

CONGRESS RENEWS WAR ON LABOR

Chinese Protest Against U.S. Role

Demand End Of Intervention And Withdrawal Of Troops

Mass student demonstrations against U.S. imperialism, beginning in Peiping, China at the end of the year, spread rapidly in the following week to such important cities as Tientsin, Shanghai and Nanking.

constitution which General Marshall and Ambassador Stuart persuaded Chiang Kai-shek to adopt. A liberal front for the Chinese dictatorship, they hope, will increase their chances of "gaining the aid and support of the great body of liberal opinion within China, in the United States, also in the world at large."

"Get out, you beasts!" read signs carried by the demonstrators. "China is not an American colony."

The students marched before the U.S. Embassy, a delegation calling on Ambassador Stuart to protest the assault.

They further demanded the investigation of all previous atrocities of this kind, the withdrawal of all U.S. troops, and an end to U.S. military aid and intervention.

The government's Central News Agency on Jan. 3 tried to divert the wrath of the masses by means of a red-baiting campaign.

These demonstrations showed that the Chinese people — like the majority of the American people — are highly dissatisfied with the role the U.S. government is playing in China.

It is now admitted that recognition of this fact is the real reason for the "democratic"

Bills Against Lynch, Polltax Reintroduced

Measures Ignored By GOP Legislators

Republican legislators are trying to bury or sidetrack important progressive bills introduced into the new Republican-controlled Congress.

These progressive measures include several to abolish the poll-tax in Southern states and to punish lynchers and officials who aid them.

Several bills have been offered to permit veterans to cash their terminal leave bonds now, while they need the money, instead of waiting five years until they mature or inflation has destroyed their value.

Another important bill, introduced by Representative Celler of New York, would authorize the admission of 250,000 refugees into the United States.

The anti-lynch bill offered by Representative Adam Clayton Powell, New York Negro leader, would provide fines and imprisonment for public officials who fail to protect persons in their custody from lynchers.

Labor, Negro and other progressive groups should give full support to these bills.

Plot To Swindle Workers Out Of Back Portal Pay

Big Business and its Washington agents are conspiring to swindle American workers out of billions of dollars in portal-to-portal wages withheld over the past eight years in violation of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Corporation representatives have begun a drive in Congress to invalidate all legal suits for wages due for time spent on company property in getting to distant jobs and in work preparation.

A number of decisions by the U. S. Supreme Court, and lower federal and state courts provide the basis for suits by unions which last week claimed more than three billion dollars in pay that employers systematically chiselled from pay envelopes since 1938.

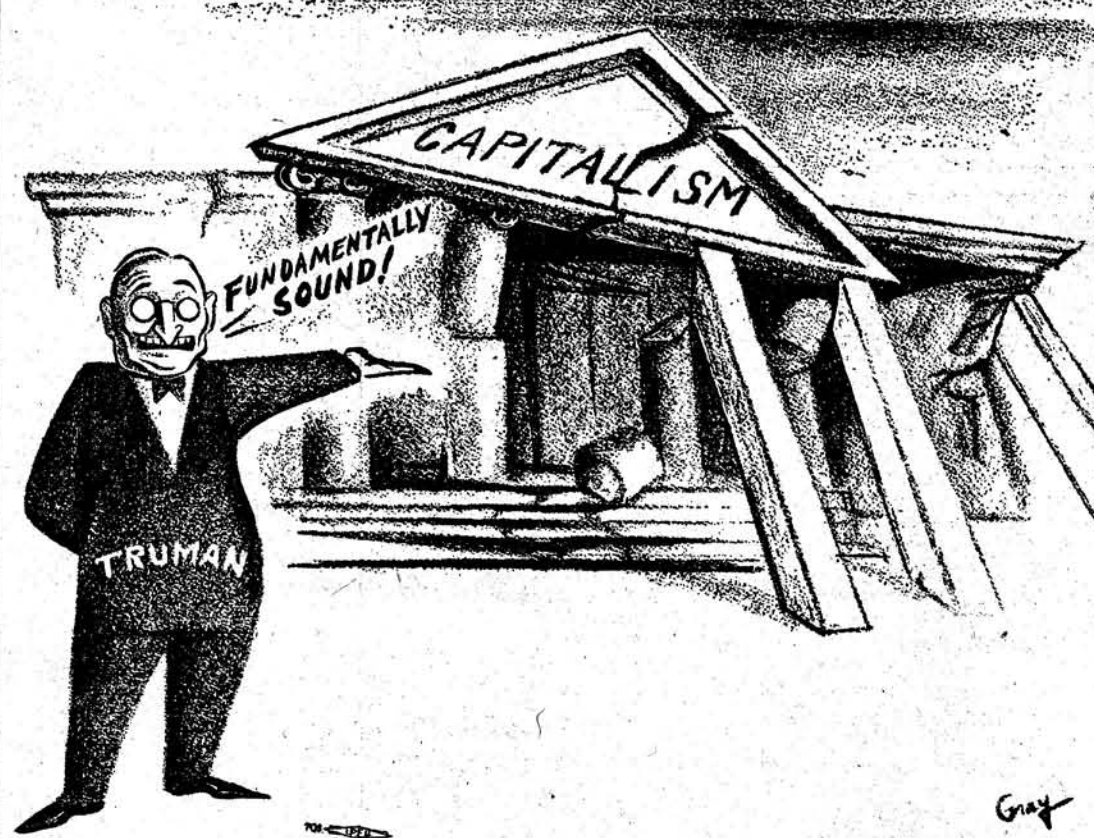
Representative Clare E. Hoffman, Michigan Republican and agent of the big auto corporations that face suits for hundreds of millions of dollars has readied a Congressional bill to void all suits for unpaid portal wages and to revise the Fair Labor Standards Act to make it illegal to pay for travel and make-ready time on the job.

WOULD ROB WORKERS

Employers would be prohibited from paying for any time that is not spent on what Hoffman calls "productive work."

Simultaneous with legislative moves to rob the workers of their portal wages, the corporations and their newspapers are pressuring the Supreme Court to reverse previous decisions favoring the unions.

The State Of The Union



Compromise Checks Bilbo But He Still Gets Full Pay

By William E. Bohannon

The fight over the seating of Theodore G. Bilbo, Mississippi poll taxer and white supremacist, ended in a compromise on the second day of the new Senate's sessions last week.

Meanwhile Bilbo went back onto the federal payroll at a salary of \$15,000 a year, and so did his staff.

The Republicans, after vacillating for several days prior to the opening of Congress, finally went through with an expression of opposition to the unpopular Bilbo.

That would be perfectly acceptable to the Republicans, who could then claim a moral victory. But actually it would leave the whole issue of Bilboism unsettled.

It would leave all of Bilbo's Jim Crow colleagues just as strongly entrenched in the South as ever.

Bill Promises Tax "Relief" To Rich

Schemes to make the workers pay a bigger share of the taxes and reduce payments by the rich were proposed last week by Representative Knutson of Minnesota, under the fraudulent guise of an "across the board reduction of 20 per cent" on incomes up to \$302,000 per year.

But his boss would save tens of thousands of dollars. For instance, Tom Girdler, getting \$275,000 as president of Republic Steel, might be taxed \$212,087 on his 1946 income (although he would actually find loopholes in the law to save plenty of that).

At the same time, Truman, by his proclamation declaring an end to war hostilities, wiped out — effective as of July 1, 1947 — the excise taxes on furs, perfumes, liquors and other luxuries bought mainly by the wealthy.

Knutson's 20 per cent reduction would bring "enormous windfalls to the wealthy taxpayers, but workers and other low income groups would receive no real benefits."

Pressman showed that the average worker in a manufacturing industry, supporting a wife and two children, was taxed \$28 in 1946 on an income of \$2,383.16. A 20 per cent reduction would save him the princely sum of \$5.60 in 1947, or 10.8 cents per week.

Union-Crippling Bills Placed At Top Of Agenda

While the Senate contest over the seating of Bilbo featured headlines on the Congressional opening, the machinery behind the scenes was working at top speed to prepare legislation carrying out the main objectives of the new Congress.

These objectives, on the domestic field, are two-fold: 1. To impose new restraints on organized labor in the interests of the employers. 2. To increase the wealth and privilege of the financial and industrial monopolists.

At the very opening of Congress, Republican leaders had their chief measures prepared to grease through committees and rush into law.

The main legislation they offer is a revised version of the Case bill. The bill provides compulsory mediation during a 60-day no-strike period; denies supervisory employees the protection of the Wagner Act; prohibits various types of strikes under the heading of "organizing, secondary boycotts and jurisdictional"; and subjects unions to harassing employer suits for damages.

The Republican conference called for "brief hearings" on this bill "with a view to prompt action." At the same time, they promise other anti-labor bills to amend the National Labor Relations Act, limit industry-wide bargaining and strikes, outlaw the closed shop, weaken the Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction law, etc.

Such a flood of anti-labor bills poured into the House of Representatives that most of them could not yet be codified and assigned to committees. Dozens of them are already listed, the most savage being offered by Democratic Representative Howard

Smith of Virginia. Simultaneously, the Republicans prepared to give more "relief to the greedy." Their first step is a bill, introduced by Representative Knutson of Minnesota, which would save the rich hundreds of millions of dollars in income taxes.

The corporation lawyers, employers and executives, publishers and editors, who form the bulk of Congress, are moving with arrogance and speed. They are emboldened by the failure of organized labor to fight back in a united, militant fashion.

The threat to labor was never more imminent and dangerous. It must be met by a counter-offensive. This can be organized only through a National Conference of Labor, uniting all unions behind a common program of fighting action.

At the same time, labor must grasp an effective weapon of political action and fight to wrest governmental power from the political machines of Big Business.

Labor-Haters Praise President's Message

Truman's "State of the Union" speech on Jan. 6 was the first down-payment on his post-election promise of full collaboration with the Republican-dominated Congress.

The reactionary essence of his proposals was appreciated even by the most ultra-reactionary elements in Congress. As the N. Y. Times commented, his message "was digested with unexpected warmth" and "had not made anyone angry, even politically."

Certainly the Republicans couldn't be angered by proposals which, with but slight differences in detail, supported their own program for anti-labor laws, more benefits to the capitalists, and continued military preparations.

The first and largest portion of the speech was devoted to measures for restricting labor's rights. Truman glossed over these proposals with the usual blab about not wanting "punitive legislation" or "vindictive laws."

His proposals, however, are similar to many contained in the notorious Case Bill, which the Republicans are presenting in a revised form. Truman would establish the principle of compulsory arbitration, limitations on the right to strike, and far-reaching intervention by the capitalist government in the affairs of the unions.

Detroit SWP Wins Victory In Fight To Keep Headquarters

DETROIT, Jan. 4—The Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party has won its fight against the reactionary attempts to evict it from its headquarters. The City Plan Commission this week ruled against fascist and anti-Negro elements who had tried for six months to drive out the SWP on the grounds that Negroes attend its meetings.

In a statement issued today, the local executive committee of the SWP reported: "The Detroit City Plan Commission has approved the use of the Detroit headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party located at 6108 Linwood Ave. for educational, recreational, social, neighborhood and community center purposes. This action was taken under section 5.1, paragraph 4 of the zoning ordinance of the City of Detroit."

"This represents a signal victory for labor's democratic rights as well as the rights of the Negro people for equality. It is at the same time a stinging rebuke to the Hitlerite elements in Detroit who seek to terrorize the minority parties and bait the Negro people as the first step toward dividing and destroying the broad labor movement."

"The action of the City Plan Commission climaxes a lengthy battle which began when fascist elements set fire to the Socialist Workers Party headquarters

Lynch Witness Beaten In Georgia

Two white terrorists, James and Tom Verner, were arrested in Athens, Ga. on Jan. 4 on charges of beating 19-year-old Golden Yamar Howard, a witness in the investigation of the lynch murder of four Negroes near Monroe, Ga. last summer. Both men were promptly released on bail.

