

## TRUMAN WRECKS HOUSING PROGRAM

### CIO "Big Three" Adopt Demands For Wage Rises

Both the CIO steelworkers and electrical workers unions last week joined the United Auto Workers in adopting new wage demands. While the UAW has called for a specific general wage raise of 23 1/2 cents an hour, the steel and electrical workers leaders refused to name any sum, merely asking for "substantial increases."

The UAW demand is based on the Nathan report findings that real wages are down 21 per cent due to price rises and that unprecedented profits enable the corporations to raise wages 25 per cent without increasing prices.

So far as any unified pattern of wage demands is concerned, CIO emphasis is now being placed on such "fringe" demands as portal-to-portal pay and company-financed, union-controlled health and welfare funds.

Both of these important demands have come to the fore as a result of wartime and post-war strike victories by the militant miners. Portal-to-portal pay in industries other than mining has been upheld by recent federal court decision.

The steel, auto and electrical workers unions have simultaneously started suits against the major corporations for what may amount to billions of dollars in retroactive portal-to-portal pay.

### Italian Trotskyist Wins Election To City Council

(Special to The Militant)

FOGGIA, Italy, Dec. 2.—The Foggia section of the Communist Workers Party (POC), Italian section of the Fourth International, succeeded in having Romeo Mangano elected to the Municipal Council in the Nov. 24 elections.

A total of 1,500 preferential votes were tabulated for Mangano. Another 1,500 votes for him were invalidated by the Central Electoral Bureau because the workers added revolutionary slogans to their ballots.

Romeo Mangano is the first member of the POC, formed in 1944, to be elected to public office. This first electoral experience of the Italian Trotskyists shows the possibilities for the development of a mass revolutionary party in Italy.

## Labor Party, Red-Baiting Debated At Convention Of California CIO

By J. Blake

(Special to The Militant)

SANTA CRUZ, Calif.—A militant left-wing minority made its voice heard at the California State CIO convention here Dec. 12-15 by fighting for a resolution favoring formation of a labor party now and by opposing red-baiting.

The labor party resolution came to the convention floor after a five-hour discussion in committee. It was signed by four United Auto Workers Local 406 delegates and submitted as a minority report by 406 delegate John Murphy, of Long Beach.

Jack Shepherd and George Harvey, United Steelworkers Local 2058, and Louis Ciccone, UAW Local 216, Los Angeles, as a minority on the resolutions committee opposed adoption of the state executive board's red-baiting policy statement. This statement supported the national CIO's declaration that the CIO "resents and rejects efforts of the Communist Party . . . to interfere in the affairs of the CIO" and that it would not "tolerate" such interference.

Shepherd condemned the statement as a "capitulation to red-baiting" and discriminatory. He charged that those who under-



## Wall Street Speeds Drive For Anti-Labor Legislation

Wall Street's drive for vicious anti-labor legislation is proceeding steadily.

William Green warned in a letter to all AFL officers Dec. 18 that Congress will attempt to impose "illegal union shop agreements, restrict the exercise of the right to strike, subject workers to civil suits for damages for participation in strikes in alleged violations of contracts and, in addition, enact further ob-

jectionable labor legislation similar to the notorious Case bill which was passed at the last session of Congress."

Green's fears are only too well founded. At virtually every press conference, the President intimated his January message to Congress will demand union-busting legislation. With almost one voice Congressmen echo the readiness to sink the blade in labor's back.

No call for CIO members to prepare for unified, militant action came from the joint meeting of steel, auto and electrical union top leaders held in Pittsburgh last week. Murray let it be known that the meeting was "to clear information and, not to set joint strategy."

Murray is ready to settle for far less than the CIO workers demand and can win if they resolutely push their demands with a unified program of militant action. It is up to the CIO ranks, the local militants, to demand such a united action program.

Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., Chairman of General Motors, on Dec. 19 outlined the anti-labor laws Wall Street wants. Speaking before the Boston Chamber of Commerce, the industrial mogul said unions could be crippled in two ways: (1) "by dissolving unions into parts" thus effectively destroying the fighting strength derived from labor unity; (2) "by limiting the power of any one union as now constituted" to strike a large part of "any one industry," thus grinding away

the edge of labor's strike weapon.

Sloan outlined a nine-point legislative program to hog-tie the unions:

(1) Grant employers permission to bombard workers with propaganda during working hours.

(2) Prohibit unions from bargaining collectively on an industry-wide basis.

(3) Let the courts intervene when decisions of government agencies favor the unions.

(4) Hold union collectively responsible for any breach of contract committed by members.

(5) Prohibit unionization of foremen.

(6) Outlaw the closed shop.

(7) Intervene in the internal affairs of unions under guise of assuring "democracy."

(8) Open the books of the un-

### UAW-CIO Board Appeals To AFL For Joint Action

(Special to The Militant)

NEW YORK, Dec. 23.—Top leaders of the CIO United Automobile Workers last week urged "leaders of the American Federation of Labor to respond to CIO President Murray's call for labor unity against those who would destroy the labor movement."

This appeal was issued by the 22-man UAW International Executive Board at the end of its 10-day session at the Hotel Piccadilly here. The Board, which previously announced new industry-wide demands for a 23 1/2 cent an hour wage increase, also pledged "unity of action" with other CIO unions in the wage fight.

The Board adopted a motion by President Walter Reuther proposing that a united labor conference of the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods should organize a unified campaign against anti-labor laws, establish machinery to settle jurisdictional disputes and coordinate labor's fight for higher wages.

The motion also proposed the setting up of a joint defense fund by the united labor conference. This was described by a Board spokesman as "really amounting to a strike fund."

A national united labor conference is needed, said the statement, as a "counter-offensive to turn back this drive of corporate reaction." It charged that the government "has washed its hands of the responsibility of providing homes for veterans" and has "turned back the clock of progress in labor relations by invoking injunctive powers against a union at the behest of the National Association of Manufacturers." It warned that "a reactionary Congress is formulating legislation that would outlaw legitimate and basic union activities."

The "outside influences" were The Militant and two Socialist Workers Party pamphlets, American Workers Need a Labor Party and Build A Labor Party Now, which had been distributed to the delegates. Jenkins brazenly misquoted an article by M. Stein in The Militant.

His falsification and red-baiting were sharply assailed by Howard Rosen, one of the UAW Local 406 delegates who signed the labor party resolution. Labeling the labor party proposal as "radical" did not determine its correctness, he pointed out. "The issues are still before us— independent political action or coalition."

**SHOWS POSSIBILITY**  
He showed the possibility of forming a labor party now by citing unions which have passed resolutions favoring a labor party and the high percentage of workers who have supported the idea in polls.

So many delegates, while opposing Stalinist policies, defended the Communist Party's democratic rights and condemned its capitulation, that the chairman commented: "I've never seen a convention where so many people opposed to the Communist Party defend the Communists."

Dave Jenkins, Stalinist director of the California Labor School and delegate from the Marin Cooks and Stewards, San Francisco, opposed the labor party resolution by ruling it was not "in conformity with CIO national policy." Despite protests even from some majority supporters, his ruling was upheld by a small vote.

## Shortage Gives Impetus To Drive To Scuttle All Controls On Rent

By Ruth Benson

The two-pronged drive of the construction and real estate profiteers to wreck the low-cost housing program and destroy rent ceilings was pushed forward last week by Truman when he scuttled the Veterans Emergency Housing plan.

New mansions for the rich, more penthouse apartments, race-tracks, night clubs and movie palaces will mushroom under Truman's Dec. 14 executive order. But it will aggravate the plight of millions of veterans and workers who need low-cost, low-rent dwellings.

Truman's housing decision will channel almost all building materials into the luxury market. It will worsen the housing shortage. This, in turn, is adding great impetus to the drive of the big real estate interests to get the new Congress to raise or remove



TRUMAN

rent ceilings on all existing rental dwellings.

Already Representative Jesse Wolcott of Michigan has announced that he is working on a "formula" to permit landlords to add "increased costs" to their rentals, a pretext under which rents can be raised enormously, although landlord profits are already highest in history.

