

# THE MILITANT

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## The Big Brass Takes Over

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## Wage Fight—Top Point on CIO Agenda

By Art Preis

Congress and Truman have left the unions no alternative but to launch a new wage fight, if workers' real wages are not to suffer a further 10 to 20% slash in the next six months.

The misnamed "anti-inflation" bill passed by a majority of both Democrats and Republicans in Congress, and signed by Truman on Dec. 30, was obviously a cheap last-minute gesture. Even the capitalist press admits the bill is worthless.

Industrial executives, whose views are reported in the Dec. 21 N. Y. Times, unanimously expressed "fears that the Government effort may have just the opposite effect and spur higher prices and large-scale buying. No one could cite a single product in which lower prices are expected as a result of the latest anti-inflation program."

Philip Murray and the other CIO leaders, who held forth the hope of a government "rollback of prices," have been forced to the reluctant conclusion that a "third round" of wage increases is now the top point on labor's agenda.

But what their wage program is and how they intend to achieve it remains a deep-deep mystery to the union rank and file. They have raised no concrete wage demands. They have initiated no preparations for a serious struggle. They have failed to take the elementary steps of developing a unified strategy.

The CIO's national organ, the CIO News, presents no wage pro-

## L. A. Unionists Urge Lewis for U. S. President

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 30.—The name of John L. Lewis as candidate for president of the United States was thrust into the rapidly developing third party formulation last night by a group of trade unionists and others active in the campaign to place the Independent Progressive Party of California on the ballot in 1948.

In a letter to Hugh Bryson, chairman of the organizing committee for the IPPC, the candidacy of Lewis was counterposed to that of Henry A. Wallace.

The letter warns against a tendency to commit the Independent Progressive Party of California to support of Henry Wallace for president, pointing out that only a properly constituted nominating convention of the party has the authority to make the decision as to who will be its candidate.

As for themselves, the signers of the letter stated, Lewis, not Wallace is their choice. "We believe we express the feeling of broad layers of American working people when we propose that Lewis, rather than Wallace, would represent a real break with the policies of the Democratic and Republican Parties, the only valid reason for forming a third and independent party."

Signers of the letter were Louis Ciccone and Jack Shepherd, members of the executive board of the Trade Union Comm. for the IPPC; Edward Gurske, Milton Snipper and Jean Simon, members of the Trade Union Comm. for the IPPC; and Eugene Furnell and Julia Merlino, members of area organizing committees for the IPPC.

## WALLACE'S MOVE SPOTLIGHTS NEED FOR LABOR CONFERENCE

Post-War Housing



Mr. and Mrs. Alphonse Leboeuf and five children were evacuated from their apartment in the midst of the recent snow-storm. The only shelter they could find to shield them from the Massachusetts winds was a burned out "mansion." One of the children (right) brings the family groceries up a slippery ladder—the only way to enter the make-shift hotel.

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## Truman "Loyalty" Purge Sets Up Gestapo System

Details of the sinister Gestapo methods of Truman's "loyalty" purge among two million federal workers were disclosed on Dec. 27 by Seth W. Richardson, chairman of the Loyalty Review Board of the U. S. Civil Service Commission.

This board was set up under Truman's Executive Order of last March 21 as a final appeal body for government employees fired for suspicion of "disloyalty" or association with so-called "subversive" organizations. These labels were recently tagged to a blacklist of working class political, fraternal

and educational organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party, issued by Attorney General Tom Clark.

"Evidence" against accused workers will be supplied mainly by the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI), Richardson said. FBI agents will function as secret political police, ferreting out intimate details of the private activities and opinions of federal employees.

All proceedings, including so-called "hearings," says Richardson, will be kept entirely secret. At these kangaroo "hearings," accused persons will be denied the elementary right to confront their accusers and detractors and "will not be permitted to examine or inspect" FBI reports.

"In the majority of cases," says Richardson, "we apprehend that disclosure of confidential sources to the employe, and the resulting opportunity of cross-examination of such sources by him will probably not be practicable." Such methods however, are "practicable" for frame-ups.

Richardson confesses that these methods are so alien to democracy and so abhorrent to the American people that "it has been strongly urged upon us by responsible persons, that, rather than permit such a situation to exist, the entire loyalty program should be abandoned."

"These objections," says Richardson, "while important, are not controlling." He then bluntly states that the government has the right to fire any worker without "any hearing whatsoever" on the "mere suspicion of disloyalty . . . however remote."

The spy and the stool-pigeon are to be set loose to spread a cloud of terror over freedom of thought and expression. Thus, democracy at home becomes one of the first victims of Truman's drive to foist Wall Street's "democracy" on the world.

## "Amnesty" Keeps 623 COs in Jail

Only 3 Conscientious Objectors Released As Christmas Gesture

The real reactionary character of the Truman administration was again shown up in its phony "amnesty" declaration two days before Christmas. The newspapers had the gall to play up this "amnesty," which released THREE conscientious objectors. All the others pardoned had completed their jail sentences.

Truman's action leaves in jail over 600 conscientious objectors, Jehovah's Witnesses and other opponents of the Selective Service Act. Pardons were denied to everyone acting from political or ethical opposition to war.

PARDON-SELLING

Truman's harshness towards the opponents of war stands in glaring contrast to his scandalous leniency to political crooks. Everyone still remembers how at the beginning of his administration he pardoned the Kansas City ballot-stealers, who had been convicted of election frauds. This past Thanksgiving Day Truman, a machine man himself, pardoned the notorious Mayor Curley of Boston, who was serving a sentence for using the mails to defraud. The Curley pardon reeked of pardon-selling since it was timed

Truman's Christmas Amnesty See Editorial Page 3

with preparations for the presidential campaign.

A statement by the Rev. A. J. Muste, chairman of the Committee for Amnesty, declared that Truman's action was "in no sense an amnesty." Muste declared: "To attempt to divide genuine conscientious objectors and Jehovah's Witnesses into categories, one of which is described as religiously motivated, and the other as having political, intellectual or social grounds as their admittedly sincere conscientious objection to war, is an outrage."

"CAUSE OF SHAME" Rev. Muste's statement concluded: "By definition amnesty is a general clemency applying to an entire category of political prisoners. Amnesties have been granted to millions of persons throughout the world since the end of the war. It is a cause of shame that the United States government should grant such a piece of clemency. The Committee for Amnesty will continue to press for a general amnesty for all objectors to war and conscription."

Even the European "relief" program was running into trouble. Diplomatic negotiations between the U.S. and France over the terms of the interim "aid" treaty have proven very difficult. The French have found that there are many strings tied to Washington's "relief." First is a provision that the U.S. can stop all aid if it finds that "because of changed conditions aid . . . is no longer consistent with the national

## Third Capitalist Party Cannot Serve Interests of American Workers

By George Breitman

Henry Wallace's announcement that he will run as a third party candidate for president has exploded like a bombshell on the political arena. It splits the Democratic Party and deals the Truman candidacy a blow from which it may not recover.

It opens the way for new political alignments and struggles of crucial significance. Most important, it poses again, and in the sharpest form, the task of the labor movement in the 1948 elections.

Wallace has long been the chief spokesman of those forces who preached the possibility of reforming the Democratic Party into an organization that could serve the interests of the working people, farmers and minorities. His withdrawal from the party will weaken that illusion.

Although the Democrats are trying (with quivering voices) to dismiss the importance of the Wallace move, serious opinion holds that he will draw a strong vote. Because in the absence of a Labor Party, Wallace will exploit the deep-going mass discontent with postwar conditions.

While his program is vague to an extreme and fails to provide an effective alternative to the evils of capitalism, it does denounce those evils and calls on the workers, Negroes and small businessmen to join in a political struggle against them.

But the Wallace movement is not a Labor Party such as the Socialist Workers Party and the Militant have vigorously advocated for many years, and which we will support against the capitalist parties.

A Labor Party is required today



WALLACE

because the American workers, while strongly organized economically, possess no broad national political organization of their own through which they can defend their interests against the political attacks of the ruling class. But such a party must be an expression of the organized working class, that is, of the trade union movement, and responsible to it.

CAPITALIST PARTY

That is exactly what the Wallace party is not. Its main base is not the labor movement, but the Stalinists and their liberal fellow-travelers. Its control is not in the hands of the union movement, but of a

(Continued on Page 2)

## U. S. Imperialist Aims Bared at Havana

By Arthur Burch

Having eliminated its two main economic rivals, Germany and Japan, in the second world war, American imperialism is now putting the squeeze on 58 "sovereign nations" as part of its drive to enslave the world.

With the help of the industrial countries of Western Europe, enticed into its orbit with the bait of the Marshall Plan, Washington is forcing all the industrially undeveloped nations to set aside all restrictive laws that interfere with the aims of the American colossus.

