

Rent Boost Threatens As Government Wilts

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400,000 STRIKING MINERS DEFEND RIGHTS OF ALL AMERICAN WORKERS

Growing Strength Of American Trotskyism Shown At SWP's 12th National Convention

Approaching Depression Heralds Social Crisis; Capitalism in U. S. Is Doomed, Delegates Hold

By Joseph Hansen

In the largest gathering yet held by the American Trotskyist movement, 117 voting delegates, 70 alternates and 33 fraternal delegates of the Socialist Workers Party and 190 registered visitors convened in Chicago from Nov. 15 to Nov. 18 to deliberate on problems of the coming socialist revolution in the United States.

This Twelfth National Convention of the American Trotskyists registered the growth, strength and vitality of the Socialist Workers Party. Eighteen years ago, the representatives of revolutionary socialism in America were but a small handful. They had been expelled from the Communist (Stalinist) Party for the "crime" of supporting Lenin's and Trotsky's program of building world socialism as the only possible way to end unemployment, imperialist war and fascism.

Now these few heroic pioneer Trotskyists had the satisfaction of seeing how the ideas they represented 18 years ago have attracted the most militant, far-sighted American workers.

At the Chicago Convention the 410 participants came from all the major industrial regions of the United States, a total of 41 branches of the SWP being represented.

Militant activists from all the major trade unions were present—Steel, Auto, Rubber, Railroad, Maritime, Packinghouse Workers, and so on down the list.

On the basis of the type of charges filed, the entire union movement could be attacked as a "conspiracy."

Trial has been set for Jan. 7. Meanwhile CSU leaders are out on bail of \$5,000 each.

To date, approximately 1,500 CSU strikers have been arrested and charged with assault and battery and violation of court injunction against picketing. The 893 arrested at Columbia studio on Nov. 14 began a hunger strike in jail, but their action was quickly ended by the bail-out procedure.

Toward the end of the seven-month studio strike last year, a Southern California Conference was set up by AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods to aid the strikers. Interest in the Conference died when the strike ended. Now the arrests in the new strike make a united labor conference doubly necessary.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and founder of American Trotskyism, opened the convention with a tribute to the fallen martyrs of our cause. (Continued on Page 5)

Final Minnesota Returns-- 11,421 Votes For Carlson

By V. R. Dunne

ST. PAUL, Nov. 25—Final and official figures for the Minnesota elections give the Socialist Workers Party a 31 per cent higher vote than in the previous election. Grace Carlson, SWP candidate for U. S. Senator, received 11,421 votes; Warren Creel, candidate for Third District Congressman, 1325 votes; Dorothy Schultz, candidate for Fourth District Congressman, 1138 votes.

Because of Minnesota election regulations, the SWP candidates could not appear on the ballot under the party's own name. Revolutionary Workers Party was the ballot designation. By voting for our candidates, thousands of Minnesota workers and farmers indicated their conscious and militant opposition to capitalist politics. The SWP candidates were the only opponents of the Republican and Democratic-Farmer-Labor Parties for these posts.

In 1940, Grace Carlson received 8,761 votes as the party's senatorial candidate. At that time, the ballot designation was Trotskyist Anti-War Party. A comparison of the 1940 SWP vote with that received this year



shows that the party gained numerically in 67 of the state's 87 counties.

In terms of the percentage of the total vote cast the SWP gain is even more impressive. The SWP Senatorial candidate received approximately one and one-half per cent of the total vote cast in this election. In 1940, the SWP vote was only about one-half of one per cent of the total vote.

Greatest gains for the Socialist Workers Party candidates were recorded in the areas where the special Minnesota election edition of *The Militant* had been distributed, notably Hennepin County (Minneapolis); 1,442 votes in Ramsey County (St. Paul); 1,421 votes in St. Louis County (Duluth and the Iron Range).

Other areas of distribution were South St. Paul, Austin and Winona, packinghouse centers; St. Cloud, a railroad division point and center of the granite

quarrying industry; Willmar, center of the radical Farm Holiday movement of the Thirties; Red Wing, noted for its extensive pottery manufacturing plants. In these and other smaller industrial towns, where the Minnesota election edition of *The Militant* had been distributed, notable gains were recorded for the SWP candidates. A total of 30,000 Militants was distributed during the campaign.

Four radio broadcasts were made by the SWP candidates. Each of the candidates spoke over the Twin City stations. A special broadcast was arranged for our senatorial candidate on KWLM at Willmar.

In addition to speaking at the several election rallies held in the St. Paul and Minneapolis headquarters of the party, our candidates also spoke to other interested groups. Among these were: the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the Wesley Foundation on the University Campus; the Minnesota Conference of Women's Clubs; the American Veterans Committee; the Campion Church Forum.

Through press releases sent daily and weekly newspapers throughout Minnesota by C. K. Johnson, campaign manager, widespread publicity was given to the Socialist Workers Party campaign in all parts of the state.

Answering The Injunction



CIO Delegates Open Wage Drive; Reject Red-Baiting Witch Hunt

By Art Preis

(Militant Staff Reporter)

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., Nov. 22—The Eighth Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, which this afternoon concluded its five-day deliberations at the Chelsea Hotel's Westminster Hall here, again demonstrated that the CIO represents the most progressive sector of the American trade union movement.

The more than 600 delegates from 40 international unions and 280 state and local CIO councils

devoted their main attention to the basic problems of American labor, particularly the issue of higher wages to meet the soaring cost of living.

At the same time, while adopting an ambiguous anti-communist statement, the convention re-

jected the insidious demand by Big Business and its government agents that the CIO divert its energies into an internal witch-hunt against militant and radical workers.

Although the convention was composed largely of the top circles of the CIO and did not reflect the real militancy and democratic spirit of the CIO ranks, the leaders were forced to recognize and make concessions to the progressive sentiment of the CIO membership.

For weeks before the convention the capitalist press had been hopelessly predicting that the CIO Convention would launch a red-baiting purge of "communists." The keynote address by CIO President Philip Murray, at the opening session last Monday morning, contained no reference to "communists."

He stressed at the very start of his remarks that "without doubt the most important consideration to be presented to the convention will be the economic

and social problems of the working class." In a blistering attack on Big Business profiteers, Murray pointed out that corporate profits are piling up at the rate of 15 billion dollars annually, an unprecedented profit, a higher profit than ever experienced at any time in the history of American business.

He showed that at the same time, for example, the wage of an average steel worker, in terms of real purchasing power, is

(Continued on Page 2)

Highest Minority Vote In N. J. Goes To Trotskyist Candidate

NEWARK, Nov. 25>Returns

cured 300 votes while in the Hague stronghold of the 13th District, Arlene Phillips received 1,720 votes, more than five times the vote for her Stalinist opponent.

These election totals are a fitting climax to the SWP's hard-hitting state campaign. With tremendous enthusiasm and determination, the New Jersey Party waged a broadscale campaign on many fronts: street meetings in the neighborhoods, election rallies, five radio broadcasts, over 55,000 pieces of printed literature, scores of news releases to the daily and Negro press and numerous state-wide mailings.

More important than the vote was the fact that the program of the Socialist Workers Party was carried to at least 100,000 people, that scores of new friends were made for the Party, and that recruitment to the Party doubled during the election campaign.

The election campaign thus becomes a stepping stone to further growth of the SWP, to intensified activity both in the mass movement and the legislative field in order to fight for the interests of New Jersey workers against the new Republican administration.

Both the AFL and CIO leaders recognize the decisive importance of this struggle. They have sharply denounced the government's use of injunction against the miners, the right to strike and freedom from legal persecution by corporation-dominated, class-biased courts and judges.

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It is clear that Wall Street is mobilizing its governmental and judicial forces for a full-scale war on all organized labor. By crushing the miners, the American plutocracy hopes to blunt the spearhead of the developing drive of all labor for wage increases to meet the soaring cost of living.

If the government's infamous injunction against the miners is not smashed, if John L. Lewis and other mine union leaders are victimized for defending the workers' interests, then the judicial knife will be sharpened for every section of labor, for every militant leader.

More—much more—is at stake in this crucial struggle than the immediate just demands of the miners. Imperiled are the most fundamental rights of every working man and woman—the right to strike and freedom from legal persecution by corporation-dominated, class-biased courts and judges.

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Action is needed—united militant labor action on a scale this country has never before witnessed. The full, concerted power of the organized American working class must be speedily mobilized and hurled into the battle. A mighty counter-offensive must be immediately unleashed that will drive the jacksals of capitalist reaction to flight.

To that end, as the CIO United Auto Workers proposed months ago, a National United Conference of Labor—representing every trade union body in America—must be immediately convened in Washington.

Its first duty would be to draft and set into motion a fighting program of united labor action to give the only effective answer to the united assault of big capital on the coal miners.

United labor action is the watchword of the hour! The union ranks must demand that labor leaders act now!

