Internal Conflicts At CIO Convention

-See Page 2-

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Workers of the World, Unite! MILITANT

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Yellow-Dog Oaths!

The "yellow dog" anti-communist oath has provided the first important test of whether the top union leaders are going to stand up and fight against the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law. They have failed that test miserably.

Except for John L. Lewis, the leaders at the AFL Convention crumpled up like wet rags. They went to an extreme of self-abasement by amending their own constitution so they might sign "yellow dog" affidavits.

Murray and his lieutenants at the CIO Convention, with the Stalinists supinely trailing along, sought to open the way for the heads of affiliated unions to take "yellow dog" oaths. Theirs was a "shamefaced" surrender.

These craven capitulators would have us believe that the issue is "unimportant," as AFL Teamsters Dictator Tobin told the AFL convention. They even try to make a virtue of their cowardice, as George Baldanzi did at the CIO Convention by welcoming the oath as a "purity" affidavit.

These are subterfuges and lies. The "yellow dog" oaths are one of the most deadly traps that Congress has devised for the labor movement.

Would Dictate Beliefs

This feature of the Taft-Hartley Act in effect gives the government of Wall Street and the NAM the legal power to dictate the political beliefs of union members.

It deprives unions of all legal rights if they elect officers who are or even were "communists" - a label that the government can interpret to mean anyone who opposes any government policy or is a militant labor fighter.

It establishes the principle that the government can dictate the selection of union leaders. Today, the Wall Street government says who can't be a union leader. Tomorrow, the government will say who can be leaders. A capitalist dictatorship will name and remove union leaders. This is what Lewis meant when he said the Taft-Hartley Act is "the first ugiy, savage thrust of Fascism in America.

This "yellow dog" oath is only one affidavit requirement under the Taft-Hartley Act. Others demand detailed information about finances and internal business of the unions covering 23 separate points. These must be answered to the "satisfaction" of the NLRB and Labor Czar Denham, under threat of a ten-year prison sentence for "any fraudulent statement Butcher Workman: or misrepresentation."

Longer Runaround

What do the unions get for this? The right to "use" the lons are cut to pieces, robbed NLRB! They can wade through red-tape procedure estimated | their treasures, persecuted in Wal to take anywhere from five to ten years to win final "recognition" for a union. If the union survives that long!

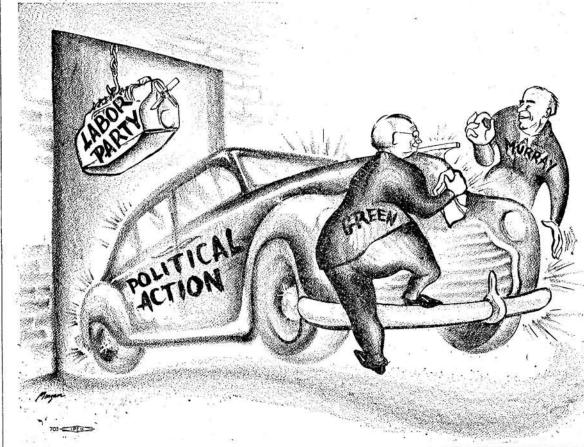
The AFL and CIO leaders crawling on their bellies before the Taft-Hartley Act haven't said the last word on the "yellow dog" oaths. Lewis stood alone among the AFL Executive lution: Council members, but he spoke for millions who loathe the sight of their leaders "kneeling in obeisance before this detestable and tyrannical statute."

The CIO Rubber Workers, Electrical Workers and Maritime Union have rejected the "yellow dog" oaths. The auto union militants, supporting the Thomas-Addes-Leonard group, have declared they will fight tooth and nail against this slave eath at the UAW convention next month.

The forces of militant, progressive labor must be mobilized for an all-out battle on every front against submission to the "yellow dog" oath. They must call a halt to the leaderships' spineless retreat before the Taft Act.

Fight the CIO & AFL CONVENTIONS SHO NEED FOR POLITICAL ACTION

Hey--You Left Out the Motor!



AFL Organizer Says Now Is Time For Labor Party

Answering those who say Now not the time for a Labor Party," Sam Pollock, organizer of the AFI Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, replies in the

"Shall we wait, politically impotent and politically disarmed, untiorganized labor is bound and gagged? Shall we wait until the un-Street courts and humstrung by

Wall Street laws?" And then Pollock quotes Patrick Henry's answer to faint-hearted friends who said "now is not the time" for the First American Revo-

"They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But wher shall we be stronger? Will it be next week, or next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed. and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and naction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope intil our enemies shall have bound

The demand for an escala- for providing its members with seor clause was the union's curity against soaring prices. eply to the demand of the employers and Mayor O'Dwyer for a the employers have rejected the es-

or the next three years. The escalator clause, it was unlerstood, would be pegged to the nonthly cost-of-living index put out by the Bureau or Labor Statistics. Any rise in the cost of living would result in proportionate pay increases above the base wage rates agreed on when the contract would pase wage rates would be a floor

The employers association has so ar rejected the union's proposal. It praises the Mayor's call for a mion should simply take the "risk" hat the cost of living will continue

N. Y. Building Trades Unions Issue Demands

NEW YORK, Oct. 25-The AFL Building and Construcion Trades Council of Greater New York has demanded a slid- for genuine independent labor poli-

The union is unwilling to gamble or take "risks" with the living tandards of over 100,000 families. bnormal rise in the cost of living." | bonus.

The escalator clause is its proposal across the path to this goal.

Negotiations continue. Although demand

unge increases.

One of their counter-proposals is be signed. These contract-fixed that the union "take steps to provide for an increase in the producinder wages in the event that the tion of work of its members for the ost of living should drop during purpose of overcoming, wherever ated by the increase in hourly wage

ing and Construction Trades Coun- tion. Especially is this true about a con- cil points out once again that the ract to run till June, 1950. The only effective protection workers mion demanded that in the con- have against rising prices is a slidract "provision be made for any ing scale of wages or cost-of-living from boss parties. A sound pro- barons in conference last week.

Fail to Offer Weapon of Labor's Own Candidates

Quickly the AFL upper-crusters

The AFL leaders may "expunge

for a Labor Party. The AFL mem-

AFL Sets Up Own Version of PAC

By Art Preis

two-sided-revealing both progressive and backward features. On the progressive side, the AFL set up a national political

action organization, Labor's lay the basis for genuine unity of Education and Political all labor. Let's begin building a League, to meet "the need for Labor Party now!" sound political education and effective political action by organ- moved to bury the resolution. Car-

Immediately thereafter, however, that the resolution be "dealt with damental bankruptcy of their pol- Woll claimed this "eliminated and icy by rejecting a demand for la- expunged" the resolution. Then it bor to run its own candidates and was "tabled," without debate. build a Labor Party. They reaffirmed their moth-eaten formula and "table" progressive resolutions. "reward your friends and pun- But they can't "expunge" the need ish your enemies"—meaning continued support of Democrats and bership will utilize the Political Republicans who parade as labor's League as an arena where they can "friends" before election.

The establishment of the Political ning their own candidates and League for the first time projects building their own party. the AFL formally and organizationally into the political arena. Previously the AFL leaders had attacked the CIO Political Action Committee for going beyond "pure and simple tra.le unionism.'

Now, by its convention decision, the AFL recognizes political action as a vital function of the trade

But there is still a wide gap between this position and the need the convention placed obstacles

John L. Lewis, who scathingly denounced the other AFL leaders on the "yellow-dog" oaths, correctly said that the "Slave Labor Law" was bought and paid for by campaign contributions from the industrial and business interests and the Republican party and the While opposed to an escalator Democratic minority (in Congress) clause to protect the workers' liv- made good by forging these legislaing standards, the employers want tive shackles." But Lewis offered an "escalator" clause to speed-up no political answer different from their employes in proportion to that of Green, Tobin, Frey or Meany.

The political bankruptcy of the AFL leaders was spotlighted when the convention was presented with a real political answer to labor's problems—the resolution of the Santa Cruz, Cal., AFL proposing that the AFL "nationally and locally enter in the building of a political party by and for labor."

First the Committee on Resolutions, headed by Matthew Woll, sending out for coffee during work- convention floor. But Delegate a year, under the pretext of "sav-Bollman, of Santa Cruz, deter- ing wheat to feed starving Europe." minedly forced President Green to Profiteers pocket what the workers permit the reading of the resolu- "save." It's as simple as Truman

Bollman demolished the argu-

CIO Opens PAC Drive The political action decisions of the AFL convention were

By Farrell Dobbs

BOSTON, Oct. 17 -Political action was the key issue before the CIO convention which was penters President Hutcheson moved concluded here today. Every discussion, every probthe AFL leaders disclosed the fun- separately." When this passed, lem brought this issue to the

The convention adopted several important political decisions.

It appealed to the AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and independent unions to join with the CIO in united political Jattle against the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law an fight for a correct policy of runits Congressional backers.

It voted to throw the full resources of the CIO behind a Political Action Committee (PAC) campaign to get all workers to reg ister and vote against supporters of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Every CIO member and sym pathizer was called on to contrib ute at least one dollar for PAC's campaign fund in 1948.

But the convention stopped short at the most vital point. It failed to declare a clean break from the two Big Business parties, Democratic and Republican. It failed to arm PAC with the weapon of independ-

The CIO leaders' position on this central aspect of PAC policy wa summed up by National PAC-CIO Director Jack Kroll when he sa that a labor party is "definitely

(Continued on Page 2)

Convention discussion on every JOHN L. LEWIS Truman Pie-1 Crust For the Price of 2

One-crust pies at two-crust prices, two-layer cakes at three-layer prices, and another extra cent for a loaf of bread went into effect this week.

By Jeff Thorne

That's how the Truman

The one-crust, two-layer techments against building a Labor nique of boosting pastry prices was Party.' He concluded: "Labor needs | worked out by Truman's "Citizens" a new Declaration of Independence Food Committee and the bread gram in labor's interests can well They also considered reducing the

Directly responsible for the mount-

Like their French counterparts in

ing fascist threat in France are the

these parties blocked the way.

size of bread loaves. But that 'Eat-Less" 'Plan gives the would require smaller pans and bread trust a new price-gouge other new equipment. Besides most tried to keep the resolution off the of at least 150 million dollars communities have laws fixing the minimum weight of bread.

So they fell back on the direct short-change technique for breadalready double 1939 prices. Short change or short weight - it's the same swindle.

Of course the rich, the uppercrusters, will never miss the top crust of pie nor notice the extra cent on bread. They eat well all the time, here or in Europe. But for you and me, it's Truman Pie. meatless Tuesdays, poultryless-tggless Thursdays-and still higher prices. That's the real meaning of 'waste less-eat less."

The latest price gouge is sup-Wall Street is trying to repeat in reactionary legislation in one state posed to "save" 10,500,000 bushels elopment in French politics — the De Gaulle's showing in the French | the Europe of today what it did after another, the red-baiting cam- of wheat a year-a tidy "saving \$3.10-a-bushel wheat and grab another extra cent on every loaf.

> Truman's potato-burning admire Socialists and Stalinists. Instead of istration will now buy over aga 'save" and pay for in price boo

guiding the masses to socialism, with our tax money, the wheat We might stomach some of the France, the official labor leaders in "crust" if the grain we "s

Factional Heat Grows Fierce As Convention of UAW Nears

The contending Reuther and Thomas-Addes-Leonard factions are girding for one of the most crucial conventions in the stormy history of the CIO United Auto Workers when the UAW convenes in Atlantic City on Nov. 10.

The atmosphere inside the UAW is the most heated since the days of Homer Martin ir 1939, when the auto militants repelled his attempt to foist one-man distatorship over thei: union and ousted him from the union.

UAW President Walter Reuther, heading a reactionary bloc of Social Democratic elements and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, has cast all restraint to the winds in a virulent red-baiting assault on thε UAW Executive Board majority lec by Vice President R. J. Thomas Secretary-Treasurer George Addes and Vice - President Richard T.

The Reutherite - A TU bloc is making claims to a sweeping majority at the forthcoming convenfar in local elections for delegates. These claims range from a two-toone to a five-to-one majority.

Their opponents have also claimresults of 247 locals. They gave those in Ford and Chrysler.

house-break and "discipline" the with the "yellow dog" affidavits nilitant UAW membership.

They point to Reuther's policies tion on the basis of returns thus if Reuther gains undisputed control labor movement like Dubinsky and Board to "yes" his decrees.

ed to be in the lead on the basis thority to act is concentrated and witch-hunt. of early returns. On Oct. 16, the centralized in Reuther's hands. UAW Committee for Progress and Contract conditions in the GM set-Unity, name of the Thomas-Addes- up are the worst of any major to be presented to the convention Leonard caucus, issued the election auto corporation. Wages are below Neither caucus, however, has gone

their faction 1,502 votes to 1,275 for At the last Executive Board meet- Party demand.

he Reutherites. These represent | ing the Thomas-Addes-Leonard manly a small fraction of the total jority took a firm stand against complying with the "yellow dog" The key issue of the convention oath previsions of the Taft-Hartle: s trade union democracy. The Act. Reuther's men urged submis-Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus cor- sion. Reuther himself has kept ar ectly charges that Reuther is driv- expedient silence on the issue. Bu ng to establish a one-man dicta- his chief lieutenants, like Emi torship over the UAW in order to Mazey, publicly call for compliance

procedure. Red-baiting is the chief stock-inn the General Motors Division, trade of the Reutherite-ACTU bloc which he heads, as an example of Reuther himself is closely aligned what the whole UAW would be like with other Social Democrats in the with a hand-raising, subservient Rieve, who stand in the forefron of labor. They are taking strengtl Local grievance machinery in GM particularly from Wall Street's implants is almost powerless. All au- perialist war drive and anti-"red" A number of UAW locals have

passed resolutions for a Labor Party on record to support the Labo

For Escalator Clause By George Lavan

ng scale of Wages to protect its members from the rising tical action. The AFL leaders nt

the life of the contract.

wage freeze in the building trades calator clause, it is understood that

the union has not withdrawn this

possible, the increase in costs cre-

A method of accomplishing this wage freeze and states that the speed-up, the employers said, was by banning the custom of workers

The demand of the N. Y. Build-

S ADVANCE OF FRENCH

evealed an extremely ominous de- ica. f Hitler in France is now in posi- in America. ion to make a strong bid for power.

De Gaulle's success in rallying he most reactionary forces in he inflation-haunted middle class nd throughout the world. Here in merica all the red-baiters, the ope to smash the labor movement, ail de Gaulle's rise and from his dvance draw fresh encouragement n their own anti-union drive.

itical trends in France are of direct precisely such repressive regimes as are being pursued through such as we see today in France.

nushroom growth of the dictatorial elections is one of the fruits of the in Europe following World War I- paign designed to weaken the union for the bread trust. They'll use less novement headed by de Gaulle. Truman administration's foreign provide a fertile breeding ground internally, and so on. The reactionary French general who policy. It is poisonous fruit — not for. military - police. dictatorships ias set out to duplicate the role only for French labor but for labor for Mussolinis and Hitlers. It is Announcement of the Truman has already been done in Greece.

