

Anti-Red Statement Backed By Stalinists

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VOL. X — No. 49

Crying Need Is Labor's Unity In Action Now!

An Editorial

Big Business is hurling an unprecedented propaganda barrage against the striking miners. Its vast press and radio artillery is pouring out lies and slander day and night.

There should be no underestimating the effect of this propaganda assault. It is having influence even upon sections of the working class.

This campaign, as almost every union leader and member realizes, isn't directed at the miners alone. Wall Street is trying to create a general atmosphere of anti-labor hostility for the further development of its drive against the American working class.

How can organized labor meet and answer this tremendous propaganda attack? Only by mobilizing its own forces for a full-scale counter-offensive—only by showing the same unity in action as the capitalists are displaying.

Labor must gather together its full resources, unite every worker in the ranks, and strike back with all its concentrated weight and power.

For this, it is necessary to establish effective machinery for joint action of all unions. The crying need is for a National Conference of Labor, composed of all unions, to formulate and carry out a unified fighting program.

But the top leaders of the CIO and AFL are too narrow-minded, too blinded by their own bureaucratic interests, to take this imperative step on their own initiative.

It is up to the union members in every locality to build a fire under the union leaders and to initiate a tremendous campaign against the government's attempted frame-up of John L. Lewis and its infamous strikebreaking in-junction.

Every union local, large and small, regardless of affiliation, must take a public stand in defense of the miners. Protests by the thousands and tens of thousands must pour into Washington. The local press and radio must be forced to give these actions fullest publicity so that labor's support of the miners becomes known and felt in every community.

In every city and county, the local unions must form their own United Labor Conferences, mobilize actions on behalf of the miners and demand that the union leaders call a similar conference on a nation-wide scale.

The danger to organized labor was never more acute. Act now! For Labor Unity in Action! For a Fighting Counter-Offensive Against Wall Street!

Public Hearing Held In Move To Evict Detroit SWP Local

By Kay O'Brien

DETROIT, Dec. 1—A public hearing on the attempt to oust the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party from its headquarters at 6108 Linwood Avenue, was held before the Detroit City Plan Commission last Wednesday. The case of the Socialist Workers Party was ably presented by Walter M. Nelson, prominent Detroit attorney, and representative of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. Nelson warned the Commission that the right of a political party to occupy headquarters of its own choosing was a political right which the Commission had no power to deny. "Nor is there any other body in the land," added Mr. Nelson, "which is empowered to deny this basic political right."

From statements, both written and oral, which were submitted to the Commission at a previous hearing by the Linwood and McGraw Civic Association, Inc., it had been clearly established that hatred toward the intermingling of colored and white workers on a plane of complete social equality, motivated not only the ouster move but also the arson attack made on the headquarters on July 25 of this year.

STORM OF PROTEST
This reactionary drive, however, has brought such a storm of protest from the entire Detroit labor movement and has evoked such strongly worded statements supporting the Socialist Workers Party, that the spokesman for the property owners was forced to back down and apologize to the Commission for having openly raised the issue. Nevertheless, it was perfectly apparent from his further statements as well as from

Workers Of The World. Unite!

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ATTACK ON MINERS SPURS DRIVE AGAINST ALL LABOR

CIO Packing Union Set For Strike Action

(Special to *The Militant*)

CHICAGO, Dec. 1 — The CIO United Packinghouse Workers Union has cleared the way for strike action against the Big Four meat packing corporations. Its 27-man strike strategy committee meeting here on Nov. 27 called the packers' terms "inadequate" and directed International officials of the union to call a strike "when and if such action is necessary."

Demands of the union include a cost-of-living bonus, which is a variant of the escalator clause long advocated by *The Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party, to provide a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.

Other demands are a minimum wage of \$1 per hour, a guaranteed annual wage, and a health and welfare fund.

Arrogant counter-proposals by the packing profiters had called for freezing wages at present levels for a year with no re-opening provisions, and eliminating all forms of union security. A reported new offer by Swift and Co., the terms of which have not been made public, is said to be far out of line with the union's just demands.

The union represents 200,000 workers in packing centers throughout the country. The critical need of these workers was emphasized at the CIO convention by Herbert March, UPWA leader, who declared that "the people who produce the 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."

Beginning next month all the wraps are coming off and food will be employed exclusively as a political weapon by the U. S. Government. That is the meaning of Washington's decision to abolish UNRRA and its blunt refusal to set up an international or UN-controlled relief fund.

Hunger and starvation are still widespread in Europe and Asia, and 1947 will see little improvement over 1946. But from here on the U. S. government is discarding its "humanitarian" cloak and will give food only to nations which are ready to grant the political concessions demanded by Washington. After Jan. 1 there will be no U. S. relief for nations who do not toe Wall Street's political line.

Fiorello LaGuardia, retiring director of UNRRA, whose work in Europe expires Dec. 31, has proposed the establishment of a \$400,000,000 fund to meet world emergency needs during next year. But the State Department refuses to even consider contributing to such a fund. Anyone who wants food should make direct arrangements with Washington, says the State Department.

The reason for this new procedure is plain to everyone who has followed the recent crack-

In

After each new labor bureau figure is released."

Connors explained that the clause would work out like this: If, for example, the bureau showed a rise of 2 per cent in living costs the first month following signing of the contract, the union would expect a 2 per cent bonus for the next month. However, if the index should fall 3 per cent, for instance, in the second month, no bonus would be paid; but the members would not be penalized for the extra 1 per cent in the rise in the Bureau of Labor Statistics consumers' index above the bureau's index (for the month in which the contract was signed). Adjustments will be made one week

in their new contracts they will demand a flat hourly increase of at least 30 cents in industrial firms and 34 cents in job shops to bring the base rate of pay back in line with the cost of living.

The idea of the sliding scale of wages "was born at a regular weekly meeting of the business agents," said Connors. "We talked about it and learned that it had been tried with success elsewhere. So we kept exploring methods for getting it into concrete form when our own contracts would expire."

The announcement of the machinists that they will accept figures issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows they have not yet fully realized how this bureau doctors statistics. But in fighting for the principle of the sliding scale of wages the machinists have joined the front ranks in labor's battle to safeguard the workers' standards of living.

Ganging Up On The Miners



"Obey Or Starve" Is Washington's Policy On Food Relief For 1947

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down on Czechoslovakia and the withdrawal of its credits and loans because some Czech officials had dared to voice criticism of Washington's economic policies. The nations in the U. S.-British political orbit will get some handouts, if they do what they are told. The nations trying to follow an independent political line and those in the Soviet Union's sphere of influence—who will need relief most urgently in 1947—will go hungry until they are ready to come to terms.

The junking of UNRRA and the refusal to establish an international relief agency in its place cannot be explained in terms of an improved food situation next year. On the contrary, some countries will suffer more drastically than this year from shortages of the most basic necessities. An article in *World Report* of Dec. 3 has the following figures in annual world production by millions of tons:

Fewar 1946 1947
(Est.)

Cereals (Wheat, rye, and rice) 410 340 380

Fats and Oils 22 17 18

Sugar 35 27 30

Thus it is certain that famine and famine-created disease will claim millions of additional victims in Europe and Asia next year. But Washington says that those who dissent will starve.

These political rats who thus incite the use of force and violence against the labor movement hide under a cloak of anonymity. The meeting where they voiced their pent-up hatred of labor was "guarded from public record." "Participants," said the press, "refused later to identify themselves . . . publicly."

Their reasons for hiding their names like poison-pen letter writers is obvious. If their names were made public in association with their real views it would give fresh impetus to the movement for a Labor Party. And that is something these Wall Street political agents fear above everything else.

(Continued on Page 2)

Call For "Greatest" Demonstration

Evidence of the growing demands for militant action by all organized labor to defend the AFL mine workers, is the appeal made by the 5,000-member local of the CIO American Federation of Hosiery Workers in Philadelphia.

The local wired CIO President Philip Murray and AFL President William Green on Nov. 27 to "alert the entire labor movement for the greatest demonstration in history in the event that John Lewis is sacrificed on the altar of Big Business and a reactionary administration."

