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In The Unions

By James P. Cannon-

NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (Speech to New York SWP Membership Meeting, Nov. 30, 1947)

During the war the trade union bureaucracy in | unions were maintained intact; their ranks were the United States completely revealed its role as an agency of the bourgeois government in the labor

movement. Its as-

signed task was to restrain and discipline the workers within the strait-jacket of the no-strike pledge and the freeze. It bureaucracy in all its sections perwith the greatest efficiency. The Stalinists, who are a part of the trade union bureaucracy, did even more than this dirty job.

In return for this service as a disciplinary police orce over the workers, the governmental machinery protected and, to a certain extent, aided the bureaucracy in maintaining and extending the membership of the unions through union shop agreements, maintenance of membership clauses, and similar devices. A section of the monopoly capitalists wanted to smash the unions, or to try to smash them, even during the war. But they were compelled to restrain themselves and bide their time in the over-all interests of the class as a whole in uninterrupted production for the war. The membership of the trade unions grew and swelled and nearly doubled during the war and in the immediate post-war period - from approximately 9 million in 1940 to about 15 million trade union members at the present time.

The great accumulation of workers' resentment and unsatisfied grievances, which had been dammed up throughout the war years by the bureaucracy through the no-strike pledge, broke through in a mighty flood in the strike wave of 1945 and '46. The dominant section of the monopoly capitalists seemed to welcome these strikes as a test of strength. They were playing with the idea of meeting the warswollen unions head on and smashing them in direct battle. The profit hogs counted on a post-war reactionary swing in the country and tried their best to get it under way. They counted on using the returning veterans against the strikers, as they had done with considerable success in the period immediately following the first World War.

Unions Stood Up Firmly

These calculations of the monopolists proved to be badly timed. The unions, including the great steel union which had really never been tested in battle before, stood up firmly in the strikes; and the bulk of the veterans, as well as the middle class elements in the urban centers, sympathized with the strikers.

By and large, the workers and the unions came out of the first postwar conflict victorious. The

tempered in struggle; and some wage increases were gained, even though the latter had only a transitory

Following this initial setback to their calculations the monopolists got their second wind and began to organize and whip up a real campaign of reaction in the country. As the strike wave subsided, the press and radio were mobilized to swamp the people with anti-labor propaganda. The government was compelled to abandon its pseudo-neutrality and come out openly as a strikebreaker.

The breaking of the railroad strike by President Truman in the spring of 1946, and the injunction against the miners in the fall, were the first big demonstrations of the new capitalist offensive. They served the purpose of dampening the militancy the workers to a certain extent. The workers felt impelled to draw back, to take a more cautious attitude, to wait and see what might develop furthel before taking any further action on their own ac-

At the same time, these blows scared the wits out of the trade union bureaucrats and softened them up still more in relation to the employers and the government, while hardening them still more against all really militant and progressive tendencies in the trade union movement.

Beginning of Campaign

But the breaking of the railroad and mine strikes by governmental action was only the beginning of what was coldly designed as a long drawn-out campaign, on the part of the ruling capitalists in this country, to terrorize the labor movement; to domesticate the unions and put them more firmly than ever under the discipline of an ever-more servile and conservative bureaucracy; to lower the standard of living of the workers; and to prepare public opinion for another war - this time against the Soviet

Having tasted blood in the first two encounters of the second stage of postwar developments - the railroad strike and the mine strike - the monopolists then turned loose an unrestrained campaign | finally won 15c plus the important of reaction, which, in its essence, is simultaneously the preparation for war and the preparation of a fascist movement in the United States.

The anti-labor offensive to domesticate the unions and beat down the standard of living: the preparation for war; the red-baiting drive, and the prefascist mobilization - all these are not merely inter-related phenomena; they are in reality united as different phases and aspects of one and the same campaign. This is graphically illustrated by the se-

The breaking of the railroad strike was followed by government capitulation to the "sitdown strike" of the meat trust and the removal of all price controls. Next came the injunction against the mine strike. The hue and cry against the Soviet Union then prepared public opinion for the enunciation of the Truman Doctrine, which was nothing more nor less than an announcement of the American imperialist program to dominate the world by economic pressure and military force. The Truman Doctrine was

(Continued on Page 2)

The New Situation FASCIST THREAT MOUNTS AS GRISIS GRIPS FRANCE

Dairy Strikers Win Cost-of-Living Bonus in Toledo

THE

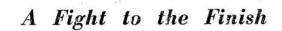
TOLEDO, Nov. 26-A four day strike has brought a mashing victory to AFL dairy workers here. The final settlement provides for wage adjustments based upon a cost-of-living index to be made every three months, in addition to a 15c an hour increase effective immediately.

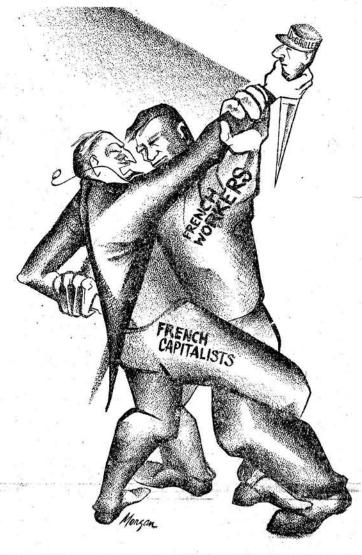
The 15c increase brings the base rate up to \$1.40 an hour. This rate becomes the minimum below which adjustments cannot be made. There is no ceiling on upward adjust-

The brief strike was marked by an attempt by the dairy owners to create a critical situation on a city wide basis. Only the workers in one dairy actually went on strike. The other six Toledo dairies thereupon immediately locked out the r workers, thereby creating a serious milk shortage. Undoubtedly they hoped to provoke a crisis and invite the Taft-Hartley NLRB into the

However, the employer-created shortage of milk, the usual crocodile tears of public offic als weeping over the poor kids and so on, had no effect on the strikers. They rejected successive company offers of 5c, 61/2c, 71/2e and 121/2c, and cost-of-living adjustment provision.

The dairy workers of Toledo have pointed out the correct read to all





Palestine Partition Incites Arabs Against the Jews

By Irving Dale

Palestine. Moslem religious lead- international area of Jerusalem. ers have issued a call for a "holy INTERIM COMMISSION war" to prevent the partition. The main target of the Arab demonstrators was the Jews. At the same time their wrath against American imperialism was expressed by attacks on U.S. embassies and burning of U.S. flags.

On the other hand, the UN deciwar Europe, the establishment of a which they will be masters of their own destiny.

The UN resolution calls for the of Vermont, into three zones-

An interim commission of the UN has been set up to take over the reins of government from the British, whose mandate expires on Aug. 1, 1948. This commission will gov-"until such time" as it declares them competent to govern them- First World War. We see a living sion to carve a Jewish state out of selves. It will also govern the international zone.

In adopting this decision, the UN ran roughshed over the clearly ex-

Toronto Trotskyis's Run Candidates

TORONTO, Canada - Ross Dowson, National Secretary of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotshyists), and Harry Clairmont, recording secretary of ILGWU Local 14, are the RWP candidates for Mayor and Controller respectively, in the municipal election to be held New

Dewish state, an Arab state and an pressed desire of the Amb majoriinternational zone. The proposed ty in Palestine and over the unre-Widespread violence and Jewish state would occupy 55% of mitting protests and even threats rioting spread through the the territory; it would contain 538,- of war by the entire Arab Middle Arab general strike was called

Arab general strike was called

Arab general strike was called in Palestine in response to the 100,000 Arabs and a like number of curing peace in the Middle East. UN Assembly decision to partition Jews will live in the UN-controlled But the members of the UN themsclves know that their partition plan only provides the basis for continued strife between Jews and Arabs.

> Setting up of artificial boundaries between peoples has never solved national problems, but served only ern the Jewish and Arab states to intensify national enmities. This was true in the Balkans after the example of it in the Indian partition today. The Palestine partition will be no less bloody. The imperialists are past masters in the art of fomenting and exploiting nation-

al hatreds to serve their own ends. American imperialism pushed through the partition in order to used in the past by the British). Eritain, which abstained on every forced to cede her leading role in the Middle East to American imperialism. France is in the same position as Britain; her delegation he said, industry can pay highwould have preferred not to further antagonize the Arab world, but had antagonize the Arab world, but had

(Continued on Page 5)

Stalinists Bar Road to A Workers Government

DEC. 4-Capitalist France is being shaken to its foundations by a profound political crisis. Civil conflict is flaring in every major city. The ports are shut down. Transport and communications are crippled. Power is sporadic. The majority of the mines are closed. About 60% of production

is admitted tied up. Some 2,000,000 workers are on the nicket line.

The working class is unmistakably moving toward the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government. But the Stalinists, who gave the signal for strike action to serve their own narrow interests, stand in the way of a decisive and successful struggle. By preventing the workers from installing their own government, the Stalinists pave the road for the installation of a fascist dictatorship.

In city after city masses of strikers have taken over city halls, telephone exchanges, railway stations, power plants, factories, mines and other vital points. In some places they have been ousted by police ers Government, the Staling clubs and tear gas only to move in once more and again be ousted plus a sliding scale of wages. after the capitalist government. Over this struggle looms rushed armed reinforcements.

keep the working class in check.

while paving the way for de Gaulle with the would-be French dictator. to assume power. Schuman took Two dispatches reveal what is in Paris, Marseilles, Strasbourg and wave and mounting inflation. Bourdeaux; purged the police demediate effect.

In the face of this brutal offenselves to a filibuster in the Assemthe Schuman regime, Although the the outbreak of World War H. to establish a Workers and Farm-France.)

Cold War Too Cool

For Walter Lippman

Walter Lippman, political pundit of the reactionary N.Y. Herald Tribune, is credited with cooking up the phrase "cold war" to describe the conflict between Wall Street and the Soviet Union. Now he is demanding more

In his Dec. 4 column he demands that the U.S. "build up and maintain an operational striking force" in Europe capable of delivering a sustained assault at long range." He demands that it be made "clear to Moscow" that "we shall not disarm but shall, on the contrary, rearm."

limited demands to urge increases

ominous shadow of the fascist-In Marseilles 21,000 troops are minded de Gaulle. As the strike patrolling the tense streets with wave reached a new high, General armored cars and tanks, hoping to Marshall delegated his right-hand advisor, John Foster Dulles, to leave The Schuman regime is mean- the London Conference to consult

office Nov. 23. By Dec. 4 he had the wind: The United Press reportcalled up 80,000 army reservists to ed from Paris on Dec. 3 that a serve as police; detailed 50,000 spokesman at de Gaulle's headroops to serve as "guards" on the quarters said "it was expected" de railways; organized strikebreaking Gaulle and Dulles "would discuss by the armed forces on a national France's political future in the face scale; raided the Stalinist press in of the Communist-inspired strike On the same day a N. Y. Herald partment for suspected strike sym- | Tribune | correspondent | reported pathizers; ordered government em- from London that "it was expectployes who struck suspended on half ed" Dulles would see General pay; rushed an emergency Army Charles de Gaulle "who may bebudget appropriation of 20,612,000,- come leader of France in the near 000 francs (\$173,140,000) through future." By way of emphasis this the Assembly; and stampeded a correspondent acided that "There savage French version of the Taft- also is a strong possibility that Hartley Slave Labor Law into im- General de Gaulle may become Premier again at any moment."

With reaction mobilizing both its sive, the Stalinists limited them- government forces and de Gaulle's camp followers, the danger to the bly against the anti-labor legisla- French labor movement is the tion and to futile attempts to greatest since the fascist drive tonegotiate strike settlement with ward power in the days preceding crucial need is an all-out struggle (See page 3 for more articles on

CIO Will Seek Wage through the partition in order to util to the Jews as a wedge in the Middle East (just as the were Raises, Leaders Say

CIO President Philip Murray on Dec. 3 announced that vote on the question, has been the CIO and its affiliated unions will seek "substantial wage increases for the American workers to restore their loss in real incomes suffered through inflation." At present profit levels,

able increase in prices.'

of wage increases was made by a not put off wage demands until meeting of Murray and nine CIO five months from now when workdecision was in direct response to fered another big slash. growing pressure from the CIO The very fact that the CIO leadworkers for a more realistic and ef- ers speak of a "third round" of fective program to defend their liv- wage increases within two years is ing standards than the CIO lead- evidence that they have failed to ership's futile pleas to the Big Busi- offer an effective program of deagainst the sliding scale of wages, Packinghouse Workers, who were ness government for a "roll-back fense against high prices. They

However, there is no indication backs" since 1943. er wages. They offered no pro-

independent wage struggle. But "control" prices. This continues to with price rises.

of 2 to 3% a month. The CIO lead- cost of living rises.

will be another 10 to 15% higher. The proposal for a "third round" If they meant business, they would vice presidents in Washington. This ers' living standards will have suf-

have been vainly shouting "roll-

Flat wage increases will only parganize a serious struggle for high- tially and temporarily restore the loss in real wages due to past price For years the top trade union gram of action to achieve wage increases. What is needed, in addiscribed the sliding scale of wages position of the Communist Party In their desire to cling to the leaders, including the Stalinists, gains and proposed no preparations tion, is contractual protection it has denied petitions of 13 CIO which with the approach of war lion are engaged in a tremendous ation. Now these same Stalinists prices" by the Big Business govern- They are still clinging to the uto- quires adjustable cost-of-living and one AFL union for collective will assume an ever more unbridled strike which has raised the sliding are forced by the pressure of the took the lead in attacking the slid- ment as a substitute for a fighting pian hope that the government will bonuses automatically increasing.

controls" linked to a wage freeze. now the inclusion in wage contracts of clauses providing automa-Prices are now rising at the rate tic upward wage adjustments as the

NLRB Tightens Slave Law Noose **Around Organized Labor's Throat**

tions Board is speedily tighten- retification and recognition. organized labor.

It has intensified its drive to enred-tape, undermine union security; destroy collective bargaining NLRB orders. rights of established unions and restrain union actions by court injunctions.

The NLRB has instituted court action against the AFL International Typographical Union and is threatening to invoke a strikebreaking injunction against ITU Local 16 which has struck six Chicago Big Business dailies.

TO UNDERMINE UNION

This NLRB threat is intended to force the ITU to sign open shop contracts in violation of its traditional closed shop policy. The law does not compel employers to hire non-union men, but the publishers are demanding that the union sign Trotsky, first advanced the millions of workers throughout the purchasing power of wages." a contract allowing them to hire non-union printers.

program of the sliding scale of capitalist world. The ITU is holding firm in Chicago and preparing to spread its Founding Conference of the Fourth heroic post-war strike struggles. strike to Detroit, Washington and other major cities.

Last week the NLRB announced refuse to sign the degrading and der the slogan of a sliding scale of | The leaders of the General Con- to the sliding scale of wages dediscriminatory "yellow dog" non-

communist oath. lective bargaining elections in two goods.'

refused to recognize despite two

000 CIO steelworkers who won a CIO union in New York. mand "yellow dog" oaths.

By Art Preis

International in September, 1938,

character, one can fight only un- scale of wages as a key issue.

wrote:

The National Labor Rela- Act went into effect, were denied Inc., is spearheading employer attempts to deny collective bargain- Palestine was met with jubilation The NLRB informed the Plank- ing rights to established unions, by virtually the entire Jewish poping the noose of the Taft-Hart- inton Packing Co., Milwaukee, that It refuses to recognize the CIO ulation throughout the world. After ley Act around the throat of it did not have to bargain with the Electrical Workers in seven plants being hounded from one country to CIO Packinghouse Workers if the and is demanding a collective bar- snother, after the ferceious orgies union did not sign Taft Act affi- gaining election. The union would of Nazi Germany, after two years davits. The union won an election be barred from the ballot because of hopelessness and despair in posttangle the unions in government in Sept., 1946, which the company it refuses to sign the Taft oath,

The NLRB last week threatened state has great appeal for the Jews. injunction restraints against AFL To them it looks like the solution In Nashville, Tenn., the Vultee employes of Western Union who of their problems - a country of Corporation has appealed to the are taking a strike vote. It secured their own where they can at last NLRB for an injunction against 2,- an injunction against a picketing be free from anti-Semitism and in

collective bargaining election on At the same time, the NLRB re-Aug. 21 and are now on strike be- ported that it has rejected on varicause the company and NLRB de- ous technical pretexts, 30% of the partition of Palestine, a territory signed affidavits of unions comply- approximately the size of the state The notorious Remington-Rand, ing with the Taft Act.