### MAIN POINTS

The main points of Truman's order will (1) wipe out the \$10,000 ceiling on new homes; (2) eliminate veterans' priorities and provide permits for anyone who wishes to build, regardless of need; (3) allow construction of 40 per cent more non-residential buildings; (4) change the previous rental ceiling of \$80 on new apartments to an "average" of \$80" for entire projects.

Other big UAW locals in Flint which are already on record in favor of a Labor Party include Fisher and A. C. Spark Plug.

Veteran and labor spokesmen denounce the scheme as an attack upon the living conditions

(Continued on Page 2)

## Halt Rent Rises!

### Statement Of The Socialist Workers Party Political Committee

The workers' standard of living, already undermined by high prices, is now under assault on the rent front.

The landlords are conspiring to smash rent controls. The capitalist press is backing them up. Truman and the 80th Congress are preparing to lift rents on a nation-wide scale. At the same time they are scuttling all plans for government-financed low-rent housing.

During the war, construction of new housing was suspended, but people were led to believe that after the war new homes would be provided. Since V-J Day, the housing shortage has only grown worse. Disastrous fires in many cities with a heavy toll of human life have tragically demonstrated the mounting danger of bad and over-crowded housing.

The workers have been hit by a pincer movement—from one side a smashing barrage of the real estate interests for rent increases; from the other side an all-out attack on government-financed housing. Every veteran, every worker and his family is vitally affected by this attack.

What is to be done?

This burning problem demands the attention of the entire trade union movement. The trade unions must lead the whole population in the struggle for new housing and against rent increases. They must serve notice they will resist rent increases with rent strikes. They must serve notice they will battle any attempt of the brutal real estate sharks to evict families into the streets. It is up to the trade unions to show all the low-income groups how militant methods can defeat the landlords and their government agents.

The campaign against rent increases must begin at once.

Local unions, union councils, and all labor bodies should immediately adopt resolutions protesting the threatened rent increases. These resolutions should be publicized on the widest possible basis. Every union body should at once begin organizing tenants for defensive action against the greedy landlords.

Campaigns to force municipal and state legislation freezing rents and barring evictions must be launched. This would serve as a safeguard against the lifting of Federal controls.

The unions should demand that the \$18,000,000,000 (billions) military budget for 1947 be used for the construction of low-rent housing. Build homes—not atom bombs!

The unions should demand municipal and state low-rent housing projects, financed through a heavy tax on the war profiteers. The government is yielding to the pressure of the profiteering landlords. Only determined mass resistance—large-scale rent strikes, anti-eviction demonstrations—can stay the hand of the grasping landlords and their government tools. The trade unions must take the lead in this struggle to defend the rights of the workers and veterans to a decent home.

# Expulsions Fail To End CP Crisis

The crisis gripping the American Communist Party (Stalinist), reflected in wholesale expulsions for "leftism," has for the first time in 16 years produced an organized internal opposition to the official Stalinist leaders and policies.

It is clear from the many documents of dissenting groups that have come into our possession that the opposition of the CP rises chiefly from the working-class layers of the party.

How wide-spread and persistent is the opposition, struggle within the CP is shown by the fact that whole leading branches, both on the east and west coasts, have been ruthlessly "liquidated" or "reorganized" and most of their members expelled.

Two outstanding examples are the cases of the CP machinists club in San Francisco and the P. R. Communist Party Club, Section 1, Bronx, called not long ago by the New York State party secretary "the best club in the Bronx."

Some hint as to the scope of the opposition is given in the December issue of *Political Affairs*, "theoretical" organ of the CP. Months after the expulsion of the San Francisco machinists, it runs an extensive article on "The Struggles Against Deviations and Factionalism in San Francisco" which admits that the San Francisco group "have connections outside of San Francisco, and even outside of the state."

What is of even greater concern to the Stalinist leaders, as *Political Affairs* points out, is that the "group of expelled have organized themselves and meet regularly... They are engaged in

the circulation of documents, some prepared locally, others written by persons who have been expelled elsewhere... They hope, through the use of their documents and through personal contacts, to re-establish their faction within the Party."

The utter decay and demoralization of the Stalinist party and its leaders is demonstrated especially by the issues over which most of the expulsions for "leftism" take place. These are not controversies about revolutionary strategy or basic program. They involve literally the most elementary principles upheld by even the most backward unionists.

Thus, the CP machinists club in San Francisco was broken up and its members expelled because they refused to organize a "rank-and-file back-to-work movement" to break the joint strike of AFL Machinists Lodge 38 in San Francisco and CIO Steelworkers Local 1304 in Alameda County.

According to the article in *Political Affairs* against these "left deviationists," they insisted on supporting a strike led by union leaders who had a "Trotskyist line." They did not agree with the party leaders who "stressed the need for an independent program that would free the machinists from the disastrous consequences" of the militant strike policies of the union leaders.

Among other things the "majority of machinist comrades" opposed were the Stalinist leaders' instructions that "it was essential to prevent the tie-up of the waterfront and troopers" and "the necessity for an organized retreat." The article complains about the "passivity on the

part of some comrades" and "their inability to give leadership to the rank-and-file strikers along the lines indicated by the party's policies." That is, the CP machinists refused to be strikebreakers and the striking workers were very hostile to any "rank-and-file back-to-work" movement.

Not only were CP workers expelled for refusing to be strikebreakers on the economic front, they were expelled for objecting to strikebreaking on the political front.

The key issue which led to the expulsions in the Bronx P. R. Club was the club members' criticism of the manner in which the Stalinist leaders backed capitalist party candidates. They didn't even object to the false principle of backing Wall Street's candidates. As they state in "An S.O.S. To All Communists," they objected merely because "the CP declared a 'moratorium' on pressure and issued 'blank checks' to the Democratic Party candidates Mead and Lehman, who were calling for support of a 'tough policy' against the Soviet Union and conducting a vicious anti-red, anti-Communist election campaign. Unless the CP censures pressure and only qualified support for these men, it will encourage and even hurry their reactionary plans," says the P. R. Club's statement.

It was because of such views as these, a protest against the CP giving "unqualified support" to red-baiting, anti-Soviet, war-mongering Wall Street politicians, that first one member, "Comrade E.", who wrote a critical letter to the CP leaders was expelled and then the whole P. R. Club was "reorganized."

(This is the second in a series of articles on the crisis in the Communist Party.)

the expulsion of "E." by the State Committee, but 19 members signed an appeal to the National Committee. Then, "the National, State, County and Section Committees have grappled and intimidated our club, attempting to change our decisions by fake transfers in, and mass expulsions out. Our whole Executive Committee was removed, but this removal was not recognized by the club."

Thus, it is the elementary issue of CP strikebreaking on the economic and political fronts, rather than any basic disagreements with the Stalinist program, that unites the growing opposition tendencies in the CP.

How are the dissenters met? At the first voice of criticism, they are ruthlessly expelled. But in this case, such expulsions fail to silence the critics. Expulsions are aggravating the internal crisis, provoking more doubts, stimulating more opposition.

Now the Stalinist leaders are forced to carry on against the dissenters a campaign of so-called "polemic"—that is, in Stalinist practice, smear campaign. Naturally, the charge of "Trotskyism" is the first to be hurled. And the dissenters are immediately branded "factionalists." Every such characterization, as usual, is false to the core.

The new opposition in the CP are as yet merely left-Stalinists, who defend Stalinism internationally, while objecting to its vilest expression in the American Communist Party. They are "factionalists" only in the sense that any CP member who raises a critical voice against any policy of the CP leaders is called a "factionalist."

(This is the second in a series of articles on the crisis in the Communist Party.)

# Latest Statistics Reveal Housing Shortage Worse

By Evelyn Atwood

Not a single new apartment house was built in New York City in the first 10 months of this year, according to figures released on Dec. 13 by Dr. N. T. Saxl, Commissioner of Housing and Buildings.

would need an income of about \$90 a week! He would need the same income to pay the \$80 a month — and up — on future apartment houses. More than half of the American workers earn less than \$130 a month.