Detroit Auto Workers Back Fighting Miners

By E. Kennedy

DETROIT, Nov. 29—A tremendous wave of solidarity with the striking AFL coal miners is sweeping the CIO auto workers here. The main topic of conversation in

cal 212 Council meeting was sounded by a leading Stalinist who launched a tirade against John L. Lewis while ostensibly speaking in support of the resolution. He was sharply answered by several delegates and the resolution adopted unanimously.

At the Dodge Local 3 membership meeting, only a couple of members spoke against the resolution and for support of the government under all circumstances. Detroit auto workers quickly answered them. Even a Stalinist gave unqualified support to the resolution.

Resentment is growing in the UAW ranks because the national CIO leaders are giving only lip-service support to the miners. It states: "We stand ready to aid them financially, and with strike action if they should find it necessary to call upon us to do so."

The resolution further calls upon the International Union "to take a similar stand and to take the lead in organizing a National Labor Conference of AFL, CIO and independent unions to prepare any joint action which may become necessary to defeat this attack on labor."

The only sour note in the Lo-

Two Weaknesses In The CIO Wage Policy

The major attention of the recent CIO convention centered on wages. A resolution unanimously endorsed by the convention stated that prices are "inevitably" going to continue upward and it demanded that industry grant "substantial wage increases."

Few workers would dispute the correctness of the CIO's wage policy—as far as it goes. But, unfortunately, it does not go far enough. It leaves unanswered the two decisive questions most workers have in mind when they think of the wage problem today.

1. How can labor defend its standard of living if flat wage increases are quickly wiped out by the continuously rising cost

of living, as has happened to the wage gains won last spring?

2. What program of action shall the unions push in order to compel the big monopoly corporations to grant wage increases, particularly in the face of the combined resistance of Big Business and its government to any wage boosts?

The failure of the CIO leaders to answer the first question—how to effectively meet the attack of rising prices—was especially deplorable. They had the answer presented to them on a silver platter by O. A. Knight, president of the Oil Workers International Union.

He described in detail to the CIO convention the contract won by his union from the big Sinclair Refining Co. That con-

tract not only provides for a substantial increase in the basic hourly wage scales—but it has what Knight called a "unique" clause that protects this higher scale from being slashed through the indirect wage-cut of rising prices.

This is the escalator clause, embodying the principle of the sliding scale of wages that The Militant and Socialist Workers Party have advocated since 1938.

The Oil Workers' escalator clause provides an automatic increase in wage rates for every three point rise in the government's cost-of-living index, with the contract reopened every three months. If prices go down, on the other hand, the basic wage cannot be reduced.

No CIO leader, except Joseph

Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, spoke against the oil workers' escalator demand. And Curran's only argument was a brazen misrepresentation of the Sinclair workers' escalator clause.

What honest argument could the CIO leaders give against this sound proposal? Their method of opposing it was simply to ignore it.

Their reason for ignoring the program of the sliding scale of wages did not lie in its merits. Their opposition in reality reflected their reluctance to undertake a militant struggle—the only way in which the sliding scale of wages, like all other major wage demands, can be won.

At the root of the inadequacy of the wage program adopted by

the CIO leaders, is their fear of a real fight with the American plutocracy. That is why even their plea for "substantial wage increases" remained vague.

In the great strike struggles of last winter and spring the CIO unions were battling on isolated sectors, from industry to industry, while the whole capitalist class and all its agencies were mobilized in united opposition to any single union's demands. That is why the strikes were so prolonged and costly. That is why the gains were limited.

Will the big corporations yield any more readily today to simple persuasion and across-the-table collective bargaining? We need only look at the ferocity and all-out scale of the attack now being hurled at the miners

to get the answer.

But CIO President Philip Murray, for instance, offered as his only program to win "substantial wage increases" his piteous plea to the corporate pirates to "Come on; be decent; be gentlemen." You might as well ask a wolf to say grace before devouring a lamb.

The CIO leaders emphasized their reluctance to prepare for militant united action by completely ignoring United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther's suggestion for building a "ten to twelve million dollar war chest"—Reuther himself didn't seriously push the idea.

If the CIO leaders meant business about winning higher wages, they would have put forward a real nation-wide program

of action.

First of all, they would have advanced the conception of a unified, strategic plan for the entire CIO. They would have proposed a program of joint action to bring to bear on the corporations the entire weight of the estimated 6,000,000 CIO workers.

Secondly, they would have proposed preparations for a showdown fight. The entire CIO membership would be alerted and put on a fighting footing. A special national CIO wage conference, with broad representation from the local unions, would be held to map out preparations and strategy. A clear-cut, unambiguous program of demands would be drafted and presented to the corporations.

Fortunately, the CIO convention didn't say the last word on the coming wage fight. That will be said by the CIO rank and file.

Only a few months ago, the top CIO leaders were doing everything in their power to forestall any wage demands. They were yelling for a roll-back of prices, for a "good" OPA, for "buyers' strikes." But the pressure of the ranks has forced them to come out for reopening wage contracts and to concentrate on wage demands.

That pressure must now be doubled and tripled to force the CIO leaders to advance the progressive principle of the escalator clause and to prepare the CIO for a united, militant fight for higher wages.

CIO Anti-Red Statement Supported By Stalinists

Stalinists co-authorship and support of the anti-communist Declaration of Policy adopted by the recent CIO convention, has evidently aroused much rank and file criticism inside the Communist Party.

To quiet this criticism, the Stalinist leaders feel it necessary to wage a campaign of "enlightenment" in the CP press.

The aim is to convince the disturbed CP members that the Stalinist union leaders were not cowardly capitulators to the red-baiters and anti-Soviet elements when they helped draft and unanimously endorsed the declaration that "we resent and reject efforts of the Communist Party . . . to interfere in the affairs of the CIO." On the contrary, the Stalinist press brazenly claims that this was nothing less than "a great and statesmanlike move."

This "statesmanship" consisted of a behind-the-scenes deal in which the leading Stalinists in the CIO agreed to place the CIO formally on record as opposed to the activities of Communist Party members inside the CIO. In return for this and a pledge to support CIO President Philip Murray's conservative policies, the Stalinists received Murray's verbal assurance that the CIO would not engage in a witch-hunt against them.

JUMP OFF ROOF

Just the day before the CIO convention began, the Nov. 17 issue of *The Worker*, CP Sunday paper, published a lengthy article on the convention issues by George Morris. He attacked the "naive view that the CIO can ward off red-baiting attacks by itself joining the howl against 'reds.' Knuckling down by the CIO would only whet the reactionary appetite . . . Rejection of red-baiting would serve flat notice upon labor's enemies that red-baiting will not succeed as an anti-union weapon." Editorialy, the same paper warned that "red-baiting has the same logic as jumping off a roof. Once you start it, there is no telling where it will end."

The Stalinists did not fight red-baiting at the convention. They themselves "jumped off the roof" with the professional red-baiters and agreed to "serve flat notice upon labor's enemies" that the CIO "resents and rejects" communism—under which label the reactionaries place all militant labor activities and opinions.

Two days after he wrote that any concession to the red-baiters would only whet their appetites, George Morris was "explaining" in the Nov. 19 *Daily Worker* that the anti-communist Declaration of Policy "was the long sought-for answer of the CIO" to the reactionary demands for a red-purge. The Stalinist party "especially," he says, has "always favored a statement tell-

ing the world the CIO isn't Communist." He concludes that the declaration "leaves the basis for continued unity, freedom of thought and political affiliation."

STATESMANSHIP

Evidently this didn't satisfy many CP members. We find the Nov. 24 *Worker* going so far as to claim "the Communist (Stalinist) delegates made a great and statesmanlike move in their determination not to let any outside issue split the convention's unity."

RESULTS EVIDENT

The *Daily Worker*, in its licksplittle praise of Murray, says nothing about these bureaucratic rules introduced by Murray. But how much the yellow deal made by the Stalinists has helped to "silence" the red-baiters and fend off a witch-hunt is quickly becoming evident.

The December issue of *Steel Labor*, official organ of Murray's own United Steel Workers, reports the Declaration of Policy and revised local council rules under the heading: "Red Activity in Local Councils Barred by CIO." Connecticut *Vanguard*, organ of the Connecticut State CIO, now blazons on its masthead: "We resent and reject communism."