Doctrine switched on the green light tion to their rise.

trying to duplicate in France what

The course of French politics is for de Gaulle and his kind. The thus an object lesson and a warning Marshall Plan was designed to to American workers. Washington's rance and attracting votes from stabilize and strengthen the forces backing of de Gaulle abroad is par- this country do their utmost to would ever feed our hungry broth backing such would-be dictators. alleled by its vicious anti-labor of- block the working class from tak- workers abroad. But it will it has encouraged reaction in Europe Wall Street's entire propaganda ma- fensive at home. These are the two ing the most effective measures along with guns, planes and battle chine was geared to popularize and sides of the Truman Doctrine, whose against the offensive of reaction. hips, only to prop up capitalist encourage these sinister figures and aim of securing world domination In the U. S. this means today - dictatorships and to crush out icious political hatchet-men who to smear the working class opposi- for Wall Street cannot be achieved blocking the workers from taking brothers who revolt against storyage without first destroying the power the road of independent political tion and repression.

Billions of dollars from the U. S. of labor both abroad and at home. action, the only effective way of To help advance its own imp Public Treasury have been dumped In France Washington hopes to fighting the Taft-Hartley Law. The alist program and support reac into Europe to strengthen and for- crush the French workers through payoff in America can be an omi- abroad, American Big Business ni Thus the development of the po- tify reaction and pave the way for de Gaulle; at home identical aims nous strengthening of reaction such bles away at our pie crusts, our cake

nternal Conflicts at CIO Convention

By Farrell Dobbs

BOSTON, Oct. 17-All decisions by the CIO Excutive Board in preparing the 9th Convention were manimous. In his opening address, President Muray stressed that there is unity within the CIO. All recommendations from the Resolutions Committee were supported by the entire committee. Convention lecisions on all major issues were unanimous.

Yet the convention debates made it clear that his unity is only superficial; that the unanimous olicy decisions were only unstable compromises; and nat the bitter internal conflict, already raging in ome affiliated unions, is almost but not quite ready explode into the open in the top councils of the

Although there were no test votes to confirm their rength, it appeared that about one-fifth of the 600 elegates were Stalinists or Stalinist supporters. The farice of the delegates were not only non-Stalin-& a good many of them were aggressively anti-

Opponents of Stalinism

Part of these anti-Stalinists were militant workers to desire an all-out fight against the Wall Street var-mongers, price-gougers, wage-cutters and speedpartists. They hate the Stalinists because of their ing record of treachery and betrayal of the workers. But at the forefront of the anti-Stalinist wing ere a hard core of vicious red-baiters. They are oposed not only to the Stalinists but also to union militants who advocate firm class struggle policies. The progressive anti-Stalinist delegates lacked cal education and experience. They were inquenced by the red-baiting propaganda of the gov-

derstand that their reason for hating the Stalinists was entirely different than that of the red-buiters. Therefore they were drawn into the orbit of the redbaiters with whom they have nothing in common.

The red-baiters felt they had the convention with them. They were egged on by guest speakers Archbishop Cushing and Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach. They tasted blood and were hungry for the kill. But Murray was not ready for the show-down fight.

On the second day of the convention, a Stalinist distributing the Daily Worker outside the convention hotel was beaten up. The next day Murray told the convention, "It is altogether reprehensible for delegates representing the CIO affiliates to interfere with the sale of a newspaper outside this building. . Stop it and stop it now."

Red-Baiters In Action

The big push of the red-baiters came on the day Secretary of State Marshall addressed the convention. This time Murray took a cautious hand. The stage was set for a patriotic whoop-tee-do.

A navy band was present, blaring out military music. Marshall appeared with an entourage of brass hats and Boston big shots. Newsreel cameras clicked as a prolonged round of handshaking and backslapping took place on the platform under the glare of klieg lights.

Marshall warned the convention against "enemies of democracy" who try to "undermine the confidence of the labor element in the stability of our institutions and the soundness of our traditions."

Then the resolution on foreign policy was introduced. Van A. Bittner, chairman of the Resolutions

stand for those who are not Americans in some other All they did on the political action resolution was to country, criticizing my government, without rising in its defense.

George Baldanzi of the Textile Workers Union followed with an indignant protest against people who cast "aspersions against International Unions because they see fit to sign the purity affadavits of the Taft-Hartley Law." Purity affidavit is a pretty slick name for the yellow-dog oath-like pasting a "100-Proof Burbon" label on a bottle of wood alcohol.

Next up for the red-baiters was Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers Reuther pointed to the Stalinist cycle between 1940 and 1947. "They shout the same slogan, 'war mongerer'," he "that in 1940 was directed at Roosevelt," and now they direct it at Truman. He made it plain that he resents such charges against Truman as he did those against Roosevelt.

What Reuther failed to mention was that for a long period between 1940 and 1947 he got along with the Stalinists. At that time they were supporting the no-strike pledge, acting as outright strikebreakers and advocating the speed-up. Reuther was doing the same thing.

In summing up the discussion, Murray referred to the preamble of the foreign policy resolution which declares, "The CIO is an American institution with a single national allegiance . . ." It is a matter of policy, Murray said, that every member must subscribe to the declaration in this preamble to be loyal to the CIO.

Behavior of Stalinists The Stalinists, for their part, conducted themselves in a cowardly manner. They pleaded for the

race, creed or color. And that is

the CIO. You have got to get up

When she began to speak the

convention was in a state of con-

fusion. Jaded by endless, barren

speeches from the platform, the

delegates were reading papers,

carrying on miniature conventions

at the delegate tables, laughing,

joking, playing pranks on one an-

other, walking in and out of the

hall, or just sitting in a helpless

In a matter of minutes Mirandi

Smith injected the adrenalin of

fire, anger, faith, hope and firm

determination into the failing life

stream of the convention. Soon

there was neither sound nor mo-

tion, except at the floor microphone

where Mirandi stood. Here was the

exhilarating power of simple hon-

esty and righteous wrath. Here was

the true voice of enraged America.

John L. Yancey of the United

Transport Service Employees told

a revealing story of trickery by the

brass hats in their efforts to force

through perpetual military conscrip-

Knox "peacetime military experi-

mental unit" as a member of the

After the visit he sent the com-

CIO Committee of Observation.

The convention listened.

trance of complete boredom.

and do something in action."

They voted for the proposal that each CIO afaliate make its own decision about signing the infamous affidavits required under the Taft-Hartley Act. Thus the Stalinists helped the CIO officialdom prepare the ground for a craven capitulation to this long step toward imposing fascist-like government

Taft-Hartley "yellow-dog" oath.

make a feeble attack on Truman and beat their gums

for Wallace. But most contemptible of all was their

vielding to the red-baiters on the question of the

regulation on the unions. That is desertion in the face of the class enemy. It is good that the Stalinists are losing ground in

the trade unions. For they are an evil, pernicious, treacherous tendency in the labor movement. They must be cleaned out of the movement, root and But it is not good that the government and the

red-baiters should rid the unions of the Stalinists. For they would then proceed to a wide-spread attack on militant workers everywhere in the movement. That would only give Wall Street's political tools in Washington a pretext to shove their dirty snouts deeper into trade union internal affairs. It would only help pave the way for attacks on the unions themselves and upon the civil liberties of the people

No support to the red-baiters! No support to any government attack upon the rights of a single union member!

The Augean stables of Stalinism must be cleaned out by the workers themselves. The job can be entrusted to no one else.

Murray Greets Militarist



Philip Murray (left), greets the chief diplomat of American imperialism, Secretary of State Marshall, at the CIO Convention in Boston last week. The former Army Chief-of-Staff Marshall was permitted to use the CIO's platform to propagandize for his plan to bolster capition. Yancey had visited the Fort talist reaction in Europe and to mobilize CIO support for Wall Street's war preparations against the Soviet Union.

> to show that he had endorsed peace | The general, talking like any boss time conscription.

Yancey also reported that he told ciation for the courtesies shown the commanding general the solhim. The brass hats, Yancey re- diers should have grievance com- grievance and he saw no need for

man, replied that his door was

Rank-and-File Discontent Breaks To Surface at CIO Convention

BOSTON, Oct. 17 - A hurricane of mass action is gathering in the Caribbean of American social and economic conflict. The angry, brooding discontent of the workers repeatedly forced its way to the surface in the major policy de-

the CIO just concluded mainder of the nine Vice-Presidents ere. These decisions briefly were re-elected without opposition.

At: To fight for repeal of the Taft-IO officials sought to pave the ay at the convention for cowardly pitulation on the "yellow dog"

To organize one million PAC k workers for the mobilization sixty million votes in 1948. Na-CIO - PAC Director Kroll lled the firing pin out of this ent that "A third party is defiitely cut."

The convention firmly opposed without discussion. ce-time military conscription; Hed for universal disarmament: ons councils. Shipment of food ovided it is not used "to coerce ee peoples." The convention callent the government to open the ors to the oppressed Jews of

EGNIFICANT DEMANDS

4. An immediate session of Confugnitate a large-scale low-rent dous burst of applause. using program; tax the profitrs; and reduce taxes upon the wer income groups. 5. The convention demanded that

e government revoke its infamous dyalty oath" and cease its persenact strong anti-lynch legislation; take anti-Semitism and all other inti-racial acts a crime: and outaw all forms of segregation because of race or color.

6. Formation of a CIO committee redeportation charges by the govrement. Enactment of laws proecting aliens long resident in the nited States was called for.

7. The convention supported the I demand for democratization of e armed forces: abolition of caste rivileges; and reform of the unist court-martial system.

President Murray and Secretaryreasurer James B. Carey were retected without opposition. R. J. nomas of the United Auto Workrs declined nomination for re-

eisions of the 9th Convention tine Oil Workers Union. The re-

The May 1947 proposals to the AFL by the CIO Labor Unity Comfartley Slave Labor Act. But the mittee were endorsed by the convention. These proposals embodied two basic points: explore organic unity, looking toward eliminating ath by leaving to each affiliated jurisdictional disputes and crossnon the decision whether to sign raiding; and recognition of the principle of industrial unionism, together with "certain specific democratic trade union principles."

The AFL had quickly rejected these proposals and countered with a demand for organic unity within werful weapon with the state- der its existing policies. The conthe framework of the AFL and unvention approved the position of the CIO Labor Unity Committee

On the first day of the convention Murray proposed joint political d demanded direct representation action by the CIO and AFL in an r organized labor in United Na- cpen letter to William Green, AFL president. Green promptly rejected other countries was approved, the proposal, repeating the AFL demand for organic unity as a prerequisite for AFL-CIO cooperation. Murray predicted that AFL workers will cooperate with the CIO rank and file in spite of Green and the AFL Executive Council.

Murray announced that he had ess was demanded to restore price ordered the editors of the CIO News antrol; ration food, clothing and to use the paper politically despite necessities; jail the price- the prohibitions of the Taft-Hartrs; extend federal rent con- ley Act. The convention greeted ol; repeal the 15% rent increase; the announcement with a tremen-

TYPICAL DOUBLE-TALK

Typical of the Stalinist doubletalk on the vital issue of independent political action was the speech by Michael J. Quill, head of the Transport Workers Union, Quill sang hymns of praise to Henry Wallace and called on Truman to think like Senator Pepper. In his speech' to the convention Pepper had called for a "healthy, democratic New Deal capitalism."

With top officers of CIO and the as ordered, to defend John Santo, International Unions hogging the a official of the Transport Work- floor, not a single speaker gave rs Union, who has been hauled up recognition to the rising sentiment the United States is a guarantee to in the CFO to break with the Re- a human being, regardless of his publicans and Democrats and run race, creed or color, of freedom independent PAC candidates.

The gutless leaders of three CIO unions had already crawled meekly into the Taft-Hartley sheep pen before the convention opened. They pretend to represent the textile workers, shipbuilding workers and brewery workers.

Murray said he has "personal convictions" against submitting to ment in Washington for protection.

Mail This Coupon With 50c For A 6-Month Subscription to

The Gangster Methods Of Red-Bailers

When two Daily Worker distributors were beaten up by redbaiting hoodlums outside the CIO Convention in Boston, Philip Murray issued a sharp warning against any repetition of such a disgraceful" action.

George Morris, Trotskyist-baiter of the Stalinist Daily Worker, on Oct. 17 wrote about the incident under a headline calling the slugging a "Disgrace to CIO Convention."

We agree. It was as big a disgrace as the physical assaults Communist Party goons have made on scores of Militant distributors, including several workers outside meetings of the CIO National Maritime Union in New York.

Steelworkers Union of which he is president.

Walter Reuther of the UAW and George Baldanzi of the Textile Workers proclaimed their full support to the Marshall Plan despite the stipulation in the foreign policy resolution that food sent abroad should not be used "to coerce free peoples." Murray added that he personally favors the "Marshall

The convention advocated a "vigorous collective bargaining program" to increase real wages, obshorten hours with no cut in pay. This statement reflects no change in the CIO leadership's past wage policy; nor does it give any recognition to mounting demands among CIO unions for cost-of-living bonuses to offset skyrocketing prices.

FLOQUENT SPEECH

The best speech of the whole conof the Tobacco Workers Union. She was eloquent in her simple, straightforward language, and powerful.

"I work in Winston Salem, North Carolina," she began. "I live where men are lynched, and the people from fear.

"Too long have the Negro people" America heard a lot of words." So spoke this young Negro tribune of her oppressed people. "Too long have the workers in the South gives to economic battles." stopped and looked to Congress for protection.

"We no longer look to the governthe "yellow dog" oath. He added, It has failed. Today we are lookrection to a CIO Vice-Presidency, however, that the Executive Board ing for an organization that says le was replaced by O. A. Knight of would decide the policy of the they are organized to fight for the

ported, attempted to use this letter mittees like union workers have. them to have a committee. CIO Launches Big PAC Campaign In Preparation for '48 Elections

(Continued from Page 1) -political action.

Little wonder then that so many delegates nodded agreement when a "fighting progressive." that lynch them are still free. One ask why the CIO has not dupli- vised PAC in selecting candidates to life and activity of an organization. of the things in the Constitution of cated in the field of politics its suc- look for "the type of man who will Independent political action is not cess at economic organization.

"The simple truth is," Kroll asserted, "that the American labor of the South and other workers in long exist-let alone advance-un- office today. Everyone knows that land, Youngstown and a few other litical battles with the same zeal it

they live." "No political committee," he cor-

rectly added, "can function without money....A worker who contributes produce a new crop of candidates. to nag and plead and whine and derstands that a political organiza- still will not look beyond the Demotion is as vital to his welfare as his crats and Republicans.

Kroll next came to the vital queslost his bearings completely.

PAC, he said, must find florth-doesn't like politics, who will have to be coaxed to make the race."

Create the reality of independent one to be coaxed to make the race. sives," not "small, ambitious, men And, unlike the Democrats and Re- the broadest possible scale. Keep who eagerly count the labor vote publicans, this type of candidate at it. Miss no opportunities for acbefore election and forget it on ar- will be as true to labor in public tion. rival on Capitol Hill."

Very good! But where will these line.

third party is definitely out." So labor every time Wall Street puts that leaves Kroll and Murray right the screws on them. vention was made by Mirandi Smith major problem facing American where they have always been, labor led straight to the one answer scratching around among the Dem- cluded here failed to make this vital ocrats and Republicans, like chick- correction in official PAC policy.

