

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. XI.—No. 51

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1947.

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

## Italian Strike Struggle Betrayed by Stalinists

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## Hickman Is Saved; Free on Probation

CHICAGO, Dec. 16 — The campaign to win freedom for James Hickman ended in victory today, when he walked out of Cook County Jail, free to return to his family and his job.

The State had attempted to convict him of "murder in the first trial, which ended Nov. 15 with a "hung jury." Faced with mounting protests from all parts of the country, the State dropped the murder charge this week, and recommended a two years' probationary sentence based on a manslaughter conviction. Under these terms Hickman agreed to plead guilty to the charge of manslaughter.

In his speech recommending probation for Hickman, Assistant State's Attorney Samuel Friedman testified to the powerful public sentiment that had been aroused in the case when he held up a sheaf of letters, resolutions and telegrams urging freedom for Hickman, that had been received from all parts of the U. S.

These, he said, were only a small part of the flood of communications that had poured in to his office from labor unions and other organizations, as well as from prominent individuals of the stage, screen, radio and clergy.

Friedman predicted criticism of the state's recommendation to free Hickman from "some quarters" — an obvious reference to the real estate interests and the reactionary press. In motivating the recommendation, he recalled the fact that the first trial had resulted in a mistrial, and predicted that another trial on the murder charge would probably end the same way.

Judge Rudolph Desart accepted the recommendation and sentenced Hickman to two years' probation. A few hours later Hickman was set free and welcomed amidst much jubilation by his family, friends and members of the Hickman Defense Committee. He expressed his deep appreciation to the Committee and all of its supporters, whose splendid fight was responsible for his freedom.

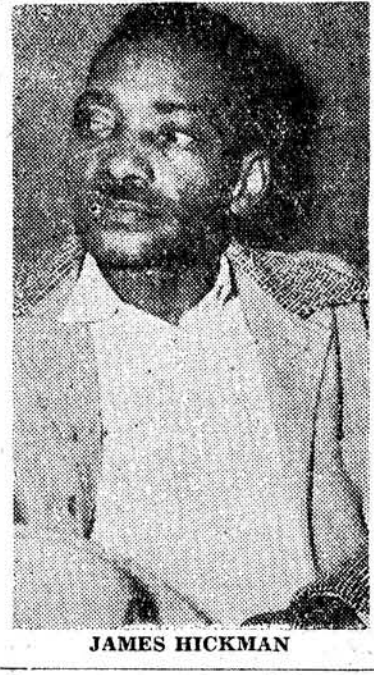
Hickman had spent five months in the county jail, without bail, on the charge of murdering his landlord, David Coleman, whom he held responsible for the death of his four youngest children in a disastrous attic fire last January. Hickman had never denied killing Coleman, but the defense movement came to his aid because the real cause of the killing was the intolerable housing conditions under which he had suffered and the criminal actions of the landlord.

### CLEAR CUT VICTORY

The Hickman Defense Committee hailed Hickman's freedom as a clear cut victory, attributing the outcome of its campaign to the widespread support received from labor and liberal organizations, as well as to the excellent legal defense provided by attorneys M. J. Myer, Leon Despres and William Temple.

The committee announced it would instruct its branches and representatives throughout the country to cease the collection of funds. It announced further that the balance which remained in the defense fund, after all bills had been paid, would be presented to the Hickman family.

The committee also plans a victory celebration to be held early in January.



JAMES HICKMAN

## Committee Hails Hickman Victory

CHICAGO, Dec. 16 — The following statement was issued today by the Hickman Defense Committee on the release of James Hickman:

On Dec. 16 James Hickman walked out of the Cook County Jail a free man — free to return to his family and pick up the pieces of a shattered life. The successful fight to save Hickman's life and liberty constitutes a great victory for the labor and progressive organizations and liberal people who rallied to the defense of this unfortunate victim of social injustice. It constitutes a victory for the millions of victims of the housing shortage and racial ghettos for whom Hickman has become a symbol.

This triumph can be attributed to the whole-hearted response of hundreds of thousands to the appeal of the Hickman Defense Committee. The most powerful support came from the ranks of labor, but support flowed in from many other sources: from the Negro people, veterans, the churches, the storekeepers and the professions.

They assisted in every way that they could: through mass meetings,

(Continued on Page 3)

## Detroit Unions Backed Hickman

DETROIT, Dec. 17 — As the good news arrived here that James Hickman had won his freedom in Chicago, the Detroit chapter of the Hickman Defense Committee was meeting with an excellent response in its campaign to rally moral and financial aid for him from the powerful labor movement in this city.

Already the Greater Detroit and Wayne County Industrial Union Council of the CIO had solidized itself with the victimized steel worker, and had circularized all its affiliated unions for financial support to the Hickman Defense Committee.

The first responses from the local unions in this area were very encouraging. Among the unions that have voted to send financial contributions were Briggs Local 212, Ford Highland Park Local 400, Cadillac Local 22, Chrysler Local 7 and Plymouth Local 51 — all of the UAW.

Hickman's freedom is undoubtedly due in great part to the fact that so many important unions in this and other important industrial centers wrote or wired to the State Attorney in Chicago, supporting the demand that the charge of murder against him be dropped.

## "Big 4" End Conference In Blow-up

### Find No Way to Bridge Moscow-Wall St. Rift

The break-up of the London Conference of Foreign Ministers Dec. 15 demonstrates once more that the "Big Four" cannot bring enduring peace to a war-weary world. After bickering for three weeks over treaties for Germany and Austria, the parley ended in bitter mutual denunciations.

The blow-up occurred over Molotov's insistence on \$10,000,000,000 in reparations from Germany. Molotov indicated willingness to continue horse-trading. But this move was designed to place responsibility for the conference failure on Marshall who called for the adjournment.

The truth is that Washington and Moscow could find no bridge for their differences. Wall Street aimed at winning major concessions from the Kremlin to permit economic penetration of Eastern Europe and eventually the Soviet Union itself. This would have undermined the base upon which the Stalinist bureaucracy rests, paving the way for its destruction either at the hands of the outraged Soviet masses or under the grip of Wall Street.

The Kremlin on the other hand tried to blackmail a pact out of the imperialists by threatening to touch off revolutionary mass struggles in Europe. Moscow expected favorable consideration in return for its counter-revolutionary services in de-railing such struggles.

To convince Wall Street of the reality of its threats, the Kremlin gave the signal for demonstrations in Italy and France while the conference was in session. But Wall Street's representatives are well aware of the Kremlin's inability to follow through with any anti-capitalist mass movement and its profound fear of an unrestrained working class upsurge.

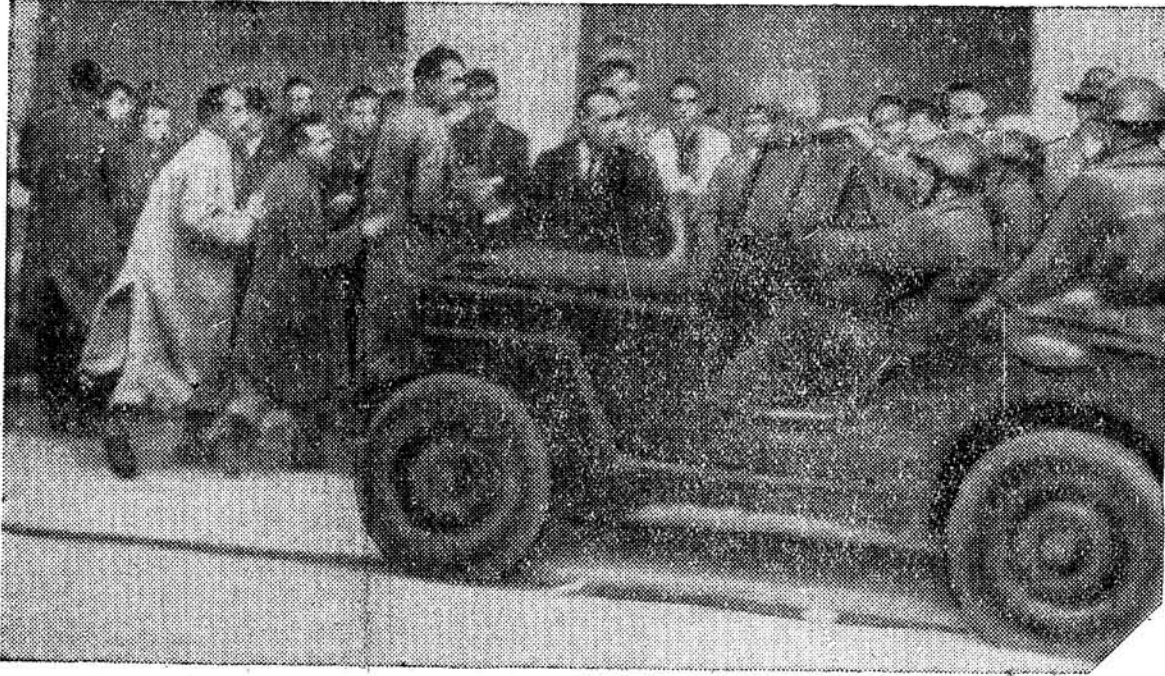
Marshall therefore decided to sit tight and let Stalin stage his show in Western Europe. Then he waited to see whether the Kremlin would run up the white flag.

Thus the conference served simply to test the firmness of the opposing positions. When neither side showed any sign of yielding major concessions, it collapsed.

The people of Europe are the main victims of this shameful diplomacy. Now, more than ever, this unhappy continent will become the arena for the maneuvers of the big powers. As the Kremlin tries to strengthen the buffer zone it holds in Eastern Europe, Wall Street plans to proceed to consolidate the western zones of Germany, set up a puppet German government, and mobilize all Western Europe under the Marshall Plan in preparation for the projected attack on the Soviet Union.

# DEMOCRATS, REPUBLICANS PASS THE BUCK ON PRICES

## Police Violence Against Rome Strikers



Driving over the curb, these Rome cops charged their American-made jeep at hundreds of strikers as the Italian government mobilized to break the general strike. After two days the Stalinist union heads called off the strike, claiming a "victory." See story on page 2. Federated Pictures

## Economic Crisis Forces Moscow to Devalue Ruble

By John G. Wright

By a decree announced over the Moscow radio Dec. 14, the Kremlin devaluated the ruble, ended rationing of food and consumer goods, and lowered the price of certain basic items "on an average" from 10% to 12%.

The net effect of these measures was to cut the national debt to about one-third its former size, reduce the currency in circulation to one-tenth its former volume, and toss a meager sop to the industrial workers in the form of a price rollback on bread, flour, cereals, macaroni and beer.

The mechanism was simple. Everyone was required to turn in his rubles. For 10 old ones he got one new one. Holders of bank accounts got a better rate, as did holders of government bonds.

