

**Germany--1947:  
4 Flags Over A Ruin**  
By Ernest Germain  
— See Page 3 —

# SLAVE LABOR BILL VETO DEMANDED

## Oakland Labor Scores Victory In City Election

**By R. Chester**  
OAKLAND, Calif., May 14 — Wild enthusiasm broke loose in the Oakland Voters League headquarters last night when the election returns showed a clear majority for four of the five League candidates. This victory climaxes a bitterly fought campaign where the class lines of labor against Big Business were clearly drawn. Not only was a severe blow dealt to the Knowland-Warren machine but a stronger basis now exists for building a labor party movement which could rapidly spread to other areas.

Elected to the City Council, mainly through the efforts of the combined labor movement, Joseph E. Smith, Vernon Lantz, Raymond E. Pease and Scott Weakley won majorities of six to eleven thousand votes. A recount is being demanded for Ben Goldfarb, the fifth candidate.

The four defeated incumbents, including Mayor Beach, had been in office from six to sixteen years. However, control of the nine-member Council is still in the hands of the discredited city machine since four members are not up for election until 1949. The council appoints both the mayor and the city manager.

**SHOWS GREAT INTEREST**  
97,289 voters, or 66.3% of those registered, turned out to vote, testifying to the great interest in the campaign. This is the greatest percentage ever recorded in an Oakland city election. Only 40% voted in the April 15 primaries.

This was by far the most bitterly fought contest in Oakland's political history. In spite of a tremendous barrage of red-baiting propaganda, the newly formed Voters League, with only limited election experience but working through the trade unions, was able to defeat the powerful, well entrenched and experienced political machine.

The incumbents had the full support of both daily papers which practically monopolize the city's advertising mediums. Knowland's Oakland Tribune and Hearst's Post-Enquirer devoted daily articles, editorials and advertisements to support of the old-guard machine. Lacking any record of achievement to point to, they based themselves wholly on the issue of "communism."

Towards the end of the campaign full page ads carrying reprints of the Stalinist Daily Worker and Peoples World were used to warn the innocent voters against the "communist invasion."  
(Continued on Page 5)

## South Carolina Lynch Trial Goes To Jury

**MAY 20**—The brutality of Southern Lynch Law was brought out in all its horror this past week at the trial of 31 members of a lynch mob in Greenville, South Carolina.

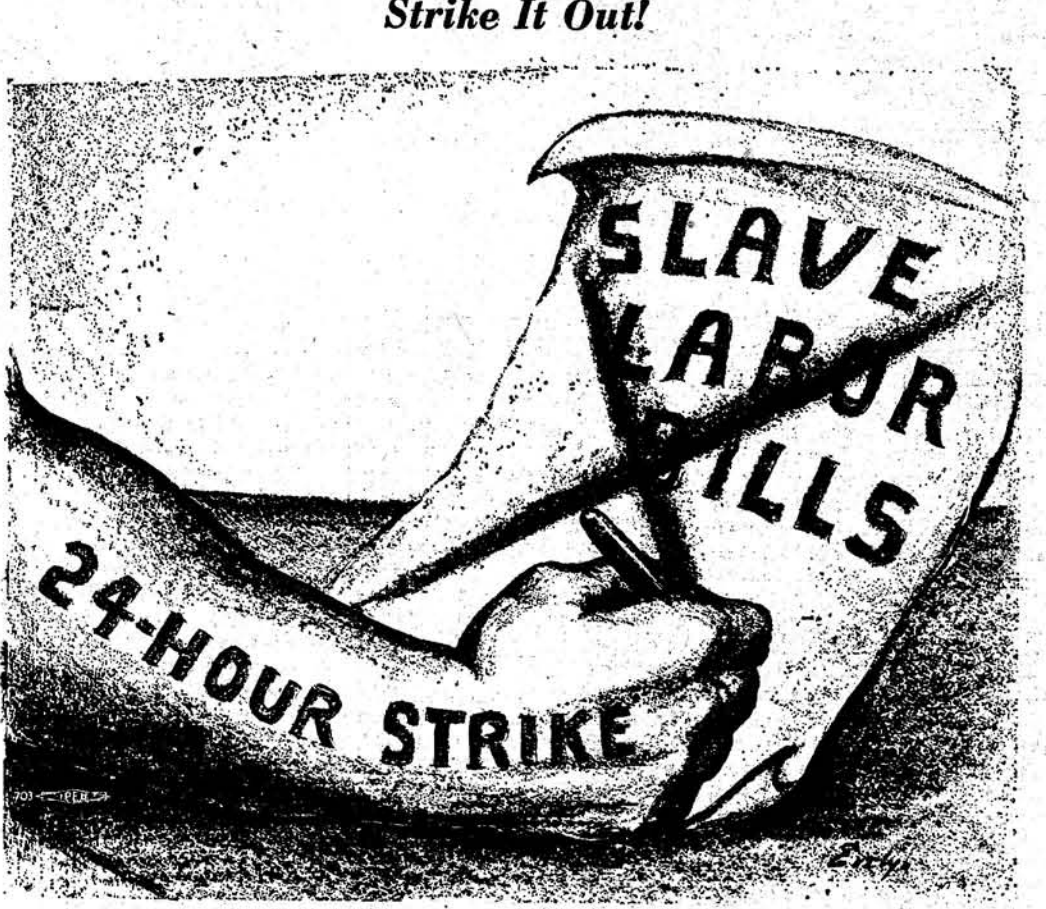
On February 10 a mob took Willie Earle, 24-year-old Negro, from the jail house in Pickens, S. C. No one will ever know if Earle was innocent or guilty of the charges against him. The jailer offered no resistance to the mob.

The statements of 26 defendants drew a horrifying picture of the mob's sadism. Before Earle was killed, large pieces of his flesh were cut away. One defendant related that he "could hear the cutting of cloth and flesh." Other statements told how the victim's skull was crushed by blows from gun butts. After more beating and stabbing, Willie Earle was shot three times. The mutilated body was left by the road.

The jury chosen for this trial was lily white. Not a single Negro was on the panel from which the jury was chosen.

Judge J. Richard Martin yesterday made rulings highly favorable to the accused lynchers. He freed three of the defendants outright. He reduced the murder charges against seven to less serious charges. Finally he undermined the whole case of the prosecution by ruling that the statements of each defendant could be used only against the maker of the statement and not against any other defendant.

The statements describing the lynching in every case picture the author as an onlooker. Seven of the defendants, for example, named Roosevelt C. Hurd as the actual trigger man who fired the fatal shotgun blasts. Hurd's statement denies the shooting. Under Judge Martin's ruling, the statements of the seven naming Hurd cannot be considered by the jury as evidence against him.



## CIO Marine Cooks Raise Demand For A New Party

**SAN FRANCISCO, May 16** — The high point of the five-day convention of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, CIO, which concluded its sessions here last Friday, was passage of a resolution calling for a "new political party based on the trade union movement and composed of farmers, white collar workers, professional people, veterans and minority groups."

The resolution was a compromise between two Stalinist-submitted resolutions calling for a coalition of all "progressive forces" including "liberal" capitalists — and a resolution submitted by Dave Bers, calling for a "labor party and labor candidates." The contradictory character of the resolution was pointed out by David Bers and Harry Press, union militants.

**NEW POLITICAL BANNER**  
Bers based his support of the resolution on such clauses as one stipulating that the new party should move forward "under a new political banner and electoral apparatus with its roots in the trade union movement, its program and policy stemming from labor and its allies."

"It was no accident," he continued, "that opposition to these features stems from groups which place their faith in the international agents of capitalism in the UN Assembly. International policy moves parallel with internal policy. A coalition party would contain agents of capitalism, its program would be formulated by the 'liberal' political representatives of big business."

"The conflict of interest between capital and labor cannot be reconciled in a common organization. Business wants high profits and low wages. Labor wants decent living conditions. Only under the banner of a Labor Party can the workers advance."

**SHARP CONTRAST**  
Harry Press stressed the need of having the proposed new party's name correspond to its class character. The resolution called for "A People's Party." Press advocated the name "Labor Party."

Delegate Anderson strongly denounced those who opposed a Labor Party as premature. "You can't tell 13 million Negroes it isn't time for a third party," he declared. "The Republicans and Democrats sold us out. We need a third party now."

The feeble Stalinist counterarguments were all variations of the timeworn "unity" theme: Stalinist Wallace Ho contended that the labor party policy advocated by the militants would "split labor off from its allies."

The spirited remarks of the labor militants made a sharp contrast with the lifeless delivery and defeatist attitude of a guest speaker — Harry Bridges of the ILWU, CIO. Bridges' strongest statement was: "The position of the ILWU is that if they find they have to fight to keep any of the conditions that they now have, they will fight."

## CIO Council In Newark Urges 24-Hour Strike

**NEWARK, N. J., May 20** — The Greater Newark CIO Industrial Union Council last Tuesday adopted a motion calling on the national CIO to organize a 24-hour general strike to protest the continued anti-labor drive of the Wall Street politicians.

The officers of the Council had brought in a report calling for the collection of 50,000 petitions against the Hartley-Taft bills. However, when a motion was presented from the floor for a 24-hour protest strike, it was immediately agreed by all that the time had come for such action.

As one worker aptly put it, "Sometimes it takes a strike to convince a boss and it seems that only a general protest strike of all labor will convince Congress."

In view of the recent militant labor demonstrations in Newark, there is no doubt that such a strike call would get wide support.

## Truman Scorns Plea To Veto Measure Knifing Portal Pay

Contemptuously disregarding labor appeals for a veto, President Truman on May 15 signed the anti-portal pay bill, thus joining Wall Street's Congress in sinking the blade into the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Truman not only rejected the veto appeals of CIO President Philip Murray and AFL President William Green but also a member of his own cabinet, Secretary of Labor Schwelienbach.

Murray had written Truman: "The bill reflects not a desire to legislate on the subject of portal-to-portal but a desire to cripple the Wage and Hour Law and other laws affected. It represents all the hatred of the working man and the wage earner, all the hatred of social progress and decent standards of living which has unfortunately characterized so many members of this Congress."

Attempting to avoid the unfavorable political effect his signature on this reactionary measure entails, Truman made public a 1,500 word "explanatory" statement.

By safeguarding employers against possible liability for portal pay, he claimed, the act makes it possible to bring current wage negotiations "to a satisfactory conclusion, and busi-

## More Unions Join Call For One-Day Protest Strike

More important unions are joining the demand for a 24-hour general protest strike against the anti-labor legislation in Washington.

The CIO National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, meeting in convention in San Francisco, urged "the national CIO to organize a nationwide work stoppage or demonstration in cooperation with the AFL against these bills."

These anti-labor bills, the convention declared, result from "the frenzied efforts of the stooges of monopoly to smash our American living standards and constitutional rights before we wake up, get together and throw them out."

This was the second CIO convention this month which advocated a 24-hour protest strike. The United Packinghouse Workers of America, meeting in Cleveland, had previously recommended such an action.

Shortly after the Marine Cooks and Stewards took this stand, it was endorsed at a conference of five national CIO maritime unions in San Francisco. Attending, in addition to the MCS, were the National Maritime Union, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the Marine Engineers and the American Communications Association.

