

Anti-Red Statement Backed By Stalinists

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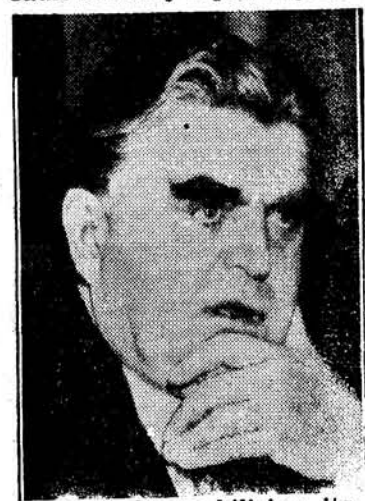
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Crying Need Is Labor's Unity In Action Now!

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 injunction.

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

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 profiteers had called for freezing wages at present levels for a year with no reopening 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."

Ford Local 406 Backs Miners

LONG BEACH, Calif., Nov. 26—At a regular meeting of UAW-CIO Ford Local 406 today, a strong resolution was unanimously adopted giving 100 per cent support to the striking coal miners. The resolution condemned the anti-labor action of the government and called upon the Los Angeles Industrial Council to appeal to all sections of the labor movement, AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods for united action in backing the miners.

The Local resolved to "set aside \$2,500 to be used in behalf of the United Mine Workers if and when the federal government seizes their treasury."

St. Louis Machinists Demand Monthly Living-Cost Raises

(Special to The Militant)

ST. LOUIS, Nov. 26—Another union has decided to demand a sliding scale of wages in future contracts. To protect the members' standard of living from skyrocketing prices, the Independent International Association of Machinists here will request monthly wage adjustments.

Lawrence Connors, business agent of District 9, announced today. The union represents some 20,000 workers in this area. Connors said that about half of the District's approximately 500 contracts will expire before Jan. 1. In all the new contracts the Machinists will demand a clause along the following lines: "All employees shall receive a monthly bonus of 1 per cent of their regular earnings for each 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

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 the price level dropped. They would lose nothing but the bonus.

The Machinists insist on an established base rate of pay, higher than the present scale, below which wages would not be allowed to drop no matter what happens to prices. The machin-

Ganging Up On The Miners



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

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.

Fiorenzo 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-

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:

	Prewar	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.

No Compensation For Steelworkers Laid Off In Ohio

By Harry Braverman

(Special to The Militant)

YOUNGSTOWN, Dec. 1—The ruling of the Compensation Bureau in Ohio denying unemployment compensation to steel workers made idle by the coal strike is being strongly protested by the labor movement here. Workers in the area feel very strongly about this dirty move by state officials to prejudice the steel workers against their brothers in the mines.

The executive board of the Mahoning County CIO Council has wired Governor Lausche protesting the ruling. This is one of many protests by local union leaders and bodies, including a public statement by James Griffin, candidate for office of CIO Steelworkers District Director.

CIO Steelworkers Local 1330 sent a sharply worded letter to all PAC-endorsed political office-holders from the Youngstown region condemning their silence on the issue of compensation for idle steelworkers. By their silent acceptance of the vicious ruling, these politicians once again demonstrate the incorrectness of the present PAC policy of giving support to candidates of the capitalist parties.

The district directors of the Steel union from Ohio are at present meeting with the Compensation Bureau in Columbus to demand for the steel workers the unemployment compensation to which they are entitled.

Wall Street Offensive Aims To Cripple Union Movement

By Art Preis

The ferocious, all-out assault of Big Business and its government against the striking coal miners is far more than a strikebreaking attempt against one union.

This bitter battle between the 400,000 soft coal miners and the capitalist government marks a new and more crucial stage in the great social struggle between American capitalism and organized labor that has been unfolding since the end of the war.

The mine strike is developing as a great test of class strength between organized labor and organized capital. That is the real significance of the capitalist government's abandonment of all pretense of impartiality in this fight. That is why the government's capitalist class character is being revealed so nakedly and unashamedly in this struggle.

Behind the government's attempt to crush the AFL United Mine Workers and to victimize their leader John L. Lewis, is the determination of Wall Street to launch a general offensive that will deal all organized labor a smashing and decisive blow. That was the chief aim of the ruling capitalist class at the end of the war. It had hoped in the period of war production cutbacks, lay-offs, down-grading and reduction of take-home pay, to cripple and paralyze the unions. It had attempted to reduce permanently the American work-

(Continued on Page 2)

"This is the final showdown. The Government must write the terms. If it does not, or if it writes them in terms of appeasement, the Government might as well give up."

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.

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 Hospitality 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 the shops is the miners' fight and its importance to the entire labor movement.

Evidence that the UAW-CIO rank and file, unlike the CIO and CIO top leaders, are serious in their expression of support for the miners, is shown by the strongly worded resolutions passed this week by the General Council of Briggs Local 212 and the Dodge Local 3 membership.

These resolutions pledge strike action, if necessary, in order to repel this new attack of Big Business and its government on organized labor.

Local 212's resolution pledges "complete and unqualified support" to the mine workers. 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-board 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"—neither 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

Stalinist 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." Editorially, 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."

But then George Morris had to try his hand once more, in the Nov. 29 *Daily Worker*. Here he indignantly defends Philip Murray, who forced the Stalinists to sign the anti-communist statement, against some reactionary complaints that Murray didn't go far enough against the "reds." Morris again expounds on the "correctness" of the Stalinists' agreement in principle with the position of the red-baiters "after they succeeded in eliminating all the major damage that the right wing sought to include in it."