The decree was intended to salvage the disintegrating fiscal structure of the USSR and at the same time, to appease the ominously increasing discontent of the masses. It is a gesture at carrying out the long-standing promise of ample food and consumer goods to the population after the long years of cruel privation.

However, the most decisive pressure by far was the difficulty of carrying on planned economy with a dislocated fiscal structure. Things had reached such a point that the bureaucracy was finding it impossible to maintain any longer even the pretext of fulfilling the fourth 5-Year Plan. It was impossible to stabilize the economy without a stable monetary unit. If the bureaucracy heped to salvage the plan, this reform was imperative.

It is true that food conditions have eased as compared with last year, and the Kremlin has even siphoned off a "surplus," but this only emphasizes the depth of the economic crisis facing the regime. 5-YEAR PLAN

The fact is that the latest 5-Year Plan is running up against insuperable difficulties — the dislocations incident to grotesque bureaucratic privileges, the devastation of the war brought on the country by the

Kremlin's suicidal foreign policy, the continued isolation from the world market imposed by Wall Street and its satellites.

The currency reform by itself cannot possibly solve the problems arising from these factors. The most critical stages of the crisis therefore still lie ahead.

The devaluation of the ruble hits all sections of the population to one degree or another. "All" must sacrifice. ("It will be the last sacrifice," promise Stalin and Zhdanov, the signers of the decree.) In its immediate effect, however, it hits hardest the well-to-do layers of the agricultural population, the millionaire farmers, the new merchants, traders and speculators in the cities. At a single stroke the currency hoarders have been stripped of nine-tenths of their capital, while the holders of government bonds lose two-thirds of their holdings.

The poorest sections of the population, above all the workers, stand to gain — provided that the regime is able to maintain the flow of food stuffs and consumer goods into the market.

This is the first time in years that the Kremlin has made even a gesture toward shifting away from the privileged layers of farmers and city petty bourgeoisie, which constitute its main social and political prop, and granting even an apparent concession to the industrial workers.

### KREMLIN'S AIMS

One of the objectives the Kremlin had in mind in making this gesture was undoubtedly to increase the productivity of the workers by a

slight improvement in their abysmally low standard of living. Increased labor productivity means more consumer goods, a spur in turn to agricultural production.

But it must be emphasized that the basic inequalities still remain in the Soviet Union. The monstrous privileges of the bureaucracy have (Continued on Page 2)



STALIN

## Congress Fails To Act Against Raging Inflation

Congress rushed toward its pre-Christmas adjournment this week without adopting a program to halt the inflation that is boosting prices 2 to 3% a month. Its only action was to spur the rising Truman's inflationary "Stop-gap foreign aid" program.

Republican and Democratic agents of Big Business were in complete accord on this phase of the Truman Doctrine. They had little trouble in coming to agreement on bolstering anti-labor reaction in Europe.

On Dec. 15, the Senate and House pushed through their joint bill to pour another 597 million dollars in money and military supplies down the drain-pipe of bankrupt capitalist regimes and monarchist dictatorships in Europe.

On the same day, after a debate limited to 20 minutes for each side, the House disposed of the only so-called "anti-inflation" bill to reach the floor. House Democrats, under a two-thirds majority rule, blocked passage of a Republican measure that contained half of Truman's 10-point "anti-inflation" program.

Democrats and Republicans are playing a buck-passing game. They will try to pin the blame on each other for Congressional failure to do anything about prices.

The Democrats, in particular, will now claim that if only Truman's full program had been adopted, inflation would have been halted in its tracks. This is hog-wash.

Truman's vague program for "some" price controls tied to a wage freeze would end up as Roosevelt's war-time policy did — just a wage freeze. The OPA — contrary to administration propaganda — became a joke. Real price rises were concealed under fictional price ceilings.

Both Truman and Taft propose only to nibble at a few of the symptoms of the inflation. Neither attacks the fundamental cause of the inflationary disease.

The gargantuan war debt and swollen military budget are fueling the inflationary fire. The profiteering monopolists are fanning the flames by price-gouging. This year the corporations are raking in four times as much profits as in 1939.

Revealing, but little publicized, features of both the Truman and Taft programs are proposals to permit monopoly price-fixing and

### Blood-Thirst Whetted By Taft-Hartley Law

The Taft-Hartley Law isn't savage enough for some capitalists. Having tasted labor's blood they thirst for more.

On Dec. 16, for instance, McGraw-Hill, one of the biggest industrial publishing outfits in the country, ran another of its full-page anti-labor advertisements. Its theme was the "failure" of the Taft-Hartley Law to go far enough.

McGraw-Hill insists that Congress now go ahead and "finish the job of eliminating" what it calls the labor "monopoly" (militant trade unions) and "industry-wide bargaining."

exempt the corporations from the anti-trust laws. When the Republicans included this in their bill, Truman denounced it. Then it was pointed out that Truman's plan, as presented by Secretary of Commerce Harriman, contained almost the same proposition as Taft's. Truman hastened to "explain" he was for the Harriman proposal.

So far as labor is concerned, the issue boils down to this: Price rises in the next four to five months will discount in advance such limited wage raises as the unions might hope to get by next spring and summer without a major wage struggle. This dictates the need for labor to launch a wage drive on a nation-wide basis now. Serious preparations for a militant struggle must begin at once. By next spring the workers may not be one penny ahead of today in real wages, even if they get boosts of 10 or 15%.

The wage program should provide protection of real wages against future price rises. There is only one such immediate and effective defense — the adjustable cost-of-living bonus or escalator wage clause. This means a clause in every union contract, in addition to the basic wage, ensuring an automatic wage increase for every rise in prices.

## Lewis Silent About His Program As Miners Withdraw from AFL

John L. Lewis on Dec. 12 announced the withdrawal of the United Mine Workers from the American Federation of Labor. Two months before he had bitterly denounced the AFL top leaders at the San Francisco convention for urging submission to the Taft-Hartley Act by signing "yellow dog" oaths.

The manner of Lewis' announcement showed his contempt for those he had described in his convention speech as "intellectually fat and stately asses." He sent a five-word note to AFL President William Green. It was scrawled with green crayon on scratch-paper. It read: "Green AFL. We disaffiliate. Lewis."

This is the second time the UMW and AFL have parted company within 11 years. In 1936 the UMW and nine other industrial-type unions were suspended when they refused to disband the Committee for Industrial Organization, formally established as the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1938. Lewis was founding president.

He led the CIO in its epochal rise until 1940. Then he stepped down from the CIO presidency after the defeat of Republican Willkie, whom Lewis supported against

Roosevelt and the Third Term. Two years later, the UMW left the CIO. In Jan. 1946, the UMW reaffiliated with the AFL.

Once again Lewis finds himself at violent odds with the AFL leadership over principle and method. He has called for bold and aggressive resistance to the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law in opposition to the cringing attitude of AFL leaders like Green, Tobin and Meany.

The craft-minded moguls of the AFL have made it clear they intend to undercut Lewis' base, particularly UMW's District 50 whose organizational field has expanded far beyond the mines.

It is especially important to note that the UMW's decision for disaffiliation followed the setting up of the AFL Labor's Educational and Political League, from whose founding sessions the UMW representatives were conspicuously absent.

Most of the AFL leaders, it appears at this time, are scheming to use the LEPL as a vote-catching machine for Truman in 1948. For Lewis to go along with them would mean to back the President who attempted to smash the 1946 mine strike and initiated the infamous injunction that led to a two million dollar fine against the UMW.

### HOW TO FIGHT

Lewis has shown his utter dis-

satisfaction with the way the AFL leaders propose to "fight" the Taft Act. But he has offered, as yet, no program of his own. Not even his own members know how he proposes to fight against the Slave Labor Law and its sponsors.

It is a fine thing to call for militant and uncompromising resistance to the Taft-Hartley Act. But that is not enough. How to resist is the vital question. Lewis has not even advocated the elementary program of joint AFL-CIO action. His political views are buried in a fog.

This has led to much speculation. Will he spurn a reactionary Truman for a reactionary Dewey? Will he waste his great moral capital as the most militant of the top union leaders in petty maneuvers and cheap bargaining between Republican Tweedledums and Democratic Tweedledees?

The way out of labor's political blind alley — the road to victory against the Taft Act — is independent political action through a labor party and labor's own candidates. Will Lewis break with his narrow and conservative political past? That is what every far-seeing union militant in the country is asking today.

## PAULEY CASE LIFTS LID ON GOVT. FOOD SPECULATORS

By George Lavan

Another scandal involving high government officials has broken. Edwin W. Pauley, Truman's close personal friend and special assistant to the Army Secretary, has been exposed as a food speculator and profiteer. Truman, Agricultural Secretary Anderson and Attorney General Clark have been denouncing speculation in commodities as a major cause of zooming food prices and as "profiteering in human misery."

If the investigation is not stymied by powerful forces, other high government officials and Democratic big-wigs are threatened with exposure. It is already hinted that former Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau and former Postmaster

General Hannegan are involved. Secretary of Agriculture Anderson, who at first refused to turn over a list of 600 leading speculators, now says he will divulge the list only if Congress passes a joint resolution demanding it.

Although the spotlight has so far been focused on the Democrats, the Republicans also fear a thorough-going investigation. Republican Senator Styles Bridges, head of the Senate investigating committee, has refused to include members of the Republican-dominated Congress among those to be investigated by his committee.

George W. Elderderfer, a director of the Chicago Board of Trade, asserted there would be no big investigation because "there are too many high government officials who have been dabbling in the grain market."

Last October 16 Truman publicly

instructed Attorney General Tom Clark to investigate commodity profiteers. The Department of Justice, always zealous against unions and left-wing organizations, has not to this day taken any action against those pushing food prices sky-high.

Pauley, an old favorite of Truman's, is no stranger to scandals and investigations. He gained notoriety as a political fixer for the oil interests. Raising huge sums of money for campaign contributions gave him great influence over politicians. He served as Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee.

In 1946 Truman nominated him Under Secretary of Navy. The Senate hearings on his nomination raised a national oil scandal. Charges of attempted bribery and perjury filled the air. Secretary Tokes, whose hands were pretty oily also, revealed that the Truman administration

had tried to get him to perjure his testimony. The hearings ended with the withdrawal of Pauley's nomination and Tokes' resignation.

But it didn't take Truman's pal long to get his fingers into government affairs. Last September Pauley was appointed Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Army. This appointment didn't have to go through the Senate and he quietly assumed his post.

Before the Senate Committee he guessed that in 1947 his speculations in the commodity market was "something less than a million dollars." He seemed surprised that anyone could object to this "profiteering in human misery" which he regarded as normal business.

Pauley defended his speculation by saying, "I believe in the capitalist system" and "I am not socialistic in my views." His only regret was that if he

had held on to his holdings a little longer he would have made another hundred thousand dollars. He also explained that he had entered the commodity market "to protect myself and my family" from inflation.

