PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. XII.—No. 8

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1948

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

WALLACE CANDIDATE SWEEPS ELECTION

Unemployment in Detroit

What Labor Must Fight For Now

- An Editorial

The break in commodity market prices should alert American labor to the danger of depression. We cannot say with certainty that the slump in farm prices is the beginning of an economic crisis. But we would be blind not to see the warning sign: Prepare!

We CAN say with certainty, however, that the drop in date. Hoan had served as mayor commodity market prices will bring no immediate significant fall in the cost of living. All business and government sources abandoned the Socialist party for advise that retail prices—what the consumer pays—do not re- the Democratic party. In 1944 and flect wholesale price declines until months later.

As a matter of fact, certain food prices are still rising. Many fresh vegetables and fruits are now selling for two and Hoan's announcement, James E. three times the prices of a year ago. Meat prices, an Agricul- Boulton, Socialist Workers Party ture Department official warns, may go to higher levels than candidate for mayor, lashed at

Non-agricultural commodity prices are still up. Price Hoan's desertion to the Democratic boosts have been announced for many products, from automo- party. "Mr. Hoan has done the biles to men's suits. Average rents have risen 15% in eight greatest damage to the cause of months — and landlords hope to torpedo what's left of rent achievement in building a bridge to

This all points to one thing: There must be no let-down a stream of deserters from the workin labor's drive to restore real wages to the level of the spring This statement was prominently of 1946. NO FORESEEABLE PRICE DEVELOPMENTS featured in the Milwaukee capitalist WARRANT THE SLIGHTEST REDUCTION IN PRES- press. ENT UNION DEMANDS FOR BASIC WAGE INCREASES OF 25 TO 30 CENTS AN HOUR. And since there can be the last vote-getter left to the no assurance that prices won't rise once more, basic wages dying Socialist Party. Zeidler is must be fortified by including in all wage contracts the slid- running without SP endorsement, ing scale cost-of-living bonus. This will provide automatic so as not to offend any capitalist pay increases in the event of further price rises.

Hand-in-hand with the fight for higher wages should go ty and seems prepared to follow the an immediate drive for measures to protect the workers against same road that Hoan did. unemployment. Unemployment is a menace NOW in the midst of so-called "prosperity."

Reports from all parts of the country reveal what the paign is meeting with great inter-Wall Street Journal has called "creeping unemployment." The U. S. Census Bureau figures disclose a steady rise in unem- ther, Boulton's workers found no ployment - 400,000 more in the month of January alone.

Several hundred thousand Detroit auto workers have suffered layoffs for weeks. Now 35,000 Ford workers face a layoff of at least three months because of model changes. In Akron, the rubber center, the Jan. 25 Beacon-Journal reports, "The trek to relief agencies has begun in earnest again - what with layoffs, increasing cost of living and winter illnesses. It's the largest trek since depression years." New York City's Welfare Commissioner has asked a 30% increase in the welfare budget because of the anticipated rise in relief cases.

An estimated 14 million workers were unemployed for some period during 1947. This year, depression or not, many more millions will suffer periods of unemployment.

RIGHT NOW THE DEMAND SHOULD BE RAISED FOR THE 30-HOUR WEEK AT 40 HOURS PAY AND FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE EQUAL TO TRADE UNION WAGES

Why should the hereditary billionaire Henry Ford II be able to lay off half his River Rouge workers whenever he claims he hasn't enough work for them? Spread the available work through the shorter work week, with the same take-home pay as before.

Why should laid off workers be forced to exist on present unemployment insurance pittances? Let the jobless worker be assured a decent living standard by receiving unemployment replaces Eccles, the Roosevelt compensation equal to his weekly union wages.

Dan Hoan Enters Mayoralty Race In Milwaukee

Boulton Denounces Turncoal Socialist

Interest in Milwaukee's mayoralty election increased with the announcement of Dan Hoan that he would bow to "popular demand" and become a candifrom 1916 to 1940 as a Socialist. Since his defeat in 1940 he has 1946 Hoan was the Democratic candidate for governor of Wisconsin.

In a speech given the day after Hoan's record of betrayal of the working class. Boulton assailed the capitalist Democratic Party for

The immediate loser because of Hoan's action will be Frank Zeidler, support. He has the tacit backing of one wing of the Democratic Par-

Because he is the only candidate endorsed by and responsible to a party organization, Boulton's camest from thousands of Socialist workers. Despite bitterly cold weadifficulty in getting almost 50% more signatures than the legal re-



Thomas B. McCabe, reactionary Republican Philadelphia banker and president of the Scott Paper Co. (Scott Tissue), who was appointed by Truman as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. He New Deal financier from Utah.



Thousands of auto workers jammed Detroit's Unemployment Compensation Commission offices to pick up jobless pay checks after many factories closed down because of a fuel shortage that followed the recent cold spell. UAW President Reuther demanded a Congressional investigation of the Detroit gas shortage which, it is believed was artificially created by the utility trust.

Steel Union Heads Give No Lead in Wage Drive

Philip Murray has informed Murray has refused to intimate the steel corporations that he whether any specific demand will Board. is ready to accept any crumbs be raised in the "wage report" to be this April with the CIO Steel- tee after it acts on the Executive

That is the meaning of his demonstrative declaration on Feb. 16 that how they go about getting their dethe steel union will not strike to mands and what they finally accept enforce its forthcoming wage de- will have a significant bearing on ing session of the Steelworkers Ex- demands seriously undercut if Murecutive Board meeting on the wage ray accepts a lower figure. Certain-

Murray emphasized that "we do or undermine our collective bargaining agreement" which contains gle from Murray. a no-strike clause operative until

to make the same sort of deal, although it would take not less than a 30-ment an hour basic wage increase to compensate for the rise in living costs since the last contract have to compel the top CIO leaders ing CIO unions are demanding 25 to adopt a unified strategy of miliwas signed. Most of the other leadto 30 cents an hour. The Oil Workers Industrial Union joined the auto, with the corporations. The ranks packinghouse, rubber and other will have to insist on a vigorous unions by adopting a 30-cent de- drive for their full wage program mand on Feb. 11.

previously calling for a "substan- of wage boosts they justifiably de-

they may offer in wage negotiations issued by the Wage Policy Commit-Board's proposals.

What the Steetworkers demand, a press conference after the open- unions. The latter may find their fairs policies. ly. Murray's no-strike statemen serves notice to the other CIO cused the pro-Wallace elements of serious support for their wage strug-

Murray's pronouncement comes at April 30, 1949. Murray and the the very time the Chrysler workers steel bosses slipped this shackle on are entering negotiations for a 30the steel workers last spring, when cent basic wage raise, plus five cents in return for a skimpy wage raise in welfare demands. Walter Reuthat was quickly wiped out by price ther, auto union head, and other rises, he incorporated a two year Murray henchmen undoubtedly will no-strike clause into the contract. seize upon a steel settlement as a Now Murray seems to be planning other industries. Reuther has albasis for settlements in auto and ready weakened the wage demands of the General Motors workers.

If the CIO workers are to make substantial wage gains, they will power of the CIO felt in dealing and be especially on guard against Murray's Executive Board, while attempts to water down the amount

tial" wage increase, has not speci- mand.

A New Kind Of Party

Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Stalinist Party gives the low down on exactly what the Wallace third party is:

"It is not a labor party, nor even 2 farmer-labor party. It is a new type of people's antiwar and anti-imperialist and democratic people's coalition which is being created within the U.S.A. and reflects in its own way the struggle between the world camps of progress and

Murray Steps Up Attacks Against Stalinists in CIO

CIO President Philip Murray for the first time has made a public attack on CIO supporters of Henry Wallace-principally the Stalinists-and opponents of the Marshall Plan.

His open declaration of warfare was made in a vitriolic address on Feb. 10 to the Cleveland convention of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers.

Heretofore, Murray has been wagagainst his former allies, the Stalinists. He has confined his per-Philip Murray has informed fied the exact amount desired, sonal attacks on them to the closed

Although, as is his custom, Murray named no names in his speech, there was no mistaking his target as he can to suppress opponents of of "fourth party" in this district. mands. His statement was made to the wage fight of the other CIO his political action and foreign af-

> Murray harangued against any third party "at this time" and ac-

not propose to abridge, set aside unions that they can expect no splitting and dividing the labor movement and paving the way for the election of reactionaries this November. He did not explain how each Congress up to now has been more reactionary than the previous

PROPS UP DICTATORS

Murray also charged that the Marshall Plan opponents are "misrepresenting" his "purpose" in supporting the Marshall Plan. Actually, he himself is misrepresenting the Marshall Plan as "aid to the starving," when it is designed to bolster anti-labor and dictator regimes in Western Europe.

Murray's choice of the IUMSWA convention as the arena for his first open attack on third party advocates in the CIO was not accidental. The IUMSWA is under the complete control of reactionary elenents, including the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. The atmosphere for Murray's speech had been prepared in advance by redpaiting tirades and resolution's.

The IUMSWA, down to a shadow ecause of postwar shipyard layoffs, s being built un as a catch-all for plit-off groups from Stalinist-conrolled unions and new unions that Murray wants under his own thumb. The convention received into membership 25,000 members of the Proressive Metal Workers Council, a right-wing split-off from the Stalinist-dominated Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union. It also approved the merger of the United Railway Workers into the shipbuilders union.

Murray's speech at the Shipbuilding convention and the action of the latter in taking in a secessionist CIO grouping show how the break between the Murray-Reuther bureauclowing the guidance of the U. S. all the time. This last week, Murray's appointee, Martin Wagner,

Isacson Victory **Shows Disgust** With Old Parties

By Albert Parker

NEW YORK, Feb. 18-Clouds of gloom settled over Democratic Party national headquarters and

the White House last timent, cannot be accepted as a night as their candidate completely accurate reflection of the for Congress from the 24th Dis- national political picture, There trict in the Bronx went down happened to be a number of exto crushing defeat by the Wallace- ceptional local factors in this case, endorsed candidate of the Ameri- most of them favorable to the Walcan Labor Party. This first electoral test for the Wallace movement EXCEPTIONAL CONDITIONS strengthened the likelihood that For one thing, the vote was only Truman's goose is cooked unless he

marked down a victory for the ceptional factor was the heavy pro-Democrats as a sure thing in this portion of Jewish voters in this district that has been controlled by district, something like 50%, and Boss Flynn for decades. They even this had an important effect bewent in for speculation that any-cause most Jewish voters are today thing less than 30% for the ALP highly incensed at the transparently candidate, Leo Isacson, would rep- two-faced role of the Truman adresent a moral setback for Wallace.

But Isacson got 56% of the 40,000 votes cast yesterday, against 31% for the Democrats, 9% for the Liberal Party, and 4% for the Republicans. The results in the previous ing a form of undercover war election, in 1946, were 44% for the of the Communist Party, which is Democrats, 27% for the ALP, 19% for the Republicans and 10% for the

Thus the ALP rolled up more votes than the other three parties combined, surprising even its own leaders. And while the results have given the Democratic machine the jitters, the Republicans are far from happy over them. For, by dropping and intent. It is clear that Mur- from 19% to 4% of the votes, the ray intends to proceed as ruthlessly GOP has been reduced to the status

Of course, the Bronx election results, while providing a test of sen-



FERDINAND C. SMITH

is able to work out some deal with in 1946, and the proportion of Wallace votes would probably go down The political wise-acres had in a regular election. Another exministration on the Palestine issue. Furthermore, this district was the second biggest stronghold of the ALP in the state.

