallace. When a nation faces a historical turning-point in its development, it becomes deeply conscious of its origins, and the relations of its present perspectives to the achievements and promises of its past. The "Freedom Train" is a desperate attempt to cover the black retraction of the present with the glory of America's past, the days when Washington and Jefferson, Franklin and Tom Paine made America the vanguard of liberty and democracy in a world ridden with feudalism, aristocracy and absolute monarchy.

Wallace claims as his spiritual ancestor the Republican Party. According to Wallace the Republican Party of 1856 was a third party. He enumerates its great achievements, and then claims that his third party is in the same tradition.

The claim is fraudulent. The Republican Party of 1856 led a revolution. It began in the agitation to keep Kansas and the Western lands free from chattel slavery. It told the Southern plantation-owners: thus far and no farther. It fought to save the Union. Driven by events, it mobilized the North and struck a mortal blow at the economic system of chattel slavery.

DESTROYED ITS ENEMY
In its revolutionary days, the Republican Party was one of the great political organizations of history. This is the party that Wallace claims as the ancestor of his pitiful little program.

The Republican Party of those days destroyed its enemy. What does Wallace proclaim as the enemy of today? Monopoly. A "relative

handful of wealthy men." Industrial and financial giants, he says, control both parties. Wallace does not speak from book-knowledge. He has seen monopoly at work. "I had to sit in the chair of Herbert Hoover and Jesse Jones, as Secretary of Commerce, really to understand the machinations of these key giants."

What then does Wallace propose? Monopoly is the enemy. Shall we therefore form a party to abolish monopoly? No. Wallace wants to ensure the election of "many excellent progressives within the Democratic Party — a few members of Congress and hundreds of local and state officials." So the monopoly which controls the United States, and half the world, is to be shaken by electing a few progressive Democrats and hundreds of state and local officials.

Wallace claims that third parties have always fought monopoly, and refers to La Follette's third party in 1924. This reference is not very encouraging. La Follette's program began as follows: "The great issue before the American people today is the control of government and industry by private monopoly." And what was La Follette's solution? To make the private monopolies public property? God forbid. He promised "A complete housecleaning in the Department of Justice, the Department of the Interior, and the other executive departments."

After La Follette polled nearly five million votes, his party disappeared, and the monopolies spread their tentacles under Calvin Coolidge until they plunged the country into the great depression of 1929.

But Wallace is irrepresible. He includes among his ancestors even Woodrow Wilson, and of course, Franklin Roosevelt. They, too, fought monopoly, says Wallace. And now comes the payoff. Woodrow Wilson denounced monopoly. And what happened? The result was the precise situation which gave rise to the despairing appeal of La Follette in 1924, in the very first election after Wilson's defeat.

Cannot Make Ends Meet



Cyrus J. Waud, of the CIO Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers, testifies before the Senate Banking Committee that he cannot make ends meet on his \$2,500 a year pay. While his wife and two of his six children listened beside him, he said: "We're not living, we're only existing."

CONCLUSION IS OBVIOUS
Wallace himself helped Franklin Roosevelt fight monopoly. The result is that Wallace, in the first election after Roosevelt's death, has to admit that monopoly is stronger today than ever before. All struggle against monopoly which do not aim at destroying monopoly end in the increased power of monopoly.

But Wallace's contradictions and confusion do not end there. He poses as the man of peace. His third party is to be the party of peace. But take another glance at these ancestors of his! Woodrow Wilson, enemy of monopoly, and friend of the people, ended by leading the country into war and bigger monopolies. Franklin Roosevelt, enemy of monopoly and friend of the people, climaxed his politics by leading the country into a bigger war, with the power of monopoly greater than ever before. This is the tradition to which Wallace appeals. It does not help Wallace. It discredits him.

But isn't there an American revolutionary tradition? There is. Washington and Jefferson destroyed the economic and political power of British mercantile imperialism in the Western world. Lincoln and the Republican Party crushed the economic and political power of the Southern slave-owners. They (and in their day overthrew outworn economic and political systems.

The continuance of the American tradition today demands the destruction of the economic and political power of monopoly.

Labor and Third Parties In the United States

By George Lavan

A legend, well nourished by newspaper editorials and school books, is that the two party system is "natural" to this country, while labor parties and third parties are "foreign" and "un-American."

The facts of American history speak to the contrary. Not only did one of the great capitalist parties of today begin as a third party, but U. S. history saw the emergence time and again of labor and third parties.

Strange as it may seem to those who claim that the idea of a labor party is foreign or imported, the first labor party in the world was built right here in the United States. This was the Working Men's Party founded in 1828 in Philadelphia by the organized mechanics. In the next few years branches of this party sprang up in New York, Boston, many parts of New England and New Jersey, and even in the West.

These labor parties won a number of local elections and for a time held the balance of power between the dominant parties of the period. Although this party disappeared from the national scene in the 1840's, it won many significant reforms. Its agitation was responsible for the creation of a public school system, abolition of imprisonment for debts, passing of homestead laws, and the reduction of the working day.

IN ITS INFANCY

If the timid souls of today who insist that the time isn't ripe for a labor party had lived in 1828, their arguments might have had some

basis. For at that time the American working class was in its infancy. Factories were few and those that existed were very small. Workers were mainly artisans and they constituted a minority of the population. Nevertheless history shows that even the infant labor movement of 1828 was able to win elections and secure gains for the working people.

Andrew Jackson's frontier democracy and anti-bank campaign carried the city workers with him. But after his destruction of the National Bank failed to solve the working man's problems, a large section of the New York Democratic organization seceded and set up the Equal Rights Party. This party attacked monopoly — then in its infant stage — and demanded that collective bargaining to raise wages be legalized and the abolition of the legal doctrine of the time that dominated trade unions as conspiracies. This party elected three men to Congress.

In 1837 the nation was struck by a terrible depression. Both main parties—the Democratic and Whig—fearing a revolt on the part of the workers and farmers, adopted the main plank of the Equal Rights Party or loco-focos, as they were popularly called (because one of their conventions had to proceed with light from candles lit by loco-foco or self-lighting cigars after the Tammany gang turned off the lights).