While the veterans are given the runaround, there are 550,000 other families in New York City confined to slum areas with no hope for escape. Occupants of these old-law tenement fire-traps are mainly large families with many children. The U. S. Department of Labor in 1936 warned that "infant mortality is twice as great in congested houses as elsewhere. Deaths from tuberculosis in New York City are greater in old-law tenements than in new. In seven cities juvenile delinquency averaged 101 per cent greater in slums than in non-slum areas."

The housing crisis has sharpened since January of this year, when the national shortage amounted to 3,500,000 units, and 1,200,000 city families were living doubled up. It was then estimated that, exclusive of farm areas, 1,260,000 units must be built each year for the next 10 years to even partly meet the acute need. And this would not provide relief for those who are forced to live in the 6,000,000 dwellings which are literally falling apart.

**NO PROGRAM**

Of the 37 million homes in the U. S., 11 million (almost a third) are without running water; 15 million lack an inside private toilet; 12 million are without bathtubs; 3 million are overcrowded. There is no program even on paper for the wretched inhabitants of these substandard dwellings.

One of the most serious consequences of this housing crisis is the sharp rise in evictions. So far this year the OPA and municipal courts have granted 17,525 evictions, almost as many as for 1944 and 1945 combined. In New York City, 7,807 evictions were granted in the first 11 months, and these are expected to mount week by week.

## Low-Cost Housing Program Scuttled By Pres. Truman

(Continued from Page 1)

100 units in the Negro area. Those financially able moved into the new buildings, making it possible for those successively less well off to move up a step all along the line."

Thus, the wealthy few on top who already live in extravagant luxury will get even swankier mansions and apartments. But for the millions who need decent shelter now there is offered only the hope that eventually they will be able to "move up" into the worst and vilest hotels and tenements.

But even this is a vain hope. When the rich abandon their Park Avenue and Fifth Avenue mansions, these remain empty and boarded up. The workers are just jammed tighter into rat-infested, decrepit fire-traps, which decay and fire are destroying at even greater rate.

But the big Business government in Washington follows the command of the real estate owners, not the needs of the poor. Even the Veterans' Emergency Housing Program, limited as it was in its aims, has now been buried. Resigning in disgust, deputy housing executive Norton S. Long correctly termed Truman's policy "non-veteran, non-housing."

It is up to the labor movement to initiate widespread demands and actions to secure adequate housing for the workers and veterans and to halt the attempt

to boost rents. Rent strikes, anti-eviction activity, and mass demands for an 18 billion dollar federal housing appropriation should be first steps in the direction of decent low-cost, low-rent homes for veterans and workers.

## Studio Pickets In Mass Trials

By Al Lynn

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 21 — The first of the mass trials of pickets in the Hollywood strike slowly got under way here this week with 208 placed on trial at Patriotic Hall and another 125 at the Embassy Auditorium.

Only four prospective jurors were examined on the first day at Patriotic Hall. The hundreds of pickets were faced with the prospect of no work for a period of several months while the trial drags on.

This demoralizing prospect, however, caused only five individuals to break ranks and plead guilty. The five were fined \$25 each for disturbing the peace.

The display of solidarity was all the more marked because of the approach of Christmas and the rapid evaporation of any savings under the steady increase in prices.

## Bilbo Calls Bribes He Got 'An Old Southern Custom'

By Joseph Hansen

How a capitalist politician makes a seat in the United States Senate pay off like a seat in the stock exchange was graphically revealed last week in hearings of the Senate War Investigating Committee when Mississippi war contractors came to the defense of Theodore G. ("Poisonmouth") Bilbo. They didn't really bribe him, they said; he "was needin' it."

Bilbo, a member of the Ku Klux Klan, advocate of lynch violence against the Negroes, and banner-bearer of the Democratic Party in the Bourbon South, quietly sucked on a cigar butt as one of his war profiteer friends jovially declared, "We always elect poor folks in Mississippi."

Mike T. Morrissey, who got \$115,302 for rental of equipment at Keesler Air Field, said, "I just happened to drive in to see Bilbo" when the Senator was starting to dig a 23-acre artificial lake with no equipment but a mule.

Warm-hearted Morrissey was so touched by Bilbo's plight that he finished up the project with bulldozers at a cost of \$3,672. Besides this, Morrissey "loaned"

Bilbo \$6,000 which he made no attempt to collect, assumed \$48,000 of "losses" in operations on Bilbo's 3,300 acre estate, and donated \$1,800 to Bilbo's private church.

As a Christmas present one year, Morrissey slipped Bilbo a \$1,919 Cadillac. Bilbo explained that such gifts were "just an old Southern custom."

He cited similar gifts to other Mississippi Senators and Governors and to his well-known fellow-Democrats, President Roosevelt and President Truman.

Having excavated the lake, Morrissey "happened to see the Senator and a mule startin' to" dig a swimming pool. Morrissey sprang to the rescue, completing the work with bulldozers for the poverty-stricken Senator.

John R. Junkins, who got a \$500,000 war contract, did the \$1,500 cementing job on Bilbo's swimming pool. "I just happened to be going by," he said, "and saw Bilbo gettin' ready to mix cement." Junkins too decided it pays to support religion and generously contributed \$500 to Bilbo's church fund.

M. T. Reed, who totalled \$43,000,000 in war contracts, said he was "just ridin' by the Senator's when I noticed his house needed paintin' bad. So I did it." The bill was \$1,790. Reed's religious sentiments were so deep he contributed \$3,500 to Bilbo's church and the Christmas spirit moved him to the tune of a \$517 present for Bilbo.

B. L. Knost, who also got a whack at the Keesler Air Field melon, didn't say where he was never spoken.

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## Students Support Teachers



St. Paul students backed up the strike of their teachers by demonstrating at the Minnesota capitol, demanding that the strike be settled so their classes can resume. They demanded better schools, too. See story on Page 6.

St. Paul Dispatch Photo.

## Ku Klux Klan Death Threats Follow Burning Of Vet's Home

(Special to The Militant)

REDWOOD CITY, Calif., Dec. 18 — The partially constructed home of a Negro veteran, John T. Walker, was burned on Dec. 6 in this town, 25 miles from San Francisco, because he attempted to

build in an area considered "out of bounds." This is the culmination of a series of threats against the Negroes of this community extending over a period of months.

The CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards Union and Warehouse Local 6, were represented. The trade union movement's great power, properly used, can prevent vigilante terror. If the organized labor movement is to continue to exist, all Ku Klux and fascist movements must be crushed. It is the responsibility of the labor movement of the entire San Francisco area to give full support and aid to the Negro people of Redwood City.

The committee is studying the housing problem and will bring recommendations back to the full body.

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# Action Needed To Defend Labor's Living Standards

By M. Stein

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

The acute international situation with its ever present threat of war is coupled with a shaky economic equilibrium at home. The country's economic life is dislocated beyond repair by the growing concentration of wealth in the hands of the big monopolists. While the corporations are piling up fantastic profits, arrogating to themselves an even larger share of the annual income, the purchasing power of the masses is further slashed by the inflationary prices.

The workers' share of the national income continues steadily to decline. The national debt of 260 billion dollars—almost equal to the country's estimated national wealth—weighs heavily on the working people. This national debt represents by and large fictitious capital, which, as Leon Trotsky pointed out in a similar connection, is a memento of the real wealth that was pumped out of the country for the purposes of destruction.

It represents a mortgage on the wealth yet to be accumulated. The interest alone on this mortgage amounts to more than five billion dollars a year. The size of this sum can be grasped if we recall that the entire national budget in 1929 was 3½ billion dollars, while in 1933 it was 4½ billion dollars.

This huge national debt, plus the billions being spent in preparation for World War III, will henceforward claim a constantly increasing share of the national income. It will come out of the workers' pay envelope in the form of bigger taxes, rising prices and cuts in real wages. It means a further decline in the workers' standard of living.

## One Choice For Workers

The workers have no choice except to fight in defense of their already meager living standards. This was the meaning of the great strike wave that followed V-J Day.

But the gains of the strikes were quickly consumed by soaring prices. The strike settlements therefore were only a partial check on the decline in the workers' living standards, and that only for a short time. The inflationary spiraling of prices quickly nullifies the wage increases gained in strike struggles. What can the workers do under these circumstances?