It has also been noted that New York City is the major stronghold the chief representative of the Wallace movement in the trade unions. The CP forces were able by con centrating their city-wide strength in this district to achieve an effect that would be impossible in a regular election.

All in all, however, the election results are definite proof that dissatisfaction with the two-party system is spreading; that Wallace's break with the Democrats has enhanced his popularity; and that his candidacy can cut heavily into the normally Democratic and Republi-

DESPERATE SITUATION

The Democrats are now in a desperate situation; and sentiment is sure to grow among them for a deal to regain Wallace's support. Such a deal entails enormous difficulties,

One of the Bronx campaign's high points was Mayor O'Dwyer's public appeal on Feb. 12 to "liberals like Henry Wallace" to reconsider the "serious blunder" of leaving the Democratic fold and "return and carry on their fight within the Democratic Party, side by side with

It was notable in Wallace's reply three days later that he did not explicitly reject this appeal, even though he continued his attacks on the Democratic Party. An estimate of future trends must take into account Wallace's refusal to definitely commit himself against a return to the Democratic machine, because the future of the movement he leads

(Continued on Page 4)

Witch Hunters Arrest **NMU** Secretary Smith FBI agents, acting on direct | hearing was only to determine if

Tom Clark, perpetrated their most rent witch hunt drive, when they arrested for deportation Ferdinand C. Smith, National Secretary of the CIO National Maritime Union and CIO Executive Board member.

Smith, a well-known Negro trade union leader, is charged with being a member of the Communist (Stalinist) Party and for that reason is marked by the government for deportation to the British West Indies. As in the cases of Gerhardt Eisler and John Williamson, Stalinist labor secretary, bail has been denied, is growing deeper and more bitter and the accused is being held prisoner on Ellis Island.

The FBI action against Smith is president of the Gas, Coke and especially dangerous, because Smith Chemical Workers Union, summari- is a leader of the Stalinist faction ly removed from office a Stalinist inside the NMU, which is conductsupporter, Gavin Mitchell, regional ing at present a sharp factional gime, attempting to tie the CIO to director of the Buffalo area. The struggle against NMU President Wall Street's foreign policy. They previous week a split was engineered Curran and his faction. The de-Actually, when the Stalinist and are conducting a bureaucratic purge in the Greater Newark Industrial portation arrest thus smacks of di-

An appeal for bail was denied Smith by Judge Medina. The judge accepted an application for a habeas corpus hearing, but this shreds. means little since the judge re- The deportation drive must be marked beforehand that such a stopped!

orders of Attorney General there had been "any irregularities" in the arrest and that he felt there brazen action to date in the cur
Judge Medina gave his verdict on habeas corpus hearings for Eisler and Williamson. He ruled against them and consequently they will remain imprisoned at Ellis Island until final appeals up to the Supreme Court have been heard. This may very likely be several years. , The arrest of Smith-the 23rd

arrest in the current deportation hysteria-must serve as a warning signal to the entire labor movement. The whole labor movement must

now rally, not only to defend Smith from FBI persecution, but to smash the foul FBI conspiracy to deport alien unionists and terrorize the whole working class. All true militants must realize that Stalinism cannot be fought with the aid of or in alliance with the FBI. Because Hoover's G-men are persecuting th Stalinists as but the first installbaiting attack on the entire labor movement-an attack which aim: at nothing less than resurrecting the nortorious Palmer raids of 1920 and hacking the labor movement to

State Department Interferes in CIO Direct evidence has come to by the State Department for an rassed when the Greek government March, has chosen a responsible rules the "free" Greek unions.

light that the U.S. State De- explanation of the 'incident'."

Washington dispatch by Louis Stark, offending member.

tary of the San Francisco CIO Coun- lands. cil, because he wrote officials of The CIO top leadership's "State Marshall Plan. French and Italian labor unions Department unionism" has become a The Feb. 9 CIO News carries that the Taft-Hartley Act is "the crying international scandal, par- Marshall's reply, under the misleaddomestic program of American im- ticularly in connection with their ing headline, "Greeks to Kill Anti- anti-monarchist labor leaders won of CIO members and officials who Union Council, when representatives rect FBI interference with internal perialism which now attacks free support of American imperialism's Strike Law." What Marshall wrote the union elections in 1946, the Greek are under the "outside influence" of of the auto, textile, steel and other union affairs. persansin which now attacks free support of American imperiations of the Communist Party. But they unions decided to split the Council trade unions in the European coun- aid to the bloody monarchical dic- was simply that the Greek prime government promptly "invalidated" the Communist Party. But they unions decided to split the Council

midsi of which they were asked leaders were considerably embar- bor Congress, which will meet in monarcho-capitalist tyranny, now State Department.

This high-handed intervention by sion of the Taft-Hartley Act WHICH Labor movement." partment is intervening in af- the State Department should have INCLUDED THE DEATH PENALfairs of the American labor been sternly repudiated by the CIO TY FOR STRIKERS. movement and is actively influenc- leaders. Instead they bowed and But for nearly two months the leaders of the Greek workers and Antonios Ambatielos, head of the ing internal policies of the Murray scraped, and hastened to assure CIO leaders kept silent about the fully reorganized the Greek Con- Greek Confederation of Maritime their State Department bosses that fascistic anti-labor decrees in federation of Labor under control Workers, who faces a death sen-This evidence is contained in a they had already dealt with the Greece. Finally, after they were sun- of its own stooges, then the govern- tence. Golden said: "Those trade

the Feb. 11 N. Y. Times. His article/ reports Stark, that they "had re- to request the U. S. State Departdeals with Philip Murray's threat buked Mr. Schnurr and had advised ment to lodge a protest against the to purge national CIO appointees him that any communications ad- Greek death-to-strikers law. Philip and elected local and state CIO of- dressed to members of the world Murray wrote a letter to Secretary ficials who back Wallace or refuse labor federation must channel of State Marshall, published in the to "go along" with the Marshall through the national CIO offices." Feb. 2 CIO News.

about Schnurr's letter, "they began backing of the Greek dictatorship Greek Parliament "as soon as the been imprisoned or murdered. A deadliest enemy—Big Business—exan linguity," Stark writes, "in the as "aid to democracy," the CIO democratically-elected National La- "caretaker" authority, set up by the erted through its government and Mackey, a field representative of

jected to much pressure, the CIO ment might repeal the death-to- unionists and others who desire to veteran labor news correspondent, in | They told the State Department, Executive Board on Jan. 22 voted | strikers law.

This would amount to complete cen- Murray's chief concern, his letter The State Department, Stark dis- sorship under the inspiration of makes plain, is lest such a flagrant closed, recently demanded from top the State Department, of free in- demonstration of the anti-labor CIO officials an "explanation" for terchange of opinion between CIO character of the Greek government the action of Paul Schnurr, secre- members and unionists in other "diminish the support among American industrial workers" for the

minister says he will "propose" re- the elections. Thousands of labor themselves are a transmission belt When top CIO leaders found out After hailing Truman's military peal of the anti-labor laws to the opponents of the regime have since for the outside influence of labors and set up their own competing or the opponents of the regime have since for the outside influence of labors and set up their own competing or the opponents of the regime have since the opponents of the regime have since the opponents of the opponents of the regime have since the opponents of the regime have since the opponents of the regime have since the opponents of the oppon

on Dec. 8, 1947 passed its own ver- National Executive for the Greek

The CIO leaders are now trying to apply a new coat of whitewasn to the Greek dictatorship. Clinton Golden, Murray's representative on the top AFL leaders are no different Truman's "American Mission to Aid Greece," on Feb. 13 told the N. Y. imperialism. They are slavishly fol-Times correspondent in Athens that the "elections" of Greek government | State Department. hirelings in Greek unions are "under conditions permitting free balloting, thus rendering remarkable selves stooges of the Truman redemonstration of democratic pro-

Clinton Golden reached the heights of cynicism in his answer This means that when the Greek to a protest sent by a CIO Tobacco despotism has murdered enough Workers official on the arrest of

> must assume whatever risk goes along with such actions." The right-wing CIO leaders-and -are acting as agents of American

cast their lot with the Communists

They assail government direction of unions in Russia, but are them-

Washington and Lincoln—Part of the American Revolutionary Trad

By George Breitman

Nothing embarrasses the American capitalists so much as the truth about their own revolutionary past. That is illustrated in their current eulogies of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, on the occasion of their birthday celebrations. How the present rulers hate to be reminded that the United States was born and grew great as the result of two revolutions conducted and won by "force and violence"! How they squirm at the memory that their own ancestors led "subversive" movements! How they sweat, even while paying tribute to these two national heroes, to obscure and belittle the real significance, achievements and traditions of the 18th and 19th century revolutionists!

The reasons for such behavior are not hard to find. When American Big Business is reaching out for imperialist domination of the world and using all its resources to meserve an outworn and oppressive social system. it is naturally not interested in extolling American revolutions and civil wars for independence and the establishment of new social systems.

But every man should have his due, and those of us who are the most consistent fighters against the tyraphy of Big Business willingly give credit to the revolutionary forerunners of the present ruling class for the struggles they led against tyranny in the past. For us, unlike the apolegists of Big Business, the truth about the revolutionary past, and such figures as Washington and Lincoln, is not a source of embarrassment but of enlightenment and inspiration, providing many rich lessons still applicable in the current struggles against oppression.

Why They Are Remembered

Washington and Lincoln are remembered with affection by the American people above all because they were leaders of revolutionary struggles. True, they were not the most consistent or most far-sighted leaders of these struggles and there was much that they left undone, but that does not detract from the honor due them for what they were and for what they did achieve.

The fight for independence from Britain and for democracy in the American colonies did not begin when Washington took command of the Continental armies. That struggle had been going on for many years before 1776, with the most energetic role being played by the radical elements among the working population. It assumed organized form with the demonstrations by the Sons of Liberty against the oppressive Stamp Act in 1765, and then ebbed and flowed for over ten years before it erupted in civil war to overthrow the British crown.

The revolution was made by an alliance between several classesthe planters of the South, the radical merchants of the North, the farmers, and the artisans and mechanics in the cities. The merchants and planters were sometimes at odds with the democratic and popular elements; they were often shocked by the militant methods of the masses, and they showed a greater readiness to conciliate with the British. But compromise was not in the cards, and in the end the planters and merchants provided most of the top leaders for the revolution.

George Washington represented the Virginia planters and land specu-

Labor and 3rd Parties U.S. After Civil War

By George Lavan

The Civil War produced an doom. imprecedented industrial ex- The financial crisis of 1873 ruined pansion and the northern capi- existing unions and bankrupted talist class grew tremendously rich powerful. The young Republiplete sway of the industrialists. As plete sway of the industrialists. As powerful railroads. this party became converted to the THE GREENBACK PARTY tool of the business community, started locking around for a new political movement to represent

Trade unionism developed strongly after the Civil War. The movement was identified particularly with William H. Sylvis, an iron moulder from Pennsylvania, a man of great ability and integrity. Under his guidance the Moulders National Union became one of the strongest labor organizations in After the Civil War, Sylvis took leadership in founding a national federation of trade unions known as the National Labor

LABOR REFORM PARTY

the formation of an independent pelved over 85,000 votes.