Howard testified that the Verner brother had approached him on New Year's Day, and asked what he had told the jury about the lynchings. He said he had given no information because he knew nothing. One of the white men hit him in the face; then he was taken to a shed and beaten again.

SIGNAL VICTORY

"Scores of prominent leading figures of the Detroit labor movement and the Negro community, as well as numerous local unions and civic organizations protested this anti-labor, anti-Negro attack and backed the SWP in its democratic rights to the use of its headquarters."

The rights of the SWP were defended at the Commission's hearings by Walter M. Nelson, prominent attorney and representative of the American Civil Liberties Union.

JOSEPH CURRAN HITS STALINISTS IN MARITIME

By C. Thomas

The dramatic resignation by CIO National Maritime Union President Joseph Curran as co-chairman of the Stalinist-dominated Committee for Maritime Unity (CMU), gives promise of reversing a ten-year trend of inter-union hostility in the maritime industry. Curran coupled his resignation with a blistering attack on the Stalinists as the greatest obstacle to united action on the waterfront.

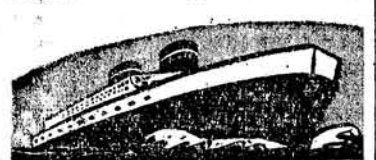
As against the CMU, Curran advocated joint action of all maritime unions, regardless of affiliation, against the impending attack by the shipowners and their government. The first concrete step in this direction has already been taken. A meeting of all seafaring unions has been called in Washington this month to elaborate a program to fight the imposition of repressive legislation.

The position of Curran and his supporters was upheld by a general union membership meeting of approximately 4,000 in the Port of New York which endorsed his statement of policy by an overwhelming majority. Prominent Stalinist spokesmen were repeatedly booed when they tried to smear the opposition as "traitors, sell-out artists, shipowners' stooges," etc.

ANSWERS MORRIS

The "line" for the smear campaign against the Curran group has been laid down in the Daily Worker by Stalinist "labor expert" George Morris, pen-prostitute and author of numerous slander attacks against the Trotskyists and other progressives in the labor movement. According to Morris, it's all a "plot" to take the CIO National Maritime Union into the AFL.

In his weekly column in The Pilot, official organ of the NMU, Curran lashes out at the Stalinists for the "instructions given by the Daily Worker" on the conduct of the smear campaign. The Communist Party is condemned, in the same article, for its wartime policy of "collaboration with the employers" and the union membership is warned that



"they (Stalinists) propose to continue the same tactics which have been used in our Union for the past two years, when they attempted to jam down our throats collaboration policy with the shipowners and anybody who voted against it was labelled as phoney and slandered and smeared."

In turning the helm sharply toward collaboration with the AFL maritime unions, Curran is breaking with the rule-or-ruin policy of the Stalinists, which has fostered internal division and inter-union strife on the waterfront for over ten years.

Militant unionism was resurrected in maritime through the 1934 strike on the Pacific Coast. In that historic struggle the maritime workers withstood the combined assault of the shipowners' thugs, police, militia and national government. Out of that experience there arose the consciousness of the need for joint union action against a common foe. This led to the formation of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific in 1935 with its official slogan consisting of the rallying cry: An Injury To One Is An Injury To All!

The Maritime Federation embraced all waterfront workers on the Pacific Coast regardless of affiliation. While there was no CIO at the time, the seafaring unions were independent and the others were in the AFL. From the very beginning the Stalinists set out to capture the Federation in their typical rule-or-ruin fashion. After a few years they succeeded in driving out all opposition unions and having "captured" the Maritime Federation of the Pacific proceeded to dissolve it in 1938.

Thus ended the most promising movement toward unifying the waterfront workers in the

history of maritime. For the past ten years open warfare has periodically raged on the waterfront. The whole magnificent strike action of recent months was clouded with the threat of jurisdictional violence. The CMU nourished this hostility.

Just as the 1934 strike provided the impulsion toward organized joint action, so did the 1946 strike give an impetus to the sentiment for united action of all seamen against the unbending shipowner-government combine.

The joint conference of hitherto hostile unions, to be held this month in Washington, can become the first step toward the formal constitution of a National Maritime Federation which would unite the maritime unions, regardless of affiliation, for common action against a common enemy. The crumbling of the Stalinist machine is a good omen for future maritime unity!



Dave Beck's Strikebreaking Edict Rejected By Los Angeles Clerks

By Harry Thompson
(Special to The Militant)

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 4.—Six thousand grocery and fruit and vegetable clerks of all super markets including Safeway Stores, Ralphs and A&P, members of Local 770 of the AFL Retail Food Clerks, struck for a 20 dollar general wage increase last Thursday. The present wage scale averages \$40 weekly. The union is fighting for a minimum of \$60 weekly; the employers have offered a maximum of \$55.

Dave Beck, national vice-president of the AFL Teamsters Union, entered the picture with a strikebreaking ultimatum to the Retail Clerks, stating that "the local Retail Clerks Union has violated every rule of the AFL," he warned that unless the local leaders ordered the members back to work this morning, they would not receive any support from the Teamsters.

Local 770's secretary, Joseph DeSilva, answered Beck's strikebreaking order in the following statement:

'AID TO EMPLOYERS'

"Your courteous and courageous gesture in your attempt to demoralize the fighting spirit of the Retail Clerks in Los Angeles, which has fallen miserably, only indicates your ever willingness to be of tremendous service to the employers at a time when the clerks are engaged in a struggle for decent living conditions. "I am sure that you are not expressing the sentiment of the rank and file members of the Teamsters Union.

"In behalf of the retail clerks of Local 770, and as a result of your unwarranted intrusion and tactics with which you hope to aid and comfort the employers, we must, with shame, consider you the No. 1 strikebreaker of America. "Unselfishly, the Retail Clerks of Southern California have responded to every call made by the local teamsters for aid, recognizing the right of the local teamsters to determine the merits of their cause.

"We shall continue such support of all organized labor, despite your very improper attempt to disrupt our autonomy. With this, the retail clerks shall refuse to be diverted from their fight for a living wage and since there is much work to be done in fighting the employers, let us close this incident."

James A. Sufridge, president of the Retail Clerks International Association, sent Local 770 the following telegram, which was read to the union members at

Evictions Hit Peak In New York City

More New York families than ever before are being evicted, with no place to go because of the housing shortage. On top of a new high in formal court orders for ousting tenants, a record-breaking number of petitions for eviction have been approved by the Office of Price Administration.

During the first 11 months of the year 1946, municipal courts in the five boroughs issued 7,807 warrants for eviction. In the same period the Rent Division of the OPA granted 17,752 petitions for evictions and by the end of the year was expected to approve as many eviction petitions as for 1944 and 1945 combined.

issued the following statement in a telegram to the union mass meeting:

"All support and best wishes for a complete victory. Your cause is just. Victory certain. Keep up the good fight. We pledge fullest assistance."

their meeting today:

"Western Director Samuel Meyers of the Retail Clerks has been assigned to investigate and report on the Los Angeles situation. Therefore disregard Brother Beck's ultimatum as he is without authority to speak for the Clerks International."

DeSilva told the members: "The fight is now on. No quarter will be shown and no mercy. When it's over the employers will have learned a lesson."

"If necessary, we will call every labor man in Los Angeles, and we will pick one employer at a time and make hamburger of them."

When DeSilva at the union meeting asked the members if they wanted to reduce wage demands and settle the strike, he received a thunderous roar of "No" in response.

The Los Angeles CIO Council

Crisis In Communist Party

Answering A Crude Slander

The rise of an organized opposition in the Communist Party (Stalinist) and wholesale expulsions reflect a growing internal resistance to the bureaucratic and revisionist leaders of the U. S. Communist Party. (Our emphasis.)

William F. Dunne, a recently expelled long-time Stalinist leader, even puts the "Trotskyites" first on the list of reactionary red-baiters in the CIO with whom the official Stalinists made a bloc. (NCP Report, Dec. 9, 1946.)

Now, every regular reader of The Militant knows we have been the most consistent and outspoken fighters against any form of red-baiting. In the Nov. 16, 1946 issue, a special article on the forthcoming CIO convention warned:

"It is especially vital that the CIO delegates brush aside the insidious counsels of the corporations and their political agents to direct the CIO's energies into a witch-hunt against 'reds.' Unfortunately, there is a growing effort of reactionary elements inside the CIO to divert it from a fight for the needs of the workers to a red-baiting drive. These elements must be halted. They must be decisively repudiated."

Immediately after the CIO convention, the Nov. 30 issue of The Militant denounced the CIO Declaration of Policy. We charged that this declaration was adopted "under the prodings of reactionary red-baiters led by the Social-Democrats and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists." We scored the "cowardly capitulation of the Stalinist leaders to the red-baiters." We said they made a "behind-the-scenes deal with Murray, instead of fighting this concession to the red-baiters and demanding a forthright condemnation of red-baiting in any form."

What the NCP group has done is to imitate the official Stalinists, whose classical weapon is slander against the Trotskyists, the very weapon being used against the oppositionists them-

selves. Only, they are trying to turn it against the Stalinist leaders. They are using the method of the lie.

Why does this opposition, which claims it is fighting the corruption of the American Stalinist leaders, use Stalinist methods of falsification against the Trotskyists? Why do they have to lie about us?

Even though they are trying to fight off some of the symptoms of the Stalinist disease, they are still ravaged by its virus. The method of falsification infects their blood. This is how Stalinism corrupts even those who sincerely want to be revolutionary Marxists.

No doubt, these oppositionists think that if they demonstrate rabid anti-Trotskyism then the CP members, who are poisoned against Trotskyism, will give them a better hearing.

But resorting to the dirty methods of the Stalinist leaders won't convince the best worker elements in the CP about the corruption of these leaders. Falsification, slander, Trotskyist-baiting are hall-marks of Stalinist corruption.

There is only one weapon that can destroy this corruption and win the CP workers to a genuine Marxist program. That is the weapon of truth.

This is the fourth in a series of articles on The Crisis in the Communist Party.

Flint SWP Refutes Red-Baiting Slanders

By Jeanette Lane
(Special to The Militant)

FLINT, Mich., Jan. 2.—Sol Dollinger, Socialist Workers Party organizer here, this week sharply answered a red-baiting statement and slanders against the Trotskyists made by two Buick union members and given prominence in the General Motors-controlled Flint Journal. Dollinger's reply was quoted in the Journal, the Detroit Times and in local news broadcasts.

The authors of the red-baiting attack, Marion Butler and Bert Moore, criticized actions of CIO United Auto Workers Buick Local 599 and the international union and claimed that Trotskyists and Communists are "doing great service to employers by their constant efforts to create dissensions within the union."

Branding this charge a lie, Dollinger said: "Our Party is attempting to forge the unity of the entire working class against the industrial magnates. Since the organization of the Trotskyist movement in the United States we have inscribed in our program: For the unity of the entire labor movement. In recent months we have concretized this in our slogan for a United Congress of Labor—AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods, etc.—to meet in Washington, D.C., to beat back the employers' offensive against labor in Congress. Our program speaks for itself.

STIR DISSENSION

"On the contrary, it is these two individuals who are creating dissension in the labor movement by their wild, poorly-thought-out red-baiting charges. Red-baiting is the prime weapon from the arsenal of the employers. During the GM strike it was properly labeled an instrument of General Motors by the official union leadership of this city. It is no less today."

The attempted red-scare is part of a developing contest for office in Buick Local 599. A prime mover behind the scenes is Jackie Waldo, former PAC Regional Director, who was ousted last week by the Flint Central Political Action Committee. This followed the vote for his removal by the Greater Flint CIO Council and recommendations for such action by Chevrolet, AC Spark Plug and Fisher Body UAW locals.