CIO Convention Demands "Substantial" Wage Rise; Rejects Political Witch-Hunts

(Continued from Page 1)

\$13.20 less today than it was in March of last year" despite the 18½-cent an hour wage boost won last February.

The main discussion on wage policy was based on the Wages resolution which declared, "there is no immediate prospect that runaway prices will be checked." It concluded:

"While profits soar the workers' share of the national income steadily declines. Millions of American workers today find themselves totally unable to meet a budget providing for minimum necessities of living. This situation can only result in an early and inevitable economic depression as in 1929 with the accompanying human misery and chaos. Under present conditions it is therefore imperative that American industry in collective bargaining give substantial wage increases."

This resolution fell short in its lack of an effective program of united action to implement the demand for "substantial wage increases." Murray himself concluded the discussion with a lengthy appeal to the rapacious corporations to "Come on, be decent, be gentlemen, sit around the bargaining table . . . in the spirit of good faith." At the same time he sought to appease the employers with the assurance that "there is no threat of strike in the offing."

WAR-CHEST ASKED

The only hint from any CIO leader of the need to prepare for a concerted nation-wide show-down struggle was given by United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther. He proposed that the convention initiate a war chest "of about 10 or 12 million dollars" and added "that any CIO union making a fight in these basic struggles could know that they had that whole war chest behind them."

But neither Reuther nor any other CIO leader pressed for a program of unified action, although the nearness of great strike struggles was emphasized by Herbert March, a leader of the United Packinghouse Workers. March advised the convention:

"It is indeed a tragedy when the people who produce the meat and meat products of the nation are in a position today to eat very little but neck bones and spare ribs, if they can afford them."

"So I say to you that we of the packinghouse industry are facing a crisis in the matter of a very few days. We will prosecute it to the best of our ability and we call upon all of you in this great organization for your support in our attempt to establish a decent living wage for the packinghouse workers."

Oil Workers

The most important contribution to the wage discussion was the speech by O. A. Knight, president of the Oil Workers International Union. Knight described the sliding scale of wages clause the OWIU had just won from the Sinclair Oil Co., in addition to a flat 18-cent an hour raise in the basic wage scale.

"During recent days," Knight reported, "we have reached a wage agreement with a major oil company somewhat different from the pattern we usually follow in that it provides, for a temporary period, upward and downward movements of wages based upon the cost of living."

"Under this plan all employees of the company receive an upward adjustment of 18 cents an hour effective as of and retroactive to Oct. 1, 1946. That means that all employees affected will immediately receive approximately \$43 back pay. If the cost of living increases, additional upward adjustments will be made, based upon the amount

of increase in the cost of living index and with no ceiling on upward adjustments."

Knight made it plain that any downward adjustments may not go below the basic wage scale, including the 18-cent increase. "It has been made clear to the companies with whom we are dealing now," Knight emphasized, "that we will never get ourselves in position where we cannot continue to improve the standard of living of the workers we represent."

Immediately following Knight's talk, Joseph Curran, President of the National Maritime Union, rose to make a veiled attack on the progressive sliding scale of wages principle. He demagogically declared that "if we tie ourselves too closely to that kind of theory we will find that our standard of living will remain static."

CURRAN'S DISTORTION

Curran, who despite differences with the Stalinist leaders in the NMU is still running interference for the Communist Party in the trade unions, deliberately distorted the clear meaning of Knight's remarks. Knight had shown that the oil workers have not only won another substantial wage increase but have fully protected that increase from those further inflationary price rises that the CIO resolution itself stated are "inevitable."

In putting up Curran to attack the sliding scale of wages, the Stalinists revealed themselves as among the most conservative forces in the convention. They took the lead in opposing red-baiting as the instrument of the bosses to divide labor.

WHITNEY SITES DEBS

Whitney stated that whenever "a large section of industry issues a threat to its profits or unchecked power," it resorts to the "red" issue to divide and weaken labor. He evoked thunderous applause when he reminded the convention that "one of the most courageous labor leaders this country has ever known was Eugene V. Debs," the great socialist anti-war fighter.

He concluded: "I speak to you out of a lifetime of experience. Do not let this issue divide you. If you do, labor will be set back many years in its struggle to achieve dignity and security and freedom for the average man and woman. Your energies and your militancy will be consumed in a futile witch hunt. The staggering load of economic and social misery on your back will grow heavier."

"Stick by your demands for the settlement of grievances and for the recognition of your rights as free men. Do not allow yourselves to become the tools of fascists or reactionary forces."

One of the most important resolutions adopted by the convention attacked the federal government's use of "a sweeping injunction against the United Mine Workers of America." This action was declared a "clear violation of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. No anti-labor injunctions can dispose of the problems now confronting workers who see their earnings shrink before the fast-rising cost of living. American democracy cannot tolerate any attempt to impose economic slavery through vicious anti-labor injunctions."

This statement was introduced and adopted, however, without any discussion. The CIO leaders refrained from any comment on the crucial struggle now unfolding between the miners and the government and made no direct appeal to the CIO members to rally full support of the battling miners.

At the very tail-end of the convention, with Murray pushing for an early adjournment, the vital question of political action was introduced. The resolution tried to minimize the defeat suffered

stubborn than ever in defense of their rights. They are offering the court sideline advice about how to cripple the mine union with staggering fines without inciting them to prolonged resistance by imprisoning their president.

GOVERNMENT ROLE

Never has the government shown its capitalist class character more completely in a strike.

To begin with, the Truman administration last May 21 tried to break a seven-week mine strike by seizing the soft coal mines. But the administration was forced to grant major concessions to the miners. The operators refused to sign a contract embodying recommendations approved by the government. But nothing happened to them. Their profits continued and swelled.

Actually government operation was a fiction designed to cloak the operators with the protection of the American flag. As the N. Y. Times, Nov. 24, described it: "American flags were hoisted over the tipplers; officials of the mining companies were designated as Government officers in charge of the mines and mining areas. These were the only signs of the Government's rule."

The terms of the government's contract were systematically violated by the mine officials acting as government agents. Washington fronted for them. On top of that, skyrocketing prices in the company stores quickly wiped out the miners' wage gains.

On Oct. 21, prior to the national elections, the UMW requested the administration to reopen the contract. This was clearly within the terms of the contract as taken over in part from the previous contract with the mine owners.

Only with the threat of strike on Nov. 1, did the government, acting for the coal operators, descend to meet with the UMW committee and discuss the question.

On Nov. 15, with the election

by the Democratic Party as "in no sense a landslide" and that "a small shift in the vote" could have changed the result.

It complained about the millions of voters who stayed away from the polls to "express their dissatisfaction," and the others who "were misled by the demagogic of the Republican high command into voting indiscriminately against the candidates of the party in power." It concluded with the old bankrupt policy of urging the CIO members to work for "progressive candidates" of the capitalist parties in 1947 and 1948.

Jack Kroll, chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, advocated that PAC work harder in the next Democratic primaries to ensure the nomination of more "progressive" Democrats.

Murray, obviously anxious to forestall any real discussion of political action, hurriedly closed debate while a number of delegates were frantically trying to secure the floor. Among these were several who this reporter knows were anxious to present proposals for the formation of an independent labor party.

Capitalist Press Silent On Dangers Of Mining

What an avalanche of class hatred descended upon the 400,000 soft coal miners last week! The idle rich were enraged because these men work without a contract. The iron-clad miners and sweepers of labor shrieked in chorus that the miners ought to be herded back into the pits by armed force if necessary.

Miners are terribly squeezed by the skyrocketing cost of living. A miner has to load a whole carload of coal to earn enough money to buy one pound of meat. Company-owned stores raised food prices even before the miners won their last raise in May. Since then, prices have soared until now they are almost double what they were in June. In some places ordinary work shirts, when the miners get

them, cost \$10 apiece.

These men spend a good part of their lives in the dark and dangerous bowels of the earth. They produce the coal that keeps the wheels of industry turning. Their labor also serves to provide the rich with luxury and limousines.

They have every right to demand a living wage and decent working conditions. They have every reason to be outraged when the profiteers and their paid press hurl slanders and lies against them, and the government tries to whip them back into the pits with an injunction and prison threats.

1894 Injunction Against Debs Used As Precedent By Truman

The government injunction against John L. Lewis cites as precedent the injunction against Eugene V. Debs in 1894. This infamous injunction of 52 years ago created a nation-wide sensation. It was a historic landmark in the long struggle between labor and the Washington political agents of the capitalist class.

But today the persecution of Eugene V. Debs and the Amer-

ican Railway Union from 30 to 40 per cent. On April 13, 1894, an 18-day strike began on the Great Northern Railroad that won restoration of wages to the Aug. 1, 1893 level.

PULLMAN STRIKE

The defeated rail barons were already howling for removal of the ARU "agitators" who had led this victorious strike, when the next blow against them came at Chicago. There, in June, the workers of the Pullman Company struck. They were not ARU members, but they needed help. The ARU voted to cripple 24 roads throughout the country by boycotting Pullman cars.