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-

tive Board, just before the convention, strengthened the machinery for such measures whenever Murray feels they are expedient. The Board, with the vote of the Stalinist members, revised the rules governing state and local CIO councils.

This took away the right of the councils to engage in any activities not previously approved by Murray and the national board. It also gave Murray virtually dictatorial powers to take over and appoint a receiver for "disobedient" local councils. And this move was aimed directly at "communists."

RESULTS EVIDENT

The *Daily Worker*, in its lick-spittle 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 blazes on its masthead: "We resent and reject communism."

Thus, the Stalinists didn't achieve unity in the CIO for progressive policies to defend the interests of labor against the employers. They achieved "unity" with the red-baiters to continue their red-baiting, while the Stalinists are graciously permitted to stay in the CIO so long as they slavishly support every policy of Murray—and until the red-baiters are in a stronger position to conduct a reactionary purge.

16 On Trial For Protestng Police Role In Phila. Strike

(Special to The Militant)

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 30—Nine months after the bitterly-fought General Electric strike, 16 union men have been hauled into court to stand trial on false charges of rioting, inciting to riot and unlawful assembly.

At the conclusion of this case, ten union leaders will still face trial for contempt of court, allegedly because they failed to observe a vicious injunction limiting picketing.

The trial of the 16 arose out of the response of Philadelphia labor to the injunction issued against Local 119, CIO United Electrical Workers. On Feb. 27, 1946, members representing

practically all the CIO unions of this area and some AFL unions, paraded past the strike-bound plant.

Police charged into the paraders with swinging clubs.

Next day indignant strikers and other union members, assembled in the park for a protest rally. Police again broke up the gathering, driving it into Delaware County.

To protest the viciousness of the police and the city administration's violation of civil liberties, a parade marched toward City Hall.

En route to City Hall, the marchers were in the vicinity of the strike-bound plant. The parade had actually passed the

General Electric plant when the police charged. Without the least warning, cops mounted on horses and motorcycles smashed into the front rank paraders. As the parade broke up in confusion, police pursued individual union men, clubbing them down.

VET BEATEN

A veteran carrying the American flag at the head of the marchers was severely beaten and his head cut open. Those who attempted to help him were attacked on orders of a police inspector in plain clothes.

The District Attorney has been forced to rely wholly on the police for witnesses. A newspaper reporter placed on the stand proved favorable to the defense. The defense, on the other hand, has found any number of witnesses not only among the paraders but among housewives in the neighborhood who saw what happened.

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.

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

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 Leggat, CIO United Auto Workers international official. During the day-long mass picketing demonstration, Leggat 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 representing 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."

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 powerful 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 now in a decisive fashion 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.

Consider the Judge's actions during the contempt trial against John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers last week. He didn't wait even for the UMW attorneys to present their evidence and arguments. In the very midst of the hearing, he blandly announced that the defendants are guilty of contempt even if the injunction against the mine strike was illegal. He made plain that so far as he was concerned the miners were "guilty" before the case began or the injunction was issued. They were "guilty" for no other reason than daring to fight for their rights.

Any Old Stick To Beat Miners

The reactionary Virginia state authorities dug around in their musty law books and last week came up with a state injunction to back up Truman's federal injunction against the striking coal miners.

These new injunctive proceedings are based on the alleged illegal "sale" of memberships in the United Mine Workers. The Virginia State Corporation Commission complains that "solicitation of the memberships violates the state securities law."

The Virginia authorities, seeking any stick to beat the miners, are claiming that urging miners to join the union is the same as selling corporation stocks. Even a law against capitalist swindlers is twisted into an anti-labor club.

Doesn't the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act state explicitly: "No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute?"

This hand-picked minion of the bosses replies that the government itself is above the law, that this case did not grow out of a labor dispute and that "the court has the right to enjoin a labor union which is about to take steps that would be against the public interest."

If this decision stands, it means that any strike can be made illegal simply by having some class-biased judge enjoin it as "against the public interest."

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, anyway, mine strike spells "anarchy."

This strikebreaking injunction, ordering Lewis to announce that 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 Administration thus announced on Nov. 30 that "yes, we have already authorized numerous individual coal companies to assess fines against their striking miners" 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.

DECISIVE WEAPON

In this fight, the decisive weapon will be political. The mine strike has confirmed what all the past experience of labor has already demonstrated. The most serious weakness of organized labor is its political helplessness. Tied to the capitalist political machines, without any independent party of its own, labor stands the constant prey of the capitalist government apparatus, its executives, its legislators.

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.

To safeguard its very life, labor must now embark on a new course. It must open up a nationwide 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.

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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 Internationalist — 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.

Purges, Police Terror Mount As Soviet Crisis Sharpens

British Atrocities In Palestine



With barbed wire barricades, armored cars and police hordes the British have turned Jerusalem into an armed camp. British ships continue to seize refugee-laden vessels seeking to enter the Holy Land. While Truman hypocritically suggests Britain open the doors of Palestine to 100,000 refugees, he keeps the doors to the U. S. tight shut.

Federated Pictures

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. In one area of the important Kuznetsk coal basin, production is only 8.7 per cent of that before the war; in another only 28 per cent. Another trust in the Moscow coal basin fulfilled only 54 per cent of its plan for the third quarter of this year and only 42.5 per cent of its plan for October.

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 Kuznetsk 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 these 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 stricken from the collective farm personnel rolls in the same area.

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

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.