"I dealt in everything I could make a profit in, in the good old American way," said this model of a patriotic business man.

It is charged that the pattern of commodity buying and selling by high government officials has responded to the release of government orders which sent the market zooming. Speculating with advance knowledge of government orders would have brought fortunes in return.

The American people want to know which government officials have been cleaning up and also who the top grain speculators are. No matter which Wall Street Party they are in.

# Wallace Still Angling for Deal With the Democrats

Henry Wallace still refuses to commit himself to a break with the Democratic Party in the 1948 presidential election. Despite the growth of talk about an independent Wallace ticket, he is still following the policy of putting pressure on the Democrats in the hope of arriving at a deal with them.

This was plainly demonstrated during Wallace's recent tour of up-state New York. "My attitude today is the same as it has been right along. If it is apparent that the Democratic Party is a war party, I will do all I can to see that there is a third party," he declared in Syracuse.



WALLACE

Evidently it is not yet apparent to Wallace that the Democratic Party is a war party. True, much of his popular support today is the result of his criticisms of the bipartisan foreign policy in Washington. True, he points out that the Truman administration's policy is leading toward war. But he still refuses to flatly brand the Democratic Party as the war party that it is.

The "strongest" statement he would commit himself to on this question was the following: "As yet I am not satisfied that the Democratic national administration is working for peace and not for war." This can be interpreted in only one way: Wallace still leaves open the possibility that he and the Democratic Party can come to terms for 1948.

Wallace was asked by reporters if he would be available to head a third ticket. His answer was: "Frankly, I'd like to see what President Truman has to say when he sends his annual message to Congress." Those again are not the words of a man ready to carry on

a political war against Truman, but rather of one who is still hoping for a deal.

### PCA MOVE

Following Wallace's tour the executive committee of the Progressive Citizens of America issued a statement backing Wallace as an independent candidate for president. This action, it is reported, will be presented for ratification to the PCA convention next month and will be followed by a national nominating convention of the PCA and other groups to launch a third party and a Wallace campaign, if Wallace accepts.

This move by the PCA is being widely interpreted as a sure sign that Wallace will head a third party next year. But such an interpretation overlooks or simplifies several important factors. It must be borne in mind that Wallace is not bound by PCA decisions, which are dictated by the Stalinists and those liberals willing to collaborate with them.

Both the Stalinists and their fellow travelers, subservient to the Kremlin, want a Wallace ticket very badly, no matter how much or how little support it wins. But Wallace himself is more reluctant to embark on such a venture, unless he is assured that he has the possibility of making a real splash and retaining his reputation as an "important" politician. Thus an important aim of the PCA move may have been to put pressure on Wallace.

But what is far more important, the PCA endorsement remains within the general framework of the Wallace strategy to exert maximum pressure for a deal with Truman. It has the Democrats' bosses worried, it permits him to continue to talk out of both sides of his mouth—and at the same time it commits him to nothing.

A third party and a Wallace presidential slate cannot be excluded, however, especially if the deal Wallace is after depends on any important change in the administration's policy of "cold war" with Russia. But what kind of party would it be?

### LITTLE LABOR SUPPORT

In the first place, Wallace has been deserted by the top labor officials who were his loudest supporters during Roosevelt's administration. Not because they have any important differences with him on domestic policy, but because they are enthusiastic supporters of the Truman-Marshall get-tough-with-Russia policy, which he criticizes.

The Wallace movement therefore is today by a combination of Stalinists, fellow travelers and liberals without a base, and lacks the necessary labor support to give it the character of a Labor Party movement.

Furthermore, even if there is a third party presidential slate, Wallace stated in Syracuse, "I do hope

## Hits Discrimination



Changing slogans and bearing signs, more than 1,000 University of Chicago students took a "recess" from classes and held a campus rally to protest against racial discrimination in the college hospital and medical school.

to give in 1948, as I did in 1946, all possible aid to all possible progressive Democratic candidates for Congress."

In other words, Wallace does not intend to make a clean break with the Democrats under any circumstances. While building his own party, he would also continue to build and strengthen the Democratic Party. This would leave the door open, after the 1948 elections, for Wallace to return to the Democratic fold by a merger of the two parties.

The program of the proposed party would not be anti-capitalist in any sense. On the contrary, Wallace not only admits but boasts that he is a devout supporter of capitalism. The program he offers is a continuation of the New Deal—the same program that could not do away with unemployment in the Thirties and that led the U. S. straight to World War II.

The PCA promises that a Wallace ticket would give the voters a real alternative in 1948; actually, it would offer only a choice between various programs to uphold the capitalist system responsible for most of the evils of modern society.

Sentiment at the recent California State CIO Convention revealed a great majority in favor of supporting this party, but an unnecessary compromise resolution lost a wonderful opportunity for gaining official endorsement and consequently a greater mass base.

A significant grouping which has just declared in favor of supporting this party is the Townsend Old Age Pension organization, represented by numerous clubs all over California.

# Stalinists Betray Heroic Italian Workers Struggle

By Joseph Hansen

The nation-wide demonstrations in Italy that were touched off by the Stalinists in hope of frightening Wall Street into granting major concessions to the Kremlin at the London Conference, ended up by demonstrating how much the Stalinists fear revolutionary struggle and how far from their minds is any thought of leading the masses in a decisive battle for government power.

The Italian Stalinists boast a membership of more than 2,000,000. They exercise decisive control over the trade unions. About 60% of the working class is under their direct influence. More than 3,000 municipal governments out of 7,000 are in Stalinist hands. In addition, the Stalinists have at their disposal between 280,000 and 400,000 partisans.

Most important of all, the masses have repeatedly demonstrated their

desire to end capitalism with its misery, fascism and war. The poverty-stricken agricultural workers have on their own initiative moved in on the big estates and attempted to drive away the landlords. The industrial workers similarly have occupied the factories, seized strategic centers, battled with police and army, taken over city administrations—have done everything to push the Stalinist bureaucrats at the head of the labor movement onto the road to socialism.

### BY DEFAULT

The Italian capitalists hold power only by default. Their despised government, put in office by the Allied conquerors, has no more than 280,000 armed forces, including police, and sections of these forces at great risk have indicated their sympathy with the masses. The forces of fascism, while gathering strength, are still half underground, unprepared for a showdown battle.

Yet the Stalinists refused to topple this hated capitalist regime and set up a Workers and Farmers Government. They wanted just enough action to demonstrate that they held the power to set off a socialist revolution in Italy.

The Italian masses, feeling the loosening of the brakes, quickly surged forward. In Milan, where they were provoked by de Gasperi's removal of the mayor, they took over the city for a day. Workers and partisans occupied the strategic centers Nov. 28, demonstrating their readiness for a showdown struggle.

### OBLIGING TREACHERY

When de Gasperi ordered the armed forces in Milan into action, they refused to budge. Instead of shooting at the workers, they indicated their solidarity. Without the least bloodshed, the workers had won the Chicago of Italy.

Had this dazzling victory been extended, a Workers and Farmers Government could have been established in Italy in short order. But the Stalinists, instead of consolidating their hold and moving forward from this base, dropped Milan like a red-hot iron. They obligingly turned the government back over to de Gasperi and this political hacheman of the capitalist class at once moved three divisions of more "dependable" armed forces into the city.

Next the Stalinists staged a parade in Rome of 30,000 partisans. For a day the capitalist correspondents wondered if the Stalinists had decided to launch a bid for power. But after the march the Stalinists sent the partisans home.

The Stalinists climaxed their "scare Wall Street" campaign with a call for a general strike in Rome. They confined strike demands to three items: (1) punishment of police guilty of shooting a worker in a previous demonstration; (2) an appropriation of 10,000,000 lire (\$17,000,000) for public works; (3) a bonus before Christmas for the 80,000 unemployed in Rome.

The de Gasperi cabinet coolly agreed to "investigate" the shooting, appropriate a few more billion lire for public works, and see if "something" could be done about a bonus for the unemployed. Meanwhile it ordered the police into action against the strikers.

The Stalinists began the strike without preparations for defense. The police isolated groups of strikers, clubbed them and arrested hundreds. After the second day, the Stalinists abruptly called off the strike, claiming a "victory."

The Stalinists thus demonstrated how much they fear a mass upsurge of the workers and how they try to divert the struggle to serve their own bureaucratic interests. They limited the number of workers on the unions in such key industries as the railways. They did their best to keep strike demands within the narrowest possible economic framework. They prevented the strike

from leadership in time? The answer to that question will not be long in coming.

The swift growth of the Italian Communist Party after the war was not a measure of the attractiveness of Stalinism, but of the will of the Italian workers to build a party on the Bolshevik model. As events disclose how little the Italian Communist Party corresponds to that model, Stalinism will suffer a catastrophic decline in influence.

Under the same acid test the ideas of Trotskyism can gain in popularity at phenomenal speed. This is the great hope for a coming victory of the working class in Italy.

struggles from assuming a coordinated nation-wide character. Where the workers moved farther and faster than the Stalinists had expected, they hastily headed off the struggle and surrendered the positions which the workers had won.

### CP BRINGS DEFEAT

In Italy as in France in recent weeks the Stalinists brought the workers only demoralizing failures and stinging defeats. This treacherous leadership could not pave the way for the resurgence of fascism any better if it were on the direct payroll of Italian capitalism.

Will the Italian workers succeed in ousting the Stalinist betrayers

## Rattle U. S. Arms Over Heads of Italian Workers

On Dec. 13, the day before U. S. troops left Italy, Truman implied the readiness of his regime to intervene in any civil conflict that might develop there.

"If in the course of events it becomes apparent that the freedom and independence of Italy... are being threatened, directly or indirectly," he said, "the United States will be obliged to consider what measures would be appropriate for the maintenance of peace and security."

What type of "measures" would be taken can be gathered from the demonstration staged on Dec. 11, the day Rome workers began a general strike. American warships "maneuvering in Italian waters launched 200 carrier-based planes in a mock attack against northern Italy," according to INS.

"The U. S. carrier Midway and two destroyers which arrived at Genoa from Naples," continued the dispatch, "carried out maneuvers that included large-scale aerial reconnaissance of all roads from the coast toward Milan."

As the Soviet Army freed the countries of Eastern Europe from the Nazi occupation, genuine revolutionary movements arose spontaneously everywhere. But they were liquidated under orders from the Kremlin or shunted into collaboration with the bourgeoisie, since the Stalinist bureaucracy is opposed to all revolution in view of the danger to its dictatorship and its privileges.

If the Stalinists had not crushed the revolutionary movement in Eastern (and Central) Europe in 1944-45, the masses would have quickly toppled the capitalist parties which had plunged their countries into the abyss of war.