> Kroll said the convention must thing new in PAC policy. Kroll ad- come the reality in the day to day probably tell you he doesn't like yet a substantial reality in the CIO. politics, who will have to be coaxed The movement to nominate inde-

> into making the race." movement as we know it cannot single Democrat or Republican in less it devotes itself to winning po- when a capitalist politician says he cities has run local campaigns to doesn't want to run for office he elect independent labor candidates

> improve his chances for election. truth when he said: "Unless we the CIO officials can't find very build a political organization....we many candidates whom they think will be going into battle without a the workers might stomach among the current crop of Democrats and registration and support at the Republicans. The roll call on the polls. Still steering a true course, Kroll Taft-Hartley Act helps explain why. continued, "We must have active And the recent PAC fiasco in Al-(PAC) workers in the blocks where lentown, where they failed to get the workers out to vote for a ers responded generously with fi-Democrat, helps explain their pres-

> The CIO officials feel the need to (PAC dollars) is a worker who un- But Kroll made it clear that they beg for support to union political

PAC, he said, must find "forth- will probably tell you that he wherever possible.

excellent candidates be found? Moreover, these men and women officially and nationally at the next Kroll didn't offer any clues. He of the labor movement should be CIO convention. merely said PAC must look for such run as independent PAC cand dates. When that has been achieved the They should not be used to deco- movement for a national independ-At a press conference after his rate slates of Democratic or Re- ent labor party will speed ahead convention speech Kroll said, "A publican politicians who will fight under jet propulsion.

The CIO convention just conens in a stone quarry, trying to find But that is not surprising because, by and large, conventions can only But wait! Maybe there is some- confirm and record what has be-

pendent labor candidates has only That description just doesn't fit a just begun to gather momentum. Labor in Cleveland, Dayton, Oakis merely playing coy in order to to public office. The workers have responded to these campaigns. It Kroll stated another elementary What Kroll means then is that was unnecessary to hammer at them -like Murray, Kroll, Reuther, Quill, Potash and the rest did here at Boston-demanding financial aid,

> Seeing a chance in these independent labor campaigns to vote for candidates they trusted, the worknancial support, they worked like ent caution in picking candidates. beavers in the campaign, they reg-

Nobody in these campaigns had action, as has been done here at Boston for the last five days,

Actually, the only place PAC will The task now confronting the find "fighting progressives" is in the CIO membership is to move toward CIO and the rest of the labor running independent PAC candition of political policy. Here he soon movement. Labor's ranks alone can dates in the wards, cities, counties, supply the type of candidate "who Congressional districts, states,

office as he has been on the picket In this way the ground can best be prepared to correct PAC policy

Sidelights From Boston Conclave

CIO, 36 state and 231 city industrial the flag to Junior, union councils.

Delegations representing the larger unions were UAW 27, Steel- Murray, beaming like light had just gamated Clothing Workers 12, Rub- the delegates, "Well, there he is, ber 11, Packing 9, NMU, Oil Ship- ladies and gentlemen, a chip off building, Retail and Wholesale each the old block."

Murray reported the total CIO for his old man. nembership to be a little over six million. Among the most overworked ad-

"great," "masterly," "statesman- present. like," and "eminent citizen," in that

in something over a year.

vention. As the convention wearily en- from State Street. dured the long parade of guest

getting here on time." that remark in their minds.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. On the platform stood a replica of a plaque dedicating to the mem-

tention on either side of the flag. | filiate with the IUMSW."

The 9th CIO Convention was at- | At a signal from Murray, the sertended by 604 delegates, represent- geants carefully removed the flag, ing 41 international unions, 396 folded it strictly by the rule book, local unions directly affiliated to and with a snappy salute, presented

When young Roosevelt had finished addressing the convention, workers 27, UE 18, Textile 14, Amal- fallen onto political chaos, said to

Junior got a big hand. It was

This convention had the largest press coverage in CIO history. At jectives used by the officials to laud times there were as many as 75 rewurray, and one another, were porters and press photographers

Joseph Salerno, president of the * * * Massachusetts CIO, had the job of warming up the first morning of Van A. Bittner, director of the the convention and introducing va-CIO Southern drive, reported that rious state dignitaries who were to over 300,000 workers in the South address it. Sensing what the delehave been organized into the CIO gates were burned up about, he lashed out at the Taft-Hartley Act, declaring, "There are more crooks Allen S. Haywood, CIO director in Wall Street and State Street in of organization, reported that dele- Beston than there are in the whole gates representing 51,000 telephone labor movement of the United workers were present at the con- States." Then he introduced Michael T. Kelleher, president of the Boston Chamber of Commerce-

Following Kelleher's embarrassed speakers, a steelworker delegate re- remarks to the convention, Govermarked, "The more important these nor Bradford spoke. He said: "As guys are, the closer they come to far as I know, Mike Kelleher has never been caught doing a crooked Speakers who hope to impress thing in his life." Putting their orker audiences should engrave own interpretation on the word "caught," the delegates literally rolled in the aisles, much to the Murray put on quite a show for discomfort of the pompous dignitaries on the platform.

An important merger of two ory of the late president the new unions, the United Railroad Workchildrens' wing of the Georgetown ers and Industrial Union of Marine Memorial Hospital in Washington, and Shipbuilding Workers, was an-D. C., which is being sponsored by nounced at the convention by IUMSW President John Green and The replica was covered by an A. B. Martin, national director of American flag. Three army ser- the CIO's year-old organization of geants in dress uniform, with plenty non-operating railroad employes. of hash marks on their sleeves and The railroad union, whose chief colservice ribbons and battle stars on lective bargaining contract is with their breasts, stood rigidly at at- the Pennsylvania RR, voted to af-

43/12/17

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resistate.

valuation.

A. (35)

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Our Program:

1. Defend labor's standard of living!

A sliding scale of wages - an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living! Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!.

Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers control!

2. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!

For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours-reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment! Government operation of all idle plants under workers' controll Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and

ans during the entire period of unemployment 3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strikebreaking! a recor

No restrictions on the right to strike and picket! No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!

4. Build an independent labor partyl 5. Tax the rich, not the poor! Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes! No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

6. An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing! W1133 5

7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities! End Jim Crow! End anti-Semitism!

8. For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!

9. A working class answer to capitalist militarism

and war. Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the paople vote on the question of war or peace! Against capitalist conscription! TY VIL Caro :14: Abolish the officer caste system! Full democratic rights in the armed forces! Trade Union wages for the armed forces! Military training of workers, financed by the government, but sunder control of the trade unions!

10. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands! For the complete independence of the colonial peoples?

Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil! 11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

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What Causes Elections in Italy and France Reveal Riots in India?

Large scale communal rioting in the Punjab has only slightly abated. A mass of Hindu, Sikh and Moslem refugees are on the move. What is the basis of the riots?

The problem of the Punjab must be clearly separated from the rest of India. In dividing India, British imperialism, sup-

ported by both Hindu and Mos-+lem feudal-capitalists, paid no Calls for Trotskyist attention to the nationalists as | Party in Japan such. Artificially, the country was divided, severing indigenous language groups into different provinces. This operation was calculated with the object of dividing the country in order to keep the imperialist stranglehold. Thus, the Punjab, where Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs speak the same language with a unified economy, was divided into two provinces. Similarly the Bengal was partitioned, and the whole scheme was put into operation without vot-

culfar position in the body politic Stalinists, Socialists, and Trotsky. of India. Firstly, it has been the ists, were interned under the Goonmain recruiting ground of British da Act. imperialist armed forces for over | Similarly in Bengal, at the most is to have Byrnes once again afa century. Consequently, a military opportune moment for the capital- firm the Truman Doctrine of getcaste comparable to the Cossacks ists and landlords, the communal ting "tough" with the USSR. in Russia has developed in the area. riots broke out. In the East Bengal,

jab are occupied by the land-hun- ers. Neither took effective measgry peasantry. The persistent propa- ures to stop the riots. ganda of the Moslem League has Pakistan was established, all land propaganda of two nations based ciated with Byrnes' name. Moslem region of Bengal and Pun- Hindu workers and peasantry. the inheritance of Lord Cornwallis. for all evils until 1946

This is the background which explains the ferocity of the communal gone so far as to demand the par- of Wall Street's squeeze on the riots in the East and West Punjab. tition of Bengal and the Punjab. Soviet Union. The land-hungry peasantry on both Mrs. Asaf Ali has even gone so far In passing, the book casts new sides were given to believe by the as to proclaim that Moslems in light on some recent events, showpropaganda of the feudal-capitalist India should be regarded as aliens. ing that the Truman administration elements on both sides, that the partition would be a signal for expropriation of the other community lines, by the exploited Hindu, Mosand seizure of their lands. A clear lem and Sikh workers and peasants lace as Secretary of Commerce illustration of this is given by the uniting in a struggle against land-voiced his fears that the "get tough" special correspondent of the Sep-

been seized by refugees in retalia- bread for the workers. tion for the seizure of their own

few facts will illustrate this.

place since September, 1946. The the imperialist and native capitalists city has had periods of curfew and landlords. under Section 144 of the Indian Criminal Ccde, processions and of the British Socialist Appeal.) demonstrations are banned. A Goonda Act has been passed with powers to extern and imprison people responsible for riots.

But so far, only demonstrations and meetings sponsored by the workers' organizations have been banned. The city workers and middle class have staged many lightning strikes against their intolerable conditions. Their meetings banned and their leaders,

RCP Leads the Fight Against the Fascists

LONDON, Oct. 8-The anti-fascist campaign being conducted here by the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyists) has already met with considerable success.

Open air meetings of the RCP have been well attended in the working class and Jewish areas of London, Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle, Sheffield, etc. Special literature sales and distributions, have some justification only if the profound changes have been acanti-fascist posters and parades British Trotskyists, while correctly cumulating bit by bit. The new have attracted considerable attention and publicity.

The RCP is also making headway in its attempt to raise the question of anti-fascist struggle and united fronts in the trade union branches and trades councils. Special emphasis will be placed on this aspect of the fight as the RCP campaign continues.

The fact that the Trotskyists have taken the lead in the struggle They still believe that the only in words but in action - they are now passing through an exto smash fascism at its birth has choice before them is between the engage in strikes, disregard orders perience which will drive home the led to great disquiet in the ranks of Tories and the Laborites. They do to go back to work, and so on. the Stalinist organizations, whose leaders have organized no serious revolutionary way. This, they still conclusions at the same time. Dif- socialism. This is the progressive as an idependent organization with committees and engage in discusanti-fascist campaign. In the East End of London, where the fascists have been most active, united fronts | Party. have been established with the rank and file of the CP and YCL as well is: How to help them shed most have a contemptuous attitude to- ers to assimilate quickly a revoluas the "43 Group," a group of Jewish socialist militants.

NOTICE-

Shortage of space this week has made it necessary to hold over J. R. Johnson's column which appears regularly on this page each week.

"An Open Letter to Workers

and Peasants of Japan," by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, reviews the situation in Japan since the end of the war and calls for the building of a Japanese Trotskyist party to help establish a Socialist United States of Asia. This article is reprinted in the Sept.-Oct. issue of Fourth International, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y. Since copies of this magazine are 25c; a year's subscription \$1.

canal lands in the border regions and Congress demanded action Germany. of both Eastern and Western Pun- against the peasants and the work-

would belong to the Moslems. It upon religion, has helped this tragic The book was likewise designed

are Moslems in the main. This is panacea of Pakistan as the cure for war.

problem is clear. Only along class deceive public opinion. lordism and capitalism and their main prop, British imperialism, can "In Delhi Moslem houses have they win land for the peasants and

Only the interests of the improperty by Moslems, either before perialists and local exploiters dicor since their evacuation from the tate the policy of division of the country. In a united socialist In-In other parts of India, the riots dia, free and unhampered referenare provoked to effectively stifle the dum can determine the question of struggles of the working class. A self determination of nationalities. It is towards such a solution that In Bombay, sporadic riots, ad- the Bolshevik Leninist Party of Inmittedly engineered by the "Goon- dia is struggling today, and striving tuous term for de- to unite the Hindu. Moslem an classed elements) have been taking Sikh workers and peasants against

(Reprinted from Mid-Sept. issue

Rising Danger of Fascism in Europe Byrnes' New Book Part Of Wall Street's Drive

Against Soviet Union SPEAKING FRANKLY, James F. Byrnes' book on Washington's foreign policy from the Yalta conference in 1945 to his retirement as Secretary of State in 1946, is being built up by the capitalist press as a "sensation." It was greeted with

time the White House issued an

"unequivocal" denial that Byrnes

had served any "ultimatum" on

Truman. This now appears to have

Again, the U.S. delegation at the

United Nations has denied that the

U. S. Government ever resorts to

"bargaining" over admissions to the

UN. But Byrnes coolly admits that

at Potsdam he did engage in such

Speaking Frankly thus shows

once more how little confidence can

be placed in the propaganda of the

Truman Administration about the

"peaceful" intentions of its foreign

Chile Government

Launches All-Out

Anti-Labor Drive

provided in Chile. Last December

they backed Gabriel Gonzalec Vi-

dela for President. Stalinist votes

As a reward, Videla gave the

Stalinists three posts in his cabinet.

It was a perfect example of the

success of the "people's front" pol-

went on strike for higher pay (aver-

age income in Chile is \$100 a year).

Videla branded the strike as a

slavia broke off relations with

patience here can only lead to mis-

fortune, as invariably happens when

one tries to jump over one's own

head. This is charactertistic of ad-

venturers or fools but never of

Just because these British work-

way, it is obligatory for Marxists

ers are not yet ready to go all the

to go along with them in taking

an important step forward! All

and Engels to Lenin and Trotsky

repeatedly explained why it would

be foolish and suicidal not to do so.

True enough, but British work-

ers are suffering from Illusions. But

those who see only the harmful

side of these illusions are short-

these illusions, the British workers

realization that the Liborite lead-

First-hand experience with the

This is the task of revolutionists.

the workers' own experiences and

side of the process.

paths and at different times. To Laborite leaders will enable tens

grown-up revolutionists.

put him in office.

been a deliberate lie.

front-page headlines, editori- Soviet Union, Byrnes admits he als, and reviews by the pro- served an ultimatum on Truman. fessional political commenta- Truman responded by kicking Waltors Whole chapters are be- lace out of his cabinet. At the ing run serially.

The publication of this book is calculated step in the "cold war" Washington is waging on the Soviet Union. The purpose of the book

The book was timed to appear The Hindu, Moslem and particular- the impoverished Moslem peasantry just before the scheduled Novemly the Sikh population has a mili- were fighting for an increased share ber conference of Foreign Ministary tradition, with thousands of in the produce. In Calcutta, trans- ters which will again consider the returned soldiers in the rural parts. port, jute and other workers were major peace treaties still to be Secondly, the newly developed on strike. In unison, the League drawn up, particularly peace with

Publication of the book now is a diplomatic way of emphasizing that none of Stalin's counter-moves The British imperialists have have affected the State Departpromised the land to the Moslem been aided by the Moslem League, ment's foreign policy. It is conneasantry who were told that once and the Communist Party, by its tinuing the "get tough" policy asso-

must be borne in mind that in the differentiation between Moslem and to provide fresh grist for Wall Street's propaganda mills in stepjab the landlords and usurers are Instead of uniting them against ping up the talk of war. As the mainly Hindus. While in the Hindu the British imperialists and the conservative London Times correctpeasant regions of Bihar, United propertied classes of India, the ly observes, Byrnes' program "seems Provinces, Madras, the landlords Communist Party held out the little better than a simple recipe Thus Speaking Frankly is a con-

The Socialist Party of India has tinuation on the level of diplomacy

The solution of the communal has not hesitated to mislead and

For instance, when Henry Wal-



Was It Wrong for British

Workers to Elect Attlee?