The rail owners ran to the government. Democratic President Cleveland obligingly chose a railroad corporation lawyer as government "counsel" in the "crisis." Pullman's hand-picked stooge, Federal Judge William A. Woods, issued injunctions against the strikers.

In the Debs case, as in the fight against the miners, the administration claimed that the strike barred the government from "judicial protection of its rights lawfully to exercise its sovereign functions without interference or obstruction." Then, too, the courts prohibited "any persons" from "inducing or encouraging" workers to strike.

Stopping the mails had never been included in the union strategy, yet this was the pretext used by Cleveland for sending in troops and armed company thugs, over the protests of Governor Altgeld of Illinois and Mayor Hopkins of Chicago. The union had announced it would move mail; but the corporations had flatly said, "no Pullmans, no mail." And the troops were turned loose on the strikers.

Debt later wrote that the rail owners "hired goons, set fires, started lying rumors that strikers were 'burning and sacking the city.' They issued frenzied demands for 'Death to the strikers!' Offices of the ARU were sacked and put under guard and their communications destroyed."

ARREST LEADERS

The ARU continued its strike. Debs and three other leaders were arrested for contempt of court. Criminal charges of "conspiracy to obstruct the mails" were filed against 45 ARU leaders and members in another Federal Court.

The four leaders were sentenced to six-month terms for "contempt." But the criminal charges were later "postponed" forever, when the union proved in court that government and railroad collusion was responsible for arson and 20 deaths.

When Debs entered Woodstock jail in May, 1893, to begin his sentence, he was a militant trade unionist. But the strike had shown him how the government acts for the capitalists against the labor movement. He had learned from life, that trade unionism was not enough. He emerged from prison in November, 1895 as a socialist, ready to devote the rest of his life to the political struggles of the working class.

198-Day Allentown Strike Ended By Mack Local 677

By John Fitch

(Special to The Militant)

ALLENTOWN, Pa., Nov. 15.—In a stirring display of solidarity with two discharged stewards, members of Mack Truck Local 677, CIO United Auto Workers, nearly defeated

the precedent of calling off the strike.

At a jammed meeting in the largest hall in this city, striker after striker, GIs and old-timers, bitterly denounced the terms put forth by UAW Region 9 Director Martin Gerber, Ben Blackwood and International Representative George Kamft.

After nearly four hours of sharp discussion, a secret ballot was held to determine whether the miners should make ends meet.

Under the agreement, strikers go back to work without re-instatement of two shop stewards who were discharged before the strike; their fate is in the hands of an arbitrator.

Other terms include a 12-cent base pay increase for production workers and 25 cents for non-production workers; double time for Sunday; three paid holidays; and reopening of wage negotiations after eight months if an industry pattern is established. A maintenance of membership clause was granted. The agreement however included a nine-month postponement of current vacation periods, and specified that no re-instatement would be used by either side for whatever anyone did or failed to do during the strike.

Representative Kamft, who read the terms, assured the strikers that their leader evoked only bitter anger among the miners. By the day before the contract termination, more than 127,000 miners had quit the pits in defiance of the capitalist government.

A battle has been joined that will spell tremendous consequences for American labor. A defeat for the miners would be a disastrous blow to the American working class. A victory would pave the way for effective struggle by all organized labor for higher wages to protect the workers' standard of living.

Murray, obviously anxious to forestall any real discussion of political action, hurriedly closed debate while a number of delegates were frantically trying to secure the floor. Among these were several who this reporter knows were anxious to present proposals for the formation of an independent labor party.

At the meeting many workers expressed the opinion that a more militant and far-sighted leadership is on the order of the day.

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Wages, Prices and Profits

Wages And Production In The Present Period

By Warren Creel

We have seen, even in the case of the great monopolies, that while they have power, there are also limits to their power.

They boast that they can and will raise prices as fast as the workers win higher wages, so they advise the unions that they might as well give up the struggle. But their boast collapses when we ask the question, "If they have such power to raise the price, why didn't they raise it before?"

We know the answer. The monopolists already had raised the price as high as they could put it without losing their mass outlets. They were not charging less than the highest price, nor missing the chance to reap additional millions in profits, just to be generous to the public.

They cannot pass on the wage raise indefinitely by raising prices. In the final analysis, they have to pay wage raises out of profits. And that's why they fight like demons against raising wages.

That's the answer in ordinary times when the propagandists for the employer tell us, "It's useless for the workers to struggle, because the employers are all-powerful."

When we apply these principles to the present period, after World War II, we find a special case, but it also illustrates the principles. The employers are giving the show away by raising prices much more than they raise wages, which proves again that they are not merely passing on wage costs.

The war inflation has dumped a lot of artificial dollars on the market, so today they can charge more and get it. So they raise prices, not because of wages, but just to meet the market, as always.

They try to meet this boom market by higher prices, and not by more production. Thus capitalism shows its true character in this situation. Even in today's rich market the capitalists must make their profit by holding production down to scarcity levels. They do not care to produce plenty, even though the market can take it and more.

During the war American industry poured out goods at the rate of \$7,500 per family per year, but this high production did not raise living standards because most of the goods were used up in the war. In peacetime American industry could easily keep up the wartime rate of production of goods. But under capitalism the capitalists couldn't sell the goods unless they were paying enough wages to allow the workers to buy about that much per year. They certainly don't intend to pay any such wages.

So the capitalists face a desperate need to cut production in half, or even to less than half. They must cut their output down to the ordinary minimum living standard of capitalism. And they find it no easy job.

Their plants could pour out abundance now. But if they organize for big production they will face trouble in the future. They would quickly fill the present demand. Then when the market went down to the ordinary level allowed by capitalist wages, they would have no buyers for their goods. They have to look ahead, and keep the market hungry so there will be buyers next year as well as this year.

To protect themselves they must hold production down. They let out only a bare minimum of goods, just the amount that they know is their ordinary market. This is just enough to supply the usual low living standard of capitalism.

Although they hold the supply of goods down to a trickle, they have no thought of letting the flood of wartime money get away. They simply propose to raise prices until it takes the whole flood of money to buy the usual capitalist trickle of goods.

That's how the scarcity policy of capitalism operates in today's inflation market. It's a stiff fight, and a risky one for the capitalists, cutting down the output of a productive giant like American industry. And the hardest part of the job is trying to pretend that the factories that produced for the war can't produce for peace.

Next Week: Why Prices Go Up

How Trotsky Viewed Disarmament

By Joseph Hansen

How does the slogan of "disarmament" raised by Molotov at the United Nations fit in with Wall Street's preparations for another world war?

The answer to this question can be determined most easily by referring to Leon Trotsky's writings on "disarmament." Like Lenin, Trotsky considered two variations of the demand for "disarmament": (1) the demand for total abolition of militarism; (2) the demand for a "reduction" of armaments. Like Lenin, Trotsky shows how both variations play into the hands of the imperialist war-mongers. "Of course, if all the countries disarmed," said Trotsky in 1929, "it would constitute a serious guarantee of peace. But self-disarmament is just as excluded as the revolutionary demolition of tariff walls. In Europe today there is only one major country which is seriously disarmed, to wit, Germany. But her disarmament was accomplished, as everybody knows, by crushing her in a war . . ." ("Disarmament and the United States of Europe," published in the May, 1945, issue of *Fourth International*.)

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Rising Unrest Of German Workers Shows Gravity Of Economic Crisis

60,000 Votes Polled For Trotskyists In France

PARIS — The French Trotskyists, who presented candidates for Parliament in 16 areas in the Nov. 10 elections, received a total of 60,000 votes. This shows a numerical increase but a slight percentage drop over the Trotskyist vote in the June elections, when candidates ran in 11 areas and got 45,000 votes.

This percentage decrease was to be expected. In June elections to the Assembly had been for a six-month duration. The new Parliament has a five-year duration, and there was a greater tendency not to "waste votes."

Under these conditions the Trotskyist vote was on the whole quite stable as compared with the June vote, except in two or three areas, especially the Grigny department. In June the Stalinist candidates in the Grigny were defeated by less than the vote cast for the Trotskyist ticket, and there was therefore a greater tendency to vote only for candidates who stood a good chance of winning.

The stability of the Trotskyist vote was especially notable in the workers' areas and the Paris suburbs. In the suburbs Seine-et-Oise, where the Trotskyists appeared as candidates for the first time on Nov. 10, they collected an impressive total of 13,890 votes.

This means that there exists in the working class areas a minority which clings to the revolutionary program despite the Stalinist slanders and the argument that voting for the Trotskyists divides the workers' votes. This revolutionary minority can play an important role in the future struggles of the French masses.

