

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## 4th International Fights German Dismantlements

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# SPECIAL SESSION WON'T ACT ON PRICES

## Strikes Show French Workers' Might

### Aroused by Growing Menace of Fascists

By Joseph Hansen

Nov. 26—The wave of strikes and demonstrations in Italy and France continues to mount in scope and intensity.

In Italy clashes between police and demonstrators in the past week occurred in many vicinities with an increasing toll of dead and wounded from police bullets. The Italian workers in some towns were temporarily in complete control; but generally their activities under guidance of the Stalinists have been limited to measures against the neo-fascist groupings.

In two weeks they have wrecked 129 headquarters of these reactionary parties.

The upsurge in France has blanketed the nation with strikes. On Nov. 25 the Executive Committee of the Railway Federation voted to call out its 600,000 members at once. Already an estimated million and a quarter workers had downed tools.

The strike demands as formulated by the Stalinist-dominated General Confederation of Labor are limited. They include a 28% jump in the minimum living wage for lowest paid workers, a provisional 25% general increase for all other workers, reclassification of government workers to place them in higher wage groups, official recognition of the right to strike, and, as reported by the Nov. 26 Daily Worker, "an upward revision of all wages every three months on a sliding scale, based on the cost of living index."

When the Ramadier regime collapsed in face of this upsurge, the Socialist Party attempted to put Leon Blum in Ramadier's place. They hoped to continue to straddle the widening political chasm in France.

Blum denounced as equal dangers both de Gaulle, who represents the fascist danger, and the Stalinists, who are temporarily at the head of the working class. When the de Gaulle and Stalinists opposed him he failed to get the necessary vote of confidence from the National Assembly.

He was replaced by Robert Schuman, Minister of Finance in the Ramadier cabinet and member of the Catholic Popular Republican party. Schuman, when he sought a vote of confidence, did not attack the de Gaulle. Instead, he denounced the strikers. This won him the votes of the de Gaulleists and gave him the majority he sought.

Schuman then named a new cabinet that included members favored by de Gaulle. Thus his regime represents a decided shift toward the right.

De Gaulle at once moved to bolster up the new cabinet. He cancelled a public speech, according to the Nov. 25 N. Y. Times, "in order not to embarrass the government."

De Gaulle's political motives are clear. As the N. Y. Times, which backs de Gaulle, admits: "The Schuman Cabinet can be considered only as a stop-gap Government in France's transition from the regime of the Popular Front, which included the Communists, to the orienta-

tion revealed in the last municipal elections."

By "new orientation" is meant a fascist seizure of power under de Gaulle.

The Schuman cabinet can help prepare that seizure by utilizing government power to strengthen de Gaulle's forces. It bears the same transitional character as the regimes in Germany which immediately preceded Hitler's rise to power.

The governmental shifts indicate how grave the threat of fascism is in France. But de Gaulle's success is still far from being in the bag.

The strike wave represents incomparably more than a limited struggle to better the workers' standard of living. It indicates how ready the working class is to launch a decisive struggle against the fascist menace. Only the Stalinists now stand in the way of such a struggle.

### Fake Independence Bill Precipitates Crisis in Ceylon

K. Mukerji

COLOMBO, Ceylon—What is called the "Ceylon Independence Bill" is now before Parliament at Westminster. The proposals are indeed hair-raising. According to this bill, British imperialism would continue to maintain its military and naval bases in Ceylon; "The Government of the United Kingdom may base such naval and air forces and maintain such land forces in Ceylon as may be required for these purposes," which include "the use of naval and air bases and ports and military establishments and the use of telecommunications facilities."

In fact, the whole thing is a back-deal, arranged behind the backs of the Ceylonese masses many months before the recent general election, with the consent and connivance of the bourgeois United National Party.

But the imperialists and their native henchmen were reckoning without their host. The results of the general election have upset all their calculations and the UNP, in the teeth of the Trotskyist opposition, is chary of the bill's ratification by the Ceylon Parliament.

The coming bourgeoisie of Ceylon are now in the cart. If the Trotskyists succeed in forcing a general election on the all important issue of independence, the UNP will never again return to power after this colossal betrayal. There is no doubt that the Trotskyists would sweep the board in the case of a new general election, and even a Trotskyist majority is not ruled out.

### Real Wages Near 1939 Low Levels

#### But Production Almost Doubles In Eight Years

Official government figures issued in Washington last week confirm that real wages for most workers in this country have been sliced by rising living costs to levels at or near 1939 depression incomes.

But labor is turning out nearly double the amount of goods it produced in 1939. Therefore, the workers' relative share of the national output is far less than in 1939.

Where real wages are higher than in 1939 they represent much longer hours of work. Only in the soft-coal mining industry, which has seen a whole series of national strikes, are real wages significantly higher than in the pre-war period.

The post-war shrinkage of real wages contrasts with an enormous increase in production over the 1939 output. Physical volume of industrial production in August 1947 was 85% greater than in the immediate pre-war period.

According to the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics report of Nov. 19, only the soft coal miners now average real wages over \$40 a week—\$42.81 to be exact. This is \$19.12 more purchasing power than in 1939, but far below adequate comfort and health standards.

Through their bitter struggles the miners have lifted their money wages in eight years from \$23.88 to \$71.19, equal to \$48.81 in 1939 dollars. But there were 12% fewer miners employed in August 1947 than in 1939 and they were producing 51% MORE coal.

Manufacturing output was 100% greater in August 1947 than eight years earlier. Yet real wages in all manufacturing, despite several money wage increases, were only \$32.45 a week. This is \$9 more during present "record prosperity" than during the last depression year.

Electric power workers "enjoy" real wages today of \$35.05, only 94 cents more than in 1939. Laundry workers receive the "munificent" real wage of \$20.11, compared to \$17.55 in 1939 when shorter hours prevailed.

The propaganda about building trades workers getting "rich" is belied by the figures. Their real wages are \$39.22, about \$9 more than in 1939. Responsibility for the 100% rise in building costs must be placed at the door of the profiteering contractors and suppliers.

Fast rising prices will soon wipe out the slight differential between present and 1939 real wages. Prices, according to latest figures, rose 2.2% in September alone.

### Stalinophobia and UAW Convention

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The Men on Horseback



## Striking Chicago Printers Spearhead Taft Act Fight

Spearheading American labor's fight against the open-shop Taft-Hartley Act, members of Local 16, AFL international Typographical Union, on Nov. 24 went on strike against Chicago's six Big Business dailies with a total circulation of more than 2,600,000 papers.

The strike climaxes five months of futile negotiations with the Chicago Publishers Association. The CPA has refused to grant wage increases under the pretext that the union must first sign away its traditional closed shop conditions under terms of the Slave Labor Law.

Chicago has now become the focal point of a bitter national struggle by the ITU to enforce its "conditions of employment" instead of giving away its union security by signing open shop contracts as decreed by the Taft-Hartley Act.

The ITU, at its convention following passage of the Act, determined that it would sign no contracts because of the Taft-Hartley restrictions. It decided to use its strong position to enforce "conditions of employment" which would be posted by the union in the printing plants.

According to Woodruff Randolph, ITU international president, 120 locals have negotiated wage increases since the Taft Act went into effect last August without signing formal contracts. The Chicago newspapers, acting in concert, have refused to discuss wages.

At a meeting of 5,000 Local 16 members on Nov. 23, an ultimatum was issued to the newspaper corporations. This stated that if the employers failed to grant justified increases by 8 P.M., Nov. 24, "the services of members of Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 will be withdrawn."

Picket lines have been established before the printing plants of the Tribune, Sun, Times, Herald-American, Daily News and Journal of Commerce.

The Tribune is Col. McCormick's rabidly reactionary morning paper. The Sun was established by merchant prince Marshall Field the Third, owner of New York's PM as a "liberal" competitor to the Tribune. Now they are joined in a conspiracy, together with Hearst's Herald-American, to beat down the organized printing trades workers with the club of the Taft Act.

This conspiracy includes the American Newspaper Publishers Association, representing 400 leading capitalist newspapers, and the new National Labor Relations Board which is working hand-in-glove with the big publishers.

The NLRB has already issued complaints of "unfair labor practices" in two cities, Baltimore and Cincinnati, and has demanded legal restraints against the ITU. It is now threatening through its legal counsel, "Labor Czar" Denham, to secure an injunction against the Chicago strike. Under the law, the NLRB can seek such injunctions at its own "discretion."

ITU members in Detroit and other leading cities have also begun to take action in the form of "slow-downs."

## Republicans, Democrats Use Issue of Inflation As a Political Football

Congress will take no action to halt rising prices in the present special session. Neither Democrats nor Republicans propose any effective program against inflation. Prices will continue to soar upward at ever dizzy speeds.

These are facts now generally admitted by the capitalist press itself and by business organizations.

All proposals for measures against inflation are being shunted through a labyrinth of Congressional committees. As the authoritative N. Y. Times reports, "At the outset it became clear that Congress would not hurry its work."

The Scripps-Howard chain, in its Nov. 22 weekly size-up of Washington developments, puts the matter more bluntly: "Defeatism is general in Congress on problems of inflation. There's feeling that selective price control wouldn't work even if tried, that no other proposal has chance."

"So members look for steadily rising prices. And they look for outbreak of big strikes next spring."

**BIG BUSINESS ASSURED**  
Big Business continues confidence that nothing Congress and the Administration will do will deflate swollen prices and profits. A Questionnaire filled by 130 members of the American Marketing Association last week revealed that 74% of them believe prices will continue to rise in 1948.

**POLITICAL FOOTBALL**  
As prices shoot up at a rate of 3% per month, the Democrats and Republicans are using the inflation issue as simply a political football.

There is actually so little difference between the Democratic and Republican policies on inflation that the Republicans are having difficulty trying to show where they differ with the Democrats.

Republican Senator Taft, who launched a blanket attack on Truman's vague and useless 10-point program, was rebuked last week by his own colleagues in the Senate. They assured the press they were going to give consideration to Truman's proposals and even bring forth "better" ones.

But Congress intends to stall action on high prices although it has found no difficulty in coming to speedy bi-partisan agreement on

### Longer Hours, Shorter Pay Urged by Eccles

The "anti-inflation" program toward which Wall Street and its government agencies are aiming was indicated last week by Marriner S. Eccles, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. He advocated lengthening of the work week and a "moratorium" on wage increases at a hearing of the Congressional Joint Committee on the Economic Report. He proposed "increased productivity" by "longer hours of work by everyone."

ending funds, supplies, and arms to bolster reactionary capitalist regimes in Europe.

Republican Senator Vandenberg led off the floor debate in the Senate to put over the Truman Administration's "stop-gap aid" program. His demonstrative action underscored the agreement on basic foreign policy between Republicans and Democrats. All that remains to be ironed out are minor differences over division and allocation of "foreign aid."

**PUSHING INFLATION**  
Thus, Congress and the Administration, instead of taking measures to halt inflation, are pouring more hundreds of millions into the hands of European capitalist reactionaries. They are aggravating the inflationary tendency.

Union leaders who base their policies on the notion that Congress will "roll back" prices are building on quicksands. The substitution of "roll back" demands for the organization of a new wage struggle amounts to outright deception and treachery.

Big Business is already girding to resist a new round of wage demands. It is up to the union ranks to begin vigorous preparations for a fight to win higher basic wage rates, plus cost-of-living bonuses.

## Army Brass Covered Up Meyers For Years, Now Forced to Act

By George Lavan

With the corruption in the Army Air forces out in the open, Federal and Army authorities have finally taken action. To quiet the public clamor for a complete investigation, of graft among the Brass Hats, court martial and Grand Jury proceedings have been started against Major General Bennett E. Meyers, former head of the Air Force Materiel Command. After years of covering up Meyers' crime, the Air Force has now stopped Meyers' \$550 monthly retirement pay and stripped him of medals awarded for wartime "services."

The Senate Investigating Committee revealed that Meyers secretly owned a war plant to which he steered juicy contracts. He had also solicited "loans as high as \$200,000 from big industrialists whose war contracts passed through his hands."

**HIGH RECOMMENDATION**  
An official of the Cleveland Trust Company which loaned Meyers money for his \$4,000,000 war bond speculation, revealed that top Army officers knew of Meyers' speculative ventures. Before making the necessary loans to Meyers, the Cleveland bankers solicited Meyers' superiors. They gave him the highest recommendation.

This case has given the public its first direct knowledge of profiteering in the "Buy Bonds" campaign. Fortunes were made from speculation in war bonds. Meyers was, apparently, only small fry in these op-

erations. This speculation was known to Treasury Department officials, but nothing was done because such profiteering by those "in the know" is considered perfectly "legal." The Army was also informed of Meyers' dealings in aviation stocks. An anonymous letter received in 1945 and seen both by the FBI and the Army, stated that Meyers was making "magnificent profits" dishonestly. The writer of the letter said he was an Air Corps officer. This letter was ignored by high Army officers. Today they try to justify this by claiming the letter was not worth investigating because the word "corps" was misspelled. This letter was not only ignored but buried for years in the Army's "closed" files.

**SHIELD HIM**

When the facts of Meyers' crooked financial operations started coming out, the top brass still tried to shield him. The Senate Investigating Committee requested all documents and records relating to Meyers' wartime "services." The Army turned over a mass of papers but not the damaging anonymous letter. Only when the Committee heard of its existence and specifically demanded it, was this letter surrendered.

Something of the moral stature of the "officers and gentlemen" who run the army may be gleaned from Meyers' testimony. Said Meyers: "I am afraid I shall have to drop to a new low, even lower than the accusations made against me."

**RED-BAITING**

Robert C. Ruark, conservative columnist of the Scripps Howard paper ridiculed this high echelon attempt to hush up the Meyers scandal. He revealed that the Army threw the same charge of "red" at him when he was exposing conditions in the Mediterranean under the command of General Lee.

The brass hats would like nothing better than to have the Meyers case end all investigation of wartime profiteering. The public, however, should demand an investigation of all such officers who passed on contracts and all companies who received contracts. In particular, the stock holdings of top brass and their wives should be made public. Those who were exhorted to help win the war by buying bonds are entitled to know just who profited in these bonds.

A complete investigation would show that the case of General Meyers is by no means an isolated one. It would likewise reveal that "Meyers" was comparatively a piker among the swarm of profiteers and other crooks in wartime Washington and Wall Street.

