

France, Italy and  
The London Conference

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

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9

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## Reuther Out To Crush All Opposition

By Art Preis

ATLANTIC CITY, Nov. 15.—Crushed under Walter Reuther's red-baiting steamroller, the dull and lifeless 11th Convention of the CIO United Automobile Workers last night adjourned its sessions at the Convention Hall here a day ahead of schedule.

As Reuther banged his gavel for adjournment in the half-empty auditorium, he sounded the close of an epic period in the life of the UAW and the American labor movement.

For the first time in 12-year history, the traditionally democratic UAW has come under the control of a reactionary, bureaucratic power machine which is out to smash all opposition. Reuther has succeeded where Homer Martin tried but failed.

This Reutherite power machine is a catch-all of the most backward and reactionary elements in the union. They range from Social-Democratic types like Reuther himself to the sinister Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU) under direction of the Catholic hierarchy.

Reuther's coalition of reaction swept to power on the wave of anti-red hysteria and witch-hunting set in motion by the U. S. State Department and the Thomas-Rankin Un-American Activities Committee.

### Had One Aim

Reuther, the professional "democrat" had but one immediate aim at this convention — to get his slate elected as quickly as possible without discussion of any basic issues. He accomplished this by jamming through a motion in the opening session last Sunday to hold elections starting with the third day instead of the customary fifth day of the convention.

Whatever time was left, the Reutherite machine wasted with delaying tactics and by discussion of inconsequential constitutional amendments or amendments especially designed to strengthen the hand of the new top leadership against the ranks. To further ensure against debate of the real issues — wages and prices, speed-up, political action, etc. — the Reuther machine rushed through an adjournment a day before schedule.

Only on three isolated occasions and for brief moments did the opposition succeed in lifting the Reutherite-CTU iron curtain. The first was when they forced a debate

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## Steel Union, Trainmen Reject Taft Act Oath

Officers of two of the country's leading unions, the CIO United Steelworkers and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, announced last week that they will not sign the "yellow dog" oaths required by the Taft-Hartley Act.

A decision against complying with the Slave Labor Act was adopted unanimously on Nov. 19 by the Executive Board of the 875,000-member Steelworkers union.

This followed the strong statement the day before by A. F. Whitney, BRT president. Whitney said his organization of 218,000 members would not cooperate in any way with the Taft Act or its agencies. He bitterly assailed the Act as "a monstrosity designed to wreck American unions."

"I am not a Communist," Whitney said. "But I am not failing for the efforts of fascist-minded people who want to split the labor movement on Communist charges. . . . If we are going to get a foreign ideology in this country, the real danger lies not in communism but in fascism."

The steel union's action means that two of the three largest affiliates of the CIO are defying the Taft Act on the matter of signing anti-communist oaths in order to receive the "benefits" of the new NLRA.

Previously, the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, with 600,000 members, had voted in convention against compliance.

## Mass Upsurge Rocks France, Italy On Eve of "Big Four" Conference

Thanksgiving Dinner--1947 Style



## Hickman Jury Disagrees New Trial Set for Jan. 5

CHICAGO, Nov. 18.—The dramatic trial of James Hickman, charged with the murder of his landlord, David Coleman, ended in a mistrial last Saturday when the jury reported that it was unable to agree on a verdict. The jury had been deliberating since 5:15 p.m. of the previous day, but was unable to arrive at agreement on the guilt or innocence of the defendant, who had lost his four youngest children in a disastrous attic fire last January, and who held Coleman responsible for their death. A new trial was ordered for Jan. 5.

Hickman was provided with defense counsel, financial and moral assistance by the Hickman Defense Committee, formed by the joint efforts of CIO, AFL and independent unions, American Veterans Committee, Workers Defense League, NAACP, Socialist Workers Party, Baptist Ministers Conference, CORE, and many other organizations and individuals.

The steering committee of the Hickman Defense Committee, meeting with the defense counsel and Mrs. Hickman immediately after the date for a new trial had been set, decided unanimously to continue the fight for Hickman's acquittal. The committee decided to launch a new campaign to raise funds and arouse public sentiment in preparation for the second trial. Branches of the Hickman Defense Committee established throughout the country were given the signal to proceed vigorously in rallying material and moral assistance for Hickman.

The trial opened on Nov. 5 in a crowded courtroom before Judge

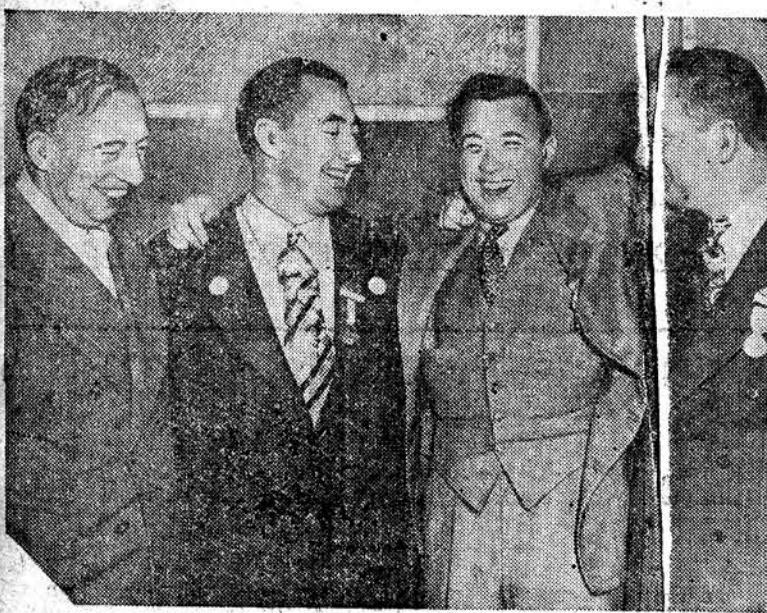
Fudgil Desort. After three days of questioning, a jury of six men and six women were chosen. Defense attorneys were M. J. Myer, Leon Despres and William Temple, widely known and experienced figures in civil rights and labor cases.

The opening argument by the assistant state's attorney, Samuel Friedman, consisted of a brief statement that the state would prove that James Hickman was guilty of murder, on the grounds that the shooting was "premeditated" and done with "malice aforethought."

M. J. Myer, counsel for the defense, in his opening statement did not deny that Hickman had shot Coleman but promised the defense would prove conclusively that he was suffering temporarily from mental illness at the time, which is within the legal definition of "insanity," and therefore was, in accordance with the laws of the State of Illinois, not guilty of any crime. The facts, he indicated, would show that the real victim

(Continued on Page 6)

## New UAW Officers



The four top officers of the CIO United Automobile Workers pose jovially following their sweep of the UAW leadership at the union's convention in Atlantic City, Nov. 9-14. They head the Reutherite-ACTU machine that took over complete control in an atmosphere of red-baiting, conservatism and intimidation.

Left to right, they are Vice President Richard Gossler, Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey, President Walter Reuther and Vice President John W. Livingston.

Gosser has been under fire for his anti-Negro policies and gangster methods as Regional Director in the Toledo area. Mazey, a former militant, led the machine's drive at the convention to force the UAW to comply with the "yellow dog" affidavits under the Taft-Hartley Act. Livingston is a conservative machine-man.

# Reuther Drives to Crush All Opposition in UAW

(Continued from Page 1) servatism and fear. They tried to deny that compliance with the Taft Act strengthens the act and weakens resistance to it. They claimed that the UAW, which was built on the affidavits, would now be helpless if it didn't sign the Taft Act affidavits and thereby get the "benefits" of the new boss-dominated NLRB.

All debate on other major resolutions was choked off. But the undebated resolutions are extremely revealing.

On the burning question of the fight against high prices, the Reutherites placed their chief stress on the discredited program, pushed unsuccessfully since 1942, for the Big Business government to "roll back prices." Reuther himself, in his opening and closing speeches, emphasized this futile program, even fixing the amount of the "roll back" at 12%.