A number of union bodies in other parts of the country added their voices to the call for a national work stoppage to protest the Hartley-Taft bills; now being merged into a single bill by Senate-House conferees.

Among these were the Greater Newark (N. J.) CIO Industrial Union Council and the Chester (Pa.) CIO Industrial Union Council. Previous Councils taking this position were the Greater Flint (Mich.) and the Mahoning County (Ohio) bodies.

A one-day demonstration is also being considered by a special sub-committee of the Cleveland CIO Industrial Council. A Labor Defense Committee, composed of 23 AFL and 19 CIO unions, has been organized in Flint and is working out a program to fight anti-labor legislation.

Typical of the sentiment of many local unions was a resolution by United Auto Workers Local 216 in Los Angeles last week, putting that union on record as "favoring a 24-hour General Strike throughout the nation, in conjunction with the AFL, Brotherhoods and Independents."

A general membership meeting of UAW New Departure Local 626, a division of General Motors in Bristol, Conn., this week voted unanimously for a 24-hour demonstration.

## Truman Holds Silence Despite Union Appeals

A mounting groundswell of public sentiment is demanding that Truman veto the ruthless anti-labor legislation stamped through Congress.

In a nation-wide radio broadcast May 16, CIO President Philip Murray called for the "immediate rallying of support from millions of Americans outside and inside the ranks of labor to enable him to veto the bill and secure a favorable vote upholding his veto." If the Taft-Hartley measure becomes law, America faces "a man-made crisis," said Murray, "perhaps deeper and more threatening to our institutions than anything we encountered during the great depression."

AFL President William Green delivered a similar broadcast May 11. He warned that passage of the omnibus slave labor bill would give the signal for wage cuts and speed America into "another dangerous depression."

If the anti-labor legislation becomes law, said Green, "People would just have to stop buying many of the things they need, business would shrivel, production would drop, millions of workers would lose their jobs and our country would find itself bogged down in another depression."

White House mail demanding a veto is reported growing steadily in volume. Truman's continued silence in the face of these demands, however, fed fears that he might decide to let the measure become law without his signature or might even sign it. Apparently, he is torn between the desire to sign the anti-labor legislation and fear of the consequences at



TRUMAN

the polls next year. Meanwhile the House and Senate conferees are reaching agreement on the versions passed by the two houses of Congress. Every indication is that the House will settle for the so-called "milder" Senate bill.

This measure, however, would at one stroke of the pen wipe out decades of labor's hard-won gains. It outlaws the closed shop, bans industry-wide bargaining unless both sides agree to it, provides for 75-day strike-breaking injunctions after a "fact-finding" procedure, opens the way for union-crippling court suits for "violations" of contract, and legalizes triple-damage suits which would include strikes against company-inspired "unions."

It bans mass picketing, welfare funds controlled by the union alone, and the checkoff unless individually authorized. Foremen are denied bargaining rights, as are unions with alleged "Communists" in the leadership, and a "free speech" clause OKs employer intervention in union affairs.

## Action They Will Heed

How can Wall Street's anti-labor legislative drive be halted now that the Senate and House have passed the Taft and Hartley bills? The top AFL and CIO bureaucrats are relying exclusively on a veto by Truman and a switch of enough Senators who supported the Taft bill to assure that the veto will be sustained.

But Truman cannot be depended upon to veto the Hartley-Taft slave labor legislation. Truman demonstrated this by signing the anti-portal pay act despite pleas by both Murray and Green for a veto of this measure that not only robs the workers of back pay due them but undermines the Fair Labor Standards Act.

On top of this, there is grave doubt that a veto can be sustained. The Senate passed the Taft bill by a majority of 68 to 24. If maintained, this majority, coupled with the majority in the House, would be sufficient to over-ride a Presidential veto.

Thus the treacherous tactics of the top trade union bureaucrats have placed the labor movement in a most serious position.

The immediate problem facing the unions is how to assure a veto and how to push enough Senators into line to sustain that veto. But Murray, Green and their associates are still counting on petitions, post cards and prayers to win this battle.

What is needed is a far more drastic kind of pressure. What is needed is a demonstration of labor's real power.

A 24-hour nation-wide protest strike is the kind of action that can make both Truman and the border-line Senators think twice before drawing the legislative knife across labor's throat.

A one-day protest stoppage by 15,000,000 organized workers would mean—counting their families and friends—that 40 to 50 million Americans had served dramatic notice that the mandate of the people is: **NO TAMPERING WITH LABOR'S GAINS!**

This mass of people would equal the entire vote ordinarily cast in presidential elections. Their readiness to carry out a protest stoppage would be interpreted by every politician as a far more ominous indication of what will happen in the next election than any amount of signatures on petitions and post cards.

The rank and file of the unions are ready for such action. They have indicated this from coast to coast by a series of demonstrations, stoppages and resolutions specifically calling for such a 24-hour strike.

To clinch the effect of a nation-wide stoppage, the unions should vigorously proceed with the organization of a Labor Party. The serious possibility that the unions will elect their own political representatives to office would be viewed by the Democratic-Republican coalition as the handwriting on the wall.

## Threaten Death Penalty For German Food Demonstators

Unconditional submission to orders! Death to all who disobey or try to protest! That was how Hitler ran Germany before and during the war. And that is how American occupation authorities want to run it now.

German living standards have declined steadily, first under the Nazis, and then under the four occupation powers. Hunger is greater today than at the end of the war, and takes a far greater toll in human lives and suffering. There is no longer any pretense that food is available at even the slow-starvation level of "official" rations.

Yet the big contribution that the spokesmen for the U.S. Military Government in Germany had to offer last week was a threat to invoke the death penalty against participants in hunger demonstrations or strikes "which in any way impede or tend to impede the occupational requirements or programs."

In other words: The German people are free to go on starving as long as they do not raise any protest against the "benevolence" of U.S. rule. But they won't

have even that privilege if they dare to actively express to the world their dissatisfaction with conditions that leave them too weak to do a day's work.

The death penalty threat was made in a radio broadcast on May 16 by an arrogant American bureaucrat, Dr. James R. Newman, Military Governor of the state of Hesse in the U.S. zone. The speech was approved by Gen. Lucius Clay, ruler of the whole zone, except for one section warning that martial law would be established "unless the attitude of the people improves." Clay ordered this section deleted because the Germans "know we can invoke it any time we want."

Newman's threat and his admission that "at the moment, and for several weeks to come, it will be impossible to supply sufficient food to meet the rationed allowance," emphasize the need for the American workers to intervene in this situation.

The American brass hats pretend that their aim in Germany is to prevent another war. But that is a lie. Revival and reorganization of the European economy are necessary for the establishment of genuine peace on that continent and throughout the world. That in turn requires the full and vigorous participation of the German working class, most industrially advanced class on the continent.

Instead of assisting in this task, the U.S. and other occupation powers are drastically limiting German production and starving the German people to death. In fact, as Ernest Germain indicates in his article on Page 3, German productivity has been lowered far more by occupation policy than by war destruction.

Along that road lies not peace, but the economic stagnation of all Europe and the breeding ground of fascist governments and a third world war. In self-defense the American workers must call for an end to the murderous misrule of Germany.

# 10 Years After The Memorial Day Massacre

The rights of the American working people—now threatened by the Hartley-Taft bills in Washington—were won in struggle over many years, struggle for which workers often had to pay with their blood and lives. One such battle, the memory of which should inspire us to greater efforts against the anti-labor offensive today, took place ten years ago—on Memorial Day, 1937—when a peaceful demonstration by striking CIO employes of the Republic Steel Company was turned into a bloody massacre by the police in South Chicago.

Paramount Newsreel happened to have a photographer present on that occasion, when ten defenseless workers were murdered and scores severely injured. Copies of the film were privately exhibited to members of the Senate's La Follette Civil Liberties Committee; the full film was suppressed from the public but a report of what it showed was printed in the St. Louis Post Dispatch, June 16, 1937. Excerpts of that report are printed below.

Read it and remember: The same Big Business interests that ordered the Memorial Day Massacre are behind the current drive against labor's rights and interests.—THE EDITORS.

The first scenes show police drawn up in a long line across a dirt road which runs diagonally through a large open field. Behind the line and in the street beyond, nearer the mill, are several patrol wagons and numerous reserve squads of police.

Straggling across the field, in a long irregular line, headed by two men carrying American flags, the demonstrators are shown approaching. Many carry placards. They appear to number about 300—approximately the same as the police—although it is known that some 2,000 strike sympathizers were watching the march from a distance.

### VIVID CLOSE-UP

A vivid close-up shows the head of the parade being halted at the police line. The flag-bearers are in front. Behind them the placards are massed. They bear such devices as: "Come On Out—Help Win the Strike," "Republic vs. the

People," and "CIO." Between the flag bearers is the marchers' spokesman, a muscular young man in shirt sleeves, with a CIO button on the band of his felt hat.

He is arguing earnestly with a police officer who appears to be in command. His vigorous gestures indicate that he is insisting on permission to continue through the police line, but in the general din of yelling and talking his words cannot be distinguished. His expression is serious, but no suggestion of threat or violence is apparent. The police officer, whose back is to the camera, makes an impatient gesture of refusal, and says something which cannot be understood.

Then suddenly, without apparent warning, there is a terrific roar of pistol shots, and men in the front ranks of the marchers go down like grass before a scythe. The camera catches approximately a dozen falling sim-

### Scene Of The 1937 Massacre



On Memorial Day, 1937, ten workers were murdered by Chicago police during a holiday strike parade. This photograph was taken from a suppressed newsreel of the brutal assault upon unarmed men, women and children. The pictures were hastily withdrawn from circulation because Mayor Kelly feared their showing might "incite riots" among horrified Chicago workers.

ultaneously in a heap. The massive, sustained roar of the police pistols lasts perhaps two or three seconds. Instantly the police charge on the marchers with riot sticks flying. At the same time tear gas grenades are seen sailing into the mass of demonstrators, and

clouds of gas rise over them. Most of the crowd is now in flight. The only discernible case of resistance is that of a marcher with a placard on a stick, which he uses in an attempt to fend off a charging policeman. . . he goes down under a shower of blows.

The scenes which follow are among the most harrowing of the picture. Although the ground is strewn with dead and wounded, and the mass of the marchers are in precipitate flight down the dirt road and across the field, a number of individuals, either through foolish hardihood, or be-

cause they have not yet realized what grim and deadly business is in progress around them, have remained behind, caught in the midst of the charging police.

In a manner which is appallingly businesslike, groups of policemen close in on these isolated individuals, and go to work on them with their clubs. In several instances, from two to four policemen are seen beating one man. One strikes him horizontally across the face, using his club as he would wield a baseball bat. Another crashes it down on top of his head, and still another is whipping him across the back.

These men try to protect their heads with their arms, but it is only a matter of a second or two until they go down. In one such scene, directly in the foreground, a policeman gives the fallen man a final smash on the head, before moving on to the next job.

In the front line during the parley with the police is a girl, not more than five feet tall, who can hardly weigh more than 100 pounds. Under one arm she is carrying a purse and some newspapers. After the first deafening volley of shots she turns, to find that her path is blocked by a heap of fallen men. She stumbles over them, apparently dazed.