By John G. Wright

them with a Labor ticket, they took a progressive step. But, as I have pointed out, these

official leaders betrayed their trust. The question therefore arises: Does this conduct of the

Or to put it in different ants of British imperialism. They American workers - toward revo-

words: "Didn't those revolu- will then be best able to draw con- lutionary thought and action. Im-

It is a big mistake to think the

calling for "Labor to Power," had moods are just beginning to break great Marxist teachers from Marx

Greece and other "foreign commit-

workers do not as yet share this Others only grumble as yet. Still sighted. They do not see the forest

view. They nurse illusions about other sections of workers are be- for the trees. Precisely because of

Not all are able to reach the same

The practical problem therefore disregard all this is, in reality, to and hundreds of thousands of work-

quickly their mistaken appraisal of ward the workers as a whole or any tionary orientation. The whole

the Laborite leadership? And con- important section of them. If you thing is to know how to assist this

they don't. And the fault is not

There is no skipping over each

must first pass through their own velopment of the British working accelerate and complete the course

experience with the labor-lieuten- class - -or for that matter, the of revolutionary education.

versely, how to aid them to find refuse to take into account what process. To speed it up.

leaders perhaps cancel out the progressive character of the original action.

tionary socialists who told the clusions already reached by Marx-

workers to vote for Attlee- ists. And this is precisely what has

Bevin-Morrison, help foster the been taking place for the last two

harmful illusion that these leaders years in the minds of the British

There is, of course, a criticism im- Laborite voter of 1947 is in the same

plied in this question and others frame of mind as he or she was

like it. But this criticism would in 1945. Deep beneath the surface

also told the workers to place any out to the surface. There is the

trust in Laborite leaders and their growing criticism of the top lead-

policies. They did just the opposite, ers. At the Margate Conference

patiently explaining why other lead- this year one-third of the votes

ers and other policies are neces- were cast against Bevin when

Attlee, Bevin and the whole gang. ginning to criticize the leaders not

think, is "impractical." So they ferent layers of workers arrive at

continue to vote for the Labor political maturity through different

their way to the highroad of revolu- you think or say? The answer is,

Arguments alone will never con- on their side, either.

However, a great many British ments" were discussed.

could carry out the will of the workers.

not yet see a better alternative, the

vince millions upon millions. They

people?

When the British workers voted the Tory-capitalist politicians out of office, replacing

Strikers Are Arrested in Canada



Charged with "inciting n riot," Jacques Casgrain of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers is dragged from the picket line outside a Montreal meatpacking plant. More than 220 members of the UPWA have been arrested in this six week strike involving 14,000 workers throughout Canada.

(Federated Pictures)

Europe Goes Hungry As U.S. Decides to **Scrap German Plants** A graphic illustration of the grim results of the Stalinist policy of supporting capitalist

A highlight in the general anarchy and insane destructive-"friends" of labor has been ness of the capitalist system was the order Oct. 16 of the U. S. and British military governments in Germany to dismantle 682 tra-reactionary camps in Italy and industrial plants valued at about \$1,000,000,000. The full list France.

of factories and mills ear- industry to carry out the wrecking marked for destruction or rep- order. The U.S. Military Governarations is around 1,800 but ment estimates it will take at least final decision is still pending 35,000 workers about two years to in a number of key industries.

The order to dismantle the selectsatellites to show their loyalty. So of the propaganda drive of the Tru- reasons for the slowness in Europe's Videla kicked the Stalinists out of man Administration to put over the recovery is the shortage of workers Marshall Plan. The American in Germany! workers are being told that they The German workers have pro- a decline in the influence of these must eat less and tighten their belts tested the order for this insane de- parties. On Oct. 4 some 18,000 miners in order to ship billions of dollars struction of some of the most modworth of goods to Europe. The pur- ern plants in the world. Widepose of these shipments is alleged spread strikes and demonstrations to be the rehabilitation of the war- are expected by the U.S. and Brit-"Communist revolutionary plot" inspired by the Belgrade Information torn areas.

Yet the same Wall Street political The German unions have indi-He mobilized troops, planes and agents who point to Europe's need. cated they will not cooperate in the trial set-up.

Removing and destroying these tury of capitalist rule. plants means wide unemployment

The Class Struggle In Argentine Analyzed The Class Struggle in Ar-

gentine" by Louise T. Gordon in the Sept.-Oct. issue of Fourth International, throws light on the character of the Peron regime which has been so misunderstood in the United States. The article analyzes the various political tendencies in Argentine and shows that Peron is acting for the Argentine capitalist class, despite his demagogic promises to the workers. Single copies of the magazine cost 25c; \$1 for a year. Order from 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

level these 682 plants to the ground.

whip. It wanted its Latin American ed 682 plants came at the height querors complain that one of the

ish military authorities.

warships. He arrested and exiled in demanding sacrifices of the destruction of Europe's key indusbanished two Yugoslav diplomats who have decided to slash the pro- ly win the sympathy of workers for 'Communist agitation." Yugo- ductive level of German industry, throughout the world who know the heart of Europe's entire indus- how much the German people have suffered in the past third of a cen-

The reply of the American milifor the German workers. By pre- tary government to the protests venting these workers from con- was as brutal as anything the Gertributing their productive powers all man workers ever heard from their former Nazi oppressors. Gen. Lu-In addition to this, tens of thou- cius D. Clay, U. S. Military Govsands of workers will be taken from ernor, declared that "if the German unions refuse to obey orders they can hardly expect us to keep shipping in food to feed them."

If starvation does not bring results quick enough, then the U. S. authorities threaten to use troops. Maj. Gen. George P. Hays, Deputy U. S. Military Governor, said that the dismantling plan will be carried out in any event and that "the last resort would be to use military force."

NOTICE

The Philadelphia Chapter of ACEWR is in need of a sewing machine—to mend old clothes and make new garments. Call EV. 6-8755 and ask for Goldy

PCI Co-operates With French Socialist Youth PARIS, Oct. 7 - The Central Committee of the Inter-

nationalist Communist Party (PCI), section of the Fourth International, last week decided to join in a campaign with the Socialist Youth to prepare programmatic documents with the

for the building of a mass rev- aim of working out a program for olutionary party in France. the new party envisaged. This action came in response The PCI, according to its Central to an appeal by the Socialist Youth, Committee decisions, will particiers are not guiding them toward which last August constituted itself pate in joint actions with these a political program of revolutionary sion with them on the basis of the struggle against the reformist So- Fourth International's program. ciglist Part yof Ramadier.

class struggle basis and to study way.

At the same time, the Socialist

In many localities the Socialist Youth has invited the Stalinist-Youth has initiated "Committees of controlled Republican Union of Revolutionary Regroupment" to- French Youth (IJRF) and the gether with members of the Social- Trotskyist youth organization (JCI) ist and Stalinist parties who are fed to discuss fusion. The Stalinists up with the treacherous policies of have replied with their usual vici-Their job now is to point out the their leaders. In Besancon and ous attacks. The JCI decided to next steps, steps which flow from other communities, these commit- answer in the affirmative. Joint tees were formed during strikes. discussions are planned between the must find out for themselves. They necessary stage in the political de- their own needs, and in this way The purpose of these committees is two organizations and meanwhile to launch united front actions on a united front activities are under

By Joseph Hansen

How grave the menace of naked capitalist dictatorship is on the European continent has been demonstratively indicated in two important elections-one in Rome, the other in France.

In the French elections Oct. * 19, General de Gaulle's newlyformed "Rally of the French People" on the basis of incomplete returns received 39% of the votes. The Stalinists received 29% and the Socialists 15%. This compares with a Stalinist vote of 25% in Oct., 1945, and 26% in Nov., 1946, and a Socialist vote of 24% in 1945 and 18% in 1946.

On Oct. 12 Prime Minister de Gasperi's Christian Democratic party got 32.8% of the votes in Rome's municipal elections. Eleven months ago this reactionary capitalist pary got only 20.3%. The Stalinists and Socialists in the "People's Bloc" received 33.4% of the votes as compared with 36.9% 11 months These figures indicate a slight de-

cline in combined vote given the Stalinists and Socialists in both Italy and France in comparison with previous elections.

Although a regroupment of votes as divided between Socialists and Stalinists occurred, the fascistminded forces did not cut substantially into working class districts. At first sight, this relative stability of the working class vote might be taken as an assuring sign. But fitted into the dynamic development of the political situation in both Italy and France, a very different picture emerges.

forces of reaction, a unifying of France. The suicidal course of th their ranks. A regroupment oc- Stalinists and Socialists fosters this curred in the vote given the capi- advance. Only by militant action talist parties. In Italy the "Comaster; in France the Popular Republicans. The growing power of action. de Gasperi and de Gaulle, who enjoy the mighty backing of Wall Street, has made them the most attractive political leaders in the ul-The uniting of these dark forces

around a central figure, especially in France, is the most ominus development in European politics since the end of the war. De Gaulle is tying together the human materi-Yet right now the Allied con- al he hopes to use as a battering ram to smash the labor movement relatively static vote for the Stalinists and Socialists really signifies in the footsteps of their predece

In 1945 the forces of capitalism were demoralized, split into weak, warring factions. The masses surged leftward, seeking the road to socialism. But the cowardly leaders of the trade unions and the major colitical parties of the working class blocked this road. They took strikers and CP leaders. Then he American workers are the very ones tries. This attitude will undoubtedsystem that had plunged Europe in-

o fascism and two world wars. eaders permitted the opportune witnessed the rise of fascism Gaulle like iron filings by a magnet. present struggle. Their task is to What the middle classes want is forge a new leadership, capable of decisive action. Caught between leading them to victory.



DE GAULLE

the sharp sword of rising living costs and the wall of fixed income they demand an end to the intolerable situation. Stuffing votes into ballot boxes in behalf of the working class parties did not bring the desired change in the situation,

If de Gaulle now takes the political struggle into the streets and organizes shock forces, fascism can There was a coalescing of the advance with lightning rapidity if based on the program of socialism mon Man" movement suffered dis- can the working class hope to defend itself against advancing re-

In Italy the workers and po farmers have shown by repeate general strikes, demonstrations a he seizure of land on the big tates that they understand social sm is the only way out. The mush room spread of strikes in Franc is a similar manifestation of a readiness of the workers to set on the road to power.

It is the bureaucratic leadersh inherited from pre-war times the continually blocks and attempts derail this powerful mood of the masses. These leaders are following sors who paved the way for Mu solini in 1922 and Hitler in 1933.

Only the Trotskyists in b countries are in tune with the de sire of the masses for socialism They are doing their heroic best to rally the workers against the men acing advance of reaction through militant struggle for socialism

The fascist danger in France ha does not have a clear road to vice When the Stalinist and Socialist tory. The French workers have situation of 1945 to pass, the middle both Italy and Germany, learning classes began turning away. Now lessons they will not forget in the

I WANT A DEAL, **ADMITS STALIN**

Stalin's objective in forming his new Belgrade Information Bureau, according to the analysis of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party published in last week's Militant, is "to reach a new deal with Washington-a 'non-aggression' pact and economic concessions." Confirmation of the correct-

nes of this Trotskyist analysis has now come from the Kremlin dictator himself. In his first statement to be made public ince announcement of the Belgrade Bureau, Stalin voiced his desire to reach an understanding with the Anglo-American imperialists.

Stalin indicated this wish to eight Labor Party members of the British Parliament who were flown to the despot's villa on the Black Sea for a special two-hour interview.

When the Laborites reached Waraw on Oct. 17 they reported that 3talin stood "for improvement of political and economic relations with all countries . . . beginning with the United States and Great 3ritain. If these countries wish to mprove relations with the Soviet Union they will be welcomed."

Stalin underlined especially his hope for an understanding with the

are interested in the development nalled, through two different Britof trade relations between our two ish channels, that he is ready." countries. The sooner the two partners in common work."

tempt of the working class to over- own terms.

turn capitalism in Europe or the Kremlin bureaucracy. As plainly as he dared, Stalin dis-

wowed any intention of inspiring organizing or leading a militant opposition to Anglo-American imperi-"We shall be prepared to go for-

ward to meet them irrespective of vhat the economic set-up may be in those countries. Cooperation between countries having different conomic systems is possible. That ilready has been proved by experi-Experience with German imperi-

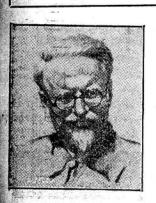
alism shows how unstable such "cooperation" is. In the face of this historic experience, however, Stalin hopes to postpone to the indefinite future the showdown for which Wall Street is preparing.

The Oct. 21 Paily Worker explained Stalin's remarks as anothe bid for a deal. It complained that the Byrnes "get-tough" policy "ha been to pave the road to a settl ment with as many brickbats as "We want as close trade relations possible. This Stalinist sheet conwith Great Britain as possible. We tinues: "Mr. Stalin has now sig-

What blocks the deal? It is simstates agree, the better for good ply a question of the price. With its enormous economic and finance The "common work," presumably, resources and the atomic bomb is a reference to the counter-revolu- its sleeve, Wall Street is certain ionary task of blocking any at- can get what it wants and on it

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

Monday, October 27, 1947



Yol. XI-No. 43

"Contrary to the official fables designed to drug the people, the chief cause of war as of all other social evils—unemployment, the high cost of living, fascism, colonial oppression—is the private ownership of the means of production together with the bourgeois state which rests on this foundation. With the present level of technology and skill of the workers, it is quite possible to create adequate conditions for the material and spiritual development of all mankind. It would be necesary only to organize the economic life within each country and over our entire planet correctly, scientifically, and rationally, according to a general plan. So long, however, as the main productive forces of society are held by trusts, i.e., isolated capitalist cliques, and so long as the national state remains a pliant tool in the hands of these cliques, the struggle for markets, for sources of raw materials, for domination of the world must inevitably assume a more and more destructive -Leon Trotsky, 1940

Yes—It's Time for Some Serious Thinking

"Think about these things," pleaded John L. Lewis at the AFL Convention, as he described the terrible menace of the Taft-Hartley Act. "God knows," he chided the AFL leaders, "you are all paid enough for thinking." He added, "I am too, but I try to shut my mouth occasionally and think once in a while."

Yes, it is time for thinking. Never has the labor movement stood in greater need of serious, penetrating thought about where it is going and the road to take.

What is the problem that faces us? Lewis himself stated it in his militant speech against compliance with the "yellow-dog" oath. He said:

"The Taft-Hartley statute is the first ugly, savage thrust of Fascism in America. . . . It was bought and paid for by campaign contributions from the industrial and business interests . . . and the Republican party and the Democratic minority made good by forging these legislative shackles."

Lewis has done some serious thinking, it is bvious. The Taft-Hartley Act, he correctly states, a first big step of American Big Business in he direction of a fascist dictatorship. And this

Witch Hunt in Latin America

Wall Street has demanded action against "comunism" throughout Latin America and its satele governments have responded with heel-clickg alacrity.

In Bolivia and Peru ferocious anti-labor drives we been launched. Chile has made the headlines ith a savage witch hunt.

The Stalinists are a target in this continental irge. Fantastic charges of plotting and organizrevolutionary uprising have been levelled gainst them. But the Stalinists are not the main rget in this witch hunt. They have been singled it simply as convenient scrape-goats.