In the whole pre-civil war period, however, the main axis of the class struggle was not between the workers and employers, but between the rising capitalist class and the slave owning aristocracy of the South. The immediate point of contention was control of the federal government and the western lands.

NEW PARTY BORN

Both Whig and Democratic Parties attempted to dodge this question. They wanted to preserve the status quo, a rotten compromise with slavery. But neither history nor its then progressive agent, the rising class of industrialists, would let the issue rest. In this struggle organized labor aligned itself with the progressive capitalist class against slavery. Out of this struggle a new political party was born—the Republican Party.

But the Republican Party grew out of third parties already on the scene. The first of these was the Liberty Party, organized by the abolitionists. The abolitionists had tried to push the anti-slavery fight by endorsing or opposing candidates of the two big parties. In other words, they tried the very policy the AFL and the CIO are pursuing today. Here is what the Encyclopedia Britannica says about this "non-partisan political action":

"The utter futility of seeking to obtain in this way any satisfactory concessions to anti-slavery sentiment was speedily and abundantly

proved . . . Accordingly, the political abolitionists, in a convention in Albany, in April 1840, launched the 'Liberty Party,' and nominated Birney for the presidency." (Murray, Green and Reuther, please note) Birney received a small vote but four years later the vote of the Liberty Party in New York alone was so great that it more than held the balance of power. The great strategist, Henry Clay, lost the presidency because of the Liberty Party's big vote.

In 1848, the Liberty Party withdrew its candidates from the field and joined the Free Soil Party. This was another "third party" formed the previous year to combat the spread of slavery into the new territories. Its slogan was, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor and Free Men." Representatives of 18 states, including the slave states of Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia, attended the convention in Buffalo which nominated a presidential candidate who received more than 10% of the national popular vote. Two Free Soil Senators and 14 Representatives were elected. In 1856 the Free Soil Party dissolved and joined the movement which founded the Republican Party.

ITS FIRST ELECTION
The Republican Party was a "third party" which grew out of the other "third parties"—the Liberty and Free Soil Parties. This new party was organized in 1854. All opposed to slavery were invited to join. "Freemont, the Pathfinder," who was the presidential candidate in 1856, won 114 electoral votes while Buchanan was elected with 174. This, in its first national election, the Republican Party emerged as the "second" party. The great Whig Party, which tried to straddle the slavery issue split down the middle and soon disappeared from the scene.

From the very beginning, the labor movement played an important part in the formation of the Republican Party. That is why the next Republican presidential candidate, Abraham Lincoln, went out of his way to endorse the rights of labor.

Lincoln was victorious in 1860 and this led to the slave holders' rebellion. The Republican Party came out of the Civil War as the predominant political party. However, great changes had taken place. The capitalist class had accomplished its historically progressive mission of destroying slavery. It feared the growing industrial working class which it had brought into being. It now turned reactionary on the political field, to the point where it even failed to carry out its promises to the freed slaves, and in 1876 made a deal with the former slaveholders.

From this point on, the main axis of class struggles in the United States was the struggle of the workers and small farmers against the increasingly entrenched and powerful capitalist trusts and monopolies.

CRISIS IN AMERICAN AGRICULTURE BEGINS

By John G. Wright

Feb. 10—In their year-end forecasts for 1948 the most conservative of capitalist experts and government economists saw no trouble whatever ahead for at least six months. The ink has hardly dried on these optimistic predictions when we find the prices of one agricultural product after another undergoing grave convulsions, with a huge question mark placed over the fate of American agriculture as a whole.

Never before in the 100-year existence of the Chicago wheat pit did prices of wheat and corn break so violently as they did for four days beginning with Wednesday, Feb. 4.

This was not limited to foodstuffs alone. Raw materials like industrial and inedible oils followed suit. These registered by the second day "a decline unprecedented since the days immediately following World War I," according to the Journal of Commerce, authoritative Wall Street daily.

No less crucial is the extent of this price break. Involved were not only foods (wheat, corn, oats, flour, sugar, cocoa, lard, etc.) but a long list of raw materials (cotton, hides, rubber, cotton oil, tallow, grease, etc.).

Many government and business spokesmen have dismissed all this as a temporary and even a "whole-some and healthy" adjustment. Just the opposite is true. It denotes instead the eruption to the surface of monstrous dislocations of the inflated capitalist economy. These dislocations are now breaking

through its weakest sector, the agricultural price structure.

Not superficial causes but profound and lasting changes in agricultural conditions, at home and abroad, underlie the current price break. In brief, this changed condition is as follows: Last year began as a year of famine crops in Europe. Australia raised little more than was needed for home consumption. Canada's crop was poor and at home there was a "corn shortage." Apart from Argentina, the 1947 world market was thus dependent on the Chicago wheat and corn traders.

What they did, is now history.

They forced food prices so high as to severely restrict consumption even at home.

VAST SURPLUS
But this year begins in an entirely different setting. The highly inflated domestic agricultural price structure is subjected to the additional strains of an unexpectedly large carryover of almost 800 million bushels of wheat. This is enough to increase government shipments abroad, maintain record home consumption and still retain 160 million bushels by June.

Meanwhile Australia and Argentina, both with bumper crops, are today in a position between them

to export from 3 to 4 million tons of grain and still retain ample reserves. Prospects for Europe, whose grain harvests came early (June), are quite favorable, just as is the case in both Canada and here, where harvests come a month later. At the same time Russia has reentered the world grain market with sizable deliveries.

The Chicago traders and speculators are thus faced with the prospect of no longer being principal world suppliers as in 1947. Instead of serving as a basis for unbridled speculation, the huge stocks at home now overhang the market, threatening to turn from assets into liabilities within the next months when new crops will make additional millions of bushels available for export.

Only natural catastrophes at home or in Europe can alter this situation decisively. While time is running shorter and shorter, the odds are in favor of good crops.