Since the end of the war this network of distributive cooperatives has, in effect, become a part of the "free market" — the equivalent of the black market. The bulk of goods allocated to these stores find their way into the hands of speculators. Now the Kremlin is trying to restore its disrupted trade system primarily through the purge.

As a supplementary measure the prices of all rationed goods were recently hiked to the levels prevailing in the black market. This slashed the real wages of the workers, already pitifully low, to one-third and one-fourth.

The purge is continuing in the top layers of the Soviet bureaucracy. On Nov. 15 the presidium of the Moscow Collegium of Lawyers was disbanded for not having eliminated money grabbing and "other amoral actions," according to *Izvestia*, the government newspaper.

CHILD LABOR

To meet the acute labor shortage, more and more young children are being dragged out of elementary schools and thrown into State labor battalions. According to a Nov. 14 Moscow dispatch to the N. Y. Times, "students who show no great promise in elementary or secondary schools are mobilized for labor reserves."

To stifle protests of indignation, union committees are commanded to explain to their families "the particular significance of the preparation of state labor reserves" in fulfilling the Five-Year Plan.

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.

Today the situation is most acute at the very inception of the Five-Year-Plan. And the first year is decisive so far as its success is concerned. Thus the balance sheet of the first year of the Fourth Five-Year-Plan shows that a profound crisis is convulsing one branch after another of Soviet industry, agriculture 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 cabled 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 promis-

ed to abolish this year, has been extended to the next year. Prices of rationed foods in Soviet cities, already inordinately high, have doubled and tripled in the last period. The workers face a hungry winter, with shortages even more acute than in wartime. The entire Fourth Five Year Plan is obviously endangered by the crisis in agriculture.

The responsibility for this grave situation rests wholly on the shoulders of the Kremlin. As *The Militant* has consistently pointed out, the growth of capitalist tendencies in the collective farms has been fostered and intensified by Stalin's policies. These capitalist elements have now struck by sabotaging the grain deliveries.

The Stalin regime has no policy for emerging out of the crisis except through police measures, its one and only resort. *Pravda* places the blame for the collapse of grain deliveries on "party Soviet organs of backward regions."

This means that the purge which has been in progress throughout 1946 will be stepped up. But the collective farms and the rural administrations have already been purged drastically. Thus, by last August, more than 50 per cent of the incumbent party and Soviet officials in the Ukraine alone were reported removed. The entire existing administrative machinery is being plunged into chaos without in any way ameliorating the situation.

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 to be paid with names 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 (checking 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 revolutionary movement in Greece, the Trotskyist speaker proved that it was socialist in character and not bourgeois-democratic. From the character of the capitalist economy in Greece, he demonstrated that the coming revolution will be socialist.

Consequently the Stalinist slogan for a "people's democracy" constitutes complete abandonment of the revolutionary Marxist tradition.

REVIEWS HISTORY The Trotskyist speaker pointed out to the fact that the Stalinists advance this same slogan in the most advanced capitalist countries.

Drawing a sharp line between the revolutionary socialist program of Trotskyism and the position of the Stalinists, he urged the assembled workers to reject the arguments of the Stalinist Party. The Stalinists oppose socialist revolution in Greece.

The representative of the Stalinist Party presented the usual Popular Front arguments.

The audience gave 239 votes for the Trotskyist position, 453

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!

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 Clemençon, a member of the Sheffield Branch of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British section of the Fourth International. Clemençon has been summoned to appear before the local court on the charge of distributing written material to German POWs.

A campaign calling for support 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-

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."

The RCP has been particularly active in this campaign for fraternization and the right of German POWs to receive freely the publications of the workers' organizations. A number of Trotsky's important articles, including *Germany—What Next?*, along with a regular paper, *Solidarity*, have been produced in the German language. This material has had a very wide circulation, and demands are far in excess of the amount available. The elementary step of any Labor Government wishing to re-educate the German POWs and to assist them in their struggle against Nazi elements is to permit the free political intercourse of the socialist POWs. This case will bring the whole question sharply before the organized workers.

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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 colossal-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 outstripped 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 points. 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 lickspittle 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.



"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 HISTORY by Gordon Childs.

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 Childs 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."

Childs 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 private 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 emancipation 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 their 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.

Dramatic, well-written, and especially good for its understanding of the Negro fighting for emancipation, *The Heart Is A Lonely Hunter* is recommended reading.

—Ruth Benson

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 Union are being eagerly aided by a particularly unsavory crew in the labor movement—the Social Democrats.

These self-styled "democrats" and "socialists" are acting as the spearhead of the reactionary elements in the CIO who are calling for suppressions of "communists" and for a "tough" policy against the Soviet Union.

At the recent CIO convention, the floor leader of the pro-war jingo and undemocratic Social Democrats was Jack Altman, of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees. He took the lead in pushing for repressive measures against members of the Communist Party and in opposing any resolutions which did not conform 100 per cent to the foreign policies and war plans of U. S. imperialism.

It was likewise noteworthy that United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther, who likes to represent himself at times as a "socialist" and who claims to be a progressive, played a behind-the-scenes role in trying to initiate a purge against "communists." Since his election to the UAW presidency, Reuther has alienated much militant support in the UAW because of his red-baiting. He was on the six-man committee that drafted the CIO's anti-communist Declaration of Policy.