The essence of the Stalinist "statesmanship" is to try to conceal the fact that the Declaration of Policy strengthened the hand of the reactionary red-baiters inside the CIO, gave them a formal sanction for continuing and extending their efforts to whip up a witch-hunt against militants and members of working-class political parties.

REVISE RULES

It is true Murray didn't dare to launch an open purge and was compelled by the sentiments of the CIO ranks to voice his opposition to any repressive measures. But the CIO Execu-

Court Battles Labor



John L. Lewis, AFL United Mine Workers president, entering the Washington courthouse to stand trial for "contempt of court." All organized labor has denounced the government injunction and supports the fighting miners.

Federated Pictures

Powerful United Labor Pickets Back Allis-Chalmers Strikers

(Special to *The Militant*)

MILWAUKEE, Nov. 29—A militant mass picket line of an estimated 10,000 workers from scores of plants in this area on Nov. 25 halted the attempts of the Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co. to run scabs into its plants here in an attempt to break the seven-month-old strike.

Estimates of the peak number of pickets ranged between 9,000 and 10,000, according to Al Leggett, CIO United Auto Workers International official.

During the day-long mass picketing demonstration, Leggett stated, some 20,000 workers had been in the line at one time or another. At the height of the picketing, there were about 10,000 at all gates. Near the main gate 7 alone, there were about 3,000.

The large number of pickets turned out in response to an appeal by CIO President Philip

Murray for solid CIO support of striking UAW Local 248.

The Seaman body division of Nash-Kelvinator was shut down between noon and 4 p.m. on the same day, while workers of the day shift of 3,100 went ten miles across the city to join the picket line. Placards and banners of at least five unions other than Local 248 could be seen among the marchers, although no tabulation was made of the total number of locals demonstrating their labor solidarity.

Yesterday executives of the 80 CIO unions in the Milwaukee area met to plan further mass picketing. Similar discussions were scheduled for a County CIO Council meeting tomorrow.

Meanwhile police provocations continued against the striking workers, and the Allis-Chalmers company made every attempt to augment its strikebreaking army of goons and imported scabs.

The principal demands of the workers include a 25 cent an hour increase in wages, a union shop and union control of grievance procedure.

R. J. Thomas, UAW-CIO vice-president and director of the 215-day-old strike, today charged that the Allis-Chalmers company had joined with the National Metal Trades Association and the Hearst press in an all-out anti-labor offensive.

In a letter sent to locals repre-

senting all of the 850,000 members of the UAW, Thomas stated: "The full power and strength of American monopoly has been thrown into action against the members of the UAW-CIO Local 248 to break the strike, to smash the local and to pave the way for a full-scale offensive against the whole CIO."

The case was put off for nine months because of the great anger throughout the city over the police brutality. The prosecution undoubtedly hoped this sentiment would die down. The decision to try the 16 now was timed to come after the election and coincides with the general capitalist offensive against militant unionism and the savage legal attack on the miners.

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NEW HAVEN
"Why Labor Should Support the Miners"
Speaker: F. NELSON
New Haven Labor School
855 Grand Avenue
8:15 P.M. Admission Free
Refreshments

Attack On Miners Spurs Drive Against All Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

ers' standard of living, deplete labor's fighting powers and quickly regiment the working class behind American imperialism's program of war against the Soviet Union.

But this arrogant and power-drunk American plutocracy met an unexpected obstacle. American labor fought back. With the CIO in the vanguard, the labor movement unleashed the greatest strike wave this country has ever known.

Big Business did not succeed in its schemes to beat labor to its knees with one quick blow. The mighty American labor movement emerged from the strikes with wage gains, more unified, confident and stronger than ever.

But none of the basic issues had been resolved. Neither side had scored a clear-cut victory. The first stage of the struggle ended in a temporary stalemate, with all the conflicting issues remaining and growing more acute.

Not for an instant did American capitalism abandon its plot against labor. It worked feverishly to prepare a new and more powerful offensive. It laid the basis for a broader onslaught more determined and savage, to be waged on every front and with every weapon at its command.

What the American ruling class is indicating by its unprecedented attack on the miners is its determination to come to grips with the American working class. It wants to beat down labor once and for all and to clear the path for Wall Street's all-consuming ambition, the destruction of the Soviet Union on its way to unchallenged world domination.

The judicial farce being played in Washington in the court of Federal Judge T. Alan Goldsborough, a small-time political hanger-on of the Democratic administration, plainly reflects the class nature of Washington's assault on the miners.

MAKES IT UP

This judicial wheel-horse, who wouldn't dare to spit out of the window without a nod from higher up, makes up the law as he goes along; tears up federal statutes as he sees fit, issues injunctions; orders contempt trials; denounces the mine strike in the midst of the "impartial" proceedings—all on the direction of the Wall Street administration.

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Federal Judge T. Alan Goldsborough, a small-time political hanger-on of the Democratic administration, plainly reflects the class nature of Washington's assault on the miners.

MAKES IT UP

This strikebreaking injunction, ordering Lewis to announce to the UMW contract with the government is still in effect, is now being used for a further threat to swindle the miners out of millions of dollars in future pay through "fines" to be collected by the mine owners.

The Federal Coal Mines Ad-

ministration thus announced on Nov. 30 that "yes, we have al-

ready authorized numerous in-

dividual coal companies to assess

fines against their striking min-

ers" for "absenteeism."

How determined the capital-

ists are to crush the miners! How unrestrained they are in the methods they are prepared to use! How united and single-minded they are in their aims! They see in this struggle a chance to break the deadlock between the organized workers and the capitalist class. That is the secret of their all-out mobilization.

This clearly points out the real nature of the struggle. It is not simply a question—vital as it is—of defending the miners. All of organized labor must recognize that what is at stake are the rights and life of the labor movement itself. That is why all the unions must see the need to go further than a mere defense of the miners.

This is a key point in a gigantic social struggle. That struggle must be settled in the interests of the entire working class. It can be resolved only if organized labor, with the same single-mindedness and determination as the capitalists, launches its own tremendous counter-offensive.

The whole titanic power of America's 15,000,000 union men and women must be mobilized and hurled into united action for the conquest of social demands that go far beyond the issue of limited hourly wage increases. American labor must fight for permanent security.

And the Judge goes further to say that "regardless of whether the Norris-LaGuardia Act applies"—that is, even if the injunction was legal—still the miners' refusal to abide by an illegal injunction is a crime, punishable by any sentence the Judge sees fit to mete out. And, once again, mine strike spells "anarchy."

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To safeguard its very life, labor must now embark on a new course. It must open up a nation-wide united militant struggle, waged remorselessly on every front, political as well as economic. The present deadlock must be broken—but broken in the interests of the vast majority, the working class, and not in the interests of the tiny minority of ruling capitalist exploiters.

The present critical test of class strength finds, on the very day after the national elections, not one single voice in Congress to speak out for the miners.

Those miserable capitalist "liberals" that labor voted to place in Congress are all lined up with the plotters against labor, demanding labor's blood.

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Entire proceeds for American Committee for European Workers Relief.

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

Penn 4-City Bazaar

Saturday Evening, Dec. 14

Militant Labor Forum

1503 W. Girard Ave. Philadelphia

The Situation In Poland

Resolution adopted unanimously by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, October 1946

The terrorist and pogromist activity of the Polish underground gangs and the divers manifestations demonstrating a serious current of opposition among the masses against Stalinist policy, pose before the proletariat the task of drawing the lines between itself and both the Bierut regime and the political representatives of the reactionary classes.

The party of Mikolajczyk, the "legal" opposition party, imposed on the Stalinist government by the pressure of Anglo-American imperialism for the purpose of destroying one after another all the reforms introduced since 1944, has tried to channel into this counter-revolutionary path the discontent of the masses, provoked by the criminal policy of Stalinism.

The Fourth International is opposed to pillage, deportation, and the transport of industrial equipment to Russia. It fights for the immediate withdrawal of the occupation troops by propagating fraternization between the Polish masses and the Soviet troops. It demands complete liberty for the labor movement, so as to put a stop to the increasing demoralization of the proletariat, the result of its being in the grip of the Stalinist organizations. It fights simultaneously, for the consolidation and broadening of the agrarian reform and the nationalizations, bringing to the forefront the need for workers' control and workers' management. It is through combining this struggle with the most energetic prosecution of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie, the rich peasants, and the clergy, that the Polish workers can build their revolutionary organization and demonstrate to the masses that Stalinism is

really the antithesis of communism.