His ouster reflected dissatisfaction of the workers in this area with the PAC's false policies in supporting Republicans and Democrats during the last

elections. The large auto workers locals, including Buick 599, have now initiated a drive to build a local Labor Party. Waldo and his supporters are trying to use a red scare as a smoke screen for their false political policies.

Woodard Hits Red-Baiters In Buick Local

FLINT, Mich., Jan. 3.—Ben Woodard, president of CIO United Auto Workers Buick Local 599, hit back at two union members who issued a red-baiting statement in the press along with an attack on the union's wage raise policy.

The red-baiting attack was made by Bert Moore and Marion Butler, spokesmen for what they call the "Rank-and-File Group" in Local 599. It was widely reported in the capitalist press, including the N. Y. Times, along with their wage and price policy program directed against the union's program.

Woodard said in his press release answering the red-baiters that his local "will follow union policy in the matter of wage raises instead of the phony setup advocated by Rank-and-File Leaders and the National Association of Manufacturers."

61% Raise Won By Teachers In St. Paul Strike

By Grace Carlson
(Special to The Militant)

ST. PAUL, Jan. 4.—Public schools re-opened here Monday after a five-week teachers' strike—the longest and largest school strike in the history of the United States. Called by Locals 28 and 43 of the American Federation of Teachers, the St. Paul school strike forced through wage increases of approximately 61 per cent for the city's 1,166 teachers.

City officials were also forced to take favorable action on a school betterment program for St. Paul's long-neglected public school system. The striking teachers had demanded that school equipment and facilities be modernized and that improved health and recreational services be supplied to St. Paul's school children. Parent-Teacher Associations and organized student groups were in 100 per cent agreement with the teachers' strike demands and gave the teachers active support on the picket line.

Because of the "red tape" surrounding the city's finances, the teachers' wage increases and the school betterment program will not go into effect immediately. A City Charter amendment to finance the better schools program will be presented to St. Paul voters next month. If the amendment is passed, the teachers will receive retroactive pay increase from Jan. 1.

Understanding that powerful taxpayers' groups will try to sabotage the better schools program, the Teachers Joint Council has declared that their strike has only been "suspended." In announcing that teachers would return to their classrooms while awaiting the results of the special election, Mollie Geary, APT spokesman, said that the teachers had refused to sign a "no-strike pledge."

"The teachers will not break faith with the school children and their parents by foreswearing their right to continue in every possible way the fight for better schools," the teachers' statement said.

TRADE UNION NOTES

One of the groups that pushed the CIO's red-baiting Declaration of Policy against the "outside interference" of the Communist Party is the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, to which Philip Murray belongs. It issues a slick 12-page tabloid weekly published in Detroit, The Wage Earner, devoted to influencing trade union policies. Its main objective is fighting Marxism, the most advanced working class ideology, and spreading the influence of the Catholic Church, one of the bulwarks of world capitalist reaction. The Wage Earner is filled with incitations for a heightened red-purge in the CIO. Murray's machine is partly based on the ACTU. The Social-Democrats also work with the ACTU in the CIO against "outside interference."

Certain members of the conservative labor bureaucracy, who oppose labor militancy as much as the bosses, are issuing suggestions that labor itself help write legislation regulating unions. Charles J. MacGowen, president of the AFL Boiler-makers, proposed in the December issue of his Boiler-makers Journal that the unions themselves should "see if it is not possible to pass legislation which will make strikes unnecessary except in very rare instances."

While MacGowen wants to help the capitalist government adopt "good" laws restricting labor, he is conducting an expulsion drive against leading militants in Seattle Boiler-makers Local 104, a progressive local, because they have been fighting for trade union democracy.

Another well-heeled bureaucrat, who helps reign over an exclusive independent craft-union of 2,500 members, has issued a statement complaining that the Wagner Act "protects only the unions and their leaders" and is "unfair" to the employers. He is

Maurice R. Franks, editor of The Railroad Workers Journal, organ of the Railroad Yardmasters of North America, Inc. His statement appeared last week in full page advertisements in leading newspapers. It's strictly in keeping with the record of such bureaucrats, who live off the dues of the workers, collaborate closely with the employers and maintain craft divisions among the workers, that they should come out in the midst of Wall Street's anti-labor drive to plead for a "fair deal"—for the exploiting class.

A sign of the times is the membership debate being conducted in The American Teacher, organ of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL, on the most burning issue facing public school instructors—"Should Teachers Strike?" The main argument of those opposed to teachers' strikes is that teaching is a "profession" and that teachers aren't "workers." But thousands of teachers, as the wave of teachers' struggles is demonstrating, have already decided that it's more dignified to stand up in labor's ranks fighting militantly for a decent standard of living than to grovel before reactionary School Boards begging for a pittance.

Many union papers are getting very thin due to the monopoly-created paper shortage. A typical example is Electrical Union World, published by New York Local 3, AFL Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The Dec. 20 issue, reduced to four pages, sounded an editorial warning against this serious threat to the existence of the free labor press. The Union World points to the "large and very powerful daily publishers who have been grabbing up all available newsprint." The CIO News has also warned of the imminent danger to the labor press in the newsprint monopoly.

Our Program:

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

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How Revolutionary Party Should Act In Waging Election Campaigns

In the recent French elections the leadership of the PCI, French section of the Fourth International, sent letters to the Communist and Socialist Parties, proposing in the interest of a united labor front against reaction at the polls, to withdraw all but one of the PCI lists of candidates if these parties in return would support that one list of the PCI.

The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, meeting last October, called attention to "serious political errors" in the formulation of the above-mentioned letters, and instructed the International Secretariat to draw up a document summarizing its criticism of them.

This was done after the elections, in an IS resolution, *The Lessons of the Nov. 10 Elections in France and Italy*, which analyzed "opportunist errors and dangers" in the PCI electoral policy and urged the French party to seriously discuss that

policy. That resolution was printed in last week's *Militant*.

On Nov. 24 the Central Committee of the PCI met to analyze the situation after the elections, and to discuss the IS resolution. The Majority group in the CC rejected the position taken by the IS on the electoral bloc offered to the CP and SP on the following grounds:

"1. This position (of the IS) is sectarian inasmuch as it condemns in principle a tactic clearly justified in general and in the particular situation we were in; and inasmuch as it subordinates the tactic to conditions (the existence of a common minimum electoral program), while stating that these conditions cannot be realized, and which if not realized would constitute an incontestable demonstration of opportunism.

"2. On the other hand the CC affirms the correctness of our position, consisting of an appeal to vote for the workers' parties in the areas where we presented no lists, a position which is im-

licitly condemned in the resolution of the IS."

In defense of this resolution a member of the Majority group of the CC declared that the tactic followed by the PCI leaders was similar to the tactics indicated by Lenin to the British Communists in Chapter Nine of *'Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder*.

In the voting that followed, 12 votes were cast for the position of the Majority group, 12 for the Minority group (which agrees with the IS position), and one abstained. Such a vote under the French system goes to the old Majority.

Considering that its own position was being interpreted erroneously by the Majority of the CC, which still failed to arrive at a correct understanding of the tactic of the united front and electoral arrangements, the IS drew up an appendix to the resolution printed in last week's *Militant*. The text of this appendix is printed below.—The Editors.

The Electoral Policy Of The French PCI

The PCI motivated its proposal of electoral agreement (with the Communist and Socialist Parties) with considerations having in view the establishment of a sort of united front with these parties in order to "bar the road to reaction."

The resolution of the IS correctly states that united front proposals must be motivated by agreement on objectives or minimum program of joint action. That was not the case with the proposals made to the CP and the SP.

But the exclusion of proposals of a united front character without a minimum program of joint action does not at all signify the exclusion of any sort of electoral agreement nor of withdrawals.

The revolutionary party may at times voluntarily withdraw in favor of candidates of parties claiming to represent the working class, as for example in the case where weakness does not permit the presentation of lists of its own, or when it is interested in supporting a step forward on the road toward independent working class political action, or when it is a matter of defeating a bourgeois candidacy at the second ballot by supporting the most favored labor candidate.

Agreements are also possible with the other workers' parties such as, for instance, proposals for the holding of democratic meetings of workers to decide upon proportional representation in the elections for each workers' party.

electors' delegates who could decide upon our proportional representation on joint workers lists, each party defending entirely its own program and maintaining the full right to criticize the other parties.

What Was Wrong?

Our opposition to the letter of the PCI consequently concerns its content and not the proposal as such. What was wrong in this letter?

First of all, the fact that without mentioning policy or program it speaks of the unity of the workers' parties in the elections as a means "of barring the road to reaction."

That could only reinforce the illusions as to the character of these parties and the means of really forcing them to fight reaction, illusions which it is our duty to destroy among the masses.

Secondly, the only concrete proposition put forward to achieve such "unity" consisted in the withdrawal of all our lists except one, in case these parties undertook to support one list.

Thus we gave the impression of placing the whole question of unity on the basis of a trade, by means of which to obtain a parliamentary seat.

Far from combating the accusation of dividing the votes thereby, this proposal reinforced it and at the same time raised suspicions among the advanced workers, disgusted by the parliamentary opportunism of the traditional parties, that we were not any different from these parties, and that like them we too were interested in electoral trading.

It is necessary to add to all this that at the present stage our principal task is still of a propaganda nature, even where we are beginning to address the masses directly. Our participation in elections has as its main objective making our program known to the largest possible number of workers.

From a realistic point of view, engaging in electoral agreement already presupposes a party with a solid and stable support, based not only on program, but also on the experience which the workers have gone through with the party in a whole series of actions. That is not yet the case of the PCI, which is a young party that has not yet established a solid base.

The Main Task

Its main task is to prove to the workers the principled character of its task and activity as opposed to the opportunist character of the traditional parties, and that it is fundamentally different from these parties.

In this light the error committed by the PCI in its electoral proposals appears particularly dangerous.

Our broad participation in the electoral campaign in France has concentrated the attention of all the advanced workers in the Fourth International upon the PCI. Thereby the actions of the PCI become important not only for the French militants but for the militants of the whole International. The IS is consequently duty-bound to express its point of view on this question, that it considers the error committed as dangerously opportunistic, and to initiate and open an international discussion which must be carried through to complete clarification.

No Responsibility

But in all such cases, whether it is a matter of voluntary withdrawals or of agreements, the revolutionary party takes no responsibility whatever for the program of these parties or for their candidates; it does not restrict its criticism in the least; it leaves not a shred of confusion as to the meaning of such withdrawals or such agreements; it leaves no illusion as to the treacherous character of the candidates and parties it supports critically in the elections; it concludes such agreements only at times and under conditions serving the development of the political experience of the masses. In the case of the PCI and of its letters these conditions were different.

The two traditional parties had not undertaken any action away from the politics of class-collaboration, but on the contrary were more involved in it than ever. What was the real reason calling forth the letter? The desire to reply to the accusation that by means of our lists we were dividing the proletariat, an argument capable of evoking a certain response among the working class. What should have been the reply of the PCI?

In the first place it was its duty to counter-attack by replacing politically to the accusation of dividing the working class; by demonstrating that the real breakers of the unity of the proletariat were those who sabotaged its anti-capitalist action and involved it in political collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Furthermore by pointing out that with our entire policy, culminating in the demand for a genuine workers CP-SP-CGT Government, we were the real defenders of proletarian unity.

Incidental to this main political campaign, proposals for an electoral agreement could not be excluded, such as for instance the proposal to submit the question of our lists to conferences of

French Rulers Act To Drown Indo-Chinese Revolt In Blood

Indo-Chinese In France Protest Massacres

PARIS, Dec. 27—Indo-Chinese workers and soldiers who live in camps in Southern France, held several public demonstrations on Christmas Day against the French imperialist massacres of their countrymen.