However, the Stalinists preferred to keep these parties alive and to collaborate with them in coalition governments. This concession did not change their anti-Soviet attitude in the least. To them the USSR still remained the non-capitalist country, heir of the October Revolution. The bourgeois politicians continued to be uncompromising partisans of Anglo-American imperialism.

As the bourgeois opposition became stronger and stronger, the Stalinists grasped how dangerous these agencies of imperialism were inside the strategic and economic ramparts of the USSR. They had to be destroyed.

Based on a completely counter-revolutionary bureaucracy, Stalinism could not combat them with a working class movement—they prevented that in 1944—but only by police terror in which the Stalinists have been past masters since the sinister Moscow frame-up trials.

## Moscow's Latest "Trials" in Eastern Europe

By K. Manfred

They organized judicial farces against the principal leaders of the big capitalist parties in Bulgaria (Petkov) and in Rumania (Maniu). Petkov, head of the Bulgarian opposition, was hanged (despite the violent protests of the Anglo-American powers).

At present, Maniu, head of the Rumanian Peasant Party, must face his judges. Will his fate be the same as Petkov's?

### CLASSIC PROCEDURE

Whatever the sentence, we see in these trials all the classic machinations of the GPU—spontaneous confessions, falsified documents, witnesses for the prosecution who obligingly make sensational revelations, etc., etc. . . . Juridically, none of it holds water. Of that there can be no doubt.

Not wishing to be flung like his Bulgarian colleague, Mikolajczyk, head of the Polish Peasant Party, fled to England. His collaborators were arrested at the Czechoslovakian border.

Tataresco, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Rumania and liberal leader, already suspended for several months, is headed for complete stripping of his governmental functions as a result of "revelations" in the Maniu trial.

In Hungary, Pfeiffer, leader of an extreme-right party, inspired by the example of Mikolajczyk, preferred to flee to Vienna before being arrested.

In Czechoslovakia, advance post of the USSR's ramparts, the influence of western imperialism remains stronger than in the other countries listed as "friends of the Soviet Union." But there also, under more difficult conditions, the Kremlin's agents have begun the struggle against the anti-Stalinist elements. A severe political crisis is now shaping up there.

We have no political sympathy whatever for any of these bourgeois opposition parties nor for their leaders. We have not forgotten, moreover, that Mikolajczyk is not at all a "hero of democracy," but the editor in 1939 of an anti-Semitic rag in Lille which resembled

the infamous products of the Hitler press!

We have not forgotten that Tataresco is one of the most corrupt politicians in Europe and above all a sworn enemy of the working class.

We have not forgotten that Pfeiffer stands for nothing but the tradition of the white guards of Horthy and of Imrezy, representatives of the big land owners.

Without overthrowing the capitalist parties, the masses of Eastern Europe cannot better their lot. But these tasks belong to the masses themselves!

In liquidating the bourgeois lead-

ers by police terror, by a revolting caricature of justice, the Stalinists furnish the best grist for the hypocritical propaganda of the Anglo-American imperialists and their reformist lackeys.

Objectively their counter-revolutionary policy can only serve imperialism! Not the Stalinist secret police, but only the working class struggle in all countries can prevent an imperialist attack against the USSR!

(Translated from the Nov. 15 issue of LA LUTTE OUVRIERE Belgian Trotskyist newspaper).

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### San Francisco to Hold New Year's Celebration

San Francisco SWP branch extends an invitation to celebrate New Year's Eve, beginning at 8 p.m., at 1739 Fillmore Street, on Wednesday, Dec. 31. Buffet Supper served at midnight.

### Newark Invites Readers For New Year's Eve

Militant readers are invited to celebrate New Year's Eve at the Newark branch of the SWP. Festivities will begin at 9 p.m., Wednesday, Dec. 31, at 423 Springfield Ave. Food, entertainment, dancing.

## Soviet Crisis Forces Devaluation of Ruble

(Continued from Page 1)

not been eliminated. Capitalist world economy continues to dislocate the beginnings of planned economy in the Soviet Union. Within the USSR the laws of the market continue to operate.

The workers at their low wages will be able, as before, to get only a minor share of goods. The fixing of price controls will tend to drive more goods into the villages where prices range higher, once again shifting the division of necessities sharply in favor of the countryside.

The enthusiasm over the decree occurred in the cities, primarily among the workers. They expect a quick improvement. The applause that was reported is in reality no cause for the Kremlin to cheer. If the expected improvement does not occur, it means trouble, for the concession won by the workers has the effect of raising their self-confidence and heightening their will to struggle.

The gravest immediate difficulties faced by the regime are with the peasants, both the well-to-do and the lower ranks. Their confidence in the ruble has been rudely shaken. If a widespread movement sets in to withhold the grain "surpluses" instead of bringing them into the market, the situation can become explosive within a very short time.

The Kremlin's latest move thus clearly flows not from strength, but from weakness. It is another attempt to maneuver between the

classes that exist in the Soviet Union.

From the viewpoint of Marxist analysis, the decree is fresh evidence of the correctness of Trotsky's view that the Kremlin bureaucracy is not a new ruling class but an oligarchy governing in a degenerated workers state. The Kremlin is now desperately trying to regain the relative equilibrium it enjoyed at home and abroad before the war.

That equilibrium, however, remains exceedingly elusive; primarily because the bureaucracy itself is the biggest obstacle to stability both at home and abroad. At best the Kremlin can gain only temporary respite.



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## 140,000 Sign Petition For California I. P. P.

By Al Lynn

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 11—Over 140,000 signatures have been obtained to date in the petition drive to place the Independent Progressive Party on the ballot in California, according to statistics released by the organizing committee last week.

Requirements for placing a new party on the ballot in this state are 275,000 signatures, or 27,000 registered voters. The IPP Committee is aiming at a goal of 500,000 signatures since many are likely to be invalid due to moving, failure to register, etc.

Left wing forces in the movement had proposed that the campaign be based around registration with a perspective of a clean break with the old boss-controlled parties. However, they were outvoted by a majority influenced by the Stalinist policy of keeping one foot in the camp of the Democratic Party.

This left wing grouping consists in the main of CIO unionists who want to build the IPP into a strong Independent Labor Party. Well represented in every phase of the IPP movement, this element has declared itself vitally concerned with building and strengthening the new party and is therefore active in the petition work.

### THE BACKBONE

The existence of this tendency, and the role of unionists in sponsoring the party, reveal that labor is the backbone of the IPP. Although the Stalinist-influenced leadership has been seeking desperately for liberal politicians, none have appeared on the scene. In addition, much of the practical work of organization is based on the unions.

Sentiment at the recent California State CIO Convention revealed a great majority in favor of supporting this party, but an unnecessary compromise resolution lost a wonderful opportunity for gaining official endorsement and consequently a greater mass base.

A significant grouping which has just declared in favor of supporting this party is the Townsend Old Age Pension organization, represented by numerous clubs all over California.

This is another indication that a political organization dominated by the labor movement has great attractive power for other groups in the population. The Townsendists couldn't have declared support on the basis of a "liberal" movement, since such a movement is obviously not present in the IPP. On the other hand, labor has always shown its sympathy and support for the needs of the aged.

The California Socialist Workers Party has consistently been supporting the fight of the progressive section of the unionists in this movement, and calls upon all readers of *The Militant* to work to build it by gathering petitions and registering Independent Progressive Party.

## Youngstown SWP Honors 'Militant' At Celebration

YOUNGSTOWN, O., Dec. 13—The Youngstown Branch of the Socialist Workers Party tonight sent fraternal greetings to *The Militant* from its banquet celebrating the 19th anniversary of the founding of the paper.

More than 50 comrades and friends gathered to honor *The Militant*. "We salute *The Militant*," said the telegram, "and will work for the continued spread of its message to the workers."

A fine dinner was served. A program followed during which many readers of *The Militant* expressed their appreciation for a paper that tells the truth. The evening wound up with singing and a skit.

Guests were present from Canton, Akron, New Castle and Cleveland.

## ACEWR Statement On Clark's Blacklist

NEW YORK, Dec. 15—The following statement was issued today by Rose Karsner, chairman of the American Committee for European Workers Relief:

"The inclusion of the American Committee for European Workers Relief in the list of 'subversive' organizations submitted by Attorney-General Clark to the Civil Service Commission could have been based only upon a complete misunderstanding or misrepresentation of the Committee's character and work."

"The facts concerning the ACEWR are these. Our Committee is not affiliated with any political organization and does not impose any political requirements upon either its members or supporters, or the recipients of its aid. It engages in

no political activities of any kind. Its functions are solely and strictly confined to sending food, clothing, medicine and similar means of relief to working class victims of war, fascism and hunger in Europe. The Committee's publicity deals only with the urgent need for such aid and with appeals for support in its relief work.

"Regardless of the Attorney General's list, the ACEWR is determined to carry on work of providing food, clothing and other relief for as many needy European workers as possible."

## THE MILITANT ARMY

### "Renew My Sub," Writes Former Reader

"I am writing to see if you are still sending out *The Militant*," says E. S. of Baltimore. "If so please let me know at once as I want my sub renewed. Will send the money just as soon as I hear from you, as I am very anxious to get the paper. Hope to hear from you at once."

We don't know where E. S. has been for 20 months since his sub expired, but we welcome him back as a reader.

You, too, run the risk of falling out of touch with the paper you just can't get along without, if you fail to renew promptly when your sub expires. You may even lose the address and have difficulty locating us if you are in a community where there is no large branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

Don't let this happen to you. Watch the date on the address label or wrapper. That's the expiration date when your subscription will end. Renew well in advance so as not to miss any issues.

D. Saunders, New Britain, Conn., writes: "Enclosed please find four 6-month renewals which represent about a half hour's work. As soon as we entered the homes of these people we were remembered and welcomed. Besides being anxious to renew, they also promised to attend our classes and forum. Here's hoping we can do as well during the coming year."

satisfaction of a worthwhile achievement is the "only" reward for *Militant* sub-getters, but what a solid and lasting reward it is!

Gladys and Frank of Bedford-Stuyvesant branch, Brooklyn, came in beaming with three subs from knocking on four doors. (No one was home at one place.) One hospitable woman greeted them: "I've been so anxious to get this paper again. When I first subscribed I was very ill and just gave the girl 50 cents to get rid of her. The papers piled up unread. When I got out of bed again I was about to throw them out when a cartoon caught my eye—that cop in Freeport, L. I., shooting down the Ferguson brothers because they had tried to buy coffee in a Jim Crow restaurant. I read about that case and then read all the papers. They're the best I've seen." A visitor there at the time also took a sub.