The real objective of this drive is to deal a ralyzing blow against the workers and field labrers of Latin America. The poor people south of Rio Grande have been hit hard by the rising st of living.

As a result they have become more and more sistent on wage increases; they have become more ilitant in fighting for such demands and are movg in the direction of socialism with a speed that

Truman's Upside-down "Police-State"

'methods of a police-state." It is not accidental hat Truman selects precisely those government ontrols intended to protect the people against the ttacks of the Big Business profiteers and monoolists as his examples of a "police state." This is mply the White House echo of NAM propaganda. If Truman wanted to discuss "police-state ethods" according to the real implications of that erm, he should have started with the Taft-Hartley lave Labor Law. There we have a real example of capitalist police-state methods, which seek to destroy the organizations of labor, the majority of the people, in the interests of a tiny, predatory

Or he could have discussed his proposal for a iw to draft strikers into the Army; his demand for compulsory universal military training to regiment he American people, his Hitler-like "loyalty purge" mong federal workers; his smashing of the rail-

"Mission to Moscow"—Then and Now

The Dies-Rankin-Thomas red-baiting Commitee on Un-American Activities is putting on a show in Washington that has all the obscenity of low burlesque but none of its humor.

The Representatives are playing the role of the evil-minded clown armed with a paddle whose every sentence drips with lewd insinuations. They have a select string of Hollywood stars, producers and film magnates cast as the dame of doubtful virtue. The red-baiting clowns on Capitol Hill are conducting a klieg-lighted "probe" to determine just how chaste this Hollywood crew have been in their relations with . . . the "Reds."

According to the script prepared by Thomas, Rankin and the other scenario writers of the House Committee, Hollywood bartered its lovely body and soul to the "Reds." That's why you can't see a movie nowadays that doesn't devote reel after reel to exposing the profits of the Rockefellers, Morgans, Mellons, duPonts, Fords and Hearsts, at doesn't expose the evils of capitalism such as pression, unemployment, war and fascism, that doesn't show how crooked the Republicans and Democrats are, and that doesn't show what a heaven on earth we could make America under a Socialist form of government.

One film being "probed" under the klieg lights Washington caught our attention, Mission to oscow. When it was produced during the war,

step has been made with the combined aid of the Republican and Democratic parties.

But here Lewis' thinking appears to stop. What shall labor do about this conspiracy of Big Business and the two old parties?

True enough, even the conservative AFL leaders are forced today to answer: Labor must fight this conspiracy with political action. But what KIND of political action? That is the nub of the question.

If Lewis had carried his thinking just one more step forward, he would have had to say: "Political action by and for labor to wipe out Republican-Democratic rule in Washington, break the political monopoly of Wall Street, and put labor in governmental power."

That is the most effective measure that labor can employ today in order to foil the Big Business-government conspiracy and smash the Taft-Hartley Act. But for that KIND of labor political action, the workers must have a party of their own, a Labor Party. This is the answer the workers must arrive at inevitably, if they follow Lewis' advice, and think - think things through to the

has alarmed the native capitalists and landlords and their Wall Street overlords.

This general anti-labor objective is clearly shown in Chile where a strike of miners for higher wages was seized upon by the government as the pretext for its witch hunt. Hundreds of miners were arrested and exiled to distant provinces. Scabs and strikebreakers were imported to replace them. Troops were sent into the mines to terrorize the strikers.

Washington joined in the attempt to break the strike by turning over U.S. Navy coal stores to the Chilean government so that it could hold out longer against the heroic miners.

These events show how closely the interests of the Latin American workers are bound up with those of the workers in the USA. The same government that enacted the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law gave the signal for the savage repressions in

Every effort we exert to help the Latin American workers means strengthening the labor movement here. "Let's unite against our common foe!

In a press statement last week Truman said road strike, his initiating of a federal injuction nat government rationing, price and rent controls against the miners-all prime examples of real "police-state" methods.

When the majority, through the government that is supposed to represent them, protect their welfare by putting restraints on a rapacious, greedy minority-that's a "police-state," according to Truman. But when the governmental machinery is used to repress the majority and protect the minority who rob, exploit and oppress the people, that's supposed to be a "democratic state!"

Rationing, price and rent control or any other measure exercised by the government to safeguard the majority, the working people, are not "police state methods." If the American workers take power and use their state machinery to end capitalism and establish socialism they will be operating the most democratic state ever known. They will be ending minority class rule and building a society where the means of production and distribution will be used for the benefit of all who toil.

we and many others called attention to the fact that it was a deliberate falsification from beginning

to end.

Mission to Moscow whitewashed Stalin's notorious Moscow frameup trials and pictured as genuine history the monstrously false charges of "spying" and "wrecking" cooked up as a cover for his slaughter of the old Bolsheviks and later the murder of

Leon Trotsky. The Socialist Workers Party pointed out that this film was part of the lend-lease Roosevelt was sending to the Soviet Union in accordance with the war-time deal between Wall Street and the Krem-

Just as the Kremlin had its agent, Earl Browder. the head of the American Communist (Stalinist) Party, climb in bed with Wall Street, so American imperialism had Hollywood perform a few such

friendly services for the bloody dictator in Moscow. Times have changed. Now the picture that was produced in response to a nod from the State Department is being used by Washington as "evi-

dence" of Hollywood's submission to Moscow. We don't expect this Washington burlesque will end with a reformed Hollywood, however. Wall Street's propaganda aims will continue to shape everything that comes out of that film factory as it has in the past. Only now Mission to Moscow is being replaced by a new production-Club Over Moscow.

The Real Criminals



Lewis's Speech Against The "Yellow-Dog" Oath

Oct. 14, denouncing the AFL leaders for proposals to comply with the yellow-dog oath required by the Taft-Hartley Act : *

first ugly, savage thrust of Fascism in America. It came into being through an alliance between industrialists and the Republican mated by those Democratic legislators who still believe in the institution of human slavery. It was bought and raid for by campaign contributions from the industrial and business interests of this country, and the Republican party and the Democratic minority made good by forging these legislative shackles for you and the men and the women who pay you to intelligently repre-

The Executive Council, in its several meetings has said, each to the other, "We must stand for the repeal of this un-American statute and we must resist and withhold support from all modifying amendments that seek to make it virtuous It is so completely bad that it can't be made virtuous and enough amendments cannot be attached to stand against its modifications by amendment and we will ask the American people to join us in asking for its complete repeal."

Then your President and other officers of your organization have made known that position in public. And now we meet this afternoon and the distinguished Committée on Laws comes in here with we won't permit Congress to amend it: we will debase ourselves and amend our own Constitution to make it unnecessary.

What a paradox! What a para-

DO, by Frank Kelly and

Cornelius Ryan, Robert M.

McBride & Co., 1947, 282

This book about occupied Japan

and the top brass of the occupying

army was written by the corres-

pondents of the N. Y. Herald Tri-

bune and the London Daily Tele-

graph. Its best sections are those

exposing the stupidity and self-

glorification policy of MacArthur's

military censorship. The sections

dealing with the political awaken-

ing in Japan since the end of the

war, while containing valuable in

formation, are marred by the "mys

terious oriental mind" approach

and a complete acceptance of the

'war-guilt" of the Japanese people

The best chapter in the book i

the one dealing with the awakening

of Japanese women. Descriptions

are given not only of this momen

tous development in the cities where

women participated in politics for

the first time, even getting elected

to Parliament, but of the awaken-

ing of farm and village women to

their new position as human beings

Japan's "unconditional surrender"

was not one at all. It was a condi

tional surrender-the condition be

ing that the Emperor remain on th

throne. Since this fitted in with

Washington's plans, the condition

Since then the purge of militar-

ists and imperialist rulers of Japan

has been improvised to fit the oc-

cupation and propaganda needs of

MacArthur's regime. As the au-

thors put it, the General has

'played it by ear." The "democ-

ratization" of Japan has beer

shaped by the need to prevent a

revolution, curtail the power of the

wealthy Zaibatsu lest they again

was accepted.

The writers make it plain that

pp., \$3.50.

centers of this country when they a substance that will carry him see their great leaders, with all the through the evil days that must pomp and ceremonials of a great come to every man, . . . is it true convention kneeling in obeisance that that mightly host trying to jority in Congress, aided and abet- before this detestable and tyranni- advance across the plains of Americal statute? Do you think that that ca is led and flanked and having

will encourage them? What effect will it have upon intellectually fat and stately asses? the ordinary citizen not related or concerned intimately with labor or- these things. God knows, you are ganizations? When you organize all paid enough for thinking. I am and implement your plans to go out | too, but I do try to shut my mouth and ask a Congressman or Senator occasionally and think once in a who fashioned this iron collar that while, and that is what the Amerihas been placed about your neck can Federation of Labor sohuld do

and that you overrode the opposi- Hadn't you better fight a little now tion in your convention, in your than fight more down the road, or wild clamor to be the first to sign | would you rather run? . . up. How can you be opposed to the I don't know what the Congres it to make it virtuous, so we will its emoluments? Surely Mr. Taft a great deal on what this convenrank and file of labor have been run they will take courage and the tyranny of their own leaders."

And is it true that the leaders er . . . of our movement age to be the first | Isn't that the next step? If yo of our mighty hosts of 8,000,000 resist the power of the state, the members to put their tails between central government will be used their legs and run like cravens be- against you, and if you don't resis a report, that, in effect, says, no, bill? I am reminded of the Biblical much more quickly, because the parable, "Lions led by asses."

Federation of Labor, each filled the storm. And that is what you with enthusiasm and ambition, each will be doing if you pass this dox! How much heart do you think having responsibilities and dreams damnable amendment that will give the members of our for himself and his family, each have before you . . .

STAR-SPANGLED MIKA- become a threat to American im- an important bearing on the de

imperialist circle that Yaunched the

MacArthur regime abandons them

and looks about for people with the

same ideas but a less malodorous

he Japanese economy, the authors

appear to have no hope that their

book is an adequate treatment of

the tremendous strike wave in Jap-

an and the scope and vitality of the

unions it created. This strike wave

has had an even greater effect on

the Japanese masses than the for-

mation of the CIO had on the

For those who excuse the atom-

ombing of Hiroshima and Naga-

saki as a military necessity, I rec-

mmend the sections of this book

which I quote in part: "One thing

s certain. The atomic bombs

dropped on Hiroshima and Naga-

saki did not knock the Japanese

out of the war. They were beaten

pefore the bombs ever fell." "The

authors can say at least 90% of the

correspondents felt it (the atom

comb) should not have been drop-

"Was the bomb dropped simply

o justify two years' experiments-

o justify the outlay of two billion

dollars? From what a senior offi-

er, attached to the Manhattan

District told one of the authors a

year later at Bikini, this did have

power will be curbed.

American workers.

ped . .

perialism, and prepare a military cision to drop the bomb . . . As the

jumping-off place for World War war in Germany rushed to a close

This accounts for the fact that Then when Germany surrendered,

many Japanese politicians spon- we expected the Japanese to quit

sored by the occupation regime are straight away. Frankly, we thought

exposed by newspapermen as for- the Pacific war would finish before

mer members of the tight little we had a chance to use the bomb

war on China and the gamble at cerned, when the bomb was fin-

Pearl Harbor. After the expose, the ished and dropped, was enormous.

While space is devoted to the and the Soviet Union what the

ampire-like control the Zai- price of opposition to American

oatsu (Japan's 60 Families) have on domination would be. But it does

The most glaring omission in this children were murdered without

'justification.

The Taft-Hartley statute is the organizations out in the industrial | looking forward to the realization of their thinking done for them by

I think you should think about

and sets you apart from your fel- You know, if you grovel enough low man, what are you going to say in this convention you will prob I wonder whither we are drifting? to him when that man in the street ably have more to grovel for next January and March, because when "Why, Mr. Blank, I understand the Congress and the enemies of your organization has amended its labor find out how easy you are Constitution to permit you to ac- they will give you more to grove cept the great virtues of this act, for. Did you ever think of that?

> act for which you fight to receive will do next session. That depends must be right when he says the tion does. If they see we are on the liberated under this act from the will fashion some more sharp spear to accelerate our speed even great

> fore the threat of the Taft-Hartley it will be used against you that won't lose any sleep at night worry Is it true of this mighty host of ing about what to do with a labor 8,000,000 workers in the American movement that is fleeing before that you

> > work in the plants was speeded up

. . The relief to everybody con-

This account of why the bomb

was dropped leaves out the main

purpose of American imperialism-

to show the peoples of the world

prove again the contention that at

Hiroshima and Nagasaki over two

hundred thousand men, women and

even the flimsy basis of military

-George Lavan

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MOTHER JONES

Installment I-

I was born in the city of Cork, Ireland, in 1830. My people were poor. For generations they had fought for Ireland's freedom. Many of my folks have died in that



struggle. My father, Richard Harris, came to America in 1835, and as soon as he had become an American citizen he sent for his family. His work as laborer with railway construction crews took him to Toronto, Canada. Here I was brought up but always as the child of an American citizen. Of that citizenship I have ever been proud

MUNDAT, OCTUDER 21, 194

After finishing the common schools, I attended the Normal school with the intention of becoming a teacher. Dressmaking too, I learned proficiently. My

first position was teaching in a convent in Monroe, Michigan. Later, I came to Chicago and opened a dressmaking establishment. I preferred sewing to bossing little chil-

However, I went back to teaching again, this time in Memphis, Tennessee. Here I was married in 1861. My husband was an iron moulder and a staunch member of the

Victims of Yellow Fever

In 1867, a yellow fever epidemic swept Memphis. Its victims were mainly among the poor and the workers. The rich and the well-to-do fled the city. Schools and churches were closed. People were not permitted to enter the house of a yellow fever victim without permits. The poor could not afford nurses. Across the street from me, ten persons lay dead from the plague. The dead surrounded us. They were buried at night quickly and without ceremony. All about my house I could hear weeping and the cries of delirium. One by one, my four little children sickened and died. I washed their little bodies and got them ready for burial. I sat alone through nights of grief. No one came to me. No one could. Other homes were as stricken as was mine. All day long, all night long, I heard the grating of the wheels of the death cart.

After the union had buried my husband, I got a permit o nurse the sufferers. This I did until the plague was stamped out.

I returned to Chicago and went again into the dressmaking business with a partner. We were located on Washngton Street near the lake. We worked for the aristocrats of Chicago, and I had ample opportunity to observe the uxury and extravagance of their lives. Often while sewing for the lords and barons who lived in magnificent houses on the Lake Shore Drive, I would look out of the plate glass windows and see the poor, shivering wretches, jobless and hungry, walking along the frozen lake front. The contrast of their condition with that of the tropical comfort of the people for whom I sewed was painful to me. My employers seemed neither to notice nor to care.

Summers, too, from the windows of the rich, I used o watch the mothers come from the west side slums, ugging babies and little children, hoping for a breath of cool, fresh air from the lake. At night, when the tenements were stifling hot, men, women and little children slept in he parks. But, the rich, having donated to the charity ice fund, had, by the time it was hot in the city, gone o seaside and mountains.

In October, 1871, the great Chicago fire burned up our establishment and everything that we had. The fire made housands homeless. We stayed all night and the next lay without food on the lake front, often going into the ake to keep cool. Old St. Mary's Church at Wabash Avenue and Peck Court was thrown open to the refugees and there I camped until I could find a place to go.