The Indo-Chinese marched in organized formation through city streets in Lyons, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Montlucon, Moulins, Mont de Marsan, Fontenay le Comte. At Bordeaux over 1,000 took part in the protest. More demonstrations are planned.

Everywhere the French working class gave evidence of its sympathy with the Viet Nam workers. Only the cowardly policy of the Communist and Socialist Parties prevents organized expression of this widespread sentiment of solidarity.

Japanese Workers Protest



Thousands of Japanese union members gathered outside Tokyo's Imperial Palace last month to protest and demonstrate against the anti-labor policies of Premier Yoshida's cabinet. The regime is propped up by MacArthur and U.S. occupation troops.

Revolt Spreads In Ranks Of British Labor Party

(Special to The Militant)

LONDON, Dec. 27 — A whole series of incidents indicates that last month's revolt of Labor MP's against the British government's foreign policy, far from being quashed, is spreading over a broad front in the ranks of the Labor Party.

On Dec. 12 the London papers reported that the trade union delegation which had returned from New York complained about the activities of British diplomacy at the United Nations Assembly.

The delegates were particularly bitter about the British UN representatives joining hands with the Americans in combating the demands of the World Federation of Trade Unions upon the UN, complained that Bevin was completely surrounded by professional Tory diplomatic experts, and demanded a "clean-up" of the whole Foreign Office personnel. Will Lawther, president of the powerful miners' union, was spokesman for the group.

EARLIER PROTEST

A similar protest had been voted in the Foreign Policy Group of the Labor Party earlier. This group, a regular parliamentary body of the Party, announced that it would raise the issue with Bevin directly at the next meeting of the Parliamentary Labor Party (the party fraction in the House of Commons).

On Dec. 19 the press carried news that the executive body of the Trade Congress had met and joined the protest on foreign policy, with particular emphasis on its application in Greece. A delegation of the TUC, it was announced, would meet soon with the Foreign Secretary to air the question. The delegation is to be headed by George Thompson and Vincent Tewson, chairman and secretary of the TUC. In the meantime, it was learned, Tewson had left for Greece to gather information on the recent repressive measures taken against the trade union movement there.

Throwing greater light on the background of all these events,

Faces Revolt

playing to the "confidential" document, all but three wrote back to signify their agreement and most of these had added a demand for a special Labor Party conference to settle the question.

It appears that the Stalinists had a big hand in influencing the Spelthorne document. The *Daily Worker* here has been giving it a big display. It is notable that the Stalinists concentrate only on foreign policy issues, in line with their role as agents of the Kremlin.

DOMESTIC POLICY

But the rank and file revolt in the Labor ranks is also beginning to concern itself with domestic policy, although not as yet to the extent that it does on foreign affairs.

Thus, the miners' executive committee in Wales last week passed a sharp resolution protesting against the naming of a military man as head of the Coal Board for the nationalized mining industry in the region. Lawther and the Stalinist general secretary of the miners' union, Arthur Horner, had to come down into the area and display all their talents of "persuasion" to get the miners to rescind their action.

The rebellion of the ranks against the treacherous policies of the Labor Party leadership, as evident from these incidents, is beginning to grow and take shape. The most immediate danger is that the Stalinists will direct this movement into the deceptive channels of a policy dictated by the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy rather than permit it to develop along the revolutionary path.

Trotskyist Fined, Scores English Policy On POWs

Bill Cleminson, member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British section of the Fourth International, was tried on Dec. 13 at Bakewell village court, Derbyshire, England and fined ten pounds (\$40) for distributing Trotskyist literature to German prisoners-of-war, according to the Mid-December *Socialist Appeal*.

When the prosecutor handed copies of *Solidarity* and *Neuer Spartakus* to the three magistrates complaining that these were "undesirable" for POWs to read, Cleminson charged that the law discriminated between prisoners allowed to reach the journals, and when the magistrates asked if he knew what was in the pamphlets, since he didn't read German, Cleminson retorted:

"I know the policy of my party. It is the same in German as it is in English or any other language. It is the policy of the Fourth International."

The court refused to permit Cleminson to make his speech in court because he refused to apologize for having distributed the literature, and instead demanded the right for English workers to fraternize with the German POWs. Cleminson's statement, which he insisted should be entered in the court record, called for the return of the POWs to their homes.

As the fourth week of widespread warfare began in Indo-China, spokesmen of French imperialism indicated their intentions of completely suppressing the Indo-Chinese revolution for independence. "Before there is any negotiation it will be necessary to get a military decision," declared the Socialist Minister of Colonies, Marius Moutet.

This statement, and Premier Leon Blum's declaration that his cabinet would be "firm," signified that the French government is not willing to go even as far as it went last March, when it recognized the Viet Minh Republic's authority over part of Indo-China and agreed to a referendum permitting the province of Cochinchina to decide if it wanted to join the Viet Minh Republic.

A complete blackout has been clamped down on Indo-China by the French censors. Nothing is known about the military and political developments in that country, outside of the biased and sometimes contradictory communiqués released by the French military authorities.

VALIANT FIGHT

But even from these it is evident that the Indo-Chinese forces are fighting back valiantly and that the resistance to the French has spread to all parts of the country, the southern areas as well as the northern.

For several days last week French sources circulated the rumor that the Viet Minh government, headed by Ho Chi Minh, was trying to arrange a truce and the renewal of negotiations. The same Ho Chi Minh's vacillations and readiness to "compromise" last year gave the French the breathing spell they needed then to prepare for the present campaign, which is waged under conditions far more favorable to them than was possible a year ago.

At any rate, whether these reports were true or not, the French contemptuously wave aside the possibility of negotiations at this time.

While the French authorities know that they have better-trained troops and better military equipment than the Indo-Chinese, they also know that the sympathy of the whole country is with the rebels. In addition, they realize that prolonged fighting in Indo-China will encourage the spread of rebellion in North Africa and other parts of the French Empire.

MORE TROOPS

As a result, they are sending as many additional troops as they can round up for the purpose of putting down the Indo-

Chinese bid for freedom. Many of these have already landed and are in action, and others are on the high seas. A steady stream of war supplies is leaving French ports daily.

But the whole expeditionary campaign is possible only because the Socialist and Communist Parties permit it. None of these supplies or troops would be moving today if the Stalinist leadership of the unions would call on the workers to refuse to aid the imperialist butchers.

The war budget was supposed to be reduced beginning this month, as part of the government's so-called anti-inflationary program, which includes firing of civil service workers and heavier taxes on the masses. In fact, the Socialist Party only last month had taken the lead in demanding less money for the brass hats.

SP, CP AGREE

With the outbreak of hostilities in Indo-China, the generals increased their clamor against reducing the military budget. The Socialist Finance Minister, Andre Philip, answered: "When it is a matter of defending Indo-China, far from demanding of the Minister of National Defense the least reduction, I am prepared to respond to all demands that he will formulate."

The Stalinists were no better. They joined the "socialists" in voting for military credits, and they joined them in voting to send a "sympathy message" to the French troops killing colonial slaves in Indo-China. They differ from them only in making piteous appeals that the French should negotiate with Ho Chi Minh.

When accused by the right-wing parties that they are still "protecting" Ho Chi Minh, the Stalinists angrily defend themselves by pointing out that they have voted for the same measures regarding Indo-China that the right-wing parties did.

They want the government to deal with Ho Chi Minh, they point out, not because he demands complete independence from France but because he accepts the principle of a Viet Minh Republic "within the framework of the French Union," and that only in this way can the other imperialists be prevented from snatching Indo-China away from France.

International Notes

Conscription is in effect in 48 countries, according to an Overseas News Agency survey released last week. The total number of countries enforcing conscription is greater today than before World War II, despite the disarming of the Axis countries and their satellites. Not a single nation has shown a sign of discarding conscription since the adoption of the United Nations disarmament resolution last month.

The French government has established its own customs guard at the frontier between the Saar and the rest of Germany, a measure it describes as "preparatory" to economic annexation" of this region. The French imperialists are opposed to the unification of Germany, for their plans to rebuild French economy depend in great part on their ability to plunder the highly industrialized, heavy coal-producing Saar basin. All German parties in all four zones, including the Stalinists, protested the French move in the Saar, which was approved by the French Stalinists.

"In the last few weeks about 7,000 German technicians and workers, together with their families have been arbitrarily deported from their homes in the Russian zone of Germany, to Russia," reports the Dec. issue of *Socialist Appeal*, organ of the British section of the Fourth International.

"All the workers employed at industrial plants that have been already dismantled or 'earmarked' for dismantling in the Russian Zone, live in a dread of uncertainty, hourly expecting to be 'rounded-up' and deported to Russia," the report adds. "The consequent feeling of helplessness and despair among the workers in Russian-occupied territory of Germany generates bitter hostility towards their Stalinist overlords."

Efforts are being speeded up to bring about the return of the Spanish monarchy. According

4th International Plans World Congress

The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International is proceeding with its preparations for a World Congress, according to a story printed in the Mid-Dec. issue of *Labor Challenge*, Canadian Trotskyist paper, which prints the text of the following resolution adopted by the IEC at its October, 1946 plenum:

1. The IEC reaffirms the decision of the last Plenum of June 1946 declaring open the discussion preceding the World Congress. As already indicated, this pre-congress discussion proceeds on the basis of the political resolution of the April Pre-conference as well as the resolution on the withdrawal of the occupation troops of the last Plenum of the IEC in June 1946, but it should center more especially around the following points:

The question of the USSR and the policy of the Communist Parties.

The meaning of the transitional program and its application at the present stage.

The tactics of constructing the revolutionary parties in the present period.

A report on the activity of the International during the war will be presented for discussion before the World Congress.

2. Every meeting of the IEC shall examine the development of international discussion and decide on new points eventually

must include information on their political activity and numerical strength, explaining the reasons for their non-affiliation to the Fourth International, whether it is a matter of a country where an official section exists, the reasons which have brought about a split and the measures proposed to overcome it.

The IEC shall report to the World Congress on all requests made to it, and the Congress shall decide upon each case.

On every case the IEC shall present to the Congress proposals regarding participation with full rights at the Congress, or participation in the discussion of the Congress with deliberate voice under certain conditions, or participation in the entire congress, or in part of its work with consultative voice only, or proposals rejecting requests for participation.

The organizations which claim to adhere to the Fourth International but who are not considered as official sections of the Fourth International in their respective countries, in order to facilitate their representation, are invited either to join the official sections before the World Congress, or to resume discus-

sions with the official sections and resolve the question of unification in a unified organization of the Fourth International; or in cases where an official section does not exist, to attempt under the control of the IEC to arrange for the unification of groups either before or during the World Congress.

The IEC shall defend before the World Congress the following principle:

No organization shall have de-

LENIN MEMORIAL MEETINGS

NEW YORK
FRIDAY, JAN. 24, 8 P.M.
Hear SWP Speakers On
'Lenin and the American Workers'
Speaker: MORRIS STEIN
National Organizational Sec'y, SWP
CAPITOL HOTEL 8th Ave. & 51st St.

BOSTON
Speaker: WM. F. WARDE
National Educational Director, SWP
SWP Headquarters 30 Stuart St.

THE MILITANT

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"The question of the relationships between the party, which represents the proletariat as it should be, and the trade unions, which represent the proletariat as it is, is the most fundamental question of revolutionary Marxism."

—Leon Trotsky

Time To Fight

At the very beginning of the renewed anti-labor offensive in Congress, some union leaders are already sounding the call for retreat and compromise.

These labor leaders, "who do not wish their names to be used," are reported to be ready to "settle" for some restrictions on labor. They plead only that Congress not go "too far."