Jack Altman, a more direct representative of the American Social-Democrats, openly and shamelessly espoused the full reactionary program of American imperialism. He sought to introduce a direct attack on the Soviet Union in the CIO's foreign policy resolution. He took the floor as the sole delegate to object to even the mild criticism of American foreign policy contained in the resolution. He opposed the CIO's endorsement of American labor's traditional stand against universal peacetime military conscription.

Altman's statements were so reactionary that both Philip Murray and Van A. Bitner, old-line conservative trade union leaders, were impelled to rebuke him publicly.

In Europe, the Social-Democrats share with the Stalinists an equal responsibility for betraying the

Out in The Cold

Homeless veterans and workers are being kept on the streets while rooms and apartments stay empty. Greedy landlords in Dallas, Texas boast of padlocking "at least 3,000 housing units" in the drive to extort higher rents from desperate home-seekers.

"The landlords aren't fooling," said the president of the Texas outfit, Statewide Landlords, Inc. The nationwide withdrawal of empty dwellings has already deprived the homeless of 300,000 units as winter begins.

workers to the rotten capitalist regimes. In this country, they have been forced to take a back seat, particularly during the war when the Stalinists outshouted them in professing their slavish devotion to American capitalism's war.

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.

Federal Reserve Board Shows Trend To Crisis

There's a depression coming and Big Business knows it. Every week some admission of the coming crash is carried in the financial section of the capitalist press, while the grasping corporations keep on demanding higher prices that can only speed up the catastrophe looming before the American workers.

On Nov. 28 the Federal Reserve Board revealed that the value of goods distributed in October fell below the level of production and that inventories increased. This continues the trend since June. That means that as prices soar, workers are buying less and less of what they produce. All their pay is needed for food and rent alone. They can't afford radios, refrigerators, and washing machines. They can't even buy winter clothes; proof of this is that for the first time in years retail stores are running clearance sales in the middle of the season to unload part of their surplus stocks.

The same report stated that price advances in wholesale and retail markets after the lifting of controls sent the consumers' price index up two per cent from the September level and 15 per cent above the figure at the close of the war. And this is a conservative estimate.

Inflation drastically reduced the workers' real wages—slashed their buying power. Wage gains won last Spring by a large section of organized labor have already been wiped out by rising living costs.

That is why the inventory — the accumulation of goods in warehouses and on shelves—is growing. By the end of September it amounted to 32 billions of dollars, and was steadily mounting. There's "too much" of all the things the workers need—too much because they cannot buy. When this happens, capitalism inevitably faces depression.

Rather than keep turning out goods they can't sell, the bosses "cut production." They lay off thousands of workers, who then can't buy even a trickle of goods.

As the first victims are laid off, and production is slashed, more workers are laid off, and production goes even lower, until the unemployed number in the millions. The workers suffer, but the capitalists hope by cutting "labor costs" and by exorbitant prices to keep up their profits even though less goods are produced.

The capitalists run the factories for profit, not to meet the needs of the people. If management of production is left in their hands, we will see an even worse crash than the 1929-1933 depression, which was ended temporarily only by the Second World War.

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!

5. Tax the rich, not the poor!

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!

9. A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war.

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!

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 injunctions,

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 piously 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-Connelly Act illustrates this same process from the other extreme. The intent of the Smith-Connelly law was to

abolish strikes in wartime. But the resistance of the workers and their marvelous ingenuity in struggle turned this strikebreaking 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.

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 was the result of the two-party system which automatically guarantees the continuation of Wall Street's monopoly of American political life.

In the absence of a labor party the people have no way of expressing their dissatisfaction except by choosing alternately between the existing capitalist parties or abstaining from voting, which has the same result.

Just when the labor movement will break out of this vicious circle we have no way of knowing. But we do know that the objective conditions for the formation of a labor party are highly favorable.

The trade unions are at the peak of their power; they are 15 million strong. The Negro people would be willing and eager to join the labor movement in forming an independent party. Such a party would receive the support of the veterans. It would carry along with it many middle class elements in rural as well as urban areas.

NARROW OUTLOOK

But the trade union bureaucracy, both the AFL and the CIO, stand in the way. The same narrow conservative outlook which prevented the AFL from organizing the unorganized in the mass production industries, until the CIO came into being, today prevents both the CIO and AFL from taking such a bold political step as the organization of the labor party.

The union bureaucrats are self-satisfied, capitalist-minded in their ideology and too timid to confront the capitalist class with labor's own party; they are themselves afraid of labor's power.

It is true that the PAC has

litical independence, which would require and advance a new type of leadership, a leadership capable of fighting capitalism on all fronts.

It is no easy task to break down the resistance of the bureaucracy. It is a powerful force and the forces of the left wing in the unions which must supply the leadership for a labor party are as yet weak. But the sentiment for a labor party is growing. A recent poll of *Fortune* magazine calculates that 28½ per cent of the CIO and 19½ per cent of the AFL favor the formation of a labor party. This indicates that the labor party slogan can rally mass support.

The fact that the top leadership of the unions, including the Stalinist union bureaucrats, are against the labor party makes it all the more necessary to push this slogan aggressively. I think we have a good chance to rally the most militant workers for an organized struggle around the labor party slogan.

STRUGGLE IMPORTANT

In any case, whether or not a national labor party actually comes into existence or how soon it might be formed is not decisive. The important thing is that the struggle for a labor party raises the class consciousness of the workers. This struggle can help build the revolutionary party. In the process of struggle for the labor party we seek to imbue the workers with a full understanding of our program and our revolutionary ideas.