## LABOR POLITICAL ACTION—THE BOSSES' BIGGEST FEAR

By Art Preis

A few months ago the National Association of Manufacturers called on the big corporations, advertising agencies and publishers to wage a vast advertising campaign about the blessings of capitalist "free enterprise."

Last week McGraw-Hill, the powerful publishing trust, fired the latest barrage in this huge propaganda campaign with full page ads in leading newspapers. One filled the back page of the Nov. 20 N. Y. Times—the most expensive single advertising page in any newspaper.

This tremendous ad blared out in big, bold-face type just one message: "POLITICAL ACTION—Labor's Blind Alley."

The ad is a frenzied appeal to the "rank and file of organized labor . . . to stop, look and listen before they turn their unions into

political action squads." All "for their own sake," of course.

"Union workers who let their leaders lure them down the blind alley of political action will do so at their own peril—and at the peril of this great industrial nation," threatens the fabulously wealthy McGraw-Hill publishing combine.

The body of the ad is an editorial by James H. McGraw, Jr., president of the McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., Inc., and a member of the Industrial Information Committee of the NAM. This editorial, the ad states, will appear in all McGraw-Hill publications for December. These include Business Week and dozens of trade organs for the automobile, aircraft, oil, coal, construction, chemical, electrical, food, power and other basic industries.

The nation to ruin. Unions exist for collective bargaining, not for politicking."

Stick to the "familiar route of free collective bargaining," the ad pleads. And in case you don't recognize the "familiar route," the ad points it out in bold-face type:

"The Taft-Hartley Act is an essential bulwark of free collective bargaining." Yesiree, the Slave Labor Law "gives free collective bargaining a new lease on life."

If ever the American monopoly capitalists put down in black and white their deepest fears—this ad does it. They couldn't have told the American workers in clearer terms what they think is the most effective weapon labor can use to defend its rights. That is the weapon of independent labor political action.

The McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., which is associated with the biggest industrial corporations, well recognizes that organized labor has been

driven into a blind alley—but not the one it warns against. The real blind alley is "pure and simple trade unionism" narrowly confined to the economic field and trapped within the walls of the two-party system of capitalist-controlled politics.

The fact that the Republicans and Democrats have dared to put over the infamous Taft-Hartley Act is the latest and greatest evidence that labor has reached the dead-end of its blind alley. It must now turn from this impasse and enter on the broad, unlimited highway of class political action.

It is precisely because the workers are beginning to realize the kind of blind alley they are in and are moving with ever greater speed toward independent political action, that the McGraw-Hill campaign has been unleashed.

The tiny handful of greedy monopolists who control America's industries and resources know that

their rule can be successfully challenged only when their political monopoly is shattered. No wonder they want organized labor, the representative of the overwhelming majority of the people, to remain politically wesenless and helpless.

The McGraw-Hill ad, which speaks for capitalist special privilege, cries piteously that the road of political action is "the road of special privilege for labor."

# Labor Party Issue Hotly Debated by California CIO

By J. Blake

SANTA CRUZ, Calif., Nov. 22—The tenth annual California State CIO convention yesterday accepted a political action report neither endorsing nor rejecting the third party movement clearly supported by a majority of the 600 delegates present. Leaders of the three-months-old Stalinist-inspired Progressive Party capitulated to a right-wing minority, and viciously red-baited sponsors of a minority report asking endorsement of the IFC and its transformation into a Labor Party.

The minority report by Louis Ciccone of UAW Local 216 received considerable applause from the delegates. But such a lynch spirit was whipped up by Al Kaplan of ILWU Local 26 and James Daugherty of the Utility Workers, that even a self-styled "Jeffersonian Democrat" supporting the majority report was baited with shouts of "Trotskyite!" when he expressed some right-wing criticisms of the compromise resolution.

Kaplan said, "A Labor Party today in California is a phoney position and a Trotskyite position." Daugherty labeled the minority resolution a "Trotskyite maneuver" that "makes my blood boil," and spent a considerable part of his speech attempting to bait Ciccone. Stalinist whip Dave Jenkins of the Marine Cooks and Stewards made a motion to table the minority report and vote for the majority report. Thus the delegates were prevented from voting on the resolution to support the IPPC submitted by Ciccone and Edward F. Gurske, also of Local 216.

### FAILURE OF COALITION

The minority resolution, which both right-wing and Stalinist leadership combined to oppose cited the failure in California of the CIO's policy of coalition with the Democratic Party "friends" and of the AFL's policy of coalition with Democrats and Republicans. It noted that "a significant group of CIO, AFL, and Railroad Brotherhood unionists have launched the Independent Progressive Party of California, and are now engaged in a campaign to place it on the ballot in 1948."

"The efforts to launch this new

party," the resolution stated, "while representing a step in the correct direction, is seriously hampered by the false policies and methods of the provisional leadership of the IPPC, namely, the policy of calling upon the workers to remain in the Democratic Party in order to fight for the nomination of Wallace for President on the Democratic ticket. This policy has resulted in the ridiculous situation of the IPPC refusing to appeal to the millions of unionists and their families in California to register in the Independent Progressive Party."

### FIRM LABOR BASE

The resolution called for the support of the IPPC by the convention and instructed the incoming executive board "to issue a call within 30 days following this convention to all AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and independent union locals" to meet in convention with the CIO unions and "establish a firm and unified labor base for the new party."

The resolution proposed a change in IPPC policy along the following lines:

"1. A complete break with the two parties of Big Business, the Republican and Democrats.

"2. A campaign to register labor's ranks in the IPPC.

"3. A full slate of independent labor candidates on the IPPC ticket in 1948.

"4. A fighting labor program for the IPPC that will express the burning needs of the majority of the people in this country."

In speaking on his resolution, Ciccone scored the "wishy-washy majority compromise hybrid resolution" that's been concocted by the strenuous labors of the six-man negotiating committee. He pointed out that while the so-called right wing and so-called left-wing of the CIO had come to the convention girded for a real fight on the question of endorsing the third party, "these two groups have gotten together and agreed not to endorse the Independent Progressive Party." This "wasn't too hard to do," he said, "because neither one wants to break from the Democratic Party."

"But I want to see the CIO endorse the Independent Progressive Party," Ciccone said, "and have labor really take the lead in this party as labor is the only force in America today that can really fight for the needs of the people—the farmers, the small businessmen, the veterans, minorities and all our other natural allies."

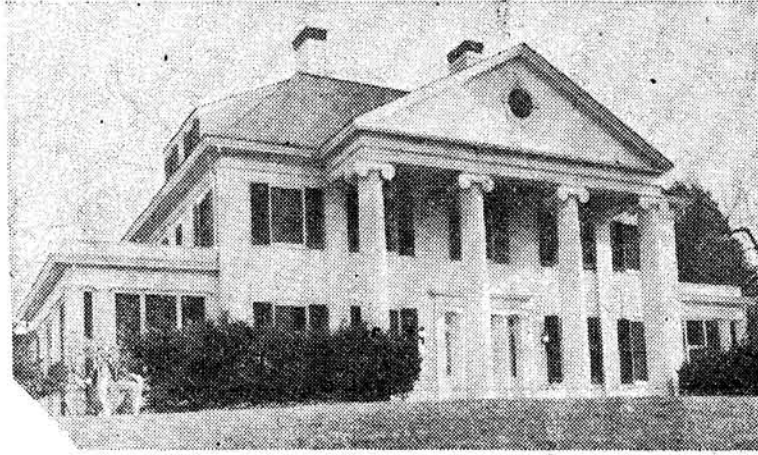
### CANNOT EXPLAIN

Gurske, who secured the floor with considerable difficulty after both he and Ciccone had been called Trotskyites and accused of attempting to split the CIO and to isolate labor from the rest of the population, quietly told the body that "some people have been able to slander, red-bait, call Trotskyite" . . . but I'm sure they're going to find it very difficult to explain to their ranks why a majority capitulated to a minority" and failed to secure the endorsement of the IPPC as they were instructed to do, in many cases, by their locals.

As for the attacks on him and Ciccone, Gurske said, "I'm not

**NEW YORK**  
**Marxist Labor School**  
 4 Monday evenings in November and December  
 Beginning Nov. 17  
 First Series: 7:30 to 9:00 p. m.  
 Reconstruction Period in Second American Revolution  
 Instructor: Charles Carsten  
*New York SWP Organizational Secretary*  
 Second Series: 9 to 10:30 p. m.  
 Boom—Bust Ahead?  
 Instructor: John G. Wright  
*Associate Editor "Fourth International"*  
 \$1.00 per course or 30 cents per session  
 116 University Place

### Meyers' Mansion



This palatial mansion at Halesite, N. Y., belongs to Maj. Gen. Bennett Meyers, whose business dealings during the war are now under investigation. Those who need a place to live will be glad to know that this one has 30 rooms, seven private baths and is cared for by four servants. Nearby is a four-car garage. (Federated Pictures)

afraid of slander. I don't indulge in it myself, and I've protected these people from it, but I don't expect them to protect me because they don't operate that way."

Stalinist red-baiting and the undemocratic conduct of the chair aroused the indignation of many delegates in all camps during the debate which was the high point of the convention.

On other issues, although the language of most resolutions was more militant than last year, conclusions were basically unchanged. This was particularly evident in endorsement of the American Red Cross, the Community Chest drives, American foreign policy.

A resolution calling for nationalization of the railroad industry was passed, as was one calling for a drive for a 30-hour week with no reduction in pay. Peacetime military conscription was rejected.

**NO BIG SHIFT**  
The incoming executive board of

the State CIO Council represents no significant shift in the relationship of forces between the right wing and the Stalinists. In the sharpest election contest, Bjorne Halling, personally nominated for the post of secretary-treasurer by Harry Bridges, defeated Robert R. Clark, of the Steelworkers, by a two to one vote.

The one significant change in the composition of the state board was the election of four Negro delegates to the board, which had none last year. The demand for representation and integration was militantly expressed by Negro delegates in both the minorities committee and on the floor of the convention. They made it clear that pious resolutions against discrimination are not enough, that the CIO must "set its house in order and practice what it preaches," by placing some of the many qualified Negro unionists on executive boards and in other leading positions.

## Big Business Press Hails Reuther Control of UAW

Big Business and its press generally were highly satisfied with the Reutherite-ACTU victory at the Atlantic City convention of the CIO United Auto Workers.

On the day the convention ended, Henry Ford, the 2nd, announced at a press conference in Schenectady, N. Y.: "We are as much opposed to Communists as Walter Reuther, and we have every reason to believe he can handle the situation 100%."

The full meaning of Ford's statement was made plain by the Nov. 22 *Business Week*, the McGraw-Hill publication, which said: "Obviously, such an endorsement covered more than Reuther's well-known distaste for anything Russian."

A week before, *Business Week* gave its own estimate of Reuther's red-baiting sweep. "There is no doubt that he will purge the UAW of any left-wing influence that shows up. . . . Secure now in his own organization, Reuther can be expected to follow one precedent. That is the 'Hillmanization' which marks the historical development of the non-Communist labor leader in America. Sidney Hillman was a prototype of the radical tamed by the responsibilities of running a large union in a political and economic development hostile to radicalism."

"In the end, the Hillmans and the Reuthers manage to split their personalities. As trade union operators, they look a lot like their conservative brethren. But on the slogan front, they are as radical as ever."

Ford and *Big Business* summed up the opinion of the auto barons and the capitalist class generally. Most of the journalistic hacks of *Big Business* expressed similar sentiments.

"MERCHANT'S VIEW"  
The N. Y. Times, leading Morgan-controlled newspaper, said in its Nov. 16 column, "The Merchant's Point of View," by C. F. Hughes: "Industry . . . could take consider-

able comfort in the outcome of the convention of the Automobile Workers. . . . Walter Reuther, who was given little chance of lasting in the organization only a few months ago, was re-elected president and ousted all or most of his left-wing opposition."

Notoriously anti-labor papers like the Scripps-Howard chain and the New York Daily Mirror editorially expressed their gratification at Reuther's triumph. The Nov. 14 N. Y. *World-Telegram*, leading Scripps-Howard organ, commends Reuther's capitulation to the Taft-Hartley Act.

This meeting was without concrete results — one of the store management reminded the committee that it wasn't so long ago that the Negroes were slaves. But it did show that the company reacted to pressure and indicates that victory may soon be achieved.

One interesting event taking place on the picket line was a little white boy about eight years of age who asked what the picketing was about. When told of Sears' discriminatory policy, he remarked, "Gee, that's a gyp," took up a sign and did some picketing.

As was noted at the NAACP meeting previous to the picketing, "Sears' policy in the long run is determined by the dollar volume of business," and increasing amounts were turning back from the store on the second day of picketing. Customers are being asked to cancel charge accounts and to protest to the management by telephone.

Many labor, liberal, and Jewish organizations are backing the fight. Also the weekly *Los Angeles Sen-*

## Stalinophobia and UAW Convention

By George Breitman

The role of the Workers Party (Schachtmanites) in the recent UAW convention was a minor one, but it merits attention as a case-history of what Stalinophobia leads to. The Schachtmanites were blinded by fear and hatred of Stalinism to the point where they could no longer distinguish the major dangers and the real trends in the union. They ended up not only by giving services, support and comfort to the Reuther-ACTU bloc which aims to Hillmanize and housebreak the UAW, but also by giving objective aid to the Stalinists.

### Eyes Shut Tight

To this significant development the Schachtmanites shut their eyes tight. They ignored the facts that on the eve of the convention the *Daily Worker* was openly complaining against the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus and its failure to heed the CP's advice and warnings; that in numerous local elections the Stalinists ran their own slates against the official Thomas-Addes-Leonard slates; that at the climax of the convention they defied caucus decisions and ran a partial slate of their own.

Nor have the Schachtmanites yet explained why the Stalinists are now openly working to break up and disperse the opposition caucus and why they advocate the building of a new anti-Reuther opposition in which they hope to have more influence than in the old one.

Life is indeed simple when you proceed by the rule that if the Stalinists are in one place you must automatically rush to another. But such conduct is not of much use in advancing the interests of militant unionism, including the real struggle to smash the pernicious influence of Stalinism (as contrasted with literary name-calling).

The Militant, seeing the actual process that was unfolding, urged UAW members to back the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus (where, despite Stalinist objections, militant workers were welcome and collaborated with).