## Majority Report

The majority report of the Resolutions Committee, in contradiction to the Reutherite program, demanded that the UAW "immediately embark on a new drive for wage increases" including "cost of living bonuses during the life of the wage clauses with the negotiated rates as the base minimum." (See text on Page 6)

It called for a joint strategy of the General Motors, Ford and Chrysler Divisions of the union and for the negotiation of a joint wage program. Reuther and his resolution were silent on these vital questions of wage policy.

One of the sharpest criticisms against Reuther is his connection with the National Planning Association, which is pushing speed-up propaganda. Reuther himself has called for "more production" through labor-management committees of the ill-fated type that operated against the workers during the war. He repeated his proposal for a labor-management set-up in his final speech.

The majority resolution specifically demanded that the union at every level wage war on speed-up. It called for the resignation of the NPA and all other labor-management collaboration set-ups; for the elimination of all "one sided penalty clauses" in GM and other contracts that aid the speed-up drive, for the prohibition of any piece-work agreements and the elimination of those now existing.

The resolutions on political action were not even published. Reuther himself spoke in only the most ambiguous terms about political action. In the resolutions commit-

# Today's Social Crisis Will Bring Political Explosion

By Farrell Dobbs

Wall Street's two-pronged offensive against the Soviet Union and the American labor movement is gaining momentum, thanks primarily to the policy of the belly-crawling top union officials. Yet, in spite of betrayal by the union leadership, rising political consciousness among the workers can and will break through and launch an offensive in the other direction.

The harsh measures imposed upon the workers are in fact creating the conditions for a deeper and broader movement of the workers which will go far beyond the magnificent upsurge of the past decade and sweep all resistance before it, including the resistance of the conservative labor officialdom. A brief analysis of developments in recent years provides ample ground for this estimate.

Political thought along class lines did not penetrate the trade union membership during the first stages of the struggle to build today's mass unions. The workers voted for Roosevelt and buried themselves organizing the unorganized: smashing the open-shop fortresses of the monopoly corporations; improving wages and conditions; and establishing union control on the job.

As the unions slowly gained the upper hand, the conflict penetrated deeply into the basic segments of our national economic structure. Here were found giant monopoly corporations with a stranglehold on the national economy and a lead-string on the government in Washington.

## Pretext to Blame Unions

Wage gains won by the workers were used by the trusts as a pretext for outrageous price increases affecting the entire nation. Corporation agents in Washington and in the newspaper editorial rooms saw to it that the unions were fully blamed. Congressmen — at first mainly poll-tax Democrats and the most rock-ribbed Republicans — began to introduce anti-union legislation.

Every big strike in the basic industries tended to

become a national political issue. Pure and simple trade unionism had completely played itself out. Independent labor political action was on the order of the day.

However, the political crisis confronting the unions was obscured temporarily by American entry into World War II. Sacrificing the workers' interests in support of Wall Street's imperialist interests, the union officials, with the Stalinist betrayers at the head of the pack gave Big Business a no-strike pledge without bothering to consult the workers. They supported the wage-freeze and the speed-up. Meanwhile, prices shot upward and the workers' standard of living was ground down.

Overwhelmed by the war machine, disoriented by their leaders, the workers were unable to defend their interests against their mortal enemy, American Big Business. Obscured though it momentarily was under these conditions, the political crisis was immeasurably deepened by the war.

## Big Business Technique

With the arrival of V-J Day the storm broke. Strikes spread until at the crest of the wave two million workers were manning picket lines. Troop demonstrations broke out from Berlin to Tokyo with a universal demand to be sent home. And as soon as they got home the veterans went on the picket line.

So solid was the mass battlefront against Big Business, that even the ultra-conservative New York Times referred to the "modern crime of crossing a picket line."

Big Business was stymied. Finks, thugs, injunctions, cops, militia, red-baiting all put together couldn't smash these strikes. Recognizing they had lost that round, the corporations decided to make the unions' victory as costly as possible.

First they let the workers strike a good long time, to deplete any savings they might have and plunge them into debt. Then they settled with the

strikers.

Catholic priests and government officials are barging into the unions to whip up a "red" hunt. Anti-labor hoodlumism is spreading ominously. Ne-

ighbors are segregated, impoverished and murdered. Anti-Semitism grows more virulent. Civil liberties of the people are everywhere endangered.

Fod and clothing prices continue to climb. Housing conditions remain a scandal to the human race.

Fear of economic depression lurks in every workers' household. And over all humanity hangs the nightmarish threat of horrible death in atomic warfare.

Confronted with these grave dangers to labor's well-being, the union officials are duty-bound to mobilize the workers for battle against Big Business on the political arena through their own independent party. Instead, they are treacherously endorsing Wall Street's war aims, capitulating to the Slave Labor Act, joining in the "red" hunt and preparing to support Truman, the warmer and strike-breaker, in 1948.

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Mighty Wrath Brewing

These hateful deeds win praise from Big Business but they cannot in any way lighten the grim burden the workers are forced to bear. This policy of the leadership retards and sabotages the counter-struggle of the workers but cannot prevent it from breaking out with all the more explosive force a little later.

A mighty wrath is brewing in that seething cauldron of human suffering, frustrated hopes and fear for loved ones. It is a wrath that sees the enemy stand ever more clearly revealed — the profiteering corporations, the greedy bankers, the grasping real estate trusts and their Democratic and Republican political tools.

That wrath remains dammed up at present only because the misleaders at the head of the workers' mass organizations have betrayed their trust and are buckling under the pressure of the workers' enemies. When the dam breaks the American workers will enter the political arena as an independent force with the same irresistible power that built the mighty CIO.

Aliens in the unions are being hauled up on deportation charges. People are dragged before Congressional committees and charged with being "reds." They are then prosecuted for "contempt" or as "perjurers" if they refuse to answer or if they deny the sweeping charges against them.

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# War Hysteria Rises on Eve of London Conference

By Joseph Hansen

On the eve of the Conference of Foreign Ministers, which meets in London Nov. 25, the participants are deploying their forces like generals maneuvering contending armies for a major battle. The Conference was officially called by the victors in World War II to finally draw up peace treaties for Germany and Austria. But not one seriously believes that this parley will settle the fate of Germany and Austria or bring peace to a war-weary world. The war drums are too loud for such illusions to gain currency.

The initiative at this "peace" conference lies with the Anglo-American imperialists. Their aim is: (1) to push for an over-all "settlement" that will advance their own economic and political interests at the expense of the Soviet Union; (2) in the event a satisfactory settlement proves impossible at present, to utilize the conference to further their plans for war.

In public the squabbling will be over Germany and Austria and whatever other issues each side will use to embarrass or damage the other. But that is not the main concern of the rulers of Britain and America. They have already

capital pressure is the threat of atomic annihilation if the Kremlin does not concede. Wall Street's threat is not an idle one.

Announcement of the Truman Doctrine to "contain communism" was swiftly followed by the Marshall Plan to use billions of dollars from the U. S. Treasury to build a bloc of western European powers. This is designed as a springboard for the projected assault on the USSR if the Kremlin does not meet Wall Street's terms. Already Greece and Turkey are being converted into munition dumps flanking the strategic Black Sea invasion route.

At home, in preparation for war, Wall Street launched a ferocious anti-labor drive that included the Taft-Hartley Law, "loyalty" purges, witch-hunts and unbridled red-baiting. The entire capitalist propaganda machine stepped up war-mongering to the stage of hysteria. Finally a special session of Congress to consider "aid" to Europe was timed to coincide with the Foreign Ministers Conference.

**TERRIFIC PRESSURE**

Wall Street has mounted terrific pressure in an effort to convert the Kremlin into its own direct instrument for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. The prin-



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Soviet Union completely out of the UN.

At the same time the economic and financial blockade of the USSR was drawn still tighter so that even the thin trickle of goods going there since the war's end is now drying up.

**BLOCKADE DRAWN TIGHTER**

And with cynical contempt for world opinion, Washington has provocatively stockpiled atomic bombs and periodically announced its latest "successes" in the production of even more horrible and destructive secret weapons.