Learns About Knights of Labor

Near by, in an old, tumbled down, fire scorched building the Knights of Labor held meetings. The Knights of Labor was the labor organization of those days. I used to spend my evenings at their meetings, listening to splendid speakers. Sundays we went out into the woods and held meetings.

were the days of sacrifice for the cause of labor These were the days when we had no halls, when there were no high salaried officers, no feasting with the enemies of labor. Those were the days of the martyrs and the

I became acquainted with the labor movement. I learned that in 1865, after the close of the Civil War, a group of men met in Louisville, Kentucky. They came from the North and from the South; they were the "blues" and the "greys" who a year or two before had been fighting each other over the question of chattel slavery. They decided that the time had come to formulate a program to fight another brutal form of slavery - industrial slavery. Out of this decision had come the Knights of Labor.

From the time of the Chicago fire I became more and more engrossed in the labor struggle and I decided to take an active part in the efforts of the working people to better the conditions under which they worked and lived. I became a member of the Knights of Labor.

Her First Strike

One of the first strikes that I remember occurred in the Seventies. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad employees went on strike and they sent for me to come help them. I went. The mayor of Pittsburgh swore in as deputy sheriffs a lawless, reckless bunch of fellows who had drifted into that city during the panic of 1873. They pillaged and burned and rioted and looted. Their acts were charged up to the striking workingmen. The governor sent the militia.

The Railroads had succeeded in getting a law passed that in case of a strike, the train-crew should bring in the locomotive to the roundhouse before striking. This law the strikers faithfully obeyed. Scores of locomotives were housed in Pittsburgh.

One night a riot occurred. Hundreds of box cars standing on the tracks were soaked with oil and set on fire and sent down the tracks to the roundhouse. The roundhouse caught fire. Over one hundred locomotives, belonging to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company were destroyed. It was a wild night. The flames lighted the sky and turned to fiery flames the steel bayonets of the soldiers.

The strikers were charged with the crimes of arson and rioting, although it was common knowledge that it was not they who instigated the fire; that it was started by hocdlums backed by the business men of Pittsburgh who for a long time had felt that the Railroad Company discriminated against their city in the matter of rates.

I knew the strikers personally. I knew that it was they who had tried to enforce orderly law. I knew they disciplined their members when they did violence. I knew, as everybody knew, who really perpetrated the crime of burning the railroad's property. Then and there I learned in the early part of my career that labor must bear the cross for others' sins, must be the vicarious sufferer for the wrongs that others do.

These early years saw the beginning of America's industrial life. Hand and hand with the growth of factories and the expansion of railroads, with the accumulation of capital and the rise of banks, came anti-labor legislation. Came strikes. Came violence. Came the belief in the hearts and minds of the workers that legislatures but carry out the will of the industrialists.

Urges Labor Party

a political problem and must be solved politically. This is one reason among many others why we must, through our unions, put forth a vigorous campaign for a Labor Party. With a Labor Party a real Fair Employment Practice Law would be established.

To Win FEPC Law FLINT, Oct. 20-Independent

labor political action is needed to win FEPC legislation, says Harrison Johnson in an article in the Searchlight, paper of Chevrolet Local 659 of the UAW-CIO. Stressing the need for FEPC legislation to fight job discrimination and racial divisions among workers, the article concludes: "Fair Employment Practice is

Workers' Forum

Holds That Stafford's Opinion on Abilities Of Workers Is False

In the Oct. 6 Militant a letter appeared by Bart Lanier Stafford, III, of New York in which he grants that capitalism is rotten, but objects to the idea that the work- it themselves. ing class is capable of reconstructing and managing society. He pleads with The Militant editors not to mislead the workers by say- crimes of class society: the crime of ing that "the working people themselves must take over the control physical labor. I'll grant that this and management of the plants and factories," and states further that social revolution, but we'll begin to a "new elite" is necessary to run a see it during the transitional peri-

I must state very emphatically ism. that his conceptions about the seizes the capitalist state and reworking class are thoroughly false. places it with their own state, The workers have demonstrated many times and in many different of production to take over the funcways their capacity to run produc- tions of the managers and engition and defend their own class in- neers. terests without the 'guidance' of intellectuals. I'll give a few ex-

Ford's, in some departments the men turned out 8 hours production Relation of "Experts' in 41/2 hours (where they had a particularly lousy foreman) and took To Socialist Movement it easy for the other 31/2 hours! In Editor: other departments they turned out sufficient production to keep the has discovered that "capitalism has plant going (not their full quotas) so that they could get their pay. In That's progress, But why all the awe was zero or close to because of the grueling character of the work or their hatred of the company.

In no case would they go beyond an established quota, knowing that perts" that are so dazzling to Stafthe company would force them to ford. Do they make the really big maintain it. In the cases where decisions on running society? Aren't they did their work in half the they forced to crawl when the capitime, it was because they used their talists and their agents crack the own initiative and intelligence. No matter where I've worked, I've men were doing while capitalism

found that there are two ways of bungled the job of running society? It is usually much more efficient and quicker-with less physical ex-

trouble with foremen. (2) They're afraid that doing the jobs faster nuclear physicists would reject an would lead to layoffs.

the factories, ran them without the that. capitalists and increased production tremendously. They also organized the anti-fascist militia that fought And here again they did all this

without leaders, because their soto the fascists or flee the country.

When B. L. Stafford pleads with The Militant "not to mislead the Militant would never do!

can lead only to neo-fascism or unskilled labor. Stalinism, both of which are funda- Stafford does not appear to be The intellectual and manual to make and distribute the mate-

readers of "The Militant." Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you want your name printed.

get things accomplished is by doing

Yes, the revolution will bring won't take place the day after the od between capitalism and social-When the working class they'll also take steps at the point

> Jack Meade Detroit, Mich.

During the foreman's strike at Tells Stafford About

Congratulations to Stafford, He for "the experts"? What exempts these mortals from Stafford's gloomy nen and cloud of doubt?

Let's take a look at these "ex whip? Wasn't that what these super-

doing a job: the company way and Take the scientists who unlocked the workers' way. The company atomic energy. Their epoch-making way is planned by engineers and is discoveries were turned to wholly clumsy and comparatively slow (ex- destructive ends-the atomic bomb. cept in trying to make the men Under capitalism they had no choice move faster physically.) The work- but to see one of the greatest ers' way is a result of their own in- triumphs of science debased into a telligence and knowledge of the job. fiendishly efficient instrument for mass butchery. It made many of them sick at the stomach. But what The reasons that the workers could they do? After all, they were don't do things their own way are only workers on a government projas follows: (1) They can get into ect-a capitalist government project. Does Stafford think that the

opportunity to work on a socialist The Spanish Revolution of 1936- government project - the develop-39 is a fine example of the working ment of the peacetime uses of atomic class running production and doub- energy? He has an oddly distorted ling it. In the early days of the view of "the experts" and their defascist revolt, the workers seized sire to serve humanity if he believes

ing and do a little more thinking about the plight of "the experts" under capitalism and the advantages read how the Bolshevik government called leaders were on the fence— in the days of Lenin and Trotsky your home." appealed to "the experts"

workers," he's asking The Militant | Czar's armies full opportunity to use are the same." o lie to the workers, which The their skill and technical knowledge Under world socialism we would by labor. Each community has a-Unfortunately, B. L. Stafford is All it asked was loyalty to the new ity councils (council means the same supplies to the workers' homes. suffering from a typical American regime. At the same time the Bol- as soviet in Russian.) No sensible middle class delusion-that the sheviks opened up unprecedented worker in a council would like to use, not for profit, an end to the workers are stupid and backward! opportunities for the development of have a president runing an eleva- exploitation of humans by humans. B. L. Stafford's kind of thinking new "experts" from the ranks of tor, or an elevator operator being a When socialism is established there

working class in a backward country or to have seen the immense possibilities it indicates for technically advarced countries like America.

When the labor movement turns to independent political action and finally establishes a Workers' and doing things for the people, when in Farmers' Government in the USA, I experts" will be on the side of that government. They will perform about radical changes that will once miracles in the cause of freeing manand for all crush one of the great kind from the shackles of capitalism, including the not-so-miraculous feat the division between mental and of greatly expanding the number of 'experts' in America.

> There will be no numerically small 'elite"—a bottleneck if production! -but a swift expansion of industry and along with it an enormous increase, through mass adult education, of the number of men and women with know-how.

Under socialist planning the productive capacity of industry will prove so great that poverty will be swiftly stamped out in America. The working class and its allies will for the first time in history be able to settle down without fear of war or depressions and really enjoy life.

Meanwhile, let Stafford and those of his opinion begin giving serious consideration to a problem that every "expert" must face if he cares to be honest with himself: The capiare we to prevent them from carry- suspended for a time. ing out their plans?

Stafford didn't spend enough time thinking over that problem, otherhis inaccurate conclusions about The

Daniel Leroy, New York, N. Y.

Reader's Ire Aroused

aren't part of the working class. leading paper of the masses. All that means is he hasn't had his Maybe that's all he rates.

I say give the technicians a helping to achieve that? If not, tory is with us. keep him out of our hair. Haven't we got enough plagues without Party have pledged to raise a \$15,popping off in the Workers' Forum? New York, N. Y.

Stafford Letter Brings "Old Traps" to Mind Editor:

Mr. Stafford's letter "Cloud of why they could not do it under Doubt about Revolutionary Vic- council rules. Stafford needs to widen his readtory" reminds me of one of the old workers would mess things." It's their skill and knowledge. Those MASS BASE NEEDED socialism offers them. He should like other traps used to discourage persons would make leaders and socialism: "Socialism would destroy educators under socialism. love." The Red Army, for instance, of- ing up." "Socialism would destroy shorter the work week. The workfered those who had staffed the religion." "Socialism and anarchy ers (white or colored) get their

in the service of the Soviet Union. have world, national and commun- distributing system to deliver the president. Nonsense, Mr. Stafford, shall be plenty of minds and hands

mentally middle class ideologies— familiar with the brilliant success workers now do the work of the rial securities. And from the matethat of bureaucrats and managers of this historical experience of the world. And I know of no reason rial securities many of the intel-

Nineteen Years Of the Militant

By Rose Karsner National Campaign Director

The Militant will be 19 years old on November 15, 1947. That is indeed an occasion to reality the only way the people for one am completely confident celebrate. We know that bethat the overwhelming bulk of "the cause of soaring production costs, the publication of our paper is in jeopardy. Compared with the early hard times, however, the financial difficulties facing us now can be more easily overcome; because today we have thousands of loyal friends and sympathizers to count on, unlike those days of isolation when we had only a handful.

> I can remember the days when George or Sam edited The Militant single-handed and Charlie worked through the nights on an old broken-down linotype machine to produce it. In those days the Stalinists beat our distributors, tore up our papers, broke up our meetings, slandered and vilified us, calling us "fascists." with only a courageous militant here and there voicing a protest. It is different today. Then came the hardest blow of all-the GPU assassinated our teacher and leader, Leon Trotsky.

During the war years the government also tried to silence our voices. Because of their opposition to imperialist war, leaders of the SWP talists are taking us with express were indicted, and tried, and 18 train speed straight toward the were imprisoned. The second class abyse of a Third World War. How mailing rights of The Militant were But this persecution was of no

avail. The Militant fearlessly continued to tell the truth. Its supwise he could not have come up with porters fearlessly continued to distribute it and discuss with those who would listen. The paper survived and we are now about to celebrate its nineteenth birthday, proving that truth is stronger than physical force and prevails in the

The Militant has grown in influ-So Stafford III thinks technicians well on the way to becoming the It's been a rough road we trav-

brains exploited yet, only his back. eled. The stretch ahead is not smooth. But we are full of confichance to show what they can do moving out onto the political field under socialism. Is Stafford III as an independent class force. His-

Eranches of the Socialist Workers

weak-minded, doubting Thomases 000 Fund to honor the nineteenth tirthday of The Militant. We are Indignant calling on all subscribers and read-discussion in its columns and in ers to help raise and increase this editorializing, when criticized: "The weaknesses. We need all the aid we can get.

Send your contribution today Make it your birthday gift to The Militant.

Under capitalism there are many traps to discourage the workers skilled and learned persons who do 30, scheduled closing date of its crisis is in Negro communities against socialism: "The ignorant not have an opportunity to apply drive.

"Socialism is free Under socialism there is "Socialists believe in divid- employment. The more workers the

necessities from the stockpiles made

Socialism means production for

lectual comforts come.

Jarvis Dusenhers Rochester, N. Y.

If You Like THE MILITANT Pass It Along To A Friend

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The Militant Fund

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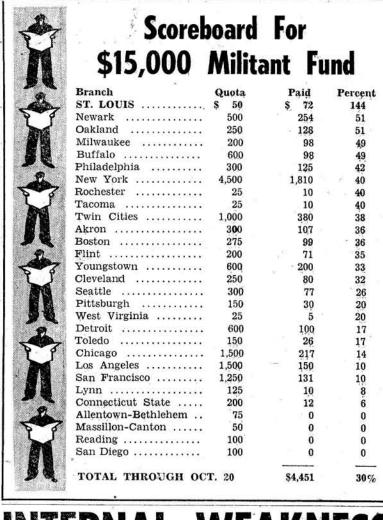
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TACOMA, Wash. - Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Odd Fellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Discussions on current topics. For infor-

floor. Open daily.



THE MILITANT ARMY

Branch Mobilizations Boost Subs and Bundles



speeding up the sale of Militant subscriptions and bundles.

campaign and the previous week Philadelphia took 3,000 copies while Toledo and New York took 200 extra copies each.

"I am really proud," wrote Carol Andrews, Milwaukee Militant, manager, "of the good job the comrades did this past week and at the Sunday mobilization." She sent 15 renewals and two new subs, after five the previous week. "At Sunday night branch meet-

their experiences and the reaction of readers. This helps train new members and builds enthusiasm for future mobilizations. For instance. you can imagine how good I felt when a subscriber renewed and said he had been reading The Militant four one-year renewals. "These studiously for two years and would were obtained Saturday night at feel lost without it. "Another said he passes The Mil-

tant around in the shop and posts its cartoons on the shop bulletin board. He promised to try to get some subs. He also bought tickets to our Hallowe'en party." On his way to mail two new subs,

J. W. C., of Kewanee, Ill., "met :

Election campaigns and the re- | fellow and "had his sub, too, before sumption of branch mobilizations, I got the other cards in the mailafter the vacation season, are box. It is very hard sometimes, but if you keep after them you can get the dollar." J. W. C. is an old hand at it. "Been at it since 1899," San Francisco ordered 500 copies he says. "Used to get hundreds of of last week's issue for its election subs for the Appeal to Reason, Milwaukee Leader and Chicago Socialist. And I'll get some more."

Sam Taylor, a Chicago reader, sent new subs for two friends in Virginia and Wisconsin.

Minneapolis Branch sent eight subs, five for a full year.

Lynn, (Mass.) Branch has "started our sub campaign by cleaning up all our renewals. We have already ings we have sub-getters report on seen 18 people and obtained five renewals. You can expect to hear from us regularly as we are going out every Sunday," writes Mary

> Milton Genecin of Toledo sent the first forum in our new weekly

Boston agent Rena Breshi sent 10 renewals and one new sub. "Belle Patch obtained nine of these. She's a real go-getter. One was sold at our last social."