SLIDING WAGE SCALE--FIGHTING SLOGAN OF

scale of wages-known best in this | months in proportion to any rises | by The Militant and country at the adjustable cost-of- in the cost of living. This, the Con- Workers Party.

Now, in France, millions have in- ternational, against the bitter op- living index."

voges. This means that collective federation of Labor last week an- mand. plants prior to the time the Taft Today the slogan of the sliding revise all wage scales every three sliding scale of wages as advocated ing scale.

Nine years ago the Fourth living bonus and escalator chause- federation leaders said, is an "in- Now, without a word of comment

Thus the militant French workers the Nov. 26 Daily Worker reports cemanding an adjustable cost-of- of prices." It was one of the first and cen- have made their own the slogan that the French workers are de- living bonus, with a lying editorial wages. In its basic document, "The tral demands raised by the resur- consistently advanced by the Inter- mand ng "an upward revision of all attack on the sliding scale of wages that the CIO knders intend to or-Death Agony of Capitalism," the gent Japanese workers in their nationalist Communist Party (PCI), wages every three months on a principle, entitled: "Escalator French Section of the Fourth In- sliding scale, based on the cost of Trap.

"Against a bounding rise in prices, on their banners. Nearly two mil- (Stalinist) leaders of the Confeder- conservative coat-tail of CIO Pres- have demanded the "rollback of for a real battle. masses at least to give lip-service ing scale.

agreements should assure an auto- swered the Schuman government's The Communist (Stalinist) Party Worker ran articles by Andrew On- wages is going to become the fight- Truman's proposal for "some price new demands, they must demand, they must demand the same than the communist (Stalinist) Party wages is going to become the fight- truman's proposal for "some price new demands, they must demand the communist (Stalinist) Party wages is going to become the fight- truman's proposal for "some price new demands, they must demand the communist (Stalinist) Party wages is going to become the fight- truman's proposal for "some price new demands, they must demand the communist (Stalinist) Party wages is going to become the fight- truman's proposal for "some price new demands, they must demand the communist (Stalinist) Party wages is going to become the fight- truman's proposal for "some price new demands, they must demand the communist (Stalinist) Party wages is going to become the fight- truman's proposal for "some price new demands, they must demand the communist (Stalinist) Party wages is going to become the fight- truman's proposal for "some price new demands, they must demand the communist (Stalinist) Party wages is going to be communicated the commun The CIO Electrical Workers and matic rise in wages in relation to offer of meager wage increases with in this country has for years con- da, devoted to a slanderous attack ing slegan of millions. Already the Fur Workers, which had won col- the increase in prices of consumers a demand for sizable increases in ducted a campaign of misrepresen- on "Trotskyites . . . inside the un- strong anti-Reuther opposition in PRICES SOARING basic wages, plus an agreement to tation and falsification against the ion with their 'demand' for a slid- the UAW has incorporated it into

Lota Labor, organ of the Minnesota International, founded by Leon has become the fighting slogan of dispensable guarantee to insure the on all its past false arguments CIO, in Aug. 1946, knifed the CIO

> During the CIO Steelworkers wage here too, as in other inflation-dis- be their real program. That is why If the workers are not to be negotiations last January, the Daily eased countries, the sliding scale of they again deferred comment on forced every few months to raise its program,

The Present Situation in the Trade Union Movement

Hartley Law. After that, all stops were pulled out on the against the Communist Party, is in reality the in the auto union. basic general formula which ties all aspects of those who clearly understand this essential fact, had been no differences of a programmatic tancy was the watchword. and take their stand on the red-baiting cam- nature between the two main factions in the paign accordingly, are capable of rendering leadership of the UAW. The Trotskyist auto mass unions - sometimes active and some- tion - the bureaucratic apparatus. any useful service to the American working class in the present situation.

The Black Hundreds of reaction, united under the general slogan of anti-Communism, clique fight. At the convention of 1946 they campaign. They played a far greater role than we fulfill our mission as revolutionists. But whom the Stalinists catered, while they were are aggressively invading every phase of American life today. In the press, the radio, the cause at that time he symbolized the strike of UAW elections, and were most probably the tion of impeccable formulas, cannot advance tionists with savage fury, have cynically demovies, education, in literary, cultural and the General Motors workers. But at the same deciding factor. scientific circles, the reaction is on the offensive.

It can and should be traced and analyzed in every one of these fields. But that would take the union by one faction. more time and cover more territory than is more time and cover more territory than is "Labor Statesman" fine ourselves to an analysis of the reactionary penetration in the most important and decisive field of all — the American trade union move-

The reaction must be fought on all fronts, but first of all and above all, on the most important front which must be lined up against it. That is the front of the American working class. It is from this point of view that we should review and analyze the new developments in the trade union movement, especially as they have been reflected in the recent major trade union conventions.

The proceedings of these conventions can tell us some interesting and useful things if we examine them closely and objectively, without prejudice or phobias to blind us: if we analyze them with the single purpose of establishing what is new that helps or hinders the class struggle of the workers against the

Class Criterion

This is the criterion - the criterion of the class struggle - by which we judge everything.

These conventions, on the whole, clearly reveal the main line of the new developments in the trade union movement since the first post-war wave of labor radicalism, represented the counter-offensive of the big capitalists and their political agents got under way.

The conventions show that the red-baiting reaction has penetrated into the trade union movement through the medium of the bureau- LUCK, MR. REUTHER." cracy, in the CIO as well as in the AFL. Adapting themselves to the terrific pressure of the plicitly so that the Toledo auto workers couldn't reactionary anti-labor combination on the one possibly misunderstand: "As Toledo locals ballot has made a big swing to the right.

policy of the CIO bureaucrats is their tendency and send a solid delegation which will go down to the in the unions more closely with the the line for Walter P. Reuther." capitalist government and subordinate them to ... Our decision to oppose the Reuther-ACTU fasten a monolithic bureaucratic rule over the gram to Washington, announcing his decision against the bourgeoisie. unions, in order to deprive the rank and file to "comply" with the Taft-Hartley Law. of the normal means of asserting themselves class treachery.

provide graphic demonstration.

was given a tumultous reception.

Following this obeisance to General Maras they said, for the "compliance" of the affiliated internationals with the Taft-Hartley class.

And a few weeks later Reuther, who had State Department Line been one of the cheer leaders for General Marshall at the Boston convention of the CIO.

balance between the factions in the leadership the UAW. - which gave the rank and file a means of intervening as an independent force - was bureaucracy in the CIO is real and deep-going dealt a heavy blow at Atlantic City by the and incontestable. The signs cannot be read victorious demand to give all power in the any other way. But it would be rash to conunion to one faction, and that faction the one clude that this is an accurate reflection of Hartley Law.

At the 1946 convention of the UAW, Murray, the dyed-in-the-wool bureaucrat, had to con- have been affected and influenced. Still more tent himself with a few joking references to have been intimidated by the fury of the antithe union "caucuses" which have been an out- red campaign which bombards them from every standing feature of the life of the UAW since side, from press, pulpit and radio, and which its inception, and which have been the main has been carried directly into the unions by instrument of its exemplary democracy. At the dominant bureaucracy. the 1947 convention a few weeks ago, the But the most important result of the sub-

soon followed by the enactment of the Taft- sweep, demanded "an end to power politics and gram of labor aggressiveness and militancy, pliance."

power caucuses in the UAW."

cided position on one side or another of the responded enthusiastically to the red-baiting swervingly along this line of principle can the UAW. The opportunists and careerists to supported Reuther for President, mainly be- ever before in determining the results of the a mere assertion of principle, a mere reitera- slandering and persecuting genuine revolutime, they supported Thomas for Vice-Presi-

Things began to change in the UAW after that 1946 convention. The Thomas-Addes faction, which included the Stalinists, stood still and did nothing; but, once he was established in the office of president, Reuther began to move aggressively to the right.

The strike leader blossomed out as a "labor statesman," concerned with all kinds of highfalutin "plans," employer-employe conferences, industry councils, and similar substitutes for resolute class action, which is the only thing that can do the workers any good. At the same time, Reuther put himself at the head of the reactionary campaign against the "red Law by strike action against the combined everybody against the Communist Party." This menace," transmitting the essence of the Truman-Marshall Doctrine directly into the UAW and the CIO.

Reuther as the leader of the General Motors Trade Unionists — were openly mobilized in strike, noticed what was going on and changed their tune. Pegler, who is against all labor one-third of the union, and of the convention leaders including the most conservative, ad- delegates, stood up against "compliance." mitted in a recent column that Reuther had been receiving a "warm press," as he called it. "Warm press" is right. Reuther became the a deep and wide swing to the right. And their beneficiary of a press ballyhoo campaign of vast proportions and remarkable uniformity.

The Hearst press, Time-Life-Fortune, Newsdailies, the Toledo Blade - all abandoned "neu- of the ruling class, in every conflict they have by the strike movement of 1946, subsided, and trality" in the UAW factional struggle and began to beat the drums for Reuther.

The New York Daily News, that well known "progressive" tabloid, headed its editorial on the struggle for convention delegates: "HERE'S

And the Toledo Blade put the thing exnd, and taking advantage of the passivity on the delegates who will go to the conventhe workers on the other —the CIO bureau- tion next month to decide which kind of union the UAW is to be, it is to be hoped that they The main ingredient of this right-wing will follow the leadership of Richard Gosser

against this reactionary program of undiluted the New York Times in a front-page dispatch on the offensive, as in the postwar strike period, when the turn of events brought us and contradictory, since they vary from one to remain faithful to his banner when the as a "capitulation" to the Taft-Hartley Law, wave, or passive and in partial retreat before opposition to the more according to the circum-situation is unfavorable, when weaklings and Ample detail could be recited to prove and broke the ranks of the CIO unions and started the reactionary catenated the reaction catena illustrate this trend. But a few salient facts a flood of similar capitulations. R. J. Thomas, class struggle is our guiding line in everything on the other hand, promptly repudiated Reu- that concerns the life of the union. In strikes; Consider this; General Marshall, the repre- ther's announcement; and the two other lead- in political campaigns; in the fight against sentative and symbol of imperialist militarism, ers. Addes and Leonard, stood with him in such anti-labor legislation as the Taft-Hartley was invited to address the CIO Convention and a last-ditch fight at the convention on this Law; and in union elections - our tactics, crucial issue.

Reuther rode to victory on a tidal wave this general line and designed to serve it. shall, the CIO Convention "left the door open," of support from influences which are not only

Murray, the arch-apostle of conservatism led the auto convention majority through that in the CIO, who takes his line directly from door of shameful capitulation; also, sad to the U.S. State Department, was neutral in say, with cheers, including the cheers of some the Thomas-Reuther contest for the Presinitwits who solemnly assure us that the de- dency at the 1946 convention of the UAW, gressive," if you please, and "in the UAW convention he openly endorsed Reuther, as gave to the government in return for a mess ination of the UAW by a single faction spontestimony to the solidarity of the most con- of pottage, which was ironically described as The democracy of the UAW, which has been servative wing of the CIO bureaucracy with assured to a large extent in the past by the the most conservative bureaucratic tendency in

which sponsored "compliance" with the Taft- the sentiment in the ranks of the unions. A complicated process is taking place there.

There is no doubt that some of the workers

which the situation requires, has been to stir

workers and the militants who cooperate with times dormant — this "third faction," which them did not see any ground to take a de- might properly be called the bosses' faction, accept no substitutes. Only by struggling un- toll of what was once an imposing cadre in faction.

dent. as they were already apprehensive of assume that the main mass of the militants, bureaucratic domination. While the revolution- old militants - and they had some splendid the danger of the bureaucratic domination of who built the magnificent movement of the ary militants are as yet a small numerical CIO in struggle against the employers and force, which is the case at the present time, and transferred their allegiance to a better the government, have changed their funda- they are obliged to take the concrete situa- party, with a cleaner banner. And many of Workers, and the Maritime Workers. Wherever cross currents and factional struggles between experiences, have fallen out of activity. the workers got adequate support and expres- different sections of the trade union bureaucrats sion from the leadership, they came out em- and strive to intervene in them in such a way phatically against any compliance with the as to serve their basic principles and advance to win them over; but the main core of the Taft-Hartley Law, the touchstone of labor's their cause. policy at the present moment.

This is further shown by the acclaim which A False Formula John L. Lewis received throughout the labor movement for his courageous defiance of the Taft-Hartley Law at the AFL Convention. It is demonstrated again by the position taken the radio, and the Catholic hierarchy - opsupport of the Reutherite capitulators, a good

A large section of the leadership of the CIO have undoubtedly, and most consciously, made power over the unions is enormously strengthened and reinforced by the support they get and will continue to get from the government. week, the New York Daily News, the Detroit and all the coercive and propaganda resources with the rank and file.

But the rank and file have not yet said their last word. Not by a long shot. The decision remains for the further development of events. Ultimately it will depend in the highest degree on the ability of the revolutionists in the unions - the men of the future - to analyze the situation correctly and to employ the right policy.

This is the gist of the situation in the American trade union movement today.

Main Enemy of Workers

The main enemy of the American workers is in their own country; and the name of that the red-baiting bureaucrats of today; and we it. And following from this, as B follows A, combination, was vindicated immediately after enemy is the capitalist class and the capitalist do not relax our antagonism or moderate our is their drive to throttle the democracy which the Reuther victory in the elections of dele- government. The only policy that can serve hatred for these betrayers at the present time has been both the pride and the strength of gates became clear. The very first result of the basic interests of the workers is one which when they are weakened, hounded, and runthe best unions in the CIO. Their aim is to this victory for "progress" was Reuther's tele- advances the class struggle of the workers ning. or crawling, for cover.

This is our criterion under all conditions always and everywhere, are subordinated to

"outside" the UAW, but "outside" the working today is the unceasing drive to harness the evitable trend of things under monopoly capital-

> We fought this trend with all our strength. even during the war. We centered our campaign then around the issue in which the whole problem was concentrated at the time "equality of sacrifice."

The fight which we and the best militants in the unions put up against the no-strike The rightward swing of the predominant pledge during the war did not meet with success, but it came close to it in the UAW Convention of 1944. The great fight made there by the militant rank and file was undoubtedly the main factor in preparing the ground for the strike upsurge that followed immediately after the termination of military hostilities.

Heroic Struggle

The strike wave of the postwar period was at the bottom an heroic, if only partly conscious, effort of the rank and file to break you need only to read the Stalinist press. out of the governmental straitjacket and assert their independence. The bureaucracy did not inspire and lead these struggles. They went along with them because they had nothing else to do.

The independence of the unions from the government was at its peak during the strike wave. The stranglehold of the bureaucracy was weakened, and rank and file democracy flowered. This is always the case when the masses are in motion.

Now the swing is again in the opposite direction. The "outside interference" of the government is again aggressively asserted in the unions, and the trend to re-establish and strengthen the bureaucratic stranglehold on the unions has been accelerated.

tionary militants remains the same: (1) the are taken to be. And they have not failed to fight to free the unions, to establish their notice the first results of the active and enerindependence from government control: and getic participation of the Trotskyists in the (2) the fight for trade union democracy, the general anti-Reuther opposition. necessary condition for the free interplay of ideas and the intervention of the rank and off and lose their enthusiasm for the oppo-

strike pledge, so it has been concentrated in itself. the recent union elections and conventions in

The swing to the right and the assault on up, encourage, and activize the most backward stuck persistently to this class struggle formula, cus. red-baiting campaign. And this red-baiting union democracy go hand in hand. Nowhere elements in the unions — the company men; and contemptuously rejected all empty abcampaign, which is ostensibly directed only is this truism more clearly demonstrated than the seekers of individual privileges; the skulk- stractions such as "progressives versus reac- great force in the UAW, reaching out for not be reconciled." ers who had to be forced into the union; the tionaries" in general, and "democrats versus control of the union. That was yesterday. To-We were slower than some others to get conservatives who found it wisest to remain totalitarians" in general. For there is no such day, as their showing at the convention graphthe reactionary campaign of preparation for a clear view of the real trend of developments quiet and passive in union affairs when class thing as a progressive who submits to the ically demonstrated, they are a weak and the auto union over "compliance" with the war and fascism into a unified whole. Only in the UAW faction struggle. For years there action was on the order of the day and mili- Taft-Hartley Law; and there is no such thing declining force, despised and hated by the Taft-Hartley Law. And proud likewise to be as a democrat who wants to "eliminate all great mass of the oppositionist militants. This "third faction," which is present in all factions" in the union except his own fac-

> us very far in the struggle for the liberation serted them in their time of weakness and de-But on the whole, we have no ground to of the unions from governmental control and feat. Meanwhile, many of the best of their mental attitude. This is shown by the con- tion in every union into account. They are the others of the old Communist Party cadre, ventions of the Rubber Workers, the Electrical obliged to take a practical attitude toward the disillusioned and discouraged by their unhappy

As a substitute for our formula, which takes the class struggle of the workers against the bourgeoisie for its criterion in every case, we by the International Typographical Union, have been offered once again in recent days which is today challenging the Taft-Hartley the all-embracing slogan of "united front of capitalist press at Chicago. Even in the UAW, political patent medicine is widely advertised where all the resources of the capitalist press, as a sure cure for all the ills afflicting society and the labor movement. It is even claimed to The capitalist press, which had lambasted erating through the Association of Catholic be a remedy for rheumatism and lumbago. But we still don't like it.