Now, as a final gesture before the London Conference, Washington's spokesmen have announced that if the Kremlin does not come to terms, then Washington, London and Paris will proceed to write a "separate peace" with Germany and Austria. In diplomatic language this means

intensification of war preparations. The Kremlin has based its foreign policy since the end of the war on the perspective of another deal with Wall Street. It counted on Wall Street's fear of depression paving the way for a trade agreement profitable to both America's 60 ruling families and Moscow's ruling oligarchy. It counted on Wall Street's fear of socialist revolution leading it to seek the Kremlin's counter-revolutionary political services in heading off and putting down such uprisings.

Moscow calculated on trading off the confidence the masses abroad placed in its leadership, thus buying time for the bureaucracy at the expense of the socialist revolution, above all in Europe.

**SAVING CAPITALISM**

Wall Street accepted these counter-revolutionary services at the close of the war when the working class throughout Europe surged toward power. In Greece, Italy, France, Belgium, etc., the Stalinists took key government posts, thus saving capitalism in Europe at a most critical hour.

Wall Street used this breathing space to strengthen its own counter-revolutionary forces and to stave off economic collapse by pumping-prime abroad and war expenditures at home. When the relation of forces shifted in its favor, it began the offensive, kicking the Stalinists out of office.

Since that time the Kremlin has reeled under the shower of blows from its former "peace-loving" ally, trying to duck, cover up, and gain time.

The Stalinist bureaucracy launched another of its domestic purges, directing the witch-hunt this time against purveyors of "bourgeois" ideology. Just as Wall Street lined up Latin America and pushed for the smashing of all Stalinist oppo-

sition there, so the Kremlin tightened its control over Eastern Europe, mopping up all political opposition to its domination.

On the foreign field, Moscow's weaknesses have been even more apparent than at home. The decades of opportunism, betrayals and foul crimes have proved costly. The brain trust of American Big Business understands perfectly well that the Kremlin fears socialist revolution as much as they do. They see no necessity for paying Moscow for its counter-revolutionary services.

All these verbal firecrackers, however, had little effect on the progress of Wall Street's war machine. Finally, on the very eve of the conference, the Stalinist parties in Italy and France have ventured a step beyond windy speeches, empty boasts and vain threats. They staged street demonstrations against the Marshall Plan and Wall Street's war plans and some of the Stalinist leaders were prompted to make vague public hints about possible "civil war" and "revolution."

As this clamor of battle reached a crescendo, both Washington and Moscow wove in a conciliatory theme. Byrnes, for example, followed up his book that called for war with a declaration that "we must always leave open the gates of understanding."

Moscow, however, sounded the conciliatory note much louder than Washington. Stalin told a delegation of British Laborites that his regime can get along amicably with capitalism. Molotov repeated this theme in his Nov. 7 speech. Vyshinsky has emphasized it since in press interviews and speeches.

**ANXIOUS FOR DEAL**

Wall Street's spokesmen do this to appear "reasonable" as they sit down atomic bomb in hand at the conference table. The Stalinist bureaucracy likewise has public opinion in mind and wishes to appear willing to listen to reason. But it must be added that the Kremlin fears war far more than Wall Street and is more anxious to reach a deal. Their perspective in international politics boils down to postponing the inevitable conflict through temporary deals and pacts. All the Kremlin asks is not to be forced to fight or to commit suicide by undermining its own economic and political base.

The reality of the situation on the eve of the London Conference was succinctly expressed by Elliott V. Bell, N. Y. State Superintendent of Banks, at a meeting of 450 bank officers and trustees in New York on Nov. 10. "Whether we like it or not," said Bell to those financiers, "we are in a war. . . . It is at present a cold war, a war of nerves, of propaganda and invective, of economic and political pressure. But it is just as real and may prove just as deadly as though it were fought with planes and atom bombs."



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As part of its political offensive abroad, Washington inspired the ousting of Stalinist ministers from the Italian and French governments and fostered the rise of reactionary movements in those countries designed eventually to smash all working-class opposition to its war plans.

All Latin America was asked to sign the dotted line in advance as Wall Street's allies in the projected war. The diplomatic offensive there against the Kremlin was swiftly stepped up to the breaking point.

In the United Nations, the U. S. delegation manipulated its majority on issue after issue to force the Kremlin into the most unfavorable light possible. Now with the formation of the "Little Assembly" it has begun preparations to kick the workers utilize union control to draw a full day's pay for 3 to 4 hours work.

**KEY TO THE ECONOMY**

The Japanese mines are the key to the economics of Japan and the Far East, as the mines everywhere are the key to national and world economies. It is obvious that the Japanese miners are no different from their British and American brothers in refusing to bear on their backs the burden of capitalist bankruptcy.

The movement of the Japanese workers has been steadily orienting in the direction of actions of a nationwide character. With instinctive revolutionary resourcefulness, they have effectively combined parliamentary and extra-parliamentary methods.

In February of this year, a general strike involving 2,600,000 government employees in coal, communications, railways, and schools was blocked only by an order from MacArthur. But the threat of the strike was sufficient to unseat the Yoshida government representing the industrialists and landlords. It was replaced by a coalition government led by the Social-Democrats.

Today, however, the National Federation of Labor has over one million members. At the same time and even more important, a new union organization has emerged, the Japanese Congress of Industrial Unions, embracing close to two million workers. The Japanese Federation of Labor is strongest in the textile unions. At the basis of the Japanese CIO, on the other hand, are the key workers in communications and other public services. Over a million more workers are organized in many smaller unions.

The total number of unions is between 17,000 and 20,000. Is it any wonder that the American occupation complains of the absence of "trained and responsible labor leaders"? When so many unions are formed in such a short time, the rank and file must play a decisive role in their actual organization and must supply a considerable segment of the local leadership. Under such circumstances, as the militants who organized the CIO in the United States will remember, the opportunity is limited for the labor lieutenants of capitalism to establish their stranglehold.

**CHALLENGE TO CAPITALISM**

But it is not only in numbers that the Japanese unions have expanded from practically nothing to a social force embracing over 80% of the working population. From the very beginning, the Japanese workers have shown that they are combining the traditional minimum demands of organized labor with a broad economic and social challenge to the capitalist system.

Last year, to cite one example of many, the workers in the Pilot Fountain Pen Co. successfully waged a "production control strike" over a period of months. They formed their own committees, planned production, purchased materials, sold their products and paid wages. In industry after industry, the unions have defied the capitalist right to dismiss "surplus workers" so long as mass unemployment persists.

So strong has this control been, that today the state must take the initiative in trying to dismiss a half-million government employees in the key departments of railway, post-office, etc. Thereby, it hopes to give a signal to private industry to challenge workers' control over firing. But even the government, with American troops behind it, is moving cautiously on this program because it fears the proof in action that the Japanese workers consider the right to hold a job an integral part of the new way of life.

A year ago, American imperialism was boasting about the MacArthur occupation in Japan as a model of democratic re-education of the "backward" Japanese masses. To

## Strike Wave Forces Collapse of Ramadier Regime

In face of the mounting wave of strikes in France, Premier Paul Ramadier handed in his resignation Nov. 19. This action constitutes recognition of the inability of his regime to do anything about the unbearable rise in the cost of living which is forcing the French workers into action.

Ramadier's resignation likewise indicates how narrow the ground has become in France for "compromise" regimes. Reaction is consolidating around de Gaulle, threatening to establish a dictatorship like that of Franco in Spain. Alarmed by this development, the workers want action to prevent such a disaster.

Thus the political parties standing between these two camps are steadily losing strength. The Socialist Party, to which Ramadier

belongs, is itself shot through with differences. The left wing recently won a majority in the Executive Committee. This majority decided that Ramadier must go and forced his resignation.

This majority is now attempting to replace Ramadier by the aged Leon Blum in a desperate effort to maintain the slipping balance between de Gaulle on the right and the militant sections of the working class on the left.

**CIVIL WAR POSSIBLE**

Guy Mollet, secretary of the Socialist Party admitted Nov. 19 that "civil war" is "certainly threatened" and "probably would become international, like that in Spain." He said that no one in his party wanted to be either a French Kerensky or a Noske. (The Kerensky regime in Russia preceded the November, 1917 revolution. The Noske regime in Germany suppressed the attempts

of the German workers in 1918 to establish a Workers' and Farmers' Committee. This majority decided that Ramadier must go and forced his resignation.

