

'PROBE' WILL NOT HALT PRICE-GOUGERS

Atomic Bomb Threat Hurled At USSR

Tension Over Greece Mounts To New High

The tension between Washington and Moscow reached a new high this week when Secretary of Commerce W. Averell Harriman hurled a thinly-veiled threat that the United States was prepared to use the atomic bomb against the Soviet Union.

Harriman is a member of America's wealthiest ruling families and one of the Wall Street group of Brain Trusters that is advising the Truman Administration.

The threat climaxed a war-mongering attack on "Soviet imperialism" which Harriman made Aug. 19 before the Pacific Northwest Trade Association at Seattle.

"In this atomic age there is no protection against retaliation by air," said the Secretary of Commerce. "Our ability to launch an immediate strong aerial retaliation is the greatest possible deterrent against the use of military force by others."

What gave the threat ominous impact was the fact that the State Department had cleared the text of the speech before it was delivered, thus implying that Harriman's words correctly expressed the official attitude of the Truman Administration.

Only four days before, Senator Joseph H. Ball, one of the architects of the Taft-Hartley Slave Law and right-hand lieutenant of Re-

Editorial
The Struggle in Greece,
Page 4

publican leader Robert A. Taft, told the press there was "grave" danger of war with the Soviet Union exploding at any time. A brush between soldiers of the two countries was "ever present," he said, and could flare into conflict.

Harriman's menacing speech followed persistent rumors that 5,000 United States Marines were being readied for transportation to Greece to bolster the reactionary Glucksberg dynasty. It was reported last week that the Greek monarchy had appealed to Washington for American troops to aid it in the reign of terror it is waging against the Greek people.

This request was undoubtedly



HARRIMAN

Youngstown Unionist in Council Race

Steel Local Endorses Own Labor Candidate

By Harry Frankel

YOUNGSTOWN, O., Aug. 16 — A rock has been heaved into the stagnant pool of Democratic-Republican politics here in the shape of an independent labor candidate for city council, John Ausnehmer, a member and officer of CIO United Steelworkers Local 1330, has been endorsed by his local as a councilmanic candidate. Local 1330 is organized in the large Ohio Works of the Carnegie-Illinois subsidiary of U. S. Steel. Ausnehmer is a railroader in the mill and a lifelong resident of the Fourth Ward in which he is a candidate.

By running a Fourth Ward candidate, the labor movement is attacking the stronghold of the Democratic Party here in Mahoning County, which is in turn the stronghold of the Democrats in this whole region. However, the ward is a labor stronghold, too. The Ohio Works and the union headquarters, as well as a heavy population of steel workers with a large percentage of Local 1330 members, are in this ward.

The incumbent Democratic councilman, Edgar T. Morley, who is seeking re-election, is a roll-turner at the Carnegie-Illinois McDonald Works, but he has embittered the unionists here by his refusal to join the CIO Steelworkers and his attempts to split the steel union with an independent craft setup in his department. The Republican candidate, Coates, is yardmaster in the Ohio Works railroad department.

Thus, labor's candidate Ausnehmer is opposing in this election an anti-CIO, union-splitting Democrat and his own Republican foreman! The Ohio Works Organizer, official paper of Local 1330, came out in its last issue with a front-page banner — headline endorsement of Ausnehmer and reported extensive plans for a "powerful campaign" to elect him.

"Investigating" the Price Conspiracy



Marshall Presses Wall Street's War Aims at Conference in Brazil

By Joseph Hansen

The opening sessions of the Inter-American Conference at Petropolis, Brazil, quickly revealed how this gathering fits into Wall Street's preparations for World War III.

In a press interview the first day, Aug. 15, Secretary of State Marshall announced that "so" on the fee, then all the other countries in Latin America would be obliged to carry out at once the following measures:

"Recall of chiefs of diplomatic missions; breaking of diplomatic relations; breaking of consular relations; breaking of postal, telegraphic, telephonic, radio-telephonic relations; interruption of economic, commercial and financial relations." That is the wording of the Chapultepec Act in the event of "aggression" affecting any of the signatories.

This means that if the United States, for instance, should become engaged in a war with the Soviet Union and pinned the label "aggressor" on it.

Marshall's first statement thus revealed that Wall Street's major aim at the conference is to outlaw in advance the neutrality of all countries in the Western Hemisphere on the outbreak of war and bind them by treaty to participate in the conflict on the side of Wall Street.

Wall Street has long viewed Latin America as part of its empire. Now it wishes to integrate its vast natural and human resources directly into the war machine in preparation for the final drive to subjugate the whole planet. In that mad dream of conquest the Western Hemisphere appears only as a base of operations. The purpose of the Petropolis Conference is to further consolidate this military base.

The N. Y. Times, Wall Street's leading mouthpiece, observed editorially Aug. 14: "Had the last session of the United States Congress passed the Inter-American Cooperation Act the meeting at Petropolis might have gone on from drafting of a treaty to the detailed discussion of ways and means of integrating the military forces of the hemisphere into a cohesive defensive unit."

Cannon demanded that President Truman recapture these arms under the provisions of the Lend-Lease Agreement. Armour, speaking in behalf of Truman and the State Department, baldly admitted the facts but rejected the demand, contending that "each government has indicated that it does not intend to exercise generally its right of recapture of such articles."

Cannon thereupon responded as follows: "I cannot accept this argument. Involved here are not any 'general' propositions, but a SPECIFIC instance of a SPECIFIC and glaring violation of the terms of lend-lease and the avowed aims of the Atlantic Charter under which it was extended."

Cannon insisted once again on "the immediate return by the Netherlands Government of lend-lease equipment which is being employed in a war of conquest against the Indonesian people."

To date the State Department has not seen fit to respond to this demand. It is clear that Truman does not intend to recapture these arms if he can avoid doing so.

It is necessary to mobilize public opinion against the Truman Administration. Let every union body rally to the aid of the hard-pressed Indonesian people in their heroic struggle for independence.

Demand that Truman recapture the American arms and ammunition being used by the Dutch murderers. Address these demands to the White House and give them full publicity in the labor press.

"no state shall be required to furnish armed forces without its consent." This was hailed by the capitalist press as concession to certain of the Latin American governments who are reluctant in the face of popular opposition to commit their armed forces to Wall Street's disposal.

Actually the "concession" appears to be only a legalistic formula cooked up by the State Department to avoid the accusation that the treaty would commit the armed forces of the United States to a possible major foreign war without the consent of Congress.

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The Act referred to by the Times would place the seal of official approval on the brazen militaristic scheme to organize all Latin America's armed forces according to Wall Street specifications. The first session of the 80th Congress did not pass it because it was busy with the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law. However, it is slated for passage next session.

RULES WITH IRON HAND

In the main, Tobin has been able to run the convention with an iron hand. His conduct has been marked by frenzied red-baiting and steam-roller tactics. Nevertheless an opposition to Tobin has made itself heard at the convention. Prior to the convention, Tobin had waged a campaign

High Living Costs To Stay, Admits President Truman

By Art Preis

The Truman Administration, hoping to make political capital for 1948, has opened a noisy sham-battle on the price front.

The "call to arms" was sounded by Attorney General Clark two weeks ago when he announced that the Department of Justice intends to "probe" for any price-boosting conspiracies in food, clothing and housing. This was followed up by announcements of threatened federal hearings and suits for price-fixing and restraint of trade charges against the steel and rubber corporations.

Whatever the results of these highly publicized "probes" and suits, three decisive things they will not accomplish are apparent in advance:

1. They will not halt the profiteer-powered price spiral;
2. They will not halt monopoly fixing of high prices;
3. They will not send a single big corporation owner or executive to jail.

SEES LITTLE RESULTS

It took just two days after Clark's announcement for Truman himself to dispel any pipe-dreams about the promised price-conspiracy "investigations." He confided to his press conference on Aug. 14 that "he doubted that Department of Justice price investigation would actually bring many prices down." (United Press).

At most, he admitted, it might "put the finger" on those charging higher prices "than warranted." As if you need to do anything more than toss a feather in the air anywhere in the vicinity of Wall Street and Washington to have it float into the lap of some price conspirator.

The press snickered derisively at the administration's shadow-boxing. A N. Y. World-Telegram Washington correspondent calls it a "new Capitol extravaganza" that "previews like a real turkey." The press of the plutocrats known from past experience how little the capitalists have to fear such "probes" by their own government agents and political office boys.

There will be a little stink raised about some of the more glaring

Profiteers Grab A Bigger Slice

Wages and salaries dropped from 70% of the national income in 1944 to 62% in the last quarter of 1946, while reported corporate net profits rose from 6% to 9% of the national income in the same period, according to the Department of Commerce.

Labor took the big reduction in the share of the national income. Salaries, which go mainly to the big corporation owners and executives, remained up. Corporation dividends rose 16% in the three months ending June 30th.

The cost of living, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is now rising at a rate of 25% a year.

and long known — price-gouging practices of a few corporations. Some prosecutions may get a brief play in the headlines, spread the impression that Truman is "doing something" and then fade out into chicken-feed fines, against a couple of big outfits that aren't contributing enough to the Democratic Party campaign funds. And just to take a bit of the phony tinge off, some small-time price-chisellers may be given jail raps. Not Benjamin Fairless, head of U. S. Steel, of course.