The unfolding situation thus parallels that of 1920 when with the revival of the world market, agricultural prices collapsed, causing widespread hardship among farmers everywhere while millions continued to go underfed or hungry because they were too poor to buy even at reduced rates.

WORLD CONDITION DECISIVE

Thus, barring a series of natural calamities, what is decisive is precisely this greatly improved world agricultural condition. The situation is not altered by whether or not the commodity markets are sustained temporarily at this or that level, or whether commodity prices are allowed, amid wild fluctuations, to drop to government supported parity levels.

Two hundred members of the San Pedro local of the CIO National Maritime Union picketed the Federal Building in Los Angeles this week in protest against the Marshall Plan proposal to transfer 500 merchant marine ships to foreign registry with a resultant loss of jobs for American seamen.

At the last election a particularly reactionary branch of politicians swept into the school board. (The Socialist Workers Party candidate, Myra Tanner Weiss, withdrew in favor of a labor candidate who lost.) Fruits of this labor defeat: This week the Board rejected the plea of a CIO delegation for higher wages for teachers. Two child care nursery centers were also closed down.

A significant development along the line of independent political action by labor appeared in Southeast Los Angeles this week. A conference of unionists involved in PAC, has formed a Southeast Committee for Labor Candidates. A nomination meeting has been called at GM Local 216 UAW hall, at which labor candidates are to be endorsed in the 6th class city elections scheduled for April in Lynwood, Maywood, Bell, Southgate, Vernon and Huntington Park.

The Los Angeles International Ladies Garment Workers Union called a strike of its 12,000 members as a demonstration of its intent to completely organize the industry.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Militant Campaign Adds 561 Readers

Militant Sub Week, Jan. 25 to Feb. 1, netted 561 subscriptions, more than The Militant has received any entire month since last June. Buffalo led with 102.

This excellent total was obtained against terrific odds of miserable weather and conflicting events. Branches in only 20 cities were able to participate at this time. At least five others, New York, Milwaukee, Toledo, Connecticut and West Virginia, are planning to hold later Sub Weeks of their own. Election campaigns, union and other activities cramped the efforts of Minneapolis, St. Paul, Philadelphia and a number of other branches.

Everywhere the sub-getters observed signs of tougher economic conditions. As Marianne Stanley of Seattle reported, "Jobs are already harder to find and many people need every penny for basic commodities. But we found generally a very favorable response. Workers listened to us with great interest, giving single copies if they could not afford 50c."

D. Lessing of Newark: "People are looking for an answer to inflation and are also interested in the coming elections and wage drive. We

ought to do well on new subs, too. We had at least 60% renewals." Bea Allen, Detroit: "The people we visited were all the very finest we have met. We plan another short campaign soon."

M. H. P. of Texas sent three subs for neighbors, commenting, "I sure like your paper." Minneapolis discovered a Communist Party member not afraid to read a Trotskyist paper.

MILITANT SUB WEEK Results	
Buffalo	102
Los Angeles	75
New York	50
Detroit	49
Newark	42
Minneapolis	35
Chicago	35
San Francisco	34
St. Paul	33
Philadelphia	27
Seattle	23
Lynn (Mass)	14
Boston	10
Youngstown	10
Flint	4
Pittsburgh	4
Oakland	3
St. Louis	2
Toledo	2
Allegan	1
General	5
TOTAL	561

WORKERS' FORUM

Technocracy Bars "Only Aliens and Politicians"

Editor: Re letters on Technocracy, 11-10-47 and 12-8-47, I quote from the pamphlet mentioned by Don Barry, Technocracy—Some Questions Answered, copyright 1934.

"Question: Does Technocracy have anything in common with the fascist movements of Europe?"

"Answer: Whether or not a movement is fascist depends upon the long term objective. The aim of Fascism as expressed in Italy and Germany, is to preserve, by force, if necessary, the dying economic order. Technocracy defines Fascism to be a consolidation of all minor rackets into a major monopoly for the preservation of a price system. Fascism is the 'last ditch' defense of the price system.

"The aim of Technocracy is to replace the dying economic order with a carefully planned society having as its goal, the provision of economic security and a very high standard of living for every man, woman and child in this continental area. It is conceivable that Technocracy, in order to attain this high social objective, might make use of certain principles of mass psychology used so successfully, not only by Mussolini and Hitler, but also by the dictatorship of Russia and the American advertising fraternity as well. For instance, Technocracy recognizes the importance of symbols in mass thinking and makes wide use of its insignia, the Monad, an emblem in vermilion and French gray, which is an ancient Chinese symbol signifying unity, balance, growth, and dynamic functioning for the security of the life processes. Technocracy, however, aims always to direct mass thinking towards an intelligent understanding of its objective. Its appeal is to the selective, constructive type of mind that is to be

found in every walk of life in industrial America, not only among the learned scientific and professional groups, but as well among that great body of skilled and semi-skilled technicians upon whose shoulders rests our industrial mechanism.

"Technocracy, unlike Fascism, builds, not upon ignorance and prejudice, but upon thorough understanding and reflective judgment. Technocracy holds that the technology of the New America will tolerate neither a Marxist insurrection nor a Fascist suppression."

Mr. Grant errs, (re orientals). Since the end of hostilities only aliens and politicians are barred.

W. T. Moore
Los Angeles, Calif.

Balint Arrest Part of War Drive

Editor: The Cleveland Plain Dealer really blew up the item of Alex Balint's arrest by immigration officials and gave it the works with banner headlines, pictures and plenty of space. Balint is head of the local Mine, Mill and Smelter Union, and one of the leading Stalinist spokesmen in the Cleveland CIO.

As you know, the Cleveland CIO has been a battleground between the Stalinists and the Murray-Reuther-ACTU bloc.

The Murray-Reuther-ACTU bloc cannot win any kind of a reorganization based on democratic procedure because they have walked out of the Cleveland CIO on numerous occasions and their locals would be penalized for their periods of non per-capita payments. This dilemma the Murray-Reuther-ACTU forces cannot solve with democratic methods. The Stalinists are just sitting tight and playing possum. Garland Ashcraft and other ex-

treme hard-boiled right-wingers have been demanding more energetic and drastic action. In other words, they wanted Murray to put the Cleveland CIO executive committee in receivership and bureaucratically appoint a right-wing executive committee and leadership."