The current wave of strikes which forced Ramadier's resignation began in Marseilles when the Stalinist-controlled unions there staged a protest demonstration over an increase in street car fares decreed by the new de Gaulle mayor.

Four demonstrators were arrested. When their case came up Nov. 12 a huge crowd took over first the court and then City Hall. Later in the day a Stalinist youth was shot and killed.

The seamen and longshoremen under Stalinist leadership called for a general strike and proceeded to sweep up the port.

Troops were rushed to Marseilles, but by Nov. 18 the number of workers on strike had swelled to 85,000

and the strike continued to spread to other major ports.

On Nov. 15 Ramadier staged a series of raids in Marseilles, arresting 82 trade union leaders of whom six were held for trial on charges of having led the "rioting" and strikes.

**DEMONSTRATIONS MOUNT**

Truckloads of armed mobile guards continued to pour into the city to be met by mingled boos and cheers of crowds lining the streets. Tanks and armored cars were rushed in by rail. Soldiers stationed at City Hall barred all entry. The City Council and the courts suspended activities. North African troops were ordered to act as scabs in unloading ships.

Demonstrations broke out all over France. In the Lille mine basin 30,000 coal miners downed tools Nov. 17 to protest the removal of Gaston Delfosse, Stalinist head of the Government coal administration.

Delfosse was discharged by Ramadier's cabinet.

Strike action spread from pit to pit with such rapidity that within a few days 105,000 out of a total of 114,000 miners in this region were out.

The auto workers at Renault, Hotchkiss, Simca, Citroen, Ford and Gnome-Rhone walked out. The secretary of the Metal Workers Union in the Paris region called for "total strike."

The flour millers of Lille and Marseilles joined 4,500 Paris millers on strike; and 12,000 Paris school teachers voted for strike action to begin Nov. 21. The total number of workers on strike in France on Nov. 19 was estimated at 400,000.

In Le Havre, a Socialist mayor resigned when the Stalinists protested his selection by the newly-elected City Council. The de Gaulleists then resigned too and the national government appointed a committee to run the city pending another election.

In Paris, Stalinist members of the City Council demonstrably walked out when Pierre de Gaulle, brother of Gen. Charles de Gaulle, was elected council president.

**HEATED DEBATE**

The National Assembly debated

the Marseilles events with great heat. Ramadier threatened to "go the limit" in fighting such demonstrations; and the Stalinists announced they would now follow an independent policy. Heretofore they have described themselves as a party of the government even though they were kicked out of cabinet.

To meet the most recent jumps in prices, the Stalinist-dominated General Confederation of Labor on Nov. 12 adopted a manifesto calling on all workers in France to join in a demand for higher wages to be met by Dec. 19. The demand includes lifting the present minimum of 7,700 francs (\$58) for a month of 200 hours to 10,800 francs (\$90) with all wages now above this level to be raised proportionately.

In addition the manifesto demands revision of all wage scales every 3 months to meet new price rises. It likewise calls for the formation of workers committees to include sections of the population besides union members.

The Ramadier regime responded to this manifesto two days later by raising the price of gas and electricity 45%, of railway and subway fares 25%, and freight rates 25.5%.

This, of course, added fresh fuel to the flames.

## Italy Shaken by Nation-Wide Demonstrations

By Joseph Hansen

When the Italian working class finished accounts with Mussolini, only one obstacle stood in the road of a socialist revolution. That obstacle was the Stalinists. They checked the masses from moving forward.

Taking key cabinet posts, they acted as lifeguards for capitalism, saving it from drowning in the revolutionary wave that came with the end of the war.

The Stalinists had the power at any time in the past two years to launch the decisive struggle to overturn the capitalist system and set up a Workers' and Farmers' Government. As recently as two months ago, the masses surged once more toward power. Agricultural laborers seized the land. Workers took over City Halls. Strikes paralyzed the country from end to end as more than 2,000,000 downed tools.

But the Stalinists, although ousted from the government, continued their counter-revolutionary role of halting, checking and paralyzing the struggle. Once again they used their positions of leadership to prevent the workers from setting up their own government.

**A SHIFT**

Now the Stalinists have made a shift. On the eve of the London Conference they have begun talking of "revolution." They have gone even further, initiating demonstrations and strike action.

It might be expected that after the September experiences, the workers would be too exhausted, too disillusioned to again come into the streets so soon, particularly at a

time and for reasons arbitrarily chosen by the Stalinists without regard to the needs and mood of the Italian workers themselves.

Yet the Italian workers immediately began moving when the Stalinists loosened the brakes they had kept clamped down on the struggle since the war's end.

The gas workers staged a nationwide strike, organized to spread progressively from city to city. In Milan they took possession of the gas works and proclaimed their intention of serving the city with gas and electricity free of charge.

Other workers in Milan set fire Nov. 11 to the headquarters of the fascist Common Man Front movement and wrecked the printing plant of the Monarchist newspaper *Mattini d'Italia* after a bomb was thrown at Stalinist headquarters.

In Genoa, hundreds of "activists" came to the center of the city in trucks belonging to the Chamber of Labor. Their demonstration included wrecking the headquarters of the reactionary Nationalist Party and the headquarters of the pro-fascist Italian Social Movement.

**POLICE ATTACK**

By Nov. 13 strikes and demonstrations had spread to 20 cities. In Naples, workers protesting the bomb throwing in Milan marched through the streets burning reactionary newspapers found on newsstands. They were attacked by police who used tear gas, gun butts and clubs against them. Many wounded were taken to hospitals.

Later the Naples workers demolished the headquarters of some of the most reactionary political parties.

As the de Gasperi regime mobilized troops and army tanks, similar scenes were repeated all over Italy. The main action of the workers was directed against the monarchists and fascists, direct action being taken particularly against their headquarters and newspapers.</p

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# THE MILITANT

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THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION  
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FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

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Monday, November 24, 1947



"The attempt to solve the Jewish question through the migration of Jews to Palestine can now be seen for what it is, a tragic mockery of the Jewish people. Interested in winning the sympathies of the Arabs who are more numerous than the Jews, the British government has sharply altered its policy toward the Jews, and has actually renounced its promise to help them find their 'own home' in a foreign land. The future development of military events may well transform Palestine into a bloody trap for several hundred thousand Jews. Never was it so clear as it is today that the salvation of the Jewish people is bound up inseparably with the overthrow of the capitalist system."

—Leon Trotsky, 1940

## Preparing for the 1948 Elections

President Truman's message to Congress was another gun fired by the Democratic Party in preparation for the 1948 elections.

Senator Taft's criticism of that message was one more gun fired by the Republican Party in its preparations for the 1948 elections.

But what about labor? What guns did it fire in reply to Truman and Taft as part of its preparations for the 1948 elections?

AFL President Green timidly tossed a wet firecracker into the press indicating a weak doubt about the advisability at present of the wage freeze suggested by Truman.

CIO President Murray dropped flat on his belly and crawled for a slit trench, informing the press that he was calling a meeting of the 9 CIO Vice Presidents come Dec. 2 to "enunciate the policy on those subjects the CIO will provide its affiliates."

This represented about the total reaction of the top bureaucracy now drawing fat salaries to watch out for the interests of the 15,000,000 members of organized labor in America.

Obviously, if any preparing for the 1948 election is to be done, it's up to the rank and file of the trade unions to do it. If you want your voice to be heard in Washington you've got to do the yelling yourself. If you want to begin constructing a

steam roller for the 1948 elections, you've got to depend on your own brawn, guts and intelligence to do the job.

The workers, through their local PAC, LEPL and trade union bodies, should get to work without delay in formulating a program to meet their problems. Then this program should be taken to the Congressman from your district and the two Senators from your State to let them know the workers want this program supported in Washington.

We suggest that Political Check-Up Committees be organized in the PAC, LEPL and similar bodies. These Political Check-Up Committees should keep track of the activities of these politicians and keep the spotlight of publicity on them as well as giving wide circulation to the program labor wants enacted.