Egyptian Police Seize Revolutionist

The trial of Aly Abu el Nil, a shoemaker of Alexandria who was arrested for "distributing alleged subversive literature signed Fourth International, Communist Revolution, Middle East Center," was scheduled to begin in Cairo, on Nov. 1, according to the Egyptian *Gazette* of Oct. 20.

Aly Abu el Nil went on a hunger strike, protesting against the delay of the trial. His spirit was reported to be high as he prepared to make a militant defense at the trial.

A number of well-known journalists who had been arrested around the same time—Ramsis Yennane, Loutfallah Soliman, Anwar Kavel, Bokhor Menasse and Klailel el Assy—have been recently released.

bomb, then this only goes to show that each of them is simply jockeying, through diplomacy, for the most advantageous position in the coming military conflict.

Trotsky explains that the issue in modern war is "determined by the relative productive power of the two camps." He points out that the "soldiers, sailors, ships, guns, tanks and planes available at the outbreak of war represent only the initial stake. The issue will be decided in dependence upon the extent to which a given country is able, while under fire, to produce ships, guns, soldiers and sailors."

Thus a power with the tremendous industrial capacity of America gains in relative pre-ponderance through reduction of arms. For such countries as Britain, Japan, Germany, etc., to agree to reduce their armaments, means to cut down the initial stake they can throw onto the battle field, thus eliminating their strongest card—a very great military-technical pre-ponderance which would in some measure compensate for the incomparable technical and economic preponderance of the United States."

There is still another advantage in reduction of armaments, which the Wall Street militarists have undoubtedly taken into consideration: "Today when the colossal experience of the war and the resulting flood of inventions and discoveries are just being elaborated for military needs, any and all instruments of military technology are rendered obsolete in a far briefer space of time than was the case before the war."

Referring to the battle fleets, Trotsky asks, "Under such conditions, what sense is there in accumulating ships in advance? A rational approach to the problem demands that the fleet

Trotskyists In Belgium List 19 Candidates

The Internationalist Communist Party (PCI), Belgian section of the Fourth International, will enter the Nov. 23 local elections at Gilly, a coal mining center, with 19 Trotskyist candidates, according to the Nov. 16 *La Lutte Ouvrière*, PCI newspaper.

The list is headed by Jules Henin, veteran Trotskyist, who participated with Leon Léon in founding the Belgian Communist Party and later the Trotskyist Left Opposition.

In the announcement of its program and platform, the PCI candidates state that the fate of the workers will be decided in struggles in the factories and on the streets.

TAX THE RICW

The platform includes taxing the rich instead of the poor, a fight against higher taxes on wages, immediate construction of low-cost homes for workers, the planning and execution of public works projects, such as roads, canals, running water, etc.

In answer to the argument that "there is no money" to carry out this program, the PCI points to the tens of millions squandered in the past to maintain an army which collapsed in 17 days before the "foreign enemy" and failed to alter in the least the fate of the country or the issue of the imperialist war. The PCI demands that this money be used to construct homes and schools for the workers, and calls upon the masses to fight for this program with their own class weapons.

The PCI is calling upon the workers in other areas, where no PCI candidates are running, to vote for the Socialist and Communist Party candidates. At the same time it urges the voters to place no confidence in the reformist leaders of these parties which have abandoned the fight for the working class and replaced this struggle with an effort to rehabilitate Belgian capitalism.

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"The unprecedented wave of sit-down strikes and the amazingly rapid growth of industrial unionism in the United States (the CIO) is the most indisputable expression of the instinctive striving of the American workers to raise themselves to the level of the tasks imposed on them by history."

—Leon Trotsky

SWP Convention

The Twelfth Convention of the American Trotskyist movement marked a new stage in the development of the Socialist Workers Party. For 18 years our main task was the clarification of program and the assembling of the initial cadres. Today we have definitely entered the road leading toward a mass party of action.

The Convention was living proof of the power of the Trotskyist movement to resist the blows of reaction.

During the war, the Roosevelt Administration attempted to stamp out Trotskyism in America. The leading figures of the Socialist Workers Party were arrested. Because they opposed imperialist war and advocated socialism they were railroaded to prison.

Two years ago, at the Eleventh Convention, 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were behind bars in Federal prisons.

The Roosevelt Administration likewise tried to halt the circulation of the Trotskyist press. The second class mailing rights of *The Militant* were revoked.

All the worst forces of reaction in America centered their attack on the Socialist Workers Party.

On top of these blows, a big proportion of the most active and energetic trade unionists belonging to the SWP were drafted into the armed forces, seriously depleting our strength on the national political scene.

But the Trotskyists were trained in the hard school of the class struggle. Adherence to principles was placed above all other considerations. We did not water down our program, nor bow before arrogant reaction. We fought back with all our strength.

It was this firmness, this refusal to give up the principles of socialism which enabled us to weather the storm. And the fruits of our loyalty to program and to party were visible at the convention.

Since 1944 we have more than doubled in size. Moreover, the new adherents to Trotskyism are the finest and most far-sighted militants of the labor movement.

The achievements registered at the Twelfth National Convention, however, are only a token of what the future holds in store for the Socialist Workers Party. During the hard years of bitter reaction we resisted all the torrents of abuse, slander and persecution. Now American Trotskyism will begin to record in positive action what its program offers to the American workers.

As the crisis of American capitalism deepens, it will become clear to hundreds of thousands and millions of workers that only revolutionary socialism can end unemployment, hunger, fear, war and fascism.

By its loyalty to program the Socialist Workers Party has earned the right to lead the American workers into the socialist world of the future.

Oil Union Shows Way

Every worker is puzzling over the difficult problem of maintaining his standard of living in the face of skyrocketing prices. The CIO Oil Workers International Union has shown in practice how this problem can be solved.

The Oil Workers have negotiated a nationwide contract with the Sinclair Oil Company providing for a sliding scale to meet price rises. They are now negotiating similar contracts with a number of other big companies, including the giant Standard Oil trust.

This contract provides for an immediate wage rise of 18 cents an hour retroactive to Oct. 1. This restores some of the oil workers' purchasing power, which like that of all other workers, was further undermined by recent price jumps.

Far more definitive, however, is the way in which the contract guarantees that the oil worker's purchasing power shall remain in line with future price advances. The sliding scale provides that if the cost of living goes up, then wages shall automatically go up in proportion. There is no ceiling on this sliding scale. If the cost of living should double or triple, for instance, the contract guarantees proportionate upward adjustment of wages.

In the highly improbable event living costs go down during the one-year life of the contract, wages cannot drop below the minimum

basic scale, including the latest increase, already won by the oil workers.

In September 1945, the oil workers opened the great CIO strike struggles to maintain take-home pay. They won their 18¢ cents an hour. But in the short time since then they have seen their gains completely wiped out by price increases. They have drawn the logical conclusion. To protect their standard of living they now demand their wage gains shall be protected by a sliding scale provision.

In winning a contract with Sinclair containing this provision they have broken ground for the entire labor movement. It can be done!

Injunctions

Truman's action in obtaining an injunction against the striking miners once again throws into the limelight the use of the courts as a means by which the corporations and their agents have succeeded in breaking one strike after another in the past.

The list of strikes broken by means of injunctions is far too long to enumerate here. Suffice it to recall that injunctions played a central role in breaking the miners' strike in 1921 and the strike of the railroad shop workers in 1922. This is what Truman hopes to repeat in 1946.

The whole record of the law courts proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that they are among the most profoundly reactionary and viciously anti-labor institutions in the land. Let us cite only a few of the most recent legal decisions.

At almost the same time that one federal judge was issuing an injunction against the miners, another judge in a U. S. District Court was dismissing the four-year old case against George E. Deatherage, Lawrence Dennis, George Sylvester Vierck and score of other notorious fascists. The dilatoriness and leniency of the courts toward these fascists is in marked contrast with the swift and peremptory action against the coal diggers.

Another recent sample of capitalist "justice" comes from the state of New York where the courts whitewashed the police killer of the two Ferguson brothers in the Freeport Case and where the Democratic and Republican judges worked hand in glove to remove the Socialist Workers Party and two other minority parties from the ballot in the last elections.

The U. S. Supreme Court refused even to act on an appeal to prevent Ku-Kluxer Bilbo of Mississippi from taking his seat in the Senate, although his election was as fraudulent as any plebiscite conducted under Hitler. But the legal machinery invariably functions without a hitch when it comes to using it against workers who fight to defend their standard of living.

More and more brazen use is being made of injunctions, the issuance of which in labor disputes has been ostensibly restricted by the Norris-LaGuardia Act. It was only a few weeks ago that three judges issued a sweeping injunction against the Pittsburgh power workers, banning their right to strike and tossing their leader into jail for one year.

The aroused labor movement of Pittsburgh forced these gentlemen to revoke their injunction and to free the jailed union leader. The Pittsburgh workers have shown an excellent way of preventing the utilization for strikebreaking purposes of these direct agencies of the capitalist class which operate in the name of the law.