One of the leaflets of the Labor Labor Party. Reform Party reads in part: "The HIGH WATER MARK the old slave system."

timely death of Sylvis in 1869. Syl- decline set in. vis might have been able to guide The downfall of the Greenback read by millions. old parties began to flock into it. in prices the Greenbackers were end the rule of Wall Street's Demo-They entangled the party in alli- predicting, many farmers lost faith cratic-Republican combine. ances with the cld parties and in the greenback panacea. As The farmers found that despite

At the same time the National terms of the class struggle. After

which sealed the organization's

same time it increased trustificacan Party soon came under the comtion. The whole country was in the

A call was sent out for a convenworkers and small farmers tion in Indianapolis in 1874 to form "a new political organization of the people, by the people and for the people, to restrain the aggressions of combined capital upon rights and interests of the masses, to reduce taxations, corect abuses, and to purify all departments of government." The Greenback Party was

At first this party had little laly of heavily-mortgaged farmers and monetary reformers who hened to break the power of the bankers by government issue of "cheap" money or greenbacks not based on gold (as during the Civil War). In 1876 the new party nominated for presi-At the 1868 convention of the Na- dent Peter Cooper, the philanthrotional Labor Union, his motion for pist and labor reformer. He re-

political party based on the NLU The next year, 1877, the great was adopted. The new party was railroad strikes were brutally called the Labor Reform Party. It smashed and the angry workers the dissolution of the Greenback propaganda methods that are no this matter. advocated affiliation with the First whose name was changed at the International, founded by Marx. rext convention to the Greenback GREAT UNREST

land worse than ever existed under East, six from the Middle West and three from the South. This was the frame-up took place. Books on la- which this outfit has used. Its when NTEA officials refused to ac-The promising Labor Reform Par- high water mark of the Greenback bor and land reform, like Bellamy's present name is its third, and co- cept an effer by the co-ops to setty suffered a great blow, in the un- movement. Soon afterwards rapid Looking Backward and Henry Incides with the lie about taxes the tax question.

young Labor Reform Party movement can be ascribed, in large

others of his class he deeply resented British restrictions and taxes which held down the native propertied interests in favor of their British count-He became part of a syndicate that laid claim to hundreds of thou-

lators. He himself was the richest planter in the colonies. Like the

sands of acres on the western frontier. As a youth he made a trip to this territory to survey it. Later he joined Braddock's troops to smash the French attempt to seize this territory. But the Quebec Act of 1765 took away the colonists' right to claim these lands and reserved them for the British crown. Measures of this kind were the source of Washington's

Freedom from British rule therefore had a very definite content for men like Washington. It meant the chance to end British taxation, the opportunity to repudiate debts that were crushing many planters and merchants, it meant free trade and free access to the land. It meant freedom for capitalist relations here to expand without hindrance by the British. To the poor farmers and working people it also meant many of these things—and much more besides: A chance for greater equality, democracy, opportunity. Thus they were able to unite in the struggle against the common foe.

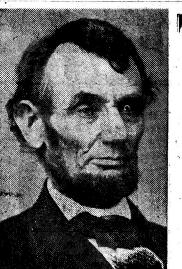
'Seditious And Subversive''

forces of "law and order"-and so it was from the viewpoint of the British and it did not by any means achieve all the democratic changes sought crown and its Tory supporters in America. But that's how American democracy came into power-by defying oppressive edicts and laws and by overthrowing oppressive institutions and governments. American his tory would have taken a different and less dynamic course if the revolutionists of the 1770's had capitulated to the powers that be in the way that the labor bureaucrais today have capitulated to the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act.

Washington was neither the founder, the theoretician nor the political leader of the revolution. His selection as commander-in-chief was their alliance with the Virginia planters. But he grew steadily in stature

Those were the times that tried men's souls; the revolutionary war was conducted under extremely discouraging conditions and lasted for seven long years. But Washington rever faltered. He pledged his life, his fortune and his sacred honor" to the rebel cause, and in the end he led it to victory. That alone was enough to establish his claim to lasting fame and gratitude in the hearts of his countrymen.

But although the first successful revolution laid the foundation for a



That struggle was labelled seditious, disloyal and subversive by the its results were not equally satisfactory to all the classes participating by the masses. The merchants and planters, taking over the reins of government, made considerable gains, but they retained slavery, limitations on the right to vote and many other anti-democratic restrictions. The manufacturers and slaveholders who came to the fore as the new ruling classes were on the whole content, but the working people found it necessary to continue the struggle for freedom and security.

The next major phase of this struggle was conditioned by the rise of a new obstacle to progress the growing power and domination of the slaveholders, whose interests clashed more and more with those of the due primarily to the desire of the Massachusetts merchants to cement other classes. The slaveholders demanded the extension of the slave system westward as the country expanded, domestic and foreign policies favoring the slave system, further restrictions on the democratic rights of the enemies of slavery etc. And since they controlled all branches of the federal government, they got much of what they wanted.

Again it was the masses who launched the fight against reaction. The radical farmers and workers, who wanted access to the western lands coveted by the slaveholders, pressed for vigorous action against the slaveholding oligarchy, and where necessary fought them, arms in hand, long before the outbreak of the Civil War. The slaves, who wanted freedom,

The NTEA argues that co-ops do about-face in the attitude of Big

ness firms do, and therefore enjoy resentatives. Up to 1943, it was gen-

in other forms of active and passive resistance. The petty bourgeois abolitionist movement carried on militant propaganda and agitation for emancipation. And they were joined later by the Northern capitalists, who could expand production and intensify the exploitation of the national resources only on the basis of wage labor and the overthrow of the slaveholders' power.

Like Washington, Abraham Lincoln represented the conservative rather than the more radical elements in the revolutionary evalition of his time. Unlike Washington, he was born poor and had to educate himself and make his own way in society. A product of the small-farming system on the frontier seething with democratic ideas, the slave system had no attraction for him. Like many a talented youth in that period, he placed himself at the service of the rising capitalist class, becoming lawyer for the Illinois Central Railroad.

He entered politics and proved to be a skillful speaker. His humble origins and frontier background enhanced his popularity among the masses; his carefully expressed political views won him a following among the capitalist politicians. He shone most brightly in the task of mediator and arbitrator between the right and left wings of the Republican Party which was formed in 1854 to bring together most of the opponents of the slaveholders.

The Crucial Emancipation Issue

While Lincoln opposed the extension of slavery to the western territories and worked on behalf of the capitalists to take the power out of the hands of the slaveholders' representatives in Washington, his stand on slavery was conciliatory to say the least. For one thing, he favored enforcing the fugitive slave law; for another, he preached the sanctity of the U.S. Constitution which permitted slavery. Even after his election to the presidency and the outbreak of the slaveholders' insurrection, he refused for two years to accede to the demand of the abolitionists that he emancinate the slaves

His first concern was to maintain (and then regain) the unity of the country and safeguard the newly acquired political power of the capitalist class. He said again and again that he would do this any way he could-by preserving slavery if necessary-or by abolishing it. The long protracted and hard-fought Civil War convinced him that he had no alternative, and from Jan. 1, 1863 he was compelled to take the road of

That is a tribute to the far-sightedness of the most radical elements in the fight against the slave system. Lincoln's hesitancy and reluctance to take the step which won him the love and admiration of succeeding generations strike an ironic note today. But they do not and cannot take away from him the credit for carrying through this great revolutionary act that dealt the death blow to the slave system, nor for his stubborn prosecution of the war that smashed the counter-revolution.

This second revolution cleared the way for the rapid development of capitalism and the growth of our modern industrial civilization with its potentiality for universal abundance. But again most of the benefits were drained off by the ruling class. Establishing themselves as a dictatorship of Big Business, the capitalists began in the interests of private profit to erect their own roadblocks in the path to freedom and security for those who had done the hardest fighting in the second American revolution—the workers, poor farmers and Negroes. And so the masses today are driven by the very conditions of their existence in the direction of a third American revolution.

Nature of The Coming Revolution

This time the goal is on a higher plane than in the past. It is nothing less than the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government preparing the way for a classiess society. This will climax and complete the progressive tasks begun in the earlier American revolutions. At the same time it will open a new chapter in world history, for the other nations will not be far behind once the American colossus shows the way.

This coming revolution cannot be prevented by red scares and witch hunts any more than its predecessors were. Indeed, the working people are being steeled and mobilized to take their places in this revolution just as the revolutionists were in the past—by the compulsion to fight against oppressive legislation like the Taft-Hartley Act, the proposed peace time conscription program, the drive to institute thought control through "subversive" blacklists, the ruling class's refusal to grant equality to the Negro people, the preparations for war, militarization and fascism

Of course the next revolution will differ in important respects from those of the past. Previous revolutions, while they made possible certain advances for humanity, also resulted in the establishment of the rule of a new minority. The coming revolution will for the first time bring the Minneapolis market. The or- rebates. Patronage rebates are Manufacturers characterized co-ops power to the representatives of the overwhelming majority of the popu-

A New Science

gerated claims to over a million over-charges which the co-op con- adopted the NTEA line. Representa- and grope their way forward because they were exploring new terrain. members. Actually, the "small tracts to return at the end of the tive Knutson of Minnesota, who is the 20th century revolutionists have the advantage of their predecessors businessmen" are only fronts and year. If corporations would make now busy with tax reductions for experience. They have also the benefit of a new science socialism the same kind of rebates to their the rich, is one of the congressional which provides them with a guide to action in the present and for the

The faults and shortcomings of Washington and Lincoln were due As the issue of "tax-dodging" is in great part to the fact that they represented classes forming a minortimate co-ops." Just as the bosses they could avoid paying income becoming somewhat threadbare, ity of the population, with interests antagonistic to those of the majorare friendly to "legitimate unions" taxes on this money just as the co- though by no means worn out, a ity. Instead of them, therefore, the great models of the next revolution -unions that never ask for higher ops do. The law treats both the new issue is being built up. This will be the Sons of Liberty and John Brown and Negro rebels like Dougwages or strike. The NTEA uses co-ops and corporations alike in will be the issue of the Ameri- lass, Gabriel, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner and Harriet Tubman. But canism" of private profits as op- Washington and Lincoln too, will have their place in the hall of fame is interesting to note that Sylvis also started streaming into the party have described affiliation with the Piret whose control of the party the labor forces gravitated of his country anywhere. The strategy is to tell a minated private business, as only a co-operatives. Red-baiting is the and the great emancipator will be precisely those truths that capitalist

That the upholders of outworn and decaying social systems never The issue of taxes is not the real workers' real wage. The Taft-Hart- voluntarily give up power, but must be driven from the scene by mass working people of our nation, white In the 1878 congressional electron and controlled both federal is refuted and disproved by the coand black, male and female, are tions, the party polled a million and state governments. Workers' ops, the NTEA counts on a certain confuse the real issue—total elisinking into a condition of serfdom votes and elected 15 representatives struggles for shorter hours and bet-Even new a slavery exists in our to Congress. Six were from the ter conditions were ruthlessly sup-

free and united nation and for the development of the productive forces, staged rebellions, ran away, organized underground railways and engaged The Big Business Campaign Against the Co-op Movement

In September, 1943, a closed not pay the taxes that private busi- Business, and its government repmeeting of big grain, oil, lum- an unfair advantage and threaten erally customary to support farm ber and coal interests was held to destroy private enterprise. As a co-ops as long as they did not get at the Morrison Hotel in Chicago. matter of fact, co-ops do pay the too big. It paid off in dollars and They set up an association at this same taxes; income taxes on profits cents, as a happy and satisfied meeting to stop the farmers and retained as reserves, or paid out as farmer could be exploited more workers from engaging in "free en- dividends on stock (with only minor prefitably than an angry and imterprise"—through democratic co- and unimportant exceptions); real poverished farmer. But the co-op operatives organized to give the estate taxes; personal property movement got out of hand. It spread farmer a better deal in the sale of taxes; excise taxes; social security from farmers to city workers. Credit worker a better deal in the purchase many others. of his food, fuel and other neces-

Not too surprisingly, they first Co-ops are taxed identically, with named their organization the two other types of business,-indi-"League for Protection of Private vidual ownerships and partnerships. Enterprise." They now call it the The difference in taxation between EXPLAINS THE ABOUT-FACE "National Tax Equality Associa- co-ops and corporations is that cothe co-operatives. It makes exag- through the co-op. stooges for the big operators.

they pose as being friendly to "legi- stockholders and chair-warmers, Monopoly continued to other. No matter how often the lie

MINOR DIFFERENCE

pressed. In 1886 the Haymarket flected in the succession of names ers or office clerks. This was proved living costs high.