The scene shifts for a moment, then she is seen going down under a quick blow from a policeman's club, delivered from behind. She gets up, and staggers around. A few moments later she is shown being shoved into a patrol wagon, as blood cascades down her face and spreads over her clothing. Preceding this episode, how-

ever, is a scene which, for sheer horror, outdoes the rest. A husky, middle-aged, bare-headed man has found himself caught far behind the rear ranks of the fleeing marchers. Between him and the others, policemen are as thick as flies, but he elects to run the gantlet. Astonishingly agile for one of his age and build, he runs like a deer, leaping a ditch, dodging as he goes. Surprised policemen take hasty swings as he passes them. Some get him on the back, some on the back of the head, but he keeps his feet, and keeps going.

The scene is bursting with a frightful sort of drama. Will he make it? The suspense is almost intolerable to those who watch. It begins to look as if he will get through. But no! The police in front have turned around now, and are waiting for him. Still trying desperately, he swings to the right. He has put his hands up, and is holding them high above his head as he runs.

It's no use. There are police on the right. He is cornered. He turns, still holding high his hands. Quickly the bluecoats close in, and the night sticks fly—above his head, from the sides, from the rear. His upraised arms fall limply under the flailing blows, and he slumps to the ground in a twisting fall, as the clubs continue to rain on him.

### BRAINS BEATEN OUT

CIO officers report that when one of the victims was delivered at an undertaking establishment, it was found that his brains literally had been beaten out, his skull crushed by blows.

Ensuing scenes are hardly less poignant. A man shot through the back is paralyzed from the waist. . . He moves his head and arms, but his legs are limp. He raises his head like a turtle and claws the ground.

A man over whose white shirt front the blood is spreading perceptibly, is dragged to the side of the road. . . There is plain

intimation that he is dying.

The scene shifts to the patrol wagons in the rear. Men with bloody heads, bloody faces, bloody shirts, are being loaded in. One who apparently has been shot in the leg, drags himself painfully into the picture with the aid of two policemen. An elderly man, bent almost double, holding one hand on the back of his head, clammers painfully up the steps and slumps onto the seat, burying his face in both hands. The shoulders of his white shirt are drenched with blood. . . out of the babble there rises this clear and distinct ejaculation: "God Almighty!" . . .

A policeman, somewhat disheveled, his coat open, a scowl on his face, approaches another who is standing in front of the camera. He is sweaty and tired. He says something indistinguishable. Then his face breaks into a sudden grin, he makes a motion of dusting off his hands, and strides away. The film ends.

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## NOTEBOOK OF AN AGITATOR

### The Treason Of The Intellectuals

What ever became of the revolutionary intellectuals—and why? What happened to that numerically formidable aggregation of cogitators and problem-solvers who challenged capitalism to a show-down fight in the unforget-ten thirties and appeared to be all set to mount the barricades with fountain pens unsheathed?

Time was, when it seemed that a section of the American intelligentsia, quartered in New York, was at long last preparing to emulate that renowned band of educated people in western Europe and old Russia who so bravely revolted against the spiritual stagnation and decay of bourgeois society, abandoned their own class in disgust and contempt, formulated and popularized the socialist doctrines of the proletariat, and placed themselves at the head of its emancipation struggle.

Alas, the hopes aroused by the vociferously uttered challenges of the American intellectuals proved to be immeasurably greater than their capacity to fulfill them. The contrast between their showing and that of the revolutionary intellectuals of Europe and Czarist Russia is appalling to contemplate. The latter went ahead of the workers' movement, organized it, supplied it with ideological weapons and inspired it to strive for great goals.

### ABANDONED MISSION

But here in America the radical intellectuals—with only a very few exceptions—abandoned the mission they had undertaken just at the time when the workers, rising out of nothingness, moved under their own power to create gigantic organizations which boldly engaged in head-on struggle against the most powerful monopolists. Great class battles have taken place, and more momentous ones are in preparation. The workers are on the march. But all is quiet on the intellectual front. The imperialists "pacified" that sector without a fight.

The American intellectuals didn't simply step out for a rest, like tired warriors nursing their wounds after a hard campaign. They quit before the fight got really started. They took it on the lam. They deserted and betrayed. Their well-advertised revolt against capitalism ended "not with a bang but a whimper."

The learned professors such as Hook and Burnham, the writers such as Eastman and Corey, and the journalists whose names are too numerous to mention, did not fall back to an independent middle position after they had deserted the workers whom they had promised to lead and the youth whom they had promised truly to instruct. They went over to the enemy, unconditionally and all the way, with all their bags and such baggage as they had, and helped to lie the youth into the war.

And they lost no time about it. With the most

unseemly haste, without a decent interval for meditation, they began forthwith to ideologize in behalf of American monopoly capitalism as calmly and easily as one changes his shirt. If you draw a line somewhere to the left of the Hearst press and to the right of the New York Times you will identify the present political position of our absconding highbrows. Even Henry Wallace with his populist-pacifist blather about the "common man" and "peace by understanding" is much too radical, too far to the left, for them. These newly converted servitors of capitalism outshout all others in their zeal, as the man who came to Christ late in life prayed more fervently than the Christians of longer standing and surer conviction.

### GLORIFY CAPITALISM

Professor Sidney Hook, who once expounded the class struggle, declaimed against imperialism war and explained that workers' internationalism alone can lead to peace and socialism, now reveals in the New York Times Magazine that the basic conflict of our age is that between "democracy" and "totalitarianism."

Professor James Burnham once informed us, with straight-faced solemnity, that for him "socialism is a moral ideal." Today, with the force-throwing mentality of a fascist and the irresponsibility of an idiot shouting "fire" in a crowded theater, he incites the power-drunk American imperialists to convince the world of their benevolence by hurling atomic bombs.

Authors like Lewis Corey, who once wrote Marxist books against capitalism in favor of socialism, now write other books in a directly opposite sense to justify and glorify capitalism. Max Eastman, the original champion of Trotsky and his revolutionary cause, now writes like Herbert Hoover, with the difference only that the style is better.

A fair-sized mob of journalists, who for a while served or aspired to serve the labor movement and the cause of internationalism, have comfortably settled back into editorial spots on the most conservative and reactionary newspapers and magazines and labor there to "slant" the news and poison the wells of public information. A considerable number of the more educated or more sophisticated radicals, ex-Trotskyists or almost Trotskyists, who fancied themselves to be race-horses, so to speak—and of purest breed at that—now work as harness-broken dray horses hauling loads for Henry Luce, the "American Century" man, and contentedly munch their oats in the editorial stables of Time-Life-Fortune.

One and all, these fugitives from the revolution think the late Thomas Wolfe was off base when he said, "You Can't Go Home Again," and refute him with pragmatic proof: "We can and we did." To anyone who values and respects hu-

man dignity they present a most unattractive spectacle.

Their performance borders on obscenity when they take time out from ballyhooing the "Truman Doctrine" to deliver little homilies about "independence" and to expatiate, like any hypocritical crook, mammon-serving sky pilot or confidence man, on the well-known virtues of "morality." They are just about as independent—and just about as moral—as advertising copy-writers or the authors of radio commercials, including the singing variety.

The dominating fact of present-day society is the struggle between the two great classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the outcome of which will decide the fate of humanity. No individual and no other class can be "independent" or neutral in this struggle. All must take sides and serve or follow one of the great classes or the other. The powerless, in-between, petty-bourgeois class, which is incapable of maintaining an independent policy, swings from one side to the other, always attracted to the side which displays the greatest power at the moment.

The New York intellectuals, unknown to themselves, are simply verifying this Marxist political law by swinging over to the dominant power of the present day, along with the rest of the petty-bourgeois class to which they belong. At the present time American monopoly capitalism gives the appearance of invincibility. That is what determines the current predilection of the petty-bourgeois class to side with the monopolists against the workers.

To be sure, the present picture of social relations is somewhat deceptive. The "invincibility" of American imperialism is only the temporary and superficial appearance of things and is certain to be exploded in the course of further developments. But the petty-bourgeois intellectuals would not know about that, for they are not much given to analysis, deep thinking and foresight.

No one can be "independent" in the struggle between the great classes. But even in the more limited sense of the term, the independence of character which enables and even requires one to make a free choice of ideas regardless of external circumstances and pressures, and to hold firmly to those which he considers to be right, to see a light and follow it regardless—the quality which most precisely distinguishes the revolutionist from the functionary and the flunkey—even this kind of independence is alien to the palpitating New York intelligentsia who change their ideas according to changes of the weather and the atmospheric pressures of the day.

In the early thirties, when American capitalism was writing in the depths of the crisis, while the Soviet Union under Stalin seemed to be going forward from one success to another—and physically annihilating the Trotskyist opposition in the process—the present day professional anti-Stalinists were nearly all fellow-travelers of Stalinism, sponsors of the Stalinist "League Against War and Fascism" and organizers of the "Artists and Writers Committee for Foster and Ford" in 1932.

Later on, when the economic conjuncture in capitalist America began to improve, at the same time that some spots began to show up on the Soviet sun, our doughty fellow-travelers began to travel in another direction, from Stalin and Browder to Roosevelt and Truman, some of them detouring and tipping their hats to Trotsky on the way.

### CAPITALIST FLUNKIES

These "independent thinkers" haven't the least idea what it means and what it takes to fight for an idea independently, against any odds whatever. They only know how to serve a power, not to create one of their own. And these professional "moralists" don't bother much about honesty and scrupulousness in practice.

In their apologist propaganda for American "democracy," they systematically throw the Stalinists and the Trotskyists together into one sack which they label alternatively "communist" and "totalitarian"—although they are well aware of the fundamental differences between these morally antagonistic tendencies. Their venomous hatred of the Trotskyists has the same profound psychological basis as that of the Stalinists. They hate us for the same reason that the Stalinists

hate us—because we are witnesses to their treachery. Our existence and our struggle are evidence against them and a reproach to them.

Their desertion, of course, is not evidence of the elimination of the class struggle, which most of them discovered late and soon forgot. It is a sign, rather, of its sharpening and intensification—a process which exerts its pressure everywhere and squeezes people into their proper places.

The working class of America is taking these defections in stride, building up great organizations, tempering them in struggle and looking ever more confidently to a better future. That is the greatest assurance that the present state of affairs, which is not good for the great majority of the people, can and will be changed for the better, for the workers have the power to change what needs to be changed and to do what needs to be done.

### JUDAS GOATS

The terrified rout of the New York professors, writers, journalists and serious thinkers who didn't stop to think would be comical—were it not for the sadly disappointed and betrayed hopes of the new generation of students who have been led into a blind alley of pessimism and resignation by these educated Judas goats. It is really too bad that the young generation in the universities, including the veterans who have returned to their studies bitter and disillusioned, have been temporarily disoriented by the circumstance that those ideologists, whom they had a right to look to for enlightenment and guidance, turned rotten before they became ripe, like apples blighted by an untimely frost.

The workers, too, need the forces of enlightenment and progress which a section of the educated classes, as individuals, can supply, and did supply so notably in Europe and old Russia. It will happen here too. There can be no doubt that the further disintegration of capitalist society in the United States will impel a section of the intelligentsia to revolt. This revolt will acquire great significance when it leads them, as it must, to join forces with the labor movement in the revolutionary struggle for the socialist transformation of society, which alone can save humanity from the abyss.