CIO Rejects Purge

The CIO convention delegates are to be commended for refusing to be stampeded into a witch-hunt against members with radical political views. Their rejection of a purge campaign reflects the powerful opposition of the CIO workers to red-baiting and repression of political minorities.

The overwhelming majority of CIO members recognize that such a course would lead to the weakening and disruption of the CIO. As CIO President Philip Murray himself pointed out, the greatest menace to labor is not the "communists" but Big Business reaction.

The stand of the CIO convention was weakened, however, by its concession to the red-baiters in the form of a "Declaration of Policy" saying that the CIO "rejects and rejects" the interference of the Communist Party in the affairs of the CIO. The naming of the Communist Party, and no other organization, was clearly motivated by the desire to appease reactionary elements.

Otherwise, why didn't the declaration also name the Social Democrats who have been campaigning up and down the CIO for repressive measures against "communists"? Or the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, another red-baiting outfit, to which Murray himself belongs? Or the Democratic Party, whose policies have long dominated the CIO politically?

It is true the "Declaration of Policy" is ambiguous. It proposes no acts of repression, and Murray emphasized that the CIO is opposed to any form of political repression. But the declaration does provide a basis for the reactionaries to continue their red-baiting efforts.

The CIO should have taken a clearcut stand against red-baiting in any form. That it did not do so is partly the responsibility of the leaders of the Communist Party (Stalinist). The leading Stalinist trade unionists inside the CIO made a miserable deal and supported the "Declaration of Policy."

Red-baiting is by no means a dead issue inside the CIO. Murray and the other top leaders are under ever-growing pressure from the reactionary forces, both without and within the CIO. They cannot be depended upon to stand up under this pressure. It is up to the CIO membership to continue to be vigilant and to vigorously repudiate the red-baiters wherever and whenever they raise their ugly heads.



"I've been thinking how much you'd enjoy this ever since last Thanksgiving!"

Workers' BOOKSHELF

EMPIRE IN THE CHANGING WORLD, by W. K. Hancock

Penguin Books, Inc., 1943, 186 pp., 25 cents.

In this book the author attempts to make a feeble defense of British imperialism by carrying on a whining argument with its rival, U. S. imperialism. He does not deny that glaring injustices exist among the colonial peoples controlled by Great Britain. But, asks the author, do not on whom can a British subject (of India, for example) call for protection, when the injuring parties are also British subjects (the troops)?

In this book, the author himself makes damaging admissions about the treatment of such races as the Maoris and the Africans. But he throws this back in the face of the American rulers, because of their own scandalous conduct against the Negroes

A touching story is told of the British subject's claim on the protection of his sovereign. But on whom can a British subject (of India, for example) call for protection, when the injuring parties are also British subjects (the troops)?

In this book, the author himself makes damaging admissions about the treatment of such races as the Maoris and the Africans. But he throws this back in the face of the American rulers, because of their own scandalous conduct against the Negroes

The only conclusion one can draw from the entire book is that all imperialism is bad, be it British or American or any other nationality. Far from being able to bring about a better postwar world, as is claimed, imperial rule must be wiped out before it exterminates humanity.

—Ethel Dondpre

ATOMIC ENERGY IN THE COMING ERA, by David Dietz

Avon Book Co., 1945, 184 pp., 25 cents.

Sometimes, the author admits, Great Britain came into conflict with other nations' monopolistic practices in colonies, which threatened the interests of British traders.

In the territories which she annexed, she offered equal opportunity to the traders of all nations. She did not exercise a selfish sovereignty." One wonders why it has been necessary to maintain armies in the colonies and build high tariffs.

The author tries to make out that Britain is a benefactor of mankind. Through loans, India has been "freed from the tyrant

of recurrent famine," while the British government is "trustee for those people who are unable as yet to stand on their own feet under the strenuous conditions of the modern world."

A touching story is told of the British subject's claim on the protection of his sovereign. But on whom can a British subject (of India, for example) call for protection, when the injuring parties are also British subjects (the troops)?

In this book, the author himself makes damaging admissions about the treatment of such races as the Maoris and the Africans. But he throws this back in the face of the American rulers, because of their own scandalous conduct against the Negroes

The only conclusion one can draw from the entire book is that all imperialism is bad, be it British or American or any other nationality. Far from being able to bring about a better postwar world, as is claimed, imperial rule must be wiped out before it exterminates humanity.

That the bomb was possible, was created, and was unleashed by the capitalist government, Dietz supports, does not enter into his "reasoning." His book is designed to lull its readers into a false belief that Wall Street can be trusted to avert a Third World War and the annihilation of civilization.

—Ruth Benson

Our Program:

1. Defend labor's standard of living!

A sliding scale of wages—an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living! Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging! Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers' control!

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

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

3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strikebreaking!

No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!

No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!

4. Build an independent labor party!

Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes!

No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

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

7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!

End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!

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

Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!

Against capitalist conscription!

Abolish the officer caste system!

Full democratic rights in the armed forces!

Trade union wages for the armed forces!

Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!

10. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!

For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!

Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

British Labor Party Faces Crisis At Home

Opposition to the imperialist policy of the British Government has created a political crisis of the most serious dimensions within the parliamentary Labor Party. An amendment to the King's address to Parliament condemning Foreign Secretary Bevin's foreign policy was signed by 58 "Left Wing" Labor Members of Parliament, including four Ministry secretaries, and presented for debate in the House of Commons on Nov. 18.

The amendment called on the Government to "review and recast its conduct of international affairs" and to "provide a democratic and constructive socialist alternative to an otherwise inevitable conflict between American capitalism and Soviet Communism."

Although the critical amendment was defeated by a 353 to 0 vote, the large number of Labor abstentions—estimated at about 120, or one third of the Labor MPs—revealed the serious proportions of the revolt within the Labor Party.

The insurgent Laborites also introduced an amendment opposing peacetime conscription. It was defeated by a vote of 320 to 53, but again with many abstentions.

Churchill's Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and other leading Conservatives demonstratively joined Prime Minister Attlee in voting down the amendment. Bevin's policy received the "almost solid support by the Opposition members present," according to the Nov. 19 N. Y. Times, which declared that "the total vote for the Government in both foreign policy and conscription is regarded as disappointing small."

If the amendment on foreign policy had carried, the Government would have been compelled to resign. Its introduction was a public challenge to the Attlee Government.

Disciplinary action against the rebellious Labor MPs is unlikely. Without question, the amendment on foreign policy has the widest support in the working class. Expulsion of such a large section of the most active and well-known "left" MPs would have dangerous consequences for the Labor Party's right wing.

These developments show the deep unrest that is stirring the British working class. Labor MPs closest to the ranks and most sensitive to their pressure were forced to put up a token struggle against the Attlee-Bevin Government's Churchillian foreign policy. In effect, the amendment demanded that the Labor Government withdraw from its bloc with American imperialism which is driving toward war with the Soviet Union.

Billions For Battleships Or Homes For Workers?

The diplomats try to soothe the public by speeches on the need for disarmament and reductions in armament. But the brass hats are driving ahead to create the biggest military machine in the country's peacetime history.

This was shown last week when in a move that received little publicity the Navy heads asked the Budget Bureau in Washington for a record-breaking pe

Strength Of American Trotskyism Shown At SWP's 12th Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

Since our last convention, he reported, we have learned of the death of hundreds of Trotskyists in Europe during the war at the hands of the Nazis. In Greece and the other Balkan lands, he added, the Stalinists have followed up this murderous work of the Nazis, killing additional scores and hundreds of the fighters for world socialism.

In memory of these martyrs to our cause, the convention stood in silence for one minute.

E. R. Frank, Editor of *Fourth International*, the theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism, then gave a report on the international situation. He demonstrated that capitalism on a world scale has no possible perspective but continued decline. The present armaments race will end in a Third World War, a war waged with atomic weapons that will destroy all the conquests of civilization and possibly mankind itself.

But there is every reason for revolutionary optimism, Frank declared. He pointed to the victory of the Soviet Union over German capitalism as a mighty demonstration of the power inherent in nationalized and planned economy—a power that displayed itself despite everything the Stalinist regime did to shackle it.

Comrade Frank called attention to recent great events to support the revolutionary optimism of the Trotskyists. He recalled the revolt of the Italian workers upon the fall of Mussolini's regime, and the revolutionary wave that swept over Europe in 1945. He showed that the German workers manifested a similar desire to do away with Hitler's regime and it was the frightful havoc of war and the presence of Allied troops that prevented them from going forward in Germany. He pointed to the great colonial rebellions that have lifted tens of millions of people to their feet in Indonesia, Indo-China, India and other colonial areas. All these stormy developments on a world scale, he declared, show that capitalism cannot become stabilized, and that mankind faces long revolutionary period ahead.

A minority position, which envisages the indefinite postponement of socialism, was presented by Felix Morrow. The world working class and mankind as a whole, he maintained, had been hurled back, placing on the order of the day not the socialist revolution but the



JAMES P. CANNON

struggle for democratic rights and national liberation.