Our party, I believe, was the only one to advance a realistic program, the heart of which is the struggle for the sliding scale of wages. We propose that every union contract include an escalator clause which provides for automatic wage increases with every rise in the cost of living, in accordance with a price index established by the unions themselves.

The sliding scale of wages would thus safeguard the workers' living standards from being undermined by price jumps. The workers would be freed from the harassing necessity of constantly defending their living standards from this line of assault and could begin a struggle to improve their living conditions over previous levels.

The sliding scale of wages would secure the positions already won in years of struggle and

make possible an offensive for higher standards of living. Conversely, this slogan points the only way of effectively counteracting the employers' propaganda that wage increases are responsible for high prices and of preventing the fruits of workers' victories from being stolen from them by the corporations. And most important of all, it would end a drain on the workers' fighting morale, the drain that comes from too many battles of purely defensive character.

We made considerable headway with this slogan. It has made its way in a number of important unions. It provided our militants with an effective weapon against the trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists. It will continue to play an important role in the days ahead.

## Consumers' Organization

In the struggle against sky-rocketing prices we likewise advocated organization against the profiteers on the consumers' front. We proposed the organization of consumers' committees, which jointly with the unions would wage a struggle against artificially created scarcities and profiteering.

We did not score any spectacular successes with this proposal as yet. But the Toledo experience, in the fight against the meat gouge, showed what can be done on this front.

It is certain now that rents will be boosted, either by the OPA's granting increases, or through the elimination of rent controls altogether. This will give rise to serious struggles, fights against evictions, and so on.

Rent is the major item in the workers' budget. Higher rents mean a further slash in the workers' living standards. We can expect large-scale resistance to rent increases and we ought to proceed immediately to give this resistance an organized expression.

In some places it may be possible to organize the tenants with the sanction and aid of the trade unions. In such cases it is not excluded that city-wide rent strikes may ensue.

The trade unions have an excellent opportunity to give leadership to the whole community in the struggle against exorbitant rents.

## Action Is Slogan

Our comrades should be the champions of such actions wherever they are in a position to do so. But even where our trade union influence is limited, it does not mean that we cannot take effective action.

Even small scale actions on an issue on which the masses are aroused will attract wide attention. Our experience in Toledo is instructive here. The Toledo Emergency Housewives' Committee that went to the Mayor and the City Council to fight against the meat famine and meat gouge was not a large body. But it certainly won a lot of attention because the issue itself was very explosive.

Actions initiated even on a small scale can often give impetus to broader struggles. If any single watchword can be said to apply in the next period, it is the slogan: Action, action and more action! We must be on our toes for every opportunity that leads to action.

# Not Much Peace Or Good Will Displayed By World Capitalism

## Trotskyists In Greece Hold 3rd Debate With CP

(Special to The Militant)

ATHENS, Greece, Dec. 2—The third public discussion between the Greek Communist Party (Stalinist) and the Trotskyists took place here Nov. 26 on the subject, "The War and the Tasks of the Communists."

The first speaker, a Trotskyist, analyzed the revolutionary attitude toward the different wars since Marx, stressing particularly the imperialist character of the First and Second World Wars.

He refuted all the Stalinist arguments that the last war was a struggle of "democracy against fascism," and attacked the attitude of the Greek Stalinists in the Italo-Greek war of 1940-41, in which they supported Metaxas and the Greek capitalists in the name of "the defense of the independence and integrity of the country."

In concluding, he insisted on the danger of a Third World War by the imperialists against the Soviet Union if victorious socialist revolutions did not intervene.

## DISTORTS MARXISM

The Stalinist speaker tried to justify the "democratic-progressive" character of the last war on the part of the imperialist allies of the USSR. He declared that the last war was led by fascism in the aim of oppressing the "free" countries of Europe and not for the conquest of colonies, and completely distorted the position of Marx on the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.

Attendance was less numerous than in the two previous discussions, amounting to only 641. When opinion was expressed by the audience, 411 voted for the Stalinists; the Trotskyists received 204, and 26 took neither side.

The minutes of the three discussions will be published in pamphlets jointly issued by both organizations.

## A Year Of Colonial Struggle



These Indo-Chinese fighters for independence were photographed on their way to prison under French guard. But the imperialists have not crushed the masses, who are still battling their oppressors as 1946 draws to a close.

## Puerto Ricans Protest U. S. Gag On Spanish

SAN JUAN, Dec. 15—During the past few weeks hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans have been strongly protesting against President Truman's veto of a bill twice approved by the Island Legislature, establishing Spanish instead of English as the official language in Puerto Rico's schools.

Thus far the American imperialist news agencies and newspapers have ignored these facts. According to the San Juan newspaper, *El Mundo* of Nov. 9, nearly 200,000 university and public school students struck, condemning Truman's veto and demanding immediate solution of the political status of Puerto Rico.

The students of the University of Puerto Rico, in Rio Piedras, near San Juan, carried placards condemning American imperialism in the following terms:

"We demand immediate withdrawal of American troops from Puerto Rico."

"We demand Spanish be taught at our public schools instead of the English language."

"To err is Truman."

"Hands off Puerto Rico."

"Less talk about liberty in other countries and give independence to your colony of Puerto Rico."

"Thousands of Puerto Ricans die every year of malnutrition because American sugar barons rob our country."

"American democrats, help us fight Yankee imperialism."

Besides the students, the powerful Asociacion de Maestros de Puerto Rico (Teachers Association) is now fighting to have the presidential veto on the Spanish language nullified.

Moreover, the Island's teachers struck on the last days of November demanding higher wages because of the sky-rocketing of prices following the elimination of the OPA in the U. S.

Thousands of starving teach-

## Spanish Strikers Show Readiness To Resist Franco

PARIS, France, Dec. 12—News of strikes breaking out in Spain shows that the Spanish workers, far from being crushed into hopeless passivity, are ready to carry on a fight every time a chance presents itself. And the recent strikes are not the first this year either.

In March strikes broke out too, especially in the textile industry of Catalonia, where the workers have a long tradition of struggle. In Terrasa and Sabadell the strikes broke out spontaneously over a demand for better food. The women played an especially important part in this fight. There was also a strike among the Barcelona harbor workers.

NEW STRIKES

Since then new strikes have taken place in the Barcelona textile plants again over food. The provincial prefect could no longer remain silent this time.

In a communiqué on "the agitation which exists among the workers in the textile trade," he ordered the factory directors not to accept demands for higher wages "before the Ministry of Labor has examined the problem."

Among the many revolutionary parties in Bolivia, the POR is in the vanguard by its extremist doctrine and the radical methods it proposes. This party recruits experienced members in the workers' centers, and opposes the traditional parties as well as the PIR.

This communiqué reflects the fear of the authorities that the strike movements may spread.

Franco has tried to neutralize the growing discontent by organizing "spontaneous" parades in his support. Despite pressure from the authorities—obligatory closing down of all offices, factories, schools, etc.—these bureaucratic masquerades only reveal the isolation of the regime and its lack of a mass base.

Rather than peace and good will, the outstanding characteristics of the world scene in the week leading up to the Christmas holidays were political conflict and instability, widespread ferment among the masses and large-scale fighting in a number of countries. Far more people were occupied with hunger, grief and bitter resentment than with rejoicing and celebration.

## France and Indo-China

Leon Blum's "stopgap" cabinet, all-Socialist because the two biggest French parties (CP and MRP) were unable to arrive at a compromise preceding the election of a president next month, was grappling with an extremely thorny problem—the war in Indo-China.

Having broken its promise to the Viet Minh government that it would hold a referendum on the future status of Cochin-China, the French government has now launched a bloody campaign to wipe out resistance to undisguised imperialist domination of all of Indo-China.

But the French butchers are finding that this is easier to try than to accomplish. The Indo-Chinese masses are resisting heroically and this time, after the experience over Cochin-China, they will be less inclined to permit their leaders to accept a "compromise" that only gives imperialism a breathing spell for a new attack.

## The Warfare Inside Greece

The United Nations Security Council voted last week to send a commission to the Balkans to investigate the fighting on the borders of Greece.