RISES CONTINUE

While all this horse-play is going on, rising prices continue to strip the hides from the American workers and low-income consumers. Even the deliberately-diluted consumers price index of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics records that by mid-1947 consumer prices had hit an all-time peak, 18% above a year ago and 57.1% above the 1935-39 level.

But something nearer the true facts about how high prices have shot is revealed by an Associated Press

(Continued on Page 2)

Dutch Continue Slaughter Of Java Freedom-Fighters

The second anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia passed Aug. 17 with Java in flames as the Indonesian freedom fighters continued putting the torch to immense stores of rubber, oil and other products to prevent them from falling into the hands of imperialist Holland's armed forces.

In a grim speech on that day Lieut. Gen. Soedirman, Commander-in-Chief of the Republican Army, declared: "It is better for the country to become a sea of flames rather than a colony again."

Meanwhile, half way around the world, the Truman Administration coldbloodedly played the game of the Dutch despots. The State Department, backing Queen Wilhelmina in her attempt to keep the war on Indonesia out of the United Nations, tried to high-pressure the young Republic into "accepting its 'good offices' as a 'mediator,' thus by-passing the Security Council.

ASIAN ARBITRATION
The Indonesian government accepted the proffer of Truman's "good offices," but asked that these "good offices" be used to get the United Nations Security Council to send an international arbitration commission to the East Indies.

This was sufficient for Washington to declare that the Indonesians had rejected the offer, and when the Indonesian government insisted in its position, the offer was withdrawn.

The Dutch colonial despots, unwilling to stand with blood dripping from their hands in the spotlight of publicity attending a United Nations hearing, hailed Truman's offer as an alternative agreeable to them.

Washington's diplomatic maneuver

NMU Urges Boycott Of Ships Loading Dutch War Cargo

NEW YORK, Aug. 18 — The national office of the CIO National Maritime Union announced yesterday that a unanimous decision had been reached to recommend to the organization's 90,000 members that "they boycott all vessels carrying war cargo designed to aid the Dutch in their war of aggression" on the Republic of Indonesia.

The cynicism of the Dutch despots can be judged from the lying affirmation of Dr. Eelco van Kleffens, Queen Wilhelmina's chief delegate to the United Nations, that "all we want is to end anarchy and chaos." Van Kleffens, obviously imitating Nazi propaganda techniques, accused the Indonesian people of the very crimes committed by the Dutch imperialists against the Indonesian people.

He made this accusation while theater in the United States began running newsreels from Indonesia. The scenes of bombed villages show what the Dutch can accomplish with American planes and tanks. The long lines of starving Indonesian children, who look more like skeletons than living beings, rival any of the horror scenes ascribed to the Nazis.

STRONG RESISTANCE
The Dutch capitalists, equipped with the most modern instruments of slaughter turned out by American factories, have made swift gains against the ill-armed Indonesians. But they have far from won the war they started.

The resistance of the Indonesian people, particularly as they begin hearing of acts of sympathy from the labor movement abroad, will stiffen and gain in strength.

Indonesian League Demonstration

Picture on Page 6

DEMAND U. S. RECALL ARMS FROM DUTCH!

An Editorial

Last week The Militant printed the correspondence between James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, and Norman Armour, Assistant Secretary of State, on the use of American arms by the Dutch imperialists against the Indonesian people.

Cannon demanded that President Truman recapture these arms under the provisions of the Lend-Lease Agreement. Armour, speaking in behalf of Truman and the State Department, baldly admitted the facts but rejected the demand, contending that "each government has indicated that it does not intend to exercise generally its right of recapture of such articles."

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Teamster Convention Held After 7 Years

By Della Rossa

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 14 — Fighting the dictatorial one-man rule of Daniel J. Tobin, general president for 41 years of the AFL Teamsters, opposition forces at the union's sixteenth convention, which concluded its fourth day here today, have put up battles on the following issues:

1. For democratizing the convention rules. This was to lay the basis for a battle against giving Tobin the power to appoint an executive vice-president under his complete "supervision and orders," a "crown prince" post designed to permit Tobin to name his successor.

2. Against increasing the per capita tax to the international from 30 to 40 cents to swell Tobin's \$17,000,000 treasury. Tobin was forced to yield before the overwhelming opposition of the convention to such an increase.

3. Against giving the General Executive Board power to amend constitutional provisions on membership, with special reference to owner-operators.

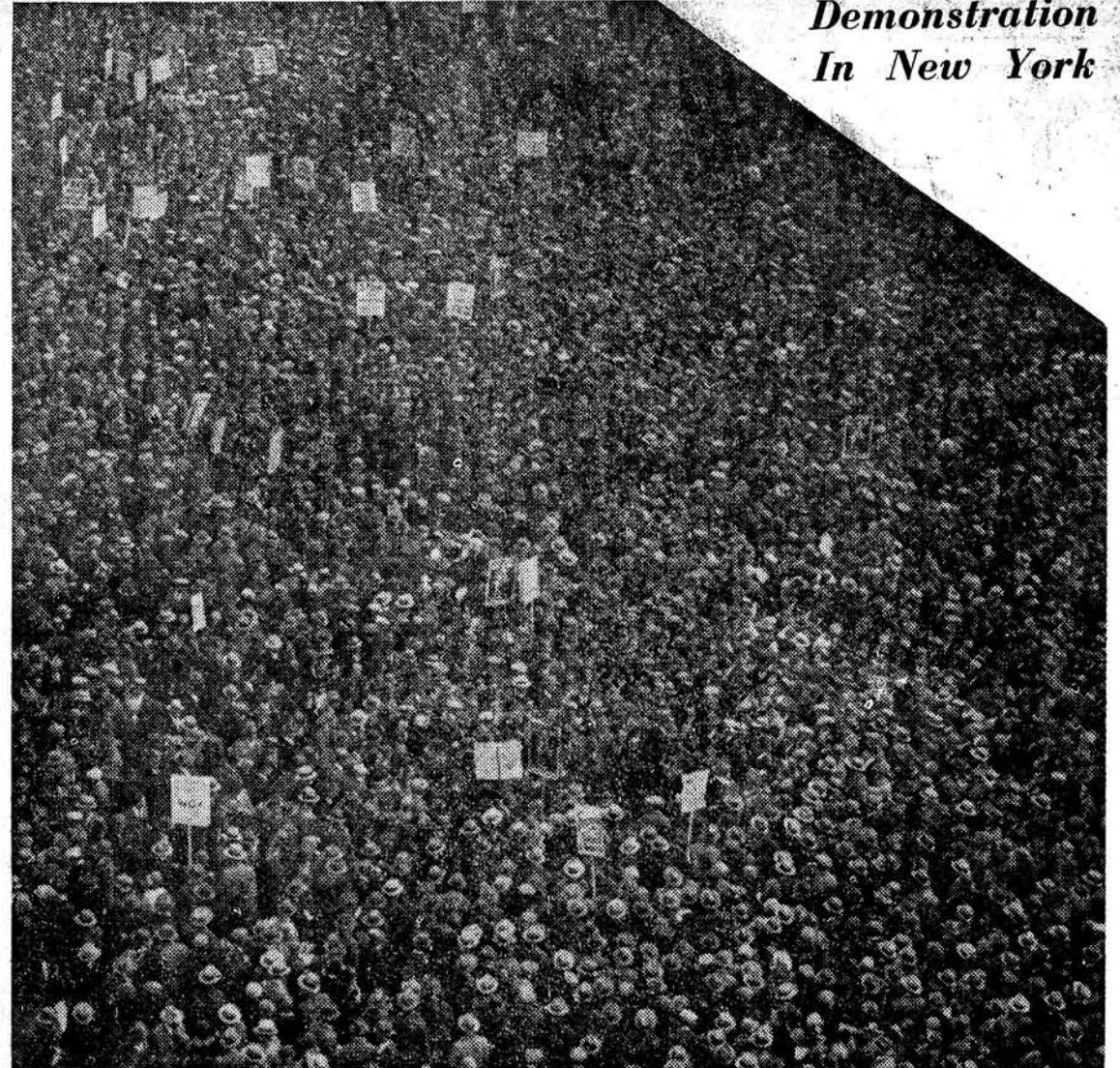
4. Against cutting the Secretary-Treasurer's salary from \$30,000 (same as Tobin's) to \$20,000. Delegates, who successfully opposed Tobin on this, argued such action would harm their own efforts to get wage raises.

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Nevertheless an opposition to Tobin has made itself heard at the convention. Prior to the convention, Tobin had waged a campaign

(Continued on Page 5)

*Demonstration
In New York*



The above picture shows part of an imposing Sacco-Vanzetti defense demonstration held in New York City shortly before they were executed in Aug. 22, 1927. Literally thousands of such demonstrations were held in all the big industrial cities of the world during the seven-year fight to save these two foreign-born workers from murder by the labor-hating authorities in Massachusetts.

The Elemental Urge To Socialism

By J. R. Johnson



LENIN

Scientific socialism is the conscious expression of the unconscious historical process; namely, the instinctive and elemental drive of the people to reconstruct society on communist beginnings. These organic tendencies in the psychology of workers speak to life with utmost rapidity today in the epoch of crises and wars.

—Leon Trotsky, 1940

of an oppressed man that speaks. It takes a great deal of thinking out, that one does, but it will repay the trouble.