This union of revolutionary intellectuals with the best representatives of militant labor will open up a perspective of great promise for the leadership of the coming American revolution. But this promise, from the side of the intellectuals, depends entirely and exclusively on the new generation now approaching maturity.

The workers will make the emancipating revolution in any case, but the task will be easier if the young intellectuals contribute reinforcements to the leadership in time. For that they must look forward, not backward. The shameless traitors of the old generation are spiritually dead, and there is no such thing as resurrection. Cross them off. Look to the living and let the dead bury the dead.

J. P. C.

Essential to an understanding of the present policies of the Stalin bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

### The End Of The Comintern

By James P. Cannon

with

### Manifesto Of The Fourth International On The Dissolution Of The Comintern

order from

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# The Working Class Fight Against Stalinism

By James P. Cannon

(Ed. Note: This is the eighth of a series of articles on American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism.)

The preamble of the old IWW, on which a whole generation of worker-militants was raised and taught the class struggle, began with the declaration: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common." This is certainly true as far as social interests are concerned.

The struggle between the classes never ceases and cannot cease until the workers are completely victorious. The social evils which plague the world today, and even threaten the continued existence and future development of civilization, are due fundamentally to the fact that the international proletarian revolution, the necessary precursor of world socialism, has been unduly retarded and delayed. Out-lived and decadent capitalism is stretching out the period of its decline — or rather, its death agony — for too long a time. Capitalism is the root of the evil.

The overthrow of capitalism is the historic mission of the working class, and all of its daily struggles are instinctively directed to this end. When this struggle becomes conscious and properly organized and led, the downfall of capitalism and the beginning of socialism will be equally assured. Power is on the side of the workers, thanks to their numbers and their strategic social position. They cannot fail to be victorious once they get a clear view and understanding of the central requirement: that their policy be anti-capitalist, and that their organizations and their activities be independent, free from capitalist influences and agencies. This is the core of what Marxism teaches us about the politics of the working class.

The foregoing considerations fully apply to the problem of Stalinism, which is one of the agencies of capitalism in the labor movement, and the fight against it. The advanced workers above all must give thought to this problem and work out their policy from an independent class standpoint. Stalinism helps the capitalists by introducing disruption, confusion and demoralization into the labor movement, and sells its services to the capitalists in this destructive capacity. To be sure, Stalinism tries to drive a hard bargain with the imperialists. The bargaining over the terms of betrayal sets up conflicts and irritations, as at the present time in the United States, which give the false appearance of a revolutionary struggle.

## Stalinism Agency Of Imperialism

This, however, does not change the essential fact that Stalinism is essentially an agency of world imperialism in the labor movement of the advanced countries, as well as in the colonial world. But for Stalinism, all of continental Europe would long since have been united in a Federation of Socialist Republics. Even today, after all that has happened, after all the harm that has been done and all the destruction that has been wrought, not a single capitalist regime would stand up for a month in continental Europe unless it was propped up and supported by Stalinism, the "loyal opposition."

It is from this point of view that the fight against Stalinism must be conducted—as an integral part of the general fight against capitalism. It should be clear that the advanced workers need a class policy for this fight as for all others, and one that is completely independent. For this fight the workers need and can expect no help from the capitalists; it is stupidly incongruous to speculate on it for a moment. The workers need rather to get rid of the agents of capitalism — and that means all of them. "Class against class" must be the guiding line for the fight against Stalinism, as for all other fights of the workers.

The current red-baiting campaign is inspired and directed by the exploiters of labor. They are more class-conscious than the workers and always try to keep their class interests in mind in elaborating any policy. Ostensibly directed against the Stalinists alone—or the "Communists" as they falsely label them, partly through ignorance and partly through the design to confuse—the witch hunt is in reality directed against labor and the rights of labor in general. Notice how intimately it is tied up with the program of war preparation and anti-union legislation now being railroaded through Congress. That is no accident.

In part the red-baiting campaign is designed also as a diversion to distract attention from the ripening disturbances of the American social system and the mounting inequalities, injustices and deprivations inflicted upon the mass of the people. "Don't look at the harsh realities of American life. Don't think of your real troubles. Look at Russia and the 'reds'." To fall for this transparent fake requires a rather high degree of gullibility. For the American militants and trade unionists to join in a "united front" with the American exploiters for the prosecution of the red-baiting campaign would simply be to adopt a severely efficient method of cutting their own throats.

## Labor Fakery Back Red-Baiting

Some labor leaders who understand or partly understand the truth of the matter are taking part in the red-baiting campaign stemming out of Washington, in the hope of buying immunity for themselves. Besides being unprincipled, that tactic is sheer folly. The campaign is aimed at all the organizations of the workers and will strike them all with increasing violence as it gathers momentum. The appetite of the red-baiting reactionaries grows by what it feeds on. They become more aggressive with every attempt at unprincipled appeasement offered to them by one section of the labor leaders or another.

Evidence is accumulating that the rank and file workers in the more progressive and democratic unions are getting the pitch. They are taking a somewhat reserved, and in some places, even a hostile attitude toward the anti-red campaign, to the consternation of some shortsighted "progressive" labor fakery who thought they could easily dispose of their rivals and get themselves elected simply by raising the red scare.

In the recent election in Ford Local 600 of the UAW, the largest local union in the world, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, the Roman Pope's foreign legion in the American labor movement, led a well-organized, boastful and confident "anti-Moscow" campaign. They suffered a completely unexpected disaster. The Thomas-Addes slate backed by the Stalinists swept the elections by a majority of 3 to 1. In the last convention of the CIO Electrical Workers, likewise, the red-baiting office hunters got a brutal and well-deserved beating.

The workers in the plants apparently took a more serious view of their problem as a whole than the red-baiters counted on. They apparently linked the anti-red drive with the drive against labor in general, and decided by their votes to give a rebuke to the opportunist labor politicians and reactionaries who tried to fish in the troubled waters without bothering to present a serious program on union issues.

Unfortunately, the Stalinists profited by the confusion

in these cases. That is not to be desired, for they are a real menace to the trade union movement and must be fought tooth and nail. They try to stigmatize every criticism of their wrecking activities as "red-baiting," but this dodge is playing out. There is no reason why we should take their definition and refrain from the struggle against them just because some stupid reactionaries are also fighting them, from another point of view.

The thing is to put the fight on the proper basis and conduct it from the standpoint of the interests of the working class. That means to fight the red-baiters without covering up or shielding the criminal record of the Stalinists. It means, no less, to fight the Stalinists without falling into the booby-trap set by the reactionary red-baiters. This discrimination is not so difficult as it may appear. It has been done. From all indications it is being done right now with very good results in the National Maritime Union.

The Stalinist machine has controlled the NMU since it was first organized ten years ago. They have run things there, as they do in every union that falls under their control, with brutal disregard for the wishes and interests of the workers. The union was converted into a political instrument of the Communist Party, and made to serve every zigzag of policy in conformity with the interests and demands of the Kremlin. At the same time, the union apparatus was converted into a happy hunting-ground for careerists and bureaucrats. The chief qualification required to secure their places on the swollen payroll was that they be always ready to carry out any and every policy dictated by the Stalinist machine, regardless of how it might affect the interests of the workers who paid the dues.

## Stalinist Treachery Provokes Revolts

The treacherous policies and bureaucratic brutality of the Stalinist machine in the NMU provoked more than one revolt in the ranks in the past, as has been the case in all other Stalinist-dominated unions and will always be the case in the future. But these previous revolts, inspired in the main by the justified resentment of honest workers, fell under the leadership of ignorant, reactionary, red-baiting place-hunters. They simply made good punching-bags for the Stalinist demagogues in the "ideological" struggle, and couldn't even hold their own in the physical struggle which they, like so many of their breed, imagined could accomplish everything. They found out that muscle-stuff is a game that more than one side can play at, just as the Stalinists, who are addicted to the same theory, are finding out now and will find out increasingly, as the tide of revolt rises against them.

The Stalinists, following their regular procedure, manipulated the expulsion of their leading opponents. All opposition was driven underground. For a long time the CP stranglehold on the union seemed to be absolutely unshakable. But the logic of the class struggle proved to be stronger than the bureaucratic machine of Stalinism. The anti-worker policy followed by the leadership of the NMU during the war went to such monstrous lengths of cynicism and betrayal that it stored up a tremendous reserve of resentment in the ranks. Finally, this brought about a split even in the Communist Party faction which dominated the union. With that, came a split in the union apparatus and the creation of conditions for the real sentiment of the rank and file to assert itself.

The new opposition attacked the Stalinist machine not for its radicalism but for its conservatism, for its betrayal of the interests of the workers in the trade union fight against the shipowners. President Curran, who had long been a fellow-traveller of the Stalinists, took the leadership of the fight; and to his credit it must be said that on the whole he has led it wisely and effectively, abstaining from stupid and reactionary red-baiting, and fighting on issues of vital concern to the seamen in their daily struggle. The rank and file of the union were only waiting for the signal, and have rallied around the anti-Stalinist leadership in what appears to be a very substantial majority. If the fight is continued along these lines, there is every reason to be confident that victory will be assured and that an important union with a great future will be cleansed of the Stalinist pestilence.

Two important lessons can be drawn from the ex-

## Germany 1947:

# Four Flags Over A Ruin

By Ernest Germain

## Murdered By Stalin's GPU



ROBERT SHELDON HARTE

1915-1940

May 24 marks the 7th year since Robert Sheldon Harte, 25-year-old member of the Socialist Workers Party, New York Local, was kidnapped by Stalin's GPU and murdered near Mexico City.

Harte, one of Leon Trotsky's guards, was on duty the night of May 24, when a gang of Stalinists headed by David Alfaro Siqueiros, raided the Trotsky household in Coyocacan. The gang machine-gunned the bedroom where Leon Trotsky and his wife Natalia were sleeping, but by accident did not succeed in killing the aged revolutionary couple.

When the Stalinists fled, they kidnapped Harte and took him to a lonely cabin in the mountains. They killed him there to prevent him from later identifying the assassins.

On this 7th anniversary of Harte's death, *The Militant* again salutes his memory. He fell victim in the struggle to build a better world; but his devotion to the socialist cause has served to inspire our entire movement and to help steel our ranks in carrying on the fight for which he gave his life.

perience of the NMU: (1) The masses are stronger than any bureaucratic apparatus, whether it is a trade union apparatus or any other kind, and demonstrate it every time when they find an opening to break through and have proper leadership. (2) The workers who mistakenly follow the Stalinists are also their victims, and by the logic of the class struggle must come into conflict with the bureaucratic betrayers. Many of them can be counted upon as reserves for the future in the victorious struggle against perfidious Stalinism—provided they are approached with a worker policy, not a pro-capitalist one.

Stalinism can and will be defeated and cast out of the labor movement. But the workers themselves must do it. (To be concluded next week.)