Greek Premier Tsaldaris' plea to the UN action on this question was an admission that neither the brutal Greek dictatorship nor the British troops which uphold it, could successfully cope with the new partisan movement that has arisen in Greece.

Despite the possibility that Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania are exploiting and even aiding this partisan group, the fact is that it is a native Greek movement and that no UN censure or other action against Greece's neighbors will end the conflict inside Greece itself.

## General Strikes in Italy

In Italy a general strike against the high prices and food shortages tied up the city of Naples for 2½ days. Anti-labor newspapers were shut down and the strikers took over the radio station. The strike continued until Premier de Gasperi rushed emergency grain to Naples, and promised over the radio to meet the strikers' demands, including more money for unemployment relief and public works.

Unrest over the high cost of living is evident all over Italy. A general strike was threatened in Bari and Reggio Calabria, riot over food took place in Rome and Salerno, and strikes were spreading elsewhere.

## Japanese Cabinet Crisis

The reactionary Japanese cabinet headed by Yoshida last week managed to defeat the Socialist Party motion for the immediate dissolution of the Diet and the election of a new one. But it was by the smallest margin the government ever got on any issue—236 to 160.

The vote took place at the same time as a mass demonstration for a new Diet by 500,000 trade unionists before the Diet and the Imperial Palace.

The Japanese masses have definitely moved left since last spring's election. The newspaper *Mainichi* has just completed a poll in which 52 per cent of the people held that the Yoshida government has been a failure. The next elections will surely reflect this shift to the left. Meanwhile, as the N. Y. Times reporter acknowledged on Dec. 18, MacArthur's headquarters "now is relying on an increasingly unpopular group."

## Decline of the British Empire

Winston Churchill, wailed last week about the decline and fall of the British Empire. He sought to make political capital of it by blaming the Labor Party for not putting up a better fight to retain the British colonies. Actually, the decline of the empire began before the Labor Party came into office, and the Labor Party leadership is fighting as well as it can to deny independence to Britain's colonial slaves.

The difference is that today the colonial masses are on the move, and attempts to put them down in Churchill's way would only hasten the explosions and the defeat of British imperialism. The Labor Party government follows a policy fully as imperialist as Churchill's, as Palestine shows, but it does not have the strength to do as it wishes everywhere.

That is why—until it is in a stronger position—the British government is ready to make a compromise with the native capitalists which will protect its basic economic and military interests. That is the meaning of its offer to India, Egypt and now Burma. But as Attlee indicated in defending the offer to Burma, perhaps it is too late to salvage even this much.

World capitalism has survived for another year. But there will be a bitter taste in any toast made to celebrate that survival. For with the coming of the new year the future of capitalism on a world scale still remains unattractive, insecure and unstable.

## International Notes

President Truman tried last week to justify the U. S. policy in China which has aroused so much condemnation in this country and abroad. He sought to disclaim responsibility for helping the Kuomintang to maintain its dictatorship but he could not deny that U. S. supplies, services and other support were given to China's government in its civil war against the Yenan regime and other opponents. Truman's report actually confirmed what he tried to deny—the necessity for the American workers to demand the withdrawal of American forces from China and the cessation of all support for Chiang Kai-shek.

One third of the delegates to the French Postal Workers Federation, CGT, supported the "trade union struggle" group in opposition to the Stalinist leaders of the union. This group denounced Stalinist strikebreaking during the recent postal strike, demanding the sliding scale of wages with a guaranteed minimum wage, defended union democracy and independence of the unions from the state.

Seventeen British enlisted soldiers are awaiting court-martial in Alexandria, charged with "mutiny" because of participation in recent protests against demobilization delay in the Middle East, according to the *Des Socialists*. Another 40 soldiers are held in barracks, and 200 are confined in barracks.

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"It is not all permanently established that the United States will be last in the order of revolutionary primacy, condemned to reach its proletarian revolution only after the countries of Europe and Asia. A situation, a combination of forces is possible in which the order is changed and the tempo of development in the United States enormously accelerated."

—Leon Trotsky

## Appeasement

Stalinist leaders at the CIO convention last month helped draft a declaration that "we resent and reject the efforts of the Communist Party ... to interfere in the affairs of the CIO." Every Stalinist delegate was whipped into line to vote for that red-baiting statement.

The Daily Worker hailed this Stalinist capitulation to the red-baiters as "a great and statesmanlike move" which provided "the basis for continued unity, freedom of thought and political affiliation."

Events since the CIO convention have quickly proved that the anti-communist declaration is a basis only for a heightened red-baiting campaign. Reactionary elements in one state CIO convention after another—Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Connecticut, New Jersey—have used the CIO's national declaration as a means to push through additional anti-democratic measures.

A climax to this growing red-baiting campaign was provided last week by the leaders of the CIO United Office and Professional Workers, generally known to be Stalinist-dominated. Lewis Merrill, UOPWA President and long a Stalinist follower, issued an Executive Board statement directing members and officers not to "become identified with this or that wing" of the labor movement, including the Communist Party. It threatened that "any effort to impose the viewpoint of outside organizations" on the union "will be met by the firmest exercise of union discipline."

Merrill himself set the example by publicly announcing his resignation as a contributing editor to the Stalinist New Masses and a trustee of the Communist Party's Jefferson School of Social Sciences in New York.

Because of Merrill's long association with Stalinism and because his action was such an obvious concession to the red-baiters, the Daily Worker was forced to dissociate itself from his move, with an editorial against Merrill calling: "Appeasement of Red-Baiting Never Paid."

That is a splendid headline. But it really belongs over an editorial directed at the Communist Party leaders themselves. It was their capitulation to the red-baiters and endorsement of the anti-communist resolution at the CIO convention which helped lay the basis for the intensified red-baiting drive in the CIO. The Merrills are just carrying the Stalinist line to its logical conclusion.

Actually, the Stalinist Party is reactionary through and through. It isn't against red-baiting. It red-baits the Trotskyists and other labor militants all the time. It is ready to block with red-baiters, as it showed at the CIO convention. It whines now only because it has had to swallow some of the bitter fruits it helped to plant at the CIO convention.

## Wholly "Military"

In a speech Dec. 20 to his newly appointed "committee on Universal Military Training," Truman called for plans to regiment America's youth. But, he added, "I want that word military left out."

Truman said the training would be nothing but a "disciplinary approach of getting along with one another, informing them of their physical makeup, and what it means to take care of this temple which God gave us."

The real purpose of this training, however, is to prepare "this temple" to be blown to ribbons on the battlefields of World War III. This is shown by the fact that the keynote of Truman's speech was militaristic. "It is a total war these days," he declared.

The Committee obediently blue-penciled the word "military" from their official title. But as Wall Street's mouthpiece, the N. Y. Times, cynically observed, "The omission of an adjective does not, of course, change the reality."

At the same time the House Military Affairs Committee, after a secret study of more than a year, called for continuous military espionage in other countries during peacetime. In language as blunt as any Prussian militarist could desire, the committee demanded professionals to conduct the "intricate, involved, hazardous, hidden, ruthless operation" of spying abroad.

The capitalist press applauded this step toward war just as it applauded Truman's call

to regiment American youth. The N. Y. Daily News hailed the call for "a genuine worldwide spy system for the United States," and said it was "delighted" this "dirty and distasteful but essential business" would be "handled by professionals."

The call for universal military training and universal military espionage follow directly on the heels of a unanimous decision of the United Nations to begin "disarmament." These two proposals alone show what a fraud the UN decision is.

So far as Wall Street sees, the U. S. is headed toward an atomic war that nothing can stop as long as their government remains in power.

## Bilbo Hearings

Will Bilbo be ousted from the Senate?

The Mississippi Senator apparently did not think so during the hearings at Jackson over his use of terror against Negroes in the primary elections. In high good humor, Bilbo wise-cracked with fellow-Democrat Allen J. Ellender who headed the "investigation." And Ellender made clear that the Committee intended to whitewash Bilbo.

Likewise at the Washington hearings over his acceptance of bribes from war contractors, Bilbo performed like an actor in a bawdy farce. Then Republican Senator Homer Ferguson drew attention to a federal law prohibiting a war contractor from contributing to campaign funds or a candidate soliciting them.