The work of such Political Check-Up Committees would help immeasurably in preparing for the next election. Week by week the performance of office holders could be measured against their campaign promises; thus establishing with crystal clarity that the Democrats and Republicans must be replaced by labor's own candidates. The necessity for a Labor Party would become so obvious that its actual construction would be enormously speeded up.

## Thanksgiving Day

As the capitalists sit down to their Thanksgiving dinner this year, they have much to be grateful for.

Profits are the highest in all history—higher even than in the bonanza war days. Their monopoly of government remains unchallenged, even after plunging America into world war a second time, thanks to the servile bureaucracy that heads the trade union movement. Reaction is marching ahead both at home and abroad. And their Democratic-Republican machine has accomplished much in advancing Wall Street's plans for world conquest.

From the viewpoint of America's 60 ruling families much may still be wanting, but capitalism is nevertheless certainly the best of all possible systems.

Workers, however, have little to offer thanks for as they sit down at their Thanksgiving table.

Prices continue to mount—far above the peaks hit during the war. There is no hope of relief from the pressure of inflation save the looming threat of depression with its mass unemployment and hunger.

Since last Thanksgiving the Taft-Hartley Slave

Labor Act has gone into effect. The entire trade union movement now faces the worst threat to its independent existence in decades.

"Loyalty" purges, witch-hunts and rampant red-baiting are fostering native fascism. Already organized bands of hoodlums have broken up meetings of the PCA and the Stalinists in various cities as a preliminary to more extensive moves against other sections of the labor movement.

Europe still lies prostrate two years after the war's end. The flames of civil war and colonial conflict rage in the Far East. Wall Street is draining the U. S. Public Treasury to bolster up reaction in both those areas as well as in Latin America.

Worst of all, the specter of atomic war becomes more and more real as Wall Street moves ruthlessly toward domination of the entire globe. How many Thanksgivings are left before the American workers and farmers are mobilized for new expeditionary armies, if Big Business has its way?

Thanksgiving Day in 1947 looks grim indeed. Let's strive to make the next one more hopeful by doing everything we can to step up the fight to end the rotting capitalist system and replace it with socialism.

## Some Photographs from Greece

Out of Greece in recent weeks have come pictures of atrocities such as are generally ascribed in imperialist war propaganda to the "enemy."

Typical photographs are the ones showing a young man and a young woman standing side by side as the firing squad prepares. Then their bodies crumpled on the ground. With a caption describing how these two rebels died singing the "Internationale."

Other photographs show monarchist troops holding up the severed heads of partisans as gruesome trophies of war.

These photographs are not faked atrocity items designed to inspire horror over the alleged barbarism and savagery of the foe. They are boastful evidences of the activities of the armed forces now being advised and directed by U.S. Army officers!

They are intended to show the American public how the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan are working out in Greece. They are intended to win fresh support for Wall Street's intervention in all over Europe?

Approval of the Marshall Plan means approval of these atrocities. It means approval of Wall Street's plan for similar "benefits" in other lands.

When you read the propaganda in the capitalist press about the "necessity" of backing the Marshall Plan, think of that young couple bravely facing guns made in the USA. Think of the monarchist knife edging through the vertebrae of Greek patriots.

And then decide whether you want to back the Marshall Plan for the rest of Europe.

The second side of the book, however, has no merit at all. And that is the heart of the question—the solution to the problem of the cruel and inhuman oppression of the Negro.

The author, who is a Negro intellectual, looks about and finds no hope anywhere—not in the capitalist class, not in the working class, not in the Stalinists (whom he detests), and most significantly, not even in the Negro people. As a result, the salvation of Lee Gordon takes place in a purely personal—and fatalistic—way. At the end of the book he dies heroically for what seems to the author to be no cause at all.

The whole story revolves around a union organizing campaign; yet it might as well have been a military campaign or a jungle expedition for all the understanding of the labor movement that is shown. The characters connected with the union are almost in every case artificial types. And this is just a literary criticism—throughout the book there is displayed a contempt for the workers and especially the Negro workers. The Negroes portrayed by this Negro intellectual all shift with the wind, have no cour-



## Workers' BOOKSHELF

LONELY CRUSADE, by Chester Himes, Knopf, 398 pp., 1947, \$3.

LONELY CRUSADE is the story of Lee Gordon, a Negro union organizer. It describes the accumulating strains and contradictions in a Negro intellectual who is crushed and stifled by the system of Jim Crow and is seeking some way to defeat the fate that capitalism decrees for the Negro people.

The novel, however, contains a profound contradiction, the contradiction of many a Negro intellectual. On the one hand, Chester Himes, the author, presents powerfully the profound effect of the oppression of a people on a sensitive Negro. Pervading the whole book is the constant fear and tension which is the inevitable result of the Negro's position in present day American society.

The system which enforces a status of inferiority in every phase of private and public life through aged-old traditions and customs backed up by the armed might represented by the police and the courts, corrodes even the personal relations of the oppressed Negro minority. How Lee Gordon's family life, his love for his wife, are destroyed by the all-powerful Jim Crow is tragically and effectively pictured.

The bitterness, the resentment, the hopelessness are an integral part of the story and succeed in building up a tension in the reader that puts him, to an extent, in the place of the hero. For this aspect of the story, the book should be read especially by white workers. Even with the best will in the world, too often a worker cannot feel what racial oppression means to the Negro. He cannot understand that with the distortions and perversions which capitalism introduces into all human relations, what is accepted as normal in relations between whites can be merely another sign of his enforced inferiority in relations between a Negro and a white.

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age and no understanding. We could debate this question with Mr. Himes. We could explain that the liberation of the Negroes will be accomplished precisely by these workers whom he holds to be so inferior. We could point to the past record of heroic struggle of Negro workers together with their white brothers that built the great unions of the CIO. We could point to the tremendous contribution the Negroes have made in providing leadership to the labor movement. But I don't think this would convince Mr. Himes.

The truth of the matter is that he does not know the worker, and least of all the Negro worker. It is understandable that to an oppressed intellectual the superiority of his education should be an important thing. Yet the most untutored Negro steel worker or auto worker knows more about the struggle for freedom and equality than Mr. Himes can ever know. For he has fought for his rights and for the rights of all workers together with his brothers. He knows who is the enemy and who his ally. While Mr. Himes has fought with his typewriter alone in his own room.

In a manner which he did not intend, Himes has written the story of his own disillusionment—not the story of the Negro worker who is writing his own story in his own way.

—Martin Harvey

THE WAYWARD BUS by John Steinbeck, Viking Press, 1947, 312 pp., \$2.75.

Steinbeck's latest novel lacks the social significance which characterized such earlier works as *The Grapes of Wrath* and *Tortilla Flat*. It is a character study of a group of people from various walks of life who are brought into close contact with one another when the bus is stalled on a lonely country road.

Mr. Big Business, deprived of the

insulation provided by his friends, his club, and his office, is forced to associate on equal terms with a waitress, a mechanic's helper, and a Mexican bus driver. The most striking contrast is that of the optimistic business man and the disillusioned veteran.

The business man has no idea that the world has changed. He has made a few mistakes, but a "right man," like Bob Taft for instance, will come along and set everything in order; the strike will stop and everybody will make money and be happy.

The veteran sees a world where only hopelessness prevails. "Thrift and honesty—Teapot Dome fixed the first and 1930 fixed the second—are dead." And nobody has put anything in their place. This brief glimpse into the evils of modern society provides the one significant, worthwhile chapter of the book.

Through the entire story the characters are involved to a rather overpowering degree with sex. Mrs. Big Business very unscrupulously uses the sex angle to gratify her own selfish whims and desires at the expense of her husband's happiness. She is the martyr who must be rewarded for her kindness. Their daughter rebels against the "syrupy" tyranny of her mother and consoles herself with an affair with the bus driver. The struggle of this society girl against the inhibitions of her class and her blind stab for freedom of thought provides another high-light of the story.

Although the characters are superb and the contrasts striking, the book seems to lack any aim. Steinbeck presents an accurate picture of life, but from a revolutionary point of view the picture is incomplete. He fails to point out the significance of the picture, and most readers will be left with a feeling of confused helplessness.