This viewpoint was overwhelmingly rejected by the Convention which adopted the international resolution by a vote of 113 to 3.

Comrade Cannon reported on the perspectives of the socialist revolution in the United States. The question he considered was: How realistic are the prospects of a socialist revolution in America in the coming period?

On the economic side, Cannon recalled the course of events since the First World War. The fabulous prosperity enjoyed by Wall Street in the Twenties led to the most catastrophic of depressions. American capitalism never recovered from this depression. Only by plunging the country into the Second World War was Wall Street able to stave off new and ever more precipitous declines.

PROSPECTS IN U. S.

But by entering the war, American capitalism simply paved the way for a still worse depression. The real fundamental prospects, he said, are for an economic crisis far more acute than that of the 1930's. Even the capitalist economists, he pointed out, believe that a new depression will start anywhere from next spring to two years from now.

What about the working class? Will it prove capable of ending capitalism and building socialism?

Comrade Cannon answered, "Yes." He traced the development of the working class since World War I. The capitalist class succeeded after that war in

CONVENTION GREETINGS TO TROTSKYISTS THROUGHOUT WORLD

As the American party of socialist revolution in the stronghold of world capitalist reaction, we hail your heroic struggles and salute the memory of the countless Trotskyist martyrs who have fallen in the fight.

The workers and the oppressed of the world face their greatest enemy in the power-drunk Wall Street bandits who are bent on dominating the entire earth.

As part of our unrelenting opposition to the imperialist designs and atomic war plans of Washington, the Twelfth National Convention of the SWP calls on the American workers to demand the immediate withdrawal of all American troops from foreign soil.

The greatest contribution the SWP can make to the struggle for world socialism is to organize and lead the mighty American working class in accomplishing the socialist revolution in the U. S.

All the work of this Twelfth National Convention, the largest in the history of American Trotskyism, has been directed to this end.

In the indomitable revolutionary spirit of our great leader Leon Trotsky, we go forward with the greatest optimism.

Shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary vanguard in Europe, Latin America, Asia, Africa and Australia, we are marching towards the decisive battles for the socialist liberation of mankind.

breaking the backbone of the trade unions.

But in the present postwar period, the workers are organized in the trade unions 15,000,000 strong. The basic industries are unionized. Wall Street will not be able to crush this giant the way it smashed the strike struggles in the early Twenties.

The veterans of this war came back union-conscious. Far from acting as scabs and strikebreakers, they are among the most militant on the picket lines.

The Negroes have made giant strides in class-consciousness since the First World War. At that time many of them were imported from the South and used as strikebreakers. Now they have become educated in unionism and stand in the forefront of its struggles.

The economic crisis of the Thirties led to the creation of the CIO and the strengthening of the AFL. In the short space of ten years the unorganized basic industries became the most powerful section of the trade union movement. This remarkable change foreshadows what will happen on the political field when the next economic crisis occurs. In a brief period labor can become the dominant political force in America.

The confidence of the capital

ists in their system has broken down, Comrade Cannon pointed out. From 1922 to 1929 they talked about "endless prosperity" about every worker becoming a capitalist. They said Henry Ford had given an effective answer to Karl Marx's prophecies about the inevitability of capitalist crises.

Many faint-hearted or half-blind intellectuals were taken in by this propaganda. Only the small body of American Marxists saw the real course of events, and correctly predicted the coming crash.

Today it is difficult to find any professional capitalist spokesman who is not filled with fear and foreboding over the coming economic debacle.

The Socialist Workers Party has every right to the greatest revolutionary optimism, declared Comrade Cannon.

Reporting for the minority, Felix Morrow counterposed to this revolutionary perspective, the prospect of a long-term stabilization of American capitalism. Following a brief phase of "price adjustment," he said, there would come an extended period of prosperity and only then could one "realistically" talk of an economic crisis. As in the International report, Morrow was hypnotized by the seemingly irresistible power of capitalism, and was profoundly pessimistic concerning the possibilities and prospects of the revolutionary socialist movement.

The Convention adopted the standpoint on the perspectives of the American Revolution presented by Comrade Cannon by the same overwhelming vote as on the International resolution.

These perspectives of the American Revolution, worked out in these forms for the consideration of the Convention, together with a transcript of Comrade Cannon's report, are scheduled for early publication as a pamphlet.

TASKS OF SWP

The report on the immediate political prospects and the tasks facing the Socialist Workers Party was given by M. Stein. The primary task, he pointed out, was the rapid transformation of the SWP into a mass party of action. In this connection, he outlined a whole series of problems for discussion by the delegates. Among the most crucial, he said, is the present rabid red-baiting campaign waged against the labor movement by Wall Street and its agents.

He told how the Socialist Workers Party is fighting the red-baiters with all its strength and energy. In a number of trade union bodies, he reported, members of the Socialist Workers Party have succeeded in blocking the efforts of the red-baiters to split labor. The Communist (Stalinist) Party, by way of contrast, he pointed out, has either retreated in the face of the onslaught or has added its own variety of red-baiting—slanderous attacks on the "Trotzkists."

Stein reported the great gains made by the Socialist Workers Party in the recent election campaign. Despite being thrown off the ballot in both New York and

Ohio, our party forged ahead, winning members by the score, as well as hundreds of sympathizers, and putting our name on the political map as the most dynamic party in the labor movement. Full returns on the vote were not yet in for Minnesota, New Jersey and Washington; but first reports are most encouraging. In California where arbitrary, anti-democratic election laws virtually exclude small parties from the ballot, a write-in campaign brought excellent results. A great future lies ahead for us in the field of election activity, said Stein.

Now we must go over our experiences, see where we missed

one.

One of the forces helping to steel our ranks for the great task before us is the heroic example and indomitable spirit of our great teacher. We are confident of the victory of the World Party of the Socialist Revolution.

ists to its banner. There are more trade unionists on the new Committee than any previous one.

A proposal of the Workers Party for "unity" was rejected with only 3 in favor. The Workers Party is a group, petty-bourgeois in ideology and composition, which split from the Socialist Workers Party in 1940. Although vigorously attacked by Leon Trotsky before his death, they have since maintained the pretense of being Trotskyists too. The Convention characterized their offer of "unity" as nothing but a shabby maneuver designed to split away a few members of the Socialist Workers Party.

No matter what the ups and downs in the class struggle in the immediate future, declared Comrade Stein, the general instability of the capitalist system inevitably impels the workers on the road to struggle. Fear of depression, fear of another war, fear of fascism continually prevent the working class from settling down to any sort of stable or routine existence. Capitalism itself forces them to organize and to take part in politics. This is the guarantee of our success.

RECRUITMENT

In the two years since its last convention, the SWP's rate of recruitment has steadily risen. It has not only more than doubled in size but its composition has steadily improved. The influx of trade unionists, of Negroes, of housewives and youth has transformed the organization and its activities.

Now we have the realistic possibility, continued Stein, of extending our activities on a much wider basis than formerly. We are on the road to transforming the American Trotskyist movement into the mass party of the working class.

The report on trade union

work was given by Farrell Dobbs, editor of *The Militant*. The facts and figures he presented show that the Socialist Workers Party has not only achieved the goal set six years ago of becoming proletarian in composition, but is forging rapidly ahead, recruiting the cream of the militants in the trade union movement.

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REPORTS FROM THE CONVENTION

Reports from the trade union

fractions in auto, steel, rubber, railways and maritime highlighted one of the most instructive sessions of the convention. The report on railroads was especially significant. Given by a veteran trade unionist it revealed the great progress the program of the SWP is making in this field.

Farrell Dobbs also reported on the organization work of the Socialist Workers Party. He made a detailed report of its recruitment drives, circulation of the press, and finances.

BALTIMORE—For information

write Box 415, Baltimore 3, Md. Monthly forums.

BAYONNE—SWP headquarters, 62 W. 23rd St. Open house 2nd and 4th Saturdays.

BOSTON—Office at 30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays from noon until 5 p.m.; Wednesdays and Fridays, 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

Sunday Forum—3 p.m.

BUFFALO—Open every afternoon except Sunday. Military Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone MADison 3960.

Open house and current events discussion every Saturday, 8:30 p.m. Admission free.

CHICAGO—Visit SWP 777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 4767. Library, bookstore.

Sat. night, open house.

CLEVELAND—Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall 1446 E. 82nd St. of Wade Park Ave.

CONNECTICUT—Write to the Militant, P.O. Box 841, New Haven.

DETROIT—Open house every Saturday, 8 p.m. at 6108 Linwood. Office open daily 12 to 5. Phone Tyler 7-6267.

Sunday forums—3 p.m.

FLINT—Visit SWP and Militant headquarters, 215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3, Mich.

Open Monday through Friday, 5 p.m. to 9 p.m.