Trotsky used the same method. In July, 1917, the Petrograd masses made an armed demonstration and were thrown back. In the country at large the Bolsheviks, hated by the reaction and known as extreme revolutionaries, were accused of being responsible. They were persecuted by the government, their leaders jailed, their press suppressed.

In the Smolny Institute where all the workers' parties had their headquarters, the right-wing leaders of the Soviet, who hated the Bolsheviks, seized the opportunity to launch an attack upon them and to condemn their revolutionary perspective as a mortal danger to the working class. Bolshevism was under heavy fire. Some of its membership dropped away.

THE FIRST SOVIETS

In 1905, the Soviets (councils) appeared for the first time in history. Nobody quite knew what to make of them. The workers however were calling the Soviets "the Proletarian government." Lenin knew, in Trotsky's phrase, how to eavesdrop on the proletariat. From this mass colloquialism there developed the Leninist theory of the Soviet power as the concrete form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

His conscious mastery of the historic process enabled him to make the boldest elucidations from the most obscure remarks of the masses. The Russian peasants used to say, "The land belongs to God." This means, said Lenin to a Bolshevik Congress in 1917, that the poor peasant is opposed to sales, transfers, mortgages and all the legal manipulations by which a rich peasant becomes richer and poor peasant poorer. He means to say that he believes in nationalization of the land.

At a critical stage of the struggle for peace in Russia in 1917, everyone was crying: end the war with no annexations. Said Lenin: "When a worker says that he is against annexations I believe him. When Guchkov, the War Minister says that he is against annexations he is lying."

WORKERS SPEAK TRUTH

Finally there is perhaps the most wonderful of all his sharp judgments about workers: "When a worker says that he wishes to defend his country, it is the instinct

"Sure they would have followed him. That would have made all labor come out in his defense and now we would have had no Taft-Hartley Bill." The others cautiously, as is their wont, agreed with him. It was strategy on a grand scale.

All the workers do not at all times

express the most advanced ideas and needs of their class. But only

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We'll Never Forget Martyrdom Of Sacco and Vanzetti In 1927

Editorial Note

A few minutes after midnight on August 22, 1927 the State of Massachusetts legally murdered Sacco and Vanzetti. In connection with the twentieth anniversary of the death of these martyrs, we reprint with a few minor omissions an article which originally appeared in the LABOR DEFENDER, October 1927, shortly after their execution. The author, James P. Cannon, was then Secretary of the International Labor Defense, which he helped found and organize. In this capacity he was instrumental not only in mobilizing the defense for these two victims of American juridical frame-up but also in bringing their case so forcefully before the eyes of American labor and of the whole world.

By James P. Cannon

After seven years of delay the electric chair has finally claimed its victims. In defiance of the civilized world, in the face of the protest of the world's millions, Sacco and Vanzetti have been executed. This foul murder is the cynical answer of the American capitalists to the people of other countries who appealed to America in the name of humanity and justice.

At the same time it is their warning to the protesting workers of America that they are prepared to go to any length to beat down the labor movement, and that legal murder is one of their established weapons.

In this act of assassination the ruling class of America shows its real face to the world. The mask of "democracy" is thrown aside. Judge Thayer and Governor Fuller (of Mass.) stand forth not as exceptional officials, apart from all others, but as the authentic spokesmen of American capitalism. The face of Governor Fuller is the face of the American capitalist class. It is this yengeful, cruel and murderous class which the workers must fight and conquer before the regime of imprisonment, torture and murder can be ended. This is the message from the chair of death. This is the lesson of the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

FRAME-UP VICTIMS

Sacco and Vanzetti were victims of the frame-up system which is an established part of American police methods insofar as labor prisoners are concerned. The case against them was a transparent fake from start to finish, as everybody who has investigated the facts, knows. Faked evidence, perjured witnesses, prejudiced judge and juries, dynamite "plants" and newspaper lies and misrepresentations—all the paraphernalia of the frame-up against the Haymarket martyrs, against Mooney and Billings and in other labor cases was repeated here. The Sacco-Vanzetti case, in addition, was characterized by such monstrous cruelty and long-drawn-out torture of the victims as to call for the indignant protest of the entire civilized world.

But in all of its main features, the Sacco-Vanzetti case was a repetition of the many legal lynchings of Labor leaders that have taken place in the past and a forerunner of others which will inevitably follow in the future. It was not simply an extraordinary "mis-arrangement of justice," as many apologists of the capitalist order attempt to maintain.

Sacco and Vanzetti were labor agitators and foreign-born radicals, arrested at the instigation of the Federal government in the midst of their activities in behalf of other victims of the Palmer reign of terror. It was neither a "criminal" case nor a "Massachusetts" case, but a class frame-up with the United States government behind the prosecution all the time.

ANOTHER HAYMARKET

It was clear from the beginning that the stage was being set for another Haymarket. This was understood by the militant and conscious workers, and their insistence on a policy based on this point of view brought them into constant conflict

with the capitalist order attempt to maintain.

Let me finally relate a conversation with four miners some months ago in the West Virginia area. They were asked if they thought the miners would have followed John L. Lewis had Lewis defied Truman on the \$3,000,000 fine. Without the slightest hesitation one of them replied:

"Sure they would have followed him. That would have made all labor come out in his defense and now we would have had no Taft-Hartley Bill." The others cautiously, as is their wont, agreed with him. It was strategy on a grand scale.

All the workers do not at all times express the most advanced ideas and needs of their class. But only

Bolshevism which knows and bases itself upon their historic role can listen to them with the necessary concentration and sift out of their instinctive reactions their often amazing contributions to their historic destiny.

Truman Admits "Probe" Won't Halt Price Gouge

(Continued from Page 1) Press survey made public on August 15, the same day the Department of Labor warned that higher prices are imminent.

The dollar bill today, reports the Associated Press on the basis of spot price surveys in leading cities, is worth exactly 50 cents in terms of 1939 purchasing power. The average factory worker who gets about \$48 a week today is getting not more than \$24 in goods and services at 1939 prices. Millions of workers now getting \$30 a week or below for a 40 to 48 hour week are actually receiving less than or less than \$15 a week for 30 hours' work.

DEPRESSED LIVING

That is the reality of price-robbery and depressed living standards that confront the American people today. It is the reality determined when Wall Street dragged this country into a \$300 billion imperialist war adventure; when Truman and Congress thrust a \$40 billion a year peacetime war budget down the throats of the American people; when Congress passed, and Truman signed, a whole series of measures dismembering price control and propping up monopoly prices for various special capitalist interests.

Confronted with this compelling reality and the growing demand of the workers for a real program to defend their living standards, the union leaders are giving a nauseating demonstration of bewilderment, cowardice and downright stupidity. What is their program at this

crucial juncture in the life of the American working class? It is a compound of loud talk and do-nothing. They have reached, in desperation, down into the trash basket of all their worthless schemes and proposals of the past, rummaging up scraps and tatters of discarded policies.

LABOR STATESMEN?

For example, we have Textile Workers Union President Emil Rieve, speaking for the CIO, as head of its Full Employment Committee, seriously proposing as a "solution" to the all-out profiteering price-gouging that Truman called another labor-management conference, where presumably the corporation spokesmen and the "labor statesmen" might come to some gentlemanly agreement about the need to lower prices.

Truman himself slapped that idea on the head by reminding Rieve about the similar conference in October, 1945 that preluded the great strike wave and the subsequent additional substantial cost-of-living bonus above the 25-cent total of hourly wage boosts secured since last November.

We hear the cry go up for the Big Business government to "roll back" prices, like an appeal to a wolf to give up flesh-eating and turn to vegetarianism. We hear a plea for a special session of Congress to act on prices—this same Congress which just concluded the most reactionary session in its whole history. And this plea in turn was brushed aside by Truman, who opined "he saw nothing special on the horizon to require a special ses-

Working Class Martyrs



The two victims of capitalist frame-up, Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco, are shown here under armed guard shortly after they were sentenced to death in Massachusetts.

belongs to the militants, and they need no one's permission to carry on their work in the name and spirit of Sacco and Vanzetti.

For those who saw the long torture and cruel death of the two heroic workmen as a personal affair or an isolated miscarriage of justice, the case of Sacco and Vanzetti is ended. For some people who connected themselves with the case in one way or another without really knowing what it was all about, the whole affair is a piece of business which is to be wound up now, the books closed and a "final" statement rendered. All big fires draw moths which flutter about them for a day. So let it be with them.

But for the labor militants who fought with and for them, the light of Sacco and Vanzetti burns more brightly and fiercely than before. For us the last word has not yet been spoken. We have work to do and we must be about it. The great movement of the working masses for Sacco and Vanzetti must not be allowed to dissolve. The first and foremost task in honor of the memory of the martyrs is to bind this movement more closely together and to infuse it with a stronger spirit and a broader vision and understanding of the manifold questions which were involved in the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

The electric flames that consumed the bodies of Sacco and Vanzetti illuminated for tens of thousands of workers, in all its stark brutality, the essential nature of capitalist justice in America. The imprisonment, torture and murder of workers is seen more clearly now as part of an organized system of class persecution.

Against this system—the system of labor frame-ups—we must deliver our heaviest blows. The defense of individual workers, the material support of their families and our general work of defense agitation must be carried on as a part of the fight to build a wall of labor defense against the frame-up system.