They have found a pretext for capitulation to Big Business in Truman's proposals for restraints on labor. These they find "not too bad."

Step by step labor has been losing ground along the road of accepting the "lesser evil." The counsel of "compromise" means for these union leaders to surrender some portion of labor's hard-won rights while the corporations give up nothing.

Each failure to fight uncompromisingly against any infringement, however "mild," on the rights of labor has only encouraged further measures of repression. The idea that by agreeing to accept something "not too bad," labor will protect itself from something worse, is a dangerous fallacy. The "lesser evil" merely paves the way to the "greater evil."

Did the union leaders' agreement to surrender labor's most cherished rights during the war save the unions from anti-labor laws like the Smith-Connally Act? Did the wartime retreat and display of weakness appease the labor-haters?

Every show of timidity, hesitation and compromise by the union leaders has been a signal for the enemies of labor to demand new concessions from the workers to threaten harsher union-busting measures.

The readiness of these union leaders to retreat now, is all the more shameful because organized labor today has the power not only to beat back the Big Business offensive, but to win new gains.

Organized American labor is potentially the mightiest power on earth today. It embraces 15,000,000 workers throughout all industry. They make the wheels stop and go. The union men and women of today are tested, experienced fighters. United in militant action, no power on earth can defeat them.

Those who counsel retreat and compromise to this mighty force are scoundrels and traitors. They must be repudiated with contempt and scourged from the labor movement. The call for retreat is a call for surrender and defeat. Now is no time for retreat. It is time for labor to fight.

Open The Books

A familiar bit of drama in Wild-West movies shows the crooked gambler claiming to hold the winning hand, tossing his cards face down on the table and reaching for the pot. In the movies, the villain who tries this trick usually ends face down himself.

Big Business is attempting to pull a trick somewhat along this line in connection with the Nathan report, which the CIO issued to prove that the corporations, on the average, can raise wages 25 per cent and still make big profits without raising prices.

Every corporation mouthpiece and newspaper has hastened to pooh-pooh the Nathan report. The National Association of Manufacturers, through its chief economist, Dr. Ralph Robey, last week proclaimed the Nathan report is "an economic absurdity."

The NAM cannot refute the main facts of the Nathan report, which is based on figures supplied by the government and corporation agencies themselves. These figures show that wages have drastically declined since the end of the war; prices and profits have soared to an all-time peak; and labor productivity has increased enormously.

But the corporations and their organizations like the NAM claim they have better and more reliable information than the data in the Nathan report. So far, all they've offered are claims and assertions larded over with a few irrelevant statistics.

Claims and assertions are not proof. The definite proof of whether or not the corporations can raise wages without raising prices can be found in only one place—the corporation books and records. Let the corporations put their cards on the table FACE UP! Let them open their books to union inspection! But that's where the corporations act shy

than a Victorian maiden about uncovering her ankle. Open their books! Why, they protest with a great show of outraged virtue, do we think they're a bunch of liars and crooks? Besides, think of all their sacred "business secrets!"

And that's just what we are thinking about. We're thinking about the hidden profits disguised as "depreciation" and "reserve" funds. We're thinking about the huge sums disguised as "costs" to gyp the government out of taxes. We're thinking about the real facts on exactly how much the corporations spend on wages and how much more they get back through higher prices. In short, we want to know the real secrets which the corporations are most anxious to conceal.

The unions should answer the NAM's loud-mouthed claims by demanding to see and examine the books of the corporations. Once these books are opened to the light of day, the American people would have absolute proof that the corporations are the ones who are lying. They can raise wages without raising prices.

Truth About Greece

The people of the world have the right to know the truth about Greece. They have the right to know the details about the tyrannical government established there by British arms and American dollars — a government not much different from Hitler's and Franco's.

They have the right to know about the reign of terror instituted by that government; about its ruthless interference in the trade union movement; about the scores of villages wiped out by government troops and monarchist bands; about the daily courts-martial that condemn to death civilians as well as troops; about the hundreds of people executed and the thousands deported to punitive islands and concentration camps.

Above all, they ought to know that these attacks on the Greek masses have produced a new underground resistance movement which is struggling heroically in all parts of the country to restore democratic rights and elections.

The Greek premier, Tsaldaris, and his British advisors, unable to crush this opposition, are trying to justify the repressions and the continued presence of British troops in Greece, by blaming the underground movement on "foreign intervention." They have asked for an investigation and the UN Security Council has voted to send a commission to the Balkans late this month to draw up a report on the situation there.

But the odds are a hundred to one that the people will not learn the truth about Greece from this UN commission. For this body is controlled by the same British and U.S. governments that "investigated" and approved the Hitler-like plebiscite staged last year as a cover for the return of King George II. It is far more likely that this UN commission will side with Tsaldaris and condemn the struggle of the Greek masses against his government as simple "frontier incidents" provoked by Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania.

The way for the workers to get the truth about Greece is by demanding the creation of Labor Commissions, selected by the great trade union movements in this country, Britain, France and other countries. The leaders of the World Federation of Trade Unions, instead of sucking around like lackeys outside the UN chambers, should select their own investigating commission, send it to Greece and widely publish its findings.

Only in this way can the people learn the truth about a country whose oppression and agony during and since the war have been surpassed by no other land. This in turn would lay the basis for world-wide labor aid to the suffering Greek masses.

Warning On Rents

Tenants have received a new ominous warning that rent control faces destruction. OPA officials on Jan. 5 reported that rent ceilings on apartments and homes are being raised at the rate of 20,000 to 30,000 per month.

Fifty-eight per cent of individual applications for rent increases have been approved. OPA has already granted landlords rent boosts on more than a million dwellings.

This follows the pattern of the flood of OPA-granted price increases that led up to the abolition of price control. OPA concessions to the profiteers only whet their appetites. Now all the rent-hogs are lined up at the trough. They are clamoring for the right to soak tenants as they please.

Landlords have been making a killing. They are making more than they ever did before. There are no vacancies. They no longer give services, repairs and redecorating as they did before the war. Their costs have gone down, their incomes up.

Their cries for "relief" are nothing but the demands of the rich and greedy who see a chance to squeeze more rent from the people because of the housing shortage.

The Administration has clearly indicated that such "relief" is coming. Already rents on new and remodeled dwellings have been pushed sky-high. With the wrecking of the low-cost housing program, the stage has been set for a final grand-scale assault on rent control.

There is only one way the workers can halt this assault and prevent another deep gouge in their living standards.

The workers, the tenants must be organized and mobilized for mass resistance to robber rents and evictions. Labor must take the lead in this fight. Unions and tenant groups must join in common action. They must let the government and landlords know that any general rent increases will be met by militant struggle, by rent strikes, demonstrations and other forms of mass action.



"But don't you have any striped or dotted mink? I'm afraid after the tax is reduced this ordinary kind will be dreadfully common."

Workers' BOOKSHELF

THE COTTON MILL WORKER by Herbert J. Lahne, Farrar and Rinehart, 1944, 303 pp., \$3.

"Fact experience has demonstrated that the organization of the South is the key to the organization of the entire cotton manufacturing industry in this country," says Herbert J. Lahne, in summarizing the lesson of the cotton workers' century-long struggle for unionism.

This is so "not only by reason of the concentration of most of the industry in this section, but also because of the psychological advantage which the conquest of this traditionally non-union area would give the union in its efforts in other parts of the country."

Obviously it is not the fault of the Southern workers that the area is "traditionally non-union." Today the CIO Textile Workers Union reports steady progress in its important share of "Operation Dixie." The recent CIO convention listed 250 victories against 42 defeats.

As this book corroborates, the textile workers in the South as in the North, have a record of courageous and militant strike action. Previous losses of union footholds in Southern industry have been due largely to the craft-minded, timid bureaucracy of the old textile unions.

Organizing drives were sporadic, and restricted to a very small number of factories. Spontaneous strikes in Southern mills were left without sufficient direction or financial aid. Unable to combat the combined terror of the mill owners', local police and federal government agencies, the workers were defeated and embryonic unions crushed.

The author's findings confirm

the reasons for the militancy of the textile workers. Throughout the history of capitalism, they have been one of the most oppressed and underpaid sections of the working class. Long hours, agonizing speed-ups and stretch-outs, and ruthless exploitation of child labor, have always made the mills notorious. Hourly pay in the cotton mills is consistently the lowest in all manufacturing trades.

Mill workers, especially in the South, often have been chained to their jobs by company-ownership of the whole town. Workers who struck were evicted from the mill houses, refused food at company stores, their children barred from school. No weapon was too ruthless for the mill owners, who declared war on the strikers and spilled the blood of men, women and children with equal unconcern.

Everyone who studies the new organizing campaign of the AFL and CIO will find a wealth of useful information in Lahne's book, which records nearly a hundred years of the cotton workers' history. It is thorough and well documented.

Lahne tries to remain "impartial" in the face of the evidence he presents. Even his account of the heroic five-month struggle at Gastonia in 1929 is told without indignation, although this was one of the greatest battles of organized labor and one of the most brutal atrocities in the record of the textile mill owners.

Despite its shortcomings, *The Cotton Mill Worker* belongs in the library of every student of the trade union movement.

—Ruth Benson

JAPAN, PAST AND PRESENT by Edwin O. Reischauer, Knopf, 1946, 194 pp., \$2.

The author of this book, just off the press, was born in Tokyo and is today a professor of Far Eastern languages at Harvard and an authority on the history of Japan. He gives a brief, popularly-written study of Japan's history and culture from its origin up to the present.

The book contains much useful information and its important points are illustrated with simple maps. The author doesn't lose sight of the fact that the development of Japan was influenced by similar processes of civilization occurring elsewhere in the world, particularly in adjacent China. Thus the impact of world developments, no less than the specific peculiarities of Japan itself, provide the key to understanding Japanese economy and culture and its swift political rise as a world power.

The author interprets his facts about modern Japan, however, within the framework of American imperialist propaganda. For example, he argues that Japanese business men in the recent past were for liberalism and democracy; that the military cliques alone were responsible for the policy of conquest and expansionism. In reality, the militarists served the needs and interests of the big monopolist families who dominated Japanese economy. Also the author intimates that American imperialism through General MacArthur is bringing democracy to Japan. The truth is that through his occupation forces, MacArthur is doing everything in his power to throttle the labor movement and the long overdue socialist revolution in Japan.

—Larissa Reed

Congressmen At Work

Republican Leaders In Spotlight

The 80th Congress spent its first days in changing the cast of characters who will be in the spotlight during the months to come. Democratic Party committeemen were shoved out. Their Republican counterparts — like Taft and Vandenberg in the Senate, Halleck and Knutson in the House — took over the choice jobs.

Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, the arch-reactionary spokesman for the National Association of Manufacturers, is a member of the Finance Committee. He also grabbed the chairmanship of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. This is the Committee scheduled to draft new anti-labor legislation. Taft, whose family possesses a fortune estimated at between 75 and 100 million dollars, has been aiming at the job for a long time. If there's one thing he likes better than giving a helping hand to his fellow millionaires, it's striking blows at the working people.

Taft was one of the loudest advocates of the Case Bill and every other proposal to enslave labor. He has been clamoring for an end to the Wagner Act. He doesn't like veterans, either; he opposed any protection for veterans who are buying homes; during the war, he went on record against the soldier vote bill. His only friends are the profiteers; he helped scuttle price control and behind the scenes he's now maneuvering for an end to rent controls, too.

The President Pro Tempore of the Senate, Arthur H. Vandenberg, is just as firm an enemy of labor, but he preferred to become Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, where he can better spout off against the Soviet Union. He's the outstanding Congressional exponent of the State Department's "get tough with Russia" policy.



In previous sessions of Congress he was limited to "getting tough" with the workers at home. Like Taft, he supported the Case Bill, and voted to cripple even the weak "full employment" bill which would have raised unemployment compensation payments.