In the nightmare world inhabited by Stalinophobes, this was a capitulation to Stalinism. But what were its real results?

### Fight for Issues

This policy made it possible to raise the programmatic level of the caucus, so that genuinely vital issues were introduced and fought for by the caucus at the convention. Also, with the development of the caucus in a more progressive direction, the Stalinists inevitably became more discredited and further isolated. So much so, that by the convention they were trying to sabotage the caucus they were reputed to control.

The Schachtmanites, on the other hand, lumped together the various antagonistic elements in the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus; declined to see any differences between them; refused to intervene in a fluid situation where the Stalinists were being dealt heavy blows by the anti-Stalinists in the caucus. Such a course could only help the Stalinists retain whatever influence they still had in the caucus. That was the real payoff on Stalinophobic blindness!

### Equally Shabby

But that is only one side of the Schachtmanite rule, the negative one, so to speak. The other, the "positive" side, is equally shabby.

The Nov. 10 Labor Action gave "full support" to the Reutherites because they "represent progressive and militant trade unionism in relation to reactionary Stalinism as represented by the Thomas-Addes-Leonard faction." Does the convention record back up this claim about greater progressiveness and militancy?

Yellow-Dog Oath: The opposition came to the convention with a strong resolution against signing the Taft-Hartley yellow-dog oath. Reuther & Co. called for compliance, appealing to the most conservative elements in the union. The Schachtmanites were truly embarrassed. But there is always a way out when your main aim is to rationalize, your own vulgar anti-Stalinism.

So Labor Action wiped its hands of the whole question by saying: True, every militant should support the fight against signing the Taft affidavits. But that doesn't matter in this particular situation because neither caucus has consistently fought the Taft Act in the past, neither has a full program for stopping the anti-labor offensive of which the Taft Act is a part! With this approach, Labor Action even neglected to tell its supporters whether they should vote for or against the capitulatory resolution of the more "progressive and militant" Reutherites.

### C. O. Amnesty Petition Signed By 480 Citizens

NEW YORK, Nov. 24—An immediate general amnesty for the conscientious objectors victimized during World War II was called for in a letter sent to President Truman and released here through the Committee for Amnesty. Prominent clergymen, scientists, writers, Negro leaders and trade union officials were among the 480 signers of the letter.

The appeal for the prisoners stated: "It is a matter of deep disappointment to us that more than two years after the end of the war and seven months after the expiration of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, no amnesty has been granted conscientious objectors, Jehovah's Witnesses, and other persons convicted of violating that law."

Seven hundred men remain in prison, while thousands already released are still without valuable civil rights. Hundreds continue under the restrictions of probation, parole, and conditional release. This situation challenges the pretensions of the United States to leadership of the world's democracies and to respect for individual liberties."

Under the title "Getting Good Results," the *World-Telegram* compliments Reuther for "meeting the law's requirements by amendments to his union's constitution" that bring the union into conformity with sections of the Taft Act. "We think these are significant and hopeful reforms," says the editor, and recommends "their wide adoption by other international unions."

William Randolph Hearst's *Daily Mirror*, whose anti-labor phobia verges on the fascist, crows jubilantly on Nov. 13: "A large union has triumphantly defeated its most militant Communist forces. The victory in the United Automobile Workers is a sign of the about-face to common sense of American Labor." The *TAW*, it adds joyfully, "has come a long way from the sit-down strike."

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vention. That was exactly what the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus demanded, and exactly what Reuther and his machine prevented. But one could hardly expect those who swallowed Reuther's yellow-dog affidavits to choke at Reuther's suppression of democratic discussion.

Democratic Control: Labor Action had complained indignantly that Reuther was being smeared when he was accused of dictatorial ambitions. But it swallowed its indignation when Reuther bureaucratically prevented a floor discussion of the Thomas-Addes-Leonard demand that department heads be elected by the members rather than appointed from above.

Similarly, Labor Action had hailed Reuther's call for the election of trustees to check on expenditures as proof of his desire for a democratic regime. But it dropped all interest in the issue when Reuther at the convention insisted on filling all three trustee posts with hand-picked Reutherites and denied all representation to the opposition which represented fully one-third of the union.

Labor Party: Before the convention Labor Action asked: "Will there be a fight for a Labor Party at this convention? This question can only be answered by Martin Gerber and Emil Mazey. The two members of the Resolutions Committee pledged to fight for the Labor Party were both anti-Reutherites. Reuther, who intends to support the strikebreaker Truman next year, prevented any debate on the issue (with the help of Mazey and Gerber).

Red-baiting: The Oct 27 Labor Action disputed our charges against Reuther: "The SWP characterizes Reuther as a 'red-baiter.' But what does this mean? Does Reuther attack the CP because they are too militant, because they are revolutionists? No. He attacks them essentially for the reactionary role they have played in the UAW-CIO

Between the time that was written and the convention, the Schachtmanites tried to run a few people on Reuther's local slates. In all cases, despite long and loyal service to the Reuther faction, they were booted off the slate. And where they then ran as independent Reutherites, they were subjected to the most vicious red-baiting by their faction comrades.

Their pre-convention issue therefore printed an article appealing to Reuther's better senses, explaining to him that red-baiting wasn't doing him any good, that it was only weakening the fight against the Stalinists, etc. At the same time they still tried to differentiate between Reuther and his fellow red-baiters:

"We said above that the majority of the Reuther supporters (including Reuther) are the progressive forces in the union. That is true, but there are extremely reactionary elements in the Reuther caucus. These are the real professional and reactionary 'anti-reds.'"

Exactly who were these "extreme" reactionaries—the professional red-baiters as distinguished from such "amateurs" as Reuther? An entire issue of *Labor Action* devoted to the UAW did not call them by name. Were the Schachtmanites perhaps a little ashamed to admit that, in the name of a struggle against "totalitarianism," they were blocking up with the arch-reactionary, best-controlled Association of Catholic Trade Unionists?

### End Result

But what else could you expect from a group that gave "full support" to "President Reuther and the slate which he heads for election"—a slate that included at least three prominent leaders of the ACTU?

The Schachtmanites set out to prove that the Reuther leadership represented a more progressive tendency than their opponents. Instead, they proved to what shameful lengths Stalinophobia can drive its victims in covering up the main reactionary forces in the most important union in the country.

## Our Program:

- 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!
- Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!**  
For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours—reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!  
Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control!  
Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!
- Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-breaking!**  
No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!  
No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!
- Build an independent labor party!**
- Tax the rich, not the poor!**  
Repeat the payroll tax! No sales taxes!  
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
- An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!**
- Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!**  
End Jim Crow! End anti-Semitism!
- For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!**
- A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war.**  
Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!  
Against capitalist conscription!  
Abolish the officer caste system!  
Full democratic rights in the armed forces!  
Trade Union wages for the armed forces!  
Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
- 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!
- For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!**

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# Against the Dismantling of the Plants in Germany!

## By the International Secretariat of the Fourth International

The dismantling of 682 industrial plants in the Western Zones of Germany announced by the American and British Military Government last month, has actually begun. Despite the united protests of the German workers organizations and in spite of widespread public criticism in the Allied countries, the program of stripping vital industry for so-called war damage reparations is proceeding. Thus, the German people, who were the first victims of Hitler's fascism, are to be further "punished."

At a time when it is evident that the present breakdown of European economy cannot be repaired without restoring the productive potential of its industrial heart in Germany, the ruling powers are taking further steps. The dismantling program supervised by General Clay means not only further disorganization of German production, it means continued disruption of any real effort for European recovery, and thus intensified misery for the millions of workers, not only of Germany but of the entire European continent. All the volumes of verbiage about the benevolence of the Marshall Plan cannot conceal this dastardly crime.

The dismantled plants are supposed to serve as reparations to the countries damaged by Nazi destruction in the war. In reality, most of these countries will not be able to make effective use of the dismantled industrial equipment even when they get it, due to their lack of the necessary machine tools and the necessary technical skills. This

has already proven to be the case with plants shipped from Eastern Germany to the USSR by the pillaging Stalinist regime. **OUTRIGHT DESTRUCTION** The real result of the dismantling can be only to destroy potential competition to capitalist production in America and in Great Britain. That is downright destruction of industrial wealth that could be used by the German workers for the reconstruction of their own country as well as of Europe as a whole.

In order to forestall any possible resistance on the part of the German workers to this criminal destruction of industrial wealth, the occupying powers are withholding for several months the most important elements in the food ration of the people—butter and fats. This

at a time when the Chamber of German Physicians, licensed by the Allies, has just issued an appeal "to the conscience of the world not to tolerate any longer the alarming decline of the German people's health" which, the scientists stress, constitutes a grave danger "to the security of the rest of the world." To the crime of abject industrial destruction, American and British conquerors of Germany are adding that of planned starvation of the people.

### German Trotskyists Call for Solidarity Against Dismantling 682 German Plants

BERLIN, Nov. 18 — The first meeting of the Provisional National Committee of the German Trotskyists met somewhere in the Western Zone last week. It was the second nationwide gathering of Trotskyists in Germany since 1933. (The first, a national conference, had met last summer.)

The main point on the agenda was the question of the dismantling of German plants for reparations which had just begun under the direction of the Allied Military Governments. Delegates reported widespread resentment and counter-measures by the authorities withholding the fat and butter rations from the workers.

The meeting issued an appeal for solidarity actions by the international working class, particularly in the Allied countries, against the dismantling program, and against the increased starvation.

a Socialist United States of Europe can restore the economy of the European continent for the benefit of its laboring population! Only the Socialist reconstruction of Europe can prevent a new and devastating war and lead to world peace and prosperity! Stop the criminal policy of dismantling! Stop the starvation of the German people!

# What Germany Can Expect From U. S. Imperialists and the Kremlin

By Ernest Germain

The importance of the Kiel events is not confined to the political scene in Germany. Here is an excellent opportunity to verify through facts the true attitude and intentions of the American imperialists and the Soviet bureaucracy.

For three months the American imperialists and their political agents, including the majority of the Social Democratic leaders of the Western Zones, have shed streams of crocodile tears over the economic ruin of Europe and the need for large scale industrial planning. The economic potential of the Ruhr plays a major role in the painstaking calculations intended to permit Europe to start recovering on Yankee crutches.

But at the very moment when an extremely grave transportation crisis menaces the whole supply system of Europe: at the moment when Clayton cries out in fake pathos that things are "on the brink of the abyss and that each ton of coal and steel counts," the American occupation authorities decide to dismantle 1,800 German factories, to scatter the machinery of these factories through 15 different countries, and thus to eliminate—for months if not forever—an industrial potential as vital for Europe as for Germany!

What better proof is there that

This is the second of two articles on the significance of the Allied dismantlement plans for Germany. The first, dealing with reaction of the workers at the Holmag plant in Kiel, appeared in the Nov. 17 Militant.

the insane policy of reparations is against the interests not only of the German proletariat but of all the people of Europe? Can there be any better proof of the impotent blindness of the decaying capitalist system, which destroys with its right hand what it laboriously tries to rebuild with its left?

But that isn't all. Wall Street has made two replies to the Holmag workers' protest demonstration against dismantlements. Both replies were as cynical as might be expected from those blinded and drunk with power.

The first was by General Clay. It is typical of the policy pursued by American military regimes, today installed in Europe and Asia, and which on the morrow will be installed in the United States unless the American masses are on guard. Clay declared: "If the German unions refuse to obey our orders, they can't expect us to continue sending food to Germany." Admiral Halsey would have undoubtedly put the same idea as follows: "Obey or starve to death!"

The second reply is hidden in the columns of the "serious" periodicals

which are, unfortunately, little read by the workers. We refer to a dispatch of the Conti Press Agency, according to which the Ford Motor Company has drawn up a plan for the expansion of its plants in Cologne. There it proposes to build foundries and parts of plants and has just purchased land in the neighborhood for this purpose (formerly occupied by plants which, no doubt, have been destroyed by bombardments or dismantlement)!

**NAKED IMPERIALISM** Here is the imperialist policy in all its nakedness. Fight hunger? Prevent "new aggressions"? Assure the economic welfare of Europe? Poor saps who still believe in such fine promises!

The American policy in Germany—and the Marshall Plan as a whole—is only a more refined version for the rest of Europe—consists in eliminating potential competitors by every means, including plant destruction; in expanding American industries that will engage in manufacturing spare parts (for American products); and in keeping the workers in a state of helplessness by threatening to cut off their food when they rebel! Isn't this a "democratic" policy worthy of support by all "men devoted to progress"?

The Soviet bureaucracy and its Stalinist agents in all countries have also given their response to Holmag. Simultaneously with the strike of German workers against the dismantling of their factories, the French Communist Party staged the infamous demonstration at Verdun. Exploiting the justified wrath of the working population over everlasting food rations, the Stalinist leaders stopped some sugar barges on the pretext that they were going to Germany. "No sugar for the Germans as long as the French are hungry!" cried the Stalinist leaders.

Party of the Eastern occupation zone of Germany, endeavored in a queasy speech to justify the massive and continual looting of the Soviet bureaucracy in Germany. He asked the German workers "to accept once and for all" the defeat engineered by Hitler and the obligation to "pay" for the terrible destruction perpetrated by German soldiers in Russia.

The Russians are now removing the railways from the country; no more than 5 to 10% of industry supplying the needs of the population is now operating; the future of the proletariat is thus endangered for decades to come. This miserable lackey of the Kremlin finds in all this only a subject for "interpretation" and "historical justification"! Ubricht, too, will not be forgotten by the workers of Holmag.

The road of emancipation for the German proletariat will have to pass over the corpse of capitalism as well as over the corpse of treacherous Stalinism. HOLMAG is from now on a symbol. General Clay and Maurice Thorez have spoken. Their words shall also be symbolic. Let there be no misunderstanding among the workers of the world about the meaning of both of these symbols.

(Translated from the Nov. 1 issue of La Lutte Ouvriere, Belgian Trotskyist paper.)

### Chiang Stuffs Ballot Boxes Tammany Style

American missions sent to China invariably report back about the lack of democracy under Chiang Kai-shek and the need to clean it up, at least for appearance's sake. The success of their efforts to tip off this foul dictatorship on the need for a little democracy can be judged from the election just staged by Chiang.

The overwhelming majority of the Chinese masses can neither read nor write; so Chiang made it a requirement that the voters must write in the name of the candidate they want.