> This is the slogan of the U.S. State Department and the Thomas-Rankin committee as well as of the American Legion and the Catholic hierarchy, and similar "progressive"

> We know all about this slogan because we ead it every day in the press and hear it every hour over the radio. It is not made any more attractive to us when it is carried into the labor movement by such demagogues as Reuther; and it is not improved very much when others try to put a coat of red paint on it. The black still shows up through the red.

> We have been fighting the Stalinists as betrayers of the working class for 19 years; and it is not by chance that always and under all conditions the Stalinists see in us, their most irreconcilable enemy. But we fight them, not from the point of view of "democratic capitalism," and in combination with the capitalists and their lackeys, but from the point of view of the class struggle and working class democ-

We fought the Stalinists from this standnoint when they were strong, and fortified in their positions by their wartime alliance with

We fight the Stalinists always, and under all circumstances. And never have we dealt

them; and not a few of these militants have and for democracy within the unions. recognized us as the authentic representatives bureaucrats in the union

We Fight Stalinists

The general oppositional struggle against the red-baiters; against capitulation to the Taft-- the no-strike pledge which the bureaucracy Hartley Law; and against the monolithic domsoring this capitulation - has momentarily thrown us and the Stalinists into one camp. But that does not climinate the irreconcilable struggle between us and the Stalinists for influence over the non-party militants who make up the bulk of this oppositional camp. And in this struggle, at close quarters, the Stalinists are the losers in every engagement.

Let the Social-Democrats howl their heads off about our alleged "alliance" with the Stalinists, and our alleged "support" of the Stalinists. And let the little cousins of the Social-Democrats, the Shachtmanites, add their hystericalscreams to the chorus. They can't convince the Stalinists that there is any profit for them in this "alliance." For proof of that,

The Daily Worker performed the remarkable feat of reporting the UAW convention struggle. describing at length and in detail the composition of the caucuses, without saving a word about the position of the Trotskyist delegates. Labor Action performed the no less remarkable feat of producing a special convention issue which also discussed the contending caucuses and their composition at great length and in detail, without a single reference to the Gosser gang and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists in the Reuther caucus.

They were both inspired, it seems, by the same hopeful thought: "If we don't mention them, perhaps they will disappear."

The Social Democrats, and all their cousins and poor relations, can't convince the militant workers that we are "helping" the Stalinists. But now, as before, the task of the revolu- for these workers are not as stupid as they

The Stalinists immediately began to cool file in the determination of their own affairs. sition bloc, and to sabotage its fight by putting And just as this fight was concentrated up independent slates in the elections for conin wartime in the struggle against the no- vention delegates, as well as at the convention

By running their own candidates against

The Stalinists still have some good men who are worthy of a better party, and we hope Stalinist forces in the UAW now consists of old worn-out bureaucratic backs, who have played out their string with the auto workers, and who can't even get elected to office or on a convention delegation anymore.

The Stalinist bureaucrats know how to fight only when they have the power of the apparatus in their hands to use against weaker opponents. In unions like the UE, where the Stalinists control the apparatus, they are an aggressively vicious and evil power. But in other unions, where they have lost the apparatus, or have definitively lost the fight to seize it, they have lost also the will and the capacity to put up a real fight. They lack the convictions and the revolutionary class spirit which alone can inspire and sustain workers to struggle and sacrifice as a small minority in the face of difficulties and defeats. There is very little fight left in the soft, flabby and cowardly Stalinist bureaucrats when they are thrown the class struggle develops in ebbs and flows; out of office, and the tide is running against and that we must not take the present un-

the majority of the opposition bloc began to the conservatives and the revolutionaries in recognize the barrenness of the uninspiring the labor movement. The present unfavorable clique struggle which ended so disastrously, situation is a conjuncture, nothing more; and Questions of program expressing the vital in- it cannot be of long duration. terest of the workers were brought to the fore and made the center of the struggle. These Marxists, to give way to discouragement and new trends were already clearly evident at the to mistake transitory phenomena for the per-UAW Convention and were greeted with em- manent reality. The epoch of the death agony phatic approval by a large section of the best of capitalism can hold no other perspective militants. These militants want to fight the than a continuous succession of grandiose class capitulationism of the Reutherite bureaucracy, battles leading up to their final culmination without putting themselves at the mercy of the in the victorious revolution of the working class. treacherous maneuvers and zigzags of the Stal- The present reactionary offensive against workinists; and they want to fight the hated Stalin- ers' organizations, and the mounting assaults ist clique without falling into the arms of the

more important for the future of the UAW than ism which will be far deeper and stronger than the immediate results of the elections at the the first one, and must take a more political

Tactics Consistent

Our tactics in the different union struggles This perfidious action, which was hailed by in peace or in war; whether the workers are them more damaging blows than in the recent may appear at first glance to be irrational The non-party militants, previously influ- sletely consistent everywhere, and are designed float with the stream, but to swim against the enced by the Stalinists, have had an oppor- to serve the same basic purpose everywhere - stream. That is the task of the Trotskyist tunity at close range to compare us with the struggle for the independence of the unions cadres in the trade union movement today.

of their own, at the moment.

gates who are friendly to us, led the fight of the degeneration of the Stalinists. against the proposal of President Buckmaster to capitulate to the Taft-Hartley Law. They Our Responsibility did not withdraw from the fight because the Stalinist delegates happened to be on the same

In the UE, on the other hand, we are irreconcilable opponents of the Stalinist gang which bureaucratically dominates this union. We defend the democratic rights of the Carey-Block opposition, even though we are far removed from any sympathy whatever with its

all circumstances, and for the right of every for they have been selected out and tested in tendency to associate freely and to present struggle. They have learned how to stand up its views. For without this democracy the under heavy blows, to survive defeats and unions cannot live as independent organs of come back fighting. This intransigeant revoluthe workers, capable of serving the class in- tionary quality of our party, which militates terests of the workers.

concentrated example and the best test of sive, will represent the greatest attractive power revolutionary policy. The UAW is not only the of the party when the masses, impelled by the largest, it is also the strongest, most dynamic, very conditions of their lives, take the road and most democratic union. The Wage Earner, of struggle and seek for a resolute leadership. organ of the ACTU, refers to the UAW as the Destiny has laid a great responsibility on "key union" of the CIO. That is right, and the shoulders of those who make up our party there is a reason for it. The UAW was built today and who will join its ranks tomorrow. from the ground up in struggles which set the To live up to that responsibility, it is necessary pace for all the others. And not the least for us to look beyond the conjunctural episodes important of its struggles has been the struggle of the moment to the basic trends which point to preserve its internal democracy and resist to the future reality. bureaucratic domination.

acted and future of the UAW did not end at portance of our mission as the heralds and the the recent convention. Rather it really began organizers of the new day; that we never falter anew, on a higher plane, at Atlantic City, for in our confidence that the historic forces workit first began to assume programmatic form ing for the new day are stronger than all the there. The old clique struggle, with deals and retrogressive forces working to turn the clock horse trades for offices as the predominating backward to a new dark age of fascism and interest, began to give way at Atlantic City annihilating wars. Our task in the present to a straight-out fight of principle over the situation consists simply in this, to be true to most burning issue of the labor movement - ourselves and to our tradition. From that "compliance" with the Taft-Hartley Law. In everything that is necessary will follow. our opinion, that development in the UAW convention was really progressive.

The Shachtmanites coupled their violent work for the fusion of the Trotskyist party the struggle against "compliance" with, and the candidates of the Thomas-Addes-Leonard denunciation of our trade union policy with with the mass of the American workers. This adaptation to, the strangulating Taft-Hartley caucus, the Stalinists showed up their pitiful an abrupt repudiation of the unity agreement, is the formula that spells the revolutionary Law; and against all sections of the bureau- numerical weakness. At the same time they which they signed with us last February. Per- transformation of society.

tions by the Stalinophobes to the effect that are class principles at the bottom of this trade In the union elections and conventions, we the Stalinists "centrolled" the opposition cau- union elispute, and we can agree with Shachtman when he says in the Nov. 24 issue of

For cur part, we are proud to be a minority in such a fight as that which took place in a minority in the fight against vulgar and Stalinist bureaucratization, opportunism and reactionary red-baiters who aim to replace treachery, systematically repeated again and the traditional democracy of the UAW by the Our criterion is the class struggle and we again over the years, have taken a frightful monolithic domination of a single bureaucratic

Cur friends were not concerned there with any clique struggle for posts, but for basic propositions vital to the future of trade unionism in the United States. They fought for the independence of the UAW from governmental control and for the preservation of its internal democracy. The struggle for this program is a continuing struggle in all trade unions.

Our Perspectives

The first postwar wave of labor radicalism, signalized by the great strike movement of 1945-46, subsided and gave way to a strong counter-offensive of reaction which is still riding high. The victory of the right wing in the labor movement in general, and in the auto union in particular, are in the main the product of this wave of reaction which strengthens every conservative and retrogressive tendency in the labor movement.

At our party convention a year ago we somewhat over-estimated the depth and strength of the first postwar wave of labor radicalism. We counted on its continuance, when it was already beginning to decline and the reactionary counter-offensive was beginning to unfold in full force. This misjudgment of the conjuncture caused some disappointment and. perhaps, a certain disorientation in the party ranks, since the convention held out the perspective of a rate of party progress which could not be maintained in the unfavorable situation which followed the convention.

But that is an error easily corrected. The important thing for us to remember is that favorable situation as the fixed and final rela-Under the stress of the struggle in the UAW, tion of forces between the classes, and between

It would be unworthy of Trotskyists, of on their living standards, are in fact preparing the necessary conditions for a counter-attack That development, I venture to say, is even of the workers, for a new wave of labor radicalform.

> That is not a perspective of the distant future, but of the morrow. We must see it and prepare for it. A Trotskvist is above all one who knows how to fight for his principles,

Powerful pressures are brought to bear upon And by independence of the unions, we those who take up the revolutionary struggle of a class struggle policy, which is just as mean not only in relation to Washington, but against the greatest imperialist power in the free and independent of the dictates of Krem- also in relation to the Kremlin. At the same world, and by that against the entrenched lin diplomacy — which determines the current time that we were fighting the bureaucratic bureaucracy in the trade union movement who The heart of the problem of trade unionism pseudo militancy of the Stalinists — as it is domination of the UAW by the Reutherite- serve this power and enjoy its support. All free and independent of the diplomacy of ACTU machine, which is subservient to Wash- the other radical parties and groups which have unions to the capitalist state and to deprive American imperialism, which determines the ington, we were fighting with equal vigor taken part in the trade union movement, have conservatism and capitulationism of the other against the bureaucratic domination of the succumbed to this pressure; they have aban-National Maritime Union by the Stalinist ma- doned the fight for the interests of the workchine, which is subservient to the Stalin gang ers; and many of their activists have taken in the Kremlin. We go by principle, not by their places in the bureaucracy as housewhich faction among the bureaucrats happens broken functionaries. This has been the case to be on the same side with us, for reasons with the syndicalists, the anarchists, the Socialists and Social Democrats and their Yipsels, In the Rubber Workers Convention, dele- and the Lovestoneites. This is the real story

The Trotskyists alone remain in opposition. independent and revolutionary, concerned not with posts or personal advantages of any kind, but solely with the interests of the workers and their revolutionary future. The Trotsky'sts are the "incorruptibles" of the labor movement whom nobody can intimidate and nobody can buy.

The forces at the disposal of the party are We fight for democracy in the unions under not yet numerous; but their quality is strong, against us while reaction holds sway in the The struggle in the UAW presents the most labor movement and the workers remain pas-

A condition for the success of our struggle The internal struggle to determine the char- is that we never forget the transcendent im-

We must go deeper into the unions, taking our program and our tradition with us, and



Wall Street Moves Pawns On Chessboard of Europe

The clamor of the American capitalist press over the developing class struggle in France and Italy shows how the great issues at stake there cut across international boundary lines. The press makes no bones about its partisanship.

It is with Schuman and det for instance, the Truman Adminis- dreams of becoming the Franco of the strike wave in both countries, meaning thereby the use a sample of what is projected for the rest of Europe.

To achieve this mad plan of tionaries, Wall Street decided to go for this hatchetman too.

As Wall Street watches the course meet the workers' demands.

the police and armed forces in both victim. lands, fearing that they may be reagainst the strikers.

class, were made 'saviors" of cap-

American Big Business has a stake in the outcome of the strugism. it means the loss of huge in- them from going down, vestments held by the American TRY OUT PUPPETS ruling class in those lands.

Even worse from their viewpoint a working class victory would bring he workers throughout Europe to heir feet and inspire them to folcontinent. Capitalism else-

Wall Street is thoroughly aware hat danger to its system a single outstanding victory for the working class anywhere means today. Wall Street cannot afford to lose one major battle. In fact it cannot afford to mark time for long periods. It is forced to continually ad-

MUST STOP UP HOLES

formula of "containing" commu- hand. nism. The Marshall Plan imple- In France, Ramadier was Premier mented it. Bolstering capitalism when Wall Street decided the time to stop up the holes continually support to Ramadier, hoping to springing in the dike.

Unfortunately for Wall Street, loans, shiploads of wheat, promises however, dollars are not enough. of benefits under the Marshall Plan Arms too are required. And so Wall and so on. Street's last resort is a desperate But reaction there consolidated

Truman Administration, the Videla 1945.

government's armed suppression of

the Chilean coal miners has suc-

ceeded in breaking their strike. Dur-

plants were arrested. These union-

ists are being held prisoners aboard

Fuego, the "Siberia" of Chile.

aval craft or exiled to remote bar-

en regions such as Tierra del

When the Tories made consid-

erable gains in the recent municipal

elections, Winston Churchill, arro-

gant spokesman of British imperial-

govern without the moral support

and Laborites regarded this elec-

tion as a test of strength and a

test of national political sentiment.

They came through by rallying a

larger total vote for the Labor

The Labor Party leaders hailed

this expression of sentiment.

Churchill chewed his cigar in sour

Despite the increased total for

Expire

Watch the Date

On Address Label or Wrapper

Renew Before You Miss

Important Issues of

THE MILITANT

Party than they did in 1945.

silence.

a Labor Party member?

International Notes

ism declared that the Labor Party two days, November 26 and 27, in

had lost its mandate. "Hencefor- protest against the high cost of

ward," said this political watchdog living. Despite official warnings

of the British capitalists, "they will that the action would be consid-

and against the will of the people." ment, the strike was almost 100%

in England attracted wide atten- fic, railways and schools. To break

tion. Would the voters of Graves- the strike, Leino, the Stalinist Min-

Churchill once more by voting for fice and telegraph building. The

The dock and factory workers mier Mauno Pekkala, whose So-

Consequently the next by-election effective in telephone, airplane traf-

mitic program.

Gasperi and against the French tration is plunging recklessly ahead France. When the recent elections and Italian workers. It calls in the civil conflict in Greece revealed how the general's prestige for "firmness" in dealing with American involvement in Greece is has risen among the French reac-

of tear gas, clubs and bullets to world domination, Wall Street visu- of its fortunes on the political batalizes another war, an atomic war, tlefields in Italy and France and It worries about the "morale" of with the USSR marked as principal does everything in its power to help

With iron logic, Wall Street has bor, the American workers should luctant to use force and violence intervened in the affairs of Italy show where they stand. and France in accordance with The smashing of the Italian and It openly disusses ways and means these fundamental considerations. French labor movement would of making the fascist-minded de In the first period at the close of enormously weaken labor in Ameri-Gaulle the "savior" of France just the war when the working class ca. The workers here, consequently, as Mussolini, Hitler and Franco, surged forward and Wall Street's should do everything they can to the fascist butchers of the working own agents and quislings were too help their class brothers in Italy weak to hurl the workers and and France, if for no other reason italism in Italy, Germany and armed partisans back, Anglo-Amer- than to safeguard unionism in the ican imperialism accepted the serv- United States. ices of the Stalinists as professional But more than that is involved. counter-revolutionists.