—Norma Christensen

## Victor Serge Dies

Victor Serge, one of the noted figures in the Russian Revolution and an opponent of Stalin, died of a heart attack in Mexico City, November 18, at the age of 57.

Serge was born in Belgium in 1890. His parents were Russian revolutionary emigres. In early youth he joined the Belgian Socialist movement. He worked as a photographer and printer. Imprisoned for his political activities in France he was sentenced to five years imprisonment. After his release he went to Spain where he worked as a linotype and was active in the syndicalist National Confederation of Labor (CNT). In 1917 he left Spain for revolutionary Russia, but the imperialist government of France, then waging war, arrested him and held him in a concentration camp.

The whole story revolves around a union organizing campaign; yet it might as well have been a military campaign or a jungle expedition for all the understanding of the labor movement that is shown. The characters connected with the union are almost in every case artificial types. And this is just a literary criticism—throughout the book there is displayed a contempt for the workers and especially the Negro workers. The Negroes portrayed by this Negro intellectual all shift with the wind, have no cour-

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# Workers' Forum

## After 40 Years Holds It's Time for Labor To Build Own Party

Editor:  
I am getting somewhat discouraged after 40 years trying to get our class to defeat the Siamese tins only to find that our class continues to end up on the side of the opposition.

The trade unions give half their effort to the workers and the other half to the capitalists. The Gompers nature has settled so deep, that they can't shake it off.

What we need is a new party for 1948. We need it 40 years ago. We shouldn't wait any longer.

One thing I would like to see if we ever get a party of our own is to adopt the initiative, the referendum and recall so we can control the men we elect.

I want to congratulate you on what you do to show your readers the way to a better world. I don't think there is a better paper in the United States.

L. B. C.  
Hamilton, Ohio

## Three Who Taught Me Why We Must Fight For a Socialist World

Editor:  
When I feel impatient, I remember the self-sacrificing workers who brought me into the revolutionary movement. The thought that their sacrifices were greater than any I have made makes me feel humble and ashamed of my own impatience.

Until I was hurt by the depression in my late twenties, I never gave any thought to the class struggle or to social problems of any kind. To me it had always seemed that the smartest and strongest got the best and the rest were not worth much. But when people willing to work hard at the poorest kind of job couldn't find anything, it put me to thinking.

One day I found a small leaflet put out by the Socialists (Norman Thomas variety) of my city. They said they wanted to change the system. Immediately I decided that a system that could not supply jobs for millions of people willing to work needed changing.

When I found the Socialist Party, it was a typical Norman Thomas group made up almost entirely of small business and professional people, down on their luck. As soon as the depression was over, they again became "respectable."

There was one fellow a little different from the others, an accountant, who stuck and continued to follow his muddled type of Socialism until the day he died. He taught me that Socialism was the only solution and the thing to fight for no matter if it was a very long fight.

While I believed in Socialism, I still did not understand the class struggle. So, when my stomach was very empty and I had an opportunity to fill it by doing a little scabbing in the rank and file strike of the seamen that built the National Maritime Union in 1936-37, I did it. However, as one scab said, "We got what we deserved."

Shortly before we reached Europe, on the second trip out, we learned that we were taking oil and dry cargo to Franco-controlled Spain which we knew he would use against the Loyalists.

I met a Spanish worker who

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 want your name printed.

## TO THE RUSSIAN WORKERS

Comrades, heroic pioneers,

Though long the epic days are past,

Though over you the despots sneers

And everywhere his chains are cast,

Take heart! the lesson that you gave

To all enslaved humanity

Has kindled hope within the slave,

The will to struggle and be free.

The fiends who yet oppress and kill

In drunken drives to stem disaster

Can not bend history to their will;

Ours is a power stronger, vaster.

Amid the orgies of the damned

We greet you, confident and sober,

Knowing the world they rule is jammed

With powder for the new October.

—Jack Hughes

spoke English. He took American seamen around to the different places where seamen like to spend their money. I felt that he was sympathetic to the Loyalists so I asked him about events in Spain.

"Here they shoot you for what you think," he warned me. Then, risky as it was for him, he made it possible for me to see a new and different world.

"They will never take Madrid," he told me. "This was when the American papers were predicting the fall of Madrid at any moment." They have a machine gun in every house and will have to kill every person there. They have a workers' government."

Often I wonder about that Spanish worker I owe so much to who set me on the path to find the right political party. To have to live under Franco (if he has not already been killed) and have to fight under such harsh conditions, that is a real sacrifice. I am ashamed to talk about any sacrifices I have made after thinking about his.

Later in my home town, a Southern city which seemed an impossible place to do anything to help build a better world, I ran into a Negro who taught me that we should get with the people, as he put it.

Van was past middle age, but he was always so cheerful and enthusiastic I never could think of him as not being young. He was chased off his farm for helping to organize sharecroppers, and was blacklisted in the city so that it was very difficult for him to get and keep a fine job.

For a Negro in the South to do the things he did for the workers was dangerous. The only possession he had left from better days was a 30-30 Winchester. No matter how tough things got, he would not sell or pawn it. He knew he might need it. As he said, "I am not a coward."

Whenever I visited his small, miserable little room at night, I

# SWP Branches Confident of Fulfilling Militant Fund Goal

## THE MILITANT ARMY

### Militant Boosters Tell How They Obtain Subs



#### Scoreboard For \$15,000 Militant Fund



Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
ST. LOUIS	\$ 50	\$ 107	214
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	63	84
Flint	200	160	80
Newark	500	379	76
Buffalo	600	445	74
Milwaukee	200	141	70
New York	4,500	3,125	69
Philadelphia	300	208	69
Twin Cities	1,000	687	69
Pittsburgh	150	101	67
Cleveland	250	164	64
Oakland	250	148	59
Connecticut State	200	110	55
Youngstown	600	328	55
Boston	275	149	54
Los Angeles	1,500	793	53
Reading	100	50	50
San Diego	100	42	42
Rochester	25	10	40
Tacoma	25	10	40
Akron	300	107	36
San Francisco	1,250	451	36
Lynn	125	40	32
Seattle	300	97	32
Chicago	1,500	394	26
Toledo	150	39	26
West Virginia	600	152	25
Massillon-Canton	50	0	20
General		429	
Members-at-large		55	
Readers		374	

TOTAL THROUGH NOV. 7 8,934 59

... the dollar enclosed is for the Militant Fund."

Two dollar bills came with this letter: "Dear Sirs — Enclosed find \$2 contribution to the current Militant Fund. Wish it were much more. Best of luck to you in your fight — Anonymous, N.Y.C."

C. Andrews says: "I pledge \$40 — one week's pay. I enclose \$10 but won't be able to pay the balance until the end of December."

Nathan Berman who, as we previously reported, took four coin cards, came in this week with \$21 which he collected "in the market" (needle trades industry).

Topping all these and other contributions from readers, listed below, came a check for \$200 from "B & C." These sympathizers had

already sent in their coin cards with \$1.70 in each.

Very few of our readers are able or willing to send so large a sum to keep The Militant going. Most of them find it hard to even spare \$1. To these we say: do not hesitate to send only a coin. A quarter from you and each of those who have not as yet answered our appeal, can become hundreds of dollars for The Militant. So send along what you can.

From Cunningham \$1.90; Friedman \$1; Pran \$2; Anonymous, Memphis \$5; Swellander \$2; Kraus \$1; McClain \$2c; Glover \$1.50; Poschel \$1; Bark \$1; Harris \$2; Edwards \$2.20; Fields \$1.50; T. H. Mass \$2; Ladbury \$1.50; Gilbert \$1; Meisner \$2.

... the next issue unless they renew at once. The expiration date is on nearly every address label. Label numbers 11-44, 11-45, 11-46 and 11-47 also expire this month.

All that readers need do to renew is to enclose \$1 (or 50¢ for six months) with name and address and the notation "Renewal" and mail to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Payment may be by check, money order, currency or stamps. Coins should be wrapped or gummed to a card.

Nine hundred readers will miss

the working class united. The Militant shows us how. That's the way I present it to workers. I approach. It's easy; it's fun; it's inspiring—and it's mighty important."