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 strike-busting!

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! 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!

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IN MEMORY of LEON TROTsky - 1879 - 1940

Why GPU Killed Founder Of Fourth International

By Pablo

Seven years have elapsed since the agent of the GPU, "Frank Jacson," alias Jacques Mornard, assassinated Leon Trotsky in Mexico in August 1940.

That abominable act represented the consummation of a long series of crimes perpetrated since 1927 by the thermidorian reaction in the USSR against the proletarian wing of the international communist movement, and particularly against the Old Guard of the Russian Bolshevik Party.

After exterminating Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin and a countless procession of the outstanding figures of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and of the Civil War, Stalin was finally able to achieve the physical extermination of Leon Trotsky.

This struggle to the death began immediately after Lenin's demise in 1924 inside the Russian Bolshevik Party, and then extended after 1927 into the whole Communist International. Stalin used this International to inflict unprecedented injuries upon tens of thousands of militant workers outside the USSR, in Spain, in France, in Greece, in Bulgaria, and elsewhere. This struggle which has cost the lives of so many, has a very profound and definite historical meaning.

Stalinist police-brutality prevailed both in Lenin's party in the USSR as well as in the Communist parties throughout the world. It replaced the weapon of the ideological struggle with calumny, falsification, violence and assassination. It is in the last analysis only another expression of the advanced decay of world capitalism, amid the retardation of the world socialist revolution.

STALINIST FALSIFICATION

In its war against the revolutionary wing of the workers movement, Stalinist reaction does not defend as it falsely claims "the socialist order against the agents of capitalist and fascist reaction." It simply defends its own interests as the privileged bureaucratic caste which has taken root parasitically on the body of the first proletarian state established by the 1917 revolution.

Dilettantes in politics, petty-bourgeois intellectuals, "disgusted" by the "organic immorality of Bolshevism," identify, for their own reactionary purposes, either from sheer ignorance or malice, the Bolshevism of Lenin and Trotsky's continuation of the Leninist tradition with the totalitarian caricature of Stalin. They profess to see nothing in this struggle except a

Trotsky Appraised In 'Fourth International'

A thought-provoking article on "Leon Trotsky—The Man and His Work," by Ernest Germain, is featured in the July-August Fourth International, now on sale. Germain appraises Trotsky as the collaborator of Lenin. Of different background and temperament he shows why these two were titanic personalities.

Single copies 25 cents, yearly subscription \$1 can be obtained from Business Manager, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

He guided this International in its first steps, and he especially

armed it to withstand successfully the ordeal of the Second Imperialist war.

Trotsky died with the profound conviction that his life's work, concretized in the formation of the Fourth International, would endure, and confident that its final triumph was assured.

The events which have unfolded since his assassination do not contradict him.

The Fourth International has passed victoriously the test of war, it has been able to resist all the opportunist currents, it has been the only international proletarian organization which has preserved its ideological cohesiveness and which has defended the program of revolutionary Marxism.

The Fourth International has come out of the war reenforced ideologically and numerically.

Stalin who armed the assassin's hand perhaps believed that, by plunging an axe into the head of Leon Trotsky, he would snuff out the thought of the proletarian revolution itself for an entire period.

It has not turned out that way. Trotsky's work, his ideas, his thought, continue to live in the vital movement of the Fourth International.

Viewed in this light, the assassination of Leon Trotsky was a terrible blow against the forces of the proletarian revolution.

Trotsky's theoretical and practical work was the embodiment of revolutionary Marxism in our epoch of the extreme aggravation of imperialism and of the advanced degeneration of the workers' state in Russia. Trotsky represented one of the most powerful forces of the proletarian revolution in our epoch. Following all the great leaders of the proletarian movement since Marx, he did not separate his theoretical work from practical day-to-day revolutionary activity.

THE GUIDING SPIRIT

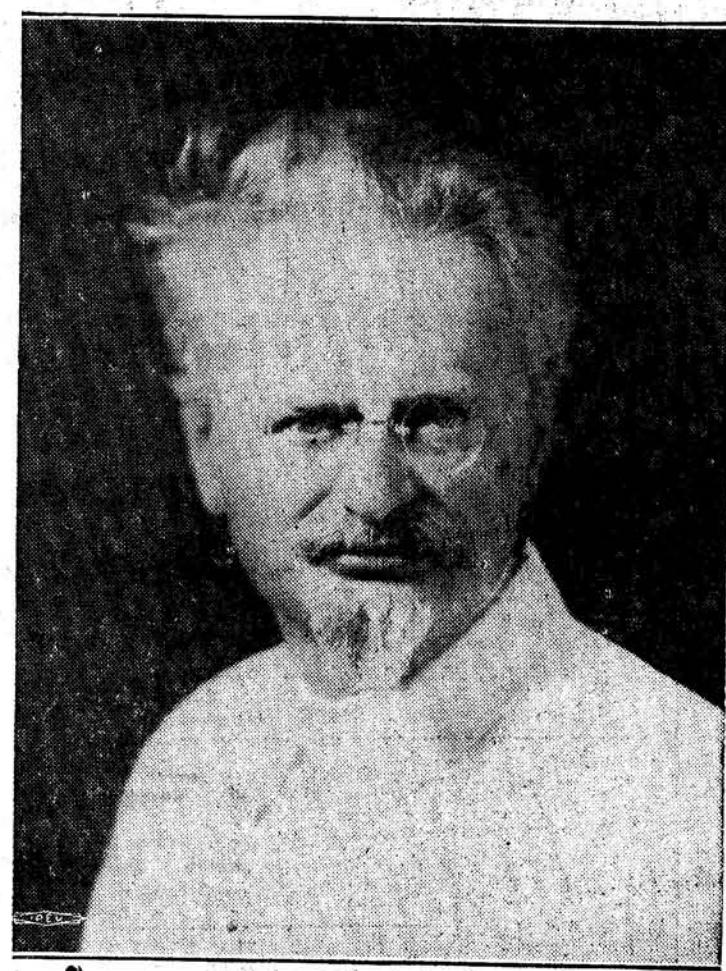
The working class movement is indebted to him not alone for enriching the doctrine of Marx and Lenin with a series of works on the character, development and the dynamics of the social revolution in our epoch (the theory of the Permanent Revolution), on Fascism, on the evolution of the first Workers' State and its bureaucratic degeneration; on the tactics of the workers movement and so on. We are also indebted to him for his indefatigable work toward the organization of the revolutionary forces on the international scale. Trotsky was the guiding spirit, first in Russia, and after 1929 through out the world in organizing the forces of the proletarian opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy, which converted the Third International first into centrism and then into opportunism.

After the historic defeat of the German proletariat in 1933, with the advent of fascism and with the tangible proof given by these events that this International was beyond reform, Trotsky proclaimed the necessity of building a new International, the Fourth International. And immediately set about this task.

ARMED THE WORKERS

Before the criminal hand of the Stalinist reaction put an end to his intense life, he was able to participate in the founding of that International in 1948. He endowed it with a program of action recapitulating the whole experience of the workers movement in our epoch—the Transitional Program.

He guided this International in its first steps, and he especially



Leon Trotsky
Founder of the Fourth International

Revolutionary Leader's Great Contributions To the World Struggle for Negro Emancipation

By J. R. Johnson

In the first letter that he wrote to the Trotskyists in the United States, Trotsky, in exile in Prinkipo, posed to the comrades the Negro question as a vital part of the struggle for the proletarian revolution in the United States. From that time to his death, his interest in the question continually grew.

The basis of his approach was his deep conviction of the revolutionary character of the masses of the Negro people. He had learned this by his vast experience of revolution and that mastery of principles which distinguished the Bolsheviks of the great epoch, Lenin and Trotsky above all the others. Thus armed, he was anxious from the very beginning that a Trotskyist organization in the U. S. should recognize what the revolution would mean to Negroes and what Negroes would mean to the revolution.

NATIONAL QUESTION

Lenin was who had placed the Negro question as a part of the "national question" and it was on these principles based on his own revolutionary experiences that Trotsky worked. As he told an American comrade in April 1933:

"Nations grow out of the racial material under definite conditions. . . . We do not oblige the Negroes to become a nation; if they are, then, that is a question of their consciousness, that is, what they desire and they strive for."

That was the general theory of the "national question" in the Marxist sense. Whether the Negroes wanted to become a nation or not was not decisive. What mattered was that suppression of the Negroes pushes them toward a political and national unity."

Trotsky left no writings upon the Negro question. He carried on discussions and these discussions were recorded and often printed without his personal revision. But the main line of his orientation is unmistakably clear. It was an insistence upon recognition of the fact that the masses of the Negro people from their special oppression in the United States could be expected to react in ways of their own, with a special revolutionary energy against American capitalism in the period of its death agony.

But if he never wrote, Trotsky was no dilettante on the Negro question. The idea that he and Lenin, educated Europeans, altogether apart from their caliber as Bolsheviks, believed that the Negroes in the United States constituted a nation, that is impudent indeed.

Trotsky had read widely on the Negro question. His books had notes and markings to which he referred easily. When his views became known, sympathetic Negro intellectuals from the United States anxious to convince him that he

was wrong, sent him material and memoranda, all of which, he read and preserved. He carried on unvarnished discussions with people upon all aspects of the Negro question. Any idea that the views to which he stuck so tenaciously were casual opinions is false to the core.