LOS ANGELES—Visit Militant

THE MILITANT ARMY

'Militant' Election Issue Well Received In L.A.



We can add that Comrade Snyder's name appears well at the top of that scoreboard.

Fred Martin, Milwaukee Militant Manager, comments about the work being done by other branches: "From the latest Militant Army columns the Boston Branch is certainly proving to be a live-wire branch. Such results as that should shame us other branches into more activity. From their results it seems that the mobilization basis is the best method of really arousing the morale and enthusiasm of the comrades . . .

"The scoreboard idea of the Flint Branch is proving valuable. We are planning to do that for our branch, but have not done so as yet. I keep a record of who got subs and the comrades are given credit at our branch meetings for their work."

E. Brent forwarded six subs obtained by the comrades of Detroit during the week.

Flo Hamish of Chicago Branch sent six subs explaining: "These people are located in an area which we intend to canvass thoroughly in our projected neighborhood work." You note they are primarily renewals."

Five subs have been received from Cleveland Branch during the last few days.

Other branches heard from with subs are: Akron—2 subs, San Pedro—6 subs, Toledo—3 subs, New York—8 subs.

Militant boosters are finding many ways to help build circulation.

Belle Montague of Cambridge writes: "Thank you very much for printing the article about Howard Street, Cambridge, and the adventures of Mr. Paris. It has aroused the interest of the entire neighborhood in *The Militant*. After all, people are funny in a way and they always respond to news of the home town! I was wondering if you could spare some extra copies of the Oct. 26 number, which contains the above-mentioned article."

"Of course, I will pay for them if you would be willing to wait a week or two for payment. I have heard about the financial situation, of course, but this is an exception as it is a chance, I believe, to interest many new people and perhaps obtain quite a few subscriptions."

NEWARK

Charlie Chaplin Film Festival, Social and Dance

SATURDAY, NO. 30
Socialist Workers Party
423 Springfield Ave. 8:30 p.m.
Refreshments

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers

At these Local Activities of

The Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—Visit The SWP, 2nd floor, 8 So. Howard St., Akron 8. Open daily except Sunday, 2 to 4 p.m.

Saturdays: Current Events Discussion, 8 p.m. followed by social. Admission free.

SAN PEDRO, Militant Publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

MILWAUKEE—Visit the Milwaukee SWP branch, 424 E. Wells St., evenings from 7:30.

MINNEAPOLIS—Visit the Labor Book Store, 10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily.

SUNDAY FORUMS, 3:30 p.m.

FRIDAY NIGHT FORUM, 8:30 p.m.

NEW YORK—CITY HQ., 116 University Place. GR 5-8149

Tues., 9 p.m. and Sat., 4:30, rehearsal of Militant chorus.

HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St. Rm. 23. MO. 2-1866.

Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.

BRONX: 1034 Prospect Ave. 1st floor. phone TI 2-0101.

Reading room open Mon. to Fri., 7 to 10 p.m.

Current events discussion, Fridays at 8.

BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St. Phone ST. 3-7433.

Mon. Class—Program of SWP, 7 p.m.

CHELSEA: 130 W. 23 St. phone CH 2-9434.

OAKLAND, Cal.—Meetings Wednesdays, Odd Fellows Temple, 410-11th St. for information write to P.O. Box 1351.

Thirty Years In The Steel Mill

By Theodore Kovalesky

There's so much work, and it's such tough work when you change a tuyere, that before the job is done, everybody is sore. Jimmy will be swearing at Slim or vice versa or the boss will yell at somebody, and he'll yell back at the boss. And they'll be yelling above the constant, nerve-wracking roar of the blast, as tens of thousands of cubic feet of air are howling out of the "snort" into the atmosphere every minute.

So you can imagine how the boys felt yesterday when old Steve, the keeper, was holding up things, fussing with the ratchet wrench. Jimmy looked at me across the blowpipe as we held it, sweating and breathing heavily, next to the furnace wall. "That old man's crazy working up here in this heat," he grunted.

I just muttered, "Sure," and held on to the bar.

"He ought to be home in bed . . . or in the labor gang," Jimmy snorted.

But I was too hot and tired for conversation; so Jimmy didn't bother to say any more until we got the job finished.

In the meantime, old Steve went on working in a plodding, methodical manner, bent and stooped and old.

I don't know just how old Steve is. They say he's about sixty-five, but he looks eighty. His body is bent quite out of shape, and his face is twisted and lined. Even his hands are crooked, the knuckles badly swollen and the fingers twisted. Sometimes, up on the furnace floor, they will put a slab of steel over a cinder runner for a bridge. After a few months, when molten slag has flowed under it four or five times every

day, the slab becomes warped and twisted crazily out of shape. Steve is like that. Only, it has taken the heat about thirty years to warp him.

He hasn't much to say. When his buddy relieves him at the end of the shift, he'll jabber at him for a while, complaining that he has to do all the work while the other takes it easy, and then he'll clump down the stairs toward the locker room.

When Jimmy complained that Steve should be in the labor gang, I don't suppose he really meant it. He was just hot and crabby, the way we all get when we have to change a tuyere. No, it would be hard for Steve to go into the gang now. Instead of the furnace heat, he'd have to suffer the stabbing winter wind in the furnace yard. The rheumatism that his years of furnace work have given him (like all old furnace men) would be twice as agonizing if he had to wade for eight hours through the winter snows.

No, as long as he can stand it, the old man will just have to keep working and plodding and sweating up on the furnaces that he has known with a terrible intimacy for so many years. Like an old mule, he must drag his burden until death takes it from his shoulders.

Oh, of course, there's always the pension plan of the company, but in spite of the fact that almost everything but an uncanny knowledge of blast furnaces has been burned out of his old brain during the past thirty years, Steve is still smart enough to know that a man can't live on the ten or fifteen dollars a week the plant would pay him.

Every now and then you'll see a big ad in the papers that says there's a future for men in the steel plants of the nation. Well, I suppose that's true. But to understand that future, you have to see old, bent Steve plodding through the snow toward his furnace with his coffee bottle sticking out of the hip pocket of his ragged, burnt pants.

The Negro Struggle

Jim Crow And The UN

By William E. Bohannon

Last week the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution on the question of equality for racial and religious minorities. It was a short resolution, introduced by the Egyptian delegation, and its full text read as follows:

"The General Assembly of the United Nations declares that it is in the higher interests of humanity to put an immediate end to religious and so-called racial persecutions and discriminations, and calls on the Governments and responsible authorities to conform both to the letter and to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, and to take the most prompt and energetic steps to that end."

This resolution plainly does not take up much space. But it is not worth even the small piece of paper it is printed on. It is window-dressing; it will be used to save face for the various members of the United Nations; but it will never have the least effect in reducing or eliminating discrimination and persecution.

Because the fact is that it was adopted unanimously—that is, every delegation voted for it, including delegations from countries most guilty of Jim Crow and terror against minorities. Some of these delegates not only voted for the resolution with a straight face, but even had the gall to take the floor and say they wished the resolution was stronger.

Women Who Build For The Future

By Ruth Benson

Early this month I described the frivolous, parasitic wives of the UN diplomats, who gossip about nothing but fancy clothes, as they jaunt merrily around the world. Last week I saw a gathering of very different women—delegates and visitors to the 12th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party in Chicago.

The women at the SWP convention hadn't come to eye each other's finery or show off their own. They were serious participants in the workers' struggles. Some had spent decades in the revolutionary movement; some were mothers and housewives new to the ideas of socialism; some came from the factories; and some, still in their teens, were learning their first lessons in political struggle.

As we joined the meal-time crowds in cafeterias and restaurants in Chicago's busy loop, we talked about the Seattle women who were striking against the price of milk; about the Toledo women who had stormed the City Council to demand meat a few weeks ago; about the

On The Railroads

Political Sleight Of Hand

By Henry Adams

"Voters across the country rejected a majority of the candidates supported by President A. F. Whitney's Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen," wrote a commentator in the Minneapolis Star after the elections. Heavy election casualties among the so-called pro-labor bloc laid low 107 of the 188 House aspirants. 18 of the 23 Senatorial endorsees fell by the wayside. Whitney,

speaking in Miami from the BRT convention, attributed a big share of the defeat to "the attitude of President Truman in his attempt to make slaves out of a fine group of railroad workers last May."

Whitney speaks bitter truth in these words. But he conceals part of the truth—that it was the confused short-sighted policy of the railway labor bureaucracy which left railroad workers without a voice in this campaign.

Tied to the capitalist political machines, Whitney and his fellow-bureaucrats passed out endorsements right and left. In Minnesota, they switched from primary support of the Republican isolationist Shipstead to the Democratic-Farmer-Labor pro-United Nations Jorgenson. They threw in endorsements of Michigan's reactionary Vandenberg with so-called liberals like DeLacy of Washington. They even made endorsements at cross purposes with each other.