For several weeks the United Nations Conference on Trade and Embargos has been meeting in Havana, Cuba, with the purpose of setting up a permanent International Trade Organization. A majority of the 58 countries participating in the conference are economically backward. These under-developed countries are insisting that the projected charter for the ITO be amended so that they can protect their infant industries from the competition of the American monopolists. But under the hypocritical slogan of freedom of trade, Wall Street demands that the smaller countries remove all import quotas, quantitative restrictions and preferential tariff agreements.

HARSH DEMANDS

American imperialism insists upon flooding the small nations with its surplus products even if it ruins these nations' industries. Wall Street demands that the rest of the world become its dumping ground and engage only in such industry as does not compete with American business.

The projected charter for the ITO was introduced by the 18-nation Preparatory Committee formed under American leadership at Geneva last summer. There Washington lined up the industrially developed countries behind its program of smothering the infant economies of the backward countries. 40 additional nations were invited to the Havana conference to ratify pro-

tection. But what alarms all these nations is the insatiable appetite of the "Northern Colossus" and its unabashed program of world domination.

## EVENTS IN GREECE, CHINA, SPUR U. S. IMPERIALISM'S "COLD WAR"

The "cold war" between the United States and Russia is getting hotter. Hostilities flared to new heights in Greece and China, while French capitalists balked a little at the harsh terms of Wall Street's so-called European Recovery Plan.

The Stalinist-led Greek partisans proclaimed a Provisional Free Government and launched a well-prepared attack on the important city of Konitsa. This battle, which has been raging for days, has become a battle for the whole Province of Epirus.

The American-supported Greek Government rushed its troops, armed with U.S. guns, artillery and tanks, into battle. At the same

time, it intensified its reign of terror against the Greek masses. The Communist (Stalinist) Party and all its "sympathizers" were outlawed. Secret arrests have been renewed on a wide scale. In Athens alone, the Government admits 500 special arrests. Trials are before special military courts previously set up. The savagery of these courts is notorious. Even before the setting up of the Partisan Government the penalty for strikers was death.

All actions of the Tsaldaris-Sophoulis regime were taken after conference with the British and American diplomats. Without Wall Street arms and money the present Greek regime would topple in a matter of days.

It was not revealed to what extent U.S. Army officers were directing military operations against

the partisans surrounding Konitsa. Over a month ago it was announced that American army officers would be attached to the army down to the divisional level.

The existence of two governments in Greece aggravates the tension and conflict between Wall Street and the Kremlin. It is fleetly predicted that Balkan satellites of the Kremlin will recognize the new Greek Government. And already U.S. Under-Secretary of State Robert A. Lovett has issued a stern warning that recognition of any Greek regime other than that of the U.S. puppet Government, "would have serious implications."

While shells were screaming and men dying in Greece, Civil war raged in China.

The Stalinist-led armies are besieging Mukden, capital of Man-

churia. The attack is being pressed so vigorously that the Kuomintang is in grave danger of losing all Manchuria.

The Chiang kai-Shek regime is in desperate straits. Despite the huge amounts of money and armaments poured in by American imperialism, Chiang has not been able to bring the Chinese people under his control. Even worse, he is losing ground.

In an attempt to provide his puppet government with some "democratic veneer," Chiang called an "election" and proclaimed a new constitution. The elections were of the type made famous by Hitler and Stalin. Although the new constitution proclaims civil liberties the reign of terror against all critics of the regime continues.

That the Chinese situation wor-

# Six Months of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law

Six months of the Taft-Hartley Act have proved conclusively that the unions cannot "live with" this labor-shackling law—contrary to the notions spread by many top union leaders.

During recent weeks the Truman administration has intensified its Taft-Hartley attacks against the unions. The spearhead of these attacks is the National Labor Relations Board, Truman's hand-picked group of Wall Street operators, corporation lawyers and "industrial relations experts."

The Board's most dangerous and sweeping decision thus far is its recent ruling in the Remington-Rand case. The NLRB rejected a petition by the company for a collective bargaining election to decertify the CIO Electrical Workers on the grounds that the UE has not signed the "yellow dog" anti-communist oath and therefore, automatically has no legal status under the Taft-Hartley Act. Remington-Rand promptly abrogated its union contracts and ended all relations with the established union of its workers.

What this decision means was spelled out by the Dec. 13 Business Week. "U. S. Steel Corp. no longer has to deal with the CIO. Owners of the coal mines are no longer under any legal responsibility to treat with John L. Lewis. General Electric and Westinghouse are

maintaining relations with the union of their production workers on their own choice. So is Gimbels. So is Macy's. So are the longshore firms on the West Coast waterfront. So are all employers in interstate commerce whose unions have failed to qualify for access to the National Labor Relations Board under the Taft-Hartley act."

In short, the NLRB has invited employers of some three million union members to tear up existing contracts.

### Divisive Tactic

The NLRB has followed up the Remington-Rand ruling with two other far-reaching decisions. One would help employers to carve up existing industrial unions into numerous craft set-ups. The other would extend NLRB jurisdiction and the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act to workers employed by even the smallest local businesses.

On Dec. 24 the NLRB ordered separate craft union elections in two plants whose employees have been exclusively represented for many years by CIO industrial unions. The cases involve the Harnischfeger Corporation, Milwaukee, under contract with the CIO United Steel Workers, and the Westinghouse Cleveland plant, organized by the UE-CIO. The AFL Pattern Makers asked for the elec-

tions. Both CIO unions are excluded from the ballot because of refusal to sign Taft-Hartley affidavits. The NLRB ruling is based on a provision of the Taft-Hartley Act that says the Board may not rule any craft unit "inappropriate" even if a prior decision recognized the industrial union, "unless a majority of the employees in the proposed craft unit vote against a separate representation."

This decision is almost certain to lead to a drive by craft unions, in collaboration with employers, to splinter the powerful industrial unions and restore the divisive and weakening craft set-ups.

In the case of a local beer dealer in Bridgeport, Connecticut, the regional NLRB director has been instructed by NLRB General Counsel Denham to accept jurisdiction of the employer's complaint against Local 40 of the CIO United Brewery Workers, although the Taft-Hartley Act is supposed to apply only to cases involving interstate commerce.

### Recent Rulings

Denham stretched the NLRB's jurisdiction to include the Bridgeport beer dealer on the grounds that he bought his beer from brewers whose home offices are outside the state. By this definition of "interstate commerce," the Taft-Hartley Act can be extended to corner

groceries and cigar stores.

These are but the three most important of scores of recent NLRB rulings and actions designed to implement the Taft-Hartley Act and drive its barbs into the living flesh of the American labor movement.

Meanwhile, the NLRB is preparing the way for a decisive assault against union security and the closed shop in hearings involving the AFL International Typographical Union. The ITU is conducting 18 strikes against newspapers, including six Chicago dailies, for refusal to negotiate wage increases unless the union signs open-shop contracts.

### Forced Labor

Even before the NLRB hearings began, "Labor Czar" Denham publicly upheld the complaints of the publishers in an address to the National Association of Manufacturers convention. If the NLRB rules against the ITU, it will declare, in effect, that a union can be compelled, on the demand of an employer, to sign an open-shop contract and that union workers may not withhold their labor if non-union men are hired.

Thus, the ITU case involves not only the question of the closed shop but of forced labor. If the ITU can be forced to sign an unacceptable contract, then any union can be compelled to

sign the contract demanded by an employer. This is what makes the Taft-Hartley Act a Slave Labor Law in every sense.

As yet, the NLRB has scarcely brought into play its potent strikebreaking powers, although it has already tried its authority to invoke injunctions against picketing unions for so-called "secondary boycotts" and sympathy strikes. In several instances, it has ordered union men to work on scab products and help undermine strikes.

### Wage Slash

Next spring, if a real wage struggle begins, the NLRB will have an opportunity to show all its fangs. It can charge striking unions with violating "public interests" and demand injunctions to halt strikes. It can force unions to go through interminable hearings and red tape.

In six months, the total effect of the Taft-Hartley Act on union rights, conditions and fighting powers has already been devastating.

Employers everywhere are engaged in systematic provocations against the unions and violations of contracts. Many abuses which the unions had previously wiped out by militant action are reappearing.

increasingly onerous conditions in the shops and a big indirect wage slash due to rising prices.

One of the worst effects of the Taft-Hartley Act has been the internal division and weakening of the union movement. Through the "yellow dog" oath, the Act has driven a deep wedge into the unions. Unions which have signed compliance affidavits are in conflict with unions that have refused to sign. Instead of pitting against the employers, union has been united against union in attempts to gain some small, temporary advantage under the Slave Labor Law. Backward craft unions and independent outfits have been encouraged to use the Taft-Hartley Act as a means of gaining recognition and chiseling members from industrial unions.

Many union leaders have narrow-mindedly signed the "yellow dog" affidavits because they hoped to gain factional advantage against internal opposition or get the alleged "benefits" of the NLRB.

It is now clear that such recognition of the Act has helped sanction its over-all powers. It has aided the Act in one of its major purposes—to split the unions and infect them with internal dissension. At the same time, it has fortified the NLRB as a ruthless agency of the employers.