In our resolution on "The Present Political Situation and the Tasks of the Party" we have devoted special attention to the PAC. This was necessary because heretofore our attitude to the PAC has been too negative, too abstentionist. The PAC represents an advance over the AFL policy which has sought to block all independent political organization of the workers. The PAC at least organizes the workers for participation in the political life of the country. This gives us an arena for activity.

It is true that the PAC has

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?"

Editor:

I think this would be a good time to print the miners' sons. 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.

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 neighborhood.

"WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?"

(Chorus)

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?

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

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

hood. With a supply of pamphlets, *Fourth International* 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 my 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* current 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.

Truck Driver Likes 'Militant'

Editor:

While hitch-hiking near Springfield, Illinois, I caught a ride with a truckdriver. He kept complaining about how poorly he was paid and how prices are. We rode several hundred miles together and discussed unions and finally socialism. I asked him if he had ever seen a newspaper that gave labor's point of view.

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 it over, then exclaimed:

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

He immediately took a six-months sub and promised to plug the paper and show it to his fellow truckdrivers.

George Rock
New York, N. Y.

Wants Hansen Articles In Pamphlet Form

Editor:

I see where the issues of *The Militant* carrying Joe Hansen's expose of that Stalinist pack of lies, *The Great Conspiracy*, are in great demand.

Someone I know, who was reading that lying drivel, also read Hansen's articles. After discussing the whole question of the Moscow Trials, he became wised up to the Stalinist fakery and is now a subscriber to *The Militant*.

How about publishing the series of articles by Hansen in pamphlet form? I have heard many favorable comments on them.

S. Taylor
Milwaukee, Wis.

Youth Activities

LOS ANGELES. — Socialist Youth Club meets every Tuesday, 8 p.m., at SWP headquarters, 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Educational after every meeting. Refreshments served.

NEW YORK. — For information on the Trotskyist Youth Group send name and address to 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Open Forum: Every Friday, 8 p.m., at 116 University Place. Dancing, refreshments.

Sundays, 3 p.m.: "What Is Socialism?" 116 University Pl.

PHILADELPHIA. — For information call 4-5820, from noon to 6 p.m.

AKRON
Turkey Dinner
Sunday, Dec. 8, 5 p.m.
Socialist Workers Party
8 So. Howard St.

Where You Can Buy 'Fourth International'

AKRON — Militant Bookshop, 8 So. Howard St.

BERKELEY, CALIF. — Sather Gate Book Shop, 2335 Telegraph Ave., Whittier's corner Bancroft and Telegraph Ave.

CHICAGO — 51st St. Station: News Exchange, 51 S. Main. W. C. Cieshinski's Bookstore, 2750 W. Division St., University of Chicago Bookstore, 5802 S. Ellis Ave.; Randolph News Shop, 63 W. Randolph.

NEWARK — N.W. corner 51st and Cottage Grove, 777 W. Adams St.

LEVELAND — O & M News, 9th & Superior

THOBT — Family Theater Newsstand, opposite theater, Carls Book Store, 9109 Woodward Ave. Cass Newsstand, Cass at Michigan Ave.

Militant Bookshop, 6106 Linwood.

OS ANGELES — 5th and Main; 326 W. 5th Street; Consolidated Bldg. 6th and Hill; 2210½ Bklyn. Ave. 1600 N. Cahuenga and Hollywood Blvd.; 1065 N. Los Palms and Hollywood Blvd.; 316½ W. Pico Blvd.

WILWAUKEE — Newsstand, N. E. Corner Plankton, 2nd and Wisconsin

MINNEAPOLIS — Labor Book Store, 10 South 4th Street.

NEWARK — Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave.

PHILADELPHIA — 13th and Market Streets, 1303 W. Girard.

PITTSBURGH — Kaufmann's Dept. Store, Book Dept. 2279 Centre Ave., Hill District. M. Rose, 1332 Fifth Ave. P & A, 230 Federal St. Hefestetter's, Highland bet. Centre & Penn.

PORTLAND, ORE. — 134 S.W. Washington. Rich's cor. S.W. Washington and S.W. 6th Ave.

SAN DIEGO — SWP, 623 Sixth Ave.

SAN FRANCISCO — Duncan's Newsstand, 1988 Sutter St.; Rays Smoke Shop, 1174 Sutter St.; MacDonald's Book Store, 867 Mission St.; Golden Gate News Agency, 81-3rd St.; Fitzgerald News Agency, 21-4th St.

San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., 4th Fl.

SAN PEDRO — Militant Pub. Assn. Rm. 214, 1002 S. Pacific Ave.; Williams Book Store, 284-6th St.; Johnson's Pool Hall, 531 Beacon St.; LaRue Pharmacy, 1209 Pacific; Abrams Pharmacy 1002 South Gaffney.

SEATTLE — Eckert's corner, Washington and 1st Ave.; Bishop Drug Store, 507 Jackson St.; Rayner's Book Store, 905 3rd Ave.; Pool Room, 500 Main Street.

ST. LOUIS — 4th & Locust St. 928 & Washington St. 8th & Olive St.

ST. PAUL — SWP, 540 Cedar St.

TOLEDO — Hirsch Newsstand, 319 St. Clair St. SWP, 108 Summit St.

YOUNGSTOWN — Militant Labor Forum, 36½ S. Watt St.

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, O. Open daily except Sunday, 2 to 4 p.m.

Saturdays: Current Events Discussion, 8 p.m. followed by social. Admission free. Sundays, 7 p.m. Public Speaking class, beginning Dec. 15.

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. Militant 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. off Wade Park Ave.