It was "a very spirited group" that returned from a Detroit renewal call mobilization. Sending 30 subs (plus two for Fourth International). B. Allen reported further: "We also sold tickets to our special meeting on the UAW. E. Drake carried off top honors with seven subs. Three very valuable contacts made. We also covered union meetings and sold 17 copies of *Fight the Slave-Labor Law* at the Budd meeting. Despite the bitter cold, workers actually lined up to buy."

A North Dakota subscriber renewed for a year and sent subs for four friends.

Reena Breshi sent 19 Boston area subs. "Comrades Tommy L. and Henry D. are responsible for most of these. Belle Patch is also doing some fine work."

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### One Way to Make a Living

Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, exiled leader of the Polish Peasant Party who is in the U. S. to help whip up the anti-communist drive here, "will have his expense accounts OK'd by the National Association of Manufacturers," according to the Dec. 16 *World Telegram*. "Any anti-Commie leaders who want to come to the United States to fight the battle will get a hearing on what it will cost," an NAM official promised.

Subscriptions: \$1 per year; 50¢ for 6 months. Foreign: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9339) FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 5¢ each in U.S., 4¢ each in foreign countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XI—No. 51

Monday, December 22, 1947



TROTSKY

"All talk to the effect that historical conditions have not yet 'ripened' for socialism is the product of ignorance or conscious deception. The objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have not only 'ripened'; they have begun to get somewhat rotten. Without a socialist revolution, in the next historical period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind. The turn is now to the proletariat, i.e., chiefly to its revolutionary vanguard. The historical crisis is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership."

—Leon Trotsky, The Death Agony of Capitalism, 1938, P. 6.



LENIN

Note to Our Readers

The readers and the friends of The Militant, and the branches of the Socialist Workers Party, have again outdone themselves in their devotion to The Militant by oversubscribing the goal of the Sustaining Fund Campaign, as reported on this page.

It is a matter of profound regret that we must accompany our grateful acknowledgment of this generous support with the announcement that a measure of retrenchment has been forced upon us by the raging inflation. We are obliged — temporarily, we hope — to reduce the size of the paper to four pages. As things stand now we cannot continue the six-page issue without incurring a weekly deficit which would soon devour the special sustaining fund so generously subscribed.

Our circulation and our circle of friends and supporters have grown, but they have not kept pace with the dizzy mounting costs of publication. It costs more now to publish a four-page paper than we originally had to pay for eight pages. Last week we were confronted with another stiff increase in the printer's bill, with the clear intimation that other increases are to be expected.

Other publications, caught in the same inflationary spiral, have compensated themselves for the increased costs by raising subscription and advertising rates. Neither of these solutions is open to us. We carry no commercial advertising; and we can't increase our subscription price without making it more difficult for the worker victims of the same inflation, for whom The Militant is published, to get the paper.

We are not facing bankruptcy, thanks to the special fund that has been over-subscribed. But the inflationary situation imperatively requires that we eliminate every possible avoidable expense and operate during the next period on the most economical basis possible, in order to avoid an imprudent dissipation of the sustaining fund and assure regular publication.

By eliminating the added cost of the extra two pages for the time being we hope to conserve the limited resources of the paper and forestall greater difficulties later.

The Militant is needed more now than ever. It must continue regular publication under all circumstances and at any cost. That is the main thing to keep in mind now.

"Expanding" the Bill of Rights

Some of the Big Business newspapers last week managed to find a few odd inches of space amid their attacks on labor, denunciations of "reds" and reports of last quarter dividends, to "commemorate" Bill of Rights Day, Dec. 14.

The New York Times, daily mouthpiece for the House of Morgan, ran a three paragraph editorial in its usual oracular style. It says the Bill of Rights is endangered—in Russia. It must be defended—from Russia.

You'd never think, from the Times, that 14 million Negro Americans still have second-class citizenship. You wouldn't know there's a Taft-Hartley Law. You'd never suspect that Truman and Congress are whipping up a red scare and trying to put over thought-control in this country.

Nevertheless the Times is all for the Bill of Rights. In fact, it thinks the Bill of Rights should be "expanded." Not to strengthen freedom of speech, a free press and the right of assembly, however. The Times says:

"Other freedoms, vaguely recognized before but never fully enforced, are being worked out in France and Italy, including the basic 'right to work,' which Left-Wing leaders have tried to deny. It is not likely that the United States, the very pillar of liberty, will lag behind." The Times forgot to mention Greece.

We know this "freedom" the French, Italian and Greek rulers have decreed. In France, it is a "shoot-to-kill" order to troops against strikers. In Italy, it is rubber truncheons, clubbed rifles and grenades against strikers. In Greece it is the death penalty for strikers.

By the "right to work," the Times doesn't mean the right to employment. It doesn't mean that a boss can't fire a union man. It doesn't mean that a boss must hire Negro workers. It means the "right" to scab.

In short, the Times defends the "right" of a strikebreaker to steal an honest worker's job, to smash his union, undercut his pay.

J. S. Imperialism in Panama

The cry, "Down with Yankee imperialism!" is sounding in Panama. The people of the tiny Central American country through which the Panama Canal passes are aroused over an "agreement" cooked up between the State Department and the servile Panamanian government granting Washington long-term leases on 14 military bases used during World War II.

Upon announcement of the "agreement," Panama's Foreign Minister, Ricardo J. Alfaro, resigned, scoring the "unjustified demands" made by Washington. News of the deal entrenching U.S. armed forces in 14 separate areas in Panama besides the 10-mile wide Canal Zone, at once touched off wide indignation.

National Institute students called for a protest rally before the National Assembly Building as that body met to consider ratification. When the students paraded, Interior Minister Filos, a Washington puppet, set the police in action. According to a Social-

ist Party member of the Assembly, Jose Brower, the police besides using tear gas fired pistols at women and children.

Some 33 were injured, one student receiving a bullet wound in the spine. Twenty-five arrests were made and five teachers were given 30-day sentences on undisclosed charges.

Washington's record in Panama is one of ruthless imperialism. Panama was once part of Columbia. When the Colombian Senate refused to ratify a treaty granting Washington perpetual control of a zone in which to dig the Canal, a "revolution" was engineered under Theodore Roosevelt's administration, setting up Panama as a separate country with a puppet government that at once met Washington's demands.

The present "agreement" imposed by the State Department clearly continues that imperialist policy. Formal recognition of the entrenchment of U.S. armed forces in Panama simply brings the record up to date.

Negro Unemployment Rising

In the present period of so-called prosperity and full employment twice as many Negro as white workers are unemployed. This alarming unemployment in the Negro community is but a foretaste of the mass unemployment and hunger that Wall Street has in store for the Negro people in the coming depression.

Figures released by the National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee show that while unemployment on a nation-wide basis has declined, the proportion of Negroes without jobs has increased since 1940. Thus in New York City unemployment among Negroes is 63% higher than among white workers. In Chicago two out of every hundred white workers are unemployed while seven out of every hundred Negro workers are jobless.

In the South where the Jim Crow system attains its full viciousness the figures are naturally higher. In the Norfolk-Portsmouth-Newport News area of Virginia 350% more Negro workers than white are deprived of work; that is, two out of every hun-

dred white workers are unemployed to nine out of every hundred Negro workers. In Atlanta Negro unemployment is 1000% greater than white.

This shows that even in periods of peak production the Negro people suffer from economic discrimination which threatens their very right to live. "Last to be hired and first to be fired" still holds in the bosses' rule book.

The above figures show the pressing need for immediate action to mobilize the Negro people and the labor movement behind the drive for legislation to end discrimination in industry. The best time to act on this is now—not when the coming depression has already arrived, and mass unemployment sets in. The way to act on this is through an aggressive political struggle against both capitalist parties in Washington, which share equally in the responsibility for killing the wartime Fair Employment Practices Committee and preventing establishment of a permanent FEPC with the power to really stamp out industrial Jim Crow.

Total Figure Raised Is \$17,000 As Militant Fund Campaign Ends

By Rose Karsner National Campaign Director The \$15,000 Militant Fund campaign terminates with this issue of the paper.

It was a hard pull, and at times it looked doubtful whether some of the branches were going to be able to fulfill their quotas by Dec. 15.

Everywhere the going was tough because of inflationary prices. Seattle found it especially difficult to meet its quota on time as did Toledo and Rochester; also San Francisco, where one of their ranks got a settlement for an injury sustained on the job and made a donation of \$200 "in the nick of time." None of these branches however succumbed to the local circumstances. Instead, they put forth extra efforts and each made its 100%.

Chicago too had some rough sledding even with the help from its Calumet branch where \$500 was raised "without digging into our own pockets."

Reading branch did not foresee the special circumstances which arose after it undertook to raise a quota of \$100, nor did the Militant office. Under the present conditions the figure of 50% reached by this branch represents a real achievement, comparable to that of some branches which reached 100%.

In New York, where the members divided their pledges by 12 from the start and made regular weekly payments, collections proceeded at an even pace throughout the campaign. Each of the eight branches in the Local fulfilled its quota.

In general, all cities wrote to the same effect: due to the high cost of living pledges were smaller than usual and collections slower. The exceptions were St. Louis and Cleveland. These branches found it comparatively easy to go over the top.

In spite of these hardships, we finished with a total of \$16,935, which exceeded all expectations.

Credit for this magnificent showing goes in the first place to the members of the Socialist Workers Party who gave so generously of their meager earnings; to the branch fund directors who plugged at collections without let-up, week in and week out; to the many friends and sympathizers who contributed locally, and to the readers

Trotskyist Youth Expose Militarism

NEW YORK, Dec. 16 — Wall Street's militaristic plans were exposed by the International Socialist Youth, youth section of the Socialist Workers Party, at last Saturday's session of Hearst's Fifth Annual Mirror Youth Forum.

First the ISY members distributed an anti-war leaflet. Then a representative took the floor at a pane meeting on universal military training and began to speak against capitalist militarism. After he was expelled from the hall by the adults who really ran the forum, another got the floor. This time pressure forced the chairman to take a vote on the speaker's right to continue; about 40% voted in his favor. Then the adult gonn squad expelled him too.

By the time the meeting was over, the ISY had prepared and distributed a leaflet protesting the expulsions. Many of the youth present expressed their sympathy with the ISY's vigorous and efficient behavior.

REUTHERITES PUSH FOR LOCAL COMPLIANCE WITH TAFT ACT

DETROIT, Dec. 16 — Continuing to buckle under before the anti-union attack of Big Business and the government, the Reuther machine at Ford UAW Local 400 last Saturday attended by less than 300 and instructed the local's officers to "dog" affidavits.

The opposition to this move was strong, and discussion lasted almost an hour. Fully one-third of those present were opposed to signing the oaths, with a large number of the Reutherite followers abstaining and some even speaking against the motion.

And all this — despite the fact that the motion on the floor was made under the guise that all local union officers were instructed to sign by the UAW national convention!