The Murray-Reuther-ACTU bloc here has called on and is getting the aid of the government in its struggle to break the Stalinist grip on the Cleveland CIO. Last month the NLRB and the AFL Pattern-makers moved into the Westinghouse-UE and began the job of selling that up. Now, Alex Balint is arrested with plenty of ballyhoo.

Right now, everybody is walking on tiptoes. Everybody knows that the Wallace third party movement can and most probably will explode the whole CIO mess wide open. The Stalinists are putting the squeeze on all their people to come out into the open as supporters of the Wallace movement. This is a principled question with them. The whole atmosphere is charged with expectancy.

It is on this background that the arrest of Alex Balint must be viewed. The Federal government is using this handy peg as part of its war drive because at the same time it fits into their general campaign of intimidation of the militants in the labor movement. At the same time it cinches up their control over the labor bureaucracy.

T. S.
Cleveland

St. Louis Readers Invited to Open Forum

"Which Way for the Labor Movement?" will be the topic of the Militant Forum on Friday evening, Feb. 27, at 8 p.m. Militant readers are urged to attend. The forum will be held in Room 312, Olivia Bldg., 1032 N. Grand Blvd.

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TROTSKY

"Reactionary epochs like ours not only disintegrate and weaken the working class and its vanguard but also lower the general ideological level of the movement and throw political thinking back to stages long since passed through. In these conditions the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow; it must swim against the current. If an unfavorable relation of forces prevents it from holding the positions that it has won, it must at least retain its ideological positions, because in them is expressed the dearly paid experience of the past."

—Leon Trotsky, Stalinism and Bolshevism, 1937.



LENIN

Let the Membership Decide!

33 narrow-minded and willful men are trying to ram a disastrous pro-Truman political line down the throats of the 6 million working men and women of the CIO.

By a vote of 33 to 11, these members of the CIO Executive Board voted to commit this great host of labor to a political company-union policy, without so much as bothering to consult the membership on their wishes in the matter.

Now, to add insult to injury, it is given out that Murray is going to kick out all officers on his staff and all elected officers of the state and city CIO bodies who decide to campaign for Wallace. (Under this ruling it's OK, of course, to campaign for strikebreaker Truman).

Murray is following here a notorious precedent. Twelve years ago, William Green and the mossbacks of the AFL Executive Council issued a similar decree. They ordered the expulsion of all officers of city and state AFL bodies who decided to support the Committee for Industrial Organization—and thus paved the way for the present split of the trade union movement.

The Stalinists, who are the immediate victims of Murray's brazen order, are the very same people who voted to grant Murray these autocratic powers at the November,

1946, CIO Convention.

No wonder. They pursue the same undemocratic METHODS. They are trying to by-pass the trade union movement and foist Wallace on the rank and file, without giving the membership the opportunity to express itself on this most important of all questions confronting labor in 1948.

Isn't it right that the rank and file who have to do the campaigning and voting, be given a chance to have their say? Isn't it fitting and proper that the men and women who are paying in their dollar bills to the PAC, should decide what the PAC policy is to be in 1948? Isn't it a disgrace that the PAC has not yet seen fit to call a convention to democratically vote on national policy?

It is high time for the ranks to break through the machinations of the bureaucrats and insist on their democratic rights. IT IS HIGH TIME THAT A NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE PAC BE CALLED. In this way the CIO membership can determine whether to support the Murray policy of backing strikebreaker Truman, or to join with the Stalinist adventure of boosting Wallace—or as The Militant advocates, to break with capitalist politics and set up labor's own political party and run labor's independent candidates.

The Voracious War Machine

How much more of the American people's money and resources do the rulers of this country propose to drain off for the war machine and their conspiracy to bolster up tyrants and would-be dictators abroad? Is there no limit at all to this policy of unrestrained extortion?

First we were told about the Marshall Plan, which is allegedly going to "reconstruct Europe" at a cost of 6.8 billion dollars for the first 15 months. Then we were confronted with the demand for 1.4 billions for "government and relief" in occupied areas; 133 millions for the Philippines; and 750 millions for China, Greece, Turkey, Japan, Korea and Trieste. Now we are told that is not enough and another one-quarter billion is asked for the corrupt dictator of China. Total: 9-1/3 BILLIONS, not counting direct appropriations for the armed forces, atomic bomb, etc.

And that's not all by a long shot. That doesn't take into consideration the demand voiced by Truman's Air Policy Commission, since the publication of his 40 billion dollar budget, for an air force expansion program starting at 1 1/2 billions a year and rising progressively.

\$3 Billion Kick-back Racket

Anyone who still doesn't believe we have a government of, by and for Big Business should study carefully the list of tax-rebate recipients announced by the U. S. Treasury Department on Feb. 8.

The Treasury handed out nearly three billion dollars (\$2,887,735,904) in tax repayments during the fiscal year of 1947. This huge sum, nearly equal to total corporate profits in 1939, went mainly to big corporations, the lion's share to the 100 largest industrial monopolies in the U. S.

The biggest single kick-back went to U. S. Steel Corp., Morgan-controlled trust. Big Steel — beg pardon, Steel — raked in net profits of only \$126,704,272 in 1947, twice its 1946 grab. So the philanthropic government helped U. S. Steel out with a tax refund of \$63,580,904.

Next in line at the Treasury trough was

the Mellon-owned Westinghouse Electric Corp., with a refund of \$57,398,182. The New York Central got a "relief" check of \$41,995,929. General Motors found \$36,293,611 in the Treasury's cracker-jack box. Secretary of Commerce Harriman's Union Pacific dunked \$11,959,849 out of the gravy bowl.

This three billion dollar tax kick-back is just the dessert to the solid meal of 17 1/2 billions in net profits the corporations loaded into their paunches in 1947—and that's nearly twice what they swallowed in 1946 and four times the repeat they put away in 1939.