Oakland increased its weekly bundle order by 10 copies. Beverly also sent four subs and reported: "One of the Johnson group who recently joined us is a terrific saleslady. She sells 20 where others sell five. We expect she'll really build up our sales. We're starting monthly Red Sundays. Hope to show some real

Five new subs from Los Angeles, South Side Branch, were "just to show that after a short respite from last month's sub campaign, and after the wonderful time everybody had at the West Coast Summer School, the South Side is getting back into harness," wrote Ed Smith.

new subs. The subscriber, wrote New Haven Branch sold about 200

meeting Oct. 8, including a bundle of Militants and the pamphlets Build a Labor Party New and Fight the Slave Labor Law.

Swabeck's Article in FI Is

Every American unionist who is concerned about the current Big Business attack on labor should read Arne Swabeck's penetrating article, "Two Pages from American Labor History" in the Sept.-Oct. issue of Fourth International. This timely

including election of the Board by his examination of labor's tasks and leadership in the unions. the convention itself. Under the problems today, for its course now the revolutionary forces.

practically self-perpetuating Board present and future struggles and the need to intensify the fight of Directors has more authority by examining the Pioneer for union democracy and indepenthan the national convention of Period of the Eighties, when dence from the state; the political unions were first firmly established conservatism of the labor bureau-A glaring demonstration of this in the U. S., and the Thirties, when cracy, and the fight for independent working class political action:

action of the national convention these periods the intervention of aim of red-baiting; the probable last June which set up a committee the revolutionary forces played on effects of the coming crisis and the to bring in proposals to the next the revolutionary forces played an tasks it will pose to the militants; convention for constitutional revi- important and sometimes decisive the kind of program that will facilision along more democratic lines, role. That is the starting point for tate the rise of a left wing and new There is plenty of food for

Hear a discussion of:

NEW YORK

Speakers: Wm. F. Warde, George Clarke WEDNESDAY, Nov. 5, 8 P. M.

Beethoven Hall, Fifth St. and Third Ave. Militant Chorus

NEWARK

Speaker: John G. Wright FRIDAY, Nov. 7, 8:30 P. M. 423 Springfield Ave.

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urdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Tuesdays

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LOS ANGELES-Militant publishing Assn., 3161/2 W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.

SAN PEDRO - Militant publishing Assn.,-1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

Room 11. Discussion every Tues-

day 7:30 p.m.; open Saturdays

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cept Sunday, Phone Main 7781 Library, bookstore. Sunday Forums, 3:30 p.m. son 3960. Open every afternoon NEW HAVEN-Labor School, 855

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versity Place, GR. 5-8149. HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St. Room 23. MO. 2-1866.

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floor, phone TI 2-0101. BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St. Phone ST. 3-7433.

OAKLAND, Cal.—Meetings Wednesday. Odd Fellows Temple, 410-11th St. For information write to P.O.

CHELSEA: 130 W. 23 St., phone

LYNN, Mass. — 44 Central Square, PHILADELPHIA — 1302-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 5820.

Box 1351.

AKRON-2nd floor, 8 S. Howard | MILWAUKEE-Militant Bookshop, PITTSBURGH-1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor. Phone Court 6060 Open meetings every 1st and

third Sundays at 3:30 p.m. Marxist Study Class every Thursday 7-9 p.m. 1418 Fifth Ave.

SAN DIEGO-Headquarters 432 F St., R. 213. Open Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday, 1 to 5 p.m.; Monday, Wednesday & Friday, 7 to 9 p.m.

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mation, write P.O. Box 1079. TOLEDO - 113 St. Clair St., 2nd

YOUNGSTOWN — 115 E. Federal Bldg., Room 302, Youngstown 3, O. Open 11-4:30 Monday through Saturday. Phone 3-1355.

INTERNAL WEAKNESSES MEMBERSHIP DRIVE OF militant struggle. All over the country persons seriously concerned with Over Stafford's Views ence, improved in content and is the Negro struggle are beginning to ask privately, and in

But this situation could not by

tion did not have serious internal

for struggle is clear to everyone who

knows how badly unemployment

hemmed in by race restrictive cove-

nants; how brazenly brutal police

have become in trying to put Ne-

the needs of the masses who could

"Make It A Million." For the most

part, the NAACP is still ruled by

Its organizational structure is a

monstrosity that makes it difficult

for the ranks to exert pressure on

delegates from all the branches.

and for the "talented tenth."

some cases publicly: Why is the NAACP membership drive to "Make It A Million" lagging? Although up to now most of the NAACP leaders have

followed the ostrich policy+ dence. The American workers are on this point, the only way to the political attack of their enemies

solve the problems of the or- head on. ganization is to discuss them INTERNAL WEAKNESS and act on them, not to pretend they don't exist. itself stem the NAACP's growth and The Philadelphia Tribune was membership drive if the organiza-

absolutely correct in opening the NAACP Set-up, Public or Private?" Similarly, the New Orleans Sentinel in its Aug. 16 issue seriously attempted to come to grips with the problem of the membership lag and depression have already struck with an analysis of the fact that Negro communities; how increas-Texas, the state with about one ingly common "whites only" has bemillion Negroes, was 19,000 short of come as hiring policy for all kinds its goal of 55,000 members on June of jobs; how acute the housing

The title of the Sentinel editorial was "Warning for a Broader Base." groes "back in their place." of the NAACP's plan of operations. This is a recognition of the need to make the NAACP function as a mass organization of the Negro people, struggling for concrete gains for the masses and not merely for isolated civil rights legal victories from which benefits may eventually trickle down to the Negro rank and

Regardless of the merits of the particular suggestions of this editerial, the tendency it represents is a true reflection of the heart of the NAACP problem-its internal weakness in program and in organiza-

True, this is not the only reason for the lag. There is also the objective situation in which we find ourselves, a period generally characterized by a lack of mass actions on a national scale in the labor movement. The political reaction inhibits militancy in the Negro struggle as well as in the working

class as a whole. The economic condition of the masses grows worse as living costs keep rising, the housing crisis remains unrelieved, and working conwith a Labor Party that could meet sentation on the executive boards.

weakness of the NAACP is the leadership of the organization from the top down, with a few exceptions.

a tyrannical act.

LEADERSHIP AN OBSTACLE

Another aspect of the internal

ditions and the union are being at- | Here personified is the talented (?) tacked by bosses smelling blood. It tenth. Doctors, lawyers, teachers, is, unfortunately, true that the morticians, post office workers, workers' mass organizations, both preachers, real estate men and labor and Negro, have not yet businessmen dominate the executive broken through the roadblock of the boards. While most of the memtwo reactionary parties with their bers of the organization are plain own independent political action, ordinary workers, they have been given little or insufficient repre-

> to play on the executive boards, but some of them act only as conservative obstacles to the launching of the kind of militant struggles that could attract not only a million, but millions of Negroes to the NAACP. And there's the rub. Militant struggles are not needed for an organization which limits itself to raising funds for court tests on civil rights and for pressuring Democrats and Republicans to vote for pro-

Many of these professional and

middle class elements have a role

And that is the chief internal weakness in the NAACP problem, the weakness that undermines the membership drive at a time when the Negro masses need more than

The next and final article in this series will discuss some serious pro-

posals, organizational and programmatic, for building the NAACP.

French Longshoremen

Help Indo-Chinese PARIS, Oct. 7-Dockers at the port of La Pallice last week re-

fused to load munitions and supplies destined for French troops fighting in Indo-Chinese. The Trotskyist weekly, La Verite, prints an open letter hailing this The need for a mass organization action of international solidarity, which has been sent to the La Pallice longshoremen, by 450 Viet Namese workers toiling in the labor camp at Fontenay-le-Compte.

St. Paul branch was especially pleased about one of the recent Winifred Nelson, "first came to our Trotsky Memorial meeting, from the notice in the daily paper. There he bought a copy of Trotsky's Revclution Betrayed and a copy of the paper." He subscribed by mail.

pieces of literature at a Wallace

the leadership to compel action on article draws vital lessons for the draw closer to the state power,

fact was the recent action of the the CIO was born.

of modern trade union organizations | New York 3, N. Y.

Board of Directors in rejecting the Swabeck shows that in both of the problem of AFL-CIO unity; the

present constitution the Board of will again depend in large measure thought in this article. It should Directors has the authority for such on the conscious intervention of receive a wide circulation among unionists. Single copies of the mag-In this light he illuminates the a ine cost 25c; a year's subscription following questions: The tendency \$1. Write to 116 University Pl.,

30th Anniversary Meetings RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The Marshall Plan

The Crisis in the UN Stalin's "Information Bureau" Rise of De Gaulle in France

SATURDAY, Nov. 8, 8 P. M. 113 St. Clair, 2nd floor

gressive legislation. These things are necessary, but they don't lead to involving the Negro masses in struggles to solve their own pressing problems.



Jimmy gulped. "I've got a wife and two kids," he

"What part of the city do you tell me what else all homes have." want to live in?" 'Only one part I can live in!"

The man raised his eyebrows. Cosmic-"What part do you mean?" he asked.

thought. He said, patiently, "Over where the colored

people live, naturally." Genuine bewilderment spread over the man's face. darker skin . . . like under capitalism? Does that exist somewhere here . . . today?" he asked.

"What are you talking about?" asked Jimmy. "Discrimination," the man went on, "Why, that was wiped out long ago after the Socialist Revolu-

One of us is crazy, Jimmy thought. But he was curious. "Let's see that house," he said. "We'll look at the one on Debs Parkway first,"

the man said. Debs Parkway ran at right angles to the lake, ending at a shady highway overhung with tall trees next to the beach. The sun was bright on the water.

"This house rents for \$65 a month," the man said. "What good does that do me?" asked Jimmy. "Why, you earn \$135 a week, don't you?"

Jimmy gasped. He reached into his pocket and

"Maybe I'm crazy," Jimmy said. "I thought I was bringing home about \$45 a week." The man poked Jimmy's shoulder and laughed

ers Government back in 1955." Jimmy's head spun. They went into the house.

Inside the sun's glare and heat was gone. "Air conditioning?" Jimmy asked.

The man looked at him in surprise. "Of course!

stammered. "We'll need some Just like all homes and buildings." "I...I haven't been very well lately," Jimmy "Of course," said the man. stammered. "I forget things now and then. Just you

The man smiled sympathetically. "Well, first Jimmy's lip curled slightly, air conditioning, then automatic heat, built-in television in every room, radio-telephones in every room,

"When was the revolution?" Jimmy interrupted. "1955. The peoples of the world could no longer That man's crazy, Jimmy stand war, povetry, discrimination, oppression...

What's the matter with you, comrade?" Jimmy didn't answer the question. His ears were ringing, and the ringing grew louder and louder "Colored ... you mean segregation of comrades with until the noise hurt. He flung out his arm against the sound. His hand struck the alarm clock, and he woke up with a start.

> Jimmy lay in bed, depressed. The great Italian poet, Dante, had said that there is no greater sorrow than remembering happy times when in misery. Jimmy had never read Dante, but that was the way

> Outside his window a street light glared coldly against the window pane, dusted with the red-brown powder that drifted over from the blast furnaces. He switched on the light next to the bed and saw the contents of his pants pockets on the dresser. Lying there was his last check stub . . . for \$45.28.

He pushed aside the memory of his dream and leaped out of bed. He dressed quickly and heated up pulled out a check stub. He looked at it. It said yesterday's coffee, "It's still capitalism," he thought. Twe still got to get out and get to work and see if I can't put in some overtime on the furnace so I can pay off my bills."

Outside he heard the wail of a narrow gauge uproariously. "\$45 a week! Why, nobody's earned that engine in the steel plant. He picked up his lunch little since the installation of the Workers and Farm- pail, closed the door behind him, and walked away from his run-down, mortgaged house toward the steel plant three blocks away.

The Negro Struggle-

Jackie Robinson and Bob Williams

- By George Clarke -



player. Not merely because he was victory. And that takes courage - and plenty of it.

far beyond the ball park.

that Jackie is a fighter?

Yet while we were cheering in Jackie's box we fully against it. do not believe that his fight - gallant as it is sions, in industry generally, in housing - not even that can lick the Jim Crow system, that is the capi- be a hazy promise only on a ball field but a living

The fight that will make the name of Robinson millions requires something else. It requires program Senator.

Millions of hearts beat in unison when Jackie and organization. That's where Bob Williams comes Robinson went down the baseline to steal another in. He stands on the only program that can destroy bag for the Dodgers. It seems to us that the Negro Jim Grow, In this election he represents as candipeople were cheering Jackie not date for State Senator, the Socialist Workers Party, oxiy because of his skill as a ball the only organization that can lead the fight to

one of their own making good. It means standing up for the truth no matter Not merely because he was a liv- how unpopular it may be at the moment, nor how ing refutation of the theories of strong the opposition. It means hard work with white supremacy. And not only no compensation except the satisfaction of knowing because of the belief that Jackie the task is done, It means walking a picket line to was blazing a trail against Jim Crow that would go open the gates of a Jim Crow bathhouse. Knocking on doors to organize tenants. Speaking on street It seems to us that Jackie was also being cheered corners against the opposition of drunks and hecklers. for his courage. Who can deny that it takes "moxie" Soliciting subscriptions to The Mili'unt, visiting to stand up and play ball before the eyes of the friends to bring them to meetings. It means the whole country under the conditions Jackie was forced thousand and one little things which have none of to endure? Who can deny that it takes guts to per- the glamor of the baseball diamond and don't reform after the endless petty persecutions, the galling ceive the plaudits of the multitudes. Yet it is these actions of arrogance and prejudice, the continuing small chores that will educate the masses of the segregation in fact if not in form? Who can deny people to the real workings of the Jim Crow capitalist system and organize them effectively and success-

By that we don't mean to belittle Jackie. We are will achieve the ends many believed, or at least talking of the qualities that are needed to prevent dreamed it would . Jackie's fight will not break down Jackie from being an isolated and temporary figure. the barriers of racial discrimination in the profes- These qualities Bob Williams has. And one day, we are convinced and confident, millions will have in the world of sport. It is not the kind of a fight them too. When that day comes, equality will not

reality in every walk of life. That's why we're in there today cheering for Bob legion and bring opportunity and equality to the Williams and his campaign for New York State

Planned Ignorance

-By Grace Carlson-

cialist Workers Party — its prin- will ever read far among an intelligent people." ciples and program. But he didn't control of production as an answer to capitalist anarchy. He was too anxious to tell me why socialism couldn't work. In his university psychology classes, he had learn-

ed all about the low scores that workers make on intelligence tests, he said, and he solemnly assured me that socialism couldn't work because workers of intelligence testing. Psychologists do not measure

don't have enough brains! Do you wonder where a young student gets these bigoted ideas at such an early age? Look at what one university textbook has to say on this subject. Dr. R. S. Ellis in "The Psychology of Individual Differences" passes off this weird mixture as wisdom: vidual differences, the theory of communism is clear-

"From the viewpoint of the psychology of indiand dislikes are inborn and ineradicable - though ing. Some men are quite content to live in shacks. ignorance!