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10 PER CENT BOOST IN RENT IS THREATENED

N. J. CIO Asks Sliding Scale Of Benefits

NEWARK, N. J., Nov. 25—The principle of the sliding scale of wages and compensation received new support last week when spokesmen of the New Jersey State CIO issued a statement in connection with Sickness Compensation hearings being held at the State House.

Carl Holderman, president of the State CIO, proposed that "a cost-of-living escalator clause be embodied in the proposed sickness compensation law assuring beneficiaries of weekly benefits in conformance with living costs as they rise above the index figure for the average cost of living for the period 1935-39 . . . the benefits to be fixed as of Jan. 1 of each year in order to reflect the percentage of increase of living cost as it rises."

Recognizing that this is only a part of the broader problem of defense of living standards, Holderman further declared that the escalator clause should also be "applied to the whole range of social security legislation, straight unemployment compensation, old age benefits, survivors' benefits, etc."

IMPETUS

This significant extension of the sliding scale principle by an authoritative CIO body is expected to give further impetus to adoption of the principle of the sliding scale of wages at the forthcoming December CIO Convention.

This action of the CIO occurs shortly after the vigorous SWP election campaign which prominently featured the need for the sliding scale of wages. The SWP's State Program had specifically endorsed the CIO and AFL proposals for raising unemployment and workmen's compensation and establishing sickness compensation. The SWP program also emphasized the need for the sliding scale to be applied to these and other types of compensation.

Like many other pieces of paper containing noble sentiments, this new resolution was only made to be ignored or violated. What is it worth when the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States are flouted every day, in the year so far as the rights of minorities are concerned?

These resolutions and declarations by our oppressors are intended to convince us that we can get our rights without fighting for them. If we are fooled by them and sit back to wait for the ruling class to emancipate us, then we will forever remain the victims of discrimination and segregation. Only mass organization and struggle can secure and guarantee our rights.

Among the scores of left-wingers who have been expelled from the Communist (Stalinist) party in recent months are four rank-and-file maritime union leaders on the West Coast. In making

the expulsions public this month, The Maritime Worker, issued by the Waterfront Committee of the Communist Party of San Francisco, scurrilously attacks the four expelled unionists for "carrying on a red-baiting campaign of their own . . ."

"Of course," the cynical Stalinist author adds, "their red-baiting SOUNDS different than that used by the ship-owners . . . They say that the Communist Party isn't 'radical' enough for them. They say that the Party is 'too conservative' . . . they

say that we are 'reformist'."

The four unionists, who were

expelled more than two months ago for the "crime" of criticizing the pro-capitalist policies of the Stalinist leadership, are Ken Austin and Frank Stoute both members of the International Longshoremen's Union and Jim Kiernan and Luchel McDaniels both members of the Marine Cooks and Stewards.

Despite attempts of the Stalinist leadership to conceal the crisis which is shaking the Communist Party, evidence of it is coming out into the open. This is further proof of the scope of the purge sweeping through the ranks.

Although the Foster-Dennis leadership claims to be anti-capitalist, it is pushing a pro-capitalist program that differs only in words from the program pursued by Browder. Many rank-and-file Stalinists thought a return to the revolutionary policies of Lenin. But the Foster-Dennis leadership, while mouth-mouthing leftist phrases, has carried out in action a program of class collaboration no less brazenly than Browder did.

Now, as during Browder's time, criticism of the leadership's pro-capitalist line is met with expulsion. Sincere militants who oppose support of capitalist politicians and demand the adoption of a revolutionary program are smeared as agents of the bosses and stool-pigeons. Honest militants, seeking to correct the line of the Stalinist party, are expelled and branded "red-baiters" because they call attention to the reformist policies of the leadership.

Before his untimely death, Scotty was in the forefront of a struggle in the Chevrolet Local 659 UAW-CIO to bring about a Labor Party. He lived to see his ideas and the ideas of his Party on the fight for a Labor Party adopted by many rank-and-file workers and leaders of Chevrolet Local. Without a doubt Scotty Hunter made a great contribution to the development of

a Labor Party in the Flint area by his consistent activity in this direction.

In his last article, posthumously printed in The Searchlight, official organ of Chevrolet Local, he wrote:

"A Labor should immediately put into effect the machinery for a Labor Party now . . . Let's start a Labor Party in the 6th District now. I can think of no finer place to start this movement than in our own industrial Flint. The eyes of the nation will be on us. The press of the country will be against us, and the big fat industrial czars will spend millions of dollars in false propaganda against us. We will be combating Big Business all the way and the Democrats and Republicans must be shown that we mean business."

Though Scotty was in the Party for only one year, he was a loyal and devoted proponent of its program. He continually sought ways and means of translating its ideas in the language of the labor movement. As a District Committee man of Local 659 he militantly and aggressively defended the workers in Chevrolet and applied himself wholeheartedly to the task of building his Party and the power of its program.

It is men and women like George "Scotty" Hunter who will lead the American working class in the great battles that lie ahead. We mourn his death. Proudly we dip our banner in tribute to Comrade George Hunter.

CIO Convention In Session



Over 600 delegates, representing the CIO's six million members, shown in session at the Eighth Constitutional Convention of the CIO in Atlantic City last week. See story on Page 1.

Federated Picture

OPA Officials Wilting Before Demands Of Real Estate Barons

OPA officials in Washington last week disclosed they are considering approval of nation-wide rent increases of 10 per cent as a bribe to landlords who are demanding immediate rent-boots of 15 per cent and removal of all rent-controls by Spring. This 10 per cent hike will be only a first step. It will undoubtedly pave the way for further concessions to the real-estate sharks who are grabbing 40 per cent profit today than in pre-war years.

Unless quick mass action is taken, the rent hogs, abetted by the government, will steal billions of dollars from the pockets of the working people, who pay from one-sixth to one-fourth of their income for rent alone.

While landlord from coast to coast are spreading a movement to padlock empty apartments and bar the homeless from available rooms until the OPA yields, government spokesmen said they were "unconcerned" about the situation. OPA officials lightly dismissed it by saying that "only vacant apartments can be padlocked. Since there are few vacant apartments, there are few apartments to padlock."

FIRST STEPS First steps toward mass protest have begun in New York, where the New York City Consumer Council is organizing tenants block by block. The council is made up of 65 trade union, church, social welfare and other organizations. Its immediate proposal is a rally and picket line at the landlord-controlled Metropolitan Fair Rent Committee, 12 E. 41 St., which has demanded 15 per cent boosts in rent.

The Council has also announced that it is planning a large public meeting to be called jointly with the CIO, the CIO Political Action Committee, Independent Citizens Committee, and other mass organizations.

Flint SWP Branch Mourns George Hunter

By S. Dollinger

FLINT — George "Scotty" Hunter, revolutionary fighter for socialism, was fatally injured in a hunting accident on Nov. 17. This working class leader, only thirty-two years old, is mourned by his comrades in the Socialist Workers Party and his fellow-workers.

Scotty joined the Flint Branch of the SWP a few days after the GM strike began last year. He was a Chevrolet worker with twelve years' seniority and a World War II veteran. In less than a year his leadership qualities were recognized and he was elected to the Executive Committee of the Flint Branch, SWP. He helped construct and formulate its policies and actions in the labor movement.

Now, as during Browder's time, criticism of the leadership's pro-capitalist line is met with expulsion. Sincere militants who oppose support of capitalist politicians and demand the adoption of a revolutionary program are smeared as agents of the bosses and stool-pigeons. Honest militants, seeking to correct the line of the Stalinist party, are expelled and branded "red-baiters" because they call attention to the reformist policies of the leadership.

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Flint UAW Local 659 Publishes Articles Opposing Red-Baiting

(Special to The Militant)

FLINT, Mich., Nov. 25.—Early this month the Executive Board of Chevrolet Local 659, UAW-CIO, passed a motion condemning any form of red-baiting and instructed the union publicity committee to print editorials and articles in the Local's paper, The Searchlight, reflecting that position.

The first editorial, following this action explains the need for discussion of issues facing labor

"on their merits, and not on the basis of whether or not some proponents or opponents of a question are members of some racial, religious or political minority."

The editorial warns against minority-baiting on the ground that: "It is an old trick of the bosses to divide and conquer, and whoever uses such tactics is playing the bosses' game either consciously or unconsciously."

"We must maintain our unity, which is our strength. The Union

LOS ANGELES EUROPEAN RELIEF BAZAAR

Sat. evening, Dec. 7 and

Sun. afternoon, Dec. 8

Do your bargain shopping for Xmas and help the European anti-fascists.

316½ W. Pico Blvd.

Penn 4-City Bazaar Saturday Evening, Dec. 14

Militant Labor Forum

1303 W. Girard Avenue

Philadelphia

Entire proceeds for American Committee

for European Workers Relief.

Cooperating ACEWR chapters: Philadelphia, Reading, Pittsburgh, and Allentown-Bethlehem.</p