The Stalinists, who had been victory of fascism in Italy, Gertossed to the forefront of the work- many and Spain paved the way for gle. If the workers succeed in top- ing class, carried out this perfidi- World War II. A fascist victory in pling capitalism in either Italy or ous job of judas-goat with their France today would similarly pave France and begin building the ra- customary cynicism, taking posts in the way for World War III. tional, planned economy of social- the capitalist governments to save

As the workers fell back in confusion, Wall Street poured billions socialism. of dollars into Europe. The aim was to provide enough relief to in France and Italy can prove to ow suit. Socialism would sweep stave off revolution and to build up be a decisive turning point that Wall Street's own political agencies will vitally affect the future of where could not long survive such with all possible speed in order to American labor. Such a struggle dispense with the services of the

In Italy, Washington and the for the Italian and French workers. Vatican did their utmost to bolster de Gasperi after trying out a number of other puppets. American troops remained in Italy as a measure of force. As soon as de Gasperi was deemed strong enough to stand alone, word was given to oust the Stalinists from his regime:

Since then, Washington has made The Truman Doctrine expressed concession after concession to de this political necessity with the Gasperi to strengthen his political

program of conquest. That is why, around deGaulle, the general who

ment workers in Finland struck for

ered "revolt" against the govern -

strikers returned to work after Pre-

with conscription into the army and

Chiang Kai-shek ran into a little

loss of their jobs.

Real Issue in France and Italy Is Who Shall Run the Country?

fascist pattern.

simply-who shall run the country?

vert attention from the life and

These sections of the labor bu-

reaucracy seek to limit the strug-

beyond the narrow, selfish goals

But the problems faced by the

Italian and French workers demand

a fundamental solution that can

only be found on the plane of gov-

The millions of French and

Italian workers have been forced

into one strike struggle after an-

other since the end of World War

down of capitalist economy. In-

dustry and transportation, devastat-

ed by the imperialist conflict, can-

not be reconstructed at a rapid

pace under the chaotic manage-

The capitalist government, com-

empire, they could not offer the

Similarly in France. The pre-

war colonial empire seethes with

unrest. Parts of it have already

And the attempt of the French im-

empire saddles the ruined economy

war and the endless expense of an

expanding military machine.

ment of the capitalist class.

to resort to strike action.

is far worse.

II because of the general break-

they wish to achieve.

FORCED TO STRIKE

ernment power.

death question of who shall rule.

No School in Paris



As school teachers in Paris join the mounting walkouts for increased wages, these children accept the situation cheerfully. Here they gather cutside school to read the news about the shutdown in a "Notice to Parents."

French Trotskyists Call For Workers Government

By Ria Stone

reaction put the fascist yoke on la-

Every worker should recall how the

A workers' victory, on the other

hand, could touch off a world-wide

swiftly put an end to capitalism

and usher in enduring peace under

Thus the outcome of the struggle

calls for active intervention by the

unions—against Wall Street and

revolutionary movement that would

everywhere in the world means had come to kick out the Stalinists, clearly calls upon the masses the construction of socialism. rushing with sandbags of dollars For a while Washington gave main for united action, a general SAVED CAPITALISM strengthen him politically through a Workers and Farmers Govern- placed in power by the workers. Socialists hang on to the coat-tails capitalism from going down. of the French capitalists. The

With the help of generous emer- forward to socialism in accordance paper La Verite (The Truth), pre- French Trotskyists, hounded and gency allocations of ceal from the with the mandate given them in sent an anti-capitalist program: decimated by the Gestapo, continnationalization of industry without ued to publish La Verite illegally. Hoping to capitalize on middle indemnity, workers control over in- They were in the forefront of the class disillusionment with the Labor dustry, the organization of a net- workers' struggles and fought Party, Mosley, the British fascist, work of strike committees and com- against deportations, racism and ing the reign of terror, an estimated 1,000 union leaders from the
mated 1,000 union leaders from the
of the "Union Movement," with an
fascist menace. Their policy is to the Maquis against the Nazis and coal mines and copper and nitrate anti-parliamentary and anti-Se- say what is and to teach the work- their collaborators, they were the ers to rely only upon their own rev- only party to appeal to the Gerolutionary will and strength. This man soldiers to fraternize with the Mosley's scheme, like that of policy did not begin yesterday. | workers of Europe and join in the In the revolutionary crisis of struggle for a socialist world. Hitler's, is to come to power on the 1934-36, after the French fascists | During the Stalin-Hitler pact, the basis of a crisis in which "people look for anyone to show them the had made their first bid for power, French Stalinists continued to sub-

Between 40,000 and 60,000 government workers in Finland struck for

strike and the establishment of The Blum Social-Democrats were ment. That party is the Interna- Some 2,000,000 followed up by occutionalist Communist Party (PCI), pying the factories. Blum neverthethe French section of the Fourth less blocked formation of a Workers International. The miserable French and Farmers Government and saved

The Stalinists called the policy treacherous French Stalinists are of the Trotskyists "provocations" interested only in using the workers and with their Popular Front line to further the passing aims of the joined the Social Democrats in bolstering up French capitalism.

The French Trotskyists, in their Under the Nazi occupation, the

the Trotskyist Party was the only ordinate the class struggle to Stalone which called upon the workers in's foreign policy. Until the in- been lost. Indo-China is in revolt. In the critical situation in one which called upon the workers in 5 locality points in 1941, they distorbed their own defense vasion of Russia in 1941, they distorbed their points in France with France today, only one party against fascism and go forward to tributed their paper in France with perialists to regain their colonial the tacit approval of the German authorities. After the invasion, with the enormous costs of colonial they took part in the resistance movement but at the same time called upon the workers to place their confidence in de Gaulle...

WARNED THE MASSES

Meanwhile, La Verite warned the collaborator, Laval, and the Allied collaborator, de Gaulle, were their

the leader of the French Nation and took key posts in his government. From 1944 to 1947, while the French Trotskyists were explaining to the workers that they could solve their immediate problems only by establishing their own rule, the Stalinists urged them to increased efforts at the bench and checked their strike struggles.

April,1947, was a turning point in the French labor movement. The The Trotskyists, despite their nu- and the threat of fascism. merical weakness, took a prominent In 1934, soon after Hitler took granted in the period of its rise part in organizing this strike. HAVE WON RESPECT

still strong among the French work- class battles, the French workers re- Trotsky said the workers must Although Stalinist influence is ers, the ideas of Trotskyism are sisted the rise of reaction. They gaining in popularity. The loyalty had the numbers and fighting caof the Trotskyists to principle has pacity to enable them to set up advanced militants.

has for rapid growth in the near "WHITHER FRANCE?"

The capitalists see this very clearly. To retain power they are prepared to resort to any case of France of somehow hangmeans, including ruthless dic- ing on to the colonial empire.

tatorship cut according to the All this means that the French and Italian workers can solve their The working class as a whole economic problems only by ending does not see this key issue with capitalism and building a socialist equal clarity. That is so because economy. Consequently every major the Stalinists, Social Democrats and struggle of the workers inevitably trade union bureaucrats who head leads at a certain stage to a chalthe working class have done their lenge of capitalist rule.

utmost to obscure, confuse and di- GUARANTEE PROFITS

The one issue that stands out above all others in the col-

ossal struggle now rocking France and Italy can be stated very

The capitalists seek a definitive answer to this repeated challengea totalitarian government to smash the working class organizations, gle and prevent it from passing terrorize the masses, decapitate their leadership, and hold down the standard of living to levels that will guarantee the capitalists their sacred profits.

The leading candidate for the fuehrer to head such a regime in France is de Gaulle, Reaction has consolidated under his banner and as Leon Jouhaux have the same he is now biding his time, waiting aim. At present Jouhaux is headto come to power at the most pro- ing a "back to work" movement. pitious moment as did Mussolini, thus breaking labor's ranks during Hitler and Franco.

That moment will come if the working class fails to go forward- equally treacherous role. Up until if it fails to establish a Workers and Farmers Government and set- of Foreign Ministers they too tried tle accounts with the entire capi-

Inflation wipes out wage gains as If the working class instead of fast as they are won and the workers are compelled again and again the capitalists to retain power, then the fascist movement with the assistance of such politicians as Premitted to safeguarding profits as mier Schumah will open up its ofits first task, cannot satisfy the fensive.

economic needs of the workers. Even before the war, when the Italian capitalists tapped a colonial workers a satisfactory standard of living. The poverty of Italy today ing class.

KNIFE'S EDGE

The strike in France places the fate of the country on a knife edge. The workers clearly have the power to set up their own government now. In the language of politics they are telling their leaders, "Go ahead; end the present unendurable situation; organize so-

The Italian and French capital-But these leaders have no such ists. have no perspective beyond handouts from Wall Street, the want to maintain the status quo. hope of sharing as minor partners They performed yeoman service in road to a Socialist United States of French masses that both the Nazi in Wall Street's projected conquest bolstering capitalism by accepting Europe with its guarantee of en-



ing the "austerity" program of the

The trade union bureaucrats such

The Stalinists are playing an the eve of the London Conference to block the working class from moving forward. Even after being kicked out of the capitalist governgoing forward falls back, permitting | ment they continued to back French capitalism.

They finally conceded to the pressure of the workers for strike action only when it coincided with the foreign diplomatic requirements Wide sections of the middle class, of the Kremlin. Then without redisappointed by the failure of the gard for timing they did their utworkers to take over, will shift to most to stage a nation-wide demonde Gaulle, further strengthening his stration - not for the purpose of forces at the expense of the work- bringing a Workers and Farmers Government to power - but to put pressure on Wall Street in order to get better terms for the Krem-

plained the real issues facing the French and Italian workers and advocated the program of revolu tionary socialism to meet those is sues. The swift spread of that program among the workers is the great hope for a successful struggle intentions. The Social Democrats to save France and Italy from capitalist reaction and open up the of the Soviet Union, and in the key cabinet posts and administrat- during peace and unlimited plenty.

Gives Key to Situation of Today

By Evelyn Atwood

strikes and political demonstrations in France continues today-after interruption by the and French capitalism in particustrike of the Renault auto works war—many features of the lar, was heading toward complete was initiated against the opposition heroic struggles of the French bankruptcy. It could no longer asof the official Stalinist trade union workers in the middle 1930's. Then, sure the people either bread or RAISED RED FLAG leaders. The Stalinists were given too, they sought a revolutionary so-peace. Capitalism could no longer a serious setback by the workers. lution to capitalist anarchy, wars afford even democratic reforms, but

power in Germany, a similar social crisis began unfolding in France. In wave upon wave of gigantic ted one fact—that more than two and a half years after the won them great respect among the their own Workers and Farmers must be placed in the hands of the The warm interest in the Trot- back by the leaders of the Commuskyist program shown by the youth nist (Stalinist) and Socialist parties

The mounting wave of mass Trotsky explained the revolutionary Farmers Government." Such a nature of the crisis.

> must take back those it reluctantly and replace them with fascism. Since capitalism could no longer be made to work for the people. the right of capitalist private property. The means of production

Trotsky explained that a genuine struggle against fascism could only act. It opposes the working class of the Socialist Party, which has and by the heads of the General be carried out by the independent as a whole to the bourgeois state the PCI, indicates what excellent feared to mobilize them in the The anti-fascist struggle, he point- ly the question of the conquest of one. But it must pass over to an Stalinist and Socialist leaders, who In a series of articles, later pub- offensive under the general slogan

struggle requires the formation of Trotsky began with the funda- a Workers' Militia. In sharp conmental fact that world capitalism, trast to every other political tendency, Trotsky emphasized that "Other than the socialist revolution, there is no way out." In 1936 a million and a half

French workers undertook the offensive that Trotsky predicted. They engaged in gigantic sit-down strikes and raised the red flag over the factories they occupied. They had power within their grasp, but were robbed of this power through the treachery of the "Popular Front" leadership. In 1938 the French workers were poised on the verge of a general strike.

The general strike, Trotsky said, is "by its very essence a political . . . The general strike poses direct-

power by the proletariat." But the light-mindedly played with this "sharpest weapon" of the class struggle, had no intention of mobilizing the working class with the perspective of establishing a Workers and Farmers Government. In a revolutionary situation-

question of victory for the working

Once more, "the French people have arrived at the crossroads: one way leads to the socialist revolution; the other to Fascist catastroby a new government of their own. But the Stalinists once again in- phe. The choice depends on the What disturbed the State De- sisted that all they want is posts in working class." As in 1936 the

> GIVE THIS MILITANT TO YOUR SHOPMATE ASK HIM TO

Hint U. S. Troops to Stay in Italy Washington has indicated its vance guard of a squadron of 11 ing the committee, agreed to re-

quested."

The Italian Foreign Ministry ad-

that events in Italy were taking." play of force, three American crui- sympathy with the workers.

partment the most apparently was de Gasperi's cabinet. They have workers will have their chance, but the general strike in Milan Nov. 28. sabotaged a concerted general na- "victory is conceivable only on the When the prefect, Troilo, was dis- tion-wide struggle, having refused basis of the methods of Bolshev. and other strategic points.

there continues to sharpen. That militant political demonstrations. graphic demonstration of the ease ary program and an incorruptible is the meaning of the order post- City halls have been taken over. with which the working class in leadership capable of carrying the poning withdrawal of American Battles have been fought with the Italy could set up a Workers and struggle through to the very end. police. Barricades and road blocks Farmers Government if the Stalinhave been thrown up in a number ists did not stand in the way.

sers steamed into Naples, the ad- Only when the Stalinists, head- Italy.

the Labor Party, however, the ma-Democratic minority parties, assur- frontiers closer to the Soviet Union. der to stage nation-wide strikes jority over the Tories declined from ing them of election in a few dis- Molotov's aim is to keep them nailtroops from Italy. and political demonstrations. These 7,000 to 1,675. This indicates a shift Scheduled to leave on .Dec. 3, ed down. evacuation was delayed on Nov. 29 of areas where the populace seeks are intended to convince Wall until Dec. 14, the deadline set by to replace the capitalist authorities BIG QUESTION in the middle class sentiment. Like Similarly in the conflict over a Street it should postpone armed the results in the municipal elec-But if these parties were anxious government for Germany. Washconflict and make a deal favorable tions this is a grave warning of to share in the spoils of office in the Allied peace treaty. ington has threatened a separate to the Kremlin. growing impatience over the failure collusion with Chiang, the Kuoof the Labor Party leaders to re- mintang machine politicians whom peace if the Kremlin doesn't meet A trial balloon was sent up to Washington meanwhile antest public reaction to a still longer Wall Street's terms; that is, estabnounced the setting up of an atomic construct British economy and go they were to supplant were no less bomb testing station at Eniwetok postponement. A Dec. 2 Rome dislish a puppet government in the atoll, and Lilienthal, the head of patch claimed that the "United western zones of Germany. Molothe Atomic Energy Commission, States Army would be willing to Running regardless of national tov speaks for an over-all govern-Don't Let called for the doubling of atomic give the Italian Government miliparty orders, these Kuomintang ment, but one set up in such a way Your Subscription energy production. This saber rat- tary 'assistance and advice' if reward heelers "won" in their locali- that the Kremlin can maneuver it

ties by stuffing the ballot boxes against Wall Street. with "write-in" votes. So Chiang now faces the dilemma of overruling the results of the "democratic" election or of double-crossing his political allies. Braving Chiang's gunmen, many Union as reparations \$100,000,000, Foreign Ministers are not making a deep preoccuration over the turn strike. The army was ordered to it is but a step to the formation of voters expressed their disgust with one-third of Austrian oil produc- "peace" at London but dealing

ballots as choice of candidate: river shipping. "more rice and more land."

close of World War II, the Big Four are still at loggerheads over the peace treaties for Germany and Austria. tion. Would the voters of Gravesend back Churchill by electing a
Tory, or would they repudiate

The reason for this is com
up its claim to German assets in gravesthe Socialist Party, which has of the Soci junior partners, is demanding ma- mitting Anglo-American imperial- prospects the Fourth International struggle for revolutionary victory. ed out, might begin as a defensive jor concessions from the Kremlin ism and its satellites to penetrate

with the Stalinists, threatened them Kremlin in turn is trying to gain ritory. The Russian delegation time by reaching a deal with, Wall | turned thumbs down. Street while strengthening its ramparts in Eastern Europe.