Representative Charles A. Halleck of Indiana will be the Republican Leader in the House of Representatives. In 12 years as a Representative, Halleck has distinguished himself by opposing labor and small farmers with equal zeal. He voted against rural electrification and against crop insurance. He fought the Leap rider which proposed recognition of the bargaining rights of agricultural workers. He supported the Case Bill, just as he

had previously supported the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill. He voted to make the (Dies) Committee on Un-American Activities a permanent body, to harass and intimidate the labor movement. Faithful, consistent service to Wall Street earned him the promotion to Republican House Leader.

Halleck will be ably assisted by colleagues like Harold Knutson of Minnesota, the prospective Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. This is the committee which draws up and recommends tax bills for Congressional approval. Knutson wasted no time in showing what his ideas on taxation are. His first proposal is to spare the rich and soak the poor. (See story on Page 1.)

Knutson's voting record in Congress has followed the same pattern as Halleck's. Although he nominally represents the agricultural state of Minnesota, he too voted against rural electrification and crop insurance. He has also voted consistently for anti-labor legislation, from the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill to the union-smashing Case Bill. His own bill supposedly designed to help veterans get jobs by giving them super-seniority for time in service, was in reality another attempt to cripple organized labor by nullifying the seniority provisions of union contracts.

These are the top men in the play as Congress opens for the 1947 season, with the stage set for new attacks upon the labor movement.

Haymarket Martyr's Last Letter To Union

A hitherto unpublished letter by Adolph Fischer, one of the Haymarket martyrs, is printed in *Industrial Worker* of Dec. 28. Fischer, a printer who was framed up and hanged in 1887 for the bombing of the Haymarket protest meeting in Chicago the previous year, had been a member of the old German Local, Typographia No. 9 in Chicago. When this local was dissolved recently, Fischer's letter, dated Nov. 8, 1887 or three days before his execution, was found in the files and turned over to the Pioneer Aid and Support Association. It read as follows: To the President and the Members of Typographia No. 9:

Dear Colleagues: In view of the fact that the day on which, according to all human computation, I must ascend to the gallows is drawing close, I consider it advisable to inform you, as your colleague, of my last wishes. I would like that you, in conjunction with my family, arrange my funeral. I understand that the authorities will deliver my corpse to my family. I am indifferent as to the place of burial of my corpse, but I would request that all religious humbug be kept away from my funeral. I only mention this, because I suspect that certain persons may endeavor to bring pressure in this regard, upon my wife. If a number of us will be hanged, then it would be best that we be buried together, in the bosom of Mother Earth. I have a further wish that you place in my grave our beloved red emblem, the Symbol of Equality, Freedom and Brotherhood, for which I lived, and now must die. Do not sing any sentimental songs, but, when I am lowered into my grave, sing the words of hope and freedom, such as the *Marseillaise*, etc.

Colleagues, perhaps many of you will criticize my conduct, in refusing to ask for "Mercy." Perhaps it will be said: "He should have taken this step on account of his family." Very well, I love my family, but such an application for "Mercy" would be contrary to my sense of human dignity. No scintilla of proof of any wrong doing on my part has been forthcoming, and having done no wrong, I cannot sign an appeal for Mercy. So let them proceed to murder me! However, those people who are guilty of my impending murder, will some day bitterly regret their actions, and future generations will mention their names only with loathing and scorn.

In view of the great and noble cause, in which behalf I am to die, my trip to the gallows becomes easy. In my mind's vision I already see, in the far horizon, the dawn of a better day for Humanity. The day of the Brotherhood of Man is no longer distant. In that hope and in the hope that you retain a friendly remembrance of me, I embrace you as colleagues and friends, press your hands and call to you a hearty farewell. I remain true, even to the grave.

Yours, Adolph Fischer

P.S. The certainty that the workers will provide for the existence of my family and the rearing of my children, gives me endless comfort and cheer.

Two Signs Of The U. S. Policy On Germany

By Eugene Shays

German technicians and other "experts" are being sent to the U. S., presumably to introduce to the U. S. Army and Air Forces various inventions to kill human beings more efficiently. The press admits that some of these gentlemen are or have been Nazis. To which it may safely be added that every one of them must have been a very trustworthy Nazi—otherwise they would not have been allowed to work on highly confidential projects. Citizenship has been promised to them and their families.

This proves again that the recent war between U. S. and German imperialism had nothing to do with a struggle against fascism. Rather than open the doors to the hunted victims of fascism, who could make a genuine contribution to democracy in the U. S., the government is willing to let Nazi butchers settle down to a comfortable living here. The worst enemies of the German working class find themselves to be the good and helpful friends of American industrialists and army officers. It should be clear now that the latter are the class brothers of the Nazis, that they have fundamentally identical interests.

This welcome of Nazi technicians is only one indication of the trend of U. S. policy with regard to Germany—a trend that has been hidden under a lot of chauvinist, anti-German propaganda and under the fakery of the Nuremberg trials, but which is now coming to the fore. It is brought out, for example, by the recent visit which Pastor Martin Niemöller paid to the convention of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in Seattle, at their invitation.

Niemöller has always been lauded as a great anti-Nazi, as a courageous fighter for his religion, as the ideal anti-fascist. This, however, is an utterly false picture of the man. Niemöller has always been a most rabid chauvinist in Germany. Nothing was more foreign to him than liberal thought, to say nothing of working-class sympathies. He helped drown in blood a Ruhr workers' rebellion in the early '20s and was among the early voters for the Nazi party.

After 1933 he was the darling of the wealthy Berlin-Dahlem set, and his opposition to the Hitler regime was based mainly on the latter's infringement upon the powers of the Lutheran Church. Under the conditions of fascism even the most conservative and mild opposition constitutes a potential danger to the regime; hence Niemöller was imprisoned in a concentration camp where he fared none too badly, quite unlike most other inmates of concentration camps.

Niemöller today fully accepts the falsehood of the "guilt" of the German people. He wants the Protestant Church to take an active part in politics in close alliance with other conservative groups, that is, the same ones that gave active or tacit support to the Nazis. At present, he finds himself opposed by a majority of the German churches' leadership, who desire a more cautious approach to politics. According to World Report, "American Protestants, by bringing Niemöller to the U. S., hope to strengthen his hand for this fight (the fight for active participation by the clergy in politics) when he returns home."

The aim here is to assure U. S. capitalism of a reactionary regime in Germany, once occupation troops are withdrawn.

WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of 'The Militant'...

Asks Sliding Scale For Federal Workers

While in Washington, D. C. during the Christmas week-end, we heard several radio commentators...

Editor: Some time ago a group of us from Los Angeles went to San Bernardino to obtain subscriptions...

"There is a lot of friction between natives and whites and guards. Guards are like flies around here..."

H. Daniels Brooklyn, N. Y.

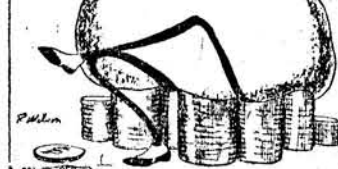
Language No Barrier To 'The Militant'

Editor: Some time ago a group of us from Los Angeles went to San Bernardino to obtain subscriptions...

A. S. Los Angeles, Calif.

WAGE RAISES MEAN INFLATION. WHAT WE NEED IS HIGHER PRICES

J. M. New York, N. Y.



40-Cent Dollars

Editor: Many times I read about the 66 or 60 cent dollar. The way I figure, the dollar is 60 per cent burden and 40 per cent actual purchasing power...

The intellectual and production workers pay heavy direct and indirect taxes and get no rebates on them...

War is the greatest evil on earth. Riches is the root of all evil. The quest for riches through profits is the cause of war...

Robert H. Miller Carbon, Ind.

answer: "Produce for use and not for profit; end the exploiting of humans by humans."

Under socialism there is no unemployment; the more workers, the shorter the work week. All races, creeds and nationalities work together...

Jarvis Dusenberry Rochester, N. Y.

Mexican Government's Strikebreaking Role

Editor: I thought you might be interested in this article clipped from this week's Spanish-American paper, La Prensa...

L. Miller Philadelphia, Pa.

To be Or Not To Be Is World Question

Editor: The question posed in Hamlet's soliloquy — To be or not to be — is the stern question now confronting civilization...

Plans for world peace emanating from forums and conferences notwithstanding, universal peace can be had only by freeing all peoples, economically as well as politically...

War is the greatest evil on earth. Riches is the root of all evil. The quest for riches through profits is the cause of war...

Robert H. Miller Carbon, Ind.

Buffalo Branch Is First To Complete Quota In \$20,000 National SWP Fund Campaign

By William F. Warde National Fund Campaign Director

Buffalo is the first branch in the country to fulfill its quota in the \$20,000 Emergency Fund Campaign for the Socialist Workers Party!...

National returns on the Fund to date amount to \$3456.24. The more than a thousand dollars contributed last week boosted the total to 17 per cent.

Buffalo Fund Director, Arthur Drummond, tells how this branch proceeded to make itself pacesetter in the campaign...

"In the local headquarters we have pinned on the wall a large chart made by one of the comrades who is a sign painter. This chart shows the pledged made by the individuals and the percentage paid...

"Of course, not everyone is in a position to act so fast. Other comrades prefer to budget their payments and are making regular, dependable progress...

Youngstown, Buffalo's closest contender, is exerting strenuous efforts to maintain its high rating...

Los Angeles makes its first bow with a check for \$127. "We will of course make every effort to go over the \$1,500 quota..."

St. Louis and Rochester came through with initial payments which put them among the first five on the national list.

Pittsburgh encloses two separate payments amounting to 14 per cent of its quota. "Don't be misled by our modest beginning..."

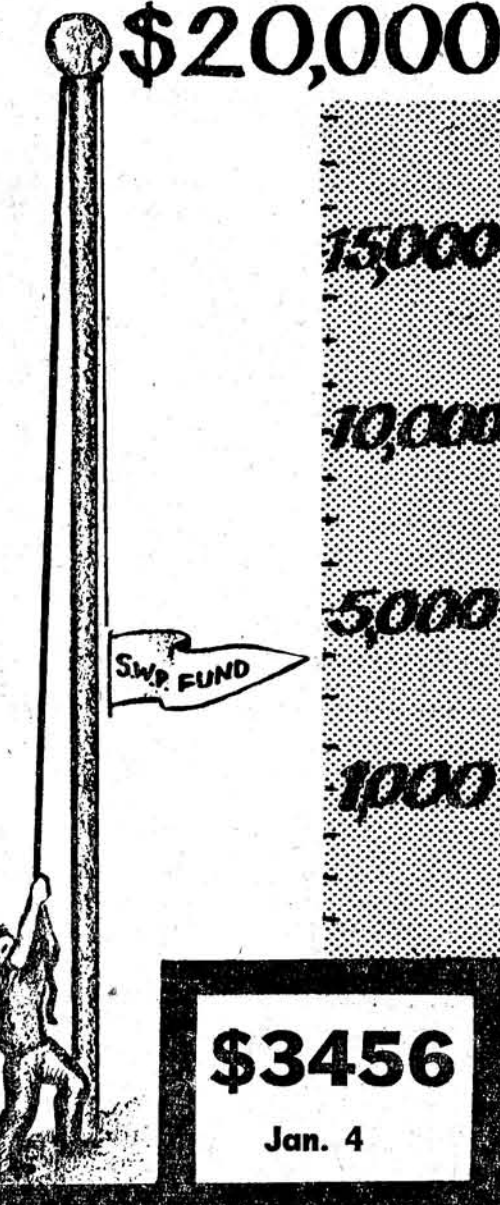
From Detroit, along with an additional \$69, comes the following interesting comment from Fred Riggs...