Actually, of course, the UAW convention did nothing of the sort. Under the guise of helping "weak" locals, the Reuther machine had instructed the incoming national officers and executive board members to sign. But there was no provision ordering local union officers to do so.

This move capitulating to the Taft-Hartley Act was made easier because two of the spokesmen opposed to signing the oaths are tainted by the speed-up policies followed by the Communist Party during the war. Furthermore the opponents

\$15,000 Militant Fund Final Scoreboard

Grand Total \$16,935

Table with columns: Branch, Quota, Paid, Percent. Lists various cities and their contributions to the Militant Fund.

who sent their donations and inspiring letters direct to The Militant office.

It was a great privilege and honor to conduct this campaign. To all who made this tremendous success possible—our thanks.

Special Attention — Reading Branch: Your friend "Hutch" sent a coin card with \$1.70 and a note in which he says: "Dear Sirs— Please find enclosed my contribution to the Militant Fund. Sorry I cannot send more at this time. I have already donated to your fund through a worker in the shop where I am employed. I feel I am giving a

meager amount, considering the extra cost of printing the paper, which is a real source of enlightenment to me and to every worker."

Cleveland — Your sympathizer, George P. S., wanted to make sure his contribution would be recorded in the final scorebook, so he wired \$15 with this message: "Credit this to the Cleveland Branch. I owe my knowledge of the movement to them."

Coin cards continue to come in. The following were received in the past week: Field \$1; Scherf \$1.50; Carter \$2; Gilbert \$1; S. T. \$1 and Hutch \$1.70.

Victory For Hickman Hailed By Committee

(Continued from Page 1) resolutions, letters, financial contributions, placing collection cans in their stores, circulating collection lists, and attending the sessions of the trial. Organizations representing more than a million people from all parts of the country threw their support to Hickman's fight for freedom. Thousands of dollars were donated to assure the best possible defense.

James Hickman was a laborer at International Harvester's Wisconsin Steel Mill, who had spent most of his life as a share-cropper in Mississippi. He was an obscure working man, without money, prestige or influence. How then explain the tremendous support that came to his defense? In part, it flowed from man's natural compassion for a fellow man in distress, but it was far more than that. It was a splendid demonstration of the instinctive solidarity of working men and women.

Hickman's entire life and his indescribable tragedy dramatized the plight of tens of millions who are doomed in our society to poverty, exploitation and discrimination. He was born in Mississippi, condemned from boyhood to a life of back-breaking toil in the cotton fields, which permitted him to eke out the very barest existence.

He came north, to Chicago, in search for a better life for his family. He was deprived of the first prerequisite: a decent place to live. There were mansions for the rich, but no home for the Hickman family. His family of nine was broken up and scattered in three different places, and finally brought together in an uninhabitable tiny attic room without water, lights, gas or toilet. He was swindled by an unscrupulous landlord, who took advantage of his desperate plight to extort \$100 from his meager savings for the promise of an apartment which he never got.

He was then ordered to move, and threatened when he refused. Finally, he suffered a loss which cannot

possibly be measured in terms of material values: his four youngest children burned alive—caught in a trap from which there was no escape.

AN ACCIDENT? Was this an accident, for which no one was to blame, as the state's attorney declared to the jury? An act of God? No! It was no accident. His landlord had threatened fire if Hickman did not move. At the coroner's inquest, evidence of arson was introduced. Coleman, the landlord, admitted before he died, that he had set the fire. Even if he did not, was it really an accident?

Was it an accident that the Hickmans were compelled to live in this man-trap? Or was it because the government, under orders from the real estate interests, refused to build homes for the needy?

Was it an accident that there was no fire escape, no fire extinguisher, no water, no protection whatsoever? Or was it because of a greedy landlord and public officials who permit these inhuman profiteers to violate all of the fire and health ordinances?

Was it an accident that the Hickmans were compelled to find shelter within the confines of the horrible slums of the black ghetto? Or was it because of racial segregation and restrictive covenants, fostered by real estate interests, supported by the legislatures which refuse to outlaw these practices and upheld by the courts?

No, it was no accident. No more than the fiery death of dozens of other human beings in Chicago in the past year. And, if these conditions are not remedied, there will be many more such "accidents."

That is why the people rushed to the defense of James Hickman. They did not justify his action in killing the landlord, but neither did they blame him. They understood that he was driven to this deed out of desperation and despair, and they knew that the real criminals had not been indicted. Many of them said, as Willard Motley did, "perhaps I, too, or almost any other man, would have done the same thing as he had done, given the same circumstances."

They did not want the state to persecute Hickman any further; they wanted him to be permitted to return to his family, so that he might try to recover some measure of peace and happiness. Above all, they wanted to expose and indict those guilty of the social crimes which led to this tragedy, and to demand justice for the millions of underprivileged.

END THESE CRIMES The Hickman case has drawn to a conclusion. If our campaign has done nothing more than win liberty for Mr. Hickman, it has been worthwhile. But we hope it has done more than that.

We hope it has served to indict the powers that be for crimes against the people, in refusing to provide adequate and safe housing, and in herding the Negro people into Nazi-like ghettos; that breed disease, misery and death.

We hope that our campaign will help bring about a powerful movement that will put an end to these outrages so that working men like James Hickman and their families may live out their lives in peace, comfort and happiness.

WORKERS' FORUM

Letters are welcome. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you want your name printed.

Hitler, Wallace And Foster

Editor: Hitler, when he was seeking power, stated over and over that he intended to preserve and defend the capitalist profit system, and he did. Henry Wallace has made the same statement several times to my knowledge. Yet William Z. Foster, head of the Communist Party, would support Wallace for President. But a real true militant socialist will not be deceived into fighting for anything short of a cooperative commonwealth administered by the democratic control (and ownership) of the workers. In the Dec. 8 Militant James P.

Cannon has an article that every union worker should read and consider as it is food for thought. And on Page 6 of the one about the labor fakers getting ready to support capitalist politicians in 1948 is tops. As a member of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, I am going to send President A. F. Whitney a copy of this issue and ask him to read the article by Cannon. A Railroad Worker Minnesota

How Trotskyism Came to Australia

Editor: In April, 1933, a member of a local dissident Stalinist group received a copy of The Militant—organ of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition). This single copy of The Militant was responsible for the introduction of Trotskyism into Australian politics.

Contact was established with the Communist League of America and a file of The Militant back to 1931 was sent to Australia. We still treasure that file.

Ever since The Militant has arrived regularly. It has acted as an invaluable guide to Australian Marxists. May it continue to grow! N. Origgias Australia

No Wonder SWP Is On Blacklist

Editor: So the U. S. Attorney General has added the Socialist Workers Party to the list of subversive organizations. The SWP has nothing, absolutely nothing to be ashamed of! Which side are we on? It's a darn cinch we're not on the side of Tom Clark, the NAM, the venal boss press, the professional "pay-triots" of the American Legion, the corrupt capitalist parties of the Democrats and the Republicans, and the labor misleaders who haven't got the guts to stand up and fight for their class.

The side we're on is the side of Sacco and Vanzetti, Joe Hill, Wesley Everett, Gene Debs, Bill Hayward, Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, the Haymarket Martyrs, the Minneapolis 18 and the countless numbers of lesser known victims of capitalist class brutality, Negro and white. It's the side we're going to

Editor's Note

Lack of space compels us to discontinue the regular publication of such features as Workers Bookshelf, Congressmen at Work, etc. However, we will print them on occasion — whenever space permits. We also regret the necessity to immediately discontinue the publication of the Autobiography of Mother Jones, despite the fact that a majority of the readers expressing an opinion have favored its continuation.

stay on, the fight we're going to continue until we end this crazy system. The SWP is the party whose every thought and action is designed to hasten the day when the working class and all of society will enjoy real social justice and all the fruits of socialism. Small wonder the capitalist-class government calls the SWP "subversive!" S. T. Chicago, Ill.

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the Socialist Workers Party

- ARRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 3-5 p. m.; Sat., 2-4 p. m. BOSTON—30 Stuart St. Sat., 1-5 p. m. Tue., 7-9:30 p. m. BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MADison 3960. Every afternoon except Sun. CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Phone DEARborn 4767. Daily except Sun., 11 a. m.-5 p. m. Library, bookstore. CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m., Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.). DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6257. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Forum and open house Sat., 8 p. m. FLINT—215 E. Ninth St. Daily 7-9 p. m. Open house, Sat. eve. Forum, Sun. eve. LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Phone Richmond 4644. Daily, 12-5 p. m. SAN PEDRO, Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Rm. 214. WATTS—Militant, 1720 E. 97th St. LYNN (Mass.)—44 Central St., Rm. 11 Sat. 1-5 p. m. Discussion, Tues., 7:30 p. m. MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 630 S. 5th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m.-6 p. m. Library, bookstore. Forum, Sun., 3:30 p. m. NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl. Mon. 8-10:30 p. m. NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 8-2574. Reading room, week nights, 7-10 p. m. NEW YORK CITY (Ha.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR. 5-8149.

# The Christmas Spirit

By Theodore Kovalesky

You hear it in the frosty bells and in the crunching snow. The sugary carols seeping through your radio proclaim it, the newspapers advertise it, and the store windows glisten with it.

Once again the wheel of time has swung around to December and the age-old merry-making that clusters about the red-lettered "25" on the calendar.

There is still time for laughter, still a little time left for holiday spirit, still a little room to dance on the edge of the cliff above the hellish pit of war and reaction.

Peace on earth, good will to men! At night you see through the windows of the broken houses the tinkling melody of colored lights strewn over the Christmas trees. A dark door opens, and the visitor leaving the shadowed porch says, "Merry Christmas."

You pass the department store windows in a glare of light. You look at the statted forms of women in soft furs, children in warm snow suits. You see stacks of toys dumped into provoking display, wonderful little electric trains, mechanical toys to teach the child to become useful with his hands, books to exercise his young mind, and guns to get him used to this age of violence.

On every corner clanging their monotonous bells shiver the tired Santa Clauses with their open pots yawning for coins. The downtown streets are gaily lighted with strings of colored bulbs, sponsored by the Merchants' Association.

But where is the peace, where the good will? Everywhere you see the glitter of commerce, the packed windows beckoning the buyers. From the soft-spoken good taste of the most expensive jeweler in the city to the tobacco-chewing loudmouth who hollers at his customers in a lot filled with bound-up pines and firs, there is only the passage of money from buyer to seller.

You have heard the bells and the Christmas carols, You've read the books and papers and ads. Where is the peace and good will? There is none. There is no peace and pathetically little good will.

A sick woman leaves a hospital after a long illness and stands weakly before a desk, a hospital clerk berating her for her inability to pay her bill in full.

A corporation executive snorts, "Let them strike, damn them! We'll use the Taft-Hartley Act to the limit!"