Bilbo was caught "completely by surprise," said the press. A "violent flush spread across The Man's face" as the implication sank in he might be ousted for violating this law.

Since Bilbo's ties with war contractors were not essentially different from those of other capitalist politicians, the question arises: Why oust Bilbo on such grounds while doing nothing about the big-time war profiteers and their government agents?

A possible explanation is that Bilbo went too far last summer in acknowledging his membership in the Ku Klux Klan and openly inciting lynch violence. He is out on a limb which the Republicans want to cut. In the 1948 Presidential election they can then pose as "liberal," having done something about this hated figure in contrast to the Democratic Party which did nothing.

Bilbo's violations of federal laws on war contracts give the Republicans a convenient means of barring him on a technicality without touching the Bourbon electoral system in the South—although this system violates the Constitution. Moreover, by side-stepping Bilbo's Hitler-like racial views the GOP avoids incensing the Southern Bourbons.

Thus if Bilbo is barred, it will not be because of his worst crimes. Most of his fellow Congressmen see eye to eye with him on racial questions.

Bilbo argues that if he is "condemned" for accepting bribes then "every worthwhile Senator and member of the House must likewise bear the burden of the condemnation." This warning undoubtedly carries weight among Congressmen intimately connected with the war profiteers. Barring Bilbo could set a precedent leading to their loss of office too.

However, if Bilbo retains his seat, it will emphasize again what a reactionary, corrupt body Wall Street's Congress really is. In addition, the native fascists will be enormously encouraged by the fact Bilbo could get away with his brazen espousal of the Ku Klux Klan, violation of the law and incitements to violence.

## Amnesty For COs

Let it not be said Truman is not touched by the spirit of Christmas. He has decided to do something for the conscientious objectors still in prison. In a sweeping gesture on Dec. 22, Truman let it be known that "pre-Christmas actions are planned" and these plans may hold out hope for the eventual release of some of the conscientious objectors.

This warm thought didn't just well up in Truman's heart. A picket line marched outside the White House on the morning that Truman let the press "officially" learn of his generous intentions. This picket line, dressed in striped "prison suits," presented a petition bearing thousands of signatures demanding Christmas Amnesty for all the 662 conscientious objectors still behind bars. And other demonstrations were scheduled in eight cities.

Likewise it must be admitted there are strings attached to Truman's generosity. Instead of a general amnesty, he plans to set up a three-man board that will go over each individual case with a fine-tooth comb. The board will finally recommend. Then Truman will eventually decide personally whether the amnesty should or should not apply to those who get through the board.

In any case, the press jubilantly announced 150 members of Jehovah's Witnesses expect release for good behavior just before Christmas, having served one-third of their term. It is true that strings are attached to this release too. They remain bound to parole restrictions. But the Department of Justice timed their release to come close to Christmas, didn't it?

As for restoring the civil rights denied the 6,000 to 7,000 conscientious objectors who were imprisoned, Truman said nothing.

Likewise still deprived of their civil rights are 18 Trotskyists who were sentenced to prison and served terms during the war for opposing imperialist war and advocating socialism.

But let it not be said that Truman does not know how to rule in the grand style. If Kings, Emperors and Czars felt Christmas called for amnesty to political opponents, a President cannot be outdone. That is why he let the press officially learn "pre-Christmas actions are planned."



## Workers BOOKSHELF

## MIDDLE EAST AT THE CROSSROADS

By T. Cliff, Workers International News Pamphlet, No. 1, 1946, 24 pp., 20 cents.

This important pamphlet, first in a series of popular priced pamphlets published in England, is available from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y. It reprints the much discussed articles which have already appeared in *Fourth International*, containing a comprehensive analysis of the critical events taking place in the Middle East for the past year.

The analysis begins with the fundamental factor—the high stake the imperialists have in the Arab East. Although today the chief power in this area is Britain, U. S. imperialism also has a big stake in its riches and strategic position.

Out of imperialist domination, the author demonstrates, flow all of its terrible consequences; abysmal poverty, misery, high death rate and in Palestine tormenting desires and disappointments. He views youth through himself in the character of Eugene Gant as he was influenced by the conflicting personalities of his parents and by his environment in the southern town of Altamont, Old Catawba.

For imperialism to dominate these colonial millions, it must become fortified through the native bourgeoisie. The Arab bourgeoisie, mainly the feudal landowning class, despite its desire to wring concessions for itself from the imperialist overlord, must make even greater efforts to oust the Zionist bourgeoisie in order to become the main agent of imperialism. Because secondary and light industry is in the hands of Zionist capital, "the junior partners of imperialist capital are not the Arab bourgeoisie, but the Zionist bourgeoisie," the author explains.

That is why, despite the bloody struggles between Zionism and imperialism, the Zionist leaders are incapable of conducting a genuine anti-imperialist fight.

They are dragging the rank and file Zionists into a blind alley. Meanwhile, its "divide and rule" policy maintains British imperialism in power.

The author also analyzes the treacherous and twisting role of Stalinist policy in this region. He concludes with a presentation of the only solution to the problem—the overthrow of imperialism through the building of an international front of class struggle in the Arab East.

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Eugene makes many attempts to escape his southern environment and to become independent of Eliza's maternal grasp. First he goes to a private school, where Mrs. Leonard recognizes and develops his talent for fashioning words.

Later, Eugene goes to the state university. When war comes, he tries to sign up, but is too young.

After graduation, Eugene joins the wanderers. At one period he works in a shipyard, but not long enough to become class-conscious.

The book ends as he flees northward to see his father's land and study at Harvard.

The book is chiefly valuable in its portrayal of man's most common emotions, its intensely moving poetical lines, and its detailed character studies. Wolfe did not see far enough into social forces, but he did perceive that much is wrong in society and showed promise of a closer approach to the masses.

—Robert Bates

## LOOK HOMeward, ANGEL

By Thomas Wolfe, Modern Library, 600 pp., \$1.

Here Wolfe looks in retrospect on his first 19 years, and paints a vivid picture of American youth's loneliness, isolation, tormenting desires and disappointments.

He views youth through himself in the character of Eugene Gant as he was influenced by the conflicting personalities of his parents and by his environment in the southern town of Altamont, Old Catawba.

From his earliest years, Wolfe was sensitively and passionately aware of the immense beauty of nature, of growth and change, of man's struggle and all of colors, sounds, scenes, tastes, smells and feelings. He observed too the ugliness and disorder that stand in contradiction to beauty and harmony.

In this book, however, he was not aware of the economic and social forces that govern man's

## Our Program:

## 1. Defend labor's standard of living!

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

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

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

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

No restrictions on the right to strike and picket! No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!

## 4. Build an independent labor party!

Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes!

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

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

End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!

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

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

Against capitalist conscription!

Abolish the officer caste system!

Full democratic rights in the armed forces!

Trade union wages for the armed forces!

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

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

For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!

Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

## 11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

## Deportation Threatens 219 Indonesian Seamen

The Supreme Court on Dec. 16 refused to study the case of 219 Indonesian seamen who have been housed for over a year by the U. S. government and are at present incarcerated in a Crystal City, Texas, detention camp. They are now threatened with immediate deportation to Java which, as they state, means "certain persecution if not death" at the hands of the Dutch imperialist oppressors.

The seaman walked off Dutch ships docked in New York harbor in October 1945, refusing to transport American-made arms and ammunition intended to shoot down their countrymen engaged in a heroic struggle for independence. From their imprisonment on Ellis Island in November 1945, where they remained for six months, these seamen were shifted from one prison to another across the country in efforts to deport them.

On June 7, together with a score of Indonesian residents rounded up by the Immigration Department, the seamen were shipped to San Francisco. Their deportation temporarily blocked by the nationwide protest from labor and progressive forces, they were shipped to Crystal City, Texas. The protest forced the eventual release of the Indonesian residents, many of whom have been here for as long as 16 and 20 years.

According to an AP dispatch from Washington, the Justice Department has given the go-ahead signal for deportation by claiming to the Supreme Court that the seamen had "received explicit assurance in writing from the Netherlands consul in San Francisco" that upon their repatriation "they would be free to go wherever they wish."