George's Progress and Poverty, were which they currently are publiciz- The current drive against the co-

his products, and to give the city taxes; capital stock taxes; and unions and the government-sponsored farm credit structure started to compete with the loan sharks and banks. Co-ops became Big Business themselves and now compete with other business. That explains the causes for the tion." Its leading figure, and un- ops do not pay income taxes on switch in attitude toward the co-

til recently its president, is Ben patronage rebates; but corporations ops. As late as Oct. 1946, the ultra-McCabe, a big grain operator in generally do not make patronage reactionary National Association of ganization pretends to be composed merely the savings which are re- as "legitimate forms of private enof small businessmen fighting for turned to the customer in proportion terprise." Today they see the necessurvival against the competition of to his sales or purchases made sity for "re-evaluating" their pre-Although their real purpose is to customers, instead of keeping all figures spear-heading the anti-co-future. wipe out the small business man, the profit for their non-productive operative drive.

whopping big lie—repeat it until it small percentage of all business in order of the day. It is being used propagandists try to gloss over today: is worn out—then move on to an- this country is done co-operatively. to whittle down both ends of the

WORKERS' FORUM

Hits New Low

James W. Connery, 75-year-old reaucratic repression of opposition one of whom received sizable sup- is impossible; with world control sub-plugger of Kewanee, Ill., began candidates. A "nominating com- port. his own Sub Week Feb. 7 and turned mission," appointed by the outgoing in 6 new one-year subscriptions. executive board, kept off the ballot NAACP is one that lends itself to ploit his neighbors, to profit from Connery was won over to our paper many opponents. An entire group the maintenance of a conservative their necessities, to such their

Election procedure legally requires no attempt to get into the neigh- keeping? I say, No! months for opposition to World War three members of the NAACP to borhoods where the masses are. nominate candidates in writing Then at the annual meeting a great on the church. Now the church tions commission, which is estab- in proportion to the size of the lished by the constitution, instead Negro community of 150,000. "reviewed" all candidacies, rejecting

plaining that the meeting cost hun-

The annual elections of the Los although he was re-elected for the culture being organized and con-Angeles NAACP, held here last Sun- 14th straight time, was opposed for trolled on a world (not merely a day, established a new low in but the first time by two candidates, national) scale, general prosperity

The set-up of the Los Angeles

Los Angeles, Calif. Al Lynn,

Monopoly Inevitable Under Capitalism

Your "Reader, Portland, Ore," statement of facts. He says, "I ad- really is; let him read Jung, Freud A two minute period was allotted vocate capitalism, but not as prac- and Frazer and recognize religion ticed in America; but with the and mythology for what they are flower that tops the dunghill.

He says. "If the nationalization

tage of freedom would go." and Some opposition candidates did that he was born a free man able to make the ballot in spite of the bu- enter what business he chooses and reaucratic procedure and received aims to keep his freedom. The facts good votes. The president, Griffith, are, that without industry and agriprosperity is certain; and that his 'freedom' is merely freedom to exship or for criticism. And there is and millionaire exploiters worth

> Thirdly, he objects to your attacks wark of reaction, and preaches false doctrines of humility, patience, and tolerance. The whole fabric of the Christian religion is full of these falsehoods; humility and poverty in this life, rewarded by prosperity in the afterlife; patience with, and tolerance of, social evils, reserving all their anger for the anti-Christian.

> Let him read Marx and Engels. mind, relics of prehistory. Then creeds are worthless.

> > England





Yellow Gold

The drop in the commodity market didn't help this Chicago housewife who still had to pay more than a dollar a pound for butter. To protect her precious purchase, she asked the police officer to escort her home.

Federated Pictures

towards the socialist movement

The 1880's were a period of great

Third party movements were through the difficulties it now con- measure, to its almost exclusive em- started in many places. Many won fronted. As soon as the labor party phasis on money reform. When local victories. The farmers conshowed strength and promise, poli- gold payments on greenbacks were tinued to play a leading role in atticians and opportunists from the resumed in 1879, without the drop tempting to build a new party to

watered down its program. As the grain and cotton prices went up the periods of so-called good times, they labor party began losing strength rural support of the movement be- never could win the game against because of this, the leaders at gan melting away. Moreover, the the money power A financial panic, tempted to get support outside the labor supporters of the movement a drop on the grain or cotton marranks of labor by watering down found themselves at odds with the ket would ruin them or throw them the program still more. The results right wing. These labor men were back into debt. The railroad trusts coming to think more and more in fantastically overcharged the farmers, and discriminated against small 'Is this a communist newspaper?' I larly angered the farmer was that read the sample copy I gave him. if he borrowed money one year that | "We can certainly expect an inwheat, a drop in prices the next tions in the coming period, as more year meant that he had to repay and more workers learn the real the debt by paying 200 bushels. Out meaning of the anti-red drive." of this situation arose the cry for money that would not change in value to the farmers' detriment. It was this condition that gave rise

THE MILITANT ARMY

New Subscriptions Boost Sub Week Total

"During the recent Militant Sub later on. Week," writes M. Ellis of San Francisco, "I ran across an interesting reaction from a new subscriber. When I had finished my introductory talk, he immediately asked me, producers in favor of the big. In replied that it certainly could be addition the banks gouged them considered one, although it was enwith a mortgage and credit system tirely different from the official that kept them continually in debt. Communist Party. He then explained The farmer did not deal directly that he had asked because I would commission merchants, grain ele- newspaper if it was communist than vator trusts, speculators, and a host if it was not.' That clinched the of other parasites. What particu- sub and he immediately sat down to

itself, and Marianne reported sev- gave them hell."

es will have Militant Sub Weeks

by reading about the Minneapons of active Negro unionists, both from leadership. No opportunity for pro- blood. Apart from that, is Ameri-Case, where 18 Socialist Workers the CIO and AFL, were thus kept posals of action from the member- ca's heritage of slums, depressions, Party and Twin City trade union cff the ballot. leaders, went to jail for 12 to 16 II. Their frame-up trial took place with the buyer and was squeezed by be more ready to subscribe to a late in 1941 and after the United prior to the meeting. The nomina-States Supreme Court had refused to review the case they went to jail Jan. 1, 1944. "This happened when I was blind,

some glasses so I can now read."

eral later subs are on the way. Toledo, New York and other branch- Editor:

was the equivalent of 100 bushels of creasing number of similar reactions. With cataracts in both eyes, writes a list of recommendations. four years, 1940-44. In September, dred (out of 11,000) members pres-1944, I was operated on and got ent with a printed ballot and ex- Editor; He read through twice "The Case dreds of dollars, they stampeded who thinks that the rich rule, and Fifty-eight more subs bring the for Socialism" and immediately the meeting into acceptance of this so on; he should be given a true learn what dialectical materialism total returns of Militant Sub Week started passing it around among his highly irregular procedure. to the money reformers who de- to 619. Connecticut held Sub Week friends. "The comrades all proved manded that silver as well as gold Feb. 1 to 8 and sent in 51 subscrip- real Socialists. I was glad to get it." the membership for additional

become the basis of currency. The tions, San Francisco rounded up its The severe cold and a "Christmas nominations (which would then monopoly element destroyed." The projections of man's subconscious program for the free coinage of sil- last three from the one-week cam- that robbed them of everything" require a write-in vote), but one fact is, capitalist economy inevitably ver and the regulation of monopolies paign to reach a total of 33. Seattle's made. Convery's sub-getting im- speaker critical of the administra- produces monopolies. They are the might be realize that churches and became the main slogans of the new last four completed the goal of 25 possible for a few weeks, "but last tion who attempted to gain the floor and growing Populist movement, as that the Seattle Branch had set for Saturday night I went uptown and was called out of order, with no ap-

NAACP Election

those who did not meet with their with cataracts in both eyes," writes approval—instead of coming in with

By confronting the several hun-

peal from the chairman's decision of industry should occur, our heri-

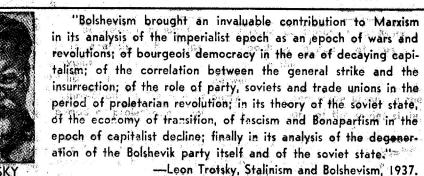
Subscriptions: \$1 per year;

Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879."

Vol. XH.—No. 8

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily repre-sent The Militant's policies. These are tapressed in its edi-THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9330) FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

Monday, February 23, 1948





LENIN

A National PAC Convention!

· Last week The Militant pointed out editorially that 33 top bureaucrats of the CIO Executive Board are trying to dictate to the six million CIO members what their political policy is to be in 1948. The CIO members have never been asked, and have never had the chance to say who they want to support for President next November, and whether the CIO should break with the two corrupt old parties and help launch a new party.

Now we have Jack Kroll, national director of PAC, the CIO's political arm, saying that anybody in PAC who doesn't follow the Murray machine's pro-Truman policy or who supports Wallace, had better turn in his resignation.

Kroll said in Cleveland on Feb. 10 that "I made it clear in a letter to all PAC representatives that our group was bound to follow the rejection of Wallace's candidacy by the CIO Executive Board and suggested that those who desired to support the third party had best divorce themselves from the PAC."

By what right does Kroll presume to say what political policy the PAC members are to follow? Kroll isn't even an elected official of PAC. He was APPOINTED by Murray, after the death of Sidney Hillman. If priything, Kroll's pronouncement is even more brazen, arrogant and presumptuous than the CIO Executive Board's. Kroll can speak for no one but himself. Certainly no PAC member ever had a chance to vote on the

policy he expounds or, for that matter, to vote for Kroll as PAC director.

We hold no brief for the Stalinists, who are using the most undemocratic methods in lining up unions under their control behind Wallace. Up until recently they were loyal henchmen of Murray and helped him keep the CIO members politically-gagged and tied to Wall Street's two-party system. Now they are committing certain CIO unions to Wallace's campaign without a by-your-leave to the membership.

The fact remains, that so far as the PAC membership is concerned, it has not voted for any specific political policy. And it's about time that the CIO-PAC members have the chance to say something about PAC policy. Before Kroll goes shooting off his mouth any more about what PAC policy is or isn't, and making threats against anyone who doesn't go along with the two-party system, let's hear what the PAC members think about political action in 1948.