To assist the illiterates, election officials wrote in the names of Chiang's candidates on the ballots and then handed them to the illiterate voters to drop in the box.

Political bosses did their bit to help Generalissimo Chiang, hold the election needed to make him look democratic. They obligingly wrote in the names of candidates on ballots in their district offices and had "voters" take them down to the polls. In many places, in the interests of efficiency, such ballots were brought down in huge blocks and dumped into the boxes for counting by Chiang's officials.

The Generalissimo himself blandly told the press on the eve of the election that he hoped for a "sound and lasting" democracy. And apparently he was finding that "democracy" pays off, for Marshall recommended to Wall Street's Congress that they turn over another \$300,000,000 from the U. S. Public Treasury to help keep Chiang in office.

## International Notes

The Videla government in Chile, put in office by a margin of votes delivered by the Stalinists, is mobilizing the army to attack the organized workers in copper, nitrate and transport as it has already done in the coal mines. The government is using the excuse that it wishes to break Communist (Stalinist) Party influence in these decisive industries.

Morinigo, dictator of Paraguay, has imprisoned thousands of soldiers, officials, students, workers and teachers who were defeated in the recent civil war against his rule. Morinigo has no answer to the general unrest among the workers except bloody suppression.

In Argentina, Peron is having trouble controlling the workers. On Nov. 21 the railroad workers in Buenos Aires went on a 24-hour general strike. They plan 24-hour stoppages, alternating with 24-hour work periods until their demands are granted.

In British Nigeria, 180 organizations, including political parties, trade unions, professional and business organizations and tribal unions representing 21,000,000 people, have sent a delegation to the British Labor Government, to present claims for self-government and freedom of speech and organization.

But the British Laborites, like the Tories, plan to keep Britain going by exploiting the natural resources and the workers in the colonies. The delegation warned of violence and unrest in Nigeria if their demands were not met.

Recently, 1800 Nigerian laborers who get only 30 cents for a 10-hour day, went on strike for an increase in pay. Fired on by the police, many strikers were injured. The entire 1,800 were then summarily discharged.

The indiscretion of Hugh Dalton, the Chancellor of the British Exchequer, in permitting advance information about the new budget to leak out to the press, conveniently enabled Sir Stafford Cripps to take over the post. With financial as well as economic controls now concentrated in his hands, Cripps can better implement his policy of "austerity" for the working class.

Under the new budget British workers will have to pay two pence more for a pint of beer. The new

sales tax on "non-utility" clothing, shoes, etc., has been doubled and is now 33-1/3%. The sales tax on electrical and gas appliances is 75%.

The capitalist press expands on the benefits of modern civilization which American imperialism is bringing to Arabia by its investments in oil. But the Bombay newspaper, Bhorat Jyotit, reports that one of its results is a revival of the slave trade. Cargoes of manacled slaves are being brought into Arabia from the Sudan, Eritrea, Abyssinia and Somaliland. Men, women and children are sold at 40 pounds a head, and at 40 pounds a head. Two American-owned oil companies in Arabia recently made \$117,000,000 on an investment of \$1,000,000.

The masses in the Philippines are beginning to stir again. A sharp battle between the Hukbalahaps, the revolutionary peasants, and the government military forces took place during the middle of this month and lasted over a week. In the first general elections held at the same time, 23,000 national police stood by the polls. Government corruption in the elections evoked a rally in Manila of 71,000 people, indignant and hostile to the government. Roxas, the incumbent, is appealing for a Marshall Plan for the Philippines.

The Social-Democracy in Japan has proved itself ineffective as the agent of American imperialism in stemming the surge of the Japanese workers. A new coalition of industrialists is organizing a political party to do the job for MacArthur.

The absentee strikes of the Japanese government workers continue. Postal clerks and the tax collectors and clerks are staying away from work, deepening the crisis which faces the Japanese government. They cannot live on what they make and they have no confidence that the money they collect is used in the interests of the people.

The costs of occupation, imposed by American imperialism upon the Japanese people, account for one-third of the Japanese budget. American forces use 20% of Japanese steel production, 38% of the pig iron, 80% of the cast iron pipe, 55% of the cement, 30% of the electrical wiring and 16% of the sheet glass.

### London Cops Attack Strike Leader



Arthur Lewis, member of the British Parliament and a leader of striking Savoy Hotel catering workers, was pummeled and tossed to the ground by London police. Shortly before her marriage, Princess Elizabeth and her flunkies walked through the picket line to attend a flower show. (Federated Pictures)

## Left Wing Formed in French Socialist Party

PARIS, Nov. 18—A new left wing revolt has broken out in the French Socialist Party (SFIO). Angered because the SP ministers, executive committee and members of Parliament have violated the decisions of the party congress at Lyons last August, the new left wing has called a national conference to plan open action against the reformists.

This left wing, called the Socialist Revolutionary Action (SRA) group, denounces the SP executive committee for cancelling an extraordinary party congress scheduled for Nov. 24, at which disciplinary action was to be filed against Ramadier and the other SP members for such treacherous acts as continuing the war against the Indo-Chinese and collaborating with the de Gaulleists in the recent elections.

These are the reasons why SRA is "calling a conference in Paris to be held Dec. 6 and 7, open to all socialist militants who refuse to play the role of dupes and accomplices. This conference will have as its objective to study the problems posed by the stifling of internal democracy in the party, . . . and by the necessity of mobilizing the entire working class around a program of action to defend its purchasing power and its liberties and to stop the neo-fascist threat."

The conference call is signed by Yves Dechezelles, former assistant secretary of the party, and 33 other leading militants, most of whom had supported the extreme left "Rhone Resolution" at the Lyons congress. The group has also issued a programmatic statement entitled: "To Bar the Road for de Gaulle It Is Necessary to Choose."

**DANGER SIGNALS** This programmatic declaration lays main stress on the de Gaulle threat, pointing out that the reactionary general has already consolidated the bourgeoisie as well as important layers of the middle classes around his banner. It lists the substantial losses of the SP and CP in the municipal elections as danger signals. It explains how this has come about:

"Among those mainly responsible for this situation along with the Stalinist leaders of the French CP, are the Socialist ministers and parliamentarians whose anti-labor and colonialist policy was condemned by the Lyons congress."

It flays the whole policy of coalition government with the bourgeoisie, for which both parties have been responsible since the "liberation." It calls for a break with this policy and with all those "pseudo-

## "I Saw the New French Stalinist Line in Action"

By Jack Daniels

The Communist Party leaders of France are now engaged in a "leftist" turn. I am in a position to tell what this turn looks like in action since I have seen their methods of "struggle" in the streets of Paris. I was there Oct. 28, just a few days after de Gaulle's reactionary regroupment had made large-scale advances in the municipal elections.

On that day, an anti-Soviet meeting was to be held in the Wagram, a large meeting hall near the Arc de Triomphe. The CP leaders decided to call for a huge protest demonstration outside the hall. In preparation for this demonstration the CP plastered all of Paris with posters and L'Humanite (CP daily) had a lead streamer calling on the workers to demonstrate. My estimate was that about 8,000 workers responded.

At 7:30 p.m., the demonstration gathered. The police ringed the area with at least one cop to every five workers. They kept the main group of demonstrators about two blocks away from the hall and protected the reactionary elements entering the meeting. The workers were in a militant mood and attempted to push their way closer. They repeatedly sang The Internationale while the de Gaulleist elements attempting to enter the hall responded with the National Anthem, the Marseillaise.

**POLICE ATTACK** Suddenly the police attacked. Wielding and hurling their clubs, they viciously beat up the demonstrators. There were many bloody skulls among the militant workers and youth.

The demonstrators were incensed at the vicious beatings they were taking and fought back as best they could with improvised weapons of wood. In one roaring voice they shouted "SS!" "Gestapo!" "Assassins!"

Suddenly, in the midst of the crowd arose a speaker (later identified as the Stalinist Mayor of St. Denis, a suburb of Paris). He wore a tricolor sash across his chest. He yelled for "discipline" and the rank and file immediately gathered to listen. He called on the workers not to fight but to raise a slogan: "Police, be with us!" He repeatedly warned against "provocateurs who carried pieces of wood."

Immediately after he concluded, squads went through the crowd demanding that all drop their defense weapons. Many heated disputes took place among the CP members and followers. Many workers and youth were resentful and other Stalinist speakers had to repeat the orders in re-assembled gatherings. On Stalinist orders, the Internationale was replaced by the Marseillaise. Finally there was compliance.

## French PCI Congress Debates Vital Issues

PARIS, Nov. 18—The fourth Congress of the International Communist Party, French Section of the Fourth International, was held here from Nov. 8 to 11. Some 150 delegates with 113 votes participated in the sessions. The Congress went into considerable detail on the report on the activity of the party in the course of the past year. It discussed thoroughly the political situation and the tasks facing the party and paid particular attention to the question of revolutionary unity with the Socialist Youth, who recently broke away from the Blum-Ramadier Socialist Party.

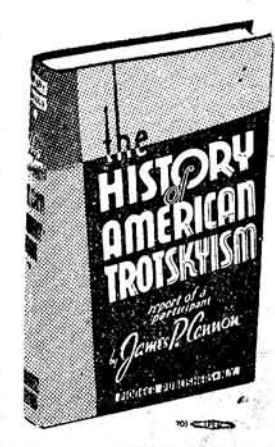
The discussion on the activity of the past year was extremely lively, with the delegates making numerous criticisms of the outgoing leadership for the line pursued after the preceding Congress. The leadership's report on activity was disapproved by 65 votes against 48 who registered "not voting."

Although the Congress thus decided by a heavy majority that the previous policy did not permit the PCI to fulfill its role in the best way during the great workers' struggles which followed the Renault strike, it found greater difficulty in defining the party's future orientation.

Four different tendencies presented their own resolutions on this subject. The one presented by comrade Privas (for the Frank tendency) received a plurality of 48 votes, against 46 votes for the resolution presented by comrade Parisot for the outgoing leadership, 8 votes for the resolution of comrade Gallienne, and 11 for the resolution of comrade Chauheul.

As a result of this vote, a change of leadership has taken place. The new orientation, based on an analysis which characterizes the present period as revolutionary, puts for-

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"It is true that humanity has more than once brought forth giants of thought and action, who tower over their contemporaries like summits in a chain of mountains. The human race has a right to be proud of its Aristotle, Shakespeare, Darwin, Beethoven, Goethe, Marx, Edison and Lenin. But why are they so rare? Above all, because almost without exception, they came out of the upper and middle classes. Apart from rare exceptions, the sparks of genius in the suppressed depths of the people are choked before they can burst into flame. But also because the processes of creating, developing and educating a human being have been and remain essentially a matter of chance, not illuminated by theory and practice, not subjected to consciousness and will."

—Leon Trotsky, 1932

Thought Control in Hollywood

The tycoons who run Hollywood have announced the firing of the ten studio employees who refused to answer yes or no to the House Un-American Committee's question as to whether they were members of the Communist (Stalinist) Party.

Eric Johnston, spokesman for the film czars who made the announcement, said furthermore that no "reds" will be hired in Hollywood. Then he set the ball rolling for similar action in every industry in America, demanding that Congress pass new restrictive legislation to "help" American industry "rid itself of subversive, disloyal elements."

This action of the movie autocrats is one more step in the deliberate drive of American Big Business to establish "thought control" in the United States on the pattern laid down in Japan under the Mikado.

Next in line after the purge in Hollywood are logically the radio, magazines, newspapers and books. Anyone writing a sentence critical of Wall

Street or its stooges will be branded as a "red" and deprived of his means of livelihood.

Even that is not all. The final objective, as Johnston demanded, is all American industry. The aim is to label any workers who refuses to kiss the boss's shoes as a "red" and throw him into the streets. The aim is to brand as "subversive" and "disloyal" any militant ready to stand up and fight for his union, and then to lop him off the pay roll.

The prosecuting attorney, judge and jury will be the boss. He will have the power to decide what makes an employe a "red" and who shall be so singled out.

That is the ominous portent of the decision to clamp down thought control in Hollywood. That is the implication of the decision that every one on Hollywood's payroll must hold political views that meet the approval of the red-baiting, Negro-hating, war-mongering, fascist-minded members of the House Un-American Committee.

Brass Hat "Explanation" on Meyers

Maj. Gen. Bennett E. Meyers, former head of the Army Air Forces Materiel Command, made headlines throughout the country when he dragged in an alleged affair with the wife of one of his stooges in a squirming attempt to explain away his crooked manipulation of war contracts to line his own bank account.

The "explanation" given by his former top brass pals for not uncovering the general's graft made less of a sensation but it is just as noteworthy in its own way. Here it is as given Nov. 24 by W. Stuart Symington, Secretary of the Air Force:

"It is well known that one of the most difficult jobs in the operation of the capitalistic system is the detection of a financial crook."

The truth of this must be acknowledged. First of all, the police, FBI and courts don't habitually look in the direction of America's top financial circles for crooks. They go after the small fry, or after the workers whose only crime is that they want to resist attacks on their living standards and democratic rights.

The reason for this reluctance to probe for crooks among the top brass or in the counting

houses of Wall Street is obvious. The real top-flight financial crooks happen to be the rulers of America. They dominate the government; they control the Democratic and Republican machines; they inspire enactment of laws to protect their interests; they have final say in the appointment of judges and in the choice of other public officials. Naturally these big-time operators use every means to ward off any investigation of their crooked financial dealings.

How even small-time financial crooks are protected under the capitalist system is shown quite clearly in the case of Gen. Meyers himself. When a written tip-off about his scandalous racketeering reached his brass hat friends, they did their best to keep the general covered by quietly filing away the report!

The capitalist system operates in favor of the financial crooks at the expense of the people. The most obvious remedy, it appears to us, is to end the system under which these crooks flourish. On the other hand, the socialist system, which operates in favor of the people at the expense of the Wall Street gangsters, would make impossible operations of financial crooks, big as well as little.

The "Freedom Train" Down South

Last week the "Freedom Train" sped through the heart of America's "Solid South." But it did not stop at Memphis, Tennessee. Neither will it stop at Hattiesburg, Mississippi.

Mayor George Calhoun of Hattiesburg said the train, bearing 100 famous American documents including the Emancipation Proclamation, will be barred from his town unless a "plan could be worked out that would conform to our traditions." Those are the traditions of racial segregation and discrimination against Negroes.