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

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 expresses 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, would stimulate interest and consequently result in more subs for both branches."

How about this, Pittsburgh?

Philadelphia is determined to maintain its consistent sub record. "The Convention sort of slowed things up," says Pauline Ryder, "so I am only sending you nine subs. However, we are having a mobilization this Sunday and hope to remedy this situation."

The Youngstown comrades are doing good sub work. M. Jones forwarded ten subs with the following note: "Four comrades went out Sunday morning for about an hour and a half and picked up these ten subs. They also brought in the names of four others who are interested in our paper. We are going to send *The Militant* to these people for several weeks and then try to get subs from them."

Fred Martin, Milwaukee Militant Manager, writes: "Enclosed are five renewals and two new

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 was a fertile field for us and we still 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 from there 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.

Stevenson 5820.

PITTSBURGH — SWP headquarters 1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor. Round table discussions, 2nd and 4th Sundays each month, 3:30. Phone: Court 6060.

PORTLAND, Ore. — Write to Socialist Workers Party, c/o C. M. Hesser, P.O. Box 3711, Portland 8, Oregon.

SAN DIEGO — Headquarters 623 Sixth Ave., open 3-9 p.m. daily. SAN FRANCISCO — Visit the San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., corner of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor; open from 12 noon to 4:30 p.m., daily except Sunday. Phone EXbrook 1926.

SEATTLE — Visit our Headquarters, 1919½ Second Ave. Open Monday through Saturdays, noon to 6 p.m. Tel. SE-0543. Library, Bookstore.

Friday forum — 8 p.m.

ST. LOUIS — Visit our Headquarters, 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312, open Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 7:30 to 9 p.m. Forums every Thursday, 8:30 p.m. Phone Jefferson 3642.

ST. PAUL — 540 Cedar St., St. Paul 2. Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily 2:30-9:30.

TACOMA, Wash. — Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Oddfellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P.O. Box 1079.

TOLEDO — SWP headquarters at 108 Summit St. Toledo 4, O. Open daily. Phone Main 8919.

YOUNGSTOWN — Militant Labor Forum, 36½ S. Watt St., Youngstown 3, O.

NEW YORK Christmas Shopping With Fun! BAZAAR AND SOCIAL SATURDAY, DEC. 7, 8 p.m.

Bargains In Wonderful Gifts Including:

By Joseph Hansen

Have you noticed how nickle-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

was too good for labor, said these professional hand-pumpers, back-slappers and big-smile artists.

But once the Republicans and Democrats got another lease on Washington what happened to the shiny promises?

These "friends" immediately cracked down on labor. They forced 400,000 miners off the job. They unmuzzled and unleashed the Wall Street lawyers who had been yelping for a go at labor. They combed through half a century of accumulated legal rubbish — back to the 1894 Pullman strike injunction — hunting for some "precedent" to take the curse off their latest illegal injunction. They wheeled out a black-robed judge and through the amplifying system of the capitalist press converted his snarl against the miners into thunderous roars against the entire working class.

And the whole pack of capitalist politicians took up the howl against labor. "Liberal" Republicans and Democrats in Congress who had sworn public oaths of love for labor sent communications — anonymously — to Truman, demanding he get still tougher — even if it meant "blood shed." The capitalist press, naturally, gave front page headlines to these cowardly, yellow-bellied, anonymous incitements to murder.

Yes, there's quite a difference in the appearance of capitalist politicians before and after an election. They take a high campaign polish. But it doesn't last long in office!

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

found that they were serious men and women and that while they had not been in the SWP for a long time they were not newcomers in the fight for a better world. On the contrary, they already have long and honorable records in the unions, Negro organizations, veterans' groups, women's organizations, etc. Their experiences in these fields will be a great boon to our party.

Among the highlights of the convention was a panel on Negro work, attended by about 100 Negro and white comrades, which lasted for almost four hours one evening. Here we had a fruitful exchange of experiences from all parts of the country. As we listened to the reports, we had every reason to be proud of the part the SWP had played in the Negro struggle in recent years.

We also had a general discussion on perspectives, along the line of the program of action adopted by the convention. We discussed ways and means of advancing the struggle against Jim Crow, and came to agreement on the tactics we would follow in spreading our revolutionary message during the coming period.

One thing seemed clear to me: We are going to make big progress in the months that lie ahead. We have the core of experienced and enthusiastic people, we have the right program, and we know that the Negro people are looking for a way out of their misery and degradation. Before the Thirteenth Convention of the SWP rolls around, we are going to deliver some powerful blows against Jim Crow and the capitalist system that nourishes and sponsors Jim Crow.

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.

The fiction that the government is an "impartial arbitrator" standing above the working class and the capitalist class, has been refuted in life over and over again. During and since the war, the government has openly supported the corporations against the workers. It is enough to recall the most recent occasions, last winter and spring when the government "seized" the packing plants, the mines and the railroads, in order to drive the workers back to their jobs.

The mine strike does not create a "different" situation, as the Guild writers claim, because it involves "a strike against the government." Every strike which affects a large industry today is or will become a strike against the government, which intervenes as the agent of the owners.

The real question is: What stand should the workers take in such a strike? Where do they belong, when one section of labor faces a struggle against the united forces of the bosses and their political tools, the courts, Congress and the Administration?

The answer, already given by the entire organized labor movement, in the case of the mine workers, is: With the strikers, supporting their demands and their struggles against both the owners and the government.

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-

dence — the union hall.