The Swiss weekly paper *Die Weltwoche* recently published a photograph of a completely destroyed section of Berlin. In the shapeless mass of ruins that stretched as far as the eye could see, the front of a building several stories high remained standing. Behind, the building had crumbled long ago; but the wall was proudly surmounted by the flags of the four occupying powers, flags which dominated the scene of desolation. Four flags over a ruin: this is the symbol of Germany 1947, this is what world imperialism and criminal Stalinism have done to the most advanced country in Europe.

Many American workers may believe that the economic and cultural collapse of Germany resulted directly from war destruction. They should get rid of this illusion. Despite the disastrous effects of "area bombing" and the tremendous concentration of Russian artillery against the cities of Eastern Germany, 80% of the German industrial potential remained intact at the time of the armistice. The German construction industry at that time was strong enough so that, in the space of a few years, the rubble could have been cleared away and the factories and houses rebuilt.

But after the bombing and the shelling, the imperialist and Stalinist master-pillagers fell upon Germany like a swarm of locusts. In Berlin the Russians grabbed every last piece of equipment, including those used to clear and build roads. Instead of providing the German masses with new dwellings, even temporary ones, they requisitioned thousands of buildings which had escaped destruction, using them to house the personnel and families of the occupation administration.

THESE RESPONSIBLE The responsibility for the slow but sure degeneration of the entire social, economic and cultural life of Germany rests exclusively with the occupying powers, with the German capitalists who have prostrated themselves before these powers, and with the bureaucrats of the official parties who give them constant help in their task. Since the armistice, conditions have worsened instead of improving.

The industrial potential of the country has fallen to about 60% of its pre-war level. Production itself has stagnated to an incredible degree. The figures show 25% of the pre-war production in the French zone, 27% in the British and Russian zones, 35% in the American zone. But even the eloquence of these figures is insufficient.

A large part of this production has been carried on with the use of materials which the Allies find at hand when they came in; since then these stocks of material have been exhausted. A large part of current production goes directly abroad. This is true not only of industrial production in the Russian zone but also of the coal output

in the British zone—to say nothing of the French zone which has been plundered like a real subject country by famished French imperialism.

We can say that the 66 million Germans who today live in the Reich—with its eastern provinces hacked off—receive for their use only one-third of the agricultural products and one-tenth of the consumer goods which they received in 1938. This has caused a drop in the productivity of labor to a third of the pre-war level.

Everywhere there is a shortage of skilled labor, just as there is in general a shortage of men, and in the first instance of young men, because five and a half million prisoners of war have not yet been returned home. Over 55% of the German population today are women. Only 23% of the workers in the iron and steel industry are under 35 years of age.

Along with the decomposition of Germany's productive system and the physical sapping of her population, there is a corresponding disintegration of the economic and financial system. In the American zone—which is not the worst—seven tons of merchandise go to the black market for every three tons that reach the "official" market. The mark has lost all value and is no longer good for anything but the purchase of rationed goods, the distribution of which is becoming more and more rare.

The best illustration to the German worker of how his labor power has gone up in smoke is that the most prevalent measure of value has become—the cigarette. Where any administration of the economy exists, what it does is to rigidly organize the poverty. In the office of the provincial provisioning service in Hanover one can see a remarkable placard with 35,570 requests for a ration ticket for shoes. And there were exactly 980 pairs of shoes in the "official" stores.

The outward and visible ruins of Germany are mirrored no less depressingly in the spirit of the people. The great majority of ordinary men and women have no other concern than getting bread or margarine for tomorrow. Children beg or steal—the schools are closed, and why work when the marks one gets in wages can't buy even a half-pound of butter?

For every 100 pregnant women found in the hospital in Frankfurt, 50 have miscarriages, either intentionally or through weakness. There are already too many children with rickets, tuberculosis, or wasting away by starvation edemas. Prostitution and the moral degradation of the population have reached a degree unprecedented in history. No one has any illusions about the present, and there are very few who preserve a feeble hope in the future. They had known the Germany of Hitler. Now they are learning what the Germany of the Big Four means.

(The above is the first in a series of articles on Germany 1947. Next week: *The Four Germanies.*)

## Correction

In H. Vallin's second article on *The Palestine Question* in last week's *Militant*, the third sentence in the sixth paragraph which began, "Two Arab trade unions were organized in Palestine . . .", should have read as follows:

"Arab trade unionism which had existed for nearly two decades took a new lease on life and became rapidly radicalized after a series of splits and unifications."

The following sentence should also have been added to the end of the eighth paragraph:

"Faced with the growth of the workers' movement, the landlords were forced to somewhat modify their tactics and to admit a workers' representative to the Arab High Committee for Palestine."

# The Arab Revolution And The Zionist Labor Movement

(Ed. Note: This is the third in a series of articles on The Palestine Question.)

By H. Vallin

Neither the Jewish terrorists, nor the leaders of the Jewish Agency nor the heads of the Arab parties are capable of leading a consistent anti-imperialist struggle. Yet, in Palestine an extremely powerful and advanced Jewish workers' movement lives and grows. Shouldn't it lead the struggle for the national and social emancipation of the masses?

The Jewish labor movement in Palestine was constructed on a base of racial and national exclusiveness. This racial exclusiveness is based, in its turn, on the "closed Jewish economy" which the Zionists have attempted to build in Palestine and which completely separates the Jewish community from the Arab community.

Owing to a constant inflow of foreign capital and to the support of the Jewish bourgeois and petty-bourgeois masses abroad, Jewish industry in Palestine has been able to pay Jewish workers wages far higher than the wages of Arab workers. Owing to uninterrupted subsidies from abroad, the Jewish agricultural cooperatives could be organized on the basis of modern technology and could assure their members a standard of living far superior to the Arab fellahen (peasants).

The Jewish labor movement since its beginning has had as its essential function the defense of this high standard of living not only against Jewish capitalist exploitation but also and especially against Arab "penetration" into Jewish industry. In this sense this movement is typical of a labor aristocracy which seeks above all to safeguard its own privileges against

the down-trodden and poverty-stricken mass of Arab workers and peasants.

For this reason the Zionist labor movement has collaborated with might and main in the campaigns to boycott Arab products in order to assure the prosperity of the "national" industries—the prosperity on which rests the privileged position of the Jewish masses.

For this reason the Zionist labor movement has been in the forefront of the struggle for unlimited Jewish immigration, inasmuch as the cessation of the flow of foreign Jewish immigrants and capital threatens to lower the standard of living of the Jewish masses to the level of the Arab masses.

For this reason the Jewish labor movement has gone so far as to force Jewish employers to hire Jewish labor exclusively and to prohibit the hiring of Arab workers in Jewish industries.

jectives and interests.

The immediate withdrawal of British troops — this rallying slogan of the Arab revolution in the whole Middle East — is regarded with fear by Zionists, even by Zionist workers. With the departure of the British troops, the Zionists fear the loss of their most effective "protection" against the Arab world.

The immediate convocation of a Palestinian Constituent Assembly and immediate democratic elections — this slogan meets with open hostility among all the Zionists, including their extreme left wing, the centrist organization of Hashomer Hatzair. This organization struggles for a "bi-national," Jewish-Arab State, but it is likewise opposed to the immediate holding of democratic elections which would inevitably give the parliamentary majority to the Arabs who are the majority of the country's population.

The expropriation of the lands of the effendis (wealthy landowners) and their division by committees of poor peasants — this battle-cry of the agrarian revolution which would be able to arouse the mass of wretched fellahen is cautiously avoided by the Zionist labor organizations for it would end forever the sales of land to the Zionists by the effendis.

The expropriation of all enterprises owned by foreign capital, and the closing of the country to the import of capital — this slogan runs up against the savage opposition of the Zionist organizations, because it would put an end to their dream of colonization and also to their privileged standard of living.

Consequently it is therefore natural that the Zionist labor organizations have taken no steps up till now to organize, assist or unleash the revolution of the Arab masses and that they still remain terrified by this perspective. The joint Jewish-Arab strikes which took place last year were organized by the Arab unions, and the Jewish workers who participated in them were forced to do so because they were a minority and the action was confined exclusively to that tiny group of Jewish workers employed and exploited by British imperialism. (The great majority of the Jewish proletariat employed by Jewish companies remained passive and even hostile to these strikes.)

The expulsion of imperialism from the Middle East is the primary objective that the revolutionary movement must pursue in that part of the world. It should be clear to every advanced worker who analyzes the situation without prejudice that this objective can be realized only through the Arab revolution and under the leadership of the Arab workers' movement. Under these circumstances the Jewish labor movement of Palestine confronts the following dilemma:

Whether to abandon its Zionist illusions and integrate itself fraternally in the Arab revolution; or to cling desperately to its Zionist positions and risk being wiped out between imperialist resistance and the mounting Arab revolution.

The first road, which is the only road of salvation for the Jewish world in Palestine, means abandoning all political and economic racism. It requires organizing a Jewish-Arab workers

party and Jewish-Arab trade unions; rooting out all prejudice and all "paternalism" toward the Arab masses; opening up Jewish industry to Arab workers; and forging a genuine fighting unity on the basis of common interests.

This first road demands enormous immediate sacrifices of the Jewish workers in Palestine, but it protects their existence in the future and lays the foundation for harmony between Arabs and Jews.

The second road, which has already arrived in a blind alley in the negotiations with imperialism, will lead the Zionist labor movement further and further into terrorism, as ineffective as it is reactionary. While such desperate actions are carried on by the most active minority, the majority will tend more and more to accept miserable compromises offering only shreds of the Zionist dreams.

This second road could very well lead to the complete extermination of the Jewish community in Palestine during the explosion of the coming Arab revolution.

(To be concluded next week.)

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"We have entered an epoch when the periods of economic revival are short-lived, while the periods of depression become deeper and deeper." Leon Trotsky

## An Emergency Appeal

We wish to call attention to the current campaign of the American Committee for European Workers Relief to cable food packages to the starvation zones in Germany.

In many working class districts in the industrial areas of Germany the ration is now below 650 calories a day.

The German workers suffering under this hunger regime are the same ones who were victims of the Nazis for 12 years.

The answer of the American military authorities to the piteous cries of the German workers for food is a brutal warning that the death penalty will be inflicted if these victims do anything more than die quietly.

Speed is essential. Consequently the ACEWR has arranged to cable food packages. Companies now holding food stockpiles in Holland, Denmark, Switzerland and Germany itself will deliver food packages containing ten pounds of high-calorie foods for \$13.50.

All checks and money orders should be sent to the American Committee for European Workers Relief, 130 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N. Y.

## Oakland Lessons

The workers of Oakland, Calif., are teaching valuable lessons to the entire American labor movement.

When the corrupt Republican city machine provided police protection for professional strike-breakers in the Kahns and Hastings department store strike last December, over 100,000 workers in the city quit work.

Labor solidarity, backed by militant demonstrations of power — this is the way to answer the enemies of labor.

So the unions, united in the Joint Labor Committee to Combat Anti-Labor Legislation, took the next logical step.

Despite a fierce red-baiting campaign launched by the incumbent machine and the boss press, the unions were able in last week's election to kick out four of the Republican Council, including the Mayor, and to elect four candidates on the Voters League slate.