It seems that in Hattiesburg and Memphis, at least, a white man and a Negro can't walk down a train aisle together to look at the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and the Emancipation Proclamation.

Mayor William Hartsfield, of Atlanta, Georgia, displayed a more liberal view. He said the "Freedom Train" was welcome in his city. "I am will-

ing to stand beside any American citizen, regardless of race or creed, in mutual admiration and respect for those great historical charters of American freedom."

But will he stand or sit next to a Negro in an Atlanta restaurant or theater? Will he chat with a Negro in the lobby of an Atlanta hotel? Will he exchange weather forecasts with him across their porches on the same Atlanta street?

The mayors of Memphis and Hattiesburg did the honest, if vicious, thing. They said there was Jim Crow everywhere else and every day in their towns and they didn't see why they should make an exception for a "Freedom Train."

The mayor of Atlanta and the sponsors of the "Freedom Train" are hypocritically trying to spread illusions of freedom where, for the Negro, there exists only segregation, insults, humiliation, second-class citizenship and economic degradation.

Stalinists Are Always "Betrayed"

Everyone is familiar with the sight of the Communist Party beating its breast and crying that it has been "betrayed" by a capitalist politician whom previously it had ardently supported. These "betrayals" have happened so frequently that they border on the ludicrous.

If, in a movie, a character takes a nasty fall on a rug and breaks his leg, the audience's pity is aroused. If, however, in the next scene he again trips and breaks his other leg, an element of comedy enters. When this same character next comes in on crutches and takes a prat-fall, the realm of slapstick is reached.

So it is with the Stalinist Party. Let's look at the record:

The Daily Worker editorial for Nov. 21 is entitled "Which Mayor Do We Believe?" The only mayor under discussion is O'Dwyer of New York. As everybody knows, the Stalinists gave him all-out support for election. Now he is forcing through an increase in the subway fare. Ruffely the Stalinists complain that the O'Dwyer of today is not the same O'Dwyer of "last February."

Similarly the Stalinists, who supported Harry Truman in 1944, complain that he too has "betrayed" them.

This habit of being "betrayed" is not confined to Stalin's hand-picked leaders in this country. It is a by-product of the Kremlin bureaucracy's international policy.

The French Stalinists find themselves "betrayed" by de Gaulle. This would-be dictator mainly owes his strength to the French Communist Party, which built him up as a modern Joan of Arc and surrendered the resistance movement to him in the early months of the "Liberation."

In Chile, Stalinist support put Videla into the Presidency. As reward the Stalinists received three cabinet posts. Then Videla "betrayed" them and embraced the Truman Doctrine. The Stalinists were dismissed. A terrific witch-hunt began. Strikes were brutally smashed. Spy scares were manufactured and Chile broke off diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

It can be safely predicted that the Stalinists are in for more "betrayals" by their current "friends" and "progressive" capitalist politicians. Is the day far distant in this country when Henry Wallace will buckle under the war drive and "betray" the Stalinists who now so loudly support him?

We are not so much concerned that the Stalinist "strategists" get double-crossed by their "friends."

What does concern us is that the Stalinists mislead many militant workers into supporting phoney "friends of labor" like O'Dwyer and Wallace in this country and de Gaulle and Videla abroad.

Republican Big Wigs Map Strategy



Senator Robert A. Taft (center of table) confers with top GOP Congressional leaders on ways and means to blame Democrats for high prices, while Truman and Democrats hold similar sessions to figure how to blame Republicans. Neither party of ers an effective program, both are using the issue as a political football.

Workers' BOOKSHELF

THE HIDDEN DAMAGE, by James Stern, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 406 pp., 1947, \$4.

James Stern, an author of short stories, translator and ghost-writer, who had left an upper-class English home to knock about the world and finally to settle in the United States, was sent by the U. S. Army shortly after the war to determine the effects of the bombing on the morale of the German civilians.

THE HIDDEN DAMAGE is the story of his experiences. Stern, who is interested in people rather than statistics, tried to get at what those he interviewed were thinking and feeling, as well as their answers to the official questionnaire, whose often meaningless queries were the emanation of some military bureaucrat's brain.

A skilled story teller with a keen eye, he draws sharp, clear-cut pictures of the people and places he saw. The book, which begins with Stern's application in Washington for the job and concludes with his return to the U. S., contains some amusing descriptions of red-tape entanglements in the Army and of the unrefined, unreflecting routine of the English gentry, but its greatest interest lies in its depiction of the situation and of the psychology of the German masses two years ago.

This depiction is, however, weakened by the author's own pre-conceptions and prejudices. He writes at one point that generalizations about the nature of the German people serve no useful purpose and that one line of precise quotation from a German's lips is worth more than any amount of generalization. And then, on the same page, he says of this nation which produced a great socialist movement which the capitalists were able to suppress only through the ferocious Nazi terror, that it has always been "a people of unusual political ignorance."

After making this generalization and repeating the other war-time slanders of Anglo-American imperialist propaganda, he concludes, not

very logically, that Americans cannot properly understand the German mentality, which can only be plumbed by a Hitler or a Goebbels. Stern's view of fascism as peculiar to the German people rather than as a disease latent in all the capitalist countries of the world, ready to flare forth at a time of exacerbated social crisis, is refuted by his earlier description of the dialogue between two British army officers, who are typical of the officer caste not only of England but also, except for the accent, of the U. S. as well.

"Says here," comments one of them, "that bloke Blum landed at Orly from Germany this morning." "That's right," replies the other. "Let's see, he was the Socialist chap, wasn't he?" "That's right," answers the first. "Sit-down strikes and all that. Wonder why those Nazi Jews didn't bump 'im off!" "Jew, too, what?" returns the second. "That's what I always say about the Nazis—bloody well can't rely on 'em!"

Stern's renditions of his interviews also refute his own false generalizations. Through them we see something of the genuine spirit of the German people. A working class mother who has lost her husband and her sons in the war exclaims, her swollen eyes dry and blazing, "I loathe the Nazis with a hatred I didn't know was in me. No More War! And they swiped everything from us, starved us, and killed all our men, killed all our men!" A teacher who had been in charge of the evacuation of 500 children tells how the wealthy, living in the spacious suburbs, with as many as a dozen empty rooms in their homes, accepted only three children, while the poor, living in crowded, temporary homes, gladly took in the remainder.

A veteran speaks bitterly of the atrocities and special privileges of the U. S. and of the brave words and cowardly actions of the politicians, who urged the people to resist and ran away themselves, and

concludes, "And where are they (the U. S., the Nazi bigshots and the Hitlerpoel?) now? Most of them sitting right here, in the best apartments, helping the Americans to occupy and keep order. Brandtler's (the run-away mayor) adjutant is among them. I saw him the other day, wandering around. He lives in his own apartment, while we refugees—my wife, myself, and our child—live in an unheated attic . . ."

Like Roosevelt and Truman, the Nazi leaders spoke of "no more war" and "equality of sacrifice," but did not keep their promises. Today the system of private property which the Nazis protected and maintained is preserved intact under the Anglo-American armies. Ironic and symbolical is the story of the woman living in a shack "like a large unpainted dog-kennel, made of planks about four feet high, with a sheet of corrugated iron for roof, and another sheet, covered with two overcoats, on the floor," which she had built in the rubble left by the bombing planes. Her husband, mother and sister had been killed in air raids and her son and daughter had disappeared. She now has one great fear. "You see," she said, "I don't own my own ruin. I don't own anything except two coats and the clothes I stand up in. I'm afraid the people who own this bit of land may come back and turn me out."

Dazed by their calamities, living a hand-to-mouth existence under the armies of occupation, the German people have only recently begun to show signs of independent political organization. Stored deep within their hearts, however, is the bitterness expressed by the working class mother and the war veteran described by Stern. The encouragement and assistance of their working class brothers of other lands will enable the German workers to raise their heads and once more resume their place in the front ranks of the fighters for socialism.

—Paul Schapiro

Congressmen at Work

Tuning Up the War Drums

Three and a half odd months vacation with pay did nothing to put Wall Street's Congressmen in a peaceful frame of mind. The first day back in their easy chairs they warmed up with a few oratorical gems on what a great guy was their pal, race-hating, lynch-minded Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, who died during the adjournment. Then after listening to Truman's keynote address on sending "aid" to Europe and doing something about inflation, these political representatives of American Big Business tuned up the war drums.

Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., the Republican Senator from Massachusetts, hit a loud and resounding high in the war-mongering jam session of Nov. 20. He cried alarm and consternation over what he termed "the failure of the voluntary recruiting system to attract a sufficient number of men" and demanded something be done at once to build up the armed forces even above their present colossal size.

He proposed hiring armies of mercenaries to keep the Stars and Stripes nailed to the flag pole in "occupied areas such as Germany, Austria, Trieste, Korea, Japan and the Pacific Islands, and they might even be used in Panama, Hawaii and Alaska. . ."

These mercenaries, recruited from the disbanded persons in Europe, Lodge declared, could be used to relieve the 18-year old boys now stationed in Germany. "I am told reliably that to many of these boys this is such a demoralizing experience that they will never get over it."



Serving as Wall Street mercenaries presumably would not be a "demoralizing experience" for the "many young men of Polish, Czech, anti-Nazi German, Russian Byelorussian, and other stocks who would gladly serve."

The drain on the U. S. Public Treasury would not be exorbitant in the opinion of this up-and-coming hatchet man in the Republican machine: "Their pay, of course, should be very much less than that of the American soldier."

Lodge dismissed the argument that "it is a sign of decadence for a country not to do its own fighting." The U. S. is already "employing mercenaries to guard our supplies," said this imperialist politician. "Moreover, the downfall of the Spanish Empire many years ago; to mention but one example, can be traced to the fact that all the men it sent overseas were Spaniards."

In the House, Karl E. Mundt, (R., So. Dak.) reported on his four-day Europe during the adjournment. "Europe today," he said, "has be-

come a gigantic battlefield, a great flaming battlefield of clashing ideologies, of conflicting political camps and a shouting war . . . which can easily turn into a shooting war."

He claimed that within "the next two months" it is necessary to decide whether to pull out of Europe or become more deeply involved. In the first case it would be necessary "to arm this country to the teeth, beyond the imagination of anybody who ever has conceived of making America impregnable. We can try our best through collections of atom bombs, the development of bacterial weapons, the utilization of supersonic military devices. . . . If we select the first alternative and succeed, it means we win another shooting war."

Mundt held out the possibility of "peace" if Washington continues the present course of warring with the Soviet Union with every means short of shot and shell.

But Mundt made sure no one misunderstood this demagogic. In following the second course, "We have the weapon of our superior military strength — something we must maintain in a superior status, something which we must maintain strong and effective." So that too means arming to the teeth in preparation for the projected war.

Mrs. K. St. George, (R., N. Y.), chimed in with a pious exhortation about enlisting "God's help" in writing a peace treaty. "Let us try — all, every one of us here . . . to write a just peace. Ah, but that is the rub — we are facing the next war."

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MOTHER JONES

MURDER IN WEST VIRGINIA

At the close of the anthracite strike in October, 1902, I went into the unorganized sections of West Virginia with John H. Walker of Illinois. Up and down along both sides of the New River we held meetings and organized—Smithersfield, Long Acre, Camilton, Boomer.



The work was not easy or safe and I was lucky to have so fearless a co-worker. Men who joined the union were blacklisted throughout the entire section. Their families were thrown out on the highways. Men were shot. They were beaten. Numbers disappeared and no trace of them found. Store keepers were ordered not to sell to union men or their families. Meetings had to be held in the woods at night,

in abandoned mines, in barns. We held a meeting in Mount Hope. After the meeting adjourned, Walker and I went back to our hotel. We talked till late. There came a tap on the door. A miner came into the room. He was lean and tall and coughed a lot.

"Mother," he said, "there are twelve of us here and we want to organize."

I turned to Walker. "Mother," he said, "the National Board told us to educate and agitate but not to organize; that was to come later."

"I'm going to organize those men tonight," said I.

"I'm reckoning I'm not going to be mining coal so long in this world and I thought I'd like to die organized," said the spokesman for the group.

I brought the other miners in my room and Mr. Walker gave them the obligation.

"Now, boys, you are twelve in number. That was the number Christ had. I hope that among your twelve there will be no Judas, no one who will betray his fellow. The work you do is for your children and for the future. You preach the gospel of better food, better homes, a decent compensation for the wealth you produce. It is these things that make a great nation."

THE HAD MINER'S CONSUMPTION The spokesman kept up his terrible coughing. He had miner's consumption. As they had no money to pay for their charter I told them that I would attend to that.

Three weeks afterward I had a letter from one of the group. He told me that their spokesman was dead but they had organized 800 men and they sent me the money for the charter.

Seven organizers were sent into Laurel Creek. All came back, shot at, beaten up, run out of town. One organizer was chased out of town with a gun.

A week later, one Saturday night, I went with eight or ten trapper boys to Thayer, a camp about six miles from Laurel Creek. Very early Sunday morning we walked to Laurel Creek. I climbed the mountain so that I could look down on the camp with its huddle of dirty shacks. I sat down on a rock above the camp and told the trapper boys to go down to the town and tell the boys to come up the mountain side. That Mother Jones was going to speak at two o'clock and tell the superintendent that Mother Jones extends a cordial invitation to him to come.

Then I sent two boys across a little gully to a log cabin to get a cup of tea for me. The miner came out and beckoned to me to come over. I went and as I entered the door, my eyes rested on a straw mattress on which rested a beautiful young girl. She looked at me with the most gentle eyes I ever saw in a human being. The wind came in through the cracks of the floor and would raise the bed clothes a little.

I said to her father, "What is wrong with your child?"

"Consumption," said he. "I couldn't earn enough in the mines and she went to work in a boarding house. They worked her so hard she took sick — consumption."

Around a fireplace sat a group of dirty children, ragged and neglected-looking. He gave us tea and bread. That afternoon, up there on the mountain side, we organized a strong union.

The next day the man who gave me food — his name was Mike Harrington — went to the mines to go to work, but he was told to go to the office and get his pay. No man could work in the mines, the superintendent said, who entertained agitators in his home.

Mike said to him, "I didn't entertain her. She paid me for the tea and bread."