In spite of the obvious need for trade union organization of the veterans, reports at the panel indicated that the present leadership of unions desperately fear the responsibility of such a task. Most of these leaders have been advising the vets in their union to join one of the major organizations. Dubinsky, Reuther and a few others have indicated their support for the American Veterans Committee. However, all militant veterans will continue to fight for organization of the vets by the unions for that is the best means of uniting the workers and veterans in their fight for a decent way of life.

It was also evident from the discussion that the vets, as yet, haven't moved on any mass scale on any strictly veterans issue. Veterans were prominently active in anti-fascist demonstrations and housing actions throughout the country but none of these rallied any mass activity among the veterans.

However, the present stage of the veterans struggle is not the final one. If the vets are the most insecure in these days of relative "prosperity," what will their fate be when this country is hit by the next depression? The vets will be the first evicted, the first to get pay-cuts and the first fired from their jobs.

No one can predict when the veterans will move or what veterans' organization will lead that struggle. But after sitting in on the SWP Veterans Panel, one prediction can safely be made. Wherever or whenever the veterans move, vets armed with the program of the Socialist Workers Party will be in the thick of it.

Teachers Strike Shuts All Schools In St. Paul

By Grace Carlson

ST. PAUL, Nov. 29—Now in its fifth day, the largest teachers' strike in the history of the United States has shut down all St. Paul schools. Called by the Teachers Joint Council, central board for

Locals 28 and 43 of the American Federation of Teachers, 1,165 teachers are taking part in the walkout. Hundreds of school children and their parents have joined the teachers who are picketing every grade and high school in the city.

Strike demands are: Recognition of the Teachers Joint Council as bargaining agent for all instructional employees; a cost-of-living bonus of \$50 a month for the last four months of 1946; revision of the permanent salary schedule, effective next Jan. 1, to provide a \$2,400 minimum and \$5,000 maximum salary; addition to each annual City budget of \$1,700,000 for modernization of school equipment and facilities, adequate school supplies, improved health and recreational services in the schools.

The decision to strike was made by the teachers' unions despite tremendous pressure from taxpayers associations and similar groups. Prior to the walkout, the bold and arrogant city officials had threatened the teachers with loss of their jobs, tenure and teaching certificates if they went on strike.

But the teachers' unions, backed by the entire St. Paul labor movement, called their bluff. The widespread public support given the teachers' strike has forced these same city officials to change their tune. Today, there is no talk of "reprisals" against the striking teachers but only of the "difficulty" of getting the necessary funds to meet the teachers' demands.

Aid given the striking teachers by the city's Parent-Teachers Associations has been a significant factor in the situation. In a resolution adopted on the eve of the strike, the Maxfield School PTA led off with a call for active support of the teachers' picket lines. Introduced by Mrs. Dorothy Schultz, a member of the Maxfield PTA for several years, the resolution was unanimously adopted. (Dorothy Schultz was the Socialist Worker-

ers Party candidate for Congress in the recent elections.)

A PTA strike committee was set up to organize picket support and to arrange for the serving of hot coffee and refreshments in the homes of PTA members. Acting on the committee are: Mrs. Clarence Nelson, Mrs. Milton Siegel, Mrs. Schultz, Mrs. Isaac Blakey, Mrs. Harry Ballard, Mrs. H. McAdam.

OTHERS ACT

Publication of the Maxfield PTA resolution in the daily press stimulated other PTA groups in the city to take similar action. Despite the intense cold of the last few days, with the temperature dropping to zero, mothers and fathers with their children of all ages have appeared on the school picket lines. True to their calling, the teachers have maintained very neat and orderly picket lines!

Some children carry home-made banners, with such slogans as "We want Modern Schools," "The St. Paul City Council is Unfair to our Teachers." Others carry the banners provided by the Teachers Strike Committee. This reads:

"Strike For Better Schools AFT Locals 28 and 43"

Picket line passes have been issued to members of the School Engineers Union. They have cooperated with the striking teachers by keeping the temperature in the school buildings at 40 to 45 degrees — warm enough to avoid deterioration but cold enough to prevent any activity on the part of school officials. Other Education Department employees, such as stenographers, clerks and cleaning women are respecting the teachers' picket lines.

Strike meetings called at the end of each day of picketing have been very well attended. The strike song, a parody of "East-er Parade" is sung at the strike meetings. Testifying to the high morale of the striking teachers is the refrain:

"We'll be the proudest teachers in the picket parade."

Grace Carlson On Teachers' Picket Line



Among the pickets supporting the St. Paul teachers' strike were, left to right: Earsel Neal, a student of Maxfield School; Earl Nell, also a Maxfield student; Grace Carlson; Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson, pastor of Camphor Memorial Methodist Church; Milton Siegel, CIO United Packinghouse Workers field representative; and Leona McGibbon, school principal. Minneapolis Star Photo.

Urge California CIO To Support Miners, Fight Anti-Labor Drive

(Special to The Militant)

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 2—The Socialist Workers Party in California has issued a statement addressed to the delegates at the forthcoming CIO state convention in Santa Cruz, calling on them to take action on behalf of the striking miners and to fight against the government's anti-labor drive. The SWP statement says:

The California State CIO, representing close to one quarter of a million workers in California's industries, convenes in annual session at a time when the government of Big Business has concentrated its anti-labor offensive in a vicious attack against the United Mine Workers.

The California CIO convention has, as a primary task, action of solidarity with the mine workers, and at the same time condemnation of the anti-labor drive of the Democratic-Republican government.