This is why the Fourth International warns the toiling masses against any confusion between their independent revolutionary actions and the counter-revolutionary anti-Soviet activity of the legal and illegal organizations in the service of the bourgeoisie and imperialists. This sort of organization, such as the party of Mikolajczyk, has nothing in common with the interests of the oppressed masses, but struggles to restore a regime which means for them unspeakable misery.

The Fourth International therefore, is in the forefront of the fight against the NSZ, the Armia Krajowa, the terrorist bands, and all reactionary forces. It will try to show the proletariat that the autonomous revolutionary struggle of the masses against reaction wins much more decisive successes, at infinitely less costs, than the Stalinist police action against it. Here is, at the same time, the only way to deprive Stalinism of every possibility of canalizing to its own profit the anti-fascist feelings of the masses.

The International Executive Committee states that any form of support of the Mikolajczyk camp — as for example the "critical support" put forward by the editorial in the September number of the American *Shachtmanite New International* — means objective support to the drive of imperialism, whereof this camp constitutes the principal fortress in Poland. It denounces this support of a counter-revolutionary bourgeois organization as a break with the Marxist class criterion. Such a position would, in Poland or elsewhere, completely block the road to the building of an internationalist communist party in the country.

Wages, Prices and Profits

The Fake "Spiral Of Wages And Prices"

By Warren Creel

In times of inflation we commonly speak of "cheaper money." Sometimes this idea is expressed by a more precise statement, such as that the dollar has gone down to 65 cents in purchasing power, compared with some earlier time.

These popular terms, such as "65-cent-dollars," and now even "50-cent dollars" are scientifically correct, as far as they go. It is correct to look at inflation as a process of cheapening money. Inflation has been seen many times in the world's history, and the end result of it is that all prices, including wages, finally go up to new levels to match the new cheapened value of money.

Thus, if money is cheapened to the level of 50 cent dollars, the result, after a slow and painful period of adjustment, is that all prices and wages would be doubled. It would take twice as many of the "50-cent dollars" for a purchase as it took before the inflation. Also it would take twice as many "50-cent dollars" to pay a day's wages.

Really, neither wages nor prices would have changed in relation to each other. In an inflation the value of money changes in relation to both wages and prices. As Marx said: "In such a case nothing would have been changed, either in the productive powers of labor, or in supply and demand, or in values. Nothing would have been changed except the money names of those values. To say that in such a case the workman ought not to insist upon a proportionate rise in wages, is to say that he must be content with the wages instead of with things. All past history proves that whenever such a depreciation of money occurs, the capitalists are on the alert to seize this opportunity of defrauding the workman." (Value, Price & Profit.)

The American capitalists have invented a new and fraudulent theory called "the spiral of wages and prices" for the present inflation. They say the cure for inflation is low wages, because wage increases force price increases, which force wage increases, which force more price increases, and so on. That's their "spiral," regardless of the value of money. Even proposed anti-labor legislation is excused by this new "spiral theory," yet it has no standing even in capitalist economics.

It's so far wrong that serious capitalist economists see danger in it. For instance, Prof. F. A. Fetter of Princeton writes, on the editorial page of the *Saturday Evening Post* of July 13, 1946:

"We hear much talk of the wage-price spiral, as if increasing wages and prices were the mutual cause of each other, but the real cause is outside the spiral, it is the excessive supply of money. No wage settlement, however costly, can long endure under these conditions . . . industrial warfare is inevitable."

Further, "The real cause of inflation is well known alike to students of theory and to practical financiers. Without a shadow of a doubt, that cause is the enormous increase of money and of bank demand deposits (checkings accounts) . . . This increase began soon after the gold content of the dollar was reduced in 1933-34, and has been enhanced by constant sales of Government bonds to meet continual budget deficits throughout eight years of profound (sic) peace and four years of global war. The banks now own a large part of the national debt."

He then lists a number of signs which show that the government in various direct and indirect ways has been printing money and pumping it into the economic system during this period. Among them: Money of all kinds outstanding was less than six billion dollars in 1933 and had increased to 29 billion dollars in 1945. Bank deposits in checking accounts were 15 billion dollars in 1933 and had grown to 106 billion dollars in 1945, and so on. He adds: "The salient fact is that in all these respects the increase has been from five to eight fold. Nothing comparable has ever occurred before in our financial history. Nearly all prices, and wages too, have been rising, but more tardily, as is normal in such cases, and are still rising toward a peak not yet attained. That is the impending catastrophe..."

"This is the central problem, not merely the temporary scarcity of some consumer's goods whose prices are out of line with the rest of the price system. To deal with the real cause, anything and everything must be done that will reduce the excessive amount of money in circulation and will check the inflationary use of bank deposits . . . Unless Washington does something effective to stop inflation, we are headed for the greatest financial explosion in our history."

The capitalists, who are merely talking spiral and using the inflation to defraud the workers, are fiddling while Rome burns, and it has Prof. Fetter worried. He sees that it's time to face the facts. Yet his own proposed remedies, such as "increasing bank reserve requirements," don't go to the heart of the trouble either.

As we shall see, the extra price now going on our groceries is the delayed result of the medicine which sick capitalism has been taking through the past two decades.

Trotskyists Defend Marxist Line In Debate With Greek Stalinists

The second debate between the Trotskyists and Stalinists in Athens, Greece, took place on Nov. 3 in the Aliki theater. The subject was "Which Way for Greece—People's Democracy or Socialist Soviet Democracy?"

The Trotskyist speaker opened the discussion. "If the objective possibility of a 'people's democracy' really existed in Greece, he said; 'if the productive forces can really develop without the overthrow of capitalism; if a peaceful and gradual transition to socialism is also possible — then all the tactical and strategic appraisals of Marx and Lenin must be rejected. The issue in this discussion is the correctness of the scientific foundation of revolutionary Marxism."

Reviewing the history of the

Belgian Workers To Protest Price Rise

BRUSSELS, Belgium, Nov. 21 — The Belgian General Labor Federation is organizing a general strike throughout the whole country for Dec. 5, as a protest against the recent increases in retail prices. Monster demonstrations, to expose the disparity between wages and prices, are to be held on that date.

The audience gave 239 votes for the Trotskyist position, 453

British Trotskyist Faces Trial For Distributions To POW's

(Special to *The Militant*)

LONDON, Nov. 18 — What may prove to be an important test case and exposure of the British Labor Government's "re-education" of German prisoners of war is the coming

trial of William Cleminson, a member of the Sheffield Branch of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British section of the Fourth International.

Cleminson has been summoned to appear before the local court on the charge of distributing written material to German POWs.

A campaign calling for sup-

port and funds for a Defense Committee is being made by the RCP. Its circular to all trade unions and workers' organizations states:

"All workers who value the ideas of internationalism and working class solidarity, and who wish to assist the German so-

14 British Soldiers Face Court-Martial

LONDON, Nov. 21 — For demonstrating and protesting against the recent slowing down of demobilization, 14 British soldiers are to face court-martial. It is believed that these troops are from those stationed in Tel-el-Kebir, Port Said, Suez and Appasi, where strikes and protest meetings by the soldiers recently took place.

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cialists in their struggle against Nazi elements in the POW camps and in Germany, will protest against this prosecution. British socialists and anti-fascists must demand the right of fraternization between British workers and German POWs and the complete right of the latter to contact the British working class movement . . .

"We appeal to all workers interested in democracy and free speech to support us in this campaign and demand that the prisoners of war have the same access to the workers' press as the capitalist press is allowed unhampered circulation in the POW camps.

"Demand that the prosecution be withdrawn and the Regulation (preventing fraternization) be lifted."

"Demand that POWs be allowed to mix with the workers and attend Labor and anti-fascist meetings."

for the Stalinist, and 32 blank. In the previous debate the Trotskyists got 189 votes and the Stalinists 542.