"It makes no difference," said he, "you had Mother Jones in your house and that is sufficient."

He went home and when he opened the door, his sick daughter said, "Father, you have lost your job." She started to sob. That brought on a coughing fit from which she fell back on the pillow exhausted — dead.

That afternoon he was ordered to leave his house as it was owned by the company. They buried the girl and moved to an old barn.

Mike was later made an organizer for the United Mine Workers and he made one of the most faithful workers I have ever known.

In February of 1903, I went to Stanford Mountain where the men were on strike. The court had issued an injunction forbidding the miners from going near the mines. A group of miners walked along the public road nowhere near the mines. The next morning they held a meeting in their own hall which they themselves had built. A United States deputy marshal came into the meeting with warrants for thirty members for violating the injunction.

"WE DID NOT BREAK ANY LAW" The men said, "We did not break any law. We did not go near the mines and you know it. We were on the public road."

"Well," said the deputy, "we are going to arrest you anyway."

They defied him to arrest them, insisting they had not violated the law. They gave him 25 minutes to leave town. They sent for his brother, who was the company doctor, and told him to take him out.

That night I went to hold a meeting with them. They told me what had happened.

The next morning I took the short trail up the hillside to Stanford Mountain. It seemed to me as I came toward the camp as if those wretched shacks were huddling closer in terror. Everything was deathly still. As I came nearer the miners' homes, I could hear sobbing. Then I saw between the stiffs that propped up a miner's shack the clay red with blood. I pushed open the door. On a mattress, wet with blood, lay a miner. His brains had been blown out while he slept. His shack was riddled with bullets.

In five other shacks men lay dead. In one of them a baby boy and his mother sobbed over the father's corpse. When the little fellow saw me, he said, "Mother Jones, bring back my papa to me. I want to kiss him."

The coroner came. He found that these six men had been murdered in their beds while they peacefully slept; shot by gunmen in the employ of the coal company. The coroner went. The men were buried on the mountain side. And nothing was ever done to punish the men who had taken their lives.

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# Workers' Forum

## Birthday Greetings From Greek Comrades

Editor: On the 19th anniversary of our and our paper, The Militant, we send you our internationalist greetings.

We are sure that the day is not far when The Militant will be the paper of millions and tens of millions of American workers.

G. Dalas, "Workers Struggle," Athens, Greece

## Father Of Nine Kills Self When Job Ends

Editor: What was it they told us our boys fought and died for? Oh, yes; democracy and the four freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear.

Here is an item that shows how much freedom we got. The Boston Traveller tells about a suicide case Nov. 17 in Newburyport, Mass. A worker, aged 37, killed himself because of his inability to support his wife and 9 children when his job at a tannery came to an end two weeks ago.

Many workers who read about such incidents shrug their shoulders and say, "What can you do?"

These workers have never heard of the Socialist Workers Party; do not know that The Militant exists. Therefore it is up to us workers who read The Militant and understand the revolutionary socialist program it advocates to explain that we who work are the majority; and they who exploit us are the minority.

Once we are united, under the competent guidance of the Socialist Workers Party, we are all on the road to a new life—a life of plenty.

Josephine Joyce, Boston, Mass.

## Thinks 500 Lb. Cake Is Too Extravagant For Times Like Now

Editor: It's enough to make you boil when you are acquainted with the conditions of the workers of England and then they are not ashamed to print as news that the wedding of Princess Elizabeth will have a cake that weighs 500 pounds while the people of England are in want for the very ingredients that this same cake is composed of.

However, we all know a little history and realize that Princess Elizabeth comes of a family that down through the ages has oppressed people. We also recognize the fact that she is from the upper layers of society where regardless of scarcity they will always be able to get what they want and when they want it.

Now a good wedding is a wedding for keeps and should be put over within reason, but not like this under these conditions.

Also it should be pointed out that there are two classes in society. I hope the day is speeded when the workers of the world will take the blinders off their eyes and institute a classless society where there will be plenty for all who work and those who are unable to work through no fault of their own.

Joe Youngstown, Ohio

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

## Cites EPIC Failure To Capture Machine Of Democratic Party

Editor: My guess is that Samuel S. Shapira, whose letter appears in the Nov. 17 Militant, is a member of that lost generation of Socialists who left the Socialist Party in 1934 with Upton Sinclair in a futile and utopian attempt to capture the Democratic Party in California and "make it the political machine for abolishing capitalism and establishing a democratic production for use economy."

Sure, Sinclair and his EPIC swept the Democratic primaries; they captured the name but they didn't capture the MACHINE of the Democrats.

The national Democratic machine of Roosevelt and Farley welched on their promise to support Sinclair in the race for the governorship of California, although he was the official Democratic nominee. They consistently sabotaged the EPIC campaign from behind the scenes.

The California Democratic machine in its overwhelming majority campaigned openly for Sinclair's capitalist adversaries, the regular Republican, Merriam, and the Independent Republican, Haight.

The machine felt in their bones that the radical production-for-use program of EPIC was against the interests of their big business masters.

They are a treacherous and corrupt bunch, these Democratic machine politicians; but, remember, they are very principled about their unswerving loyalty to their capitalist masters.

Nobody has ever been able to turn a capitalist political machine against the capitalist class. Nobody ever will. That is a law of politics which, as Marxism points out, has been verified in life again and again.

That is why the labor movement will have to build a political machine of its own made up of people who are just as unconditionally devoted to labor as the Democratic politicians are to the cause of capital. The human material for this new machine will be found in the unions, the CIO-PAC, and the AFL-LEPL.

Samuel S. Shapira could learn from the political history of his own state the folly of trying to reform the Democratic Party. I have reminded him of the experience of the EPIC campaign.

What were the practical results of Upton Sinclair's deserting the Socialist Party and joining the Democrats? (1) It broke the back of the Socialist Party in California. (2) It revitalized the decrepit and emaciated Democratic Party in California. Neither result served to advance the cause of labor and socialism in California by so much as one inch.

And Mr. Shapira advises the Socialist Workers Party to follow in the footsteps of Upton Sinclair!

D. Swenson, Akron, Ohio

## Explains To Shapira Why "Trojan Horse" Theory Won't Work

Editor: Samuel S. Shapira is convinced that the true, honest anti-capitalist Socialist, as he puts it, can capture the Democratic Party and turn it into an instrument for abolishing capitalism and establishing Socialism—no less!

What convincing proof have you got, friend Shapira, for your very novel idea? Search high and low in all the annals of American political life or anywhere in the world, and you cannot find one single incident to prove the success of your Trojan horse theory.

But you can find countless failures where well-meaning people attempted it.

You have fallen victim, it appears to me, to the two often-repeated capitalist lies: (1) that through the primaries the American people control the two existing capitalist parties; and (2) all Americans, regardless of their station in life economically, have equal opportunities and one common interest socially. These are two falsehoods!

The great majority of the American people are honest, hard-working people. They have made one attempt after another to make the Democratic (and also the Republican) Party a little more honest, little less corrupt. But all to no avail.

Primaries or no primaries, the only known variety of Democratic (and Republican) politicians in existence today is still the corrupt and crooked variety. Isn't this an irrefutable fact?

As to the other supposition—how can one in our day even make believe that there are no opposing interests between the factory worker and the factory owner, the tenant farmer and rich land owner, the small businessman and the monopoly capitalist? Society is rent asunder—with the workers and the bosses at opposite poles.

Taking this as our basis, consider now the most ideal conditions from your point of view. Let us imagine a state where the primary laws are the most liberal and the judges the most liberal-minded. (Actually there is no such ideal state in the whole union; while there are many states, as in the South, where the opposite conditions prevail.)

Then how would you go about capturing this Democratic party in this ideal state? You will have to counterpose your workers' program and worker leaders. I presume, to that of the official party machine.

The voters enrolled as Democrats will by and large represent a cross-section of society as it is today. Those who stand to lose by your program and leadership, or believe they will lose, plus the official leadership will put up a terrific fight against you.

And if you should become a real serious threat because of your program and your honest and courageous leadership, then the whole capitalist class together with the Republican Party will mobilize against you.

In such a battle, to stand any chance of winning, you must have an equally strong, if not stronger, workers' political organization and you will have to mobilize the whole working class and their possible followers.

But this brings us back again to

# Branches Step Up Collections To Meet Goal on Militant Fund

By Rose Karsner, National Campaign Director

Although all but one branch of the Socialist Workers Party have informed us that they will fulfill their quotas in the \$15,000 Militant Fund on time, the present record is not in keeping with the reputation members of the party enjoy — "Trotskyists do what is necessary, not merely what is possible."

The campaign is more than two-thirds over. All branches should have achieved at least 70%. The fact however is, that only 14 are on schedule while 15 are far behind. Several have made big leaps forward in the past week, but the lag is still too heavy. We hope the coming week will tell a better story.

FROM THE BRANCHES  
Newark and Milwaukee, next to St. Louis, are the only branches to have fulfilled their quotas ahead of time.

The Calumet Branch of Local Chicago merits special mention because they have proven that money can be raised for The Militant from other sources than themselves. Manny writes: "Six weeks ago the members of my branch hurled a challenge at themselves. They announced that they would assign themselves \$500 toward Local Chicago's quota, and no member would be asked for a pledge. Last night when I returned from a speaking engagement, the branch fund director presented me with the full amount, stating that the drive was over a month ahead of schedule. Most interesting of all is the fact that this was a strictly rank and file project, with comrade Edward P. in charge. He organized and directed the work. The rest of the members responded brilliantly and a real job was done. Enclosed find check for the \$500."

Milwaukee — Virginia: "We are happy to send you the enclosed money order which brings us to 100% of our quota. Of this sum \$45 is proceeds from our Militant

he very point in question—the building of an independent labor political force that you are so much against.

But once you have built such a powerful organization why then confine your struggle to the primaries of the Democratic Party and its enrolled voters that make up less than 30% of the American population of voting age?

What about the millions of workers who are disgusted with capitalist politics? Don't you want to win them? Also what about the millions of workers and farmers who are deceived into voting for the Republican Party? Surely you can't hope to win them by telling them that the Democratic Party is the only good party to work in even while you fight to take it over.

You cannot build this powerful working class party within the folds of the Democratic Party. Even if you win in this or that locality or even state, it will be under the label of the Democratic Party. And what you win will not amount to one-hundredth of the losses you will suffer because of the national and international crimes and perfidies committed by this gangster party of which you are a part.

Whatever the issues are and others might have made while working for an independent working class party can be analyzed and corrected.

On the other hand, your present mistaken idea of the "Trojan horse" tactics is a nonsensical absurdity which should be discarded.

Think it over, old timer. The principle of the independent working class party remains 100% correct. Don't follow the mis-leaders of labor, Stalinist or common garden variety. Fall back into line and together with us and all advanced workers in America let us build a genuine, independent Labor Party.

Harold Gold, New York, N. Y.

## BRONX Radio Theater Social Show Mein Dinner

Sat., Dec. 6, 8:30 p. m. 1034 Prospect Ave.

Today there are a number of

## To Our Readers

In answer to last week's special appeal for coin donations from those who cannot afford more, we received several replies with 25c enclosures. This expression of solidarity is as inspiring as was the \$200 contribution from North Dakota, reported in the Nov. 24 MILITANT.

Large contributions like this are a real lift for us. Unfortunately we do not have many friends who can afford such large sums. But we have many who are able to send a coin. Enough of these can become hundreds of dollars.

SEND WHAT YOU CAN!

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
ST. LOUIS	\$ 50	\$ 109	218
NEWARK	500	531	106
MILWAUKEE	200	200	100
Twin Cities	1,000	959	97
Connecticut	200	192	96
Cleveland	250	219	88
Buffalo	600	515	86
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	63	84
New York	4,500	3,606	81
Flint	200	160	80
Pittsburgh	150	119	79
Oakland	250	197	79
Detroit	600	474	79
Philadelphia	300	234	78
Chicago	1,500	997	67
Los Angeles	1,500	983	67
Youngstown	600	372	63
Akron	300	181	61
Lynn	125	70	56
Boston	275	149	54
Reading	100	50	50
Massillon	50	25	50
Seattle	300	133	44
San Francisco	1,250	524	42
San Diego	100	42	42
West Virginia	25	10	40
Tacoma	25	10	40
Rochester	25	10	40
Toledo	150	38	26
General Contributions		441	
TOTAL THROUGH NOV. 25		\$11,631	77

dent that we'll be able to meet our quota by Dec. 15."

Lynn — Franklin: "We have been slow in meeting our pledge, but I am sure that by Dec. 9 you will find us among the 100%ers."

Boston — Brady: "Sorry I'm overdue with my payment on our quota but I am very busy with our Militant ball and dinner. Hope to clean up our pledge by Dec. 1."

San Diego — Roberts: "Nov. 29 we are holding our Militant affair which should net us together with unpaid pledges the balance of our quota."

Detroit — Ruth: "I feel confi-

large corporations in the pre-fabricated housing field. It is likely that the Lustron agreement is the forerunner of similar agreements between these corporations and the three building trades international.

The AFL electrical workers union has organized on an industrial union basis, all the workers in the factories and power plants now under agreement with their union.

The building trades locals that set up small houses will be hardest hit by the new agreement. The fact that these three powerful international unions contract to force their locals to set up the pre-fabs means the top officials of these international unions are ready to combine with Lustron and other corporations in breaking down the standards won by craft union locals.

USE TAFT ACT  
Should craft locals strike against this attack on their standards, the three international unions and Lustron will be able to utilize the Taft-Hartley Act against the workers.

Under this law the government takes the lead in fighting against jurisdictional fights and secondary boycotts.

The leaders of the craft unions were too cowardly to organize an all-out fight against this Slave Labor Law; now many of them prove

## New York SWP 'Militant' Affair Features Skit

NEW YORK, Nov. 24—Between 250 and 300 friends and supporters of The Militant celebrated the 19th anniversary of America's revolutionary Marxist weekly here last Saturday.

The hall was decorated with headlines culled from The Militant throughout the years and with significant copies of the paper mounted on attractive backings. Approximately \$200 was cleared for the Militant Fund.

The celebration was highlighted by a new play written by Art Preis, "The Militant Marches On." In humorous form the play dramatized the trials and tribulations of the Militant staff today and wound up with an imaginative projection of the situation in the staff on the day after the American workers established their own government. The performance by members of the New York SWP Dramatic Group and of the staff was well received.