"After the Lewis capitulation to the Government pressure I expressed the ideas presented in the Militant after Lewis ordered the miners back..."

Philadelphia encloses a money order for \$21.70, bringing payment to date on its \$500 quota to 11 per cent.

The Youth in Philadelphia also step forth with a payment of \$5 which puts them ahead of the Chicago Youth...

What cities besides Buffalo will manage to join the 100 per cent club by next week?



SCOREBOARD

Table with columns: BRANCH, QUOTA, PAID, PERCENT. Lists branches like Buffalo, Youngstown, St. Louis, Boston, etc., with their respective financial contributions.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Five SWP Branches Top 'Militant' Goals

Five Socialist Workers Party branches went over the top in December on goals they set themselves in getting subscriptions to The Militant.

Connecticut State Branch more than tripled its quota with 78 subs. St. Louis doubled its quota. Boston, Oakland and Pittsburgh reached their goals with a few subscriptions to spare.

Boston changed Literature Agents in the middle of the month but it did not stop this record-making branch from reaching its goal.

Oakland Branch succeeded in reaching its goal for the first time. "We have recruited some people here and the branch is now on a firmer basis..."

Toledo Branch missed its goal by one sub, which probably means they will go over in January. Paul Carroll comments about the last batch of seven subs for December...

The following note from Pauline Ryder, Philadelphia Literature Agent accompanied 10 subs: "There is nothing much or spectacular about our sub-getting here in Philadelphia..."

Akron Branch has instituted the system San Pedro finds successful in stepping up subs. "Comrade O'Kenny left these three subs for me at the office yesterday with the dough..."

DECEMBER SUBS

Table listing subscriptions for December by city: Connecticut (78), New York Local (74), Toledo (49), Boston (46), etc.

Below are listed the subscriptions sent in by each branch of the Socialist Workers Party during December.

AKRON Youth Forum And Dance Friday, Jan. 17 'Military Conspiration And The Youth'

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Buy 'The Militant' Here:

Large table listing various locations where 'The Militant' newspaper is sold, such as AKRON, BOSTON, CHICAGO, DETROIT, etc.

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers At these Local Activities of The Socialist Workers Party

- List of local activities and meetings: AKRON—2nd floor, 8 So. Howard St., Open daily except Sunday, 2 to 4 p.m. Saturdays: Current Events Discussion, 8 p.m. followed by social. Admission free. Sundays, 7 p.m., Public Speaking class. BALTIMORE—For information write Box 415, Baltimore 3, Md. Monthly forums. BAYONNE—62 W. 23rd St. Open house 2nd and 4th Saturdays. BOSTON 30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Wednesdays and Fridays, 7:30 to 9:30 p.m. BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone Madison 3960. Open every afternoon except Sunday. Open house and current events discussion every Saturday, 8:30 p.m. Admission free. CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 4767. Library, bookstore. CLEVELAND — Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.). TROTT — 6108 Linwood Ave., phone TY 7-6267. Open Monday through Saturday, 12 to 6 p.m. Current events forum and open house, Saturday from 8 p.m. FLINT — 215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3, Mich. Open Monday through Friday, 8 to 9 p.m. LOS ANGELES—Militant Publishing Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644. Friday, 8 p.m. — Militant Workers Forum, 466 E. Vernon. SAN PEDRO, Militant Publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific Room 214. MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily except Sunday. Tel. Main 7781 Library, bookstore. Sunday Forums, 3:30 p.m. NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open Mon., 7:30-9:15 p.m. Fridays, 8:15 p.m.; 1st and 3rd each month, open forum 2nd and 4th, round table discussion. NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bielow 3-2574. Library and reading room open every night, 7-10 p.m. Friday night forum, 8:30. NEW YORK—CITY Hq., 116 University Place. GR 5-8149. HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St. Rm. 23. MO. 2-1866. Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m. BRONX: 1034 Prospect Ave. 1st floor, phone TT 2-0101. Reading room open Mon. to Fri., 7 to 10 p.m. Current events discussion, Fridays at 8. BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St. Phone ST. 3-7433. CHELSEA: 130 W. 23 St. Phone CH 2-9434. OAKLAND Cal. — Meetings Wednesday, Odd Fellows Temple, 410 11th St. For information write to P.O. Box 1351. PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 5820. PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor Round table discussions, 2nd and 4th Sundays each month, 3:30. Phone: Court 6060. PORTLAND, Ore. — Write to Socialist Workers Party, c/o C. M. Hesser, P.O. Box 3711. SAN DIEGO—Headquarters 623 Sixth Ave., open 7 to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday. SAN FRANCISCO — School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., cor. of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor open from 12 noon to 4:30 p.m., daily except Sunday. Phone EXbooker 1926. SEATTLE—1919 1/2 Second Ave. Open Monday through Saturdays, noon to 6 p.m. Tel. SE-0543 Library, bookstore. Friday forum—8 p.m. ST. LOUIS — 1023 N. Grant Blvd., Room 312, open Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 7:30 to 9 p.m. Forums Thursday, 8:30 p.m. Phone Jefferson 3642. ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St., St. Paul 2, Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily 2:30-9:30. TACOMA, Wash. — Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Oddfellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P.O. Box 1079. TOLEDO—108 Summit St., Toledo 4, O. Open daily, Phone MAIn 8919. YOUNGSTOWN — 35 1/2 South Ave., Youngstown 3, O. Open 12-5 p.m., Monday through Saturday. Phone 3-1355.

Milwaukee ACEWR Bazaar Nets \$150 For Relief

By Carol Andrews MILWAUKEE, Wis., Jan. 3—The holiday bazaar held by the Milwaukee American Committee for European Workers' Relief was a highly successful affair. It netted over \$150 and was attended by an estimated 75 people.

Barkers shouting at the game tables, music, glittering gifts (solicited from local businesses by committee members) and signs gave a carnival atmosphere to the event. There were tables offering desirable merchandise including books, sweaters, slippers, toys, etc., for sale at marked-down prices.

As a result of the local Committee's efforts many a family in Europe will receive the packages of food, clothing, medicine, etc. that they need so desperately.

Chicago Youth Guard Organized

By Bill Stone (Special to The Militant) CHICAGO, Dec. 30—The Socialist Youth Guard, a militant organization of young people, was formally instituted here last night, and chartered as the official youth section of the Chicago branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

The members, nearly all high school students from 14 to 19 years of age, elected officers and formulated plans for future activities. Organizer Frank Roberts outlined the work which had built the group, and pointed out that conditions are favorable for its growth.

The Socialist Youth Guard offers the only program that can aid the youth, who are the first victims of capitalist unemployment and war. It is essential to win young workers and students to this program, M. Michaels said on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, in order to prevent their militancy from being diverted towards fascism's reactionary ends.

The meeting was concluded with refreshments and recreation.

What cities besides Buffalo will manage to join the 100 per cent club by next week?

Letter From Lackawanna

By Theodore Kovalesky

In a letter I just got from Lackawanna there was enclosed a clipping from the Buffalo Courier-Express of Dec. 5, "BONES OF MAN DISCOVERED IN HUGE TAR VAT," said the headline, "Evidence of tragedy found at steel plant."



After stating that local police are checking over the files of missing persons to establish a connection with the human bones found in the tank in the huge Bethlehem Steel Plant, the article goes on to say: "The remains, according to Medical Examiner Rocco N. DeDominicis, consisted of parts of the jaw and skull, small fragments of limbs and minute particles. In addition, a belt buckle with no identification initials and a piece of badly burnt cloth were found in the tank."

"First suspicion that a workman might have toppled into the tank—30 feet high and the same in diameter—came last Thursday when employees cleaning out the vat found a piece of bone, reported it to the management, and then sent it to the Moses Taylor Hospital in the Steel City. It was identified as that of a man, and the morgue was notified."

"Those cleaning the tank, which is completely cleaned every five years, were warned to be on the watch for other fragments. These were found yesterday clinging to the cooling tar along the sides."

"Dr. DeDominicis said identification of the bones would be difficult. He said that he was informed that periodically a workman climbs to the top of the tank by an outside ladder, lifts the hatch and measures the tar."

"He said it was possible some person assigned

or unassigned to the task, may have gone through the same procedure, toppled in and never was missed during the war years. The temperature in the tank normally is 140 degrees Fahrenheit."

"Dear Brother Kovalesky," the letter reads, "I think you'll be interested in the enclosed clipping. These bones were found over in the Coke Oven, and this isn't the first fatal accident they've had over there. A couple of years ago there was an explosion and fire, and a colored man named Abdullah, who was working a 16-hour shift at the time, was burned to death. Several others were hurt."

"You will notice that, according to the article nobody seems to have any idea who the dead man was, just some guy who fell into the tar and never was missed during the war years."

"I wouldn't know, myself, who the poor guy was, but I can tell you this much: Over in the Blast Furnace Department the boys are talking about a man named Witherspoon, who went to work one day over in the Coke Oven almost five years ago and never punched out when the day was over. Besides that, he never took his clothes off his locker, just left them hanging there. He was never heard from since. I guess probably the company has forgotten about Witherspoon, and anyway, I guess you'd never be able to tell from a few tar-covered bones just who the man was. Besides, if the company never found out who he was, they wouldn't have to pay any compensation, would they?"

The letter doesn't say much more, except for a postscript, which reads, "In the whole steel plant, the Blast Furnace and the Coke Oven pay the lowest rates. In these two departments a man can hardly live if he doesn't work doubles (16-hour shifts)."

The Negro Struggle

Wolves In Sheeps' Clothing

By William E. Bohannon

False and reactionary ideas about the Negro struggle for equality keep cropping up again and again, sometimes from our admitted enemies, sometimes from people who claim to be our friends. It is necessary to keep battling them down, no matter where they come from.

Take, for example, the idea put forward by Winthrop Rockefeller, grandson of the oil baron, in a recent report to the Secretary of War on veterans' readjustment. He says that the Negro "has a great responsibility in maintaining standards of performance and dependability, for it is only through demonstrated capacity that the shackles of prejudice may be cut away."

In other words, the reason we suffer from Jim Crow is because we haven't "demonstrated" our "capacity," that is, we haven't proved ourselves. That is what Bilbo and Rankin say too, only they say it more crudely, and they add that we can't prove ourselves because we are "inferior."

The truth is, of course, that we don't have to prove ourselves to be as "capable" or "dependable" as the whites. Bilbo and Rankin know that we are; that's exactly why they are afraid to let us compete with them on equal terms. Rockefeller can keep his generous advice, or give it back to the Jim Crow artists he borrowed it from. We know that the only way to cut

away the shackles of prejudice is by organizing and fighting against the whole Jim Crow system, including its misleading ideas.

Or take the article about Marian Anderson in the Dec. 30 issue of Time magazine. It says the Negro problem can be "explained (and must in part be solved) in political, social and economic terms. But it is deeper than that, and so must its eventual solution be . . . it is, like all the great problems of mankind, at bottom a religious problem, and . . . the religious solution must be made before any other solutions could be effective."

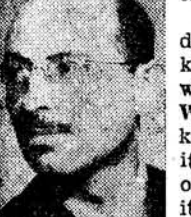
Here too the writing is slicker than anything Bilbo or Rankin would say; it even makes a bow in the direction of political, social and economic problems. But the thinking is right up the alley of the Southern mob leaders. For if we adopted this way of looking at things, then we would give up everything but religion, that is, we would sink into passivity and inactivity. While we would be waiting and praying for the "religious solution" to take place, Bilbo and Rankin would have no opposition from us at all, and things would get worse than they are now.

No, thank you, Time magazine. Instead of sitting back and waiting for the happy day when Bilbo and Rankin will get religion, we propose to fight against them in alliance with the labor movement until we beat them to their knees and win our second emancipation in political, social and economic terms. In the meantime we'd appreciate it if some of our "liberal" enemies would quit posing as our friends and trying to divert us from the real fight.