This anti-labor drive is being camouflaged with a red-scare designed to create confusion and division in the unions. In California, as elsewhere, the AFL has been whipped up into a red-baiting campaign against the CIO.

This red-baiting campaign, directed by the U. S. State Department, is not being conducted by only the AFL bureaucrats, but by the CIO leadership as well. A section of the CIO leadership has buckled under the pressure. The Murray machine seeks to make itself "respectable" by making concessions to red-baiters. The Stalinists in the CIO have tried to duck the red-baiting issue by a cowardly policy of capitulation in return for piddling organizational deals.

The State CIO Convention should remember the experience of last year. At that time, the right-wing Policy Committee was soundly thrashed for its red-baiting position. But the Convention failed to chart a course of militant united labor action on the economic and political field. It clung to the bankrupt policy of supporting "good" capitalist candidates. As a result, despite the rejection of the reactionary Policy Committee's line, the CIO has suffered a considerable setback during the past

year.

Another major task before the convention is that of initiating a call for the immediate formation of a Labor Party. This is the lesson taught us by the November elections. The CIO-PAC policy of support to Democratic capitalist candidates has revealed its bankruptcy. Only by a bold rejection of this false policy, and a complete reorientation in the direction of independent labor action can the labor movement take the offensive against Big Business, attract to it the support of the middle classes who are suffering from monopoly domination, and proceed to solve the burning problems facing the nation.

The State CIO Convention has in its hands the power and the duty to unite labor in a successful fight against the increasingly more belligerent anti-labor schemes of Big Business in California. The convention's political course is of fundamental importance in determining whether or not the bitter struggle to defend labor's standard of living will be victorious.

ACEWR Will Hold Festive Carnival And Bazaar In N. Y.

The New York Chapter of the American Committee for European Workers Relief is holding a gala bazaar and social at Irving Plaza, 15 Irving Place on Saturday, Dec. 7, at 8 p.m. All are welcome and Christmas bargains galore as well as an evening's fun are guaranteed.

A great array of articles by individuals and shops has been donated. Exotic handicraft work from all over the world will be offered, as well as articles for everyday needs. You can buy anything from a hand-made West African sword and scabbard to an alarm clock!

Costume jewelry donated by Fifth Avenue shops will be sold at bargain prices. Gifts for men and children will also be found in profusion. Among these articles are radios, bill folds, cigarette cases and lighters, hand-made dolls, etc.

The Youngstown SWP is preparing to aid protest actions by veterans in need of homes. A county commissioner has informed an SWP representative of a meeting to be held of veterans applying for homes in the project. The SWP will be represented at this meeting and do all in its power to help speed the project.

hem, Reading and Philadelphia.

The European winter has begun and letters are pouring into the ACEWR office from European workers, asking for warm clothing and food. It must be remembered that in Europe this winter only the houses of the rich will be heated. Unless these workers and their children have warm clothing, both for indoor and outdoor wear, and nourishing foods, they will easily fall prey to disease.

If you want to help maintain and increase the flow of food, clothing and medicine packages to these needy European workers, make a donation today. \$10 will put 29 pounds of food in the hands of a European family. \$1.50 will pay the postage on an 11-pound package of winter clothing. Make all checks or money orders payable to the ACEWR and send to 197 Second Avenue, New York 3, N. Y.

The request of Natalia Trotsky that her "attorney be permitted to cross-examine the Nazi leader" Rudolf Hess with whom Trotsky was accused of conspiring was ignored. "That was to be expected," says the leaflet. "Cross-examination of the Nazi chiefs could only have proved: (1) That Trotsky and the Old Bolsheviks were innocent; and (2) that the real conspiracy leading to the Stalin-Hitler pact had been carried out by Stalin himself."

The leaflet ends with the demand: "Defend the Soviet Union from imperialist attack by fighting for a world socialist order!"

Vyshinsky Branded By SWP As Hangman Of Bolsheviks

NEW YORK, Dec. 2 — A leaflet branding Stalinist spokesman Andrei Vyshinsky as one of the "hangmen of the Russian Bolsheviks" will be distributed tonight at Madison Square Garden where Vyshinsky is scheduled to speak.

"Vyshinsky was always a foe of the Socialist Revolution," says the leaflet, which is issued by Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party. "He fought the Russian Revolution from the other side of the barricades in 1917. He was on the side of Stalin and world imperialism when he sent the Old Bolsheviks to their death in the Moscow Trials."

Vyshinsky is listed as a featured speaker by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the Stalinist front organization sponsoring the Madison Square Garden rally.

"Mr. Vyshinsky will speak as the representative of the Soviet Union to the United Nations,"

the leaflet points out. "But to millions of workers throughout the world Vyshinsky is better known as the prosecutor of the Moscow Trials of 1936-1937. In that capacity Vyshinsky sent scores of Old Bolsheviks to their death. These Old Bolsheviks were the great captains of the first successful workers' revolution."

The leaflet recalls that the Moscow Trials were the greatest frameup in history. The John Dewey Commission of Inquiry examined every shred of evidence presented in the Moscow Trials of 1936 and 1937. The Commission "found that the case presented by Vyshinsky was composed of the most monstrous lies, manufactured evidence and slander ever brought into a courtroom."

The crushing verdict of the Dewey Commission "was vindicated last summer at the Nuremberg Trial," continues the leaflet. "Not one solitary scrap of evidence was presented at that trial to prove Vyshinsky's charge of a conspiracy between the Nazi leaders on the one side and Leon Trotsky and the Old Bolsheviks on the other."