In addition to the play, the audience joined in the singing of working class and revolutionary songs led by Jeff Thorne, Militant Circulation Manager. A short talk by Art Preis outlining the needs and plans of The Militant concluded the program for the evening.

## CHICAGO CHRISTMAS BAZAAR

Many unusual handmade items and gifts for sale at prices far below usual.

Sat., Dec. 6, from 2 p. m. to midnight

Viking Temple Basement Hall Melrose and Sheffield (Belmont "L" Stop)

Auspices Chicago ACEWR

## PHILADELPHIA-ALLENTOWN Christmas Bazaar And Auction

Save on your Xmas shopping at this Bazaar and help European Relief

Sat., Dec. 13, 1 p. m. to midnight

1303 West Girard Ave. Phone: St. 4-5820

## THE MILITANT ARMY

### Groundwork Laid at Co-op For Large Newsstand Sales

Fred Field of New York did a three-fold job for The Militant in a co-operative housing project where he lives. First he arranged with a neighborhood newsstand to carry The Militant and supplied the stand with two of our attractive posters to advertise the paper.

Then he distributed 1,000 back issues in the project, one to each apartment. These he rubber-stamped with the address of the newsstand and the information that The Militant would appear there every Sunday.

This made excellent use of a pile of Militants such as branches often accumulate when something interferes with normal sales or distributions. The paper reached 1,000 new readers and prospective subscribers or newsstand customers. At the same time the newsstand dealer's friendship was cultivated by the prospect of boosting his business. We expect rosy reports of the success of the undertaking.

The two-color posters for newsstands and other displays are something every branch should keep in stock for many possible uses. They are 9x12 photo-offset reproductions, overlaid with red lettering by the silk screen process. "Joe Militant," a worker reading the paper, is the central figure. The poster sells at cost, 5¢ each.

The "Joe Militant" figure, which appears on subscription forms and other Militant literature, was utilized very attractively by Boston Branch in decorating tickets and announcements for Boston's Militant Anniversary dinner-dance.

Oakland branch sent 12 subs and

Literature Agent Beverly Wise hoped to keep them coming regularly.

A St. Paul comrade obtained two subs from workers in his shop.

Minneapolis sent six that were obtained at the Anniversary party.

Newark led with 17 subs, including those direct from readers.

Mili Ford took over the literature post of Pittsburgh branch last week, exchanging assignments with Justine Lang, who is now financial secretary. Mili reported on \$12 literature sales by three comrades at a Wallace meeting there. Otherwise the comrades are working individually on sales and sub-getting.

New 'Militant' Office Opened in Watts, L. A. By Ed Smith

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 22—The Militant last week acquired an office here at 1720 E. 97th Street in Watts, a working class neighborhood heavily populated by Negro and other minority groups. The office is very conveniently located on the ground floor, a few houses away from a street car stop.

Although this is the first time The Militant has had an office in Watts, the paper is no stranger to the people here, since it has been selling from news stands here for quite some time as well as being read by a great number of subscribers.

Militant readers' forums and classes, planned for the near future, will serve to increase, and to bring together all the Militant readers in the Watts area, and to unite them in the struggle for a better world. Militant readers' forums are planned for December, on Sundays at 4 p. m., to discuss the history of the oppression of the Negro people in the United States. Also planned are study classes on Thursday night, social gatherings, etc. A committee has been formed to make the office as attractive as possible for the housewarming next Sunday, Nov. 30.

## Good Program Featured At Milwaukee Affair

MILWAUKEE, Nov. 19—"A Cabaret Date at 608" brought 60 workers and sympathizers to the night-club social of the Milwaukee Socialist Workers Party celebration of the 19th Militant Anniversary. Proceeds and volunteer donations from sympathetic workers amounted to about \$50, bringing the Milwaukee collection up to 100%.

The continuous entertainment program which held many of the audience over for the second show, featured singers with a repertoire from the blues to Wagner, and a political playlet entitled "Your Horrible Future."

The Party "night-club" variety social with propaganda playlets and commercials on forthcoming SWP meetings and activities can be a drawing card among workers.

## San Francisco ACEWR to Hold Xmas Bazaar

SAN FRANCISCO — Bargain Christmas shopping and a fine Italian dinner, all in one day and all to help European workers in desperate need.

This is what the San Francisco branch of the American Committee for European Workers Relief offers for Sunday, Dec. 7 at 1739 Fillmore St.

Contributions from merchants and wholesalers will mean this year's Bazaar will offer greater values and more variety, the committee says.

Merchandise will be sold from 3 P.M. until 10 P.M. and the three course dinner, at \$1.25 a plate, will be served between 6 P.M. and 8 P.M.

## Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers at these Local Activities of THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

- AKRON—2nd floor, 4 S. Howard St. Open Mon. through Friday, 3 to 5 p.m.; Saturdays 2 to 4 p.m.
- BOSTON—30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Tuesdays 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.
- BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone MADison 3860. Open every afternoon except Sunday.
- CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Phone Dearborn 4767. Library, bookstore.
- CLEVELAND—Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).
- DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave., phone TY. 7-6267. Open Monday through Saturday, 12 to 5 p.m. Current events forum and open house, Saturday from 8 p.m.
- FLINT—215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3, Mich. Open every night 7-9 p. m., Saturday nights Open House, Sunday nights Meetings and Forums.
- LOS ANGELES—Militant publishing Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.
- SAN PEDRO—Militant publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.
- LYNN, Mass.—44 Central Square, Room 11. Discussion every Tuesday 7:30 p.m.; open Saturdays 1-5 p.m.
- MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5 St. Open evenings Monday through Friday, 7:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m.
- MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily except Sunday. Phone Main 7781 Library, bookstore. Sunday Forums, 3:30 p.m.
- NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open every Monday, 8 to 10:30 p.m.
- NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave., Phone BElgow 3-2574. Library and reading room open week nights, 7-10 p.m. Friday night forum, 8:30.
- NEW YORK CITY HQ., 116 University Place, GR. 5-8149.
- HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St. Room 23. MO. 2-1866. Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.
- BRONX: 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TY. 2-0101.
- BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433.
- CHELSEA: 130 W. 23 St., phone CH. 2-9434.
- OAKLAND, Cal.—For information write to P.O. Box 1351, Oakland, 4.
- PHILADELPHIA—1304-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily, Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 4-5820.
- PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor. 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 Tuesdays, Thursdays & Saturdays, 1 to 5 p.m.; Monday, Wednesday & Friday, 7 to 9 p.m.
- SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore St., 4th floor, San Francisco 15. Open noon to 4:30 p.m. except Sunday. Phone FI 6-0410.
- SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., First Ave. So., Room 408. Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Basic Training Class.
- ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd. Room 312. Forums, Fridays, 7:30-10 p. m. Phone Jefferson 3642.
- ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St., St. Paul 2, Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily 2:30-9:30 p.m.
- TACOMA, Wash.—Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Odd Fellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P.O. Box 1079.
- TOLEDO—113 St. Clair St., 2nd floor. Open daily.
- YOUNGSTOWN—115 E. Federal Bldg., Room 302, Youngstown 3, O. Open 11:4-30 Monday through Saturday. Phone 3-1355.



SEATTLE Christmas Party Featuring: 30 Girls Cleveland "Y" Toems Sat., Dec. 6, 8 p. m. Independence Hall 4033 University Auspices: Seattle ACEWR

## A Royal Wedding

By Theodore Kovalesky

For several years now, I've been telling you about the sweat and filth of the steel plant. I've been telling you about low places like Emil's where we spend our hard-earned pennies on beer (two or three glasses each week when we cash our pay checks). I've been telling about our rough lives in the plant and on the picket line. So I suppose you think I'm a pretty uncouth person.

Well, that's where you're wrong. I'm as blue-blooded as any aristocrat, with a lineage that traces back through centuries; and just to prove it, I'm going to tell you about a royal wedding that I attended.

This royal wedding was a little less formal than some others we hear about. I didn't wear knee britches and the Order of the Garter to this one; in fact, I didn't wear any garters, but my pants covered it up. The prince didn't wear knee britches either. He wore a gray tweed suit that he got at Raskowicz's Park Avenue Clothing Store last Easter, and the best man wore a double breasted blue serge.

The princess looked like a dream, as the society page would probably say. She was the cutest little blonde that ever lived in the steel town, and, with that wedding sparkle in her eyes, she was even cuter than she had even been before.

I'd known the prince for years. His name's Larry Morelli, the best grievance committeeman the cold mill ever produced. And the princess is just the woman for him. Formerly recording secretary in a UAW local and a shop steward who once shut down her whole end of the plant when a foreman thought he could get tough with a Negro girl work-

ing there, she is now living on a pension given her by her loyal subjects in the form of Unemployment Insurance. Had the pension been larger she might have dressed more expensively for the wedding, although she couldn't have been any prettier than she was in her new plaid dress. The full title of the princess was Jean (or Jeanie) Szymanowski. The noblest blood of Poland flows in her veins.

The ceremony wasn't important, and there wasn't much to it. Judge Harrigan mumbled at them, the prince kissed the princess very, very gently and handed the judge five dollars, and all were satisfied.

Afterwards we all had a whale of a party at the home of the dowager empress on the bride's side. Empress Szymanowski was the height of grace and charm. She couldn't do enough for the guests, bustling through the crowd, seeing that everyone had food and drinks. And not only the white race was represented either. Our royal brothers from Africa were there too along with representatives from the rest of the world.

Later on the Empress herself escorted Jimmy and me into a bedroom in the east wing of the palace where the wedding gifts were displayed, a set of dishes, a set of knives, forks and spoons made of stainless steel with bright red plastic handles, sheets and pillowcases, towels and table cloths, a chromium clock set in the side of a polished wooden ship with gleaming chromium sails, and all the rest of the usual things.

Then we retired to the grand salon where Jimmy picked a copy of *The Militant* off the table and read, while I fell asleep on the davenport (I was on the night shift at the time) until Mary poked me and took me along home.

## The Negro Struggle

### The Supreme Court and Covenants

By Albert Parker

Next week the U. S. Supreme Court will hear arguments by the NAACP and other organizations calling for the outlawing of restrictive covenants. Negroes, Chinese, Indians and all other "non-Caucasian" minorities in this country will follow the proceedings with the greatest interest, because involved is a basic right long denied to these minorities — the right to buy or rent homes, shops or land in most of the neighborhoods in the U. S.

The Supreme Court's record on restrictive covenants is not one to inspire much confidence about its decision. Thirty years ago the Supreme Court ruled that while a municipality cannot legally bar Negroes from certain neighborhoods, there is nothing in the law to stop individual property owners from doing so by mutual agreement. In 1926 the Court ruled further that under the constitution Negroes have no protection against the restrictive actions of individual owners.

Since then there has been a great increase in restrictive covenants, and a steady pressure through their enforcement by the courts to keep Negroes hemmed into the ghettos and black belts. Four-fifths of Chicago, for example, is now covered by deeds containing restrictive clauses, and the same is true for most big cities.

The Supreme Court can, therefore, be given part of the credit for maintaining and increasing the scandalous overcrowding in Negro homes, which was

shown by a survey in 1940 to be three times greater than that in white homes. It can be thanked for helping to perpetuate Negro tenancy in the slums, as a result of which Negroes pay from 10 to 15% more rent than whites with comparable homes. And it can with justice be assigned a big part of the responsibility for such tragedies as the Hickman case in Chicago.

The Supreme Court has thus shown itself to be a staunch defender of the Jim Crow status quo, on this as on every other issue affecting the Negro. But that doesn't mean it can't be forced to reverse its stand. It pretends to be a lofty, impartial dispenser of justice that decides questions exclusively on their merits, but actually it is just as sensitive to mass pressure as any other capitalist institution. It not only follows the elections in interpreting the laws — it also keeps a sharp eye cocked to see how angry the people are about the issues being contested.

One thing we can be sure of: The Supreme Court ruling on restrictive covenants won't depend on considerations of abstract justice or law — it will depend on how much pressure the opponents of the Negro ghetto have been able to mobilize against the Court's previous decision. If the pressure has been strong enough, the Court will change its past position; if not, it will of course again rule in favor of Jim Crow. In any case, it is the militant struggle of the masses for a better world that is really decisive, and that must go on no matter what rulings the Court hands down.

## Shock Treatment

By Grace Carlson

Most widely-discussed of the new methods of treatment for the mentally ill are the so-called shock therapies. The three forms of procedure which have been used are: insulin shock and metrazol and electric convulsive treatments.

First to be introduced was insulin therapy. Insulin, an extract of certain glands in the pancreas, has been used for many years in the treatment of diabetes. It was in 1928 that Dr. Manfred Sakel of Vienna observed a great improvement in the mental status of drug addicts, to whom he had administered large doses of insulin in order to pacify them. In 1933, he began to use insulin therapy in the treatment of severely-disturbed mental patients in Viennese hospitals. This method was introduced into the United States in 1936 and is now widely used in the treatment of schizophrenia (split personality). Remarkable recoveries have been reported in medical literature through the use of insulin therapy.

In 1935, Dr. Ladislav von Meduna of Budapest began to experiment with the use of the drug metrazol to induce convulsions in mental patients. Metrazol shock is generally regarded as less efficacious than insulin shock in schizophrenia but more efficacious in mental diseases marked by severe depression, agitation and excitement. But the method of inducing shock by the use

of electrical stimulation of the brain is now the most widely used method of shock treatment in this country and elsewhere. It was first used in the treatment of mental diseases by Drs. Cerletti and Bini, who published their results in Italy in 1938.

Because of its comparative ease of administration — as many as 50 patients may be treated in one morning — the electric shock treatment is now being used in a great many psychiatric hospitals. The patient lies on a table, electrodes are placed at the side of his head, and a current of 450 milliamperes at 90 volts is passed through his head for three-tenths of a second. The patient becomes rigid for 30 seconds, then he has a convulsion of about 30 seconds duration. During this convulsion, hospital workers hold the patient in order to prevent injury.

The patient is a little groggy for an hour or two afterwards and may suffer from a slight loss of memory for a week or two but in most cases the memory impairment passes and the patient's general mental condition shows improvement.

At the present time psychiatrists are unable to explain just why these shock treatments are effective. It is generally felt, however, that the severe shocks experienced by the patient somehow blast new thought channels through the brain.