FOR POSITION IN NEXT WAR

In this conflict, the London Controuble in fixing the elections to ference is nothing but a diplomatic the National Assembly. To foster bout. Take the dispute over the the illusion that the Assembly eastern frontiers of Germany. Marwould institute a national coalition shall claims they are not definitively government, Chiang made a deal settled. Molotov claims they are. with the Young China and Social- Marshall's aim is to push those

again illustrates how the former GIs there on the "Communist men-Allies are jockeying. This pro- ace."

In return the Kremlin would give as inevitable.

were fully aware that both Tories cialist Union Party had merged under threat of atomic war. The and become entrenched in that ter-

PRESSURE MOVES

While the Foreign Ministers sparred at London, Moscow and Washington has indicated its war ships.
ington made other pressure moves readiness to intervene in Italy red at London, Moscow and Washlower his terms. The Kremlin loosened the brake

on the workers under Stalinist influence in Italy and France in or-

tling was supplemented by a U. S. The French suggestion for a Army announcement in Germany "compromise" deal over Austria that it is now indoctrinating the

the whole farce by writing on their tion, and a major part of Danube thrusts and counter-thrusts in preperation for the new war they view

in hope of forcing the opponent to the way it is now intervening For three weeks now, Italy has fice. in Greece if the political crisis been blanketed with strikes and This seizure of power was a class hinges upon a bold revolution-

linquish power could de Gasperi's such as exists today in Francepolitical machine again assume of- Trotsky demonstrated that the

missed from office by de Gasperi, up to this point to call out the ism," Today in France that mean some 10,000 workers took over the workers under their influence in the program of Trotskyism. City Hall, the telephone exchange such key industries as the railways. The big question now facing Italy A "Citizens Committee" took over is whether the Stalinists will sucthe administration without the ceed in preventing the workers from mitted that the Italian Ambassador least violence or bloodshed, and ran going forward. If the workers take to Washington, "had been in almost this important city of 1,000,000 peo- power in other cities as they did in daily contact with the State De- ple for a day. The workers re- Milan and refuse to hand the reins

posed deal would pay the Soviet It is thus crystal clear that the partment, which . . . had shown sponded to its call for a general back to the capitalist regime, then move in but the generals refused. a Workers and Farmers Govern-On Dec. 1, in a threatening dis- The police likewise showed their ment and the beginning of a decisive struggle to end capitalism in

GENERAL DE GAULLE capitalist class. SAME AIM a crucial strike.

lin at the London Conference."

Only the Trotskyists have ex-

After the close of the war, the Stalinists acclaimed de Gaulle as Stalinists acclaimed the Branch Nation Trotsky's Book Whither France

THE MILITANT

"Entered as second class matter Mar 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879."

Monday, December 8, 1947



"Whatever may be the slogans and the motive for which the general strike is initiated, if it includes the genuine masses and if these masses are quite resolved to struggle, the general strike inevitably poses before all the classes in the nation the question: Who will be the master of the house? The leaders of the proletariat must understand this internal logic of the general strike, unless they are not leaders but dilettantes and adventurers. Politically this implies that from now on the leaders will continue to pose before the proletariat the task of the revolutionary conquest of power. If not, they must not venture to speak of the general strike. But by renouncing the general strike, they renounce thereby all revolutionary struggle, that is to say, they betray the proletariat to Fascism." —Leon Trotsky, 1935



"Austerity" Program Faces American People

U. S. TOLD IT FACES HARDSHIPS BUT prise" and a country untouched by war's devasta-MUST SPEED EUROPE AID; 'AUSTERE' CONTROLS PRESSED."

That is the main front-page headline in the Nov. 27 New York Times. What the American people face in the immediate future is described in two special articles.

One begins: "The European recovery program may cause definite hardship in this country . . the Truman Administration conceded for the first time today through an authorized spokesman at policy level." The other states: "An austere program in aid of Europe's hungry . . . was laid out for Congress by the Administration today."

Austerity and hardship. Those are the very words used to describe the hunger program put into effect in war-ruined and partially-devastated England. For weeks the American Big Business press has snickered and sneered at the British Labor government's "austerity" program and blamed England's ruin on the alleged "socialism" introduced by Attlee and Bevin.

Now we are openly informed that in the United States, the very citadel of capitalist "free enter-

tion, we face a future of "austerity" and "hard-

Is it to ease the plight of Europe's hungry? That is a lie. The Truman-Marshall "foreign aid" program contains not an atom of humanitarianism.

It is designed solely to prop up reactionary capitalist regimes which are this very day repressing and murdering workers-in Greece, in France, in Italy. It is designed to build Wall Street's springboard in Europe for world war.

We face austerity and hardship for reasons the Times articles fail to state. Here are a couple from other news releases last week:

"If it really means business," the U.S. government will have to double its expenditures for atom bomb plants-spend 5 billion dollars-said David Lilienthal, Atomic Energy Commission chairman. The United States must spend new "billions" for

a military air fleet with bases throughout the world, Truman's Air Policy Commission is proposing.

In short, American Big Business is getting ready for atomic war to dominate the whole globe. That is why Washington offers only "austerity" and "hardship."

of labor, not even when one happens to be a woman

like Mrs. Edna Martin, 41, and widowed mother of

six children. Because she worked for the CIO Tex-

tile Workers Union, she was kidnapped, tossed

half clad into a truck, thrown out on the road and

threatened with death, if she returned. And in

Phoenix, Arizona, Governor Osborn's seasonal good

will was expressed by calling out the troops against

striking CIO lettuce packers and declaring martial

this is no season of joyfulness for Mr. and Mrs.

Kelly and their seven children, who are facing evic-

tion-in midwinter-from their Brooklyn basement

home. Nor for the 90 families a week evicted from

Detroit homes, nor for the hundreds of others evic-

"Peace," cry the warmongers. "Good will,"

chime the price gougers. That's the 1947 capitalist-

ted daily throughout the country.

style Christmas spirit.

The landlords may have good cause to rejoice but

Christmas Spirit, Capitalist Style

This is the Christmas season, when parents think There's not much good will toward organizers of toys for children, when Christmas trees are ordered for decoration, when the newspapers remind you that the days for gift shopping are numbered and fill their pages with enticing ads. This is the season portrayed in press and pulpit, in schools and homes, in offices and shops as the harbinger of Peace on Earth, Good Will Toward Men."

This ballyhoo exploits the genuine desire of the people for peace and good will. But just how much good will is there in this capitalist United States?

There's scarcely peace, let alone good will for those whose skins are colored. In Logansville, Georgia, near which two Negro men and their wives were lynched last year, every Negro church and school in the community was recently destroyed by fire, and white mobs have let loose another reign of terror. And in the far North a 19year-old Negro veteran, returning from a visit to the "Freedom Train" in Rochester, N. Y., was murdered in cold blood by six white policemen, who were promptly exonerated.

Sealed Train in Indonesia

Brutality has become such a standard part of the capitalist system in this epoch that a new shocker rarely rates more than a brief inch or two in the press. After all, what difference does it make if a few more die before their time? And what difference how they die? Is there anything less secred or less valued under capitalism than human life?

Take, for instance, the small dispatch from Indonesia sandwiched the other day between the joyous Christmas advertisements.

The Dutch Army in Indonesia, said the dispatch, loaded three box cars with 100 Javanese they had taken in the colonial war. They sealed the box cars. Then they hauled this human cargo across Indonesia on a 15-hour journey.

Since this cargo was less valuable than cabbages, fertilizer or hogs, no inspection was made until it arrived. No food. No water. No fresh air.

When the Dutch officers finally got around to opening the first carload of 44 Indonesians, 11 had to be taken to the hospital. In the second car of 29, they found 8 dead. In the third car of 38, not

If we were in the spirit of the times we would

pass up this incident as nothing out of the ordinary in the capitalist press. But with our revolutionary socialist ideas about the importance of humanity and the need to build a better world, we couldn't help thinking of that train as it crossed Java with its cargo of doomed men.

What were their thoughts as they pitched against the box car walls in the dark, fighting for air? Did they waste breath screaming for help? Did they perhaps repent their "crime" of fighting for the freedom of their country the way the American patriots of 1776 fought for freedom from the foreign tyrant?

As they died, did they spare a thought for the America of 1947 that supplied the arms used by the Dutch imperialists to subjugate their land? Did they recall the American promise during the war to bring them "Four Freedoms?"

The dispatch didn't say anything at all about such things. Nowadays horror and suffering under capitalism isn't news. The murder of 46 Indonesians in sealed box cars isn't worth more than a couple of sentences alongside the cheerful and highly profitable Christmas ads.

Miners Tell Gov't "Hands Off!"

tice that it doesn't want government intervention in any way, shape or form when coal wage negotiations begin in 1948.

The current issue of the union's Mine Workers Journal bluntly says: "The coal miners have had enough-in fact too much- of government meddling in coal affairs and we want no more of it."

The Journal especially points out that "some anti-union-minded coal operators" want government controls restored so "they can have the Government front for them when wage negotiations start."

It is easy to understand why the miners distrust any government "regulation" in the coal industry, even when it is camouflaged as "price control" or "aid to Europe."

They have learned through bitter experience that no matter what pretext the government uses for intervening in the coal industry, the miners always get it in the neck.

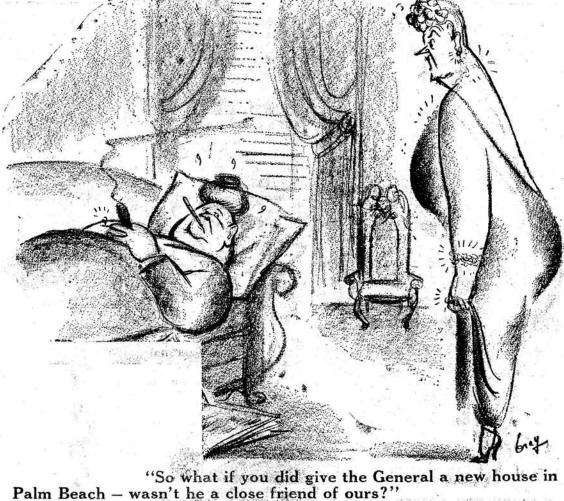
This capitalist government has repeatedly wrapped an anti-union club in an American flag and

The AFL United Mine Workers has served no beaten the miners over the head with mine "seizures," injunctions, troops, million dollar fines and other types of plain and fancy strikebreaking.

> Every time the miners have fought for better wages, decent working and living conditions or mine safety, the government has done the coal barons' dirty work. No wonder the miners prefer to battle it out with the operators without government interference.

> The miners have learned their lesson. Other workers whose strikes have been busted from Washington have learned this lesson, and more workers will learn it in the not too distant future. The lesson is a simple one. It is that this government, under the thumb of Wall Street, and run by Wall Street's hired hands, always intervenes against the

> Only when the American workers throw these Big Business flunkies out and put in a Workers and Farmers Government will the situation be altered. The way to start is to build a Labor Party now.



Palm Beach - wasn't he a close friend of ours?"

The Role of the Stalinists In the CIO Auto Workers

its echoes among the profes- EXPOSED WEAKNESS sional Stalinophobes within the labor movement, deliberately misrepresented and exaggera- tion when they treacherously vioted the influence and role of lated the democratic decisions of the Communist (Stalinist) Party in the recent CIO United Auto Workers convention.

They tried to smear as Stalinist "fellow travellers" and "stooges" all opponents of Walter Reuther and his arch-reactionary allies of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, whose battle-cry was "Get he Commies!"

Prior to the UAW convention, The Militant exposed this attempt to tar the militant opposition to the Reuther-ACTU machine with the Stalinist brush. We pointed out that the Stalinists were a weak and discredited influence in the UAW, without weight or influence.

PASSED JUDGMENT

We showed that the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus, which contained the best and most conscious UAW militants, was overwhelmingly anti-Stalinist in its ranks and by the genuine militants. contained not a single Stalinist in

The events of the convention fully confirmed our analysis. The Stalinists were reduced to such desperation and frustration by their pitiable influence and isolation within the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus that all their energies were de- DEADLY BLOW voted to attempts to disrupt and split the caucus.

more vigoriously on basic issues and known in the past . . . '

the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus build the progressive movement in overwhelmingly, bulk of the antiagainst Reuther for president by ment." recording an abstention or absentee vote. The Stalinists ran John De-

of only a tiny handful of delegates. They swung a few more votes by Shelton Tappes, who is a close asran against both Reuther's candidates, Livingston, and the official candidate of the anti-Reuther caucus, Richard T. Leonard.

Even before the convention, the Stalinist Daily Worker gave sevblow up the Thomas-Leonard-Adalready been pushed into a corner

its leadership. The auto militants, tion, George Morris, professional it necessary to disassociate them- on a tour. without resort to red-baiting, had Trotskyist - baiter of the Daily selves from the coalition (Thomas-Communist (read Stalinists) and 'lefts' are a minority within it. The policy makers and strategists of the Addes-Thomas-Leonard bloc could cisive importance of influencing the best be described as 'middle-of-the- auto workers on the political issues road.' "

These disruptive attempts became that old relationships no longer ine militants came to the fore in longer any Addes-Thomas-Leonard the caucus and its leaders fought caucus in the sense that it has been concerned."

program. It was precisely when the In reality, "old relationships" record their debacle in the UAW. Thomas-Addes-Leonard group took could "no longer hold" because the And, as usual, heads will fall among

to the Stalinists.

Immediately after the convention, They exposed their weakness and Morris wrote: "However distasteful isolation before the whole conven- the result in Atlantic City is to the future citizens of the nation. many people, there may be good in opposition to the caucus. The future in the UAW belongs to those to lift. who get down to the ranks NOW to Reuther delegates decided to vote build a fighting rank and file move-

In short, the Stalinists now aim to build a "rank and file" faction

influence and aims in the UAW was running for vice president a Negro, painted in two articles by John in UAW." It is a bitter lamant.

'Despite the correct estimate of the Party nationally as to the deamong them, the Party as a whole did not show a day-to-day under-On the second day of the conven- standing of this and there must be tion Morris wrote: "The truth is registered an unsatisfactory ideomore open and furious as the genu- hold in the UAW. There is no status of work of the party in many

-that the Stalinists found the at- a feeble and stranded right wing. The Big Business press, and mosphere of the caucus intolerable. That was the deadliest blow of all

Vito of Cleveland who got the votes strictly under their own control.

A revealing picture of Stalinist

HEADS WILL FALL

"It is clear," writes Williamson that the influence of the Communists was only exerted in specific eral hints of the CP's intention to places and not uniformly, and that the disease of factionalism and jobs des caucus where the Stalinists had had penetrated even the fabric (sic!) of more than a few in the Communist ranks. In those in-On the very eve of the conven- stances when the Communists found that the workers would know of our criticism.

> of the day, and building the Party logical, political and organizational areas as far as auto workers were

Thus, the Stalinists themselves

firm and uncompromising stand genuine militants in the caucus had the lesser CP lights to atone for in the basic issue-opposition to exposed the "leftist" pretenses of the sins of the top leaders.

By John G. Wright

of Atomic Scientists is still There is no denying the urgency. seeking to rouse public opinion But when it comes to offering a sovise a stark threat.

Monopoly of atom bomb "secrets" is out of the question. Einstein, chairman of this Committee, as- sure, will just about fix everything. sumes that "the Russians will have efforts within a short time." No country is immune to attack. On on, the United Nations. They apvulnerable precisely by the discovery of atomic explosives.

In all this, Einstein and his felow scientists are performing a their own domination, highly progressive service, especialpublic opinion to the realization of

Atomic Scientists and the Warmakers

The Emergency Committee BUT NO SOLUTION

to the fact that the next war lution, Einstein and his Commitcertain to see atom bombs used tee remain as blind as the darkest on a large scale. These bombs, al- reactionaries. Einstein himself disready far more effective than those misses as "irrational" a drastic used over Japan or at Bikini, as- change of economic systems, the reserts Albert Einstein, who is sure- placement of capitalism by socially in a position to speak with au- ism. This is the sole means of thority, "will be plentiful and they averting war, because it alone pro- atomic scientists not only help agwill be comparatively cheap." More- vides the basis for a genuine world over, he warns that large scale use federation. He and his colleagues of radio-active poison gases is like- continue instead to plead for the formation of a capitalist "federation of nations," Such a "supranational" state, with or without Russia's participation, they feel

They have learned exactly noththis atom bomb through their own ing from the experience with two such "supranational" capitalist less myopic is the dream that this of Nations, and its even viler replibodies, namely: the defunct League he contrary, it is rendered more parently remain oblivious of the fact that Wall Street billionaries are hell-bent on building a "supranational" empire, "peacefully" or by brute force, but completely under

Simultaneous with the circulation what the consequences of atomic by the "Emergency Committee" of warfare will be. With these weapons its latest letter appealing for conas "the most economic form of de- tributions to its million dollar fund, truction," unless war is prevented, Robert A. Lovett, Acting Secretary it is likely to bring destruction on of State, appeared before the Air a scale never before held possible Policy Commission to demand the and even now hardly conceived, and immediate formation of an air

gardless of the admittedly "staggering cost."