"When I go ringing doorbells," said Frieda Moore of New York, "I display The Militant with pride and confidence as the only paper in America with a consistent program of fighting for working class solidarity, in trade unions and in political action; for labor unity of all races, colors and creeds; for farmer-labor unity; against all forms of discrimination, segregation and exploitation; for a united Labor Party to carry onto the political plane what we're all striving for in our work."

More than 1,000 copies of the Nov. 10 Militant were distributed at the CIO United Automobile Workers convention in Atlantic City. They were well received by delegates and visitors.

Minneapolis and Buffalo branches distributed about 100 copies each of the Oct. 27 issue to union meetings in those cities.

## Washington Offers No Relief From Inflation

(Continued from Page 1)  
atomic war against the Soviet Union.

Truman doesn't even touch on the real basis of the inflation.

Added to the enormous war debt of this country, is the terrific expenditure of government funds for military purposes: occupation of Germany and Japan, and maintenance of reactionary rulers in countries like Greece, Turkey, Italy, France, etc.

Last year alone, the total taxes extorted from the American people were about 56 billion dollars, mainly to the federal government. Truman has indicated that his "foreign aid" program, far from helping to relieve the tax load, will mean new taxes—all of which will ultimately come out of the living necessities of the workers and working farmers.

At the same time, the capitalists are grasping an enormous and ever greater share of the national income. Admitted corporation profits—after taxes—are piling up at an annual rate of 17% billions, four times greater than in 1938 and double the lush total of the war years.

All other forms of capitalist profits, non-corporation, banking, landlord, etc., now amount to 48 billions a year. Big executive salaries, bonuses and commissions mount up to such a huge total that the government does not dare to publish the figures, lumping them together with wages. This makes total wages appear far greater than they are and conceals a large portion of capitalist income.

When we add taxes and profits together, we find that they absorb a huge slice of the national income. These are the twin evils to be attacked in order to defeat inflation.

If Truman wanted to offer a serious program to combat inflation, the SWP appeared on the ballot under its own name in New York.

For the first time in its history, the SWP will be 19 years old November 15. Send An Anniversary Gift Insert a Coin or Pin a Bill — Mail Today!

Folded Bill

50c

25c

10c

The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Friends:  
Enclosed find \$ ..... to help

continue your fight for a better world.

Your friend,

BRONX Sunday Forum

"Aim of the Marshall Plan"

Speaker:

GEORGE CLARKE

New York SWP Organizer

Sunday, Nov. 30, 3:00 p.m.

Buffet Supper

1034 Prospect Ave.

50c

25c

10c

50c

25c

## A Kid Named Frankie

By Theodore Kovalesky

You probably know a kid like Frankie. Maybe your own boy is like him. There are a lot like him in America.

Frankie is crazy about cars. He's wild about them; his whole life moves around them. To Frankie the greatest man in the history of the country (and probably the world as well) was Henry Ford. He doesn't know anything about labor history and the long, hard struggle for organization, he doesn't know how Ford fought the union and his workers. All he knows is that Ford made the Model T and the Model A... and that, in Frankie's eyes, put the mantle of fame around the filver king's shoulders for all time.

Here in the plant Frankie works in the repair gang, but that's just drudgery, stupid labor that calls for nothing more than a strong back and a weak mind, just something that will earn a paycheck every Friday until That Day comes.

That Day is something in the future, something that's good and fine with the mellow smell of grease and the beautiful sight and feel of precision parts, the music of motors quietly ticking over in perfect timing. That Day doesn't have to be bright and clean; no, it can be dim as the inside of a garage and dirty as the inside of an old crankcase. But what surgeon faints at the sight of blood? And where is the sculptor who carves from the smear of clay, the painter who fears the stain of his pigments?

When That Day comes, Frankie won't be just another guy helping out around the blast furnaces, tugging at the handle of the "old man" when they drill a steel plate, hooking up the oxygen and acetylene for the burners, carrying wrenches and bolts and God knows what up the endless, narrow steel stairs to the top of a rusty, quivering, belching blast furnace. On That Day Frankie will be king of his own little kingdom, a great specialist with his own clinic. It won't have to be big, just enough space for a car or two, a chain fall, and some equipment. But people for miles around will say reverently, "If you ever need any work done on your car, just take it to Frankie Bozak's place. That guy can make a motor talk!"

## The Negro Struggle

## How to Use the Truman Report

By Albert Parker

A shrewd observation about one aspect of the Truman Committee on Civil Rights report has been made by P. L. Pratts, executive editor of the Pittsburgh Courier in the Nov. 15 issue of that paper. He correctly notes that many Negro leaders in both the North and South would not have gone so far in their recommendations as the Truman Committee went.

That doesn't mean that the Truman Committee recommendations were radical or even that they said everything that should be said on the subject of Negro rights. All it means is that there are still far too many Negroes accepted as leaders whose only qualifications are their ability to follow in the footsteps of Uncle Tom.

Especially is this true in connection with the issue of segregation. Every Negro who poses as a leader knows enough to denounce discrimination; if they didn't do that, they wouldn't get or keep any following at all. Even many Southern Democrats deplore discrimination on certain occasions.

But a great many self-styled Negro leaders, while willing to complain about discrimination, continue to dodge the question of segregation — as though it was possible to separate the two. Many of them not only dodge or claim up on this vital issue, but they even knuckle under to the Jim Crow myth about "separate but equal" facilities and urge the Negro people to accept and be satisfied with schools, hospitals, transportation, etc., which are separate and therefore inferior 99 times out of 100.

## UAW Convention Sidelights

By Art Preis

ATLANTIC CITY, Nov. 15 — Here are some interesting facts and incidents at the CIO United Auto Workers convention, which ended here yesterday that did not receive notice in the capitalist daily press.

No exact figure on the number of delegates was reported by the Credentials Committee. Its only estimate was "about 1700." Predictions had been for more than 2000, as in past recent conventions.

Saddest sight in the convention hall was a little band of eager-beavers of Shachtman's Workers Party, whose views are expressed in *Labor Action*. They were up in the gallery screaming their heads off for Reuther, while the Reuther machine put over compliance with the Taft-Hartley "yellow dog" oath. Reuther and his ACTU allies repaid the Shachtmanites for their small but earnest services as shoeshiners and finger-men by excluding them from the Reutherite-ACTU camp, the Shachtmanites are known as "Reuthertettes."

Maybe Philip Murray didn't know, but the loud laughter that interrupted his speech at one point came from militant delegates of the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus. They read their own meaning into Murray's statement: "And you do not need, nor do your wives need any bright, young economist to tell them what happens to your pocketbook and her pocketbook." This fitted Walter Reuther perfectly — long on statistics about prices and profits, but short on program on what to do about it.

## Notes from the News

**POSTPONED?** — O. John Rogge, former Assistant Attorney-General, who revealed Department of Justice plans for large scale midnight raids of "reds," says his disclosures may have upset the time-table. He predicts the "red menace" roundup will play a big role in Truman's campaign for re-election.

**CENSORED** — The death cell scene in *Monsieur Verdoux*, showing Charlie Chaplin rejecting the ministrations of the priest, has been cut out in many theaters.

**AGAINST FEE GOUGE** — The CIO United Transport Service Employees are fighting the railroad's attempt to raise red caps' fees from 10 to 15¢ because it would mean less tips.

**GOT HITLER MEDAL** — Drew Pearson says Thomas J. Watson, head of International Business Machines and supporter of the Eisenhower presidential campaign, "is the same Watson who received a medal from Adolf Hitler, but who did not take the trouble to return it until France fell."

**SOUTHERN JUSTICE** — Isaac Woodard, Negro veteran blinded by South Carolina cops after being removed from a bus last year, has lost his \$50,000 damage suit against the bus company, Atlantic Greyhound Corp.

**FIGHTS RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS** — The CIO has condemned restrictive covenants in housing and renting as "racist" before the U. S. Supreme Court. It calls on the U. S. Supreme Court to hold such covenants illegal.

## THE MILITANT

PAGE SIX

NEW YORK, N. Y.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1947.