There's been a lot of back-and-forth talk between Democrats and Republicans in Washington about cutting the little fellow's taxes. The capitalists aren't waiting for cuts—they're getting back billions of the taxes already paid.

Significant Negro Struggles

The daily unrelenting struggle that the masses of Negro people carry on often goes unnoticed in our daily press. Since the big riot of 1943 the people of Harlem have not relaxed their efforts to wring equality from the merchants of 125th Street. So great was the tension that the Mayor's Committee on Interracial Unity had to intervene and produce a hastily written report and recommendations to both merchants and people.

The recommendation shows how deep and genuine is the popular movement: Prices must be listed clearly on all merchandise; the two-price policy must be eliminated; prices and quality must correspond to the newspaper advertisements.

Very significant are two others. Customers must be treated with courtesy and employees must be promoted on the basis of qualification and experience. Harlem has

fought and won the battle that Negroes must be employed in stores that cater mainly to Negroes. Now they see that mere hiring of Negroes is not enough. They must be able to rise.

Here is a battle for democracy that does not cease, that wins a partial victory, only to find that the struggle becomes broader and deeper. This same struggle is pursued in scores of Negro communities all over the country. Tremendous stores of revolutionary energy, experience and organization are being unobtrusively accumulated. One day we shall see it unloosed in full force on a national scale.

The labor movement will do well to realize the importance of these movements, which are of far greater significance than many of the more publicized legal battles.

Eyewitness Describes How Masses Began Revolution In Indo-China

By Lucien

This article — the first in a series of four — was written by an Indo-Chinese comrade who personally played a leading role in the Indo-Chinese revolution. This is the first direct testimony reaching us on the revolutionary uprising in Indo-China and the activity of the Trotskyist movement, which, despite the terrible blows it has sustained from imperialist and Stalinist reaction, continues to live and to struggle in the vanguard of the Indo-Chinese revolution—Ed.

On Aug. 16, 1945, at 9 o'clock in the morning, the news of the definitive defeat of Japanese imperialism was announced throughout all the countries of Indo-China. Next day the Japanese general staff resigned its civil administration of the native peoples. According to the terms of its declaration, Japanese imperialism turned over all power to the legal governments of the various countries which made up former French Indo-China: Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos. These peoples, the same declaration added, were independent from then on, with the right to self-determination.

Several hours after this news was given to the people of Viet-Nam, from north to south, from city to country, from factory to street, from one family to another, there rose a social tempest of such proportions that it could have overturned everything. Men and women of all ages, without distinction of political opinions, flocked to the streets in turbulent waves; they swore to struggle to the last drop of blood for the complete liberation of their country.

The workers of the Banco quarter of the city of Saigon, the first to start moving, set up the first People's Committee of the southern region on Aug. 19. Groups came out into the streets with stolen arms and hidden for many months. Others had pistols of obscure origin. Those without firearms had pikes or bamboo poles. Wearing a blue cap with a red star as headgear and shouldering their weapons, they formed into armed detachments of fifty, a hundred or two hundred, and marched together from one street to another, in formation, shouting the revolutionary hymn in chorus, then crying out in a mighty voice: "Death rather than slavery! Defend the power of the people!"

On the morning of Aug. 20, hundreds of committees of the Youth vanguard throughout the Saigon-Cholon region pledged their lives before their banner to the fight for liberty. The Phu-Nhuan quarter,

Fight Discrimination



These Oklahoma University students are about to mail President Truman a package containing the ashes of a copy of the 14th amendment of the U. S. Constitution. They burned the amendment, which guarantees civil rights, to protest the school's ban on Negro students. Federated Pictures

the largest working class quarter of the city, elected its People's Committee. The committee proclaimed the complete abolition of the former power and that henceforth, from August 20, 1945, at 10 o'clock in the morning, only this Committee would be considered the legal power of the quarter.

PEASANTS RISE UP

In the following days, mass organizations of many social and political tendencies shot up like mushrooms.

From Aug. 19 on, rumors flew from one end of the capital to the other that the peasants were in revolt in the provinces. Armed demonstrations and terrorist acts alarmed the capitalists and feudalists.

The peasants of the province of Sadeo pillaged a dozen of the magnificent villas of their masters on August 19. They also set fire to a large number of granaries overflowing with rice. Many notables and functionaries were arrested by the peasants and a number of them were immediately shot. The community police had been hurled into the water without trial by the revolutionary masses; the former servants of the French and Japanese governments, labeled en bloc as

enemies of the people, saw all their property go up in flames.

In Lonxugien, a peasant province, some two hundred notables and community police were stabbed to death.

At Trung-Bo (central region of Viet-Nam), the revolutionary peasants began to drive out the royalist-imperialist mandarins as early as the middle of August, and with arms took possession of the courts and local administration offices. During the same period, detachments of armed peasants made surprise attacks on Japanese military posts and captured arms and ammunition.

In the second week in August, the proprietors of Bac-Bo (northern region) experienced the same fate as their brothers in Nam-Bo. In several villages, granaries, villas and lands were confiscated on behalf of the People's Committees. Great proprietors and former functionaries were placed before people's courts where they were publicly tried by a showing of hands by the village inhabitants. Several hundred faithful old servants of France and of the Japanese military staff were beheaded.

Iraq Revolt Upsets Treaty with Britain

By Arthur Burch

Awakening from their thousand-year slumber, the people of Iraq, by means of mass demonstrations in Baghdad and other cities, have forced their Parliament to repudiate the newly signed 20-year treaty of military alliance with England.

Premier Sayid Saloh Jabr had to flee the country twelve days after he signed the treaty in Portsmouth, England.

For two weeks the country was convulsed by mass demonstrations and riots in which many were killed and hundreds injured and buildings burned and wrecked. This uprising culminated in the fall of the government that was betraying the will of the people. The pact was denounced by the demonstrators as "written in ink and repudiated in blood."