# The Big Brass Takes Over

By George Lavan

The domination of the government by the brass hats has become so alarming that even a former spokesman of the General Staff has felt the need to protest. Hanson W. Baldwin, military analyst of the N. Y. Times sees the specter of military dictatorship and sounds the alarm. In an article in the December Harpers Magazine entitled "The Military Move In" Baldwin details the unprecedented number of brass hats in government posts and their growing influence on national and international policy.

Baldwin proceeds to list some of the militarists now holding important government posts traditionally held by civilians:

Lieut. General Lucius D. Clay, Governor of Germany.

Maj. General William H. Draper, Under-Secretary of the Army.

Brig. General Frank T. Hines, Ambassador to Panama.

General Thomas Holcomb, Ambassador to South Africa.

Lieut. General Geoffrey Keyes, Governor of Austria.

Admiral Alan G. Kirk, Ambassador to Belgium.

Admiral William D. Leahy, intimate personal advisor to Truman and personal Chief of Staff.

General Douglas MacArthur, Governor of Japan.

General George C. Marshall, Secretary of State.

Brig. General Kenneth C. Royall, Secretary for the Army.

Brig. General Charles E. Saltzman, Assistant Secretary of State.

Lieut. General Walter Bedell Smith, Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Lieut. General Albert C. Wedemeyer, head of special mission to China.

There are also about 13 American military missions in South America as well as in Greece and Turkey. All these military missions exercise



MARSHALL

great political as well as military influence.

### MILITARY BLOC

The so-called unification of the armed forces under a new "super" secretary has in reality created four military departments. These four new secretaries — Air, Army, Navy and Defense — are of cabinet rank and receive cabinet members' pay. The unification act carefully left unspecified whether or not they were all to sit in the cabinet, but if the president wishes, they can. This would mean a cabinet with a solid military bloc of four members.

Policy and Strategy sections of the Army and Navy have been united with the State Department in a single Coordinating Committee called "Swink." The war-like conduct of diplomacy may be traced to this unholy alliance.

The reorganization of the armed forces provides for a super General Staff of 100 officers. This is modeled on the German General Staff with the addition of a single military chief, who in an emergency would be absolute dictator of the country. Baldwin notes that "Not even Britain or Germany in the extremities of the last war found the need for any such organization as this!"

The unification scheme was so raw that a Congressional Medal of Honor winner among the brass, Brig. General Merritt A. Edson of the Marine Corps, retired saying the country had "reached the point where the military are directing instead of supporting this country's policy."

### TREMENDOUS INFLUENCE

The general public thought the appointment of Eisenhower to the presidency of Columbia University was an isolated event. Actually it was a symbol of the taking over of American education by the militarists. Baldwin states: "The military influence in science and education is already tremendous." Most of the physical science professors are now in the pay or connected with the military or atomic authority. Army and Navy ROTC wield tremendous influence both over stu-

dents and university officials. Close relations between the brass and Big Business are carefully fostered. Plans for industrial mobilization for the next war have been perfected. Semi-official organizations like the Navy Industrial Association, the Army Ordnance Association and many others form the link between the military caste and the industrialists. They sponsor "off-the-record" meetings, military demonstrations, naval cruises, etc. Through their efforts goods needed by American and world economy are being stockpiled "in case of war."

Various raw materials are listed as "strategic" and their sale limited. Industry receives juicy "educational" orders for munitions to keep them in practice "in case of war."

Naval leaders, supposedly governed by the articles of war, have made public pronouncements that Middle East oil is "vital" to the U. S. This meddling in the powder-keg politics of the Middle East has gone unrebuked. If an enlisted man were to make a public speech criticizing American foreign policy he would promptly find himself before a court martial.

### INTENSE SECRECY

The brass hats cover up one another's crimes. They are trying to create such public awe of the brass that criticism of them is held "subversive" and "disloyal." This was demonstrated when General Eddy tried to hush up the scandal about the grafter, General Meyers. Eddy opined that nothing less than a sinister, communistic plot was afoot to smear the army's good name. To prevent the dirt from coming out the army now censors information at the source. All sorts of documents, American and captured enemy, which should be available to scholars and the public, are classified as "secret." This "secret" mania is so pervasive that even documents about the American Civil War are denied historians. Two former officers who wrote books about the war were recommended for court martials.

The militarists now have one of the most powerful lobbies in Washington. It is not listed as a lobby. And it is paid for by the taxpayers. Under pretext of furnishing military information to Congress and the public, it pours out reams of propaganda. It bludgeons congressmen to vote for bills increasing the power and revenues of the big brass.

At present, this lobby is working overtime for passage of compulsory peacetime military training. The lobby has enlisted the propaganda efforts of the American Legion, chambers of commerce, the yellow press, "big names" etc. These are confidentially let in on "our military weakness" and the "tenseness" of the situation, and sent out to beat the drums for an immediate draft of all 18-year old boys.

### "PEACE" PLAN

On July 23 of this year a hushed-up report of a Congressional Subcommittee on Publicity and Propaganda was transmitted to the Attorney General. He apparently filed

it in the waste basket. This report was on the War Department's campaign for Universal Military Training. This subcommittee, which included ardent advocates of UMT, unanimously found that the Army had "engaged in propaganda supported by taxpayers' money to influence legislation." It was revealed also that the Army had made a special movie plugging UMT and entitled, typically enough — Plan For Peace. It had paid civilian speakers on tours of the country advocating passage of UMT. Lying UMT pamphlets had been printed and sent throughout the country.

Baldwin is so alarmed at these developments that he bluntly warns that the brass hat plan for military preparedness can be achieved "only at the cost of our whole way of life, our democracy, and our liberties."

The labor movement, particularly would do well to resist this growing dominance of the military. The military is a mortal foe of the labor movement. It is timely to recall that Truman tried to conscript striking railroad workers, and that in the maritime strikes, he threatened use of the navy and coast guard.

UMT would simply enlarge the powers of the labor hating brass hat bureaucracy. Young men would be taught by officers drawn principally from the anti-labor upper classes. Instruction in "breaking up mobs of riotous strikers" would be given. And if necessary the 18-year-old draftees would be used to smash picket lines.

### "DAMNEDEST CRIME"

The labor leaders, who are plumping so enthusiastically for the Marshall Plan and who shout themselves hoarse when Marshall deigns to address a union convention, would do well to remember this

## Call Off Strike



After a 12-hour negotiating session, leaders of three AFL unions agreed to call off a scheduled strike of 50,000 Western Union workers, and submit a determination of the facts to a 3-man fact-finding tribunal. The underpaid workers are still holding the bag. Left to right (seated) Pres. Adolph Brungs of Commercial Telegraphers Union, AFL, WU division; Federal Conciliator Cyrus S. Ching and WU official T. F. McMaines. Standing is Pres. Hal Swan of Telegraphers Workers Union, Dallas, Texas.

Federated Pictures

brass hat's attitude towards organized labor. In December 1943, when the railroad workers intended to strike unless granted decent wages, this American Junker demonstrated in the press and announced that the railroaders' action was "the damndest crime ever committed against America."

Rather than honoring generals at their national conventions, the labor movement — if it wishes to preserve its liberties and halt the menacing march toward military dictatorship, fascism and war — must resist the encroachments of the military and fight against its spreading influence in American life.

## Employers Resist ITU Demands in Seattle

SEATTLE, Dec. 21 — 230 typographical workers were locked out by 40 employers who refused to comply with conditions of the ITU posted by Seattle Typographical Local 202. The lock-out began Dec. 12.

The struggle of the typographical workers here is part of the national ITU fight. The outcome of the conflict in Seattle will have an important bearing on how successful the ITU will be in winning wage increases in other cities on the West Coast.

ITU conditions call for base pay of \$90 for a 35-hour work week and six paid holidays per year. The employers have insisted upon yearly signed contracts calling for the same conditions and pay as last year. They offered, in lieu of scale raises, to "permit" the printers to work 40 hours per week instead of 35.

The employers complained about the ITU posting wages and conditions, but immediately posted their own conditions of employment—after the types posted theirs. Furthermore, their offers were made not to the scale committee but to the rank and file—in an attempt to by-pass the elected committee.

The ITU in Seattle has actually had only nine signed commercial shop contracts. Bosses simply agreed orally to comply with the wages and conditions of the ITU. Now the bosses insist on written contracts to force the union to comply with all the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law.

The Seattle pressmen and book-

## New Political Alliance Formed in South Dakota

South Dakota labor, small farmers, Townsendites and veterans have banded together to form the Progressive Political Alliance. This new organization's aim is to support progressive legislation and candidates for state and federal office.

The founding conference in Mitchell, S. D., was attended by delegates from the State Federation of Labor, the Farmers Union, Townsend Clubs, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and local union bodies.

The Alliance plans to engage in mass political work on county, community and precinct levels and plans to set up committees in every county of the state.

The conference passed resolutions calling for repeal of the State lien law, increase of old age pensions to \$65 per month, a national housing program, and legislation favoring family-type farms.