Labor Struggle, organ of the Trotskyists, published articles supplementing answers to the questions asked by the workers during the two debates. To show the correctness of the Trotskyist program, Labor Struggle compared predictions made by the two parties during 'underground days.'

An example is the following quotation taken from the Stalinist theoretical organ, *Communist Review*, of March 1943:

"Now in this period when the war is shifting in favor of the Allies, that is Liberty, all our people rejoice and are heartened. But in this climax of high hopes and enthusiasm come the vultures, the paid Trotskyists, croaking from the roof:

"LIBERATION"

"A wave of hope has swept the people because of the victories of English and American imperialism in Africa. But the English and American imperialists, if they come to Greece will not liberate us. In cooperation with the Greek capitalists they will continue the job of German and Italian imperialism. They will rebuild the old Greek bourgeois state for the purpose of continuing our slavery."

In the light of such a quotation, asks Labor Struggle, who followed correct policy and who betrayed the masses? And for telling such truths as quoted above from the official Stalinist organ, the Stalinists murdered more than 100 Trotskyists during the civil war!

Among those executed by the government was Vilos, an Arch-ec-Marxist. He was condemned to death on the charge that a rusty revolver had been found near his room.

Greek Terror Mounts As King Jails Thousands

Latest issues of *Labor Struggle* describe the continuing terror in Greece under the Anglo-American protected monarchy. *Labor Struggle* is the weekly newspaper of the Internationalist Communist Party (Fourth International).

In Salonika, reports this Trotskyist organ, the average number of arrests each day is 200. Through the streets of the city, in addition, endless lines of prisoners arrested in the villages march on their way to the penal islands.

Already far more prisoners are held than in the days of the dread Metaxas dictatorship when some 60,000 were under arrest.

Death sentences are passed out on wholesale scale.

In Peleponnesia and Sterea armed monarchist bands range unfettered. On Oct. 23, for instance, monarchists raided a village, tortured inhabitants and murdered 11 people.

In the last few days, similar bands killed seven people in Calamata, six in Sterea, four in Volos, one in Atalanti, one in Agrinio and a large number in Epirus.

Among those executed by the government was Vilos, an Arch-ec-Marxist. He was condemned to death on the charge that a rusty revolver had been found near his room.

By Larissa Reed

Conditions in the coal industry in the Soviet Union, one of the pivotal factors in the achievement of the fourth Five-Year-Plan, are verging on the catastrophic. Coal production has been steadily dwindling.

producers' cooperatives. Before the war, the distributive cooperatives did an annual business of about 25 billion rubles, distributing through 30,000 societies which maintained 200,000 stores, shops and stalls in the USSR. About 75,000,000 people belonged to these cooperative societies.

Coal production of the Don Basin in the Voroshilovgrad area was only 48 per cent of the 1940 production. For many months none of the mines in this area have fulfilled their plans. The Don Basin "owes" 122,000 tons of coal for the first 29 days of November. According to a Moscow dispatch to the N. Y. Times, coal loading operations must now be placed on a 24-hour basis.

At the same time, operating expenses have risen to staggering heights. For example, in the Kuznets coal region, the cost of producing a ton of coal during the first quarter of this year was 103 per cent greater than in 1940.

PURGE DEEPENS

Deep slashes in real wages, as a result of continued scarcities and higher prices and worsening living conditions, are driving the mine workers into abandoning the mines. To meet this situation the Kremlin has drafted thousands of peasants into the mines and reinforced police repressions in the mining areas through the injections of several thousand Communist Party and Komsomol youth members into the mines. Stalin's only recourse is to extend and deepen the purge in the coal fields, under the familiar charges of graft, embezzlement, mismanagement, swollen administrative staffs, etc.

Thus on Nov. 19 the Moscow *Bolshevik* complained: "The number of miners is getting smaller every month, yet at the same time the staff of workers in the supply departments on the state farms that supply the mines is . . . highly swollen and includes many men who could be used successfully underground." The widespread purge in the collective farms continues unabated. In recent weeks some 5,500 members of the Cossack Don River collective farm system were transferred from desks to plows. About 1,500 persons were strucken from the collective farm personnel rolls in the same area.

All these reported developments, give only a partial picture of the drastic measures taken by the Stalin regime. But they suffice to disclose the sharpening crisis in the USSR. Far from alleviating the antagonism between the rule of the bureaucracy and the needs of the Soviet masses and the country's economic life, it is clear that the war has resulted in a monstrous aggravation of this contradiction.

The struggle against the budding capitalist elements in the villages is growing sharper. Among the measures introduced was the confiscation of some 47,000 privately owned and cultivated strips of "garden" land in the Rostov district alone.

The purge is sweeping into the vast system of consumers' and cultural life.

Soviet Collectives Holding Back Grain

By John G. Wright

The Soviet Union is now in the throes of the gravest agricultural crisis since the famine that convulsed the country during the First Five Year Plan. For the first time since the introduction of collective farming there has been a nation-wide breakdown of grain deliveries by the peasants to the state. This information was made public in a leading editorial in *Pravda* on Nov. 23, and cables to this country two days later by Drew Middleton, Moscow correspondent of the N. Y. Times.

The *Pravda* editorial is ostensibly a report on the fulfillment of grain deliveries but it omits the most important grain producing areas in the USSR, among them the RSFSR, the largest republic, and the Ukraine, once the granary of the USSR. Byelorussia, Moldavia and Kazakhstan are likewise omitted. The text of the editorial covers these omissions as follows:

"There are many districts and whole regions that are lagging far in delivering the grain to the state."

EXTEND RATIONING

In many areas the peasants are permitting the grain to rot in the fields. According to *Pravda*, "many regions of the eastern and southeastern Urals and elsewhere" have left large quantities of grain unthreshed.

Peasants in other areas refuse to make deliveries although *Pravda* maintains, they possess "stocks of grain sufficient for fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan of supplies, gathering seed stocks and satisfying the needs of the collective farms."

Bread rationing, which the Kremlin has repeatedly promised

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"The transition from a bourgeois society to a socialist society presupposes the activity of living men who are the makers of their own history . . . Their own actions — their initiative, audacity, devotion, and likewise their stupidity and cowardice — are necessary links in the chain of historical development."

—Leon Trotsky

Who Is To Blame?

The postwar world is here. Not the rose-hued world of enduring peace and plenty promised by Wall Street's high-paid publicity experts during the war. But the brutal postwar world of general instability, turmoil and strife.

Instead of security, the workers face the combined assault of the capitalists and their government — an assault rolling with all the ruthlessness of a flame-throwing tank. And the workers are forced to defend themselves with their strike weapon.

Who is to blame?

The capitalists blame the workers, naturally. The capitalist class, to read its propaganda, is always right. This tiny clique of plutocrats, having fallen heir to the world's greatest fortunes, thinks about nothing night and day except how to improve the lot of the poverty-stricken masses in its power!

If the postwar world looks tougher than advertised during the war, say the capitalists, it's the workers who are to blame—the workers with their unholy greed for enough wages to keep up the standard of living of their families.

If the workers would only tighten their belts, forget their inconsiderate ideas about a decent living, and permit the colossally-wealthy bankers and stockholders and monopolists to continue pushing prices into the stratosphere, then all the ills of the United States would vanish. That is, all the ills worth worrying about.

That's the capitalist fairy tale. But what is the truth?

The truth is that as capitalism grows older, shakier and more decrepit, it staggers blindly from one crisis to the next, from a fearsome depression to a worse one.

Production capacity of the industrial system has far out-stripped its profit capacity. The capitalists consequently limit production, raise prices, drive down wages, try to crush competition, go to war—anything to bring up profits.

The workers and farmers thus face increasing insecurity, grinding poverty and death in imperialist war. Only socialism, which would end the profit limitation now shackling the industrial system, points the way out for them.

Today capitalism can no longer be stabilized on a level that will assure even minimum security to the masses. The present difficulties faced by the workers—bitter struggle just to keep wages in line with prices! — are just a sample of what the grim future holds in store if capitalism continues to rule.

No, it's not the workers who are to blame for the ills afflicting America. It's the general instability of the decaying capitalist system.