The discovery of vast oil resources in the Near East, together with the beginnings of industrialization during the Second World War, have augmented the wealth of these desert lands and strengthened the nationalist sentiments among their peoples. The weakening of the British Empire, which gave greater independence to India, has further served to encourage the independence movement.

There's been a lot of back-and-forth talk between Democrats and Republicans in Washington about cutting the little fellow's taxes. The capitalists aren't waiting for cuts—they're getting back billions of the taxes already paid.

PROPS UP REACTION

According to the terms of the Portsmouth treaty, the British agreed to return two important airfields to Iraq but reserved the right to use these fields until all peace treaties, arising from the Second World War, were signed. British "advisers" were to remain in key posts and British troops could be dispatched to Iraq in case of war or the imminence of war. And who can deny that war will remain imminent until its actual outbreak? As in Greece and Turkey, the treaty meant the bolstering of reactionary governments by the imperialist overlords.

But the people of Iraq had other ideas. When their government officials sold out to England, the masses resorted to militant struggle—the only method yet devised to end exploitation. Their great victory stunned the British imperial-

ists as well as the American industrialists who are converging on this part of the globe.

Writing from Damascus, Dana Adams Schmidt, N. Y. Times reporter, stated: "The governments of the Arab states must at this stage in history take militant nationalist opinion into careful consideration. This public opinion is not what Americans are accustomed to."

FAR-REACHING EFFECTS

English Foreign Minister Bevin had pronounced the treaty with Iraq as a "model" agreement intended as a pattern for similar treaties with the neighboring states of Trans-Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. But the repercussions of the Iraqi mass actions were so far-reaching that Emir Faisal, premier of Saudi Arabia, was forced to cancel his trip to England. The premier of Trans-Jordan, now in England, is now insisting on better terms lest he receive the same treatment from his people. And Egypt continues to balk at British demands.

The American monopolists hoped that the repudiation of the Iraq treaty would enable them to replace British imperialism as the overlord of the Arab countries. But they are learning that their predatory schemes are similarly adversely affected by the rising nationalist movement in the Near East. The Syrian Parliament is holding up the agreement on the trans-Arabia oil pipe line from the Persian Gulf to Lebanon. Wall Street also faces difficulties in Iraq where Standard Oil owns a considerable share in the Iraq Petroleum Company.

The small nations of the world are fed up with the imperialist bullies. They are determined to win their freedom. The American working class has, in the peoples of the Near East, allies in the common struggle against the Wall Street exploiters.

BACK HOME by Bill Mauldin, William Sloane Associates, 1947, 315 pp., \$3.50 Bill Mauldin, like millions of veterans, went through the disillusionment of the reconversion period after his discharge from the army. He tells all about it in a book called Back Home, a sequel to his Up Front.

In Back Home, Mauldin takes a parting crack at publicity seeking generals, at the army separation centers, at faithless war brides.

He slaps at used-car racketeers and lets us know that he got stuck on one used car and paid \$2100 for another. He spent some time in Hollywood and shares with us his discovery that many Hollywood big shots are phonies. He has a few comments to make on the housing crisis and the rough deal vets are getting. He is also against Jim Crow, but thinks "the South's angry and bitter fear of the Negroes is due in large part to the . . . excesses" committed by Southern Negroes in the Reconstruction period after the Civil War. This piece of vicious ignorance Mauldin considers "childishly elementary American history."

He attacks the KKK, the American Legion, totalitarianism and bigotry, but favors Universal Military Training and American imperialism. Some of the book's omissions are equally significant in showing the author's attitude. Mauldin hasn't a word to say about the demobilization demonstrations, the post-war strikes, the Taft-Hartley Law.

Mauldin winds up by saying: ". . . I got my big burden off my chest by getting this book out. I don't ask anybody to agree with me, nor do I hope to convince any readers of anything. I simply feel like creeping up, my bank account grows, my radical years are almost over. I want to stick this thing on my bookshelf as a reminder of my wild days so I can read it over and be a little more tolerant of the next generation of upstarts."

Mauldin trades on the deservedly fine reputation of Up Front to put Back Home across. But Up Front, unlike Back Home, was not written and drawn for Mauldin, but for the millions of enlisted men. As a soldier, Mauldin intimately shared the war-time experiences of his comrades. He personally may

Events on the International Scene

By Paul G. Stevens

MOVE TO OUTLAW ITALIAN PARTISANS

Premier de Gasperi's government last week issued a decree outlawing "all private associations of a military character" and providing "severe penalties" for anyone possessing arms or explosives. The decree was aimed at the National Association of Italian Partisans, controlled by the Stalinists and their allies in the Socialist Party led by Pietro Nenni. The press of the latter attacked the decree violently. But the officialdom of the partisans group formally declared that it would "limit itself in future to welfare work" and "would keep out of politics."

The government move, which cautiously refrained from naming the

organization aimed at, as well as the counter-move of the partisan leaders, which appears so accommodating, are in the nature of pre-election maneuvers. The coming Italian elections are expected to mark an outbreak of the latent civil war. Neither the capitalist government nor the Stalinist leadership cherish the prospect. De Gasperi and Co.—because they haven't got the military force to cope with an insurgent mass movement; the Stalinists—because they are not sure they will be able to control the workers. But neither is averse to capitalize on the threat for electioneering purposes.

BRITISH UNIONS INCENSED OVER ATTLEE WAGE-FREEZE

Labor Prime Minister Attlee, following the crisis created by the devaluation of the French franc, proclaimed a new government policy of freezing wages and appealing to the capitalists to "hold the line" on prices and profits. Since the government has no machinery to control the latter, the new policy means that the workers are again to bear the burden of the growing economic crisis.

The Trade Union Congress approached the government several weeks before for wage increases, since prices had long outdistanced wage scales. Attlee's wage-freeze

declaration is reported to have aroused great resentment in labor ranks. A serious clash between the unions and the Labor government is expected to result. The British workers, while adamant against any attacks on the government by the Tories, have grown increasingly restive with the Attlee policy. They placed the Labor Party in power because they wanted Socialism, instead the labor government is busy trying to save capitalism. The union-government clash will thus serve to provide a vehicle for the workers' resentment and may result in a political crisis.