A Townsendite speaker, Miss Gladowski, told the conference that South Dakota's elderly citizens together with labor, farmers and veterans made up the overwhelming majority of the state's population and that this majority should send men to Congress and the State House to represent its interests.

Representatives of the State Federation of Labor, Brotherhood of Firemen and North Dakota Farmers Union addressed the conference.

## Gay Christmas Party Held in Minneapolis

By Barbara Bruce

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 21—A gala children's Christmas party was held here today, sponsored by the Twin City Branches of the Socialist Workers Party. Forty children, along with their parents were entertained at one of the gayest social events ever held in the headquarters.

From an amiable, real-life Santa Claus, down to the place cards on the supper tables, everything was designed to delight the little folks. A huge, shimmering, lighted Christmas tree with an array of beautifully wrapped gifts for all the children almost filled the fourth wall.

Group singing and competitive games with prize awards were on the program for the first part of the afternoon.

The afternoon of festivities closed with picture-taking of as many children as could be gathered together in one spot at one time.

## 'Nicholas Miraculous' Loved Mussolini

Editor: "Fascism is a form of government of the very first order of excellence . . . we should look to Italy (Fascist Italy) to show us what its experiences and insight have to teach in the crisis confronting the twentieth century." And: "On the continent of Europe there is only one great personality, and if he wished he (Mussolini) might well point the way and lead the way to the future."

These quotations were uttered by a famous American. Was it Gerald L. K. Smith? Senator Burton K. Wheeler? Huey Long? Three times wrong. These are not the frenzied rantings of a paranoiac, a would-be dictator of our country; rather they are the carefully thought out mental processes of a man whose death recently caused so much comment in our press the country over. The personage in question is Nicholas Murray Butler, "Nicholas Miraculous" as he loved to be called.

Butler's idolatry of suppression and of those who practiced it goes back to pre-World War One Germany. Butler, who hoboed with the great and near-great of his day and age could find only words of admiration for Kaiser Wilhelm. "His personality has something uncommonly winning, and he possesses at the same time a democratic streak in his nature. He is a genuine statesman, and if he were not Kaiser he would surely become president."

Why the press, whose files and morgues are filled with accounts of the behavior of people constantly

## Wallace's Move Poses Need for Labor Parley

(Continued from Page 1)

single individual supported by the Stalinists and those unions influenced by them. Regardless of the support it may pick up from individual workers, it does not have the character of a Labor Party movement. It is a third capitalist party.

Our criticism of this movement has nothing in common with the attacks launched on it by the official union leaders—the Murrays, Greens, and Reuthers. Their opposition is in part based on their support of the Truman-Marshall Doctrine and of Wall Street's program for war with the Soviet Union. We criticize the Wallace-Stalinist foreign policy from an opposite point of view; because it fails to oppose the Truman-Marshall Doctrine with a working class program to abolish capitalism.

The labor bureaucrats further denounce the Wallace movement because they are opposed to any third party, no matter what its character, no matter who controls it. That is because they are on the Truman bandwagon and intend to stomp the country trying to line up labor support for the Democratic Party. We, on the other hand, favor the formulation of a Labor Party, the kind that can arouse the necessary support and enthusiasm among the masses to defeat all the capitalist parties.

BUREAUCRATS' OPPOSITION The opposition of the union bureaucrats to Wallace does not have any progressive content whatever. Instead of mobilizing the workers as an independent force on the political field, these bureaucrats seek to maintain the capitalist monopoly of politics which is responsible for the Taft-Hartley Act, high prices, housing crisis, racial oppression and the mounting danger of a new war.

Despite their opposition, the top union leaders have, in reality, made possible this Stalinist third party adventure. At a time when even Wallace must break with the discredited Democratic Party and admit that it can no longer be regarded as the lesser of two evils, the Murrays, Greens and Reuthers continue to hang onto this capitalist party, slavishly bolstering it up and trying to

whitewash its anti-labor character. Isn't it plain that if the departure of Wallace can so shake the Democratic Party, it would crumble and disappear as a national party if the union leaders would break with it? Isn't it obvious that by taking such a long-overdue step, the unions could quickly replace the Wallace-Stalinist adventure and become the rallying point for all the exploited and oppressed masses in this country?

What is the labor movement going to do in 1948? The reactionary intentions of most of the union bureaucracy are already all too clear. But there is still time for the rank and file workers to intervene.

### NO EXPLANATION

The false argument, repeated by the labor bureaucrats, day in, day out, that "now is not the time" to launch a new party, because it would help elect a Republican, has lost all semblance of reason. Because Truman faces defeat despite the support of the labor union bureaucracy, this false policy of the "lesser evil" drummed into the heads of the workers by the AFL and CIO leaders, as well as the Stalinists—can now be shaken off more easily. The labor leaders simply do not have any real explanations any more why they will not join in building a new party of labor.

Now, when the whole political situation has been shaken up by the Wallace move, when political interests among the people is mounting to an all-time high, it is more than ever necessary for the trade unions to meet and to map out a program of united labor political action for 1948.

Now is the time for a United Labor Conference in Washington, to be attended by all the international and local unions, AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods and independent ones. Now is the time for labor's representatives to get together and democratically discuss the union movement's attitude toward Truman and toward Wallace. Now is the time for labor to take its rightful place on the political field by launching an independent Labor Party and by running its own candidates for national, state and local office!

# WORKERS' FORUM

## Greek Editor Relates Barbarism of Rulers

Editor: We read in The Militant your article on the question of the joint Greek-American Military Staff.

On this question we want to point out that after the formation of this Staff all communist and left-wing soldiers were sent to the Makronisos and the notorious Youra desert island concentration camps. You are acquainted with the conditions prevailing there. The number of the exiled soldiers is about 15,000. Among them there are 20 members of our party and many tens of sympathizers.

We are proud of the activity of our comrades in the camps! No Trotskyists have signed the perfidious declarations renouncing communism. A great number of the Stalinists have signed the letters of renunciation. Three weeks ago five more Trotskyist officers of the army were exiled to the death-islands. Among them one of the best cadre-members of our movement. Our comrades are to be found in the forefront of the fight for the soldiers' demands. Their activity has consequently singled them out for the most horrible tortures by the command of the camps and the fascist torturers.

Meanwhile many of our "citizen" comrades (about 30) who were exiled during the mass-arrests of last summer have returned and work with even greater energy.

Editor, "Workers' Struggle" Athens, Greece

## Prefers New Serial

Editor: I am inclined to side with D. L. who writes in the Dec. 8 Militant, that while the Autobiography of Mother Jones has its good aspects, the space it occupies could be used to better avail. The suggestion of a history of a more recent period of the American labor movement is an excellent one if it can be worked out.

Another possibility would be Trotsky's Germany, What Next, which contains material of tremendous importance for the American working class, is very readable, and has been out of print for quite a while. I would like to see this printed in such a way as to allow the reader to clip it and put it together in book style.

But perhaps the most logical work which could begin right after the next Militant sub drive, would be Socialism on Trial by James P. Cannon. This pamphlet has had the greatest effect of any piece of literature it has been my privilege to bring to anyone's attention.

Al Lynn, Los Angeles, Cal.

## Military Minds Direct Foreign Policy

In the House of Representatives Rep. Bender of Ohio warned of the growing war hysteria and complained of the "missionaries by the sword."

He said: "Today as never before in the history of our country, the military mind is dominating the foreign policy of the United States. Military men have been brought into the State Department and other civilian agencies. . . Surely we do not need to invite the military, which is and should be the servant of the state to become the dominant element in our democratic society. At this time more than ever before when war has become so fearsome a thing, civilians must not abdicate their responsibilities to their country by calling in the generals to run its affairs."

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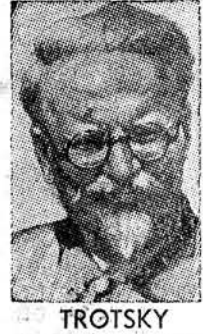
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"Once he has done with the anarchic forces of his own society man will set to work on himself, in the pestle and the mortar of the chemist. For the first time mankind will regard itself as raw material, or at best as a physical and psychic semi-finished product. Socialism will mean a leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom in this sense also, that the man of today, with all his contradictions and lack of harmony, will open the road for a new and happier race."

—Leon Trotsky, Copenhagen Speech, 1932



LENIN

Anti-Imperialist Uprising in Panama

With one courageous act of defiance, the people of tiny Panama have ripped the mask of benevolence from mighty U. S. imperialism. Their refusal to permit Wall Street to maintain military bases on their soil shows with what distrust and hatred they regard their giant self-styled "protector."

some South Americans consider has been 'economic exploitation.' "Second, many Panamanians feel that if the 'colossus of the North' gets permanently into Panama, their country would become, in effect, an American colony."

The Pope's Christmas Message

On Christmas Eve, a time supposedly dedicated to "peace on earth and good will to men," Pope Pius XII issued a Christmas message which is nothing less than a clarion call for a new war.

Consider the history of the Vatican in only the last decade. In 1923, Pope Pius XI supported Mussolini and aided him to power. The Pope referred to the fascist tyrant as "the man sent by Providence."