A Statistical Trap

The mounting pressure for a sliding scale of wages has been recognized by Wall Street. An editorial in the November 26 Journal of Commerce grudgingly admits that the wage escalator clause in the contract Sinclair Oil signed with the CIO Oil Workers Union "sets a pattern."

As reported in last week's *Militant*, the oil workers won an 18 cents hourly increase from Sinclair. To protect this new wage level, the contract provides for a premium payment whenever the cost of living goes up three months. Adjustments are made every three months. In the event living costs decline, premiums can be lowered. But wages, according to the contract, cannot be cut below the new level just won. This level constitutes the minimum wage.

The Journal says that "By means of this provision, both employer and employee are protected during a period when living costs are subject to conflicting influences and may fluctuate over a wide range."

The editorial thus reveals how closely Big Business studies the trends in the labor movement. The giant corporations recognize that sentiment for a sliding scale of wages is rapidly mounting and that it can become one of the unions' main demands in the near future.

The editors of the *Journal* undoubtedly be-

lieve Wall Street may be forced to concede this demand. But this does not mean that Wall Street's bag of tricks is exhausted. Far from it.

The corporations hope to undermine the effect of the sliding scale by a very cunning device—doctored statistics.

The big outfits would prefer to use figures padded by statisticians in their pay. But this is obviously too crude. No union would easily be caught in such a trap.

Here is where Wall Street's political agents in Washington come in. They can camouflage doctored statistics with the mask of government "impartiality."

Wall Street's politicians, for instance, control the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. If the unions agree to base wage adjustments on figures issued by this Bureau, then cost of living premium payments can be kept down by lowering the figures in favor of the profiteers. It's as simple as loaded dice!

How real this danger is can be judged from the already notorious way in which the Bureau of Labor Statistics juggles figures. Both the AFL and the CIO have shown that the government's index on the rise in the cost of living is false.

The answer to this stratagem is clear. In fighting for the sliding scale of wages, the unions must insist on statistics compiled by their own services such as the AFL and CIO Research Bureaus.

The CIO Oil Workers broke ground for the entire labor movement in winning a wage escalator clause. But the full protective benefit of this clause is yet to be won. The contract accepts the price index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics as the basis for cost-of-living wage adjustments. It is this feature of the contract that is played up by the *Journal*.

The Oil Workers, however, will quickly discover in practice how the doctored statistics of this Government Bureau help the company. In the next round of the battle they must insist on using statistics verified by the CIO.

Stalinist Definition

The Foster-Dennis regime has given a curious answer to the criticisms of the rank and file over class-collaborationist policies followed by the leadership. The Stalinist bureaucrats call the critics "red-baiters" and have expelled them by the score.

The *Maritime Worker*, issued by the Waterfront Committee of the Communist Party of San Francisco, for instance, says that four expelled trade unionists carried on "a red-baiting campaign of their own . . . Of course, 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'."

Red-baiting, as every class-conscious worker knows, is a weapon of the capitalist class. Confronted with union demands, company agents attempt to divert attention from the real issues. They claim the employees have no legitimate grievances but have simply been "stirred up" by "reds." The red-baiters aim to persecute the militants, split the union and destroy its fighting power.

But political criticism is not "red-baiting," no matter how the term is stretched by a cynical bureaucrat. Even a revolutionary socialist party can be criticized from the left. The criticism can be false, but that doesn't make the critic a "red-baiter."

In this case, however, the Stalinist party is not revolutionary and its critics are right. They have begun to see that Stalinism is rotten to the core. One of the evidences of this rottenness is the fact it pins the label "red-baiter" on honest political opponents.

If it be "red-baiting" to make such mild observations about the Foster-Dennis regime as did the four expelled trade unionists in San Francisco, then it is also "red-baiting" to call a strikebreaker a scab.

Mine Owners' Lies

How the capitalist press slants the news against the labor movement is graphically shown by its handling of mine owners' propaganda in the coal strike.

Harry G. Kennedy, a paid lackey of the Kanawha Coal Operators Association, issued a statement to the press that "mine owners had been advised by their attorneys" that an extension of credit to strikers by company stores "might be construed as a violation of the Smith-Connally Act" and of "the order issued in Washington before the strike by Federal Judge T. Alan Goldsborough."

Cooked up in the inner sanctum of the Southern coal operators, this propaganda smells so rotten that any objective editor would have brushed it into the waste basket without a second glance. What has the extension of credit got to do with the Smith-Connally Act? Don't the miners have to pay for whatever they buy? And at prices notorious among even the most ruthless profit-gougers? Did the Federal Judge issue an injunction stopping the credit system for the duration of the strike?

This coal operators' propaganda is obviously nothing but a threat to starve the miners into submission. Its legal pretense about conforming to the Smith-Connally Act cannot stand the slightest examination.

Yet the capitalist press gave this threat a big play. The November 27 N. Y. Times ran it on the front page. The Times even tried to perfume the stench of this coal operators' swill!

In the great sweep of the coal strike this incident may not seem important. But it shows once again to what great lengths the capitalist press will go to present in a favorable light the worst company lies against the workers.

THE MILITANT



"But doctor, you can't cure my case of nerves if you're going to wear a lamp like that!"

Workers' BOOKSHELF

WHAT HAPPENED IN HIS-TORY

by Gordon Childe. Penguin Books, reprinted 1946. 275 pp., 25 cents.

This book, written by a well known English archeologist, refutes capitalist pretensions that man has always been what he is today, that human nature always remains the same, and that the present capitalist organization of the economic and social system is fixed and eternal.

Professor Childe goes back to the first evidences of man's social life some "500,000, perhaps 250,000 years ago." From this Palaeolithic stage of Savagery he surveys the evolution of mankind up to the builders of the Roman Empire some 1,500 years ago. Even this recorded history is only a fraction of the life-span of the human race till now.

Man, he states, emerged as a "rare animal" and a "food-gatherer," that lived like any other beast of prey. This vast period of Savagery lasted during nearly 98 per cent of humanity's sojourn on this planet. Even to this day, it is still practiced by a few backward and isolated societies.

Childe points out that what distinguished man from other animal species was his development of hand and brain. When man developed the first, simplest tool, he entered upon the long upward climb toward civilization. His first tool was probably a broken branch or a chipped stone.

Today these tools include the gigantic and fearsome power of atomic energy.

Man himself has changed as

he changed the material conditions of his existence and fought for mastery over nature. When he evolved language, the author points out, he "pooled" experience. No longer did man have to start from the first beginnings; instead, he went forward on the shoulders of preceding generations.

About 10,000 years ago man made one of his major conquests over nature, through the cultivation of plants and breeding of domestic animals. This new "food-producing" economy marked man's emergence into the higher stage of Barbarism.

It was only some 5,000 years ago in the Nile Valley when man initiated the production of a surplus of foodstuffs. This supported a new urban population of specialized craftsmen and merchants through which man emerged into the dawn of civilization.

With civilization came property and the formation of classes—the rulers and the ruled, the rich and the poor. With class society came class struggle. In this book the author shows the first evidences of the strike as a weapon of the toilers.

The author concludes his book before the emergence of capitalism—the most recent economic and political social system which has brought this class struggle to its highest point. But the reader cannot fail to draw the most striking conclusion from this book: that capitalism, far from being fixed and final, is only a brief and transitory episode in the history of man's struggle toward full emancipa-

tion and freedom.

This book is not only valuable in information. It is an aid in breaking the hypnosis of capitalist propaganda, whose main aim is to keep the workers in ignorance and prevent them from making their next great historic step forward, into socialism.

—Larissa Reed

THE HEART IS A LONELY HUNTER

by Carson McCullers. Penguin Books, 1946. 304 pp., 25 cents.

Carson McCullers mercilessly exposes the narrowness and brutality of a Southern town as the characters in her novel unfold on the lonely, thwarted lives.

Each person pours out his thoughts to John Singer — the deaf-mute who seems to understand them all. The most memorable are Dr. Copeland, a Negro physician who tries to teach Marxism to his people; and Jake Blount, a wanderer looking for a radical solution to the degradation he sees everywhere.

Dr. Copeland's own children accept their fate as Negroes in a bigoted community, but their surrender does not save them. Willie, arrested and thrown into solitary confinement, emerges from prison as a cripple. The story draws to a close with a brawl unleashing the anti-Negro hysteria of the Southern whites.