Do the PAC members want Truman or Wallace or as The Militant advocates - a party of their own, a Labor Party running its own independent candidate? THAT CAN BE DETERMINED ONLY BY A NATIONAL PAC CONVENTION WITH RANK AND FILE REPRESENTATION FROM ALL THE LOCAL BODIES. Until such a convention is held and the question of PAC policy is democratically decided by the membership, nobody-Murray or Kroll or anyone else—has the right to speak of any political policy in the name of PAC.

The Kremlin's Counter-Blast

U. S. State Department's publication of captured Nazi documents revealing the inside details of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, including the secret deal to jointly carve up Eastern Europe.

charges that American economy helped build ing, State Department-inspired film, "Misup Hitler's war industry; that Britain and France appeased Hitler, agreed to his seizure of Czechoslovakia and so made war inevitable; that the Allied imperialists tried to turn Hitler against Russia before the Stalin-Hitler Pact; and that the British imperialists tried to negotiate a treacherous separate peace with Hitler behind the back of their Russian ally. To back its charges, the Kremlin has quoted from certain documents and promises to publish them.

We have no reason to doubt the Kremlin's charges against its wartime allies, just as we cannot deny the authenticity of the charges made by Washington. In both cases, we are merely receiving confirmation of historic facts whose general outline has long been known. Now that the thieves have fallen out, more of the truth is coming out.

This "war of documents" serves a useful purpose not intended by the Kremlin or the U. S. State Department. It sheds new light on the cynical lies they each told on behalf ing a new war.

The Kremlin has replied in kind to the of the other when they were in their wartime embrace.

For years, the U. S. government assiduously spread the propaganda that Stalin and Molotov made their alliance with Hitler merely to gain time for the "defense of de-Now the Soviet Information Bureau mocracy." Who does not remember the lysion to Moscow"? In return, the Kremlin bureaucrats obligingly lauded the "antifascist, peace-loving democracies" of England, France and the United States.

> Now they besmirch each other for the same purpose as they once praised each other -to whitewash their own crimes and gain credence for the lies they tell about themselves today and new ones they will tell tomorrow. Consider the wretched and stupid denial of the Stalinist charges issued by the British Foreign Office. Attlee, Cripps, Morrison, Bevin are trying to repudiate the very charges they themselves made unceasingly against the Chamberlain government of appeasing Hitler and inciting him to attack the Soviet Union.

> By all means, let us have the documents -ALL the documents. And not after the war, betrayals, crimes and mass murders. Let us have them now-so that the peoples of the whole world can see how the imperialist connivers and double-dealers are prepar-

By Marcel Rogier Another Mine Tragedy

Since November Italy has been experiencing extraordinary times. The whole country seems suddenly seized with a collective fever. Observers compare the rising tension here with the cooler temperature in France on the other side of the Alps, and they explain this difference by the "southern temperament." The leading sections of the Italian Communist party attribute the difference between the French and Italian situations to the existence of the unity pact which still ties the CP with the SP in Italy.

But in reality it is something much more complex. One need only attend a workers' meeting, see a demonstration, or participate in a strike meeting, to become conscious of the essential difference in the atmosphere prevailing in the two countries.

The French working class has been dominated by the CP since the period before the "liberation." It has permitted this bureaucratic leadership to impose a systematic policy of passivity and capitulation which lasted until 1947. On a few occasions, during the first half of 1947, it broke away from that grip. But the Stalinists, resting on their trusted worker cadres, which have

OPPOSITION TENDENCIES It is quite different in Italy.

The Italian working class, once ist Party itself, suddenly springing increase in unemployment. Movement of Italy." The spontane- another. ous pressure of the masses has been

rising slowly but surely since 1945. At present, the CP is executing a left turn like its French sister party, and attempting to regain more direct control over the masses. Nevertheless the masses have been developing and maturing for three years. The working class is now more experienced, has had more opportunities for reviving its old revolutionary tradition, more possibilities for developing its sense of initiative and its critical spirit. All its admirable qualities are expressing themselves today in action. The Italian workers are fighting today in the vanguard of the European

OCCUPATION OF FACTORIES

Several weeks ago the conservawere in and at the same time imtity, Emaudi hoped to check inflation and bring about a substantial drop in the cost of living.

sudden drop in wholesale prices of tion." Life quickly became normal, phone Tyler 7-6267.



Gathered about the blanket-shrouded body of one of the workers killed in a mine explosion at Greenwood, Ark., grim-faced relatives and friends seek to identify the victim. The blast ripped through the gas-filled main shaft of the Sunshine coal mine, killing eight miners, Federated Pictures

been rooted in the working class oil, macaroni, etc.). But scarcely direct traffic. for two decades, succeeded in re- two months after these successes, gaining control of the mass move- the disastrous effects of this policy made themselves felt.

While the workers' cost of living spirit ever since 1943. Although the trusts were suddenly unable to pay masses followed the CP in large their workers. Coming at a moment numbers, this party never exercised when Haly was undergoing a grave over them the absolute control export crisis, the inflationary crisis which it did in France. The Staline threatened to bring about a huge

up after two decades of illegality, But the working class refused to never possessed a fanatically "obedi- submit any longer to the conseent" apparatus. The rightist line quences of decaying capitalism. The which Togliatti followed for three workers of a metallurgical plant in years continually clashed with op- Milan set the example by occupying position tendencies of the rank and the factory in the latter part of file. In Naples ("Communist and So- November, after three days of futile cialist Movement of the Left," 1944- negotiations with the owners who 45), in Rome ("Communist Move- wanted to shut down. While the ment of Italy"), in Milan ("Inter- leaders of the Italian CGT had been national Communist Party," with a engaged for weeks in interminable Bordighist leaning). One opposition arguments over the question of the movement after the other appeared, owners' demand for ending the reoften numbering thousands of mem- strictions on dismissals, the workers bers, and playing a leading role in were following the example of the events, as did the "Communist Milanese workers in one city after

WORKERS' CONTROL

The Filotecnica Salmoiraghi was occupied just recently by 2,500 dent that the government did not workers. Then the same thing hap- dare to send troops against the pened at Sesto Calende, a large aviation plant, SIAI. Not only have the workers forbidden the owners and management to enter the build- whelming victory of the general ings, but they have even resumed strike of the agricultural workers production on their own initiative Here, as at Perugia, Cremona and other cities where factories have mittees of agricultural workers been occupied, the slogan of workers' control of hiring, firing and production heads the workers' demands.

The men in the city of Brescia went further. While a great demonstration of workers who had been laid off was taking place throughout the city, a mass of workers who tive newspapers in France, Switzer- had not received their wages for land and England were singing the two weeks joined the procession. praises of the "liberal" Italian n- The police tried to disperse the Detroit Presents nance minister, Signor Einaudi. By demonstration with tear bombs. The imposing rigorous restrictions on the workers immediately tossed them allotment of credit to industry-no back. Sirens started blowing and a Feb. 28, the Detroit Branch of the

center of the city under the direc-He succeeded in causing a rather tion of their "committee of agita-

certain black market products (olive | Flying squadrons were organized to

Seizures of Factories and Land

Herald New Explosions in Italy

Only after a Stalinist deputy intervened and promises of payment were made by another deputy, did the strike end after a tremendous scarcely dropped at all, industry mass meeting. While their leaders suddenly began to suffocate. Far- find themselves overwhelmed by the freed from the fascist dictatorship, tories closed down as the capitalists magnitude of events, this working has shown an admirable fighting refused to operate at a loss. Great class is truly ready for the struggle for power.

SOLDIERS AND PEASANTS Nothing is so indicative of

ripening revolutionary situation as a powerful movement involving progressively all the layers of the population. These last few weeks have successively witnessed powerful movements of soldiers and peasants, as well as beginnings of unrest among the women and the youth, clearly showing how discontent has penetrated even to the layers which are traditionally the most inactive.

The lengthening of the period of military service burst like a bombshell among the recruits of the class of '45. The majority of these men have already been under arms for more than a year. Protests broke out spontaneously. At Milan almost the entire garrison suddenly left the barracks, surrounded the prefecture and demanded their immediate release. It was not by accidemonstrators!

As for the peasants' movement. it is concentrated, after the overlast September, in the regions of Venice, Apulia and Emilia. Comwere set up in many places. In the province of Modena, these committees seized important sections of land. expelled the owners and oper ated it collectively.

These struggles which have flared up in every part of the country are harbingers of new explosions to

Sat. Open Forums

Beginning this coming Saturday, matter what financial straits they general strike paralyzed the city. Socialist Workers Party will pre-Barricading themselves behind sent an open forum each Saturday porting food products in great quan- overturned trolley cars, the workers afternoon at 2:30. The discussions succeeded in occupying the entire wil be centered around the topic "Highlights of the American Labor Movement." The Detroit Branch address is 6108 Linwood Ave., tele-

Events on the International Scene

By Paul G. Stevens

CAMPAIGN AGAINST TROTSKYISM IN EASTERN GERMANY

clared "dead" for years by the the Fourth International.

AWAKENING LABOR MOVEMENT IN INDIA

Evidence that an independent Party press served with "gag order." are some of the highlights:

August: Miners' strike in Loyabad, cession of workers in Shahabad, 12 Amarnath arrested "preventively injured. Constituent Assembly confers powers of "preventive arrest" on government.

September: Arrests of trade unionists at Assam; of dock-workers' leaders (after a strike) in Bombay, cialist or Communist. Bolshevik. followed by new strike for their re- Republican Socialist, Forward Bloc lease; Bombay police break up tex- etc.), in which the Indian Tretsky. tile workers' conference, arrest and detain strike committee.

Bengal, several injured, 100 arrested; to obtain the revocation of a pe mass protests bring release of political and class war prisoners by Ordinance." Bombay High Court on grounds of illegal detention.

order"; Bombay government uses leaders in the Bombay government. troops to break dock strike; West Comrade Ajit Roy, recently reand Assam; Communist (Stalinist) off the CP hooligans.

Last week a strike wave hit "pros- American loans have not been able manding a cost-of-living bonus and rising costs. wage increases. The government threatened to call out troops and the strikes. Yet there is a strike

The weekly Weltwoche of Zurich, Kremlin, in Germany it appears to Switzerland reports on Jan. 23 that constitute a rising threat to the one of the main topics dealt with at Stalinist bureaucracy. Why? Bethe Institute of the Soviet Military cause only Tretskyism means Com-Administration located in Koenigs- munism-every principle of which wuestrehousen near Berlin is-Trot- is betrayed by the Statinists. And skyism. Hundreds of Stalinist func- in Germany there are many Comtionaries, trade union officials and munist workers who for ten years returned prisoners of war from Rus- and more were cut off from the rest sia are trained at this institute for of the world and consequently have high office in Soviet-occupied East- not experienced the step-by-step deern Germany. "Against America and generation of the Comintern! To Trotsky," an article signed Thomas remain true to the principles they Vandenbergh says, " a much fiercer have always held, to remain revostruggle is waged than against the remnants of Fascism or militarism." lutionist, these workers must turn Although Trotskyism has been de- their backs on Stalinism and seek

labor movement is arising to chal- December: In West Bengal a lenge the capitalist government of new oppressive "Public Safety Act" newly created independent India calls forth militant demonstration fills the pages of New Spark, English of students outside the Assembly. language paper of the Bolshevik- Tear gas, lathis and bullets are Leninist Party of India (BLPI) sec- poured into the demonstrators, with tion of the Fourth International. In 1 killed, 25 injured, 200 arrested. its last issue to be received here, the Police open fire on sit-down strikers paper reviews the months since at Birla Mill in New Delhi, on work 'freedom" was achieved in August, ers holding an indoor meeting at It is a record of extraordinarily vio- Jalpaiguri (Assam), and on peasants lent struggle between the workers "under Communist influence" in and their capitalist masters. Here Mandigudam with 5 killed and injured.