C. P. WINS IMPORTANT LOCAL ELECTION

An important local election in the working class suburb of Malakoff near Paris on Jan. 18 showed that the Communist (Stalinist) Party is holding its own, while the de Gaulleists lost slightly. The Socialists and Catholics made small gains combining into a "Third Force" bloc.

The Stalinists received 6,282 votes or 48.1% as against 6,181 or 45.8% in 1947 and 6,931 or 48.3% in 1946. Comparative votes for the Socialists and Catholics were 2,427 or 18.5% as against 2,284 or 16.9% in 1947 and 5,064 or 36.3% in 1946; for the

de Gaulleists, 4,284 or 32.6% as against 4,888 or 36.2% in 1947 and 2,178 or 16.1% in 1946.

The defeat suffered by the Stalinists in the November-December strikes and the ensuing split in the General Confederation of Labor, controlled by them, has not reflected itself in the parliamentary field, these figures reveal. They also show that, while there is no rush of the petty bourgeoisie to the de Gaulle banner, the reactionary movement remains a serious threat.

BOOKSHELF

have had illusions about the New Deal, the Four Freedoms, why we fought, how to reform the Army, etc. But he didn't merely dwell on this. He drew the enlisted men; their loyalty and devotion to each other; their antagonism to the officers; their generosity and humor; how they lived and how they drank. He drew their abilities and initiative; their desire to go home and work with the people they knew back home to build a better world.

In the case of many veterans, the enlisted man's class experiences in the Army developed to more conscious levels. In common with their civilian class brothers, they took part in the postwar struggles in the factory and on the picket line. This was not the case with Mauldin. In Back Home he tries to live on a memory of the past, but because he is isolated from the

worker-veteran as he was not, isolated from the worker-soldier, it is a dead memory.

Back Home may well mark Mauldin's turning point from disillusioned liberal to out-and-out conservative. The book is thus symptomatic of a whole layer in society, the middle class, which is floundering in the crisis of today, as well as those veterans who have not been able to integrate themselves since their discharge. These are men who have been unable to find their class roots. They are often sincere in their desire for a better world. They are dissatisfied. They have little faith in the current crop of politicians. But unless they can be caught up by the working class, which will take the leadership to reconstruct society, they are capable of serious mischief.

—T. Blake

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 7 to 9 p. m.; Branch meeting Sun. 8 p. m.; Socialist Youth Club meeting Sun. 3 p. m.
BOSTON—30 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p. m. Tues., 7:30-9:30 p. m.
BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3960. Every afternoon except Sun.
CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Phone DEARBORN 4767. Daily except Sun., 11 a.m.-5 p. m. Library, bookstore.
CLEVELAND—Lafayette Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m.; Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).
DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-2867. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. FLINT—215 E. Ninth St., Daily 7-9 p. m. Open house, Sat. eve. Forum, Sun. eve.
LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., 316½ W. Rice Blvd. Phone Richmond 4644. Daily, 12-5 p. m.
SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 E. Pacific Room 214.
WATTS—Militant, 1729 E. 97th St. LYNN, (Mass.)—44 Central Sq., Rm. 11 Sat. 1-5 p. m. Discussion, Tues., 7:30 p. m.
MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m.
MINNEAPOLIS—16 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. 6 p. m. Library, bookstore.
NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8:10-9:30 p. m. BIGLOW 8-2574. Reading room, week nights, 7-10 p. m.
NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Pl. Phone BR 6-8149.
FL. STATE BR—251 E. Houston St. 1st fl.

HARLEM—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 29 Phone MO 2-1866. Open discussion, Thurs. 8 p. m. (near 110th St. and 7th Ave.)
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BROOKLYN—635 Fulton St. Phone ST 3-7435.
CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone CH 2-9434.
OAKLAND (Cal.)—Write P. O. Box 1381, Oakland 4.
PHILADELPHIA—1309-05 W. Grand Ave. 2nd fl. Phone SEVENSON 4-6620. Open daily, Forum, Fri., 8-2 p. m.
ST. LOUIS—1025 N. Grand Blvd. 2nd fl. Open meetings, 1st & 3rd Sun., 1:30 p. m. Marxist Study Class, Thurs., 7-9 p. m.
SAN DIEGO (Cal.)—For information write P. O. Box 857.
SAN FRANCISCO—1719 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m.
SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. South & Washington. Phone MAIN 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Thurs., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.
ST. LOUIS—1025 N. Grand Blvd. 2nd fl. 312. Phone Jefferson 8642. Forum, Fri., 7:30-10 p. m.
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The Speedup

By Theodore Kovalesky

It was one evening last summer. The sun had set, but it wasn't dark yet. The sky was a light blue-green with a great fan of orange over Number One Furnace.

For quite a while I had been watching the man on the camp stool over where the steel plant fence comes around near Number One, and after the cast when I had brought up the heat I walked over to the fence.

"You work in there?" the man asked, pointing a thin paint brush in the direction of the smoldering ladles.

"Yeah."

"I'd like to, for a while. I'd get some real pictures out of that place."

I grinned. "You'd get a lot more than that." I swabbed my face and neck with a soggy blue bandanna.

I peered through the woven wire fence at the canvas set up in front of the man. There was Number One, golden iron dashing out of the third spout into the ladle. The stoves were very black against the blue-green sky, and the orange glow fanned out above the furnace. He had caught the cast perfectly, even to the dark little figures of the gang up on the bright furnace floor.

"That's great," I said. "You caught it just right." He seemed genuinely pleased. "I haven't had much chance to paint since my vacation last year," he said.

"What do you do for a living?" I asked.

He grinned. "Paint," he said.

"I don't get it."

A shadow of reluctance, of distaste crossed the man's face. It was easy to see that there was just one vacation a year with just so many days to it, and he didn't go on vacation for the sake of talking about his job. But he told me anyway.

"I work for a magazine syndicate," he said. "I'm an illustrator."