Naturally, these yellow "socialists" found it a little difficult to spill their venom against the Soviet Union during the wartime honeymoon between Stalin and U. S. British imperialism. Now they are trying to make up for lost time.

The Social-Democrats are no less reactionary than the Stalinists. They merely serve different masters.

The Social-Democrats are servants of their own "democratic" capitalists. The Stalinists are primarily servants of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Both cliques seek to dominate the labor movement in order to betray it.

On the real issues before labor, especially the fight for higher wages, the Social-Democrats and the Stalinists at the CIO convention revealed not a hair's-breadth of difference in policy. Both supported Murray's policy of conservatism in wage demands and opposition to a program of militant action.

The slimy role of the "Social-Democrats" is to act as a "socialist" bait to lure the workers into the camp of "their" own capitalists in the war American imperialism is planning to wage against the Soviet Union.

—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!

Agents Of Imperialism In The Labor Movement

Wall Street imperialism's red-baiting drive against militant labor and its propaganda-preparations for war against the Soviet

Class Struggle, Not Anti-Labor Legislation, Plays Decisive Role

By Farrell Dobbs

Extract from a report on "Trade Union Perspectives" delivered to the Twelfth Convention of the Socialist Workers Party in Chicago, Nov. 15 to 18:

The victory of the Republican Party will result in the sharpening of the anti-labor offensive. To be sure, the official union leaders will try to make deals with the Republicans. The Republicans in their turn will seek to court labor in preparation for the Presidential elections of 1948. But all these are subsidiary considerations in view of the fact that Big Business is howling for blood.

All the cards are stacked against labor in Congress. This is by no means the result of the

Republican victory in the elections. The latter has merely accentuated the anti-labor character of the federal government.

We need only look at the record of the last Congress which, under the sway of the savagely anti-labor Southern Democrats, had before it seven major bills directed against the organized labor movement.

MAJOR BILLS

The 79th Congress enacted two of these anti-labor bills into law, namely: the Hobbs bill (ostensibly aimed at racketeering but in reality a blow against the teamsters union) and the Lea bill (aimed against the musicians' union).

The five other arch-reactionary bills called for compulsory arbitration, the use of injunc-

tions, the imposition of criminal penalties in labor struggles, etc. All these bills now lie in committees like so many time bombs which will be set off whenever the moment is deemed propitious.

Among the moves that may be expected in the next period is a big attack on the Wagner Act. The "company security" clauses which the top union officials have conceded to the corporations in union contracts, particularly the contract with Ford, provide a convenient excuse for stripping the Wagner Act of its provisions favorable to labor.

The Republican leaders have given public notice of a new series of anti-labor measures. Among these are proposals to ban so-called "outlaw" strikes; to prohibit secondary picketing; to



Farrell Dobbs

proscribe strikes which Wall Street claims are "against the public interest" and so on. In state referendums held during the last elections the closed shop was outlawed in Arizona, South Dakota and Nebraska. In Massachusetts the unions are now required to make public financial reports.

DECISIVE ROLE

Clearly, we are witnessing a large-scale utilization of the legal machinery of the capitalist state against the working class, with the most vicious moves still in the offing. In this connection it is important to bear in mind that the passage of laws is one thing and their enforcement is something else again. Here the mass moods, the mass sentiments and the strength of the mass organizations play the decisive role.

Lawyers and judges believe —

and they would like the workers to believe — that the law is the be-all and the end-all in the regulation of human conduct. But in truth the law is only a refracted image of the condition of civilization and the status of the class struggle within that civilization. Laws can be enforced in the long run only to the extent that they enjoy mass support from the population. Moreover, in the movement of human forces, law is often converted into its opposite. Let me illustrate by choosing two examples from two extremes.

Every civilized community has a law against murder, and it is backed up by the biblical injunction "Thou shalt not kill." This law has almost universal support. Few are the individuals who will not respond sympathetically to a cry for help in the dark of the night.

However, all the rules concerning murder change when the imperialists wage war. The same policeman who would arrest you for murder will in wartime haul you off to jail for refusing to join the murder machine. The preachers, the priests and the rabbis plausibly roll their eyes, clasp their hands over their fat little bellies and say to the workers, "Go and kill the barbarians." Thus the laws against murder become converted into their opposite.

SAME PROCESS

What happened in the case of the Smith-Connally Act illustrates this same process from the other extreme. The intent of the Smith-Connally law was to

abolish strikes in wartime. But the resistance of the workers and their marvelous ingenuity in struggle turned this strike-breaking legislation into a vehicle for the calling of strikes in wartime.

At the same time, we have here a striking demonstration of the fact that the class struggle cannot be legislated out of existence. The workers cannot be subdued by the mere passage of laws. The ruling class must try to bring into play far more potent measures and weapons. That is why the capitalists in Europe had to resort to fascism which flouted the very laws previously promulgated by the capitalists themselves.

The anti-labor offensive of Big Business is a reality; but no less real is the resistance of the workers and their determination to fight for their rights. The American workers won't take it lying down. In the days ahead the union struggles that have already unfolded in this country on a scale previously unknown in capitalist history will rise to increasingly higher political levels.

This will provide great impetus for our work within the PAC. It will invest with great power our agitation for the independent labor party. It will produce the most favorable conditions for the consolidation of the left wing in the trade union movement.

The same conditions which give rise to the unfolding offensive of Big Business must act to intensify the resistance of the workers and clear the path for their entry as an independent force on the political arena.

THE MILITANT ARMY

SWP Delegates Set Goals For 'Militant' Subs



Delegates to the 12th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party held recently in Chicago reached a unanimous decision to step up circulation of *The Militant*.

The branches had previously set themselves monthly subscription goals. Through this system the branches are stabilizing subscription work. The result is an average of 947 subs a month, received as follows:

June	1,226
July	973
August	882
September	857
October	799

4,737

To step up the monthly average number of subs, branches will organize regular Sunday mobilizations. Individual comrades will try to make sure that every worker they talk with becomes a regular reader of *The Militant*.

If the determination and enthusiasm shown by the comrades at the Convention is carried over to subscription work, there is no doubt that we will not only step up circulation but will be able to double the average monthly number of subs to *The Militant*.

We believe that Paul Carroll of Toledo expressed the feeling of every branch in the country: "I learned a great deal from the Convention and *Militant* Panel Discussion; and I am confident that we will be able to do our share in Toledo toward increasing *Militant* circulation."

Connecticut State Branch has already made plans to increase subs from that area. "Enclosed are 13 subs," writes James White.

"We intend to start a subscription drive on Dec. 1 and would like to challenge Pittsburgh, if they are contemplating a similar drive. Such a contest, we believe,

subs. One of the renewals is for a subscriber who writes for a local Negro newspaper. He said, "I use *The Militant* to give me ideas for writing my own columns. *The Militant* tells the truth about the housing shortage and explains why so many Negroes live in slum areas."

S. Brooks of Boston tells us indirectly that he is leaving his post as Literature Agent: "Enclosed are 13 subs, 8 of which are renewals. I am readying my files for my successor and it is a considerable task, as you can imagine."

Comrade Brooks has done a fine job as Literature Agent.

Belle Rosen reports plans made by the Chicago Branch that will bring in more subscriptions: "We are planning to send comrades down into the mine fields of Southern Indiana and Southern Illinois this week to cover the strike, sell *The Militant*, get subscriptions, and if possible hold a meeting in the area. This once

step will have contacts and subscribers in the area."

Libby Jones of Buffalo sent in a rush sub, asking that we "get the first copy of *The Militant* off as soon as possible. This subscriber is a UAW organizer and the Bell boys here are very anxious to have him read the paper."

Militant subscribers quickly become *Militant* boosters and do everything they can to help increase circulation.

Edward Evans of New Castle, Pa., renewed his sub for a year and sent a \$1 contribution to help *The Militant*.

Again we hear from our old friend, Sam Taylor of Madison, Wis.—this time with four new subs for friends of his. Comrade Taylor writes: "There will be more, for *The Militant* is steadily growing more popular. The cartoons have evoked much favorable comment. They're clear, they're clever, and above all, they're packed with political content."