The New Spark of Dec. 20 reports: 25 killed, 125 injured. Police fire on 150,000 government employes strike crowd at Melapalayam (Madras), 3 in Madras; prominent Indian Trot killed, 7 injured. Police fire on pro- skyist and trade union leader, S

A united front of trade unlous student organizations, women's or ganizations, backed by a bloc of the parties of the left (there are several calling themselves Revolutionary Sn ists participated prominently, or ganized huge demonstrations on October: Police fire on striking three successive days before the Shri Durga Cotton Mill workers in West Bengal Assembly in Calcutta ticularly vicious "Special Powers

The Socialist Party, in the past affiliated to the Indian National November: Madras government Congress, had called a one-day reates Special Armed Units to as- token strike against the arbitration sist police in maintaining "law and machinery set up by the Congress

Bengal government uses tear gas to turned from a long stay in England disperse students' demonstration; continued his successful tour with arrest and detention of Saumyen- a mass meeting attended by 15,000 dranath Tagore and 29 other mem- in Madura, at which a Stalinist atbers of the Revolutionary Commun- tempt to break up the meeting failed ist Party in Bombay. West Bengal miserably with the workers driving

STRIKE WAVE HITS "PROSPEROUS" BELGIUM

perous" little Belgium. Several hun- to solve the problems of inflation dred thousand miners, textile work- there any more than anywhere else; ers, postmen and gas and electrical the workers are forced to strike in workers walked out successively de- order to get wage increases to meet

ordered a "civil mobilization" or wave, "wild cat" though it is. The Cominform certainly plays a negli-Belgium has been played up as gible role here compared to Italy the pet of the "free enterprise" sys- and France. But the mass of the tem in Europe by Wall Street spekes- workers in Belgium, as in the rest men. It was supposed to be an easis of Europe, show that they are deof prosperity on the continent. Its termined to fight and solve their capitalists have been especially fa- problems in struggle. The strike vored with American loans since wave in Belgium is thus a resoundthe end of the war. The Belgian to picture the fermenting class strike wave is thus a preview of struggle in Europe as simply an Europe after the Marshall Plan. emanation of the Kremlin.

HARLEM-103 W. 110 St., Rm. 28

Phone MO. 2-1866. Open discussion.

BRONX-1034 Prospect Ave., lat. fl. Phone LU., 9-0101.

BROOKLYN-635 Fulton St. Phone

CHELSEA-130 W. 23rd St. Phone

OAKLAND (Cal)-Write P. O. Box

PHILADELPHIA - 1203-05 W. Ghard

PITTSBURGH -- 1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd

fl. Open meetings, 1st & 3rd Sum., 2:80 p. m. Marxist Study Class, Thur., 7-2 p. m.

SAN DIEGO (Cal.)-For information

SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., th fl. Phone FI. 6-0416, Daily except

SEATTLE - Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave

ST. LOUIS-1023 N. Grand Blvd. Em. 12. Phone Jefferson 3642. Forum, Fri.

South & Washington, Phone Main 9 Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Bra neeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, books

Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.

Thur. 8 p. m.

351. Oakland

write P. O. Box 857.

Sun., 12-4:30 p. m.

Key Role of Trotskyists in the Indo-Chinese Uprising From 1939 to 1944 no revolution-, festo. "The capitalists and feudalists this human ocean. The Caodaist middle of the crowd, they argued

By Lucien

The heads of the capitalist and feudal parties in Indo-China-Caodaists, Hoahaoists and Nationalists-were terrorstricken by the revolutionary wave that erupted throughout the country after the Japanese defeat was announced on Aug. 16, 1945. Three days later, in an effort to stave off the revolution, these political nonentities convoked their general assembly and decided to form a "united national front." The following day this capitalist-feudal bloc issued a joint manifesto inviting the people to demonstrate, under their leadership, in celebration of national independence on Aug. 21. What is the nature of these three parties?

The Cao-Dai Party is a semireligious association founded on an amalgam of mystical formulae whose main aim was to help the French government massacre the revolutionary peasants who followed the communist movement in Cochin China during 1939-41. When French imperialism capitulated to Japanese militarism in 1941, the Cao-Dat Party made an about-face and as- ists and professional opportunists.

agent of the Japanese general staff. ary voice could be heard among the changed after the Japanese con- the two parties who fought under cluded the Mar. 9, 1945 coup that the banner of the Fourth Internaunseated the French capitalist gov- tional (the LaLutte group and the ernment. While its leaders took an International Communist League) oath of loyalty to the Japanese emperor, its followers revolted.

The Hoa-Hao Party, another religious sect, containing over a million poor and middle class peasants, played an equally important role in support of the Japanese army. Hoahaoism was distinguished from Caodaism in that it managed to secure an alliance between the urban workers and the agricultural proletariat but on condition that the class struggle be completely rejected. Both these parties are instruments in the service of foreign imperialism and are savagely opposed to all social revolution.

The National Independence Party avowed agent of the native capitalists, composed mainly of middle class intellectuals (teachers, engineeds, journalists, lawyers and former functionaries of the French government), is completely barren of any theoretical and political principles. It is a group of rotten career-

The situation within this party masses. Hundreds of militants from were deported, exiled, imprisoned and a good many disappeared in the prisons and concentration camps.

But toward the end of 1944, the Fourth International movement renewed its activity. The ICL, reconstituted at Saigon in August 1944. at the beginning contained only about a score of members, five of whom were founding members of perialists. They have betrayed the the Trotskyist movement with at least 12 years experience in revolutionary struggle. To these were added a number of experienced comrades sent by the section in the northern region (Bac-Bo).

Immediately after the Japanese coup of Mar. 9, 1945, the ICL issued a manifesto calling on the revolutionary masses of Saigon to prepare themselves for a fast-approaching

"The future defeat of Japanese

imperialist states. The petty bour- ist flag at its head. geois nationalists, with their adventuristic policies, will be unable mous banner of the Fourth Interto lead the people to revolutionary national. The flag, proudly borne by victory. Only the working class, conducting an independent struggle un- attention of hundreds of thousands. der the banner of the Fourth International, will be able to fulfill the vaguard tasks of the revolution.

"The Stalinists of the Third International have already abandoned the working class in a miserable alliance with the 'democratic' impeasants and no longer speak of the agrarian question. Today they march with the foreign capitalists, tomorrow they will help the national exploiting classes to crush the revolutionary people.

"Workers and peasants! Assemble your ranks under the banner of the party of the Fourth International!" GIGANTIC DEMONSTRATION

On Aug. 21, at six in the morning, over 300,000 people of both imperialism will launch the Indo- sexes, assembled in columns on the Chinese people on the road to ma- Boulevard Norodom in Salgon. tional liberation," stated the mani- Streamers and placards flew over

The ICL boldly unfurled the enoran old Trotskyist worker, drew the Revolutionary slogans were inscribed in giant letters on a series

of placards and streamers which floated over our heads: "Down with imperialism! Long live the world revolution! Long live the Workers and Peasants Front! People's Committees everywhere! For the People's Assembly! Arm the people! Land to the peasants! Nationalize the factories under workers' control! For a Workers and Peasants Gov-

Thousands of workers, dispersed and demoralized during the war years, had never lost the memory of the revolutionary movement. From the first moment that the Fourth Internationalist banner and slogans appeared, they recovered their political consciousness, felt their revo-

lutionary faith revived. Men embraced joyously in the

who now serve the Japanese general and Hoahaoist peasants formed a for the right to carry this or that staff will similarly serve the Allied column of 100,000 with the monarch- placard. Workers came in waves, greeting each other with clenched fist, all declaring themselves ready to fight with their vanguard party. In a few hours more than 30,000 workers had regrouped themselves under the leadership of the handful of Trotskyists.

The capitalists were frightened by the spirit of the revolutionary masses; but not knewing what to do, they had to leave the field free to Trotskyist activity. The masses marched from one street to another while ICL members tirelessly expounded their program in open-atr

Even the peasants grouped separately under the supervision of reactionary leaders lent an attentive ear to our speeches on the national and peasant questions. No longer respecting the political discipline of their parties, they vehemently applauded every time the banner of the Fourth International passed by.

(This is the second part of ar eye-witness account on the outbreak of the xevolution in Indo-China. The third will be printed in next week's Militant.)

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the Socialist Workers Party

AKRON-4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. hrough Fri., 7 to 9 p. m.; Branch meeting Sun. 8 p. m.; Socialist Youth Club meet ng Sun. 3 p. m. BOSTON-30 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p. m

res., 7:30-9:30 p. m. BUFFALO-Militant Forum, 629 Main ., 2nd fl. Phone MAdison 3960. Every fternoon except Sun.
CHICAGO-777 W. Adams (corner Hal-

sted). Phone DEArborn 4767. Daily except Sun., 11 a.m.-5 p. m. Library, bookstore, CLEVELAND — Laitant Forum, Sun., :30 p. m., Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd Stoff Wade Park Ave.). DETROIT — 6108 Linwood Ave. Phone Y 7-6267. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. FLINT—215 E. Ninth St. Daily 7-9

m. Open house, Sat. eve. Forum, Sun LOS ANGELES — Militant Publ. Assn. SAN PEDRO-Militant, 1008 S. Pacific

oom 214. VATTS—Militant, 1720 E. 97th St LYNN, (Mass.)—44 Central Sq., Rm. 11 at. 1-5 p. m. Discussion, Tues., 7:30 MILWAUKEE - Militant Bookshop, 60 . 5th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 m. Phone BRoadway 9645. MINNEAPOLIS-10 So. 4th St. Phone

fain 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m. in m. Library, bookstore.

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

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Igelow 3-2574. Reading room, week NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)-116 Univers

EAST SIDE-251 E. Heuston St. 1st

ST. PAUL-540 Cedar St. Phone Gar field 1137. Open daily. Bookstore. Forum. 3rd Sun. of each month, 3+30 p. m. TACOMA (Wash.) Write P. O. Bo 1079, Meeting, Wed., 8 p. m., Odd Fe Hall, 6th & Fawcett. TOLEDO - 118 St. Clair St. 2nd 41 Open daily.

:30-10 p. m.

YOUNGSTOWN - 115 E. Federal St. km. 302. Phone 3-1355. Mon. through Sai 11 a. m.-4:30 p. m.

Swim is one of those bureaucrats who can hardly

as a champion of the things for which labor was apply to the labor leaders too? fighting . . . he didn't roll up his sleeves and get not as a 'practicing liberal.' "

certainly come as news to those CIO members whose as the Taft-Hartley Act. estimate of Wallace was formed on the basis of what by Philip Murray and all the little, Murrays.

man and the other PAC leaders almost busted a gut American history) pleading for the renomination of that "preaching liberal"-Henry Wallace? Do they think the workcounsel today when they see what shameless lies they were told yesterday?

makes another very damaging admission:

"It should have been obvious to anybody with poto Allan L. Swim, editor of the CIO News, for an litical savvy that a successful third party would have article on Henry Wallace in that paper's Feb. 16 issue, to stem from the labor movement. There simply is entitled "Hank May Have Meant Well But—He no other group in the country large enough to smash the two-party tradition."