Truman's Christmas Amnesty

Who is the criminal against society—the capitalist politician guilty of mail fraud to line his own pockets, or the man who refuses to join the armed forces in an imperialist war because of religious beliefs or "intellectual, political or sociological convictions"?

cal opponents to war and thousands (Jehovah's Witnesses) who hold religious convictions against war service. The moral is inescapable. Under this capitalist system, it is better and more profitable to be a crook than to be a man opposed to killing your fellow-man.

Food Speculation and Hoarding

Harold Stassen, Republican presidential aspirant, has followed up his blast against commodities speculation by "government insiders" with a denunciation of food hoarding for higher prices.

Stassen's "solution" for hoarding, for instance, is a system of "inventory controls" by the government. Just how this would operate, or what it would do to get food at low prices into the hands of the people—Stassen has not made clear.

Can the Marshall Plan Rebuild Europe?—A Reply from Abroad

By Henri Frank

As all the daily papers announce, President Truman has asked the American Congress to authorize an aid program for Europe. Thus the famous Marshall Plan will probably go into effect—a gift of generous America to the starving peoples of Europe.

Thus, from March 1945 till June 1947, more than twenty billion dollars have been lent to foreign countries by the U.S. The Marshall Plan will merely continue this policy in a more organized and conscious fashion.

So, if we wish to understand the aim of the Marshall Plan and its probable effects, we must draw on the most pertinent point of comparison; it is sufficient to refer to the aims and the results of the different U.S. loans made since 1945.

FIRST AIM The American credits sought mainly to prevent the total collapse of European economy at the end of the war. Europe needed basic materials to start up its industry again and a minimum of food to satisfy the immediate wants of the masses and thus lessen the social unrest.

Thanks to the aid supplied, the U.S. assured itself of key positions in post-war Europe. The Americans endeavored to re-establish economic free trade and to remove all obstacles to the free penetration of their products in Europe.

The American trusts were also setting up branches in Europe and acquiring greater participation in European concerns. Finally the United States laid the basis for its political domination over Europe and making important preparations for war against the Soviet Union.

Can the Marshall Plan rebuild Europe? Here American credits find their limits. The re-establishment of economic equilibrium in

New Left Wing Of French SP Votes to Split

PARIS—The new left wing organized at the last Socialist Party Congress around the "Rhône resolution" voted at a special conference held on Dec. 7 to break away from the Socialist Party.

In a unanimously adopted resolution, "Revolutionary Socialist Action," the name of the new left wing, pointed out that the SP Executive Committee "have continued and even aggravated the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie."

"Revolutionary Socialist Action" hits out against the SP for its strikebreaking role in the recent upsurge and for "participating in the vote in Parliament for criminal laws directed against trade union liberties and the right to strike."

In view of these facts, "Revolutionary Socialist Action" decided "to break all relations" with the SP and "calls upon all militants who remain loyal to socialist doctrine to join its ranks."

NEED LEADERSHIP

The SP left wingers declare that the recent experiences "reveals the absence of a revolutionary leadership of the workers' movements" and that consequently they aim to create such a new party based upon the following principles: No class collaboration; proletarian internationalism; support to the liberation struggles of all oppressed peoples, particularly colonial peoples; peace through the efforts of the workers to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism on an international scale; the creation of a genuine workers' International.

Not Welcome!



Frank T. Himes, U. S. Ambassador to Panama (center) meets with President Truman. After the Panama Government refused to renew leases for the bases, the U. S. announced it was evacuating its forces.

Europe—the basis of all prosperity—was not even attempted. This would involve the reconstruction of all the means of production in Europe to permit a considerable increase in exports. Only thus could the equilibrium of trade balances of the nations be assured.

For example, English exports must almost double the pre-war level in order to solve the British crisis. Such a reconstruction of European industry would cost, according to the estimates of the National Planning Association, 150 to 200 billion dollars.

NOT DIMINISHED

Actually the American credits have not hastened this reconstruction but were spent on purchases of basic necessities. The fundamental disequilibrium from which Europe suffers has not diminished. Some of the most dangerous effects have simply been alleviated. Furthermore, the American loans serve to mortgage Europe's future since their repayment will increase the unfavorable balance of trade.

The Marshall Plan is not intended to reconstruct Europe's economy in a sensible manner. It promises only a series of injections to take care of the most urgent needs. At best the collapse of European economy will be retarded as was the case with Germany from 1923 to 1929. And that probably only up to the next crisis in the U.S. itself.

Reconstruction of Europe is not, however, unrealizable. The resources of the Old World are numerous and diverse; the labor potential of the workers is intact. But to utilize these possibilities in an efficient manner an economic co-ordination of all Europe is necessary. And that means ending capitalist anarchy and the disorders it engenders. It is also necessary to ex-

SP Conference Fails to Revive 2nd International

BELGIUM — The International "socialist" conference which was held at Antwerp from Nov. 28 to Dec. 2 did not lead to any positive results. Only one resolution was adopted unanimously, that "the circumstances are not yet ripe for the reconstruction of the Socialist International," and that for the time being action must be confined to a "committee of international socialist conferences" which is to name a "contact commission" to maintain relations between the various socialist parties in the world.

PLATONIC SYMPATHY

Only the socialist parties of Europe and of the British Empire actually participated at the conference itself. Aside from purely platonic manifestations of sympathy for Spain, Greece (the delegates of the Greek Socialist Party could not come because their government refused them visas) and the new Jewish state in Palestine, the conference went on record for the Marshall Plan "provided it does not contain any clause of political pressure."

The admission of the German Social Democracy into the new International was adopted against the votes of the Balkan socialists and with the abstention of the Nenni socialists.

The conference was a clear expression of the prostration and ideological impotence of the Socialist Democracy and its division into two "bloes," one led by the British Labor Party and the other composed of the Balkan socialists linked to Stalinism. The Czechoslovak party and the Italian Nenni party constitute a bridge between the two bloes.

and the markets. Within the framework of capitalism such markets do not exist. Not that the masses do not have needs to satisfy, but they do not have the financial means.

Thus the economic reconstruction of Europe demands an equilibrium between production and consumption, which can only be realized by a general plan for production under the direction of the working class. To emerge from the present crisis, the workers must impose the only possible progressive solution: Political and economic unity of Europe; Planned production under workers' control.

Reprinted from the Nov. 29 Belgian Trotskyist paper, La Lutte Ouvrière.

Trotskyist Candidate For Mayor in Toronto Endorsed by UAW Locals

TORONTO, Dec. 23—Ross Dowson, mayoralty candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist), was endorsed by two UAW locals at membership meetings on Sunday afternoon; Massey-Harris Local 439, largest in Toronto, and the Amalgamated Local 252, comprising workers in Reo, Freuhauf Trailer, and Westel. Labor candidates for other municipal posts were also endorsed.

Ross Dowson and Harry Clairmont, RWP candidate for Board of Control, were the only candidates to publicly condemn the city administration for scabbing on the election ballots. Over the protests of the Printing Pressman's Union, which is on strike for a 28 1/2 cent wage raise and union security, the city maintained its contract with two struck plants.

Although 35 shops which had signed with the union were able to handle the work by election day, the Tory administration insisted there was "no time" to move the ballots. Both plants finally capitulated a few days after the RWP candidates raised the issue at election meetings and in press releases.

The election program of the RWP has been well received by thousands of workers at plant gates and at their homes. Police attempts to intimidate two distributors heightened the workers' interest in the Trotskyists. The distributors, a young woman and an auto worker, were shoved into a squad car on Dec. 14, held 20 minutes without explanation, and then released without charges. Their literature, including copies of the party's paper, Labor Challenge,

and a leaflet exposing the record of the Tory machine in City Hall, was confiscated. The RWP last year contested only the mayoralty, receiving 3% of the poll, 3,201 votes. All indications are that the vote will be substantially higher this year, as a result of a broader campaign, and the widespread appreciation of the militant stand taken by the Trotskyists in the pressman's strike.

Belgian Trotskyists Hold Fifth Congress

BELGIUM — The fifth national congress of the Belgian Trotskyists was held in Charleroi, on Nov. 22 and 23. Thirty regular delegates, a representative of the International Secretariat, and fraternal delegates from the Dutch and French sections attended the congress sessions of the Internationalist Communist Party of Belgium. Political, trade union and organizational problems dealing with the period since the fourth congress, and resolutions outlining policy for the period ahead were under discussion.

The congress noted important political progress in the last year, as well as the active intervention of the party in the struggles between November 1946 and June-July 1947. The congress also undertook a thorough self-criticism of organizational weaknesses of the party, and its slow pace of recruitment. A plan of work was adopted for the coming year.

BOOKSHELF

KNOCK ON ANY DOOR

by Willard Motley, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1947, 504 pp., \$3.00. When Nick Romano, the hero of Willard Motley's remarkable first novel, was a child, he saw a crowd watching a cat playing with a mouse, allowing it to escape for a moment and then slapping it back to its corner. Filled with pity, he picked up the mouse and took it away safe in his pocket.