The labor campaign suffered from a number of shortcomings — it was hastily organized; its program did not go far enough; the rank and file did not have sufficient control over



the actions of the candidates, such as they could have exercised through a labor party. Nevertheless, the challenge to Big Business domination of politics inspired the workers to participate actively in the struggle.

Correctly applied, the lessons of Oakland point the way to meet the anti-labor offensive in Washington. A 24-hour nation-wide general protest strike would proclaim in language that Congress and the White House could understand that the workers will not tolerate slave labor laws.

And along with these mass demonstrations the labor movement should proceed at once to organize its own political power and kick out the Democratic and Republican politicians whose subservience to the corporations constitutes an ever-growing threat to the very existence of a free labor movement.

## Class Legislation

When Truman signed the anti-portal pay act, he put his name on one of the most barefaced pieces of class legislation that has been passed in some time.

What particularly underlines the class character of this legislation is its contrast to such notorious measures as the tax refund bill.

Truman signed the anti-portal pay act precisely when current profits have soared to new and unprecedented levels. The day before Truman put his signature to the measure, the Wall Street Journal announced a survey showing that the profits of 149 companies in 15 industrial groups averaged 282.7% for the first quarter of this year over the phenomenal profits for the same period of last year.

While the capitalist profit-gougers thus stuffed their bank vaults, Congress and President Truman took away billions of dollars earned by the workers.

The passage of the anti-portal pay act once again demonstrates how the capitalist government legislates in accordance with the principle of soaking the poor and rewarding the rich.

## 'Freedom From Fear'

During World War II, the capitalist propagandists made a number of glowing promises about the kind of postwar world Wall Street intended to build.

Two scientists have just released a report on germ-warfare which shows just how much this promise was worth.

Doctors Rosebury and Kabat have compiled all the known diseases and bacteria. They have carefully selected the most deadly, easily-spread plagues, capable of infecting entire cities and industrial areas.

Botulinus toxin, 10,000 times deadlier than potassium cyanide, is the "most potent of all gastro-intestinal poisons," which could be dropped by planes to infect water supplies and cause a mortality of 82% of all infected.

Leptosira germs causing fever and jaundice "could be maintained and transferred in the field" to contaminate foods and water supplies.

Anthrax bacillus is considered as "surpassed by few micro-organisms in infectivity."

Wholesale spreading of influenza "may serve as an effective weapon."

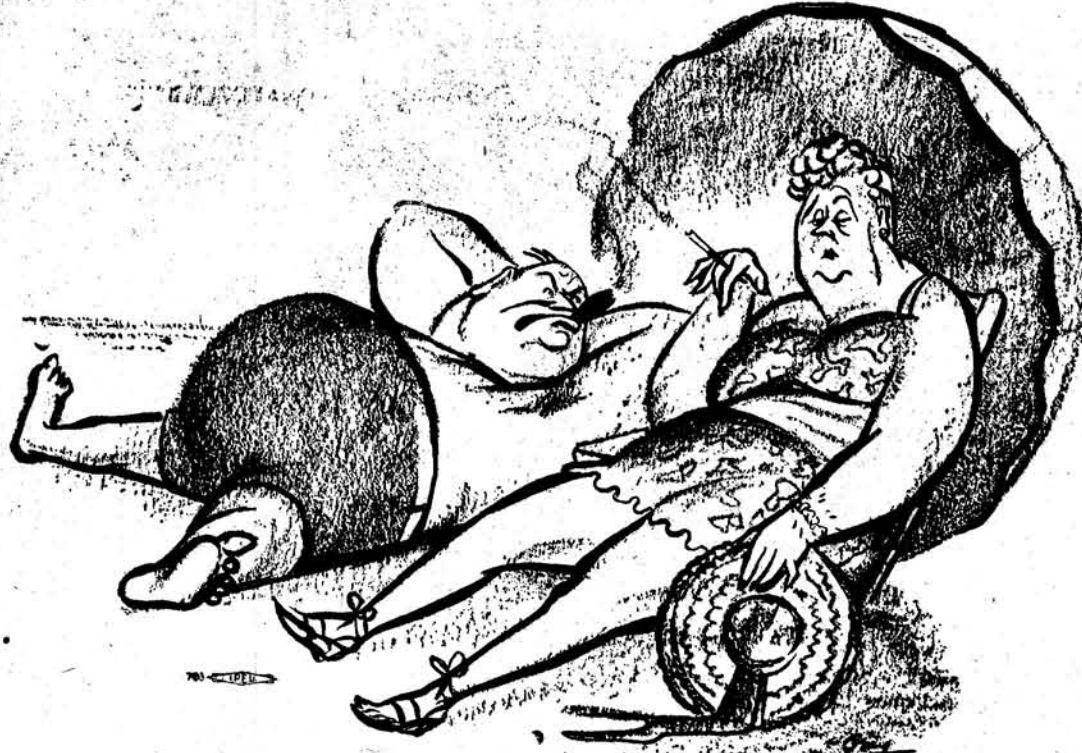
Among "the most useful agents of bacterial warfare" are listed; psittacosis, or parrot's disease; mysterious glanders afflictions which attack the skin, bones and lungs; such fevers as typhus, brucella melitensis, yellow fever, dengue fever and spotted fever.

All these are proved mass killers and labelled as "superlative." Others are still in process of investigation and elaboration, and, since this 1942 report, have been "improved."

The War Department has been "perfecting" all these germs for use in the war they consider inevitable.

Such is American capitalism. Such is the outlived system which now enlists, as adjunct to the atomic bomb, the worst diseases and viruses for use in a Third World War.

Capitalism thus serves notice of its utter incapacity to guarantee security. It serves notice that only the destruction of this bankrupt system can save the people from these new and frightful means of mass destruction.



"I've got my belly full of listening to those workers' complaints!"

# BOOKSHELF

## THERE ONCE WAS A SLAVE

by Shirley Graham, Julian Messner, Inc., 1947, 305 pp. \$3.

Shirley Graham, a young Negro author, has done a commendable job with this new biography of Frederick Douglass.

Douglass devoted his whole life to the struggle for the rights of the downtrodden and oppressed everywhere, including participation in the struggle of the Irish for independence from England.

After the abolition of slavery, he devoted much of his time to the Colored National Labor Union and became the editor of The New Era, its weekly paper.

Apparently the author is not too familiar with this phase of the life of Douglass for she sows some confusion on this point.

the struggle of other sections of society. He was in the forefront of the fight for women's suffrage, universal free education and rights for national minorities.

He continued his struggle for a united labor movement of white and black. In this connection, he said, "The future of the freedman is linked with the destiny of labor in America. Negroes, thank God, are workers."

Apparently the author is not too familiar with this phase of the life of Douglass for she sows some confusion on this point.

She intimates, for instance, that it was Douglass who steered the Republican Party away from unionism. This is not true. Al-

though duped in many ways by his associates in the Republican Party, during his later years, he always fought courageously and fearlessly for what he believed to be right.

The book can be profitably read by workers who wish to gain an understanding of the life and struggle of Frederick Douglass; they will find the reading interesting and vivid.

The banner of John Brown, which he left to Douglass to be unfurled only when the Negro people have been fully liberated and attained full social equality, still lies in its casing.

It remains a challenge to the fighters, white and Negro, for a fully free, that is, a socialist America.

—John Fredericks

## Fate Of Europe Now Hinges On French Working Class

### By Arthur Burch

France has become the testing ground between the forces of imperialism and the revolutionary working class. Out of the unfolding deep economic and political crisis will emerge either the Socialist United States of Europe or a continent submerged under the heels of capitalist dictatorship.

Just as the failure of the German workers to take power after the first world war led to the rise of Hitler and the second world slaughter, so would the failure of the French workers to take power in the coming period fortify world reaction and encourage American imperialism to usher in World War III.

The French workers had power in their grasp in 1944 when Hitler's armies were driven out of the country. Many French capitalists fled or went into hiding. Armed workers took over many cities and factories and were in a strategic position to seize the balance.

STALINIST TREACHERY  
The Communist Party, which then controlled and still dominates the strong French trade union, movement, strangled the insurgent working class.

Under the terms of Stalin's deal with Roosevelt and Churchill, the CP idolized the fascist-minded de Gaulle, rallied the workers behind his banner and forced the workers' militias to give up their arms and disband.

The French Communist Party thus played the same Judas role as did the German Social Democratic leaders who in 1919 turned power back to the German industrialists, helped to suppress the revolutionary workers and entered the government to save the decaying capitalist system.

What now for the French workers? Is their cause hopeless? Or will new opportunities present themselves as in Germany in 1932? All signs indicate that a second chance is close at hand.

French capitalism cannot possibly emerge from the mounting inflationary spiral except by forcing still greater hardships on the workers.

Since the workers are already rebelling against low living standards, the capitalists are driven to establish dictatorial rule over the working class or face a further deepening of the social crisis.

The United States realizes that it must have a successful Europe if it is to be successful in subjugating the world and destroying nationalized property in the Soviet Union.

Within its borders is the most strongly organized and most political working class, which cannot so easily be duped a second time by de Gaulle. American imperialism knows that de Gaulle cannot strangle the French working class without its aid.

BACKED BY FORCE  
On the one hand U. S. imperialism today attempts to bribe the French workers with food and supplies—but it holds the cannon in reserve.

Washington plans to repeat in France the dastardly crimes enacted by Hitler and Mussolini in Spain. Under no circumstances will it permit France to become a satellite of the Soviet Union. It will do everything possible to assist de Gaulle in promoting his dictatorship.

The proclamation of the Truman Doctrine has already produced a profound political realignment in France. De Gaulle is now speaking more openly and boldly of dictatorship while the Socialist Party leaders have screwed up courage to oust the Stalinist ministers from the cabinet.

The recent strike at the Renault auto plant against the wishes of the trade union bureaucracy, and the wave of sympathy strikes in its wake, show that the French workers are once more in a fighting mood.

As French reaction, prodded by American imperialism, takes further steps against the workers, it will stir up a stronger resistance on their

part and sharpen the class struggle. The main obstacle holding back the French working class is Stalinism.

The French workers have had considerable experience with this monstrous deformity in the labor movement, more than the German workers before Hitler's rise to power or the Spanish workers at the time of the Civil War. The advanced French workers have not only witnessed the betrayal of Stalinism in those countries but have just gone through some sad experiences of their own.

The Stalinists still hold the dominant position in the trade unions; although they utilize the workers' struggles merely as pressure on the imperialists to make another deal with the Kremlin, they still strive to maintain leadership of strikes they cannot head off.

HOLD IS WEAKENING  
But the Stalinist stranglehold on the French workers is weakening. This was most dramatically demonstrated by the Renault strike which was initiated and carried through by shop leaders in direct opposition to the Stalinist stooges in the trade union leadership and in the management of the nationalized plant.

Among these rank and file leaders were several Trotskyists. In their desperate attempts to suppress the strike movement, the Stalinist bureaucrats at a crucial meeting labelled the strike committee leaders as "Hitlero-Trotskyists."

This time their poisonous accusation boomeranged. The 20,000 workers present angrily shouted down the Stalinist slanderers and drove them out of the hall.

This incident shows that the advanced workers in France have drawn important conclusions from their experiences since the "liberation." They are beginning to turn upon the Stalinist betrayers and look for guidance to the program and ranks of the Fourth International. Herein lies the great hope for the future of the French labor movement and the struggle for socialism in Europe.