That is a completely valid criticism of Wallace and conceal their low opinion of the union members' in- the Stalinists who, instead of trying to build a party telligence. Discussing Wallace's record in three high based on the unions, are trying to build one that may have the support of union members but will remain In none of these posts did he distinguish himself under their own control. But doesn't this criticism

For years they have been telling the workers that into the fray when the chips were down and the go- the unions are "too weak" to form their own Labor ing was tough. CIO officials who called on him for Party. Now, just in passing, they blandly admit that aid learned to regard him as a 'preaching liberal'— labor is "large enough" to smash the two-party swindle. Thanks to the labor leaders, it wasn't done Now, that happens to be the truth. But it will and the two-party system gave birth to such children

And today, when that system is hatching even they read about him in the CIO News in the past, worse anti-labor monsters, these labor bureaucrats, and of what they were told in a thousand speeches instead of hiding their heads in shame, have the gall. to chatter about "political savvy" and to give lectures Do Swim and Murray think that the members of about not splitting the so-called "progressive" vote the CIO have forgotten what happened at the Demo- (which, in line with their directives, wasn't split in cratic Party convention in 1944, when Murray, Hill- 1946 and produced the most reactionary Congress in

If a policy cowardly and stupid as that can be palmed off as political savvy, then I'll take Mortimer ers are going to follow the CIO leadership's political Snerd in preference to 95% of the self-styled labor statesmen any day in the week. Mortimer may not be very bright, but at least his backbone isn't made of Continuing his attack on Wallace, Swim then jelly and his tongue is used for other purposes than licking the boots of his enemies.

The Negro Struggle —

A Glorious Page of U.S. History

By F. Forrest

Many pages of the Negro's history in America still congressmen. The infamous union of Northern capiremain unwritten. Not only has the capitalist his- tal with the Southern slavocracy dates precisely from

problem, including the 1,483 pages live on this.

wish to turn our readers' attention.

colored Farmers Alliance in that period numbered no ern oligarchy and Northern capital. less than one and one-quarter million members. An- In Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel, C. Van Woodward other myth blown to bits is that the Negro has fol- reports the following: party, which then took the shape of the Peoples Party. the Populist struggles."

torian kept the Negro's contribution to the develop- this threat to capitalist rule. To conquer the threat ment of America out of the school of Negro and white unity, the plantocracy united with textbooks, but even "adult" books the railroad interests and raised race discrimination specifically devoted to the Negro to a principle. The Southern Bourbons to this day of the pretentious An American There are some "liberals" who wish us to think that

Dilemma, have seen fit not to do in the South, in any case, it is impossible to unite serious research to fill those blank white and black. That myth too is branded as a lie pages. The most glaring gap is by this page of American history. For the populist that of the Negro's role in the Populist movement in movement that united black and white swept the prethe 1880's and 90's, and it is to that period that we judice-ridden South immediately after the notorious doctrine of "white supremacy" had just won its first This is a particularly glorious page which explodes counter-revolutionary battle against Reconstruction. many of the stereotyped conceptions of the Negro. Yet the economic plight of the cotton picker, share it is alleged, for instance, that it is impossible to or- cropper and tenant farmer had welded them together ganize the Negro into a cohesive movement, yet the as one, irrespective of color, against both the South-

lowed the Republican Party from the days after the "For the first time in his political history, the Ne-Civil War until 1932 when he changed to the "New gro was not regarded as an incompetent ward of white Deal" Democratic Party. Actually, the Colored Farm- supremacy, nor as a ward of military intervention, ers Alliance was a part of the Populist movement. Not but as an integral part of Southern society, with a only that, it was its left wing and in the forefront of place in its economy... Never before or since have the the struggle for a third anti-capitalist, anti-landlord two races come so close together as they did during

This party was later swallowed by capitalism, becoming a part of the Democratic Party, but in its time it an independent Labor Party could accomplish in the was a revolutionary movement that united with the political field. In the forging of that instrument the labor forces—the Knights of Labor was part of this Negro will play a part that will bring his role in the movement—and threatened the power of the capital- Populist movement of the 90's to twentieth century ists. It was strong enough then to elect governors and dimensions.

Notes from the News



Union who are continuing their music." 4-month strike against the Di Giorgi Farms Corporation. H. L. Caravan' will be the most signi-

ficant demonstration of the unity of organized industrial workers with agricultural lapor ever to occur in the United States."

PRIENDSHIP CARAVAN—A caravan of 700 cars REACTIONARY MUSIC—The Central Committee and trucks converged on Bakersfield, Calif., last week of the Russian Communist Party charged Russia's with food and clothing for the 1,100 striking members and Prokofieff, with composing musical works that of the AFL National Farm Labor "smell strongly of the spirit of modern bourgeois

> EAST-GERMAN GOVERNMENT-In reply to the action of Britain and the U.S. in western Germany, Mitchell, president of the Farm the Russian overlords set up their own ersatz Ger-

> > upholding Jim Crow in education, last week for the second time rejected Ada Sipuel Fisher's request for

THE MILITANT

PAGE FOUR

Reuther Attacks Wage Program Of Five Flint Union Presidents

ALP Candidate **Sweeps Election** For Congress

(Continued from Page 1) depends largely on what he decides

o do about this. Drew Pearson reported on Feb. 13: Henry Wallace has told friends that he would yank his third party out of the running if the Democrats nominate Eisenhower, Douglas, Judge Thurman Arnold or any other Roosevelt Democrat."

Whatever happens in this respect and the undemocratic nature of the Wallace movement deprives its members of the right to make the final decision—the ALP landslide in the Bronx has given a black eye not only to the two old parties but also to the Trumanite union bureaucrats who have been vying with each other in denunciations of Wallace.

In New York State they went so far as to split the ALP over this issue. But their attempts to prop up the crumbling two-party system appear to be backfiring on them, rather than on Wallace. If the Bronx election is any indication, the bureaucrats' repudiation of Walace may be transformed into a political repudiation of them by the

DANGER TO UNIONS

The union leaders are treading on thin ice and may very well be sucked down into the icy waters of defeat along with Truman. .That would be poetic justice, but unforunately it also represents a terride danger for the union movement as a whole.

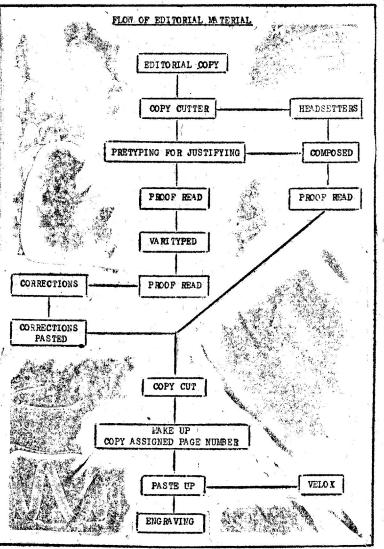
That is why the union members nust not permit their leaders to earry through the criminal policy of spending millions of the workers' nard-earned dollars in campaigning for Truman. That is why they nust do everything in their power to force the holding of a national United Labor Conference, reprenew political policy for the working class and to launch an independent Labor Party.

The Bronx elections results are beat the two old parties, no fimits at all can be placed on the prospects of a national Labor Party based on the whole union movement!

Newark Forum Will

Arthur Burch will speak on "Walforum and social to be held by the and efficiently struck seven large in the last election by the AFL. So contract expires before they get a Newark Socialist Workers Party at building projects which are a part far none of labor's so-called friends needed wage increase for the auto lev Act, went into great detail on its hall, 423 Springfield Ave., Fri- of the 200-million-dollar building laave gone to bat to protect the workers who need it now? Or even how he was using the bill to the day evening, Feb. 27, 8:30 P. M. program inaugurated by the city. Wages and conditions that the union

Blueprint for Strikebreaking



This chart showing the flow of editorial material under the varitype process is from a 26-page plan prepared by New York publishers to fight the AFL International Typographical Union, when the printers contracts expire March 31. Almost all major papers in New York City have bought varitype machines in preparation for the coming fight. The blueprint is based on experiences of Chicago publishers who have fought the ITU since Nov. 24.

Federated Pictures

senting AFL, Clo, Railroad and Independent unions, to work out a AFL Building Trades Workers Strike for proof that the situation is ripe for a Labor Party. If a party supported by only a part of the unions can had the democratic right to this decision to the ranks. The request for unified ba

Trades Council placed the mumunicipally owned Los Angeles ers left their jobs and many of the association. civil service employes respected the

The building tradesmen have 16

After two meetings with the The present strike is one of the clause. partment and the union committee, tory of the L. A. labor movement. No building trades unions that the De- toon at this time to wage this fight

dispute are wages, the union shop, irnees. and classification of workers on panies doing work on the projects have the standard closed shop agreements with the building trades Much of the work is done directly

Their pay rates, job conditions, classifications and wages are much Bowron, flagrantly violate the city the city Civil Service. The city with union men. now are being pinned on the 5 charter states that classification of workers, job conditions and wages der the Marshall Plan-they are will be determined by the prevailing

Lloyd Mashburn and Lec Vie, secretaries of the L.A. Building and Construction Trades Council issued cushion the shocks to the country's a strike. But when the City representatives insisted on violating the City Charter there was no other dollars. A reduction of 10% in crop be so precarious if agriculture the farmers' purchasing power. trade and next of industry, which course for us but to authorize the in constitutions or laws to achieve

By Pat Allen | and wages of AFL members.

some friends in the city adminis- we have to work toward it, but do the Oil Workers to drop this benetration, and particularly Mayor his critics suggest that they wait an

The Building and Safety Commission recently got an ordinance passed same time he had innumerable arby the city council, almost identical

IMPORTANT BATTLE

nayor, representatives of the De-most significant battles in the histhe city fathers virtually told the union in the city is in a better posipartment was going to run these than the building trades. They are jobs as they saw fit and they would well organized and are in a good a rategic position to bring this boss-The basic issues involved in the controlled city government to its

It will be crystal clear to every civil service. All contracting com- tonion man in L. A. that the Merchants and Manufacturers Associaout regard for already existing laws, by the Dept. of W & P, and all De- or the welfare of workers on city reavrolls: that the workers have no dependable representatives on the City Council, in the Mayor's office, lower than that prevailing for the an the Civil Service Commission building trades workers who are mor any other position of importhome market last year with a mark ernment, whose primary concern is practically 100% organized in L.A. ernce in the city government. The The city officials, including Mayor in escapable lesson will be learned charter by permitting sub-standard fluring the progress of this fight Washington applies—and from all wages and job conditions to exist in that city offices have to be filled

Correction

Last week's article on the Army order continuing Jim Crow segregation of Negro soldiers contained an one place it said: ". . . it will take a the following statement, "We have lot more changes in constitutions taken every step possible to avoid or laws to achieve genuine equality." !It should have read as follows: "it will take a lot more than changes

called meeting of officers, executive board members, committeemen and stewards of locals in Flint and Lansing heard Walter the Sinclair Company and the union Reuther deal with wages and contract demands. The announced reason for the meeting was the drive for a union shop under the Taft- part to meet the rising cost of liv-Hartley Act. Half of Reuther's ing, and that such a basis would speech, however, dealt with the de- tend to put a brake on continuing mand for the 25-cent per hour wage increase advocated by locals in Flint extremely reluctant to adopt the and Detroit, the sliding scale of Escalator type of agreement and wages and the demand for a single made long term settlements, somecontract termination date. Repeat- times nearly meeting the comparedly. Reuther singled out for criticism Jack Palmer, President of the ing rise under the Escalator Clause. Flint Chevrolet Local.

of Palmer and the five Flint GM the condition that the Sinclair Esunion presidents, Regional Director calator Agreement was the only one Chapman hurriedly terminated the in effect with wage increases of 3 meeting to prevent any questions cents above what competitive com-

with unusual carefulness. He at- diately preceding period had levelled tempted to insinuate that criticisms off with a slight drop in wholesale of his wage policy were inspired by prices which didn't forecast any the Stalinists. Demogogically he further sharp increases. waved in the air clippings from the | "The bulk of our membership, es-Daily Worker and the Stalinist Peo- pecially in Sinclair, expressed the ple's World, which he compared with a brief statement from Palmer's flat base rate adjustment than to radio address of two weeks ago.

again that it is easy for people to vantage. Therefore, we adopted a "criticize," "split hairs," "theorize," policy of trying to consolidate all when they don't have the responsi- of our 'second round' wage settlebility of leadership. This reflected ments into 25-cent an hour base the fact that the demands of the adjustments. officers of locals representing 250,000 workers has had considerable effect tion among our membership for on the ranks.