And as if to underscore the speed with which atomic war plans are being pushed, Washington has just released news of the establishment of the Pacific,

By advocating an utterly fictitious solution to a grave danger, the gravate it, but they distract attention away from the warmakers who are thereby enabled to proceed all the more easily and rapidly with their death-dealing preparations.



32 pages 10 cents

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MOTHER JONES

THE MARCH OF THE MILL CHILDREN

In the spring of 1903 I went to Kensington, Pennsylvania, where 75,000 textile workers were on strike. Of this number at least 10.00

> were little children. Th workers were striking for more pay and shorter hours. Every day little children came into Union Headquarters, some with their hands off, some with the thumb missing, some with their fingers off at the knuckle. They were stooped little things, round shouldered and skinny. Many of them were not over 10 years of age, although the state law prohibited their working before they were 12 years of age.

The law was poorly enforced and the mothers of

of 22 children all under 12, explained it was a question of starvation or perjury. That the fathers had been killed or maimed at the mines. I asked the newspaper men why they didn't publish the facts about child labor in Pennsylvania. They said they couldn't because the mill owners had stock in the

these children often swore falsely as to their children's

age. In a single block in Kensington, 14 women, mothers

"Well, I've got stock in these little children," said I, 'and I'll arrange a little publicity."

We assembled a number of boys and girls one morning in Independence Park and from there we arranged to parade with banners to the court house where we would

A great crowd gathered in the public square in front of the city hall. I put the little boys with their fingers off and hands crushed and maimed on a platform. I held up their mutilated hands and showed them to the crowd and made the statement that Philadelphia's mansions were built on the broken bones, the quivering hearts and drooping heads of these children. That their little lives went out to make wealth for others. That neither state nor city officials paid any attention to these wrongs, That they did not care that these children were to be

The officials of the city hall were standing in the in it with the opportunity to re- open windows. I held the little ones of the mills high up above the heads of the crowd and pointed to their and twice ran their own candidates the union on a fresh basis . . . The puny arms and legs and hollow chests. They were light I called upon the millionaire manufacturers to cease

their moral murders, and I cried to the officials in the open windows opposite, "Some day the workers will take possession of your city hall, and when we do, no child

will be sacrificed on the altar of profit." The officials quickly closed the windows, just as they had closed their eyes and hearts.

The reporters quoted my statement that Philadelphia mansions were built on the broken bones and quivering Williamson last week in the Daily hearts of children. The Philadelphia papers and the New sociate of the Stalinists. Tappes Worker, called "Why Reuther Won York papers got into a squabble with each other over the question. The universities discussed it. Preachers began talking. That was what I wanted. Public attention on the

subject of child labor. THE CHILDREN GO FOR A TOUR

The matter quieted down for a while and I concluded the people needed stirring up again. The Liberty Bell that a century ago rang out for freedom against tyranny was touring the country and crowds were coming to see it everywhere. That gave me an idea. These little children were striking for some of the freedom that childhood ought to have, and I decided that the children and I would go I asked some of the parents if they would let me have

already passed stern judgment on the Stalinists for their anti-labor the Stalinists for the Stalinis few men and women went with me to help with the children. They were on strike and I thought they might as well have a little recreation. The children carried knapsacks on their backs in which

was a knife and fork, a tin cup and plate. We took along a wash boiler in which to cook the food on the road. One little fellow had a drum and another a fife. That was our band. We carried banners that said, "We want more schools and less hospitals." "We want more time to play." "Prosperity is here. Where is ours?"

We started from Philadelphia where we held a great mass meeting. I decided to go with the children to see President Roosevelt to ask him to have Congress pass a law prohibiting the exploitation of childhood. I thought that President Roosevelt might see these mill children and compare them with his own little ones who were spending the summer on the seashore at Oyster Bay. I thought, too, out of politeness, we might call on Morgan in Wall Street who owned the mines where many of these children's fathers worked.

. The children were very happy, having plenty to eat, taking baths in the brooks and rivers every day. I thought when the strike is over and they go back to the mills, they will never have another holiday like this. All along the line of march the farmers drove out to meet us with wagon loads of fruit and vegetables. Their wives brought the children clothes and money. The interurban trainmen would stop their trains and give us free rides.

Marshal Sweeney and I would go ahead to the towns and arrange sleeping quarters for the children, and secure meeting halls. As we marched on, it grew terribly hot. There was no rain and the roads were heavy with dust. of a "permanent experimental sta- From time to time we had to send some of the children tion" on Eniwetok atoll in the heart back to their homes. They were too weak to stand the march.

Everywhere we had meetings, showing up with living children, the horrors of child labor.

At one town the mayor said we could not hold a meeting because he did not have sufficient police protection. "These little children have never known any sort of protection, your honor," I said, "and they are used to going without it." He let us have our meeting.

I called on the mayor of Princeton and asked for permission to speak opposite the campus of the University. I said I wanted to speak on higher education. The mayor gave me permission. A great crowd gathered. professors and students and the people; and I told them that the rich robbed these little children of any education of the lowest order that they might send their sons and daughters to places of higher education. That they used the hands and feet of little children that they might buy automobiles for their wives and police dogs for their daughters to talk French to. I said the mill owners take babies almost from the cradle. And I showed those professors children in our army who could scarcely read or write because they were working ten hours a day in the silk mills of Pennsylvania.

"Here's a text book on economics," I said, pointing to a little chap, James Ashworth, who was ten years old and who was stooped over like an old man from carrying bundles of yarn that weighed 75 pounds. "He gets \$3 a week and his sister who is 14 gets \$6. They work in a carpet factory 10 hours a day, while the children of the rich are getting their higher education."

That night we camped on the banks of Stony Brook where years and years before the ragged Revolutionary Army camped, Washington's brave soldiers that made their fight for freedom.

(Reprinted by permission of Charles H. Kerr Co., Publishers, Chicago)

Workers' Forum

"Good Reading In the Paper"

I am not a member of the Socialist Workers Party and don't ever expect to become one as I am not quite in accord with your program, be ascertained "el Gran Poder de but there is much good reading in Jesus." Its route is from "Rebel tana were bursting with grain. son's articles.

Objects to Printing Mother Jones Serial

ing place. The Mother Jones' ma- tualism (salvation, the here-after). terial takes almost 5% of your The reviewer would have us waste space. Don't you think that space our time wading through a book to could be put to better use? If it's get to one "significant chapter!" history you want, how about dealterested can get it at the public

two letters we have had from our readers on the Mother Jones seri- with him. alization. We would like to hear As Eleanor Clark stated in her ments we print.

Dislikes Review Of Steinbeck Book

Like Sinclair Lewis, John Steinbeck has been threatening to write the time spent in reading them. a truly worthwhile book. The Wayward Bus is not one, contrary to in reviewing a book totally lacking ed in the near future. in interest to working class people, especially at the price. As a 25 cent reprint, the book would be a The Greedy Must fair buy. The reviewer's obvious Have Fat Profits lack of understanding of what Steinbeck is here attempting is also

Here we have a bus named "Sweetheart," a name painted over its former title which is beginning to show through. Underneath can

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Park Ave.).

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

your paper. I always like The Corners" to San Juan de la Cruz. Diary of a Steel Worker and now The pendant of the Virgin which the Autobiography of Mother Jones. dangles in the windshield denotes the government destroyed a hun-Of late we have missed Grace Carl- supernatural guidance. What then is to be surmised, given these sig-Mr. A. Cortez nificant facts? The author charts Milwaukee, Wis. the route symbolically: From "Rebel Corners" (a suggestive enough name) to San Juan de la Cruz (St. John of the Cross). In other words, from proletarian awareness to spiritual mysticism. As though this were not enough, he carries his I will admit that the Mother characters on the fading "Sweet-Jones book you are serializing has heart" which betrays its original some good aspects; this fine old name, "The Great Power of Jesus." working class fighter had an inter- This along with the pendant in the esting life and she wrote simply windshield guiding infallibly toward and effectively. But I think space the destination should be evidence in The Militant is too limited now enough as to what Steinbeck is to cover the many crucial problems pointing out. A withdrawal from and the important events now tak- life (class consciousness) to spiri-

Steinbeck by his penetrating preing with a more recent period, such sentation causes characters to take as the rise of the CIO, which is not on a far greater significance than properly handled in any book avail- is their due. There are points in able and which is more pertinent the story where he seemingly forto today's problems? Mother Jones' gets himself and they make some book should be recommended to trenchant remarks. Steinbeck eviyour readers and those who are in- dently hasn't lived through his period of social awareness: In Dubicus Battle, Grapes of Wrath. D. L. But like the plot, which too had Newark, N. J. its wayward moments of wavering, Ed. Note: The above are the first he will once again get back on the road of salvation, taking his readers

mothers. If you have any opinions review in The Nation: "It is also a it one way or another, piease current Book-of-the-Month Club drop us a note. Depending on the selection. If it were not, at least if expressions of opinion, that we re- it were not by Steinbeck, it is ceive by January 1, will depend our coubtful whether anyone would decision on how many more install- have reviewed it." Conspicuously absent in The Militant are reviews of End As a Man, Knock on Any Dcor, etc. Why waste readers' time and money in speculating over books of dubious merit? Fortunately there are a few being published that warrant study and are worth

Norman Johnstone

Westville, N. J. Norma Christensen's citation of one Ed. Note-The novel, End As a worth-while charter in an attempt Man, was reviewed in the July 14 in an old book store or attic. Perto log-roll it as being worth-while Militant. A review of Knock on haps some member of Technocracy, as a whole. It is rather surprising Any Door has been in preparation Inc., can be found who will proto find The Militant wasting space for several weeks and will be print- duce one.

The problem of high prices and Against Daloctino ONES focd shortage has been solved. The worker's wife need no longer lay awake nights planning a budget that will fit her husband's pay check, thanks to Robert A. Taft, to bow at the last moment to U. S. who would be president, and Harry pressure. S. Truman, the incumbent.

Taft asserts that food conservation can be effected by the simple playing with the destinies of Arab not eating. Truman says, don't re- pawns, hoping to maneuver himmake the first one too liberal, tageous bargaining position with starve the stock and poultry so that respect to the United States. when the meat is cooked, it will not appear too inviting. Result, poor appetite. All this to be done (so they claim) for a good purpose. expression of their desire to con-Americans must conserve food and duct a struggle for genuine inde-

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urdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Tuesdays MINNEAPOLIS-10 South 4th St.

grain so that we can feed a hungry

Fortunately or not, take your choice, we still can read and reason, and some of us remember that just a few days ago Marquis Childs informed us that all the granaries in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Mon-What became of it? It is signifi cant too, that just a short time ago dred million bushels of potatoes car loads of canned goods and other food items. Still more waste going on, while Taft and Truman never raise a finger in protest. Yet they tell us we must eat less.

Of course, this wanton waste is necessary in order to keep prices up. Never mind the hungry and needy people, the greedy must have tat profits.

The 20 billion dollars spent for

overseas relief went to support cap-

italist armies whose function is to raise our sights to \$300." keep in subjection the very people whom they profess to want to help. workers just like you and me. A great game, gentlemen, but we 100%. common people get very little fun out of it viewed from where we sit. all paid up in a week. Hope the Finally, I wonder just what items and what grades are deleted from where else as it is here. Our Milthe respective tables of eat-less itant Ball was a success.' Taft and the No. 1 Boy of the Democratic Party? Do they take find a check which brings us to

prevents our doing otherwise. Youngstown, Ohio

Technocrat Pamphlet Lauding the Fascists

A pamphlet was given to me by the Technocrats at one of their and Answers on Technocracy." In reply to the question, "What over, by Dec. 7."

is the attitude of the Technocrats towards the Nazi and Fascists?" the in the Dec. 22 issue of The Militant. Mrs. E. S. of Sandusky. They write wish you very much good luck with pamphlet indicated admiration of All final payments must be in New their "achievements" and of their York by Dec. 15 the very latest. method of seizing power.

I do not remember the exact to buy another copy of this pamphlet from their San Francisco office, but they seem to have gotten rid of it.

However, it may be possible for some Militant reader to find a copy

(Continued from Page 1)

The reaction of the Arab masses

to the UN partition scheme is an

third Sundays at 3:30 p.m.

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Don Barry tion.

Partition Incites Arabs

Against Palestine Jews

\$15,000 Militant Fund Drive Draws to a Successful Finish

Scoreboard For

\$15,000 Militant Fund

1,393

453

Then there is R. B. of Chicago

luck with collections, but I can say

for myself I enjoy reading this lit-

tle paper. I still want to be a mem-

ber so I am filling out the coin-

the following from our readers:

Tondewald 50c; Hampton \$1; Os-

Newark 500

Twin Cities 1,000

Cleveland 250

Connecticut 200

Milwaukee 200

Oakland 250

Chicago 1,500

Philadelphia 300

Pittsburgh 150

New York 4,500

Los Angeles 1,500

Boston 275

Youngstown 600

Akron 300

San Francisco 1,250

Reading 100

Seattle 300

San Diego 100

Rochester

West Virginia

TOTAL THROUGH DEC. 2

sustained by the nickels, dimes and Friends: I don't seem to have much

not be the type to pay attention to Klingberg 25c; McKay \$1; Harmin

General Contributions...

Tacoma

Detroit

Allentown-Bethlehem ..

Massillon

National Campaign Director

With only one week to go to the termination of the \$15,000 Militant Fund Campaign, the pranches of the Socialist Workers Party are gearing their collections of pledges for a successful finish. Flint, with 115% beats Newark by

%. Cleveland and Twin Cities follow with 104% St. Louis continues with its collections. Another remittance the past week brings this branch to 230%, the highest a branch ever reached.

FROM THE BRANCHES

Cleveland - Bob: "The enclosed check put us over the top. It was done with such ease that a motion

Massillon-Mac: "We raised our quota before we had expected. Enclosed find check which makes us

Boston-Brady: "We should be campaign is as successful every-

Los Angeles — Myra: "Enclosed skimpy helpings, or refuse choice 78%. We will fulfill our quota on cuts of meat? We workers have time.' been doing just that all our lives,

Chicago - Harold: "We are sure tecause our economic condition we will go over the top before the end of the campaign. Many of the H. G. members here have sacrificed to

meet their pledges." Connecticut - White: "The enclosed payment brings us up to the like B & C who are more fortu- see what is going on in this coun-100% mark. Half of our quota was nately situated for the moment and try." raised through Militant socials, the are able to send \$200, as they did rest from sympathizers and mem- recently. In the main, the paper is who sends \$2.20 and says: "Dear

Detroit - Ruth: "The enclosed quarters from people who apprecimeetings in 1937, called "Questions check brings us to 88%. We will ate the importance of supporting have the balance and may even go a militant workers' paper, especially

The last Scoreboard will appear

FROM OUR READERS

We take this opportunity to thank all readers who contributed to the Militant Fund campaign, as well as these who wrote explaining they could not make a donation at this time. By this act, each has expressed his and her solidarity with our fight for a better world.

Although the total amount re

Oakland, Calif. The Militant has very few friends

perialists. Here the Arab leaders

threats, the imperialist strangle-

hold on the Middle East is assured.

The partition plan is no less a

trap for the Jews than for the

Arabs. Their gains are purely il-

lusory. The Jews will not have

gained a free and independent state

such as emerged in Europe after the

national revolutions of the 18th and

when no small people—even those

already with a "state of their own"

-has any independence to speak of.

Even if maintained against the as-

perialists who dominate the UN.

the Jews can never gain any per-

Instead of solving the problems

of either the Jews or Arabs in Pal-

only aggravate them. The pre-

condition for the liberation of Pal-

estine is unity between the Arabs

and Jews. This unity can be

welded only in a joint struggle

against the imperialist oppressors

contrary, erects another barrier be-

tween Arabs and Jews.