But these official promises were made previously and are not worth the paper they are written on, as *The Militant* of June 29 revealed. Last May the Netherlands Consulate General promised that the seamen would not be treated as deserters. But a subsequent letter to the Indonesia League by Attorney General Tom Clark indicated the opposite.

Yet the U. S. government pretends that these assurances are genuine, thus playing the role of accomplice in punishing the seamen. Today Dutch concentration camps in Borneo and New Guinea are filled with tens of thousands of Indonesian fighters for freedom.

The American labor movement should rally to the defense of these victims of Dutch-American persecution, and demand the halting of any deportation move until they can be guaranteed safe conduct to a fully recognized Indonesian Republic.

## Potatoes To Be Dumped While People Starve

By Barbara Bruce

# 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.

## Veteran Learns Cause Of War and Fascism

Editor:

I came out of the Army with 39 months' service, 18 of it in Italy and France, and with no clear understanding of the cause or meaning of the war. Since my discharge I have been working in the same mill with some members of the Socialist Workers Party and have read much Marxist literature and I believe I know the cause of war and poverty—it is not the people but the social system of capitalism.

The race against fascism in America is on in full swing and the SWP is the only organization that really fights fascism. More power to you and to us.

M. L. Youngstown, O.

## A Correction

Editor:

There was an error in printing the verse I submitted, to the Workers Forum on the miners. It should have read: You can lead a horse to water but you can't make him drink. You can levy fines on miners. But you can't make them think.

E. K. Detroit, Mich.

## Stalinists Fail To Halt 'Militant' Distribution

Editor:

Last Sunday, a group of our comrades and a sympathizer were distributing at a meeting sponsored by the NAACP for Isaac Woodard, the Negro veteran who had his eyes gouged out by a southern policeman.

We had distributed and sold hundreds of Militants and pamphlets and while talking to many people, I found many were Daily Worker readers. They asked about the difference between the CP paper and The Militant. I pointed out that our position on the Negro struggle was always the same, while during the war the CP policy on the Negro question was nothing more than a sell-out, etc. Each person seemed eager to take our literature and as one man put it: "You'll be hearing from me soon."

We had completely sold out our stock of literature. By this time most of the large crowd entering the hall were holding one or more of our publications. This must have been too much for the Stalinists, who were running the meeting, because suddenly a policeman appeared with a red car following him. He viciously ordered us away. Someone standing near the curb heard these policemen discussing how to engineer some means of "picking me up."

The Stalinists knew they

couldn't very well use goon squad methods in front of a church, especially on a Sunday, so they used another method, calling the cops.

It was very gratifying when several hours later, after the meeting was over, I boarded a subway train and saw almost every person on the train holding a Militant.

Therese Stone  
Philadelphia, Pa.

## Klan Active In Western States

Editor:

I have been reading The Militant for about a year now, and I certainly don't want to miss any future issues. I am enclosing check for a renewal of my subscription for two years.

I especially sympathize with your stand on imperialism and race relations. The Klan seems quite active here in the West at present, and it is obvious that we have a long, hard fight on our hands.

B.R.B.  
Wickenburg, Ariz.

## Can't Scare Him Away From 'Militant'

Editor:

One of the Socialist Workers Party members here has been working in a shop with an old-time member of the Communist Party, who has been in the CP since 1927. Our comrade showed him a copy of The Militant.

The man took it home, and the next day said he had stayed up very late, read the whole paper, and discussed it with his wife. He said he would like to get it all the time. When our comrade reminded him that reading The Militant might get him expelled from the CP, he said that he was well aware of that and wanted the paper anyway.

J. C.  
Chicago, Ill.

## For Labor's Own Political Party

Editor:

I have worked for years for socialism, and am old and worn out now. But I am still glad to hear about plans for a labor party, or whatever the majority wants to call it.

We should get together and make it strong so the capitalists can't throw us off the ballot; they have shown before that they will violate the Constitution. In my opinion the capitalists intend to turn on us next, if they can get Europe beaten to its knees.

If we don't act, freedom is done for in this country.

L. B. Courts  
Hamilton, O.

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.

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 Stuar! St. Open Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Wednesdays and Fridays, 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

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

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 — SWP, 6108 Linwood Ave. phone TY 7-6267. Open Monday through Saturday, 12 to 5 p.m. Current events forum and open house, Saturday from 8 p.m.

FLINT — Visit SWP and Militant headquarters, 215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3, Mich. Open Monday through Friday, 5 to 9 p.m.

LOS ANGELES — Visit Militant

Publishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.

Friday, 8 p.m. — Militant Workers Forum, 466 E. Vernon.

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

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

SUNDAY FORUMS, 3:30 p.m.

NEW HAVEN — Labor School, 855 Sixth Ave., open 3-9 p.m. daily

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

SUNDAY FORUMS, 3:30 p.m.

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

SUNDAY FORUMS, 3:30 p.m.

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 NIGHT FORUM, 8:30 p.m.

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

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

Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.

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

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

Current events discussion, Fridays at 8.

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

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

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

PHILADELPHIA — SWP Headquarters, 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily 12-5 p.m., Monday through Saturday. Phone 3-1355.

TOLEDO — SWP headquarters at 108 Summit St. Toledo 4, O. Open daily. Phone MAIN 8019.

YOUNGSTOWN — SWP Headquarters, 35½ South Ave., Youngstown 3, O. Open 12-5 p.m., Monday through Saturday. Phone 3-1355.

THE MILITANT

# Socialist Workers Party Branches Report Activities In \$20,000 Emergency Drive

By William F. Warde

National Fund Campaign Director

\$1,213.50 has been sent in to date on the \$20,000 Emergency Fund campaign to help support the work of the Socialist Workers Party. This is six per cent of the total.

Contributions amounting to \$377.50 were received during the past week. This rate of receipts will have to be stepped up from now on if the designated goal is to be reached within a three-month period.

It certainly will be if all the preparatory planning and hard work of the SWP branches bears the expected fruit. Following Akron's example reported in last week's Militant, the Youngstown branch held its own successful and inspiring banquet on Dec. 15, to celebrate the 18th anniversary of the SWP and to launch its local fund-raising action.

Olga Cope writes: "At this banquet the Party Fund was launched in grand style. Over \$80 in cash and \$370 in pledges were donated out of our quota of \$500.

"Joseph Andrews of Akron, one of the Ohio leaders of the SWP, was guest speaker of the evening. The audience of workers and their friends, many of them newly introduced to the ideas of Trotskyism, was visibly impressed by the theme of his speech. He showed how much World War II cost and what might have been done with these billions if they were used for constructive purposes. His presentation brought gasps of astonishment from the audience.

"Additional brief talks were given by visiting trade unionists and out-of-town guests. After an excellent chicken dinner, everyone drank a toast to the victory of labor's struggles for a better world."

Milwaukee encloses \$47 as the first payment on its \$20 quota. Carol Andrews, local Fund Director, comments: "At a meeting Milwaukee held Dec. 8 a summary was given by our organizer of our inspiring Convention and the party perspectives for the future. On this occasion contributions for the \$20,000 Emergency Fund were volunteered by the individual comrades and a sympathizer in attendance. A total of \$232.50 was pledged.

"A number of comrades who weren't there have yet to make pledges. So you can see the response was very enthusiastic. Two comrades have already paid in full. I will try to send in the money as fast as this comes in. That will probably be every week so that it can make The Militant."

Buffalo stays out in front this second week by sending in another \$24. This banner branch has already raised one-third of its \$700 quota.

Chicago, through Belle Rosen, presents an extremely encouraging report of its local financial prospects. She writes: "On the fund you can report that at the Local conference Chicago held last week the campaign for our share of the \$20,000 Emergency Fund was launched together with a local drive to finance our election activities this spring.

"The 1,500 was oversubscribed that day. We received \$1,680 in pledges which gave us an additional \$180 toward the \$1,000 election fund. We have already received \$140 which will be forwarded at the end of the week."