## Fear Grips Wall St. As Stocks Nosedive

By John G. Wright

Wall Street has the jitters and has them bad. After sagging for many weeks, the stocks plummeted last Friday and Saturday to new lows.

Last year's stock market crash was Wall Street's vote of non-confidence in any lasting continuation of the frenzied postwar boom. The current crash is still another vote of non-confidence.

While admitting an unavoidable "recession," Wall Street prognosticators have claimed that nothing more will be involved than an over-all decline of production of less than 20% and a corresponding drop in price levels.

Wall Street does not trust its own prognosticators because it is haunted by the memories of 1929 when it proved impossible to find any way out of the depression through the "normal" operations of the capitalist system.

On the other hand, Wall Street is well aware that most of the conditions underlying the postwar boom (war-time shortages and scarcities, unprecedented prosperity in agriculture, relatively high purchasing power of the masses, etc.) will indeed not be repeated in the next period.

An economy that proved so vulnerable in prosperity could readily lose all of its vitality with the onset of adverse conditions.

Wall Street is affected not only by dire forebodings of what the future may bring but also by more immediate considerations. Even a 20% cut in production may mean slashes of 50% and much more in profits.

While awaiting a definitive answer to these key questions, Wall Street obviously prefers to lay heavy stress on the unfavorable factors. This will determine its general trend, amid minor fluctuations, in the next period, namely: downward, and at an ever dizzier pace.

## Abortions This Year Will Kill 15,000 Women

By Leigh Ray

In an article called "Abortion Is An Ugly Word," Patricia Lockridge reports that out of about 4 million pregnancies in the United States this year 750,000 will end in self-induced, or illegal, abortions.

The author says that "90% of all illegal abortions are induced by married women between the ages of 25 and 35 who are already the mothers of two or three children."

What can be done to help these women? The article proposes to stop the sale of dangerous abortifacients, forbid the sale of other drugs without a doctor's prescription, and publicize the dangers of self-attempted abortions at home.

In a society where graft and greed rule, such rules will be evaded. Under prohibition enormous profits were made from the illicit liquor traffic. And recent experience with rationing has shown to what lengths people will go to get what they consider necessities, even at exorbitant prices.

Today these desperate women face possible loss of health and life, pay up to \$500 for illegal abortions, and waste millions each year on useless medicines to avoid any addition to the already heavy load of family life.

What is urgently needed is not new restrictions but the abolition of existing restrictions. Doctors should be freely permitted to give abortions to all women who desire them and ample medical facilities should be provided to them.

But the problem of abortion is basically a social problem, an economic one. The poverty, ignorance, bigotry and oppression bred by capitalism is primarily responsible for this suppression of life.

Only a socialist society where goods are produced for the use of all, and not for the profit of a few, can provide the security required to solve these and other family problems. Under such a society, women for the first time will be able to become mothers without fear that their children will grow up in ignorance and want.

Now On Sale Bound Volumes Of "The Militant" for 1946 Price \$4.50 Order from THE MILITANT 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.



## Ball Point Frankenstein

By Joseph Hansen

Stockholders in the fountain pen industry are worried about the future. They feel they've got a frankenstein monster on their hands — the ball point pen. Not so much the gadget itself as the capacity to produce it.

During the war, fountain pen manufacturers busied themselves extracting profits out of fat armament contracts. Meanwhile, in lush ads, they bade us be patient for the time being about getting a fountain pen — in the fabulous post-war world they would present us with a streamlined, feather-touch life-time, sky-flow, instant-starting, dip-less, micro-polished, dries-as-it-writes "writing instrument hooded against air, dirt and damage." Naturally, those ads, coupled with a big shortage of pens and a few surplus dollars created quite a demand.

Then exactly one year and 7 months ago the ball point pen hit this market which the manufacturers had imagined would last for years. The new creation not only did everything claimed for the old pens, but did it under water — cold, hot or running!

The first ones sold from \$12.50 to \$18. Most of these clogged up, jammed or oozed a puddle of ink, but the profits were sensational. The number of pen manufacturers quickly swelled from the pre-war figure of 60 to nearly 200.

Productive capacity shot up like a geyser. The public was given another instructive lesson in the capacity of American industry to produce. Total production of all types of fountain pens is

now around 3,000,000 a week — about 150,000,000 a year—more than three times the pre-war figure.

But the population of the country is only around 140,000,000. So if every man, woman and child in the United States should throw away their old pens and each buy a new one in the next year, there would still be about 10,000,000 left over.

As a result prices have come down like a pigeon hit by a shot gun. Reynolds is dumping his pen for less than a dollar. Some brands are down to 38 cents. In a few weeks the price is expected to drop to a quarter. By the Fourth of July, informed opinion is that they will be given away as souvenirs.

The Fountain Pen and Mechanical Pencil Manufacturers Association has rushed to the government, demanding intervention by the Federal Trade Commission — they always squeal for government help when prices drop.

Sales have crumpled, some big retail outlets reporting them as much as 80% below last year. And in the last 60 days about two dozen ball point pen companies have hauled down the house flag and kicked their workers out on the streets. One manufacturer told the Wall Street Journal, "Some of the regular pen makers are getting ready to hang crepe on the door, too, unless business picks up."

Even the tiny ball at the point of the modern fountain pen, it seems, faithfully mirrors the working of the entire capitalist system. It's boom and bust!

## The Negro Struggle

### Plenty Of Jobs — At Low Pay

By Larry Carter

Our Negro Veterans, a Public Affairs Pamphlet by Charles Bolte and Louis Harris, gives a factual picture of job opportunities for Negro veterans. The pamphlet is based upon a series of surveys by the Census Bureau, the National Urban League, the Southern Regional Council and the American Veterans Committee.

Thirty one percent of Negro veterans need good jobs, and their number one concern is just that. "The lack of decent jobs is the chief cause of our more aggravated housing and living conditions. G.I. education and job training do not fill the bill. Job training is ineffectual and education itself in the long run is dependent upon decent jobs, not the other way around as some people contend.

It is found, for example, that "in town after town in Georgia, Negro vets are being offered jobs at twelve, eighteen, and twenty dollars a week." You can't buy food, much less get education on that kind of money. Though anxious for training "in electrical, sheet metal, plumbing, machinist and other crafts, no Negro veterans are receiving such trainings."

Even in the best training programs, colored vets are outnumbered by whites fifty to one because of their inability to get admission. Particularly in the South where "in twelve states of 102,200 people receiving on-the-job training, only 7,700 are Negroes." Only one of twelve vets getting this training is colored, though one out of three in the area is colored. On-the-job training as in everything else is "for whites only." In the North the situation is but little better.

Many vets acquired skills in the army and seek similar work in private industry. But the bosses have no place for us in skilled jobs, they've only the menial porter work and unskilled labor for us.

It has always been said that our failure to get skilled jobs was the result of our lack of skilled training. During the war there was a marked increase in the number of trained Negroes. Despite this we are still denied decent job opportunities.

As this pamphlet shows, there is little consolation for the Negro veteran even in the present "boom" conditions. And you do not have to be an economic expert to know there is a "bust" coming soon.

It is certain that the solution to this basic problem cannot be found in reliance on the government or its agencies. Governmental agencies excuse their failures to give the Negro vet a square deal by the miserable argument that they would be "discriminating if they dealt specially with minority problems." In fact in many respects the government is the chief proponent of Jim Crow and inequality. Let's not forget the Army and Navy where we were second-class soldiers and sailors.

No, the Negro veterans have to look elsewhere for help; they have to look to the labor movement. Together with the unions and the veterans organizations which support the fight against discriminatory conditions, they must hammer out a program of action to win decent job opportunities. And then they must fight to make the employers and the government accept this program.

## Best Of All Possible Worlds

Apparently Solomon Rossbach and George Edward Seafried stopped reading the editorial columns that tell about capitalism being the best of all possible worlds. Either that, or both of them looked at the advancing post-war depression and decided that the realities of the capitalist world differ considerably from the propaganda about its beauties.

Solomon Rossbach was a 54-year-old New York diamond merchant. According to a nephew, he became "depressed over the falling price of diamonds." Last week he paid \$1.20 for a ticket to the 86th floor observation tower of the Empire State building.

At 4 p.m. a guard noticed him staring out over the world's greatest city from this lofty viewpoint. Two hours later Rossbach was still looking over the maze of streets and skyscrapers which is the capital of Wall Street's empire.

"Haven't you seen enough yet?" asked the guard. Evidently Rossbach had seen enough, for a few seconds later he jumped over the parapet. The guard, recalling that sometimes would-be suicides do not clear the 86th floor ledge, raced down the stairs. Rossbach had not cleared the ledge.

While the guard struggled to open a window and seize Rossbach, the diamond merchant des-

pite the injuries of his fall, climbed up on the parapet. He slid across the stone, hung for a moment or two by his finger tips, and then fell.

George Edward Seafried was 13 years older than Rossbach. A clerk, employed by an engineering firm, he was notified that his services were no longer needed. The firm had decided to reduce its staff. As is normal under capitalism, the axe hit the dead wood first, dead wood like clerks who have passed their 67th birthday.

Seafried didn't pay \$1.20 to go up into the Empire State building. He paid a nickel and went down into the subway. A BMT worker saw him sitting on a bench in the Woodhaven station staring at a scrap of paper.

A train pulled out, leaving the jobless man alone. The next person to see him was Motorman Leo Cyr in the cab of a train that roared into the station from Jamaica.

Cyr saw the discharged clerk lying on his back, stretched across the tracks. His hands were folded across his chest as if he were lying in a coffin. His eyes were open, but looking upward—not at the onrushing train.

"If he had been three feet further down the track I wouldn't have hit him," the motorman said.

These two incidents, buried in the columns of the daily press, serve to indicate that the propaganda of the editorial writers does not always succeed in convincing everyone that capitalism is the best of all possible worlds.

## Notes From The News

10,000 Reynolds tobacco workers have entered the third week of their strike in Winston-Salem, N.C. CIO Food and Tobacco Workers officials have announced a nation-wide boycott of Camel cigarettes and Prince Albert tobacco. The Negro and white strikers are badly in need of financial support. Funds should be sent to FTA-CIO Local 22, 247 1/2 N. Main St., Winston-Salem, N.C.

John F. Sonnett, U.S. lawyer who successfully prosecuted the United Mine Workers and broke the coal strike, has been rewarded with a promotion. He is now head of the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice.

John Roosevelt, FDR's youngest son, explained he crossed AFL picket lines to get to work because, "We don't have any labor troubles here." Roosevelt is merchandise manager of Grayson's ready to wear chain. The Los Angeles Labor Council stated that 110 of the 140 Grayson employees were in the union but that the company had refused to bargain with them.

The Centralia Coal Company, in whose mine 111 died March 25, has been indicted by a Grand Jury on two counts: insufficient rockdusting to prevent explosions and failure to provide pure

air underground. If convicted, the company will be liable to \$500 fines on each count at the maximum. Maximum penalty for smoking in the New York subways is \$500 fine and one year in prison.