A well known speaker gets up and explains to the Rotary Club why "we" should use the atomic bomb on the Soviet Union.

The federal government launches a sweeping purge to fire any of its employees who have "dangerous thoughts."

The Wall Street imperialists reach the fingers of their government in Washington deep into the pockets of the American workers to finance arms and aid for European fascists and reactionaries to use in defeating the European workers.

"Peace on earth, good will to men," murmur the preachers, and the echo of their pious voices is taken up by advertisers, senators, mayors, generals, newspaper publishers and capitalists in honor of the legendary birthday of a man who said, "It is harder for a rich man to get into the kingdom of heaven than for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle," and who was lynched for his radicalism.

Peace on earth, good will to men. . . Only one force on earth will realize that aim. Those who take a day off each year from their warmongering to preach peace and good will will never do it. Only the working class can bring this peace. We call it Socialism, the society of peace and plenty, of good will and cooperation between all men, for the good of all men.

Only Socialism will bring peace on earth. And only you and your brothers will bring Socialism. Merry Christmas!

## The Negro Struggle

### Let Us Subvert Jim Crow

By Albert Parker

Do you want to overthrow the vicious Jim Crow system? Do you want to destroy the century-old pattern of segregation, discrimination, abuse, humiliation, insult and violence by which Negro people are "kept in their place"? Are you ready to fight to the death for equal rights? If your answer is yes, don't be surprised to find your name, or the name of a militant organization you belong to, included on some political black list handed out in Washington. If your answer is yes, then you can expect to be denounced as a "subversive" and accused of "disloyalty," or something worse.

Some people are liable to be frightened by such things, and to withdraw from the fight against capitalist oppression. That would please the White House and Congress and the Department of Justice very much; the main aim of their blacklists is to scare and intimidate people into deserting the fight for a better world. It would also please the Ku Klux Klan and Rankin and all the other avowed enemies of the Negro people.

Most Negro militants, we believe, are not going to be cowed into silence and inactivity. If they did, they would be unworthy of the fighting traditions of Nat Turner, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass and the thousands of others who, in their day, were denounced as subversive and disloyal to slavery.

Of course there is more involved here than the question of tradition. The struggle against Jim Crow is, a matter of necessity, The Negro people do not have much choice. It's either fight or resign yourself to the status of permanent second-class citizenship; there is no in-between. And conditions don't stand still; if they don't get better, which is possible only as the result of militancy, then they get worse. If capitalism isn't replaced by socialism, then there is always the danger of fascism, which will strike at the American Negro as ruthlessly as it did at the German and European Jew.

So the struggle will go on, despite blacklists, witch hunts, thought control, etc. The question is—how to make the struggle most effective? And in this connection the very issuance of the blacklist has great educational significance.

One of its aims is to discourage and weaken the Negro struggle. It thus disproves the theory, accepted by many Negro leaders, that the government is "impartial" in the fight between the pro- and anti-Jim Crow forces. That is, the struggle for full Negro emancipation is a struggle against the government too.

In other words, the fight for equality is a political fight. To win it, the Negro people must work out a political program aimed at ending the political power of the capitalist class and its two Jim Crow parties. The sooner that is recognized, the sooner the fight will be won.

## Tuberculosis: The Dread Killer

By Grace Carlson

"Protect Your Home From Tuberculosis" is the chief slogan of the 1947 Christmas Seal campaign. Carried on by the National Tuberculosis Association, the Christmas Seal campaign is used to raise funds to educate people about the cause and cure of the dread killer, tuberculosis.

But it is not easy for workers to protect their homes from tuberculosis. Living in crowded, poorly-heated homes, wearing inadequate clothing, eating insufficient amounts of the protective foods, workers and their children are an easy prey for tuberculosis germs. The National Tuberculosis Association shows us the tragic end-results of these terrible living conditions in a table called, "The Worker's Chances of Dying from Tuberculosis":

- 2 times as many farmers die of tuberculosis as do bankers.
- 4 times as many bakers die of tuberculosis as do bankers.
- 4 times as many plumbers die of tuberculosis as do bankers.
- 5 times as many truck drivers die of tuberculosis as do bankers.
- 7 times as many miners die of tuberculosis as do bankers.
- 9 times as many waiters die of tuberculosis as do bankers.

11 times as many laborers die of tuberculosis as do bankers.

The big majority of the farmers, bakers, plumbers, truck drivers, miners, waiters and laborers who die from tuberculosis each year are young people. Between the ages of 15 and 44, tuberculosis causes more deaths than any other disease. With a toll of some 53,000 deaths annually, tuberculosis is the seventh cause of death in the United States today.

But tuberculosis is a preventable disease. No one should die of tuberculosis in 1947 when medical science has perfected so many techniques for treating TB patients. Unfortunately, the doctors, who know so much about how to cure tuberculosis, don't know how to prevent it. Of course, they know that tuberculosis is a disease of poverty. Of course, they know that society must wipe out poverty if we want to wipe out tuberculosis. But that's as far as medical scientists can go.

Dr. H. E. Kleinschmidt, Educational Director of the Tuberculosis Association, said recently, "Tuberculosis is only one of the evils growing out of greed and social injustice, but it alone is enough to justify zealous crusading for the day when every family will be assured a decent standard of living."

The Socialist Workers Party would welcome Dr. Kleinschmidt and all other Tuberculosis Association leaders into our ranks in order to crusade "for the day when every family will be assured a decent standard of living." They are putting up a valiant fight against tuberculosis, but that isn't enough. The main enemy is Capitalism!

## Did You Get Your \$3,458?

By Art Preis

If the American workers could feed their families on "good times" propaganda, we'd all be mighty fat. At this moment I'm trying to squeeze a little nourishment out of a recent Scripps-Howard headline: "U. S. Now Enjoys Record Peacetime Era of Prosperity."

That's been Truman's theme-song in his periodic "Economic Report." He even told us a few weeks back that we're eating too much—have to cut down on the steaks and turkey legs and pie crusts and eggs to leave a few mouthfuls for the rest of the world.

The statistics factory in Washington pours out fresh figures weekly. Production up, profits up, prices up—and wages up. Oh yes, especially wages. American workers are getting sore fingers counting their pay every week. So the reports go.

Just the same, most of us are having a tough time trying to stretch that non-Sanforized (shrinkage higher than government standards) dollar. We can't seem to scrape up enough cash to buy a ticket on this Prosperity Express.

Those tickets sell high today. In fact, too high for about 80% of the American people. Because if you're a husband and wife with two growing dependent children, you'd need "between \$3004 and \$3458 a year to maintain a modest but adequate" standard of living at June 1947 prices.

Those are the government's own conservative figures. They were submitted on Dec. 16 to the Senate-House economic subcommittee by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. They are based on a 2½-year study of

living costs in the country's 34 largest cities. How many today enjoy a "modest but adequate" income of \$3458 a year in Washington, D. C.? We could name a few hundred Senators and Congressmen who get more than four times that. But not many government clerks and blame free Negro workers who form the bulk of the city's useful population.

How many in Seattle earn \$3388; in New York, \$3347; in Milwaukee, \$3317; in Boston, \$3310; in Detroit, \$3293; in Pittsburgh, \$3291; in Minneapolis, \$3282; in Chicago, \$3282; in San Francisco, \$3317; in Baltimore, \$3260; in St. Louis, \$3247; in Mobile, Ala., \$3276?

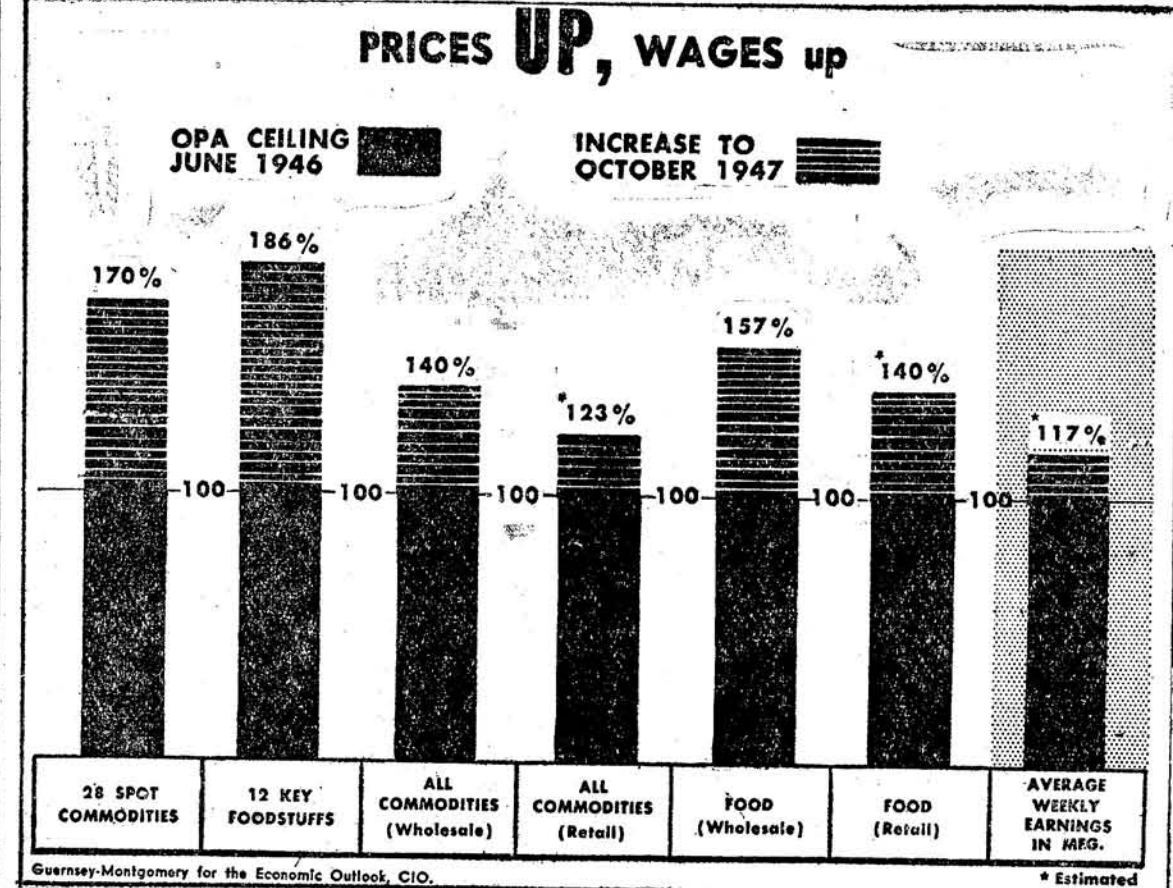
The same Bureau of Labor Statistics tells us that average manufacturing pay today is about \$50 a week—before taxes. That comes to \$2600 a year—if you work 52 weeks a year. Of course, there are farm workers and laundry workers and millions of others, who receive far less—as little, in fact, as \$16 a week at the present 40-cent hourly minimum.