We've talked to some of the new men about the working conditions here. Their anger gives us the will to remain on the job, to fight the speed-up on the line. Among the first things we are going to demand is a rest period of five minutes every hour.

"It's just amazing how the foreman figured out a way to keep me busy every second of the time," Johnny said, "by just giving me another bolt to do on my operation."

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In the north of the world the snow lies deep upon the ground, and the chimneys of the factories jut their black spires into the gray skies of winter. It is cold. It is dreary and cheerless. Life is hard. Yet we rejoice in the New Year.

We were born in the darkness, comrades and brothers, and all our lives we have yearned for the sun.

Our fathers and forefathers too were born in the darkness, and their hopes live in us, their quest, their struggle lives on in us.

There have been other New Years. There have been the foolish days of smugness and dreams, the days of lies and childish hopes. ("In America a guy can get ahead. A guy can work himself up.")

There have been the days of the void, the gray and hollow days that were the fruit of past falsehoods, the days of hunger and despair, the unemployed days packed with the connected boredom of one employment office, one welfare visitor after another, one disappointment, one insult after another.

There have been days of suffering, the black days of war and want, of fear and agony. There have been bad days, and terrible days, and there will be still worse days ahead.

But for all of this, I congratulate you, brothers and comrades. I congratulate you and myself for living in these times.

We shall face suffering, but ours is the shining privilege to suffer like MEN, not like our forefathers whose pain was for the most part the dull, hopeless anguish of the pack animal. Ours is the privilege of fighting back, of ending and avenging our suffering.

#### The Negro Struggle

### Truman Creates A Committee

By William E. Bohannon

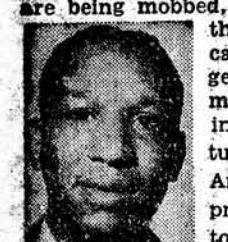
President Truman has finally taken notice of the fact that throughout the country people are being mobbed, terrorized and lynched, and that the guilty parties are escaping scot-free. Why are they getting away without punishment? Because of "weak and inadequate" civil rights statutes, according to Truman.

And what is the solution to this problem? Truman's answer is to set up a 15-member Committee on Civil Rights to recommend "legislation of more adequate and effective means and procedures for the protection of the civil rights of the people of the U.S."

What Truman is trying to make us believe is that the government is really concerned about lynching, but just doesn't have the power to do anything about it. To see how true this is, let's examine a few recent cases:

After much pressure was exerted, the Department of Justice finally preferred charges against Lynwood Shull, the South Carolina cop who gouged out Isaac Woodard's eyes. The Justice Department assigned a special prosecutor to help present the case against Shull. But neither this prosecutor nor the local district attorney made the least effort to determine whether the members of the jury were members of the Ku Klux Klan. The result was that the jury was packed with Jim Crow elements.

And at the end of the case the local prosecutor did not even ask for a verdict of guilty, although



The old world as we have known it is wearing out. The machinery of the old society is grinding, quivering, and smoking; it will not last much longer. Our is the privilege of dismembering it . . . and building it anew to serve all mankind.

For us New Year's Day means the dawn of a new day, a day that may see the birth of freedom, truth, and equality. It means that one more year of oppression and exploitation has sunk into the past, and our goal is one year closer to us.

On this New Year's Day, we renew our pledge never to forget our martyrs, who have suffered and died that men might become free; never to forget our enemies, the capitalists and their retainers, who will fight us with tyranny, with lies and hypocritical smiles, with chains and prisons and bullets until we finally defeat them; never to forget our task, the struggle for the liberation of mankind.

All over the United States, all over the world, at the stroke of midnight on the last day of 1946 groups of men and women will rise and sing the stirring words of the workers' anthem, *The Internationale*:

*"Arise, ye prisoners of starvation,  
Arise ye wretched of the earth,  
For justice thunders condemnation  
A better world's in birth."*

And the heart of each comrade who stands with raised fist will beat with determination

*"Tis the final conflict,  
Let each stand in his place,  
The International Party  
Will lead the human race."*

Throughout the tortured, blighted earth, wherever clear eyed fighters for liberty gather, this song of promise will ring out.

Will YOU be there?

Shull admitted the crime! Instead the prosecutor said the government would be satisfied with whatever verdict the jury returned — a plain invitation to bring in a verdict acquitting Shull, which the jury did.

Then there was the trial resulting from the lynching of John C. Jones, a Negro veteran, who was turned over to the lynch mob by Benjamin Gantt, police chief of Minden, La. Gantt was indicted by a federal grand jury and the government announced that U. S. Attorney LaFarge would handle the prosecution against him. Hearing of this, the NAACP requested Attorney General Clark to replace him because he was notorious as a Negro-hater. Clark's office answered that this was unnecessary as LaFarge was "competent" and would "vigorously represent the government."

When the case came to court, LaFarge, acting for the government, moved to drop the indictment against Gantt. This was done and Gantt was exonerated without even going to trial!

And the FBI, which never tires of boasting that it caught every Axis agent in the U. S. during the war, has still failed to bring to trial the score of lynchers, well known in the community, who murdered two Negro sharecroppers and their wives near Monroe, Ga., last July.

In the light of these facts showing the government's real attitude toward the lynchers, we can predict with the greatest confidence that Truman's committee will have no more effect than a snowball in hell.

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#### Wallace—A Dangerous Operator

By Joseph Hansen

The Hearst press tags Henry A. Wallace as a bumbling New Deal bureaucrat, a "pinko" out of this world, a "starry-eyed" dreamer incapable of dealing with the hard facts of life.

The New Republic paints its new editor in different colors. "No American," it boasts, "can express . . . (the promise of American life) as well and truly as Henry Wallace."

What is the truth about the former Secretary of Agriculture, former Vice-President of the United States and last prominent New Dealer to be kicked out of Truman's cabinet?

Wallace is a dangerous capitalist politician, who understands the class struggle, sees that labor is breaking from the old line capitalist parties, and hopes to corral the insurgent movement in a new type "left of center" capitalist party — if he cannot keep labor behind the bars of the Democratic Party.

His programmatic editorial in the Dec. 16 New Republic establishes this beyond doubt.

First of all, Wallace claims he stands as the "proud" inheritor of the "Roosevelt tradition." This is the tradition of skillful demagogic maneuvers and minor concessions to labor in order to maintain the capitalist system.

Wallace promises "Jobs, Peace, Freedom." He

Notes of a Seaman

#### Problems Of Hours And Wages

By C. Thomas

In last week's article we dealt with the demand for a four-watch system aboard ship as a solution to the problem of unemployment in the industry. We pointed out that the National Council of the National Maritime Union has muddled this slogan by tying it to the demand for a "40-hour week" at sea. What is involved in this question is the problem of wages and hours in the maritime industry.

One of the significant gains of the recent strike movement in maritime was the reduction of the work week at sea from 56 to 48 hours.

This reduction in the work-week increased the take-home pay but did not increase the manning scale aboard ship. Men on watch still work 56 hours but are paid overtime for working on Sunday.

The demand for a 40-hour week at sea on the basis of the present eight-hour day is an indirect method of increasing take-home pay and is no solution to the critical problem of unemployment. The four-watch system is based on the six hour day. Therefore the slogan is comparable to the demand of shore-side unions for

the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay.

When the demand for a 40-hour week at sea is lumped together with the four-watch system it merely confuses the problem of wages and hours. The series of one-after-another strikes in maritime which extended over a period of three months ended a few weeks ago. Last week the National Maritime Union announced it was submitting new wage demands based on the recent cost-of-living figures released by the CIO. This can be the beginning of another series of wage strikes of longer duration.

Such hard-fought struggles for limited wage demands can exhaust the unions and still leave unsettled the main problem of rapidly growing unemployment in the industry. In an inflationary period, the only realistic solution to the constantly rising cost of living is the sliding scale of wages: an escalator clause in the union contract providing for an automatic wage increase with each increase in living costs.

The slogans under which the fight for wages and employment can be conducted most effectively in the maritime industry today are:

(1) The sliding scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living, and

(2) The four-watch system to increase the manning scale aboard ship.

These struggles, their militancy, solidarity and new slogan

are the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay.

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