For the reader that scene acquires greater significance as the novel progresses. For it illustrates the humane impulses in Nick which his environment forces him to repress. Moreover, the reader soon sees that Nick himself is the victim of a cat-and-mouse game which capitalist society is playing with him.

An altar-boy at the age of twelve whose parents thought that he was destined to priesthood, Nick's whole life changes when his father loses his little business during the depression. A sensitive, gentle child, he is suddenly deprived of security and affection when his family moves to a strange, tough neighborhood in the slums and his parents become absorbed in their struggle for a livelihood.

At school, the teachers, sored by their daily struggle to maintain order over unruly pupils in crowded classrooms, are vindictive and disagreeable. The understanding and sympathy which his stern, embittered father, his nagging, querulous mother and his spiteful teachers fail to give him, however, he finds in the companionship of Tony, the leader of the kids, from whom he learns to play hooky and to steal.

The gang is now Nick's home and school. He becomes successively a petty thief, mugger and hold-up man until, at the age of twenty-one, he meets his pre-determined end at the electric chair.

On at least two occasions Nick tries to break away from the path along which he is being impelled. Each time, however, he is thrust back by forces beyond him. Nick's first attempt to alter the pattern of his existence is his resolution, after he is almost caught, to give up thieving. However, a stolen bicycle which he is keeping for Tony is found in his yard, and Nick, without informing on his friend, goes to reform school for a theft which he did not commit. The brutality of the reform-school authorities hardens him and makes him resolve not to submit to the law.

struction which lies ahead of them, but it is too late for their marriage to be successful, and their destruction, instead of being averted, is accelerated. Nick has West Madison Street too much in his blood to get away from it. He is unable to work steadily at a job. Unwilling to be supported by Emma, he goes back to crime. In no way can he fulfill the duties of a husband. He, who since the age of sixteen had only known cheap prostitutes, is impatient with his wife, Emma, in despair at finding her dream, which she had thought realized in Nick, shattered, commits suicide.

Emma's suicide drives Nick to desperation. His motto had always been "Live fast, die young and have a good-looking corpse." Now an inner restlessness causes him to recklessly court death. The inevitable which he invites happens. In a gun-battle he kills a vicious and sadistic cop, the terror of West Madison Street, who has always been for Nick, without Nick's quite realizing it, the incarnation of the repressive forces of a society which has victimized him from an early age.

Nick's capture, trial and execution furnish a terrific climax to the novel. Up to this point we have been watching in fascination how Nick's character is being molded and his life is being shaped by his environment.

At the climatic finish, however, when Nick is caught like a cornered

rat and his life becomes the prize of a tense legal game between the opposing attorneys, he becomes more than an object of psychological interest for us. We identify ourselves with him, as the twelve-year-old Nick Romano had identified himself with the mouse when adults were watching with detached curiosity till he could stand its torments no longer. We share the fright which inwardly grips him as he tries to maintain his tough-guy exterior. We accompany him to the electric chair in what is perhaps one of the great death scenes in literature and, when the current jolts through his body, it seems as if a part of us has died with him.

Nick went out of life, blindly defying the society which claimed that he was paying his debt to it by his death, but which never acknowledged a debt to him for what it had deprived him of all his life. This society, which executed Nick for a crime of murder, itself daily commits millions of human beings to half-lives, robbing them of the full existence which their realized potentialities could give them. "Knock on any door down this street, in this alley" of the city, says Motley, and you will find those whose personalities have been twisted, like Nick's, or stifled or crushed, like his mother's and his wife's—and "the city is the world in microcosm."

—Paul Schapiro

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# The Blight Upon the World

By Theodore Kovalesky

"Karpinski Brothers, Jewellers," advertise daily in the papers. They have "spot" commercials on the radio in between soap operas, and their name shouts down at you from a dozen billboards with pictures of a black-haired, red-lipped young man making love to a blond-haired, red-lipped young woman.

Their Karpinski Kredit Plan is an old, established institution in the steel town, and many are the boys from the steel plant who have bought diamond engagement rings from them over periods of time that were either long or very long, depending upon the size of the weekly payments. Diamonds are the specialty of "Karpinski Brothers, Jewellers."

I was in there the other day, but not for a diamond. I was having a new crystal put on my watch. But while I was there I saw something that made me think. It was a large, framed photograph on their wall, showing a diamond mine in Kimberly, South Africa.

At first I didn't know it was a diamond mine. For a moment I thought it might be a picture of Los Alamos, where the atomic bomb tests took place. For the photo showed a great, gaping crater, with a dreary crisscross of flat-roofed buildings over the ground near the sides of the pit.

The picture didn't show too much. You couldn't see if the buildings were huts or part of the mining company. Probably they were both. What it did show was a scene of terrible desolation, the sort of thing you might see in a nightmare; a vague, doomed landscape with an unnamed horror hovering above it.

## The Negro Struggle

# Wallace and the Negroes

By Albert Parker

The prestige of Henry Wallace among the Negro people is greater today than of any prominent politician in the country. If present indications mean anything, he will draw a very large Negro vote in 1948; perhaps even a majority of the Negro vote.

The reason, of course, is that Wallace is the only capitalist politician who has taken a forthright position against Jim Crow and who has even staged some demonstrations against segregation at public meetings in the South. If Negroes vote for Wallace it will be because they conceive such a vote to be a protest against the system of race prejudice and all its evils.

Nevertheless, we want to sound a warning to all militant Negroes: Be careful! Don't accept any counterfeit! Look this piece of merchandise over very closely before you buy it!

Remember this: Words are cheap, especially for capitalist politicians. Don't judge a man or a party only by what they say, but also by what they do; and not merely by what they say and do today, but by what they said and did in the past.

The first point to remember is that Wallace's friendship for the Negro struggle is of very recent origin. In fact, most of it, suspiciously enough, dates from the time he decided to break with Truman in 1946 and began to eye the presidential nomination.

But Wallace was in politics a long time before that. For something like 14 years before that he was one of the leaders of the Democratic Party, and he never

You thought of the sweating, underfed slaves who toiled in that mine, driven from the life of the forests and the plains even as in the days of the slave trade. You saw them (in your mind's eye) swarming down the walls of the pit before the dawn and clambering wearily over the rim in the dark after sunset.

But there was even more than the thought of the wage slaves who produce for the rich such gems as the Great Mogul, the Cullinan, and the Kohinoor. There was something else in the framed picture that glared down from the wall of "Karpinski Brothers, Jewellers," like an evil portrait of horror and death.

There was a sense that this scene of desolation was an accurate blueprint of the capitalist system. You saw not only a pit into which the workers descend to bring forth riches for the capitalist... but also a horrible wound in the earth, a blight upon nature.

How many blights upon the world there are today! The depths of the slums, the red-brown filth of the steel towns, and the black filth of the mining towns, the barren ground and the raked huts where the sharecroppers live and toil—these are festering sores in the green earth.

Poverty and disease, war and crime, economic crises and insecurity, all these are deep, jagged pits in a world that might be a garden for all men.

That's what I was thinking as I walked away from "Karpinski Brothers, Jewellers," through the snowy darkness of a winter night. And I thought, what a simple thing it would be to change all this! Only the knowledge that we can have a better world is needed. When the workers learn that socialism will give us this better world, the final victory will be only a few paces away.

As a Cabinet officer he never lifted a finger to end discrimination against Negro federal employees. As Secretary of Agriculture his politics favored the big landholders in the South and did nothing to help the poverty-stricken Negro and white sharecroppers. As Secretary of Commerce he never put up any kind of real fight for the FEPC or against job discrimination in industry.

But the best example of the suspicious contrast between his past record and his present pronouncements is the stand he took during the war. Today, of course, he poses as an intrepid anti-war fighter, while a few years ago he was one of the biggest apologists and advocates of war. Now the questions we want to raise for consideration are these: Does any one remember Henry Wallace ever saying anything against Army Jim Crow and segregation during that whole war? Or doing anything against them?

How much reliance can you place in a man who kept his mouth shut in time of war, when it counted the most and when the Negro people were engaged in bitter struggles to win equality in the armed forces? Just this brief look at the Wallace record is enough to show that you can't properly judge a man by what he says when he is running for office. But there is another and equally important aspect to the Wallace problem—the question of his program on Jim Crow—and that we will discuss next week.

with a few "off the record" remarks during an after-dinner discussion on inflation. And this, according to Fulton Lewis, Jr., is what he said: The government should call in, all the industrialists and have them agree to reduce prices for two or three years and to "eliminate all profits whatsoever"; and if they refused, Congress should tax all profits 100%!

It is easy to understand the gasps of horror that arose in high circles when this story made the rounds. Why, Eisenhower was un-American; as bad as any Bolsheviki; even Henry Wallace had never gone that far.