A short time ago, a young fellow came into the They would rather rest at ease than to put forth Minneapolis headquarters to deliver our new telephone enough effort to earn money to buy paint to paint book. It was the first time he had stepped into a their houses. . . . The communist ideal is impossible party's headquarters and he was with men as they are. It never has worked and full of questions about the So- never will. There need be no serious fear that it

> And what is the "evidence" upon which Professor Ellis bases these strange conclusions? Chiefly upon tion of the need for working class intelligence test results, which give workers lower IQ's than business or professional men and Negroes lower IQ's than whites, A strict hereditarian, Ellis thinks that rich people are rich because they were born smart and poor people are poor because they were born unintelligent and have stayed that way all their lives.

But before any student accepts Ellis' conclusions uncritically, he should examine the basic assumptions intelligence directly but indirectly. Mental tests only measure what the individual has learned. An individual who has not had normal educational and cultural opportunities at home and in school is greatly handicapped in taking an intelligence test and the resulting Intelligence Quotient or IQ will not be a

true measure of his real native ability. There is no doubt but that there are native difly untenable. Differences in abilities and in likes ferences in intelligence. But the rich do not have a corner on all of the native intelligence! However, not, of course, unmodifiable - and under such con- it is easy to see why the rich rulers of our society ditions, no economic system will be workable which like to have young people taught the kind of lies does not provide for differences in the rewards of exemplified in the exerpt from "The Psychology of effort. Consider, for example, the problem of hous- Individual Differences." It is their program of planned

Notes from the News

for the presidency of the CIO United Auto Workers did not contest the charges that he had cheated the at next month's convention, has called for a cost- government out of \$70,384. Treasury officials then



time conscription.

TERMINAL LEAVE PAY - By inal leave bonds.

Police Oscar Day of Yellow Springs, Ohio, has been dollars.

Forrestal, Secretary of Defense, lashed out against pendent unions in Florida. The move was initiated "police states" in a speech before the N. Y. Herald by the State AFL.

Tribune Forum and wound up by calling for peace-

The second second second

INFLATION ANSWER - R. J. Thomas, candidate Roosevelt, was convicted of income tax evasion. Casey of-living bonus to meet rising revealed that they had discovered another \$105,000 owing to them. Casey's sentence? A \$30,000 fine and six months in jail.

> Oct. 7, World War II veterans had . WHERE YOUR MONEY GOES - In case you cashed in over half of their term- didn't suspect it, corporation profits for the first two quarters of 1947 were higher than those of the last quarter of 1946. Corporate profits for first OUR PROTECTORS - Chief of six months of 1947 are estimated at 561/2 billion

UNITY IN ACTION - A United Labor Political CAPITALIST CONSISTENCY - Wall Streeter Committee has been set up by AFL, CIO and inde-

STRIP TEASERS COVERED - The New Jersey Supreme Court has ruled that strip tease artists ANOTHER PAYTRIOT CAUGHT - Millionaire who work regularly in one theater are entitled to Eugene B. Casey, wartime executive assistant to the benefits of unemployment compensation.

THE MILITANT

NEW YORK, N. Y.

4 More CIO Councils Support Hickman; Trial Begins Nov. 5 CHICAGO, Oct. 22-Labor and liberal forces are swing-

Sitdown Strike in New York



Here are some of the more than 90 members of Local 65 of the CIO Wholesale and Warehouse Workers who refused to quit the plant after the Brooklyn Industrial Conquiner shut off the power and ordered them out. The sitdown was precipitated bby the lockout of 11 of their fellow unionists. They left the plant after a week when an injunction was handed down against them, and set up a mass picket line. New York police helped scabs to crash through the line. (Federated Pictures)

New Yorkers Urged By SWP Candidate To Keep PR Voting

By Robert Williams SWP Candidate for State Senate, 23rd Senatorial District, N. Y.

NEW YORK, Oct. 22-The reactionary bi-partisan cru-policy of the Democratic adminissade to eliminate Proportional Representation in elections for tration of this city towards the the City Council is fundamentally anti-labor and must be Negro people," Robert Williams, Sostopped.

All the anti-communist hysteria cannot obscure the real

intent of the campaign against PR. For decades Tammany Hall dominated City Hall with a corrupt and anti-labor gang ruling the roost. The or anized labor movement and the Negro people didn't have the ghost of a chance of getting their foot in the city/council door. Under the "Rotten Borough" system of electing Aldermen, the A. D.'s were rigged in favor of the machine. When a third party got strong enough to elect a representative, the district was quickly rezoned.

The fact that Republicans and emocrats march side by side against PR reveals that the hand directing the show is Wall Street's, and not merely the political bosses as the liberals pretend.

The hue and cry against "Communists" should fool no one for there have seldom been more docile, respectable and "responsible" while his party and his most immetime-servers on the Council than diate assistants are out wielding an the Stalinist representatives. Wall axe against PR. Labor was never Street wants its rule over all gov- anything but a poor relation in the ernmental agencies free of opposi- stinking alliances made with the tion of any kind. It is particularly capitalist parties. Now it's being fearful of genuine independent la- shown the door-that's the meanbor politics that might arise in the ing of the campaign to end PR. coming years. Above all, the Wall Street gang wants to keep its two- little Comocracy remains in this party dictatorship intact and un-city.

Let the crawling ALP, Liberal 4! and Stalinist leaders tell the workers why O'Dwyer, whom they put in Labor Party in the city and in the City Hall, is quiet as the grave nation!"

League to .\$3.665.

Chicago Tenants Fight

Rent-Gouge Practices

CHICAGO. Oct. 21-Nine | agency for raising rents instead of

checks totaling \$995 were distributed at last week's regular tion" from it. She based this

monthly council meeting of charge on the grounds that land-

the North Side Tenants League, lords' applications for rent in

4348 Broadway, as repayment to creases are granted almost auto-

enants who had been compelled to matically, while tenants are not

pay illegal "bonuses" for apart- notified or consulted and have to

nents. This brought the total wait many months for action on

amount of "bonus" repayments re- their complaints and then rarely

A report was given on a visit ments. In March the tenants of

o the Area Rent Office by a com- basement apartments applied for

nittee sent to protest "hardship rent reductions; their applications

rent increases" recently granted the have not yet been acted on. Yet

andlords of Sterling . Apartments, the landlord applied for a rent in-

105 Sheridan Rd., and Michigan crease on Sept. 17 and got an 11%

Boulevard Garden Apartments, 54 "substantial hardship" increase 12

covered for tenents through the get favorable results.

E. 47 St. The League had demand- days later, on Sept. 29.

Area Rent Office "has become an Feb. 28, 1948.

By New York Cops NEW YORK, Oct. 23 - "Police Commissioner Wallander's white-

cialist Workers Party candidate for State Senator, declared in a statement today. than pleading and petitioning and investigating is needed to put an

to discipline cops for carrying out the instructions of the Police Department is like expecting Pontius to veto the actions of Pilate. "The Negro people of New York, together with the labor movement which suffers the same brutalities

on the picket line, must launch a movement to enact laws to make the police criminally liable for their actions before the courts. "But that alone will be insuffi-

brutality called by Ben Davis in Stalinists responsible for the conference failed to carry out the aine. mandate of the delegates.

There are two ways to save what

How to Vote for SWP in New York

To vote for Robert Williams, Socialist Workers Candidate for State Senate in the 23rd Senatorial District, go to the polls on Nov. 4 and pull the lever on the bottom line of the ballot.

A vote for Robert Williams is a vote against Jim Crow and

Hits Brutality **Against Negroes**

wash of the cops who slugged Samuel W. Simonette proves once again that intimidation and terrorism are part of an official and calculated

"It proves also that much more end to this KKK policy of the City of New York. To expect Wallander

time proves how correct those proposals were. Let's stop begging and get some real actions going right

has been postponed to Nov. 5. Typical of the response from visory Council include Martin Gerthe unions were the demands ber, director of Region 9-A of the for Hickman's release raised UAW-CIO, and Sol D. Kapelsohn, last week by foun CIO Coun- attorney for the State CIO. Local cils - Akron, Flint, Newark and 2014 of the CIO Steel Workers has

ing into action throughout the country to defend James Hick-

man, Negro steel worker whose trial for shooting his landlord

Bergen County, N. J. The Chicago donated \$50 to help initiate the CIO Council has been actively de- committee's work in New Jersey; fending Hickman from the begin- the Bergen County CIO sent \$25. The Flint CIO resolution, intro- in Los Angeles. Among those who duced by Harrison Johnson, chair- have agreed to serve on it are: man of the Anti-Discrimination Loren Miller, attorney and na-

real criminals in this case."

four children were burned to death ers. in this fire.

A number of Negro organizations and Newark. A collection of \$26 to help the defense was taken at the Philadelphia NAACP meeting. Other organizations giving their aid in the last week included: The Westinghouse local of the

CIO United Electrical Workers in Buffalo; AFL District Nine Painters Council in New York City, which donated \$25 to the defense campaign; Chevrolet UAW Local 659 in Flint; New Haven Branch of the Socialist Workers Party which sent Cities, Minn., branch of the Workers Defense League. A Hickman Defense Committee

has been established to mobilize NEWARK, Cet. 23-Arthur Burch support in New Jersey. Headed by will speak on "What Is Behind prominent Negro, CIO and AFL Stalin's Information Bureau?" at leaders, it has sent out a call for the Militant Labor Forum, 423 moral and financial support to over | Springfield Ave., Newark, Friday 500 organizations in the state. Lat- night, Oct. 31, 8:30 P. M. Admisest additions to the New Jersey Ad- sion is free.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1947

A similar body is being planned

Committee of the Chevrolet Local tional authority on restrictive cov-659 of the UAW, stated: "The fight enents who will argue the Sipes vs. for Hickman is the fight for all McGee case before the U.S. Suworkers against the unscrupulous, preme Court next Month; James merciless, profit-gouging landlords Anderson, chairman of the Eastside and realty interests who are re- Labor Committee; John H. Dial, sponsible for the needless deplor- Jr., and Woodrow Redo, respectiveable housing situation and are the ly director and treasurer of the Los Angeles Negro Labor Commit-The resolutions, asking States At- tee (CIO); Sidney Smith and Frank torney Tuohy to drop all charges Barnes, presidents respectively of against Hickman, note that he was the San Pedro Wilmington and convinced his landlord had delib- Santa Monica branches of the erately set fire to his home in order NAACP; Harry Stillman, regional to effect his eviction; Hickman's director of the CIO Textile Work-

Others who have endorsed the fight to save Hickman are James have also come out for Hickman's Price, regional director of the UEdefense. Among these are the CIO in Philadelphia; Rev. A. J. NAACP branches in Flint; Morgan- Muste of New York, and Frank A. town, West Virginia; Pittsburgh Barbaria, SWP candidate for Mayor of San Francisco.

Resolutions, finances and information about local activities to save Hickman should be sent to the Hickman Defense Committee, 4619 South Parkway, Chicago 15, Ill.

Hickman's trial will begin Wednesday, Nov. 5, at 9:30 A.M. at Criminal Court Building, 26th & California Sts., in the courtroom of Judge Rudolf F. DeSort, 7th floor.

\$11.30 collected at a meeting; Twin Burch Speaks In Newark On Stalin's New Bureau

Demand Action on Tresca Murder Case

campaign to effect a solution of the summer of 1946, the representatives of the Socialist Workers Party ca, crusading editor of an antiproposed mass actions to take the fascist Italian paper in New York, form of mass demonstrations, mass will get under way here Sunday, delegations to City Hall to culmi- Nov. 2, when delegates from at least nate in a one-day tieup of Harlem. 25 labor and liberal organizations The proposal was carried, but the in ten states will gather for an all-day session at the Hotel Tour-

The object of the movement is "What has happened since that to galvanize the New York City police and District Attorney Frank Hogan's office into a new investigation of the Tresca killing, widely regarded as a political murder. Tresca, who had made numerous bitter enemies because of his opposition to both the fascists and the Stalinists, was slain in the 1943 dimout near the office of his paper, Il Martello (The Hammer).

> Messages from Italy voicing sym- ory will be held in Sulmona, the pathy and support, signed by sev- Abruzzi province town where he eral hundred union officials and was born. members and well-known profes- Plans for similar conferences in sional men and women, have been San Francisco, New Orleans and received by the arrangements com- elsewhere, are already being dismittee. In Italy on the same day, cussed.



CARLO TRESCA

a meeting to honor Tresca's mem-

TRAINOR SHOWS BOSTON YOUTH ARE MISEDUCATED

are receiving in the public schools.

ast night, Trainor quoted from taught the students. Ralph Harlow's "Story of America," a textbook used in the high schools, orders pending a re-examination three-point plan of action to hold tions of American history.

and hearing at which tenants would the line on rents was adopted by have the opportunity to contest the the council. This includes a peti-

DeWitt Clinton."

BOSTON, Oct. 22 - Law- | Similarly with the heroic strug- | failed to enforce the constitutional rence P. Trainor's campaign gles to build trade unions. "One rights of the Negro people." for the Boston School Commit- can search in vain in this book to Trainor showed that the history tee, which is endorsed by the Socialist Workers Committee, is working conditions that made union of veterans after the first American revolution, in the Shays rebellion, in the 1932 Bonus March, bringing to the fore the question organization necessary." The true was all distorted or ignored in this of what kind of education children story of the fight to establish unions book. He showed that the textagainst the opposition of the gov- books now in use fail to educate In a speech over Station WHDH ernment and the courts is never our children on the real cause of

bers in Boston. Is it asking too that they teach all kinds of false much that their children be taught and fanciful theories on the nato illustrate how children are mis- the truth about trade unions? I ture of capitalism and depression. ed suspension of the rent increase On the basis of this report a educated on the most crucial ques- demand that a history of the Amer- "We want our children to face" ican trade unions, sponsored by the the future with confidence and de-"Under the pressure of the early trade unions, be taught our chil-termination," he concluded. "How, trade unions the various state gov- dren — instead of the anti-labor can they do this if they are not validity of the "hardship" claims tion to the Office of Housing Ex- ernments were forced to grant the propaganda of the Chamber of taught the simple truths of history

tight rent control bill by the City it came about through the good removed from our schools. Instead School Committee would attempt to Mrs. Mildred Gardella, secretary Council, to go into effect when and intentions and work of a couple of ef such a falsehood, I further de-educate our youth to prepare them of the League, charged that the if the Federal Rent Act expires on individuals like Horace Mann and mand that our children be taught for the future. Let us teach the that the federal government has truth!"

war — the struggle for more profits "There are 157,000 union mem- by America's Sixty Ruling Families;

and of economics? Society is in a

of the landlords and inspect the rediter in Washington, a series of public school system as a conces- Commerce." sooks submitted by the landlords. mass meetings throughout the city, sion to the working people," Trainor hit especially hard at state of evolution. There is a strug-The Area Rent Office agreed to a and a mass picket line with other said. "This is a historical fact, the Harlow book for its insulting gle going on before our very eyese-examination in these cases but organizations in front of the Area Yet not a word about this struggle statement that Negroes "accept" the struggle between decaying capiefused to revoke the rent increase Rent Office. of our forefathers for free educa- and "do not worry" about the color talism and a dawning socialist orders and denied tenants permis-The council also voted to demand tion is told to our school children. line, that is, race discrimination. world. One would think that under ion to inspect the landlords' rec- the immediate passage of an air- Harlow's history tries to tell us that "I demand that it be immediately these conditions a responsible

Save PR by voting 'NO' on Nov.

"Build a genuinely independent

An example is the Sterling Apart-