"Well, that's painting, isn't it?"

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THE MILITANT

PAGE FOUR

NEW YORK, N. Y.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1948

Army Says Jim Crow Segregation Will Continue for Negro Troops

Miners' Need -- A Plan Of Community Action

By Morgan West

About 90% of the members of the United Mine Workers

take almost no active part in union activity. They don't even

come to meetings. The "regulars" who attend and are active are

rather old and will certainly be unable to defend their union in the

coming great battles of the depression without active support of

the others. Indeed, it is from the 90% of inactive members that the

future leaders must come.

Ask any number of men why they don't come to union meetings. In

one way or another almost every one of them will say it is because

the UMW program does not meet the needs of the miner.

For the past 30 years the program of the UMW has been "higher

wages." That is all. Now high wages are very fine, but as every

miner knows they don't solve the sky-rocketing inflation, or the medical

problems, or educational needs. The wage scale can be only one

point in the program of union demands. No other union in the

U. S. which even approaches the size of the UMW has so obstinately

refused to better the living conditions of its members through social

action. Many unions provide medical insurance plans on a non-

profit basis, libraries, co-operative stores, educational programs, and so on. But not the UMW.

Yet a program of community action would be of the greatest value to the mine union members. A

wage increase alone means very little to the miner. Within three weeks after the last increase the

cost of living had eaten up the gain. In the isolated coal camps it is impossible for a single individual to

secure the advantages enjoyed by a city worker. What miner can

provide his children with a library? Many have no water supply even.

A FIGHTING GOAL

Community action aimed at changing the living and working

conditions of the mining area would bring thousands and hundreds of thousands of miners, who now never

attend union meetings, into activity. Inflation is a problem of

life and death for every miner. Lewis has made no attempt to meet

it. But if the union were to build a press for a sliding scale of wages

providing for a cost of living bonus to be given with every rise in the

cost of living, it would be a fighting goal which would elicit the support of all.

The company stores sell their goods at unbelievable prices and have their bills "checked-off" at the

company office. Why can't these stores be taken over by the union and operated on a non-profit basis?

That alone would cut the living expenses of the miner by many a percent.

The medical services provided by company doctors and company insurance programs are almost worthless. For example: according to the

nurse who works for Dr. Douglas in Scotts Run, West Virginia, a mine doctor should not have to care for more than two or three hundred people at most. Instead, Douglas has eight to ten thousand under

his care and "it is getting worse all the time." The men pay but the doctor works for the company. The response of the rank and file would be overwhelming if the UMW should put forward the slogan of

"union doctors" and an industrial medical and insurance system to be provided for by state funds.

Only a program of community action and community planning will bring out the rank and file militancy of former years and permit the miner to lead a human existence.

GREATER OPPOSITION

To be at all effective, the organization and administration of community action for union stores, union doctors, centralized cities, etc., would have to be under strict workers' democracy. And the taking

over of company stores, and the destruction of the old ties which the operators have over the miners would provoke far greater opposition from the owning class than a mere wage increase.

Lewis does not offer any program of community action because he fears to involve the broad ranks of the union in militant action. The very scale of such a campaign would restore a lot of fighting initiative and autonomy to the local unions. And by the same token, would endanger Lewis' present bureaucratic stranglehold over the union.

The UMW must be restored to the rank and file. It is a long road but those who have the courage to begin will find many allies among the 90% of the members who are now inactive, but are waiting for a fighting solution to their problems.

An ultimatum was sent last month by the TUC leaders to the WFTU secretariat in Paris demanding a meeting of the WFTU Executive Bureau to discuss the Marshall Plan. Failure to call this meeting led to a sharp blast from Arthur Deakin, chief British representative.

CALL FOR SPLIT

Deakin's attack was the signal for the right-wing Belgian trade union leaders to issue a call for the Marshall Plan trade union conference next month in Belgium. Such a conference would constitute a split in the WFTU in all but name. This split would extend not only along national lines, but might tear apart existing unions within countries. Such a split has already taken place in the French Confederation of Labor.

The AFL leaders are going ahead with similar State Department-inspired plans. The AFL chiefs have

concentrated on the Latin American countries. Last month they held a conference in Lima, Peru, where they set up the Inter-American Federation of Labor as a rival to the Stalinist-dominated sections of the World Federation of Trades Unions (WFTU), the CIO and British TUC leaders are going ahead with preparations for a conference of unions from the 16 so-called Marshall Plan countries.

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Seamen Hit Ship Transfer



Protesting the proposed transfer of 500 U. S. ships to European nations, more than 600 members of the CIO National Maritime Union picket Maritime Commission offices in San Francisco. They charged that the plan means 25,000 seamen will lose jobs.

Federated Pictures

Issue of Marshall Plan Used to Split WFTU

A scheme calculated to split the world labor movement on the issue of the imperialist Marshall Plan was perfected last week in London by representatives of the CIO and the British Trades Union Congress.

Despite opposition from the Stalinist-dominated sections of the World Federation of Trades Unions (WFTU), the CIO and British TUC leaders are going ahead with preparations for a conference of unions from the 16 so-called Marshall Plan countries.

The threatened split in the WFTU comes three years after it was set up with the blessings of both the Kremlin and Washington. Its purpose was to line up world labor in the Allied imperialist war camp. Now it is being divided into pro-imperialist and pro-Stalinist camps in both cases against the interest of the workers.

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The Army has given in to the demand for unsegregated units in the New Jersey National Guard. But it has done so reluctantly and on a temporary basis, with reservations calculated to restrict this change to New Jersey alone. And at the same time it has sharply reaffirmed the policy of strict segregation of Negroes inside the Army itself.

Last November a new state constitution was adopted in New Jersey, prohibiting segregation because of race or color in the state's militia (or National Guard) and schools. The Army is involved because the National Guard is one of its civilian components, getting money and equipment from the federal government. The Army claims the "authority" to determine all questions relating to the federally recognized National Guard.

After the new constitution went into effect at the beginning of the year, the Army ordered