A dirty lie! "Imputed to the general... are words he never uttered and a supposed 'program' to deal with domestic problems which he never proposed," cried Arthur Krock of the N. Y. Times, who had been present at the dinner. The truth is, said Life, that Eisenhower spoke only "on the need for combating inflation by holding both profits and wages at reasonable levels"—a view repeatedly endorsed by Roosevelt, Hoover, Wallace, Truman, Taft and every last member of the NAM.

The Eisenhower boom is said to have sagged sadly since this incident. Wouldn't it be ironic, and yet a fitting comment on the times, if he lost the nomination—not because he is a puppet of the sinister military bureaucrats who are out to regiment the youth and to prussianize the nation—but because he was falsely credited with advocating a damned good idea?

# A Case of "Malicious Gossip"

By John F. Petrone

General Eisenhower is getting a bum deal, and all his friends are springing to his defense. Even those who don't have much use for the general must concede, in the interests of fair play, that he is the victim of one of the worst frameups in political history.

It's tough enough for a man to be Chief of Staff while he is running for president. Other candidates whose hats are flying through the air but have not yet landed in the ring, can at least engage openly in politics, and get off as many political speeches as they have wind for. But a five-star general in the post of Chief of Staff can't speak publicly on anything but the need to spend additional billions of dollars on the armed forces, universal military training and other projects that don't go over too well with a public already bled white by taxes.

As if that wasn't bad enough, the general's rivals for the Republican nomination are trying to discredit him beyond repair by spreading what Life magazine calls "malicious gossip."

Rumor and slander have always played an important part in American presidential elections. Lincoln was said to be an atheist, Harding the father of a bastard, Al Smith an agent of the Pope, Roosevelt a Jew, etc. But that was in days gone by. The one about Eisenhower, a real product of the atomic age, dwarfs them all into insignificance.

It seems that Eisenhower was a guest at a private Republican dinner in Washington, and that he let go

with a few "off the record" remarks during an after-dinner discussion on inflation. And this, according to Fulton Lewis, Jr., is what he said: The government should call in, all the industrialists and have them agree to reduce prices for two or three years and to "eliminate all profits whatsoever"; and if they refused, Congress should tax all profits 100%!

It is easy to understand the gasps of horror that arose in high circles when this story made the rounds. Why, Eisenhower was un-American; as bad as any Bolsheviki; even Henry Wallace had never gone that far.

A dirty lie! "Imputed to the general... are words he never uttered and a supposed 'program' to deal with domestic problems which he never proposed," cried Arthur Krock of the N. Y. Times, who had been present at the dinner. The truth is, said Life, that Eisenhower spoke only "on the need for combating inflation by holding both profits and wages at reasonable levels"—a view repeatedly endorsed by Roosevelt, Hoover, Wallace, Truman, Taft and every last member of the NAM.

The Eisenhower boom is said to have sagged sadly since this incident. Wouldn't it be ironic, and yet a fitting comment on the times, if he lost the nomination—not because he is a puppet of the sinister military bureaucrats who are out to regiment the youth and to prussianize the nation—but because he was falsely credited with advocating a damned good idea?

## Notes from the News

**ELEANOR ROOSEVELT SPEAKS**—When informed by newspaper reporters that Wallace had decided to run for President, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt said: "Oh, dear, oh dear."

**VIRTUE REWARDED**—Joseph Romelka, the Freeport cop who killed the two Ferguson brothers, won first place in the Christmas shooting contest of the police department. His name goes on the Sgt. David Pettigrew Memorial in the Municipal Building.

**NO DIFFERENCE**—David Coolidge, commenting in Labor Action on the fight over the Taft-Hartley Act at the recent UAW convention comes to an original conclusion. He states: "What was the difference in the two resolutions on the Taft-Hartley Act and the signing of the affidavits? There was no difference except the bare fact that one resolution was for signing and the other against."

**BUSTING THE TRUST**—A group of CIO fishermen were convicted on "anti-trust" charges by a Los Angeles judge. They wanted a higher price for their fish.

Anti-trust charges were thrown out of court against GM, Firestone and Standard Oil, who were charged with monopolistic practices in relation to a holding company over the Los Angeles Transit lines.

**ANOTHER KING BITES THE DUST**—26-year-old King Michael of Romania, issued a proclamation in which he abdicated his throne "in my name and in the name of my descendants."

King Michael is the last monarchical casualty of the second world war which thus far has included the kings of Italy, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, and Belgium.

**KEEP THE SHIPS**—The AFL Seafarers International Union protested the State Department plans to sell 200 war-built ships and 300 other ships temporarily transferred to countries participating in the Marshall Plan.

"What this will do is increase the unemployment of American Seamen," stated Paul Hall, union Port Agent in New York.

**NO CONFIDENCE**—Business Week reports that the big Wall Street traders are in the dumps. "Business has boomed throughout the year... obviously it's not lack of good news that's holding the market down. It's lack of confidence."

**WHODONIT?**—The capital was agog this week when it was discovered that the "anti-inflation" bill passed by Congress had disappeared from the President's desk. While the Secret Service was sleuthing for the original document, the Air Force flew a duplicate copy to Massachusetts for speaker of the House, Joseph W. Martin, to sign.

A reporter asked Mr. Ross, Truman's Secretary, whether he believed the bill might have flown into the stratosphere along with high prices. Mr. Ross did not answer.

**LEGAL KIDNAPPING**—Three young children are being kept from their father, H. Choolokian. The court instructed a Catholic orphanage and the New York Foundling Hospital to retain the children. The father's "crime" is that he and the rest of the family returned to Soviet Armenia.

# THE MILITANT

## Youngstown 'Vindicator' Starts Red-Baiting Attack on SWP

### Drive Pushed to Uncover Assassin Of Carlo Tresca

NEW YORK, Dec. 26—New moves in the Carlo Tresca murder case, designed to spur the authorities to find and punish those who killed the courageous anti-fascist editor in 1943, will be made public by the Tresca Memorial Committee at the fifth commemoration of his death.

Friends of Tresca will gather to pay tribute to his memory at the crime scene, Fifth Avenue and 15th St., at 1 P.M. on Saturday, Jan. 10. Speakers will include City Councilman Edward Rager; Nathaniel Minkoff, Secretary-Treasurer, Dress Joint Board, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Miss Margaret Di Maggio, ILGWU organizer; John Sala, organizer for the Shirt, Robe, and Leisurewear division of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Benjamin F. McLaurin, international organizer for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; and Roger N. Baldwin, director, American Civil Liberties Union. Norman Thomas, memorial committee head, is to preside.

Tresca was shot down in the 1943 dim-out, beneath the windows of the office of his monthly journal *Il Martello* (The Hammer). For years he had bitterly attacked both the fascists and the Stalinists, editorially and in public speeches, and is known to have had numerous enemies in the two camps.

### SWP Statement On Candidacy of Henry Wallace

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party issued the following statement upon Wallace's announcement that he would run for the U. S. Presidency as an independent candidate:

NEW YORK, Dec. 31—"Organized labor should boldly enter the political field with its own independent party and, its own Presidential candidate and not help clutter up the field with another splinter capitalist party like the Wallace movement," declared James P. Cannon.

"We reject Henry Wallace, but not from the reactionary standpoint of Green, Murray, Reuther and similar supporters of the war-mongering Truman administration," he continued.

"A Wallace party and its program cannot solve a single one of the burning problems before us today. The only force capable of averting war and the oncoming depression is the labor movement. It alone can effectively combat the militarization of America and the sway of political reaction, stemming from Big Business and promoted by the bi-partisan administration in Washington.

"Labor's immediate task is to convene a national conference of all trade unions and put forward a candidate that would represent and speak for the ranks of the CIO, AFL, railway brotherhoods and other independent unions."

### Fighting in Palestine



Fighting between the Jews and Arabs continues in Palestine, and arrests are regular occurrences. Here Jewish policemen and members of the underground army, Haganah, seize an Arab after he had pulled a dagger.

Federated Pictures

## Zionists Face A Split Over Immigration Issue

By Irving Dale

The resignation from the Jewish Agency Executive of Moshe Sneh, one of the most important leaders of the Zionist movements, highlights the deep crisis in the Zionist movement. Sneh is one of the few Zionist leaders who is not ready to capitulate to Anglo-American imperialism on the immigration question. The immediate cause of his resignation is his opposition to the Jewish Agency to order some 15,000 refugees that they remain in the Black Sea ports.

Zionism needs immediate and large scale immigration into Palestine. Their main propaganda, and the basis upon which they are getting the support of the Jewish masses, is their promise to quickly alleviate the plight of European Jewry. But the facts are otherwise. As a result of the partition decision, immigration into Palestine will be even smaller in the next period.

Under pressure from British and American imperialism, the Zionists have agreed to stop all illegal immigration. This permits the entry of only 1,500 Jews a month until the Interim Commission of the UN sets up Jewish and Arab states. This cannot be done until May 15.

There is no guarantee, however, that a Jewish state will be set up immediately. The matter is entirely at the discretion of the Interim Commission. There is also no guarantee that the new Jewish state will have jurisdiction over immigration. The Interim Commission can decide that they will control immigration because the question so closely affects the peace and security of Palestine.