Now don't get any notions about the prosperity you will enjoy when you latch onto that "modest but adequate" living standard the government says you need. If the wife bought a heavy wool coat last year, she's still got to wait another three years to acquire that "new look." And hubby will have to wear another year's shine on last year's suit.

It's sure peculiar how the newspapers and radio can pour out an ocean of prosperity and the people can't seem to soak up a drop of it.

# THE MILITANT

## Murray Pleads for Joint Action As Taft Act Deals Double Blow



This chart from the November CIO Economic Outlook shows statistically what every worker already knows from experience—that price rises have far outstripped wage boosts.

As Washington aimed double blows with the Taft-Hartley Act club at labor's economic and political rights, CIO President Philip Murray addressed another appeal to AFL President William Green for joint AFL-CIO action.

Murray's letter, published in the Dec. 8 CIO News, voiced "the urgent desire of our affiliated unions and their members to join with the AFL for the purpose of taking immediate steps to defeat the attempts of reactionary forces to undermine and weaken the labor movement."

The CIO appeal was issued in the week that the National Labor Relations Board pressed major attacks on collective bargaining rights and union security.

In its Remington-Rand ruling, the NLRB brazenly incited employers of more than 3,000,000 union members to tear up existing union contracts. It stated in effect, that national unions which refuse to sign degrading "yellow dog" oaths have no legal collective bargaining rights.

NLRB General Counsel Robert Denham, in a speech before the National Association of Manufacturers, declared in advance of an NLRB hearing that he supported the Big Business publishers who are trying to force the AFL International Typographical Union to sign an open-shop contract in violation of their long-recognized closed shop policy.

He threatened employers who agree to contracts that seek to evade various restraints in the Taft-Hartley Act and assailed any "appeasement" of labor. He made it clear that the NLRB will actively and aggressively enforce every feature of the Slave Labor Law.

DRIVE AGAINST LABOR These government assaults on collective bargaining and union security are now accompanied by a developing drive against labor's political rights.

The Dec. 15 CIO News reports that G-men of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) have twice quizzed Philip Murray and Allen L. Swift, CIO News editor, on the CIO's challenge of the Taft-Hartley ban on the use of union funds in federal election campaigns. Last summer the CIO News, defying the Taft Act, supported the Democratic candidate in the July 14 special Congressional election in Baltimore.

Murray's letter to Green cites other dangerous threats to the AFL and CIO from the NLRB. "Those union leaders who nibble at the Taft oath and the alleged 'benefits' of the NLRB are helping to spring a death trap on the entire labor movement."

## CIO and Liberal Groups Hit Government Blacklist

Widespread labor and liberal protest has been aroused by Attorney General Clark's blacklist of so-called "subversive" organizations, which included the Socialist Workers Party.

The CIO News, in an article by its editor, Allen L. Swift, condemned Clark's action as a "purge" list and "trampling on basic civil rights."

"It was a foolish thing to do because there is wide disagreement over the meaning of 'subversive' and 'loyalty,'" says the CIO News. "It was a cruel thing to do because the organizations were 'blacklisted' without being given an opportunity to attempt to establish their innocence."

"And it was a dangerous thing to do, because democracy is threatened when the head of a governmental agency is compelled to assume the role of investigator, prosecutor, judge and jury."

The National Lawyers Guild pointed out that even the civil

rights of the Nazi defendants in the postwar trials had been respected more than those of the allegedly subversive groups blacklisted by Clark.

CLARK'S YARDSTICK The Guild also asserted that Clark's personal opinion seemed to be the yardstick for what was "subversive."

The government-inspired red scare was also protested by the Council of Methodist Bishops. The Council adopted a resolution condemning the firing of government employees for alleged subversive views as acts that "are themselves violations of constitutional guarantees and therefore un-American."

The drive against civil liberties took on renewed energy following Clark's publication of the blacklist. A wave of suppression hit the colleges as speakers appealing contempt of Congress citations were banned from speaking.

Howard Fast, well known novelist, was prevented from addressing a student club at Columbia. Arnold Johnson, an official of the Com-

munist (Stalinist) Party was barred from speaking at New York's City College on the grounds that his party was on the "subversive" blacklist. Other universities took similar action as college presidents and deans gossiped into time in the thought-control campaign.

In Hartford the Connecticut State Youth Conference has been refused the rental of a hall for its annual convention because it was on Clark's blacklist. Similarly Madison Square Garden has informed the Stalinist Party that the Garden is "not available" this year for its annual Lenin meeting.

NAVY STANDARDS George Gorchoff, a machinist in the Brooklyn Navy Yard for more than 15 years and secretary of Local 556, International Association of Machinists, was fired for alleged subversive beliefs. His appeal has brought out the sinister standards employed by the government for purging federal employees.

The Navy made public its official instructions for the witch hunt. Included was a sample case to guide purgers. Among the model "specific criteria" were the following: "You frequently visited in 1945 and 1946 with Mr. . . . your brother-in-law, who constantly praises the Communist form of government and with whom you so frequently associate that it suggests you likewise advocate Communism." Another sample charge reads: "You have advocated the Russian form of government in many social gatherings within your own home."

The above rules for determining "subversive" beliefs make plain the degree to which civil rights are being violated as well as the Gestapo methods of spying on families and homes which the Truman administration is employing.

## Need for Labor Party Debated in Cleveland

By George Tobin

CLEVELAND, Dec. 12—Labor's need for a political party of its own was discussed at CIO Hall tonight, in a debate arranged by the UAW Cleveland Council on Education.

The affirmative was taken by Anthony Pirc, president of UAW Local 337 and chairman of the 32nd Ward Political Action Committee. He was assisted by Lucille Clifford of UAW Local 363. The negative side was given by Alex Tuma of UAW Local 474 and Lester Hupp of UAW Local 70.

Pirc began by saying that the Taft-Hartley Act is the result of the bankrupt policy of "rewarding your friends and defeating your enemies." The Democratic Party as well as the Republican Party is controlled by Big Business, he said, and pointed out that it was a Democratic administration which lifted price ceilings, threatened to conscript the railroad strikers and invoked injunctions and fines against the miners. "Truman and Taft are both strike-breakers," said Pirc, who advocated running independent labor candidates by the PAC and the formation of a national Labor Party.

Tuma said that he "would like to see a Labor Party some day, but now is not the time for it. The American people are not interested in a Labor Party." Lucille Clifford replied by asking, "When will be the time?" She said that the labor movement, trying to see which is the lesser of two evils at the polls, has ended up by getting the greater evil in office each time.

Only 21% of Cleveland CIO members voted in the last election, said Hupp, who thought that this lack of interest in politics would doom any Labor Party. A third party, said he, would split the progressive vote and allow big moneyed inter-

ests to win. "We can rule the United States, if the laboring people get together and quit fighting among themselves." Unity with the AFL is necessary, he said, before a Labor Party can be started.

In his rebuttal Pirc pointed out that only seven out of 90 labor-endorsed Congressmen voted against Truman's bill to conscript the railroad workers and break their strike last year. "Voting for Democratic or Republican politicians," said he, "is like voting for a company man running for union president."

MANY QUESTIONS Many questions were asked by the audience after the debate. Most common was fear that a labor party would "split the progressive vote." One worker said he thought the workers could take over the Democratic Party in the primaries. In reply Pirc showed that the Democratic Party has kicked out Wallace and all the other "liberals" from its councils, and is no more progressive or subject to labor's control than the Republicans.

"We have got to build a political movement that we own and control," said Pirc. "Workers responded with real enthusiasm when we ran an independent labor candidate in the De Vito campaign last fall. Workers don't trust the boss, and they don't trust boss candidates."

After the discussion a vote among the audience showed 16 for a Labor Party, seven against, and many on the fence. The subject will surely be discussed more widely among militant workers here in the coming year.

## Milwaukee SWP Runs J. Boulton for Mayor

MILWAUKEE, Dec. 9 — James E. Boulton, a founding member and organizer of the Socialist Workers Party branch here, will run as the Trotskyist candidate for mayor in the spring non-partisan primary. The SWP candidate is an industrial worker with a splendid record of labor militancy.

His nomination as an independent working-class candidate followed the announcement that the remaining feeble horse-traders of the once-powerful Socialist Party of Milwaukee have set up endorsement machinery in alliance with capitalist interests.

The SP politicians under the leadership of Frank Zeidler, School Board member, have joined with liberal capitalist politicians to form a so-called Municipal Enterprise Committee. This will function as an endorsing vehicle for SP candidates and their capitalist allies.

Zeidler, last remaining hopeful of the dying SP office-holders machine, claimed "the Milwaukee metropolitan area is too big to function without a liberally-inclined endorsing vehicle in so-called non-partisan elections." Without this "democratically inclined committee to construct a municipal platform and to endorse or draft candidates and to support them, no body of men and women can be elected to public office with a constructive or coherent philosophy of government."

The Milwaukee SWP answered with a statement, that said in part: "The SWP, in the belief that thousands of Milwaukee workers desire a genuine socialist candidate selected and endorsed by, and responsible to the Party, has endorsed James E. Boulton, 1951 N. 19th St., who will enter his candidacy in the spring mayoralty primary.

"Under the leadership of Frank Zeidler the Socialist Party politicians have abandoned the last semblance of principle in a desperate effort to collect votes that may enable them to follow in the footsteps of deserters like Andrew Biemiller, Dan Hoan, John Brophy and others who have gone over to the boss political parties.

"Control over candidates was the last principle that the decrepit and disintegrating Socialist Party had clung to for several decades. It alone was salvaged from the rich socialist past of the party of Eugene V. Debs. Today, in an obvious capitulation to the Milwaukee Journal and its influence over votes, this last vestige of principled socialist conduct has been sacrificed by Frank Zeidler and his 'comrades.'"



JOSEPH HANSEN

## Hansen to Tour Midwest On "Struggle for Europe"

Joseph Hansen, Foreign News Editor of The Militant, is scheduled to make a Midwest speaking tour in January under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party. His subject will be "The Struggle for Power in Europe."

The tour will include West Virginia, Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Akron, Cleveland, Toledo, Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, Flint and Buffalo.

The topic he will discuss is a timely one. The recent wave of strikes in France and Italy drew world attention to the "cold" war now being waged in Europe between Anglo-American imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The mounting impotence of the European workers over the inability of the "Big Four" to forge an enduring peace can have colossal consequences not only for Europe but for America and the entire world. Hansen will discuss how Stalin's aims and the Marshall Plan fit into the struggle for power in Europe. Exact dates and places where Hansen will speak will be announced in coming issues of The Militant.

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