## Brass Hat Corruption Is Bared In Senate Probe of Gen. Meyers

By George Lavan

The investigation of Major General Bennett E. Meyers has lifted the lid a little, allowing the public another glimpse at the Big Business and Brass Hat corruption of wartime Washington.

According to the testimony, Meyers, Chief of Staff of the Air Forces Material Command, secretly owned a company for which he got war contracts; he solicited "loans" from airplane magnates on whose army contracts he passed; he held stock in other companies that got contracts from his department; he speculated on \$4,000,000 of government bonds. This appears to be only the beginning of the revelations on Meyer's wartime "service."

Even more scandalous is the fact that his superior officers and the FBI were informed during the war about Meyers' stock holdings and no action was taken. Not only did the Army cover up Meyers' violation of army regulations and federal law but it awarded him the Distinguished Service Medal and the Legion of Merit. Then he was allowed to retire on a comfortable pension.

The outstanding feature of the investigation to date is that all parties to it — the business men, the army officers and the investigating committee itself — have been tarred with the brush of profiteering and corruption.

## HUGHES REVELATIONS

First revelation was that millionaire plane manufacturer and movie producer Howard Hughes, in the process of getting 40 million dollars of government contracts had spent at least \$164,000 to "entertain" Army officers and politicians.

Then Hughes, to take the heat off himself, stated that Senator Brewster, head of the Senate investigating committee, had offered to trade off the investigation. He would lay off Hughes if certain concessions were made to Pan-American Air Lines. Brewster has yet to be paid by Hughes through an outlay of \$500 was then nursed along with a few loans and received lush war contracts. One contract given it by Bell Aircraft upon Meyers' suggestion, was over a million dollars.

The officers of this company were figureheads. All profits went to the General, who lived in luxury. Enlisted men drove him around in the limousine he had bought with money stolen from the taxpayers. Meanwhile he enjoyed all the privileges accorded a general, including the obeisance and respect of enlisted soldiers required by "military courtesy."

Every enlisted man will recall the Army's policy of severe court martials for minor offenses and contrast it with the flagrant grafting of this general and the top brass conspiracy to cover up for him.

A group of disabled vets from a Washington Army hospital were in the audience when the corruption of this two-star general was being aired. One can well imagine the emotions of these men as they contrasted what they got from their war service with what Meyers got. On the one hand wounds, years of suffering, the loss of a normal physical life. On the other — luxury, privilege, plunder.

General Meyers is only small fry. It appears not unlikely that he is being offered up as a scapegoat to divert attention from the really big criminals. To have the whole stinking scandal of wartime corruption exposed the public should demand a complete investigation of all Army and Navy brass who dealt in procurement and of all corporations and individuals who received government contracts. Such an investigation should begin with the real big boys, like U. S. Steel and General Motors, and go right on down the line to take in all the little crooks like Meyers.

## CONGRESS GEARED FOR DRIVE ON BUILDING TRADES UNIONS

By Raymond Rice

NEW YORK, Nov. 17 — The various Congressional subcommittees investigating the building trades unions ended their public hearings last week and returned to Washington to set in motion the machinery to produce more anti-union legislation.

Public hearings were held all over the country from New Orleans to Chicago; and from San Francisco to New York. The announced aim was an investigation of the high cost of new housing construction. But the real aim was to set off a carefully organized propaganda campaign to place the blame for the terrible housing shortage on the building trades unions.

Anti-union witnesses were brought forward to make all sorts of false and misleading statements. Union leaders were not given adequate opportunity to refute the charges of corporation lawyers, sweat shop builders, *Wall Street Journal* editors, building materials profiteers.

These gentlemen fed the press material charging that union workers were loafers and profiteers, and were responsible for the limited opportunity of veterans and others to get into the construction trades. They demanded technical changes that would break down the health, wage and work standards of the building trades workers.

The Department of Justice filed a complaint in August, 1946, charging conspiracy that prevented new construction of housing and commercial buildings in which almost every large bank and insurance company were participants. Nothing has been done to stop this conspiracy.

## Steel Workers in Business



The McKeesport, Pa., union hall of the CIO United Steelworkers has been converted into a part-time grocery store to help members keep their living costs down. Run on a non-profit basis, the cooperative arrangement helps a little but doesn't solve the real price problem.

Federated Pictures

## Hickman Trial Ends Without Jury Verdict

(Continued from Page 1)

in this tragedy were Hickman and

Hickman and Coleman.

The entire case of the prosecution was then presented in two hours. The evidence of the prosecution proved nothing that the defense did not readily admit, namely, that Hickman was the man who shot Coleman. The witnesses attempted to refute Hickman's statement that Coleman had confessed to causing the fire, but were compelled under the cross-examination of defense counsel Temple to admit they were in no position to hear what was said in the conversation between Hickman and Coleman.

The defense opened its case with Mrs. Julia Rogers and Mr. Will Jackson, both tenants in the building at the time of the fire. They both testified that they had heard Coleman threaten to burn the tenants out.

Willis Hickman, 19 year old son, then testified to having seen Coleman in the building the night before the fire. He also told of his father's anguish, of his failure to eat and sleep normally after the tragic fire.

## MRS. HICKMAN ON STAND

Mrs. Hickman, slight, soft spoken and still suffering from the terrible tragedy, took the stand next. With tears in her eyes, she told the jury of the terrible fire that took the lives of her four youngest children last January. She recalled the day their first child was born in Mississippi, when her husband, a deeply religious man had said that "a voice from above" had charged him with "protecting and keeping his family together." He made a vow at that time to fulfill this obligation. She said that he had frequently repeated this vow.

He told her after the shooting that he had felt compelled to do it, driven by a power greater than himself, and that after the shooting he felt that a great weight had been lifted from him.

James Hickman took the stand on Thursday morning, and testified all day and for an hour on Friday morning. In a slow sad voice he told the story of his life. Born in Mississippi, he went to work in the cotton fields at the age of 14; he married at the age of 16. He told of the back-breaking toil raising cotton as a sharecropper, and finding at the end of the year that the landowner had taken the major share of the income from his crop, leaving almost nothing for the family.

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## MILLIONS CONDEMNED

He told of coming to Chicago and finding a job in the steel mills. Then came the long futile search for a home for his family. His testimony was an indictment of social conditions in America which condemn millions to despair resulting from inadequate housing. His story was the story of countless workers throughout the country, and the entire courtroom listened in dead silence as Hickman told his tragic story.

He told of his belief that he had

a "contract with God" to keep his family together come what may, and to watch over them, and protect them. Prostrated with grief after learning the fate of his four children, he heard a "voice" commanding that he fulfill his "contract."

He told how he fought this feeling of compulsion to kill Coleman, but could not resist it. On July 16 he took his gun and loaded it, put it back and left the house; came back; left again, and finally returned for the last time to take the gun and go to Coleman's house. He found Coleman sitting in his car, and spoke to him. Coleman swore at him. He told how he shot Coleman twice, how Coleman confessed to deliberately having set the fire. Hickman answered "It's too late, Coleman," and shot him twice more.

He related that he was not inflamed with hate, but calm, obeying a power he could not resist. He said, "I wasn't mad... and I wasn't glad."

He told of walking slowly with the gun in his hand, of returning home to await the police and then going with them willingly.

## USED EVERY TRICK

The state's attorney, glib and merciless, used every trick in the bag to trip up Hickman, to confuse him, to trap him into contradictions but to no avail. Hickman was telling the truth, and everyone in the courtroom knew it.

Three witnesses, who were acquainted with Hickman, including his pastor, then testified to his good character and reputation. Then came the testimony of the two psychiatrists, Dr. Walter Adams and Dr. Boris Ury, both prominent and respected men in the field. They testified that after a thorough examination of Hickman, they were certain that Hickman was acting under an irresistible impulse and unable to control his actions at the time of the shooting. The state's attorney offered no psychiatrists to contradict this opinion, but attempted instead to ridicule psychiatry.

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## IN FORCEFUL AND STIRRING SUMMARIES

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Reports of the deliberation in the jury room indicate that there were heated arguments and that the jury was evenly divided in the voting.