Trotsky saw the Negro question as a peculiar expression of the "national question" in relation to American capitalist society. But he sharply differentiated among the Negroes themselves. He did not call the divisions classes, but strata.

He understood that the Negro intellectuals were not a producing class, as the Indian cotton manufacturers who had used the war to establish large scale capitalism in the United States, and the wing of radical intellectuals with whom is associated the name of Thaddeus Stevens. The Negroes separated from the Negroes always with the desire to take on the Anglo-Saxon culture and of becoming an integral part of Anglo-Saxon life. The majority are opportunists and reformists. Many of them continue to imagine that by the improvement of the mentality and so on, the discrimination will disappear. That is why they are against any kind of sharp slogan.

For Trotsky the main task was a question of "awakening the Negro masses." For them he always had the deepest sympathy and the most penetrating understanding. He was keenly interested in the Garvey movement. He understood why the masses had followed Garvey. He saw it as an active rejection of the fate imposed on them by bourgeois society. To impatient comrades who hotly pointed out that Garvey was a faker, the co-leader of the October Revolution and the founder of the Fourth International used to reply with an ironical but kindly smile:

"Yes, I know that Garvey was a faker. The question is why should so many Negroes have followed him. You find that out and you will find the road to the masses of the Negro people."

It was not only what Trotsky said concretely that mattered. It was the perspectives that he opened up. He believed that the American Civil War was to the coming American Revolution what the French Revolution was to the proletarian revolutions in France. Not only was this so for the American Revolution as a whole. It was particularly so for the Negro question.

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Heroic Life of a Fighter For Socialist Revolution

By Rose Karsner

Leon Trotsky was born November 7, 1879 in a remote village of Czarist Russia which he described as "an obscure corner where nature is wide and manners, views and interests are narrow." He lived there until he was nine years old, then went to school in Odessa, a big city.

At the age of 19 Trotsky and a group of students were arrested during a Czarist raid on their headquarters. Among them was Alexandra Lvovna, an active leader of the South Russian Workers' Union.

The escape was effected. When Trotsky reached the interior, he established contact with his comrades and set to work among the Russian workers. Two years later, in 1903, the Czar's secret service caught up with him, and he was obliged to emigrate.

He lived in various European countries until news of the 1905 Revolution reached him. Without hesitation, he returned to Russia to play a leading role in the events, serving as chairman of the first Petrograd Soviet. When the Revolution was defeated, he was again obliged to emigrate. In France he met Natalia Sedov, who became his friend, co-worker, comrade and mother of two boys.

XILE RETURNS

Expelled from France, Trotsky went to Spain, served a short prison term and was then deported to the United States. Here he edited a Russian Marxist weekly until 1917 when news of a renewed upsurge in Russia flashed in headlines across the American papers. Again he did not hesitate for a minute. Nor did Natalia. His place was with the Russian masses. Together they uprooted the little family and started their trek.

After many unpleasant incidents, including a short arrest and detention, they reached their homeland where the struggle against Czarism was in full force, mounting hourly in intensity. They lost no time in taking their places and remained active participants in the battle which culminated in the October Revolution.

Trotsky did not see the revolutionary workers and the masses of the people on one side and the party, the subjective factor, on the other.

For him at all stages the party could only live and prosper by considering itself a part of the mass movement and drawing strength and nourishment from it.

In 1919, as those acquainted with the published history of the party were aware, Trotsky was deeply disturbed about the situation in the Socialist Workers Party. He felt that the party contained too many petty-bourgeois intellectuals and that these constituted a danger of degeneration. Fundamental to his solution was the bringing into the party of workers, including Negro workers.

Finally, after the Civil War, the Republican Party split into two wings: the reactionary profiteers who had used the war to establish large scale capitalism in the United States, and the wing of radical intellectuals with whom is associated the name of Thaddeus Stevens. The Negroes separated from the Negroes always with the desire to take on the Anglo-Saxon culture and of becoming an integral part of Anglo-Saxon life. The majority are opportunists and reformists. Many of them continue to imagine that by the improvement of the mentality and so on, the discrimination will disappear. That is why they are against any kind of sharp slogan.

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"Yes, I know that Garvey was a faker. The question is why should so many Negroes have followed him. You find that out and you will find the road to the masses of the Negro people."

In that pattern, before the Civil War, during the Civil War and after it, we have the logical framework by which it is possible to penetrate into the relations between Negro movements and the basic class relations in the country from the Civil War to the present day.

The logic of the dialectic deals not with numbers here but with developing classes. The coming proletarian revolution will show that the free Negroes of 1860 have become the Negro petty bourgeoisie, of the pre-Civil War period have been replaced by the Negro proletariat. Where the free Negroes were allied to the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie, the Negro proletariat is tied by industrial and social bonds to the working class.

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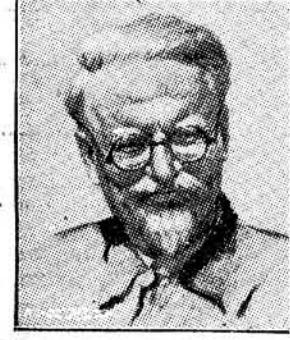
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"Capitalism will not disappear from the scene automatically. Only the working class can seize the forces of production from the stranglehold of the exploiters. History places this task squarely before us."

Leon Trotsky

Policy of the Ostrich

AFL President William Green, speaking at the Teamsters convention in San Francisco on Aug. 11, offered the following bit of advice on how to fight the sponsors of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law:

"Pay no regard to political parties, but find out what the candidates stand for and then vote accordingly." This course, he claims, can "defeat every member of Congress who voted for the bill."

This pearl of wisdom is not, in our opinion, without flaws. A majority of Republicans happen to have voted for the Taft-Hartley Act. Consequently does Green mean by paying "no regard to political parties" that labor should vote the Democratic ticket?

But a majority of Democrats in Congress likewise voted for the Taft-Hartley Act. So does Green's advice mean that labor should vote for the Republican ticket?

If labor opposes both the Republicans and Democrats who should the working man and his family and friends vote FOR to replace these enemies of unionism?

Nothing could be more obvious than the fact it is precisely political parties which labor must pay "regard" to. Anything else can lead to the smashing of organized labor in America.

Even a blind man should be able to see that both the Democratic and Republican parties belong lock, stock and barrel to Wall Street. Only by building its own independent party to take the field against these parties can labor effectively defend its vital interests.

Who else but Wall Street can gain from the advice to "pay no regard to political parties"? Doesn't that mean deliberate refusal to challenge Wall Street's political monopoly?

Green's policy is the policy ascribed to the ostrich. When in great danger it is reputed to bury its head in the sand and "pay no regard" to its enemies.

The ranks of labor must reject this stupid and suicidal advice out of hand.

Conference on the Ruhr

Behind tightly barred doors in Washington, negotiations are now under way between British and American delegates on the fate of the Ruhr. The press has been barred from the meetings. Up to this writing, not even publicity handouts have been issued. The Anglo-American masters of Western Europe are squabbling over control of this prize of war.

While they haggle, the lives and well being of Europe's teeming millions hang in the balance. For two and a half years now under Allied domination, the economy of Europe has experienced stagnation and continued decline. Unless production is swiftly increased, famine will stalk Europe this winter.

The key to increased production is the Ruhr. Only half the coal mined there before the war is now being brought out from underground. The amount of coal needed to speed up Europe's industrial wheels happens to be precisely the difference between pre-war and present production in the Ruhr.

The Allied propagandists blame this drop in production on the German coal miners. They say the miners lack the "incentive" to dig the needed amount of coal.

But the real blame lies on the shoulders of the Allies who are quartering their armies in Germany. It is their military governments who are running Germany. It is they who chopped up Germany into separate zones, dismantled factories, prohibited the manufacture of essential commodities, and imposed starvation rations on the German people.

Even the N. Y. Times, leading spokesman of Wall Street, acknowledges this now. "It is the American Government," admits an Aug. 11 editorial, "which originated and imposed the program for German de-industrialization that is at the bottom of Europe's misery and weakness."

Now these imperialist rulers are frightened at the consequences of their policy. They fear further continuation of the failure to restore production can well lead to a political crisis this winter that will doom capitalism on the European continent. Consequently, one of the points

said to be on the agenda of the Washington conference is increasing "incentives" for the German coal miners. This would include living up to past promises of bonuses as well as enough food regularly to supply the energy for a normal day's work.

The obvious solution to the crisis of Allied rule in Germany, however, is not on the agenda. This solution is to get out of Germany. The withdrawal of Allied troops is the sole "incentive" needed by the German workers to put their economy into the working order needed to save Europe.

Washington and London are convinced that if they withdrew, the German workers would swiftly set up a revolutionary socialist government. This would mean the end of Wall Street's dream of domination of Europe. It would mean the end of the plan to shore up German capitalism. And it would mean the finish of the western bloc they are constructing as a springboard for their projected assault on the Soviet Union.

That is why nothing will come out of the Washington conference that will offer any real hope of bringing production up to full capacity in the industrial heart of Europe.