If this occurs, the standing which the Zionists have acquired as fighters for Jewish freedom would evaporate in the wake of incontrovertible proof of their abject sellout to the imperialists.

The Zionists also promised the Jewish masses that the establishment of a Jewish state would change for all time their political standing throughout the world. After selling partition as a victory and as proof that the UN is friendly to Zionist aspirations, they are in the unenviable position of having to explain why the UN has not lifted a finger to carry out its decision. Zionist leaders like Rabbi Silver are asking the U. S. for arms as well as an international police force. Others are in London negotiating with the British (while the British colonial office foments anti-Jewish attacks).

In contrast to these Zionist leaders, Sneh sees the handwriting on the wall. He notes that Britain and American refuse to assist the Jews, but demand immediate cessation of illegal immigration. For him this is sufficient proof that the imperialists are not sincere in their declarations. Where the majority of the Zionist leaders are taken in by grandiose promises of statehood and try to dazzle the Jewish masses with the same hope, Sneh's realism forces him to recognize the traitorous force of Anglo-American imperialism.

But what are his conclusions?

That the present Anglo-American orientation of the Zionists is incorrect, and that all questions regarding the Jewish state should be discussed within the framework of the United Nations. This, of course, means bringing Russia into the picture. It is not that Sneh is a Stalinist. He simply believes that the conflicting aims of the different powers inside the UN will provide the Zionists with more elbow room for maneuvering. For all his realism, his Zionist beliefs give him a blind spot. He cannot see that in all the maneuvering that takes place inside the UN, small and weak peoples are used by the major powers, and not vice versa.

Sneh is a representative of militant nationalism which wants to conduct a serious and uncompromising struggle for Zionist aims. (He should be distinguished from the militant terrorist wing of the Zionist organization which has a rightist political orientation.) Sneh now wants to organize a "popular" party which will fight against the weak, opportunistic policy of the official Zionist leaders.

Sneh's conflict with the other Zionist leaders does not signify that there is a fundamental difference between the two. All of them adhere to the program of establishing a Jewish national state in Palestine at any cost. The socialist "ideology" of the left wing groups that support Sneh is just so much window dressing; all of their concrete efforts center around the Zionist struggle.

The present conflict will thus take place within the confines of the Zionist movement, and the dissidents will follow Zionist discipline.

**A BLIND SPOT**

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## Stalinist Adventurism and Henry Wallace

The top union leaders refuse to support Henry Wallace on a third party presidential ticket for two main reasons: 1. They are whooping it up for the Truman-Marshall-Wall Street plan for world domination, which Wallace criticizes. 2. They are against the formation of any new party, including a Labor Party, because they want to swing workers' support behind strikebreaker Truman.

But that does not mean that the class-conscious workers are going to jump on the Wallace bandwagon. The Wallace movement is directed in large measure by the Stalinists and their liberal fellow-travelers; and the Stalinists constitute its main base in the decisive field of the labor unions. It is therefore necessary to examine the nature and reasons for the new Stalinist policy.

First, the sudden conversion of the Stalinists to the need for a new party is not a genuine conversion to independent labor politics. It does not stem from the fact that the American workers need a party of their own, but from the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia wants a deal with Truman, and a third party is one of their ways of putting pressure on Truman.

If Stalin and Truman were to work out an agreement tomorrow, the American Stalinists would desert the Wallace movement in less time than it takes to say Jack Robinson, and begin cheering for Truman the same way they did for Roosevelt.

Their support of Wallace is thus part of the world-wide "left" swing of Stalinism to blackmail the American imperialists and their satellites, similar in essence to their role in the recent French and Italian strikes.

**AGAINST LABOR PARTY**

The second thing to note is that the Stalinists don't want a Labor Party any more than the top union bureaucrats. What they are trying to build is a new version of the New Deal—not an anti-capitalist party, but a "People's Front" party that will include so-called "progressive" capitalists, that is, those willing for the time being to work out a deal with Stalin. They are trying to construct an organization which can be manipulated from above in the interests of the Kremlin's foreign policy.

What is especially noteworthy about the current Stalinist policy is its adventurism. For years the Stalinists kept the workers under their influence tied to the capitalist parties. During the last decade alone, they have misled and disoriented and demoralized hundreds of thousands of workers by preaching the theory of the "democratic evil"—the theory that the Democrats must be supported or the Republicans will win.

During these years they repeatedly strengthened the hand of the opportunist union leaders by keeping the advanced workers tied to the apron-strings of the Murrys and Greens, and their pro-capitalist politics. As recently as October, their delegates at the national CIO convention failed to utter a single word of criticism of Murray's political course, which is admittedly directed toward the re-election of Truman.

The Stalinists used to denounce as "sectarian" those workers who wanted to fight against the treacherous politics of the top union leaders. Today they are swinging to the other extreme and telling their followers that it doesn't really matter whether or not the unions and the union leadership go along with a new party. What is decisive today, CP national secretary Eugene Dennis announces in the Dec. 21 Worker, is the "united front movement from below."

That particular phrase, absent from the Stalinist press during the last dozen years, has a long history and an ominous significance. As employed by the Stalinists in this

and other countries from 1929 to 1935, it was the formula for adventurism of the rank and most ruinous kind. Dictated by the Kremlin, the strategy of the "united front from below" called for splitting the trade unions, refusal to have anything to do with the AFL (then the official union movement), and arbitrary establishment by the Stalinists of "their own" (dual) unions. This strategy was cloaked in the most radical phrasology, but its only results were to isolate the Stalinist-influenced militants from the rest of the working class, and thus to strengthen the position of the labor bureaucrats.

The revival of this disastrous policy on the American political field in 1948 will similarly lead to a fascist. It can result only in the caricature of a new party—Wallace plus the Stalinists plus their fellow-travelers. Instead of benefiting the movement for a Labor Party, this adventure can discredit it just as the Stalinist-organized unions discredited the fight for industrial unionism in the early thirties.

No genuine mass, anti-capitalist party can be built in this country unless it is based on the union movement. Such a party cannot be built by turning one's back on the unions, nor by pooh-poohing the need for

YOUNGSTOWN—The militant union program of the CIO Steelworkers locals here and their recent support of an independent labor candidate for City Council has inflamed the hostility of the steel companies and their chief daily mouthpiece, the Youngstown Vindicator. The Vindicator has launched a red-scare designed to create dissension in the Youngstown labor movement.

A main target for the slanders of this boss-controlled paper is the local branch of the Socialist Workers Party. Two featured articles have already appeared in the Vindicator, Nov. 30 and Dec. 15, containing a hodge-podge of distortions about the Trotskyists and seeking to smear all union progressives with its grotesque description of Trotskyism.

While these articles are full of fantastic lies about the Socialist Workers Party and its program, their appearance is testimony to the fear of the Youngstown bosses that the ideas of the Trotskyists are getting a hearing among many workers.

Both articles attempt to link the Stalinists and the Trotskyists together, although they give not a single piece of evidence to prove this alleged "collaboration." It is evident that the Vindicator hopes to smear the Trotskyists by tarring them with the brush of the Stalinists, whose unprincipled zig-zags and sell-outs have discredited the Communist Party with the Youngstown workers.

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About the only thing the Vindicator can cite in support of its amalgam between the Stalinists and Trotskyists is that "reports indicate that the Communists and Trotskyites here are collaborating in opposition to the Taft-Hartley Act." Everybody in the CIO here must be a "red" on that score. Even Philip Murray and the Steelworkers national executive board have refused to sign the Taft-Hartley "yellow dog" oath.

**MAIN BEEF**

But the big beef in both articles is the fact that the Trotskyists have consistently advocated independent labor political action. In Youngstown, the Socialist Workers Party staunchly supported the CIO's recent campaign for steelworker John Ausheimer who received a strong vote for Fourth Ward councilman as an independent labor candidate.

The Vindicator article of Dec. 15 goes to weird lengths to twist the position of the Trotskyists on independent political action and thereby to discredit the Ausheimer campaign. It alleges that "the Trotskyites have tended to oppose any compromise candidates. They tend to support reactionary candidates in preference to what they term middle-of-the-road liberals."

The many Youngstown workers who know the uncompromising opposition of the Trotskyists to all capitalist party candidates must have rubbed their eyes at this bald-faced lie. "Not only did the Trotskyists support Ausheimer, claims the Vindicator, but 'the recount showed many of them voted for Mayor-elect Charles P. Henderson,' a Republican.

Undoubtedly, many Ausheimer supporters voted for one or the other capitalist majority candidate. Not, however, because of the Trotskyist stand—which is opposed to all capitalist parties and candidates—but because the labor movement here failed to run its own independent candidate for mayor.

Anything the Vindicator writes is suspect to the steelworkers. They know it has always opposed any measures to benefit labor and is always plugging for the profiteering steel barons. It is now playing the bosses' game by trying to red-bait the Trotskyists, intimidate union militants with a red-scare, and block independent labor political action.

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