The Daily Worker has announced the publication of Inside Job, The Story of Trotskyite Intrigue in the Labor Movement. The author is Herb Tank whose claim to fame is another piece of fiction entitled Communists On The Water-front.

The State of Washington has set up a "Little Dies" Committee, more powerful than the Legislature which authorized it. There is no limit on the committee's funds. Overwhelming majorities of both Democratic and Republican legislators supported the bill.

A new and strengthened Federal Anti-Lynch bill was introduced in Congress last week. It provides penalties for lynchers and for state and local officials who hand victims over to lynch mobs. It would also make communities where a lynching takes place liable for civil damages to the families of the victim.

H. M. Sweatt, Negro student, has lost another round in his legal battle to gain admission to the lily-white University of Texas Law School. The NAACP will take the case to a higher court.

# THE MILITANT

PAGE SIX

NEW YORK, N. Y.

SATURDAY, MAY 24, 1947

# Thousands Out Of Work In Rhode Island Slump

## AFL And CIO Leaders Discuss Unity



Top leaders of the AFL and CIO shown in Washington, at a conference to discuss the possibility of merger. No agreement was reached when the AFL leaders rejected CIO demands for guarantees to preserve industrial unionism. Left to right: AFL President William Green, CIO President Philip Murray, President Dan Tobin of the AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and John L. Lewis of the AFL United Mine Workers. Federated Pictures

# Vote For Dunne Shows Rising Interest In SWP

By Grace Carlson

MINNEAPOLIS, May 16 — Vincent R. Dunne, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Minneapolis, received 908 votes in the May 12 primary election, according to the report of the canvassing board released here today. Dunne ran seventh in a field

of 13 mayoralty candidates. Unofficial returns published in the press the day after the election gave the SWP candidate 1,069 votes. Action of the official canvassing board in invalidating "mutilated" and "improperly-marked" ballots and in correcting election clerks' reports reduced the SWP vote to 908.

Although the Minneapolis city elections are "legally" on a non-partisan basis, many of the candidates ran for office with public party endorsements. Mayor Hubert Humphrey, endorsed by the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party received 68,056 votes — 62% of the total. Frank Collins, who was endorsed by the Hennepin County Republican Club received 30,459 votes — 28% of the total vote. The other 10 mayoralty candidates together received less than 10% of the vote.

Humphrey was endorsed for re-election by the entire trade union movement — AFL, CIO, and RR Brotherhoods. Although he is an outstanding Democrat, Humphrey was also supported by the three Republican newspapers of the city. The mayor's strikebreaking record in the telephone strike, his eager acceptance of the Truman Doctrine, his red-baiting activities make him an acceptable choice to the most astute capitalists of the city.

The Junior Association of Commerce, which named Hum-

phrey "the outstanding young man of Minneapolis and Minnesota" in 1945, supported the Mayor for nomination. The support of the JAC, various civic groups, many "outstanding citizens" and all of the "liberals" of the city, together with the official labor movement, enabled Humphrey to campaign as "the people's choice."

The Communist Party election campaign gave left-handed support to Humphrey. Although the Stalinists entered Robert Kelly as a candidate for Mayor, their agitation centered around the slogan, "Defeat GOP Reaction." Despite their entrenched position in the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party and their dominant role in the CIO movement here, they received only 1,783 votes.

Dunne was the only candidate who spoke out consistently against Humphrey's treatment of the telephone strikers, his red-baiting activities and his general anti-labor record. Votes for the SWP candidate were recorded in every ward of the city but the heaviest concentration came from the working class precincts. This year's SWP vote represented a 17% increase over the vote cast for Dunne for Mayor in 1943.

# Stalinists Scored For Failure To Join Anti-Fascist Action

PHILADELPHIA, May 20—In a statement issued by the Joint Anti-Fascist Committee of the Socialist Workers Party and Workers Party, the Communist Party here was asked to examine its failure

to participate in the May 1 anti-Smith demonstration and to join in the establishment of a United Anti-Fascist Committee which could prepare a hot reception for the fascist leader the next time he comes to Philadelphia.

The statement, addressed to the Communist Party, recalled that "Upon short notice, 24 hours to be exact, the Joint Anti-Fascist Committee of the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party sounded the alarm to the Philadelphia labor movement regarding Smith's scheduled meeting . . .

"Your party, along with the AYD, and all other labor and workers' political organizations, were asked to join in a united demonstration against the fascist Gerald L. K. Smith . . .

"Some 200 workers demonstrated their anti-fascist sentiments in front of Town Hall that evening. The picket line was made up of token forces from the trade union movement, the AYD, the AVC, and the forces available at such short notice of the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party.

A SERIOUS BLOW

"Your party, outside of a few stray individuals, was not present at the demonstration. We consider your failure to muster your members and followers against Gerald L. K. Smith, a serious blow against the anti-fascist struggle . . .

"Had the forces that participated in the May Day Parade of May 2, or even a portion of them, been involved in the anti-Smith demonstration, we would have been able to prevent Smith from

dirtying Philadelphia with his filthy fascist propaganda . . .

"We take this opportunity to remind you that it was the failure of the workers' forces to unite in Germany that made possible Hitler's rise to power and brought in its train the consequent misery and destruction of war.

"Every lesson of history teaches us that the struggle against fascism is a continuous one. The time to hit the fascists is when they are numerically insignificant, and their influence at a minimum. The time to fight Gerald L. K. Smith is NOW. We can save the American workers untold suffering by carrying on a vigilant struggle against him at the present time.

EFFECTIVE ACTION

"Workers in other cities of the United States have shown how effective united action can be in stopping Smith from organizing his fascist gangs; notably, those of Minneapolis, Los Angeles, Chicago and Detroit.

"In the name of the martyrs of the concentration camps of Europe, in the name of all those brave anti-fascist fighters who gave their lives in the struggle against fascism, we ask that you examine your failure to participate in the anti-Smith demonstration on May 1. We ask that you join with us in setting up a United Anti-Fascist Committee which will be able to effectively organize such a mass outpouring of workers at Smith's next appearance that he will not dare return to Philadelphia."

The joint statement was signed by Max Goldman, SWP organizer, and Jack Brad, WP organizer.

What has happened in Rhode Island in the past few weeks should be placed on the agenda of every union body in America for discussion.

At the height of the post-war boom in this highly industrialized area, a few spotty dips occurred. Nothing to be alarmed at, said the capitalist prognosticators — nothing more than the temporary shutting down of a half dozen or so woolen mills.

No cause for alarm even when finishers and printing (cloth) plants went on half time. Nor when shoeleather mills slowed down production and worsted began curtailing output.

This slowdown, explained the capitalist economic pundits, was nothing more than a reflection of growing "consumer resistance" to high prices.

Secondly, the decline in Rhode Island demonstrates the complete incapacity of the capitalists and their government to halt this process. Their solution is to unload the whole burden of the crisis on the backs of the workers, turning them out on the streets when the warehouses are filled.

The unions must draw the correct lesson and act in time, otherwise they face the grave danger of being caught short throughout the country in an unemployment disaster transcending the experience of the Thirties.

The unions must begin fighting at once for a shortening of hours but at no decrease in pay. The Packinghouse Workers, for instance, are demanding a 30 hour week but at 40 hours pay. A more far-reaching demand would be a sliding scale of hours — to divide up all the available hours of employment among all the available workers, but at no decrease in take-home pay.

If the unions wait too long, mass unemployment can so undermine their strength that they may be unable to exert sufficient pressure to ensure adoption of a program adequate to meet the looming crisis.

Workers still on the job in Rhode Island are likewise feeling the effect of the slow-down. Schedules in heavy machinery, machine tools and rubber plants are being slashed from 48, 45 and 42 1/2 hour weeks to 40 hours. This means a serious loss in over-time pay.

What is happening, say USES officials, is a slump reaching the proportions of a "general recession." The Rhode Island experience holds grave lessons for labor throughout America. First it demonstrates how swiftly unemployment can spread once the peak of the boom is passed and the bust begins. The enormous productive capacity of American industry leads to such floods of goods that when the pipelines are full and the buying outlets checked, the terrific back pressure smashes into the industrial machine like a hydraulic ram, stopping all the pistons and wheels.



# The Bi-Partisan Deal And N.J. Constitutional Convention

By Alan Kohlman

NEWARK, N. J., May 20 —

The bi-partisan deal cooked up by Governor Driscoll assures the Republican and Democratic parties complete control of the Constitutional Convention to be elected on June 3. In Essex County, the bi-partisan agreement fell through when the "Clean Government" Republicans could not obtain "satisfactory" terms from the Democrats. The Democrats filed a slate, but shortly afterwards withdrew it. This leaves the Republicans with the only full slate in Essex, and guarantees them a bigger control of the 81 delegates at the Convention.

As a rule the Republicans and Democrats froth, fume and foam in competition with each other as to which gang shall hold office. They compete for the spoils and rewards of office just as two department superintendent candidates compete for promotion to plant superintendent. No matter which super is selected, he will serve the company. No matter whether Republican or Democrat wins office at general election time, he will serve the bosses.

The Democrats and Republicans can now get together and make a bi-partisan deal on how to re-write the Constitution, how to perfect this state machinery for the bosses. This is proof that they both are tools and agents of Big Business, who can agree on the "rules of the game" as

NEWARK

Meeting and Dance

Speakers: WILLIAM E. BOHANNON GEORGE BREITMAN ALAN KOHLMAN

SWP candidates for Delegates to N. J. Constitutional Convention

Thurs., May 29, 8:30 p.m. Cadillac Restaurant Halsey and Hill Streets

Music Refreshments

to how each will serve Big Business.

That is what Driscoll means when he says "select the best men from both parties." He means the "best men" of the capitalist politicians. The "best" representatives of the bosses. The "best" deceivers of the workers. That is why a bi-partisan Convention will be a boss-class Convention.

Governor Driscoll's formula of the "best men of both parties" means the "best men" to entrench embellish and perfect the legalities of monopoly capitalist rule of the state machinery.

What do the labor leaders, the heads of the CIO, AFL and independent unions, propose to do about this bi-partisan deal? The union movement is on record for Constitutional Revision. Let the leaders speak out: For whom can the workers vote? Can they support this joint coalition of Re-

publicans and Democrats, who are striving with might and main to pass new anti-labor bills at every opportunity? Such a course is treachery to labor.

Especially in Essex County where only the Republicans have a full slate — opposed by three Socialist Workers Party candidates and six other independents — just what do the CIO and AFL leaders propose to do the workers? For whom should the workers vote? Let the labor leaders speak out.

The main lesson which every worker must draw from the bi-partisan deal is the need and practicality to build the Labor Party now. It is obvious that the labor leaders have been guilty of irresponsibility and abstentionism by having failed to put a full slate of independent labor candidates in the field. Such a slate of independent unionists, backed up by the tens of thousands of CIO, AFL, and phone workers, could have given strong opposition to the Republicans.

Both the bi-partisan deal in other counties, and the Republican slate in Essex give pointed emphasis to the urgent need to build the Labor Party.

Meanwhile, in Essex at least, labor has an opportunity to oppose the "best men" of capital, to express a demand for the building of a Labor Party, to support a working class program and working class candidates — by voting for the ticket of the Socialist Workers Party.