Jewish people.

Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Odd Fellows estine, the partition scheme will

YOUNGSTOWN - 115 E. Federal on the basis of a revolutionary so-

Bldg., Room 302, Youngstown 3, cialist program. Partition, on the

TRAP FOR BOTH

large as we had hoped, the knowledge that so many are true friends of The Militant is a great inspira-The American Seamen SAN FANCISCO, Nov. 23-, war trade. That estimate has since put the same ships in competition

gressmen had received a letter from the AFL Sailors Union of pendence. But the tragedy is that the Pacific, protesting plans to try are not concerned about main- all, they run their ships much Socialist Workers Party last use foreign bottoms for trans- taining a large merchant fleet, cheaper; they can repair their ves- Saturday night celebrated the 19th; the reactionary Arab leadership is successfully sidetracking the wrath of the masses into attacks against porting American goods to the "know-how" in ship building carry less crews than American most successful affair ever held in The role of the Kremlin is equal- the Jewish minority rather than Europe.

in these days of reaction.

One such example is Mr. and

-"Dear Sirs: We are sending a

very small amount (\$1.15). If you

wonder why the odd change, we are

sending just what is left from last

pay day, after our bills were paid.

Wish we could send a lot more, but

us for anybody not to be able to Haglund \$1.

don and Paris. So long as Arabs quest a second helping, and don't self thereby into a more advan- and Jews are at each other's ships for 95% of this service will Act of 1936. create widespread unemployment among seamen in this country.

The SUP denounced as "criminal" the wholesale disposal of the war-Union whose leaders like the ma- burden. jority of both the the AFL and It is much cheaper for American country.

The idea of scrapping a sizable saults of the Arabs, this "Jewish section of the wartime fleet did Open meetings every 1st and state" will remain completely at the not originate with the Marshall mercy of the UN, that is, of the im- Plan. What it proposes is legislation permitting "sale" of cargo Moreover, this "Jewish state" is vessels to foreign nations after Dec. being established in a country 31, 1947, the present deadline for where the Jews are a minority. So all such "sales."

long as the Arab majority remains If the Marshall Plan becomes opposed to this minority Jewish effective this year, the following state, the Jews in Palestine must nations will receive ships from the live dangerously indeed. As loyal U.S. Maritime Commission valued supporters of this reactionary par- at a total of 120 million dollars: tition plan, they will only retain France, \$40,100,000; Italy, \$39,300,and increase the hostility of the 000; Greece, \$41,300,000. Exactly Arabs, without whose collaboration how many ships that will amount to is not known, but they will be manent security or peace in the delivered by March 1948 as part of the so-called "stop-gap relief."

Nor is this all. The Middle East The disposal of the merchant one of the key areas for imperi- fleet started immediately after alism, both because of its oil re- World War II. It is by no means ser (es and its strategic position. a snap judgment action. The U.S. In the light of imperialist calcula- Maritime Commission estimated as tions and the threat of another long ago as 1944 that of the 5,500world war, it should be obvious that ship fleet which it operated during the "Jewish state" can easily be- the war only about 1,300 of these come another bloody trap for the vessels would be used in the post-

YOUNGSTOWN

19th Anniversary Banquet Celebrate the Birthday of a Great Labor Paper — THE MILITANT — Sat.: Dec. 13, 5:30 p. m. Roumanian Hall 645 Poland Ave.

Donation \$1.50 Children 75c

When Congress reconvened in special session Nov. 17, all conflag ships will be considerably less the position to underbid the Americanthan a thousand. ican snipowners on the freight mar-

The big capitalists in this coun- ket due to the fact that, first of shall Plan will account for a large serves as an auxiliary to their earn." medium of tightening our belts and and Jewish peoples as with so many play the game of Washington, Lon-share of U. S. exports, the pro- Navy. This idea was clearly form-

Finding themselves with a huge service cheaper from foreign nawar-inflated merchant fleet government-owned and government- dollar credits abroad in direct prooperated, the ruling class has been portion to what is paid out for Hughes "Freedom Train," parts of built U. S. merchant fleet. This more than anxious to unload it. these services, thus enabling more which appeared in the "Negro protest comes from the AFL Sailors To them it now represents only a American goods to be sold on the

CIO leaders, support the main fea- industry to hire the shipping serv- for the present Congress of Big tures of the Marshall Plan. It war- ices of foreign-flag ships for ex- Business to transfer to foreign reg-"Jewish state" comes into being in rants special attention because this port of their commodities. What istry the government-owned fleet, a world of declining capitalism is the first visible sign of exactly happens when this cheaper service built at a 25 billion dollar expense what application of the Marshall is sought was clearly stated in the to the American taxpayer. In many Plan means to the workers of this Sailors Union letter to congress- instances, such as the shipping com-

"As you no doubt are aware, the manian flag, those foreign com-American Merchant Marine is rapidly dwindling. Hundreds of Amer- capital. Thus another market is ican ships are laid up in various created for the investment of surcreeks and bays in the United plus capital by the bankers of this States, leaving thousands of Amer- country. This has proved to be ican seamen and shipyard workers such a lucrative field that some of idle. Foreign countries have been the biggest shipping companies here given American ships outright or are turning their attention to the have been able to buy American operation of foreign-flag fleets. tonnage on favorable terms. These same countries which have been given American ships, immediately

MARITIME By Frederick J. Lang



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THE MILITANT ARMY

Readers Take Extra Copies For Their Fellow Workers



"Enclosed is \$5 to be used as fol- | and establishing a socialist society lows: \$1 to renew my subscription of plenty and peace. for one year and \$4 to pay for the cost of a bundle of five Militants Ill., is back in the running with

Thus writes "A Railroad Train- two new subs this week after a man" from Minnesota, who obvi- period of illness. We hope he is ously intends to use the extra cop- fully recovered and doesn't let subies to distribute to fellow workers work endanger his health. He is and friends, doubtless with the idea | 75 years old and one of our staunchof getting subscriptions in his com- est boosters. munity or on his travels.

He closes the brief letter, "Yours for the complete abolition of satanic capitalism and all of its bloody local has set up several "silent

With that we are in the heartiest agreement. He has certainly come to deposit payment for papers. "This stand to a lamp post for people to the right place and is taking wise is a method used by all papers steps toward his goal, by helping to throughout Los Angeles and has alspread the socialist message of this ready yielded good returns in our "fightingest labor paper in all Am-

This is the second similar hundle order in the last three weeks.

D. W. M. of Oregon had his sub increased to five copies "to try an experiment in obtaining subs." He and renewal sub mobilizations," was also going to sell individual wrote Helen F. "In spite of rough copies to "fellows who like to read Chicago weather we had a very The Militant but do not care to good turnout. Trotsky's biography have it sent to their addresses for of Stalin will be given to the compersonal reasons. "The cartoon about rade who brings in the most subs. the upper cruster who collapsed So far Howard P. is leading with when he received The Militant in- five." made a hit at the mill where I am employed.'

A few other readers have lately Since the last report, we received taken out second subs so they could always have a spare one to pass again and lined up five more to around while keeping a complete then if we could, we would probably born 50c; Curtis \$1; Moore \$2.30; file at home.

These are some of the ways ar-The Militant, which is the only \$1; Wagner \$2; King 25c; Porter dent readers spread The Militant's paper printed, as far as we are con- 45c; Washburn 45c; Siegel \$1; Gur- message of world working class uncerned. It seems plain stupid to owitz \$3; Mondrus \$5; Abrams \$1; ity aimed at wiping out capitalist

tionals, but this also builds up

panies organized under the Pana-

panies are controlled by American

Thus there is no pressure on the

present Congress to halt disposal

of U.S. shipping. Just the con-

trary. It is only natural that this

shipping should be incorporated in

the Marshall Plan. The only ones

whom this plan intends to aid are

foreign market.

case," writes Al Lynn, L. A. literature agent. "We also have a requestfrom a Pasadena reader, for such Chicago Branch sent 20 subs "ob-

James W. Connery of Kewanee

San Pedro branch of Los Angeles

salesmen" street stands. A box for

contributions is locked with the

tained at the first of our four new

Harry L. of the Bronx is now servicing a group of six newsstands that carry The Militant in his area. Finding how easy it was to get one to carry the paper, he went out which he delivers the paper weekly He supplied the stands with our attractive red, black and white posters advertising the paper.

Flint Branch sent 18 subs, nearly

Militant Affair Best Ever Held In San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 29 -The Bay Area Local of the They want to retain what they call sels in the cheapest yards; they Anniversary of The Militant in the. and operation. For this purpose ships, and pay, at least, less than its new headquarters. Almost 80 ly cynical and sinister. Stalin is against their real enemies—the im- Since shipments under the Mar- they need only a limited fleet which half of what American seamen members and sympathizers attended, and enjoyed the main feature of But the present congressmen have the evening, a skit dramatizing the jected scheme to use foreign-flag ulated in the Merchant Marine small interest in all this. Not only cutstanding events of the year as do U. S. industrialists get shipping published in The Militant.

> Among these events were included the trials and joys of a Militant subgetter, a reading of Langston Struggle' column, and Kovalesky's column was represented by "The There is still a further incentive Steelworkers Dream." In a more serious vein, there were

voices representing the people of "liberated" countries after the war, Next came the utterances of reactionary critics of The Militant and of Trotskyism, as personified by such people as Winston Churchill and Walter Winchell. The skit

closed with a brief talk on the growth of The Militant from its earliest times and its importance today in leading the workers to freedom and Socialism. An excellent buffet supper was

highlighted with a fine birthday cake containing 19 candles. The cake was decorated with a reproduction of the front page of The Militant in red and white icing The hall was decorated with banproject for the disposal of American ners advertising The Militant and with reproductions of Laura Gray's cartoons.

Several Militant subs were sold, the Big Business interests of this and most of those present for the country. This aid will come at the first time enjoyed themselves so expense of the American workers, much that they were anxious to re-And among the first to suffer its turn to another social. Proceeds of evil effects are the American sea- the affair, going to the Militant Fund, were \$72.34.

South American Curios, African Carvings, Exotic Perfumes Cigarette Cases and Many Other Items

TWO DAYS - SATURDAY AND SUNDAY

Dec. 13-2 p. m. to midnight Dec. 14-2 p. m. to midnight 130 West 23 Street Social begins at 8 p. m.

Auspices: New York ACEWR

NEW YORK CHRISTMAS BAZAAR Bargain Prices on Unusual Items for Gifts

Toys, Scarves, Sweaters, Blouses, Costume Jewelry, Watches,



has passed but still lives some- better than the guys that have been running them'."

a pretty reactionary guy. - You'd never dream that there's a key that will he is. Just mention Flint, Michigan or the sit-down

I met Marty once in Emil's place when we were cashing our checks, and I didn't care much for him. battles. But then, somehow or other, the magic word was

said. The key was turned. Marty forgot what he had been saying. His face lighted up. "Boy," he exclaimed, "those were the

"Were you there?" I asked, surprised.

"Was I there! I was in that plant from start

hear. We got another beer, and Marty told us all about it.

us about the scared, sullen cops that clustered out- of government. side. "We got some big, strong pieces of rubber and made slingshots out of it. When those cops ers Party, although they may keep their prejudices tried to get funny, we'd shoot heavy bolts out of and backward ideas to the very end, nevertheless

had the plant lock, stock and barrel, and we had the the Socialist future.

It's like a diamond with layers of dust that have town too. There we were, just a bunch of workgathered over it one by one until it is completely ingmen, a gang of guys in a union, and we conhidden. But it's still there, still beautiful and un- trolled the whole town. When we were inside, we changed, waiting for the layers used to say, 'Why should we give it back? We got to be swept off. It's something the plant, and we got the town. We ought to keep that happened, a part of life that them, because we sure as hell can run them a lot

where inside of Marty Kernahan. I looked at Marty. I looked at his self-satisfied Today when you talk to Marty grin, and for a moment I couldn't make him out. he doesn't impress you very much. Here was this reactionary guy, you'd almost call He votes a straight Democratic him a fink grinning his head off, telling us about ticket, thinks the Soviet Union how he had helped to stand off cops that were trymay start a war any day now ing to "protect" General Motors' property. Here he and that Communism must be stopped. He never was happily telling us how the workers could run bothers to go to union meetings and is in general the plants and control the cities better than the

Then it came to me with a rush, and I felt a open a door in Marty and show you something in real thrill. It's hard to say how many guys there him that's entirely contrary to the man you think are like Marty. There may be millions. He votes Democrat; others vote Republican. Although they're workers, they do nothing for labor's cause, and many of them even red-bait people that do fight labor's

But, just as salt is made up of two entirely different chemical elements, Marty, and the rest like him are living contradictions.

You can turn the key today; you can say the magic word, and Marty will open up and show you what's there inside of him.

Tomorrow life itself will turn that key and then throw it away, and the door will stay open. When Pete, Jimmy, and Gus Miller gathered around to labor shakes off its inertia and gets into action once again, Marty and all of his buddies will feel a surging of memory, an enthusiasm in their blood. He told about the committees that were formed, Once more they'll reach out their hands for the about the meetings they held in the plant. He told factories where they work and for the very reins

Although they may never join the Socialist Worktheir strength and their fighting spirit, once aroused "Why." he went on, "we owned that plant! We and led in the right direction, will help to build

The Negro Struggle-

Here Lies the NNC

- By Albert Parker

serves an obituary of some kind. out reservation. The history of the NNC was a

mion movement. In the early Thirties the CP had nade a good name for itself among Negroes through e Scottsboro, Herndon and similar cases. In 1935, on orders from Moscow it adopted the ple's Front" line - which preached collaboration between the workers and capitalists, rather than struggle between them. The Stalinists then began

struggle against Jim Crow. collaboration line of the CP was not understood by following by sounding "militant" again, but it proved many workers for at least a few years, and during a miserable flop. that time the NNC coasted along on the past presthan the CP had ever had before.

Last month the Communist Party buried the the war as imperialist and called for a fight against National Negro Congress by "merging" it with an- the Jim Crow system. But in 1941 Hitler attacked other Stalinist front organization, the Civil Rights the Soviet Union, and the American Stalinist line Congress. There were few mourn- changed still another time—and with a vengeance!

ers present at the burial ceremony, Now, they said, the war was OK, in fact, it which was brief and held in pri- was the finest thing that had ever happened and vate. But the deceased really de- all Negroes should support it without stint and with-

were afraid to do.

That did it. The Negro masses could not get enthusiastic about a so-called war for democracy to tone down all emphasis on struggle, including the that began and ended without any change in their The NNC was created around then, shortly after less enthusiastic about the NNC, which they saw the birth of the CIO, with which it was closely con- was trying to whitewash Jim Crow. After the war, nected for several years and from which it got con- when relations began to cool off between Moscow siderable support and standing. The new class- and Washington, the NNC attempted to recover its

Moreover, they shouted, the "foes of Negro rights history of the rise and decline of in this country should be considered as secondary." the Stalinists among the Negroes, paralleling a similar development in the trade

That was the line peddled by the NNC all through That was the line peddled by the NNC all through the war. It went along this scabby road further than the labor bureaucrats, endorsing peacetime conscription and a labor-draft bill which even they

So here lies the National Negro Congress, untige of the Stalinists, winning more Negro followers honored and unsung. Its demise was due partly to the current red-baiting drive, but mostly to the Then came the war, and the Stalin-Hitler Pact. fact that it betrayed the Negro struggle so flawere for the CP to quit grantly that everyone knew it. Let its shameful life slaying lovey-dovey with Roosevelt and other Jim and death serve as a public notice that the Negro Crow elements; and the NNC obediently denounced masses have no further use for Uncle Tom outfits.

Medical Fraud!

-By Grace Carlson-

In the Nov. 22 issue of the Saturday Evening Post, Rita Kleeman writes a timely warning against inspiring for the general benefit of our people in the "medical frauds," who peddle such "cure-alls" their particular present state. I must say that I feel

worthless mechanical devices. It realizing democratic ideals." is a tragic fact that thousands of By his own admission, Dr. Sullivan has no solu-

ogy. Take the case of Dr. Harry Stack Sullivan,

President of the Washington School of Psychiatry, founder and editor of the journal, Psychiatry, Dr. has to say about "radicals": Sullivan was selected to give the first William A. White Memorial Lectures in 1940. Recently the White Lectures have been revised and reprinted under ing radical views arises chiefly from the institutionalithe title, "Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry." Dr. zation of their feelings of difference. If one is alone Sullivan's attacks on radicals in these lectures pro- in this feeling, a paranoid state or a schizophrenic vide a perfect illustration of what I mean by high- development is apt to ensue. If, however, one finds sounding medical fraud.