Social revolution is our shock treatment! That is how we plan to blast new paths through the social and political life of this crazy capitalist world!

## Notes from the News

**YOUR PAL** — At the opening night of the New York Metropolitan Opera, Mrs. G. W. Kavanaugh wore an \$80,000 fur wrap and many jewels including five diamond bracelets. She refused to divulge the value of her gems, saying: "I am a friend of the masses."

**RED-BAITING PATRIOT** — Mayor Donald J. Connelly of Trenton, N. J., who recently was in the news for helping to prevent Communist Party meetings, has been indicted by a Grand Jury for graft from beauty parlor licenses.

**FRONT FOLDS** — The Stalinists have folded up their National Negro Congress by merging it with the Civil Rights Congress.

**CHURCH BAN** — Cardinal Dougherty has ordered over a million Catholics in the Philadelphia area to boycott the Fox Theater for a year. The theater management refused to obey Dougherty's demand that *Forever Amber* be immediately withdrawn.

**FITTING BACKGROUND** — Carl Gray, Jr., Truman's new Veterans Administration head, was formerly a banker, a general and a top official of the anti-labor Montgomery Ward.

**UNITY DELAYED** — The Social Democrats have

turned down the Socialist Party proposal for immediate organic unity, despite an SP "compromise" offer to let members of the combined party remain in the New York Liberal Party which will support Truman next year. Unification may still take place after the '48 elections.

**ALMOST 100%** — "A tight-knit CIO-PAC organization in the mining community of Leadville, Colorado, (population 7,000) succeeded in placing in office an almost 100% CIO city government," the CIO News reports.

**SOUND REASONS** — In a letter to subscribers, Dwight Macdonald, editor of *Politics*, explains his difficulties in publishing the magazine: "(a) the ever blacker and bleaker political outlook; (b) my own growing sense of ignorance, which requires more time to investigate and reflect before sounding off in print; (c) the psychological demands of a one-man magazine which, at first stimulating, have latterly become simply — demands."

**STANDARDS DROPPING** — The average manufacturing worker is getting \$2.44 less in real weekly wages than in June, 1946, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

# THE MILITANT

## Hickman's Vindication at Trial Spurs Broader Defense Drive

### Arrest CIO Pickets in Chicago



These CIO members turned out to support the strike of Local 1150, CIO United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers against the Cory Corp. Chicago cops showed up too, roughed up the pickets (left) and arrested more than 170 men and women.

CHICAGO, Nov. 25—The State's failure to get a conviction in the recent trial of James Hickman was a vindication of the defendant, the Hickman Defense Committee declared as it announced plans for an intensified campaign to win an acquittal and freedom for Hickman in the second trial, which is scheduled to begin Jan. 5.

In the first trial the State had demanded a conviction of Hickman, who shot the landlord he held responsible for the murder of his four children in a fire last winter. The defense pleaded temporary insanity, arising from Hickman's grief over the tragic death of his children and from intolerable housing conditions in the Chicago Negro ghetto. The jury was unable to agree on a verdict, causing a mistrial.

It was reported that the jury was split seven to five in favor of freeing Hickman. One of the members of the jury is said to have declared: "Before they send Hickman to the chair, they'll have to send me there."

Although Hickman has already spent over four months in jail and has suffered the mental agony of a trial in which his life was at stake, the State has refused to drop its prosecution, and insists on again placing his life or liberty in jeopardy.

The Hickman Defense Committee is preparing an appeal to labor unions and progressive organizations from coast to coast to come to the defense of Hickman, a victim of social injustice, the housing shortage, racial segregation and unscrupulous landlordism. Though the new

trial will entail great financial obligations, the committee is confident that enemies of social injustice and persecution everywhere will rally to Hickman's support with all the funds and moral backing necessary.

Reports of the formation of new Hickman Defense Committees as well as resolutions of support and financial contributions continued to come from many cities to the national defense headquarters (4619 South Parkway, Chicago 15, Ill.).

A Southern California committee has been set up in Los Angeles. Committees are also being formed in Seattle and San Francisco.

The following additional endorsements and contributions have been received from outside Chicago during the last two weeks:

Detroit: UAW Ford Local 600, Local 735, Local 100 and Local 3; Mechanics Educational Society.

New York: AFL Painters Local 442, Local 977 and Local 1011; CIO Plaything and Novelty Workers Local 223.

New Jersey: South Jersey CIO Industrial Union Council; CIO Fur and Leather Workers Local 34.

Philadelphia: AFL Building Service Employees Local 125.

New Britain, Conn.: NAACP San Pedro, Calif.: NAACP Branch

### Hickman Committee Set Up in California

LOS ANGELES—A Southern California Committee has been organized to defend James Hickman. Sidney Smith, president of the San Pedro branch of the NAACP, was elected acting chairman, Jean Simon secretary and Rose Robinson treasurer.

Aim of the Southern California committee, according to Jean Simon, will be to mobilize support for Hickman's defense and to call attention to the conditions which caused the tragedy in Chicago and which must be avoided here.

The committee includes James H. Anderson, Frank Barnes, president, Santa Monica; NAACP; Violet M. Brown; John H. Dial, Jr., executive director, Negro Labor Committee; Everard Franklin; Thomas L. Griffith, Jr., president, Los Angeles NAACP; Rev. J. J. Hicks.

Emil Johnson, president, AFL Hodcarriers Local 300; Phil Lawrence, financial secretary, Local 300; Louis Levy, regional director, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Zane Meckler, Jewish Labor Committee; Attorney Loren Miller; Arthur Morrison, field representative, CIO Packinghouse Workers; Cora Ball Moten; Esther Murphy.

Tomas Palacios, secretary-treasurer, CIO Ship Scalers and Painters Local 1-56; Woodrow Redo; Harry Stillman, regional director, CIO Textile Workers; Manuel Talley, chairman, Committee on Racial Equality; Haskell Tidwell, secretary-treasurer, AFL Retail Clerks Local 905; George Van Saake; Leon H. Washington Jr., publisher, Los Angeles Sentinel; M. J. Waters, business agent, Local 300; Clyde Woods.

## Chicago Tenants Fight Against Rent Increases

CHICAGO, Nov. 24—Chicago tenants scored a partial victory in their militant campaign against the proposed 15% blanket increase. This recommendation of the Chicago Rent Board, packed with real estate representatives, was temporarily rejected by Tighe Woods, Federal Housing Expeditor, and 10 new members, including CIO and AFL representatives, were added to the Chicago Rent Board.

Highlighting the tenants' campaign was a mass protest meeting under the joint auspices of the North Side Tenants League and CIO Council on Nov. 12 and a mass picket line around the Chicago Rent Advisory Board offices on Nov. 20, conducted by the North Side Tenants League.

**RENTS HIGHER** Spearheading this campaign, the League called an emergency meeting on Nov. 9 to review the crisis faced by Chicago tenants and to map out a militant program to foil the proposed rent windfall. Officers of the League reported that five of the nine members of Chicago's Rent Advisory Board, including Chairman John J. Ryan, were real estate operators. The lone labor representative, an AFL official, had voted in favor of the increase; the tenants were not represented at all. No public hearings had been held, although such procedure is recommended by the Federal Rent Act.

Statistics prove that Chicago rents

are all considerably higher than the national average. Moreover, illegal overcharges and "bonus" exorbitations are widespread.

The following program of demands was adopted: 1. Against any blanket increase. 2. Dismissal of the real estate dominated Board and its replacement by a Board composed of tenants' and labor representatives selected by these organizations. 3. Open the books of the landlords for public inspection to ascertain the true extent of profiteering and to uncover illegal gouging. 4. Hold public hearings.

Among the measures to implement this program were: 1. Letters to Tighe Woods, Gov. Green and Joseph Ryan; 2. Circulation of petitions and leaflets; 3. A mass protest meeting; 4. A mass picket line of the Rent Board offices; 5. A delegation to Washington; 6. Joint action with labor and other progressive organizations.

By the time of the mass meeting, the original recommendation was rejected by the Federal Rent Expeditor on the purely technical ground that it was too brief and lacked statistical data. Ryan announced that a new recommendation with necessary substantiation would be submitted immediately. For this reason, the Tenants League and the CIO Council decided to proceed with the mass meeting.

**IGNORED SENTIMENT** Meanwhile, Ryan, ignoring the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the city, and recommendations by Tighe Woods to hold public hearings, reapplied for the 15% increase. The Tenants League immediately took steps to carry out the decision for a mass picket

line. Though held at noon on a working day, scores of tenants participated in a well organized and militant picketline.

The placards held aloft by pickets carried the demands of the League: "Remove Ryan from the Board"; "Open the Books of the Landlords"; "Against any Rent Increase"; "Put Tenant Representatives on the Board"; "We Demand Public Hearings."

Thousands of passers-by expressed their support, while hundreds lined up at a stand on the sidewalk to sign petitions. Newspapers and "on-the-spot" radio covered the demonstration.

At its executive board meeting on Nov. 18, the NAACP voted to go on record against any rent increases, to wire Woods urging him to reject the recommendation and to wire Gov. Green urging him to name representatives of tenant and labor organizations to the Board.

The CIO Council, at its Nov. 20 meeting, voted to go on record against any rent increases, demanding a "democratic board" and calling on all CIO members who were tenants to organize their buildings and blocks and affiliate with the North Side Tenants League or cooperate with other organized buildings elsewhere in the city.

At its regular council meeting on Nov. 21, the North Side Tenants League resolved to continue the fight against rent increases, to force Ryan's removal as chairman of the Rent Board, to secure representation from the tenants, and to win public hearings.

## How They Staged the First Big Red Scare

By George Lavan

Today, when an official "red" scare is being manufactured before our eyes, it is instructive to examine the notorious red-baiting campaigns of the past.

In 1886 the first big "red" scare was unleashed against labor by the American capitalists. This officially inspired hysteria swept the nation. Civil liberties were violated wholesale. Workers' organizations and homes were raided and many hundreds were arrested. Labor leaders were framed up, jailed and hanged.

The point of departure of this anti-red campaign was the Haymarket case. American labor, emerging from a terrible depression, was confronted at the time with the terrific growth of monopolies. Workers realized the need for trade unions. The outrageously long hours of labor — 14 hours a day was common, and 10 hours was the minimum — and unemployment made the demand for the 8-hour day extremely popular. The young AFL set May 1, 1886 as the day on which all union men would strike for the 8-hour day.

The radical labor leaders of the Chicago workers gave full support to the 8-hour struggle and started preparing for May Day. The bosses

and their kept press started a counter offensive and singled out two militant labor leaders — Parsons and Spies.

The Chicago Mail editorial for May 1 stated: "There are two dangerous ruffians at large in this city; two sneaking cowards who are trying to create trouble. One of them is named Parsons; the other is named Spies. . . . Mark them for today. Keep them in view. Hold them personally responsible for any trouble that occurs. Make an example of them if trouble does occur." Parsons and Spies were both hanged in the Haymarket frameup that followed.

**DAY WAS PEACEFUL** May Day came. Throughout the country some 340,000 workers went on strike. Chicago was the spearhead of the great movement with 30,000 on strike and 60,000 participating in parades, mass meetings, etc. The day was perfectly peaceful.

May 2 was even more peaceful. Many firms showed signs of giving in. The workers were filled with optimism. The employers were getting desperate. On May 3 more workers joined the strike.

On May 4, the Haymarket "riot" took place. It was not a riot. A peaceful mass meeting of strikers that had been going on for hours

was ending in the rain. Less than 200 people were left. Suddenly they were attacked by 280 police. Somebody threw a bomb. Who it was is not known even yet, although it probably was a secret agent of the bosses. The explosion killed a policeman and wounded many. The police immediately fired and killed a still unknown number of workers.

**HELD FOR DAYS** As if by prearranged signal, the most terrific anti-labor and anti-socialist campaign started. The newspapers declared the Chicago leaders of the 8-hour movement guilty and demanded their blood. Anyone under the slightest suspicion of anti-capitalist ideas or affiliation was liable to arrest. No warrants were used.

People were held for days, subjected to "questioning" without charges against them. The police stations were filled to overflowing and more "suspects" were herded in. Hundreds of labor spies — Pinkerton detectives — assisted the police. The employers paid for their services. Houses were searched throughout the city.

The police planted bombs and then "found" them in the presence of newspaper reporters. Monstrous conspiracies were manufactured by the police. One of these phony "anarchist" conspiracies, ballyhooed by the press, allegedly plotted the

destruction of Chicago, the annihilation of government and the assassination of all prominent citizens.

The witch hunt was not confined to Chicago. The N. Y. Times announced the day after the Haymarket "riot" that the Chicago anarchists were guilty. Next day the Times was praying that the "cowardly savages who plotted and carried out this murder shall suffer the death they deserve." The N. Y. Tribune was in there whipping up the hysteria, demanding forcible deportations.

In Philadelphia the Press howled: "The stain of this bloody crime in Chicago . . . springs from a pestilent brood of socialist vipers."

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat: "There are no good anarchists except dead anarchists . . ."

The Washington Post, foaming at the mouth, cried that the Chicago radicals were a "horde of foreigners representing almost the lowest stratum found in humanity's formation."

**60 YEARS LATER**

The anarchist and socialist labor leaders, tried and convicted for the Haymarket case, were absolutely innocent. They were framed up, four were legally murdered and the others were railroaded to jail by a corrupt press, a crooked police

force and a labor-hating judge. The ruling class had won its victory and taken its victims from the ranks of labor.

It is interesting to note how a capitalist historian whose book has just appeared and received great acclaim, evaluates the great "red" scare of 1886. Roger Butterfield's *The American Past* states: "The four who were hanged for the Haymarket bombing had nothing to do with throwing or making the bomb. They were railroaded to the gallows . . ."

And further: "Newspapers and magazines were filled with anti-labor propaganda . . . the courts, both federal and state, issued numerous injunctions against labor organizations. The once powerful Knights of Labor disintegrated and almost vanished under this attack."

The writer of the above analysis was till recently National Affairs Editor of *Life* magazine. So we see that 60 years after a red scare the truth about it may be told by capitalist journalists. That is little consolation to those who are conscious of the witch hunt now going into high speed today. So far there has been no frame-up similar to the Haymarket affair, but there is no guarantee that the bosses and their governmental agents will not hatch something equally monstrous.