"Here's hoping those contributions — and subs — come rolling in in ever greater numbers so that *The Militant* can get back to eight pages, and then go forward to a daily."

Portland Readers

The Socialist Workers Party has been deprived of its headquarters and until further notice asks its friends and Militant readers to write for notice of meetings and activities. Address:

Socialist Workers Party
C/o C.M. Hesser
P.O. Box 3711
Portland 8, Ore.

WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of *The Militant*. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Backs Miners

Editor:

Just a few lines to let you know the reactions of the workers out here. They see the embattled coal miners as holding the fort for all labor.

With the high cost of living, the workers are trying to hold on to every penny to help tide them over. A militant auto worker told me at first that he would have to wait until he saw how the coal miners made out before he could contribute to *The Militant*.

After I explained how *The Militant* had to retrench by cutting the size of the paper instead of raising the price of the sub, he said, "Well I guess a dollar won't break me."

As a militant worker, he saw the necessity of every unionist backing up the miners to the hilt.

A. Arbeiter

St. Louis, Mo.

"WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?"

(Chorus)

They say in Harlan County
There are no neutrals there;
You'll either be a union man
Or a thug for J. H. Blair.
(Chorus)

Which side are you on?
Which side are you on?

My daddy was a miner
And I'm a miner's son,
And I'll stick with the union
Till every battle's won.
(Chorus)

Don't stab for the bosses
Don't listen to their lies.
Us poor folks haven't got a chance
Unless we organize.
Which side are you on?
Which side are you on?

Editor:

Come all you good workers, Good news to you I'll tell Of how the good old union Has come in here to dwell.

(Chorus)

Which side are you on?
Which side are you on?

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And I'm a miner's son,
And I'll stick with the union
Till every battle's won.

Editor:

Editor:

With a supply of pamphlets, Fourth Internationals and subscription — renewal cards, I went to visit these people.

At about 5 p.m., after I had prepared dinner, or on Sunday morning, I'd put baby in the carriage and off we'd go to visit just one of our readers. I'd get a renewal, sell some literature, and try to find how deep an interest they had. With some, this would develop into close personal friendships. We'd meet at the corner grocery, go to each other's home for the evening, etc. In this way the husband and wife have become equally interested.

Now my neighborhood friends care for my baby so that I can go out on SWP assignments. We are going to start a Militant regional events discussion group soon.

And after some of the mothers join the SWP, we may even set up an SWP nursery so that we can attend meetings, etc.

Being a mother need not stop anyone from doing work to build the Party.

Mrs. S. L.

Chicago, Ill.

Editor:

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Chicago, Ill.

"Which Side Are You On?"

Editor:

I think this would be a good time to print the miners' song, *Which Side Are You On*. Many of us know only snatches of it, and this is the time to sing it!

Subscriber

New York, N. Y.

Editor:

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Editor:

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With the usual problems of not being able to get away from the house for Party work. However, I've found a solution and I'd like to pass it on so that maybe others will find it helpful.

I asked our literature agent for the names and addresses of Militant readers in my neighbor-

Tactics In Fight To Build Independent Labor Party

By M. Stein

Extract from a report on the Present Political Situation and the Tasks of the Party delivered to the Twelfth Convention of the Socialist Workers Party in Chicago, Nov. 15 to 18:

It would be a mistake to think that the Republican election victory indicates that the majority of the people have turned Republican. The Republican victory is the result of the two-party system which automatically guarantees the continuation of Wall Street's monopoly of American political life.

He replied that he never had and that he probably never would. I immediately showed him a copy of *The Militant*. He stopped the truck, looked at it, then exclaimed:

"Holy cow, this paper's great. How can I get it?"

He immediately took a six-month sub and promised to plug the paper and show it to his fellow truck-drivers.

George Rock

New York, N. Y.

A Housewife's Way To Aid Party Work

Editor:

Being a housewife, a mother, and a member of the Socialist Workers Party has presented me with the usual problems of not being able to get away from the house for Party work. However, I've found a solution and I'd like to pass it on so that maybe others will find it helpful.

I asked our literature agent for the names and addresses of Militant readers in my neighbor-

hood. With a supply of pamphlets, Fourth Internationals and subscription — renewal cards, I went to visit these people.

At about 5 p.m., after I had prepared

Before And After The Election

By Joseph Hansen

Have you noticed how nickel-plating shops use "before and after" exhibits in their window displays? Next to a tarnished, smudged vase out of some ash can they stand a job fresh from the electrolytic bath. You can see your face in the shimmering surface. The Democrats and Republicans make an exhibit like that before and after the election — only in reverse. Before election the promises of a capitalist politician look like solid 24-karat gold. How they shine and glitter! But after election — try to find a single campaign promise that doesn't look like a rusty can on the city dump.

Remember how the Truman Administration soft-soaped the miners when they filed notice on termination of contract? Remember how Collison, the Coal Mines Administrator, announced he had full authority to discuss all disputed issues, including wages, hours and working conditions? Remember, just before election, how the last thing Washington had in mind was "getting tough" with the miners?

Remember how all the capitalist politicians, all the Republicans and Democrats and their allies and friends, proclaimed to the high heavens their undying love for labor — just before election? Remember how they asked the union man to put "labor's friends" in office? Nothing

The Negro Struggle

The Most Inspiring Gathering

By William E. Bohannon

The Twelfth Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, held in Chicago last month, was the most inspiring gathering I have ever attended. Down to the marrow of our bones we understood, as we left, the convention, that the SWP was the party that was going to lead the American workers in creating a new socialist society of security, brotherhood and peace.

The SWP has undergone a great internal change since its previous convention in 1944. Not only has it had a healthy growth in this time; it has also become a party of the workers in every sense, in composition as well as in theory and program. And what is especially encouraging — it is now a party of Negro as well as white workers.

For many years the SWP worked among the Negro people, taking a leading position in their struggles and presenting a practical program to kill Jim Crow. But we had only a small percentage, a mere handful of Negro members in our party. Today that is different. Negro militants learned that the SWP was the only party that did not betray the Negro struggle during the war, the only party that continued to fight against Jim Crow under all conditions. And the result is that our Negro comrades now represent one-fifth of the Socialist Workers Party membership.

At the convention I was able to meet and talk with many of these new members. I

Which Side Are You On?

By Ruth Benson

A treacherous attack was made upon the fighting mine workers last week by nine former officers, present officers and members of a local of the CIO Newspaper Guild in Washington, D. C. Their attack came in the face of the overwhelming support of the miners by every section of organized labor, including both the AFL and CIO.

The capitalist press of course gleefully printed the statement, trying to make it appear that the desertion of this handful of individuals was a break in the solid ranks of labor. They smugly played up the arguments of these Guild members, which had been lifted bodily out of the boss press's own propaganda. One of these arguments was that the mine strike is not "an ordinary labor dispute" but a test of "the government's sovereign power." And another, that there's a "difference" between the use of injunctions by a private employer and by the government.

What these Guild members don't see or don't admit is that the government itself is nothing but the executive committee for Big Business. It intervenes in every major strike, on the side of the employers against the workers.

Veterans' Problems

Record Of SWP Vets

By Alvin Royce

After following the proceedings of the official veterans' organizations, the sessions of the Veterans Panel at the Socialist Workers Party came like a long-awaited breath of fresh air. Trotskyist vets from more than 25 areas throughout the country met to exchange and discuss their experiences. There was no haggling or name calling and very few words were wasted. Unlike many veterans' gatherings, these vets didn't come for a drunken spree or to make pretty speeches.

Many Militant readers are unfamiliar with how members of the SWP participate in the mass movement. These readers would be glad to know that report after report at the Panel indicated that Trotskyists played an important role in almost every major veterans' struggle since the GIs have come home. We can only give a brief review of some of these activities here.

During the great steel and auto strikes last year these vets were in the forefront of the organization of the union vet committees. These committees in many localities were the very backbone of the tremendous victories that the labor movement chalked up early this year.

But the need for trade union veteran committees didn't pass away with the end of the strikes. Veterans everywhere considered their union to be their best veterans' organization. Whenever these vets had a problem they took it to the one place that enjoyed their confi-

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