The Struggle in Greece

Dispatches from Greece report that a "free" government has been set up by the guerrillas in opposition to the monarchy. The precise nature of this step is not yet clear. News cleared through official channels is highly suspect in view of the notorious way in which the Greek puppet government doctors and deliberately falsifies information; and details about the moves toward setting up a rival government are extremely meager.

Our Paris correspondent, however, writes that Greek Minister of War Dragumis has admitted that the partisans have succeeded in cutting off and isolating the whole region of the Albanian-Yugoslav-Greek frontier around the town of Florina. This would be the area where a "free" government would most likely be set up although partisan activity now extends far beyond these limits.

The enraged monarchy, says our correspondent, is replying by intensifying its reign of terror. Mass arrests continue and executions of those condemned to death are constant.

Greek Trotskyites have suffered 30 victims in this latest wave of repressions, he reports.

The attitude of the Greek Trotskyists toward the establishment of the "free" government projected by the Stalinists is as follows according to the sources of information available to our correspondent:

"They are against a government named bureaucratically and subject to control by the Stalinist party, which will only continue the policy of 'national conciliation,' that is, capitulation before the bourgeoisie in exchange for posts in the capitalist government and a friendly foreign policy toward the USSR. The Trotskyists are prepared, they declare, to support only a government based on democratically elected committees of partisans, poor peasant and workers which will apply a minimum labor program.

\$1,000,000,000 "Gift"

It's not often that a gift of \$1,000,000,000 draws barely passing notice in the capitalist press.

Yet that's what happened on Aug. 14 when the Truman Administration announced the cancellation of the \$1,000,000,000 debt owed the United States by Italy according to the terms of the peace treaty imposed on that defeated power by the victorious Allies. The editorial staffs knocked out a few perfunctory remarks about Uncle Sam's "generosity" and let the matter go at that.

A billion dollars may not seem like much in these days of astronomical expenditures for war. Still this lack of enthusiasm seems somewhat singular—until you start to look a little more closely at the teeth of this gift horse.

First of all, \$523,000,000 is for relief supplies given Italian civilians when their land was converted into one of the major battlefields of World War II. Another \$305,000,000 represents the cost of maintaining Allied bayonets in Italy. And another \$175,000,000 represents miscellaneous claims connected with the war.

Italy was utterly unable to pay this huge bandits' assessment. Consequently the cancellation represented nothing but a bookkeeping transaction to clear U. S. books of an uncollectible debt.

In addition to this "generous" gesture of the conqueror, the Truman Administration released \$60,000,000 of frozen Italian funds and handed back 13 ships which had been seized as war booty and 15 Liberty ships to replace Italian vessels that were sunk.

No one, of course, can oppose the easing of the harsh terms of the peace treaty the Italian government was forced to sign. But this particular gesture scarcely deserves applause. You don't praise a bandit who recognizes when he's gone the limit in bleeding his victim. Particularly when he clearly has an ulterior motive.

The easing of the peace terms is designed principally to bolster reaction in Italy. It is intended as grist for the propaganda mills of the Italian quislings serving under Anglo-American imperialism. It is designed to help stem the leftward political shift of the masses in accordance with the reactionary aims of the Truman doctrine.

We think the Christian Science Monitor, probably without realizing it, expressed the gist of the matter neatly in a prominent headline: "U. S. PROPS DE GASPERI REGIME," with smaller line of explanatory type tucked below— "\$1,000,000,000 Debt Canceled."



"Why should they worry about being laid off? It's too hot to work, anyway."

Workers BOOKSHELF

S T A L I N M U S T H A V E
P E A C E by Edgar Snow, Random House, 1947, 184 pp., \$2.50.

In his explanation of why Stalin must have peace, Edgar Snow, ordinarily an ardent Stalinist apologist, takes the liberty of criticizing his leader, only in order the better to be able to sell Stalin's line to the general American public.

The book, which discusses in detail "Why we don't understand the Russians" and expatiates at some length on how the situation looks to Ivan Ivanovitch, concludes with a chapter entitled, "Investment in Stalin," the essence of which is Stalin's program for America.

There is no denying that the existence of stock piles of atomic bombs, and their effect on the thinking of Stalinist statesmen, makes itself felt throughout the book. Motivated by the fear of war between the USSR and American imperialism, the book seeks to expound the theory of collective security as the solution to the threat of external conflict.

Snow starts his explanation of the Russian soul with the idea that the terminology of politics means different things to Russians and Americans. Therefore the diplomatic dispatches are read differently by the masses of each country. Therein, he says, lies the basic of the misunderstanding, leading to different conclusions and opposite actions. If not for this misunderstanding, the two peoples might live in perfect harmony with each other. Needless to say, Snow never poses the Marxist solution to the problems of the world as being in any way different from

those of the Anglo-American imperialists.

Playing upon the undeniable suffering and sacrifices of the Russian masses during and after the war, Snow makes their doubts about the summing up by Snow in four points. 1. Open direct Soviet-American negotiations for basic political, economic and military agreements. 2. Economic collaboration with the USSR. 3. Collective security, the price of European collaboration. 4. A common political program.

In stating his case, he makes many valid arguments against the role of American imperialism. But this can in no way exculpate Stalin for his crimes against the working class and the workers revolutions in Europe, which Snow is careful to cover up.

The solution of Snow is at the same time both unrealistic and ridiculous. Completely slurring over and ignoring all class antagonisms, he advocates that Stalin and the American imperialists sit down and work out a common political program. How, when or by what means the class struggle can be resolved around a conference table, Snow fails to show.

The dubious value of the book, if any value can be attributed to it, lies in the manner in which the Stalinist line in the next stage of world imperialism is presented. Presenting a sugar-coated Stalinist version of world affairs, serves neither the cause of Marxism nor the end of exposing the real role of American imperialism. Only a presentation of the basic struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for control of the economic sources of social and political power can serve that end. This Snow is incapable of doing.

—John Fredericks

Arguments that Stalin's self-created impasse constitutes new conditions, necessitating new tactics, may convince readers of the *Saturday Evening Post*, but such arguments have no place in Marxist theory. He seeks only to explain that Stalinist tactics are aimed at the imperialist jacks.

He says that "in Lenin's day it would have seemed inconceivable that the Red Army could occupy half a dozen countries of Europe and Asia and not establish a proletarian dictatorship in them, but instead to honor agreements with the imperialist jacks."

Arguments that Stalin's self-created impasse constitutes new conditions, necessitating new tactics, may convince readers of the *Saturday Evening Post*, but such arguments have no place in Marxist theory. He seeks only to explain that Stalinist tactics are aimed at the imperialist jacks.

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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.

Finds Evicted Family But No Apartment

Editor: While out hunting for an apartment (that of course I couldn't find) I came across an evicted family whose troubles made mine seem small by comparison. John Pointeck and his family of eight were being evicted from their apartment on East 21st Street, Manhattan.

Pointeck, a member of Local 39 International Marine & Shipbuilding workers, CIO, has been on strike for eight weeks at the Atlantic Basin Iron Works where he is employed.

Even in the midst of his household troubles, he said he didn't have much time to talk with me because he had to go to a strike meeting that afternoon. He told me that despite the strike he never failed to pay his rent.

The first floor front apartment in which the Pointecks have been living for four years is certainly nothing to brag about. During the war there was no superintendent. Garbage piled up in the basement until

Mrs. Pointeck took over the work because they were fed up with "sweeping maggots out of the kitchen." Now the Rowley Realty Company, which owns the building, is evicting the Pointecks to make room, they say, for a superintendent. There was no court order authorizing the eviction.

Mr. Pointeck is father of six children. The oldest, a boy of 20, is serving in the U. S. Army in France. The family was completely unprepared for this eviction, and have no place to go. They were caught unprepared, because they had received assurances from a Tenants League that they could not be evicted. But now the whole family is out on the street.

Betty Vincent
New York

Opposes Cooperatives And Sliding Wages

Editor: "Bureaucrats and Cooperatives," the title of your editorial in the August 4 *Militant*, is merely another call for the patching up of the capitalist system. Cooperatives in the main, in fact *in toto*, are nothing but capitalist enterprises in and of themselves, and as such serve no means of bringing the working class nearer to socialism.

Calling to the working class to embrace cooperatives as a panacea or a "temporary" resting place on the road to true socialism appears to be a rank subterfuge. Surely a party which pretends to speak in the name of Marxism cannot continue to make calls which it must itself realize will amount to no more than the final and utter disillusionment of the workers it strives so hard to educate.

It should be noted and noted well that cooperatives, while causing the decline in the prices a worker must pay for commodities, at the same time contribute to a lowering of the wages with which same worker is to enter the buying market with which to purchase these same commodities.

A sliding scale of wages appears in the light of this to be quite extraneous, apart from the realm of supply and demand. The SWP in becoming an advocate of such "reformist" measures adds only to the growing confusion and hopelessness

Mid-West Camp Wins Another Fan

Editor:

Seeing is believing. After having been at the Mid-West Camp, I can understand why the comrades were so ardent spokesmen for the camp. For the first time on vacation we breathed the free air of a friendly, socialist environment, where co-workers in the struggle for socialism could get to know one another, could exchange experiences, could relax in an easy atmosphere—away from the pressure of hostile capitalist ideas and petty-bourgeois individuals.