Indo-China And Stalinism

By George Breitman

I had, or tried to have, a discussion with a member of the Communist Party last week about the French CP and its attitude toward the Indo-Chinese struggle for independence.



The CP member was at a disadvantage because all he knew about the matter was what he had read in the Daily Worker. That meant he didn't know much, because although it runs almost daily dispatches on the fighting in Indo-China, it generally keeps a discreet silence about the attitude of the French CP.

"What you say is a typical slander," he declared. "The French CP stands for Indo-China's independence, or at least for recognition of the part claimed by the Viet-Nam movement. Why, the Daily Worker reported that the CP members indignantly walked out of the National Assembly Council on National Defense when it started to discuss sending a greeting of thanks to the French troops in Indo-China."

"That is true," I answered, for I had seen this story too. "That was in the Daily Worker of Dec. 21. But the Worker hasn't reported what happened after that." Then I showed him three newspaper clippings.

The first dealt with the meeting of the French National Assembly on Dec. 24. This body voted unanimously "for an unreduced military budget for the first quarter of 1947." (Foreign Policy Bulletin, Jan. 3.) That is, the CP deputies voted along with all other parties to appropriate money which they knew would be used to slaughter the Indo-Chinese masses.

That was in the French lower house. In the upper house, the Council of the Republic, on the same day, the chairman asked for a demonstration of gratitude to the French troops in Indo-China. All other parties rose and applauded vigorously for a minute while the CP members

sat in their seats. Then "in a body the Communists slowly rose to their feet at a signal from their leader and joined in the demonstration." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 25.) Thus the CP did what it had refused to do only three days before.

Two days after Christmas, the CP members of this same body voted, along with de Gaulle's followers, for "a resolution calling for maintenance of French power in Indo-China in accordance with agreements freely reached and for pursuance of the civilizing mission of France in respecting the legitimate liberties of native populations." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 28.)

The CP member's face was red as he finished the last clipping. "I admit I didn't know all the latest facts," he said, "but now I see what they are doing. Although they really favor independence for Indo-China, they are on the spot. If they say so, they will lose support in France, thereby strengthening de Gaulle. That would only weaken their own chance to win France over to the side of the Soviet Union. You told me the Trotskyites are defenders of the Soviet Union—well, after this, I know that you lie." Then he went to the door, slammed it and left.

Unable to answer him, I could only sit and reflect on the degeneration of a party which educates its members to defend the massacre of colonial slaves in the name of . . . Leninism.

Lenin taught the workers that the way to defend the Soviet Union was by extending the revolution begun in Russia, and he placed great emphasis on the need to support colonial revolutions as a means of weakening world imperialism, the mortal foe of the workers' state. Lenin declared war to the death against Kautsky and the other "socialist" traitors who favored participation in a capitalist government. What then would he have said and done about people who call themselves "communists" and condone the brutal suppression of colonial revolutions for a few posts in an imperialist government?

Health And Welfare

"The health and welfare of the people come first!" declares an ad of the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America in the Jan. 3 N. Y. Times.

"What's happened to prices?" it asks, "prices of milk, butter and eggs are 84 per cent higher than before the war. Clothing is up 65 per cent."

"What's happened to wages? The average worker has suffered a 17 per cent cut in buying power in the last two years while industry has raised prices \$10 for each \$1 granted in wage increases."

"What's happened to savings? One-half of all families own only three per cent of the in-

dividual savings in the U.S.A. But the wealthiest ten per cent of all families own more than 50 per cent of the savings.

"What's happened to profits? Business profits after taxes are at the highest point in history. 1939 profits equalled 5 billion dollars; 1944 profits equalled ten billion dollars; 1946 profits will surpass 12 billion dollars."

The above figures are taken primarily from reports of government bureaus and fully support the conclusion drawn by the UE ad:

"Prices are high today not because of past wage increases but because big business is hungry for exorbitant profits!"

THE MILITANT

EVICIONS IN HARLEM FOUGHT BY TENANTS

By Evelyn Atwood

NEW YORK, Jan. 3—The first steps in a community action to block wholesale evictions in mid-winter of 2,234 Harlem families were taken by more than 400 indignant tenants at a mass meeting called tonight in the threatened area by the Harlem Branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

Scores were turned away from the Universal Church of Christ, 44 W. 115 St., after the hall was filled to capacity.

The meeting protested the action of the New York City Housing Authority, ordering the tenants to move from their homes on three square blocks between 112 and 115 Streets east of Lenox Ave. by Feb. 20, in order to clear the site for the Stephen Foster housing project. The projected apartments will accommodate only about half the number of families now living in the area.

LEAGUE FORMED

The Lenox-Fifth Avenue Tenants League, organized at the mass meeting, unanimously adopted a resolution and program of action to halt the evictions until adequate housing is provided for all the present tenants.

The League is demanding that first priorities on the new apartments be given to occupants of the present site.

A delegation was appointed to meet with the N. Y. C. Housing Authority and return next Friday to report results. The delegation included Gloria Wall, temporary Secretary, Arnold Glasgow, temporary Secretary-Treasurer, Bishop W. R. Cruickshank, Mrs. Julia Hernandez, Rose Yates, Charles Bouldin, Mrs. Charlotte Dew, Tom Lee Brown, Reuben Pepper, John Williams, Milton Richardson.

Among the speakers at the meeting were George Clarke, Organizer of the New York Local of the SWP, Bishop W. R. Cruickshank, who donated the church as the meeting hall, Reuben Pepper, World War II veteran, Tom Lee Brown, tenant of the area, Gloria Wall, and Milton Richardson, SWP candidate for Lieutenant-Governor in the last election.

"Democratic President Truman declared the war was over on New Year's Day," said Clarke in a fiery speech interrupted by applause from the audience. "But we know that the war is not over, because men and women are

New York Tenants Lead Housing Fight



Part of the hundreds of tenants who jammed the mass meeting called last week by the Harlem Branch of the Socialist Workers Party. They formed themselves into the Lenox-Fifth Avenue Tenants League to fight the City's threat to evict them in mid-winter in the face of an acute housing shortage.

fighting for their homes tonight. The government in Washington is pouring billions of dollars into atom bombs, poison gases, germ warfare.

TRUMAN'S SURRENDER

"But Truman surrendered the housing commission to the big real estate and landlord sharks, just as he surrendered to the meat packing barons a few months ago. Now they are going full speed ahead to build night-clubs, gin-mills, big offices, race tracks—but no homes for the working people. Why? Because there aren't enough profits to be made out of poor workers who can pay only about \$25 a month for rent.

"Republican Governor Dewey is saving money while the people

per cent will never be able to return. And even for the others there is no guarantee they can return. We are citizens of this country and will not be told where we must live. I, for one, will definitely not be shoved into Hell's Kitchen! We will not move, until we have guarantees!"

Gloria Wall said: "What we have here is certainly not the best—but at least it is home for us. It is harder for a Negro to find a house than anyone else. We are pushed into Black Belts all over the country. Rents are sky-high and we are crowded into small, dark and dingy 'kitchenette' apartments."

"They tell the residents here

to go to New Jersey, go to Connecticut," said Milton Richardson. "Just go, whether we can find jobs or houses or not. How much does this differ from Bilbo shouting: 'Go back to Africa!' We know from long experience we can get nothing by begging. We intend to fight this out to the last ditch."

Almost 300 membership cards to the Lenox-Fifth Avenue Tenants League were signed, and 25 cents for each membership fee was collected. The money will be used to defray the initial expenses involved. Hundreds of petitions in support of the League's actions were distributed for circulation among the other tenants and their neighbors.

Housing Shortage Goes Back To Pre-War Years

By John Fredericks

Few people realize the true extent and chronic nature of the housing crisis. The capitalist press systematically spreads the idea that the housing shortage is a recent and temporary product of the war years. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Frederick Engels wrote in 1872 that: "The housing shortage is no accident; it is a necessary institution under capitalism, and can be abolished together with its effects on health, etc., only if the whole social order from which it springs is fundamentally re-fashioned."

Those words are as true today as when they were first written. Landlord and real estate interests deliberately foster housing shortages so that they can force up the rents and raise real estate prices. The multi-millionaire owners of huge areas of old tenements and shabby houses can squeeze exorbitant rents from tenants who have nowhere else

to move. The plight of millions of World War II veterans has focused the spotlight on the housing situation. When they were snatched from their homes to serve in the imperialist war, they were given glowing promises for the postwar future. They returned to walk the streets in a vain search for decent dwellings.

They are forced to double up with friends or relatives or accept the worst left-over dwellings. They are forced to live in old garages, hen houses, even coal bins. Their resentment has risen to the point where government officials admit that unless some measures are taken to ease the crisis, America's homeless veterans are going to be driven to drastic action.

This country's housing is now short by some ten million dwellings. New York City alone, according to the N.Y.C. Housing Authority, needs 861,000 dwellings to fulfill its needs.

This condition was not created overnight. Nor will it be solved, as the administration, contractors and real estate interests claim, by leaving it up to "private industry."

Back in Dec. 1937, Monsignor John A. Ryan, as Chairman of the National Housing Committee, reported that there was a need for two million more homes and that the people who needed them could not afford to pay more than \$30 a month rent.

NOTHING DONE

Neither "private industry" nor the government seriously did anything to end this shortage. During ten depression years, when materials and labor were abundant, no agency, private or state, undertook the necessary job of building sufficient low-cost, low-rent homes.

During these years, as well as the war years that followed, hundreds of thousands of people were forced to move about the country. The population shifted from farm to city. Children were born, families increased in size. But the materials and labor that should have gone to build homes were diverted into

SWP Convention Featured In January Fourth International

The January issue of the Fourth International features the resolutions and proceedings of the Socialist Workers Party's 12th National Convention, an event of historic importance. This convention, the editors explain, "signaled a new stage in the forward march of American Trotskyism."

The convention brought together in Chicago, on Nov. 15-18, 1946, delegates from all parts of the country who represented "a genuine cross-section not only of the organized labor movement, but of the American working class as a whole."

They constituted a working body which deliberated upon the revolutionary tasks and perspectives throughout the world, and adopted resolutions and decisions that "will make it possible for the SWP to take giant steps on the main highway that leads to the party of mass action."

U.S. PERSPECTIVES

Summaries of the international, trade union, and organizational reports are presented by the editors of Fourth International. The Theses on the American Revolution, analyzing the traditions, strength, and changing composition of the working class in the United States, are printed in full. They explain the growing radicalization of the masses and the possibility which now exists for a rapid development of a revolutionary situation in our own country.

To successfully meet the coming crisis, it is essential that the Trotskyists increase and consolidate their forces, engage in mass activities, and become the recognized leader of the working class. These tasks are set forth in From a Propaganda Group to a Party of Mass Action, which is also published in full.

An article on Economic Trends in the United States, by Art Preis, confirms the analysis made in the convention docu-

Dunne Analyzes Labor's Tasks At Twin City Forum

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 5—V. R. Dunne, national labor secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and former organizer of Minneapolis Truck Drivers' Local 544, spoke before the Twin City Sunday Forum this afternoon on the subject, "Labor Looks at 1947."

Explaining the falsity of the bosses' claim that a new round of wage raises will bring on a depression, Dunne referred to the depression of 1929, when the bosses' grab for profits contributed to the panic. At that time the unions were not yet strong enough to win significant wage increases.

"The capitalists propose to collect on their 300 billion dollar investment in the Second World War—that's what they mean by winning the peace!" the speaker declared. "American capitalists are ruthless and brutal to the end," he continued, "but they operate under their own laws to rob the people."

Washington has given the signal against the labor movement

This is the first in a series of articles on the housing crisis.