Squirming under the protest of a large meeting of UAW officers in Detroit the previous day, which benefited the membership to the criticized his 15-cent wage increase proposal, Reuther attempted to weasel out by putting the blame on the GM conference. Ten times over he stated that the GM conference decided the size of the proposal. He was impartial. If the conference had than the \$1.40 average of the auto voted for 25 cents he would have gone along. Then he made the veiled director, had they kept the escalator threat that once the majority had decided the issue, everybody had to by at least an additional 10 cents have to be done about it. Reuther USED PRESSURE ignored the fact that the delegates had the democratic right to appeal

situation apparently is the fore- an overall wage strategy of the steet, On Feb. 2 the Los Angeles runner of a well planned campaign electrical and auto unions was demagogically twisted: Reuther's argu-Labor was supposed to have had ment was that it was a good thing,

Reuther insisted he was for industry-wide bargaining, but at the

Perhaps the most deceitful part of his speech was that regarding against the union shop. Even if the the sliding scale of wages. It seems that the UAW Research Department communicated with the educational with the corporation. Management director of the CIO Oil Workers has indicated they will not give in Union to find out about their con- without a long hard fight. tracts containing the escalator

agreement on wages based upon the rise in the cost of living from January of that year to Sept. 15. Both expressed hope that this would be a could have their wages adjusted in price rises. Other companies were able wage being paid in the continu-

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1948

"In mid-summer of 1947 our After Reuther's lengthy criticism Policy Committee was faced with panies' agreements called for. The Reuther developed his position cost of living during the imme-

opinion they would rather have a face the possibility of the Escalator Reuther repeated over and over Clause working to their disad-

"We have found little dissatisface abandoning the Escalator Clauses in their agreement even though the economic conditions would have extent of about 10 cents an hour."

The facts in the case speak for themselves: Under the escalator agreement, the wages of the Sinclair Oil Workers rose 25 cents higher workers. According to the testiclause, they would have benefited

Why the oil workers gave up the escalator clause is not completely The request for unified bargaining clear. Reuther falsely claimed in his in the auto industry, coupled with speech that they had been violating national CIO policy by incorporating this clause in their contract. Very possibly Murray, Reuther, and others brought pressure to bear on ficial clause.

Reuther, anticipating opposition to still have to get around quite a few big obstacles: The elections will be held miles from the plants and every worker not voting is considered, under the Taft-Hartley Law, as voting vote they must still bargain the issue

All in all, this specially called meeting and Reuther's lengthly alibis, demonstrated that the program of the militants is making headway The research director of the Oil in the ranks and that Reuther feels Workers answered as follows: "In his wage policy is not going over and

"I WAS A RACKETEER" By Major General Smedley D. Butler, U.S.M.C., Ret. (now dead)

from an article published in the Nov. 1935 Common Sense magazine:

"There isn't a trick in the racketeering bag that the military gang is blind to. It has its 'finger men' (to point out enemies), its 'muscle men' (to destroy enemies), and its 'brain guys' (to plan war preparations), and a 'Big Boss' (supernationalistic capitalism).

"It may seem odd for me, a military man to adopt such a comparison. Truthfulness compels me to. I spent 33 years and four months in active service as a member of our country's most agile military force-the Marine Corps. I served in all commissioned ranks from a second lieutenant to Major-General. And during that period I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer, a gangster for capitalism.

"I suspected I was just part of a racket at the time. Now I am sure of it. Like all members of the military profession I never had an original thought until I left the service. My mental faculties remained in suspended animation while I obeyed the orders of the higher-ups. This is typical of every one in the military service.

"Thus I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collectivevenues in. I helped in the raping of half a dozen Central American republics for the benefit of Wall Street. The record of racketeering is long. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-12. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. In China in 1927 I helped see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested.

"During those years, I had, as the boys in the back room would say, a swell racket. I was rewarded with honors, medals, promotion. Looking back on it, I feel I might have given Al Capone a few hints. The best he could do was operate his racket in three city districts. I operated on three continents."

Effects

The February price break the first year's projected "European fed too long by inflationary fires. incipient crisis of American agricul- year's total foreign trade. ture It is still far too early to crop failures, agriculture will be

Can such an "adjustment" in agriaffecting the existing price structure as a whole?

its price structure.

compelled to absorb sharp cuts in

every 16 dollars of national income, farm prices. year, even more.

A NEW BALANCE

Industry has been operating on the basis of this new proportion, and trialists are now keeping one eye masses. poses the problem of establishing a other eye is glued on retail trade re- LARGE SURPLUS new balance. This cannot be done ports, especially from rural areas.

To illustrate. Gross farm income 1920.

, hundred million dollars. A 20% trouble is that industry, despite its unsold goods overhanging the mar-

Thus, sizable declines in farm in- production during the last two

Weeks before the commodity price previous year, 1946. break, soft spots began to show up in retail trade reports. This "spotmarked, especially in rural areas.

PHONY ARGUMENTS The present precarious balance of | The argument that retail trade American industry is much more de- should profit from lower farm prices pendent upon agriculture than was is obviously phony. Retail food ever the case in the past. Thus dur- prices, which have scarcely dropped ing the boom of the Twenties the at all, will tend to lag far behind equilibrium between industry and any present or future declines in ported in gross national products, MUST SAFEGUARD PROFITS agriculture—worked out over a long the commodity markets. As for the number of years—rested on a ratio prices of manufactured goods, they of 1 to 16. In other words, out of never fall as fast or as much as do

The argument that farmers will agricultural boom of recent years be "well off" anyway, even with has sharply increased the farmer's much lower prices for their crops share of the national income. Ac- also has little bearing here. Tradicording to Federal Reserve Board tionally a free spender when his infigures, he received in 1946 one come is on the up-grade, the farm- up to 235 billion dollars. The people to safeguard the profits of the dollar out of every ten. And last er is no less habituated to "do withstares him in the face.

That is why bankers and indusany sudden shift immediately cocked on weather reports while the

rather suddenly, as happened in levels as before.

Union, said: "The Friendship man government in the Eastern Zone.

TRUE TO FORM-The U. S. Supreme Court, still

Discuss Wallace Role

lace and the Third Party" at a Dancing and refreshments will fol-

admission to the lily-white Oklahoma Law School. low the discussion.

slash would amount to more than outward signs of strength, has been ket. in the commodity markets Aid" program. Slashes of one-third This appears most strikingly if we have lagged so far behind steeply signalled, in our opinion, the and more would approximate last view the economy from the stand- rising prices that they are no longer point of the physical volume of able to buy what they did last year. gauge the rate at which this crisis come imply not only profound reper- years. Last year was supposed to stitute the overwhelming majority will unfold. But the prospect for cussions in other sectors but drastic be a peak year. But the truth is of the population. If they are unthe next few months is that, barring readjustments for industry and for that over-all production last year able to buy, where then is an outthe domestic market as a whole. was not much bigger than in the let to be found in a peacetime econ-

Where we do find a whopping in- priced goods? crease is in the dollar figures, in cultural prices take place without tiness" has recently become more particular profits. This is admitted by such conservative bankers as the last year, is obviously risky because Guarantee Trust Company, who say inventories already amount to more in their Jan. 28 monthly letter: than 42 billion dollars. "The year as a whole, however, witnessed no great increase in the physical volume of output. The rather striking gains that were reincome, expenditures and other dol-

> part to the advances in prices." amount of goods which the country how much industry and agriculture absorbed in 1946 on the basis of a can produce, or how much the home gross national output of 204 bil- market can absorb. But this solulion dollars was dumped on the tion is excluded for a capitalist govwere forced to buy the same goods monopolies. out" when the specter of lean days as in 1946 while paying out 31 billion dollars more. This orgy of in-

> > on the purchasing power of the

The resulting grave discrepancy powerless to long sustain an agriculpainlessly or in a brief space of In the face of declining retail between mass consumption and the ture whose production has risen time. Because farmers now dispose trade such an argument as the inflated "gross national output" has one and a half times since prewar of a bigger share of the national in- heavy backlog of orders in heavy been, of course, carried over into and an industry whose productive come, every blow to farm income industry is of little weight. During this year. The home market must capacity is twice as big as it ever becomes more quickly translated all booms, especially inflationary absorb in 1948 at least as much as was. into blows to other sectors of the booms, imposing backlogs accumu- it did in 1947, if the economy is to The Marshall Plan and similar home market, in the first instance, late. But they tend to dissipate continue operating at the same measures can serve to temporarily

But the greater the reduction in economy. They cannot avert the last year is estimated at 30 billion | Perhaps the situation might not farm income, all the lower will be downward plunge first of the retail prices would lop off at once several alone was involved. The whole This will leave large quantities of is approaching ever closer.

But the workers and farmers con-

omy for the huge surplus of high Storing more and more unsold goods in warehouses, as was done not be dictated to by anyone.

The sole visible outlet is foreign

trade, which has been steadily declining since its peak last May. There is a practical solution. It lar indices were due for the most is: to raise the living standards of both the workers and the farmers In other words, virtually the same There then would be no limits to Civil Service.

Whatever immediate measures flation placed an unbearable strain indications the biggest hopes right billion dollar program projected un-

Building and Construction to crush trade-unionism." the official unfair list and swiftly Bowron, whose candidacy was backed additional six months till the Ford The strike is 100% effective, as men have gained here through years 1949 when the no-strike clause of union shop elections under the law. more than 1,000 construction work- of warfare with the contractor's the steel workers expires?

picket lines. rievances against the Department to the Police Ordinance, which proof Water and Power. For the past vides that no city Civil Service emsix months they have attempted to raoye can maintain his job, and at negotiate their grievances. On each the same time hold any office, or be and every occasion, Department a member of the executive board or and city officials have given a flat no any union.

partment employes are working on

conditions in private industry.

PLAN TO CRUSH UNIONS

strike in order to protect the jobs genuine equality."

November of 1946 the Oil Workers is losing him support.