While lazing around on the grass, lapping up enough sunshine to last for another 50 weeks, we combined education and pleasure. Not until you hear William Warde's analysis of the first American revolution, the conflict of the classes within the revolutionary forces, and the daring, militant role of the "Boston boys," can you fully appreciate the Marxist interpretation of American history.

Dick Kirk, too, had a fine course, with the history of American trade unionism, evoking a good deal of excellent discussion, particularly on the Knights of Labor and the IWW. And toward evening, Dave Weiss had some good points on the technique of public speaking.

Most inspiring of all were the informal reports given by comrades from all over the country on their trade union activities, for here everyone got the feel of the power of our program, of the power of the Socialist Workers Party in action, and of the high caliber and competence of our comrades who are advancing our program and giving it concrete flesh and blood.

I. N. New York

They Forget Those Who Die in Poverty

Editor:

When a President's mother dies, she gets a lot of publicity. Now I am sorry to hear of anyone's death, but I can't help thinking of the people that die in the poorhouse in the old age homes, etc. We never hear of them, and they are not given a decent burial or a grave marker.

This shows class division. That's what it is; the aristocracy and the workers.

Joe Youngstown, Ohio

Calls Attention To Error in Editorial

Editor:

An editorial of the August 4 *Militant*, "Action Needed on Labor Party," you state: "The Executive Board of the AFL Sheet Metal Workers passed a motion urging the AFL Council to launch a campaign for a labor presidential candidate in 1948; and suggested John L. Lewis as a possible nominee."

This is a little misleading. It was the Executive Board of only one local (No. 209 of St. Paul) that passed the resolution. Local 209 presented the resolution to a meeting of the Sheet Metal Workers International Executive Board with U. S. and Canadian business agents.

But that body *ignored* it, giving the lame excuse that they could not speak for the AFL Executive Council!

W. N. St. Paul, Minn.

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers at these Local Activities of THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

AKRON—2nd floor, 8 S. Howard St. Open Mon. through Friday, 3 to 5 p.m.; Saturdays 2 to 4 p.m.

BOSTON—30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Tuesdays 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

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

CHICAGO—77 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m., daily, except Sunday. Phone Dearborn 4767. Library, book-store.

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

DETROIT—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—215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3, Mich. Open Monday through Friday, 5 to 9 p.m.

LOS ANGELES—Militant publishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.

SAN PEDRO—Militant publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

LYNN, Mass.—44 Central Square, Room 11. Discussion every Tuesday 7:30 p.m.; open Saturdays 1-5 p.m.

MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. St., open 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily except Sunday. Phone Main 7781 Library, bookstore.

SUN. Forum, 3:30 p.m.

NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open 1st and 3rd Monday, 7:30-9:30 p.m. Sunday forums, 2nd and 4th of month, 8:30 p.m.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Library and reading room open week nights, 7-10 p.m.

FRIDAY night forum, 8:30.

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

HARLEM—103 W. 110 St. Room 23. MO. 2-1866.

Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.

BRONX—1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TT 2-0101.

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

CHELSEA—130 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.

OAKLAND, Calif.—Meetings Wednesday, Odd Fellows Temple, 410-11th St. For information write to P.O. Box 1361.

PHILADELPHIA—1302-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor, Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 5820.

TOLEDO—113 St. Clair St., 2nd floor. Open daily.

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

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The Appeal That Must Be Made

By Theodore Kovalsky

Every time I get the chance I like to read about the old-timers in our movement, the old fighters for a better world who went out among their brothers in the working class and preached the word of Socialism to all that would listen.

I like to read about Joe Hill singing the songs of his people and firing their imagination with the picture of a world owned and governed by the "working stiffs" and run for the benefit of all people.

And I like to read about those other "Wobblies" who risked—and sometimes lost—their lives at the hands of vigilante mobs all for the cause of freedom.

I like to read and re-read their bold, bright words of freedom, of equality and brotherhood, of class solidarity; and I like to think of how their fellow-workers must have been stirred by them.

Eugene Debs was another. With his great voice he attacked the powerful parasites who live off the sweat of the workers, and he filled the minds and hearts of his working class audiences with a grand vision of truth and beauty.

That was years ago, and much of the world has changed since then. But...just how much? Have you and I changed?

I know I haven't. The words that so affected the workers that listened to Debs and the other old fighters sound the same to me and rouse in me the same feelings.

And I don't think you've changed either. Certainly the capitalist press uses the same kind of propaganda on you that they used in the old days, the dishonest appeal to your better instincts. Just as they howled in 1917 about the fiendish "Hun," the raper of defenseless Belgian and French women, the murderer of children; so they howled just a few years ago about the fiendish "Jap," who committed atrocities just like the "Hun" of the last war.

This shows what the worker is like: he is one to be aroused to anger by stories of injustice and cruelty.

I Hate to Pay the Light Bill

By Joseph Hansen

I can never get used to paying the electric light bill in New York City. Every time I come home and see that slim white sheet of paper lying on the floor where it's been tucked under the door, I feel like not noticing it. Just walk past it by accident and look the other way until after the place has been swept.

But you can't get around these Power Trust pirates. They've got all the answers, including cutting off your lights if you don't answer their ransom note.

So I pick it up. I don't want to look at the amount I'm instructed to remit to the address they give. I know I'll get that same jolt. But I look at it anyway. I always do. And when I see how much it is this time, sure enough, it's like a punch in the belly. It happens every time.

Maybe I feel like this about the power trust and its shakedown because of something that happened to me back in my childhood. About the time I began wearing shoes in the summer we lived in a little farming and sheep-raising town high up in the Wasatch mountains in Utah. A fast stream of water came down out of the pines and quaking aspens and the citizens thought it could be put to better use than just providing drinking water for deer and pools for trout to laze around in. So they diverted part of it to run a municipal power plant.

The town put in poles and lines along the streets and anybody that wanted to could hook up. All you had to pay was a flat \$1 a month and use all the power you wanted. They didn't bother with the expense of meters or the rigamarole of keeping complicated accounts. \$1 a family gave the town a good profit and helped cut down taxes. Nobody minded chipping in a buck a month to be modern and progressive and get rid of the old kerosene lamps with the chimney you always had to be cleaning.

That was before many people in those parts could afford more in the way of appliances than just lights, an iron and maybe an electric washing machine. This meant everybody used about the same amount of power. Nobody minded though if this or that family burned up extra. What difference did it make?

Then we moved to a city where the power trust had an expensive meter bolted and sealed on every house. That's when I first began noticing my lack of a calm and philosophical attitude toward light bills.

I've tried reading the propaganda the power monopoly puts out as a public service about how rates are coming down steadily and they don't gouge the consumer the way they used to, but it doesn't seem to help much. Just one single report by the Federal Power Commission is enough to dissipate all the effect.

Take the report issued a few days ago on "Typical Electrical Bills, Cities of 50,000 Population and More."

There I'm reminded that in Tacoma, Washington, where the utilities are publicly owned, you pay \$1.70 for the same amount of power that costs \$5.10 in cities like Mount Vernon, New Rochelle and Yonkers, New York, where private enterprise prevails on the public.

And the report tells me again that New York

City happens to be among the cities paying the highest rates. In the largest city in the world you would expect the lowest rates because of the huge volume.

Private enterprise, however, happens to be operating there too.

It goes to show how the human mind works. Once you get it in your head that public enterprise is a lot more efficient and a lot less costly than private enterprise, you can't even pay a light bill without feeling you're being robbed.

Wall Street's "Internationalism"

By Art Preis

Amid all the blazing headlines of recent weeks, about "red spies" and "loyalty purges," a tiny item about J. P. Morgan & Co., the most powerful financial clique in America, managed to wedge itself into back columns of the metropolitan press.

It rated just five inches of type in the Aug. 14 N.Y. Times—you know, "All the news that's fit to print."

This was an Associated Press dispatch from Tokyo. It related to testimony before the international tribunal now trying 25 Japanese war leaders. The testimony was to the effect that J. P. Morgan & Co. had tipped off its Japanese colleagues about the contemplated freeze of Japanese assets in this country almost a month before the freeze was ordered on July 25, 1941. This enabled the Japanese capitalists to take measures to save their assets five months before Pearl Harbor, when it was clear that war with Japan was imminent.

Counsel for the 25 Japanese defendants introduced as evidence testimony from a U.S. State Department memorandum. This was the record of a conversation on July 2, 1941, with a Japanese emissary, the late Tadao Wilkawa. He said he had learned that the Morgan company had heard from sources within the State Department that the "freezing of Japanese funds in the United States could be expected in the near future."

This revelation is a two-fold commentary on the big capitalists in this country and their government. Learn a lesson from the ruling American plutocracy.

Notes from the News

HITLER'S SOUL MARCHES ON — If a single high officer of the CIO or AFL fails to sign an affidavit denying Communists ties, every CIO or AFL international or local union is outlawed by the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law, according to a ruling by Robert N. Denham, general counsel of the NLRA.

DISILLUSIONED GIs—The Veterans Administration reports 1,400,000 veterans have dropped out of college, more than a third of the total who went back to school. They are unable to find decent housing or to live on the meager benefits the government allows them in the postwar world they were promised would be won on the battlefields of World War II.