Dr. Sullivan is pretty sure that something is wrong with our social order. He says:

"Today, the acceleration of social process has become so great that almost every psychiatrist has some occasion to realize that the level of general

fection of new techniques." So far, so good! But what does Dr. Sullivan propose?

"But I, certainly, can offer nothing particularly as the Spetro-chrome, the Vapo- deeply disquieted by what I perceive to be the Path, the Sinuothermic Machine general attitude towards the course of world events.

and scores of other completely ... One may well wonder if the emergence of our

sick people are taken in by these tion to the devastating problems of world-wide medical shysters, who have no warfare, fascism, poverty and "general insecurity." medical education but fake a But do you think that he has an open mind towards knowledge of scientific medicine Marxist scientists, who say that in order to solve in order to fleece their victims. these problems, the majority of the people must But medical fraud does not oc- take over the banks, railroads and factories and run only in the medical wastelands. Medical scien- them in the interests of the majority? Do you tists, who are loaded down with professional degrees think that he will listen with any tolerance to the and scholastic honors, are often guilty of medical idea that workers of all countries are brothers and fraud when they enter a field about which most of shouldn't kill each other? Quite the contrary! Dr. them know nothing - the field of scientific sociol- Sullivan believes, says and writes that "radicals" are "psychopaths" - in plain words, crazy!

In psychiatric jargon, here is what Dr. Sullivan

"The apparent psychopathy of persons entertaina group, who have a rationalization for active hostility to the 'in-group,' one is spared the more serious disorders. . . . The group approaches a paranoid attitude to everyone outside it, but saves its members from deep regression under pressure of conflict."

But if the eminent psychiatrist will permit me to insecurity is rising, that the social order is in a make a little "analysis" of his motives, I believe that sense itself gravely disturbed, and that psychiatry we will find that Dr. Sullivan's hatred of radicals as a therapeutic art is confronted with new tasks springs from a deep-seated desire to protect his that require a change of orientation and the per- economic interests. In fact, he reveals this himself at one point in the lectures, when he says:

"I am clearly of the privileged class as are all

Notes from the News

STARVATION'S BRIGHT SIDE - Rear Admiral field, ended in a tie. Morton D. Willcutts, Navy medico, stated on his return from Europe that "epidemologically speaking" the food shortage may be a good thing for Euro- born, elected with PAC endorsement, called out troops peans. Calling it "enforced dieting," he said, "The against striking CIO farm workers in Arizona, poor of Europe are accustomed to malnutrition, while the rich always ate too much."

in Durham, N. C. The game, played on a muddy a deficit.

"FRIEND OF LABOR" - Governor Sidney P. Os-

FRENZIED FINANCE - T. Coleman Andrews. former high official of the U.S. General Accounting DENT IN JIM CROW - The first football game Office, told a House Committee that federal bookbetween a white and a Negro team in the South keeping was such that no one could tell at the end was witnessed by a non-segregated crowd of 3,000 of the fiscal year whether there was a surplus or

THE MILITANT

Labor Fakers Boost Capitalist Politicians for Election in 1948

Truman Pardons **Another Crooked Boss Politican**

If you're going to be a crook, t pays to be one with political power and influence. This was proved again when President Truman pardoned Mayor James M. Curley of Boston the day before Thanksgiving.

Curley is the head of a corrupt political machine in Massachusetts, through which he has been elected as Governor, member of Congress and twice as Mayor of Boston.

Not satisfied with his political spoils, Curley dabbled in other money-making schemes on the side -an accepted practice among capitalist politicians. This led to some complications, including a conviction for using the mails to defraud. and a/6 to 18 months' term in jail.

Although he is a Democrat, Curley managed to get an agreement with his political "opponents" in the Republican state administration, by which he remained Mayor of Boson and continued to draw his \$20,-000 a year salary.

But Curley did not have to serve even the minimum term of six months. Truman took care of that by commuting his sentence and restoring his full civil rights five, months after Curley went to jail.

In explanation, Truman pointed out that "many, many petitions have been received from men of both political parties for the release." No capitalist politician likes to see other capitalist politicians in jail. And Truman is no exception.

ley loose. This referred to the press buildup given Curley as a poor old man who had only a few months to live. But Curley, when released, chair, remarking that he felt ten years younger. .

And finally, said Truman, he had have his Thanksgiving dinner at home." A truly touching sentiment seem touched by in 1946 when he would compel every boy of was petitioned to grant a Christmas was peti in the imperialist war.

Truman is an old hand at this game. That was how he got the nickname of the Pendergast Kid.

defender in the U. S. Senate, from press carries daily cartoons and which he was able to rise to his "news" stories for military conpresent office. When the machine scription. The American Legion, came to grief over stealing an election in St. Louis, Truman used his Congressmen and publicly clamorpower as president to pardon its ing for UMT.

Thus, Truman was being consistwith just such corrupt politicians. posed. That goes for 1948 especially.

Increase in Profits, After Taxes, 50 Companies, 1946-47



This chart from the November CIO Economic Outlook tells the tale of high prices. For 1947, corporate profits, after taxes, will be 17.4 billion dollars as compared with 8.4 billions in the lush days

Conscription Law Will Also, Truman continued, Curley's "age and physical condition" entered into his decision to turn Curtered into his decision to his decision to his decision to turn Curtered into his decision t

least a year got under way as President Truman announced that Universal Military Training Truman announced training Truman announc went right back into the Mayor's that Universal Military Training was "must" legislation.

> immediate passage. This bill to prussianize American draftees.

and brutality of the officer-run their injuries. court marial system.

While pro-war forces are shout-

acted in order to permit Curley "to message to Congress will urge as in the Meyers' case, but in cases of abuse and mistreatment of from organized labor throughout the

drafted. Nothing in the bill pro- of injustices done enlisted men. tious objectors, whose only "crime" hibits racial discrimination. No Since only officers sit on court pened in the railroad strike, surely was their reluctance to participate provision is made to protect the martials, Army law is used against a person with Tobin's capacity for young draftees from the injustice enlisted men, not for redress of swallowing anything the capitalists

"Education" of draftees would be Powerful and sinister forces are strictly reactionary. Jim Crow very well, "but what is labor going the world will be on sale as well as machine. It lifted Truman out of tees to influence editors, clergymen, ing up "riotous mobs of strikers." him a sent as its spokesman and public opinion. The Hearst gutter course on the "perils of communleast criticism of Big Business as "communistic."

UMT is an important part of the ent by pardoning Curley. Every- education of American youth, the an important part of the anti-labor and trust that one of the two part- All proceeds will be used for the thing he is and everything he hopes role of the officer caste that would drive. All union men, all those who ies will see the light . . . so that work of seriding food, clothing and to be he owes to his connections "educate" these youth is being ex- are against another imperialist labor may have some place to go medicine to needy European workslaughter, must do everything in in November, 1948." The Meyers investigation revealed their power to kill the UMT bill. It is obvious that labor will go bring their friends.

was vividly illustrated last week when Daniel J. Tobin and A. F. Whitney declared their choices for the next President of the

the West Coast industrial and or Whitney. shipping interests.

Whitney, president of the Brotherthat if Democrat Truman is nominated, "I will give him my support."

strike last year, requires a lot of explanation. Whitney gives it in a sentence: "My good Christian parents taught me it is a good thing to forgive and forget."

It will be hard for the railroad workers to "forgive and forget" the fact that Truman ordered an army "seizure" of the railroads and demanded that Congress pass a law to draft strikers into the army.

that he would raise a two million Democratic-Republican politics. dollar fund to aid in defeating Truman, whom he called "a political accident and a one-termer." Whitney's attack on Truman at the CIO convention last year was so vitriolic that the press called some of his remarks "unquotable."

TOBIN'S CHOICE

Tobin's choice, Governor Warren, s the politician whom the Californ-crats or Republicans to "see the ia State Federation of Labor last light," labor will have to build its July publicly struck off its list of own party and run its own candifriends of labor," when Warren dates to have "some place to go in signed California's "Little Taft- November 1948." Hartley Act." C. J. Haggerty, AFL state secretary,then said that "labor can no longer consider his judg-ment impartial, as he always wantcan no longer consider his judged us to believe and for which we gave him support."

the International Teamster, Decemgovernor "has been right on nearly The UMT (HR 4278) will the conspiratorial covering up of everything for labor with the exceptorial covering up of everything for everything for everything for everything the exceptorial covering up of everything for everything for everything for everything the exceptorial covering up of everything for everyt come up in Congress's regular fellow officers by the Army brass, reption of one or two matters." Insession in January. Truman's This goes not only for corruption, deed, Tobin assures us, Warren mas shopping at bargain prices, "will have an enormous backing and at the same time help the

offer should not balk at his own fine articles offered at bargain party colleague? Tobin tells us Truman may be all

pushing the peace time draft. Re- would be taught by the example of to say about supporting the Demo-The Pendergast machine was the actionary politicians, fronting for segregation. Anti-labor ideology cratic party and its platform? It is Missouri counterpart of the Curley Big Business, have formed commit- would be instilled by drills in break- possible that that platform will be much more progressive than the Re- The Bazaar will open at 2 p.m. well-deserved obscurity and gave politicians and other molders of The Army recently instituted a new publican platform. What is labor on Saturday, Dec. 13. Saturday going to do about a party that has night from 8 p. m. on there will be ism." Veterans, familiar with Army 20 Senators who will not vote even a social with dancing, refreshments, brass mentality know that this to stand behind the head of their and novelties. Sunday, Dec. 14, course will not only preach war on party, the President of the United the Bazaar will again be open from the Soviet Union, but will label the States, when he vetoes a measure?" 2 p. m. till late in the evening. One PARTY "STINKS"

ing that UMT is necessary for the drive toward World War III. It is concludes, and he can only "hope tax.

The political bankruptcy of the top trade union leaders

Tobin, head of the AFL Teamsters and a member of the Democratic National Committee, appealed to the Republican Party to nominate Governor nowhere except into a blind alley if Warren of California, agent of it follows the advice of either Tobin

Here is Tobin, a Democratic bigwig himself, who says, in effect, hood of Railway Trainmen, said he can't endorse Truman because his party stinks so bad. Yet he is

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ready to endorse Warren, denounced by the California AFL just five His public pronouncement in favor months ago and a spokesman of the of Truman, who broke the railway Taft-Hartley Republican Party! And here is Whitney, who finds the Republican Party so smelly that

he is even willing to do the "Christian" thing and back strikebreaker Truman! Why are these "labor statesmen"

going through such weird political gyrations? Because they are defenders and upholders of Wall Street's two-party political monopoly. They are trying to keep labor Whitney himself had said in 1946 trapped within the blind alley of

They follow the theory of the "lesser evil." trying to find "differences" between the candidates of the two utterly corrupt Big Business parties. Those "differences" are so minute, that the labor leads ers cannot even agree among themselves on the "lesser evil."

Instead of hoping for the Demo-

Tobin writes a whole article in Offered at

New Yorkers will have an needy workers of Europe. The Annual Christmas Bazaar of the American Committee for European What's wrong with Truman this Workers Relief will be held for two

Those who attended last year's ACEWR Bazaar will remember the prices. This year promises an even wider selection of Christmas gifts. many articles donated by New York merchants and manufacturers.

ticket entitles the bearer to attend ance on both days as well as to the It is all very "difficult" Tobin social. Tickets are 60c including

ers. All are welcome and urged to

How 1919-21 Red Scare Smashed overthrow the government was due with the corrupt, reactionary Stal- The Post Office, using a clause did where open dictatorship existed.

By George Lavan

This country's greatest "red" led part of this "red plot." mediately after World War I. tion as workers tried to catch up with the cost of living. Construction, longshore, packinghouse, ship-1921.

up by Wall Street, the federal and on strike was around two million. state governments and the news-

workers to organize as never be- feebled for more than a decade. fore. Fearful of the spread of un- STRIKE WAS LOST ionism, the employers launched a official name of the "American thugs beat strikers and their fam-Plan."

of the Russian Revolution.

the way for Wall Street's offensive. the steel workers. The cowardly administrations had seen the per- strikers. The strike was lost, secution of anti-war socialists and IWWs, the imprisonment of Debs, fought, Palmer and J. Edgar Hoover the frame-up of Mooney and Bill- directed the campaign against the

The steel strike was the show

Big Business aimed first to smash whether unionism would sweep the the unions. Soaring prices led the country or be defeated and en-

The other aim of the red scare | Iy aided the U.S. Steel Corporation. | greed, beaten and refused the right torious A. Mitchell Palmer, by in- pendent wives and children in this and given long prison sentences. junction forced the coal miners to country. The years 1916-18 had prepared call off their strike in support of KEPT IN BULL PEN

While the steel strike was being

and savagery from 1919 to yard workers and many others all other work and devoted itself to IWW and Non-Partisan League (a tion was called and the voters again struck. When the steelworkers went persecution of communists and so- militant farmers' organization) of- elected them. Again they were de-A national hysteria was whipped cut in the autumn of 1919 the total cialists. The FBI and labor spy fices and schools. IWWs were nied the offices for which the votdown. Its success would determine 1920, gigantic raids were staged. It came the real power in the South. expulsion of the Socialists as "an Martial law was declared in all singled out for deportation. Women ongo and other cities savage race acted as Victor Berger, Wisconsin ferocious open-shop drive under the steel centers. Police and company were subjected to all sorts of indig- riets were unleathed against Nenities and brutalities. Prisoners groes.

Woodrow Wilson's "New Freedom" AFL bureaucrats abandoned the were kept for a week in a 24 x 30- In Spokane over 1,000 IWWs were victory in the "red" scare after the rested.

ings and general repression of la- political spearhead of the labor workers were picked up for radical in a great man. movement. The newly-formed Com- activities. They had been active in In 1919 the papers were filled munist Party and the Socialist strikes and organizing drives. Their believe that a Bolshevik attempt to nothing but the name in common up a murder charge against them. tion in "the land of the free" as it much the working people had lost.

The Department of Justice forgot police, wrecked socialist, communist, denied their seats. A special elecagencies flooded the radical parties lynched by Legionnaires in the ers had picked them. The N. Y. with secret agents. In January, Northwest. The Ku Klux Klan be- Times hailed the State Assembly's is estimated that 10,000 arrests and "Foreigners," "reds," Negroes, Jews American vote altogether, a patrisearches without warrants took and Catholics were whipped, tarred otic and conservative vote." place. For days homes were raid- and feathered, and murdered by ed. Foreign born workers were these masked nightriders. In Chi-

ilies. The federal government open- were held for long periods, third-de- Practically every state adopted "sedition" or "criminal syndicalism" was to stem the wave of enthusiasm The press screamed "Bolshevik." to engage legal counsel. Over 1,000 laws. Under these, working class for socialism inspired by the victory Wilson's Attorney General, the no- were deported, many leaving de- leaders were tried for their beliefs York, the grand-daddy of our cur-

cal activity, leaslet distribution, schools, civic groups and so on. In Detroit over a hundred men picketing, etc., were widely adopted. foot bull pen. In Hartford people convicted in a year and a half. In First World War. The great strikes coming to visit prisoners were ar- Hartford a man was given a six- were smashed. The radicals were month sentence for telling an ac- driven underground or were in pris-In Massachusetts two Italian quaintance that he considered Len- on. The unions dwindled. The un-

DRIVEN UNDERGROUND

any month. Each strike was label- inist organization being persecuted against literature inciting "arson, Six Socialists were elected to the today. Then it was a party of hon- murder or assassination," deprived New York Legislature. Presenting scare to date was staged im- Strikes occurred all over the na- est, courageous militant; fighting Communist and Socialist news- themselves in Albany, these moderate socialists were assailed as Mobs, aided and abetted by the "foreigners" and "bolsheviks" and

> In Washington the same travesty on democratic government was ensocialist, was twice elected to Congress and twice deprived of his

The Lusk Committee of New rent Un-American Committees, set City ordinances forbidding radi- the tempo for witch hunts in the

The rulers of America won a big

this red scare until the rejuvena-Under these mass persecutions the tion of the labor movement during with scareheads about strikes and Party were subjected to a reign of names were Sacco and Vanzetti. young Communist Party was driv- the depression, shows how much the Bolsheviks. People were led to terror. This Communist Party had The State of Massuchetts framed en underground. It had to func- the capitalists had won and how