IN COMMEMORATION — On Aug. 12 the N.Y. Times reported a Replica of New York Harbor's Statue of Liberty will be erected at Hiroshima. This

is the city where 100,000 Japanese civilians were deliberately murdered with an atomic bomb. Under the same headline the N.Y. Times announced production of atomic bombs can now be doubled by a new process.

LEARNING THE HARD WAY — The Oil Workers International Union contributed \$2,000 to the Congressional campaign of J. Curtis Trahan, former mayor of Texas City and once an officer of that union. Trahan turned it down as the "kiss of death." Union president O. A. Knight decided "confidence in Mr. Trahan was very badly misplaced" and that he "is now just another politician." The union voted to give the money to the CIO-PAC "if and when returned."

UNCONSCIOUS PROFIT-GOUGING — A \$48,000 fine against the Kroger Grocery and Baking Company chain for selling meat at overcharging prices has been set aside by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals on the grounds the overcharges were not made "deliberately, knowingly and willfully."

"WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!"



THE MILITANT

NEW YORK, N.Y.

MONDAY, AUGUST 25, 1947

PAGE SIX

Our Labor Day, 1947, Message: Workers, Build Your Own Party!

By The Editors

No Labor Day has offered less occasion for gay celebration than this September 1. The traditional union parades and picnics are being held under ominous clouds of rising prises, union-busting laws, impeding depression and preparations for another imperialist world war.

The past twelve months have seen the capitalist profit system slash real wages to the buying power of the depression year 1939. The purchasing power of the dollar has been cut in half.

On Aug. 22, the Taft-Hartley Slave Law went into full effect. This venomous class legislation is loaded with hundreds of booby-traps for labor, all designed to blast the right to strike and union security. Its deadly effect will be increasingly felt as the employing class more and more discards caution and restraint.

PAP BEING PEDDLED

No one—least of all Wall Street itself—swallows the optimistic pap being peddled in Washington about the prospects for a long-continuing economic boom. Business commentators like Edward Donahue of Standard & Poor's Corporation, statistical consultants, cynically report that business looks "safe" — "at least through the remainder of 1947." And the Wall Street Journal, Aug. 8, takes note of what it calls "creeping unemployment" as the Administration puts out its rigged figures of "60,000,000 employed."

Over all hangs the sinister threat of a new war. Wall Street hurls atomic bomb threats at the Soviet Union. Its agents in Washington threaten to send troops to Greece to protect the bloody monarchy from "communist plotters" against Greek "independence." U.S. imperialism's agents are down in Rio de Janeiro black-jacking the small, impoverished Latin American countries into "hemispheric solidarity" behind American capitalism's schemes for world conquest.

Only a year ago, American labor's ranks rejoiced after the greatest strike upsurge in American history, a titanic demonstration of working class might that appeared to have blocked the post-war union-busting drive and wrested significant wage gains from the giant monopolies. Just two years ago, the workers marched on Labor Day with a feeling of overwhelming relief that the terrible war was over and with the hope that a brave new world of "Four Freedoms" had actually emerged from the ghastly carnage.

VICTORIES MELT AWAY

The labor victories of a year ago have all melted away. The hopes and dreams that came with the war's end have faded into bitter disillusion and resentment.

This Labor Day is occasion not for rejoicing, but for deep and serious reflection. Where will labor go from here? What program must the workers forge to beat back the onslaught of reaction, to meet the coming depression, to stem the sinister drive of Wall Street imperialism toward atomic war?

As all eyes turn to Washington, they gaze only on rampant reaction. The overwhelming bulk of the Democratic, as well as Republican lawmakers, have repeatedly demonstrated their hatred for labor, their servility to Big Business, the past three days.

50 Negroes Injured in Chicago As Race Haters Incite Violence

By Robert L. Birchman

CHICAGO, Ill., Aug. 19—Chicago swayed on the brink of a race riot this past week as mobs of 2,000 to 5,000 race hating whites gathered nightly from the Fernwood Veterans Housing project on the far south side.

The NAACP, Chicago Industrial Union Council, CIO, Chicago Printing Trades Council, American Civil Liberties Union, Urban League, and so on, the police force was increased from 30 in the area to 1,000. Some order was then restored by Saturday night.

The violence was not confined to Halsted St. and the housing project. On Saturday night a truck full of the hate-crazed hoodlums sped through 11th St., firing shots promiscuously. They wounded Arthur Carter and his wife Willa Mae as they were returning home with their 8-months-old son.

SCATTERED ATTACKS

A series of other mob attacks occurred in various areas. Some 20 white men assaulted William Pease, a 23-year-old veteran and mail carrier, knocking out his teeth. A swimming party of 10 Negro boys and girls were attacked at hospitals for cuts and bruises from shattered glass and missiles.

Trouble had been anticipated for several months before move-in day at the Fernwood project. Alder-

man Reginal DuBois of the Ninth Ward, who ran on a platform favoring restrictive covenants, had openly encouraged violence. The real estate interests and other reactionary interests, including the Calumet Index, a neighborhood newspaper, had incited the race haters against the Negroes.

DEFENSE GUARDS NEEDED

The police did no more than they felt they were forced to. Instances were reported of their showing sympathy with the mob. While they held back the mob from the project, they did very little, at least the first few nights, to break up the numerous small gatherings of mobsters.

Many arrests were made, but previous experience shows that after the excitement dies down, the race haters are dismissed with reprimands. To date no one has been charged with "inciting to riot" or punished for his anti-Negro actions.

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Seafarers Strike Ties Up Isthmian Shipping Line

Taft-Hartley Slave Law Threatens Hiring Hall

By R. Bell

NEW YORK CITY, Aug. 19 — Crews aboard vessels of the Isthmian Steamship Company in American ports walked off their ships last Wednesday in response to a strike call by the AFL Seafarers International Union when negotiations stalled over the demand for union control of hiring.

The company, a subsidiary of United States Steel Corporation, insisted on hiring its ship's personnel through its own employment offices. This demand was rejected by the union as an attempt to legalize the company's fink-hall through which Isthmian had successfully warded off unionization for many years.

The United States Steel Corporation, Marine Division, Isthmian Steamship Company, was the only large operator of dry cargo vessels which remained non-union throughout the whole period following the great 1934 strike on the Pacific Coast. Recently the SIU won an NLRB election designating the union as the sole collective bargaining agent. It was the longest election on record, extending over a period of six months, in order to vote all the company ships as they reached an American port.

During the long process of conducting the election, gaining NLRB certification and direct negotiation for a union agreement, the Taft-Hartley Law was enacted. The company seized on this union-busting measure like a drowning man at a straw. They saw here an opportunity to preserve the fink-hall setup which they had maintained over the years.

Negotiations were deliberately prolonged. It became apparent that the company was determined to stall until the anti-closed shop provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act went into effect on Aug. 22. The union-busting measure would then be used as a pretext for rejecting the union hiring hall. If Isthmian, which is one of the largest ship operators in the country, could get away with this, precedent would be established for restoring the open shop in the maritime industry.

The SIU is aware of this danger and is preparing to safeguard its existence. In a "statement of policy" issued as Strike Bulletin Number 1 the union declares:

"The SIU-SUP in the event that the company is awakened today by the din of battle between capital and labor. The powerful might of CIO United Automobile Workers fell with telling weight on the strikebreaking attempts of the Clinton Machine Company's president, Don Thomas. His much publicized "back-to-work" movement failed miserably.

About 1,000 union flying squadron members and pickets from Detroit and Toledo, led by Emil Mazey, Detroit East Side UAW Regional Director, rushed to the aid of Clinton strikers last Monday to mobilize a mob of strikebreakers and violently smashed through a picketline.

Today's mass demonstration of labor solidarity by experienced militants stopped dead the attempted herding of scabs into the plant.

The anti-Negro demonstrations broke out Tuesday evening after 8 Negro veterans and their families together with 63 white veterans' families moved into the project. A mob of 2,000 whites sought to storm the project, but were repulsed by the police guard. Ring leaders of the mob stoned the police, injuring four of them.

The union men militantly held the picket line firm against the attempts of company stooges to break through by violence. The scabs were forced to retreat and several were hurt in the melee.

In a speech before the plant

"Hands Off Indonesia"



Some 200 workers picketed the Dutch consulate in New York Aug. 15, to protest the war launched on the Republic of Indonesia by imperialist Holland. Crowds of shoppers, sightseers and office workers witnessed the demonstration in Rockefeller Center. Picket signs included such demands as "Stop U.S. Loans to Dutch Imperialists," "Get Out of Indonesia," and "Withdraw Dutch Troops from Indonesia." The shouting pickets denounced the use of U.S. arms by the Dutch to slaughter the Indonesians. The Indonesian League of America, which called the demonstration, was supported by the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party.

Militant Photo

UAW Mass Pickets Halt Scabs At Clinton, Mich.

CLINTON, Mich., Aug. 13

—This little town of 1,200 gates, Mazey warned small-town employers that "this is just a sample of what's going to happen if the strike continues." Chester Mullins, fired from Kelsey Hays Wheel in Detroit because of his militant leadership of a wartime strike, said that "if the strike is not settled soon, the pickets will come into the plant and drag out the forty or fifty scabs" bottled in the factory for the past three days.

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Denver Unions Elect 4 City Charter Revisers

By joint political action, the AFL, CIO and railroad unions of Denver elected four unionists to the committee which will draft a new city charter.</p