

A Report From Paris On French Strike Wave

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Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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9

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NLRB THREATENS RIGHTS OF MILLIONS

Justice Dept. Issues Political Blacklist

Truman Regime Whips Up Red Scare

By Art Preis

The Truman Administration last week exerted further efforts to whip up the red scare to the pitch of hysteria by publishing a list of so-called "subversive" organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party.

This blacklist is part of the red-baiting campaign designed as a cover for the Big Business-government attack on the labor movement and the civil liberties of the American people.

It is likewise an attempt to smokescreen the government's responsibility for high prices and the housing crisis and to silence all opposition to the Wall Street-Washington conspiracy to drag this country into a Third World War.

Attorney General Tom Clark issued the "subversive" list as a "guide" to the Loyalty Review Board of the Civil Service Commission in reviewing cases of government employees purged from their jobs for "disloyalty" or "doubtful loyalty."

Truman's Executive Order for a "loyalty" purge among 2,000,000 government employees, issued last March, gave the Attorney General authority to designate what organizations are "disloyal" and "subversive." Any government worker the Administration or Department heads wants to fire can be charged with sympathy or membership in some organization.



TOM CLARK

PROTEST THROTTLING OF PRESS IN GREECE

NEW YORK, Dec. 12 — Prominent leaders of American civil liberties organizations, together with a group of editors of labor and liberal papers, this week sent a vigorous protest to the Greek Ambassador in Washington, against the vicious press gag law passed by the Greek Government on Oct. 18.

Pointing out that the gag law was immediately used to prohibit publication of *The Workers Struggle*, organ of the International Communist Party (Trotskyist) and other labor papers, the signers of the letter urged full restoration of the democratic right of free expression to all labor newspapers in Greece, regardless of their political views.

The letter was signed by Roger Baldwin, director, American Civil Liberties Union; Oswald Garrison Villard; Farrell Dobbs, editor, *The Militant*; E. R. Frank, editor, *Fourth International*; Albert Gates, editor, *Labor Action*; Max Shachtman, editor, *New International*; Liston Oak, editor, *New Leader*, Rowland Watts, National Secretary, Workers Defense League.

A similar letter of protest was sent to the Greek Ambassador by Harry Fleischman, National Secretary of the Socialist Party and Executive Director of *The Call*. Text of the letter follows:

"It has been brought to our attention that under a new law passed on Oct. 18 by the Sophoulis-Tsaldaris Government, freedom of the press has been seriously restricted in Greece. We ask that you transmit this request to your government in Athens."

"This decree prohibits publication

Strike Struggle in France Knifed by Stalinist Leaders

Capitulate to Ultimatum Of Anti-Labor Premier

By Joseph Hansen

Once again an upsurge of the working class that might have developed into a successful revolution has been betrayed by the Stalinists and turned into a bitter defeat. On Dec. 9, the Stalinists at the head of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) in France capitulated to the brutal ultimatum of the Schuman regime to call an end to the strike.

Some of the estimated 3,000,000 strikers had been on the picket lines since Nov. 12. They had raved police clubs, tear gas, tanks and the rifle fire of troops. They had attempted to take over the strategic centers in city after city. The workers sensed that the struggle couldn't be won without driving out the capitalist government and replacing it with their own. They had seen victory within grasp.

Then the Stalinist heads of the CGT raised the blade and sank it in the back of these heroic strikers.

The Schuman cabinet had contemptuously offered a "concession" — a cost-of-living bonus of 1,500 francs (\$12.68) a month in Paris and 1,125 francs (\$9.50) a month elsewhere, retroactive to Nov. 24. When this "concession" was first offered, the Stalinist chieftains rejected it as completely inadequate. On capitulating, however, they haled this miserable sop as a "substantial gain."

Sharing the guilt of the Stalinists for this defeat of the French workers are the top trade union bureaucrats, the anarcho-syndicalists and the Social Democrats.

The Social-Democrats played the role that has distinguished them since 1914 — they utilized their official positions to organize the government strikebreaking drive. Vincent Auriol, the Social-Democratic President of France, designated the Catholic and pro-deGaulist Schuman as Premier. Daniel Mayer, the Social-Democrat Minister of Labor, negotiated for the capitalist government against the strikers. Jules (Continued on Page 2)

Trotskyists Arrested

PARIS, Dec. 1 — Trotskyists in Paris are receiving particular attention from the Schuman regime. Three of them, Jacqueline Hoden, Claude Kahn, Jacques Danos and a sympathizer, Francis Piller, have been placed under arrest.

Their "crime" was posting a proclamation of the International Communist Party (Trotskyist) calling for a general strike.

A movement to free them is under way in the Paris factories. A number of strike committees have already rallied in support.

"This law is primarily directed, and has already been used, against newspapers and magazines and imposes harsh penalties upon any papers which are in the slightest degree critical of the policies of the government. Staffs of such newspapers are subject to arrest and court-martial with possible death sentences. All facilities used in connection with publication of a newspaper, including linotypes, printing presses, etc., can be confiscated. Only such publications as meet the strict censorship requirements of the Press Ministry are permitted to be printed and distributed.

Pointing out that the law was immediately used to prohibit publication of *The Workers Struggle*, organ of the International Communist Party (Trotskyist) and other labor papers, the signers of the letter urged full restoration of the democratic right of free expression to all labor newspapers in Greece, regardless of their political views.

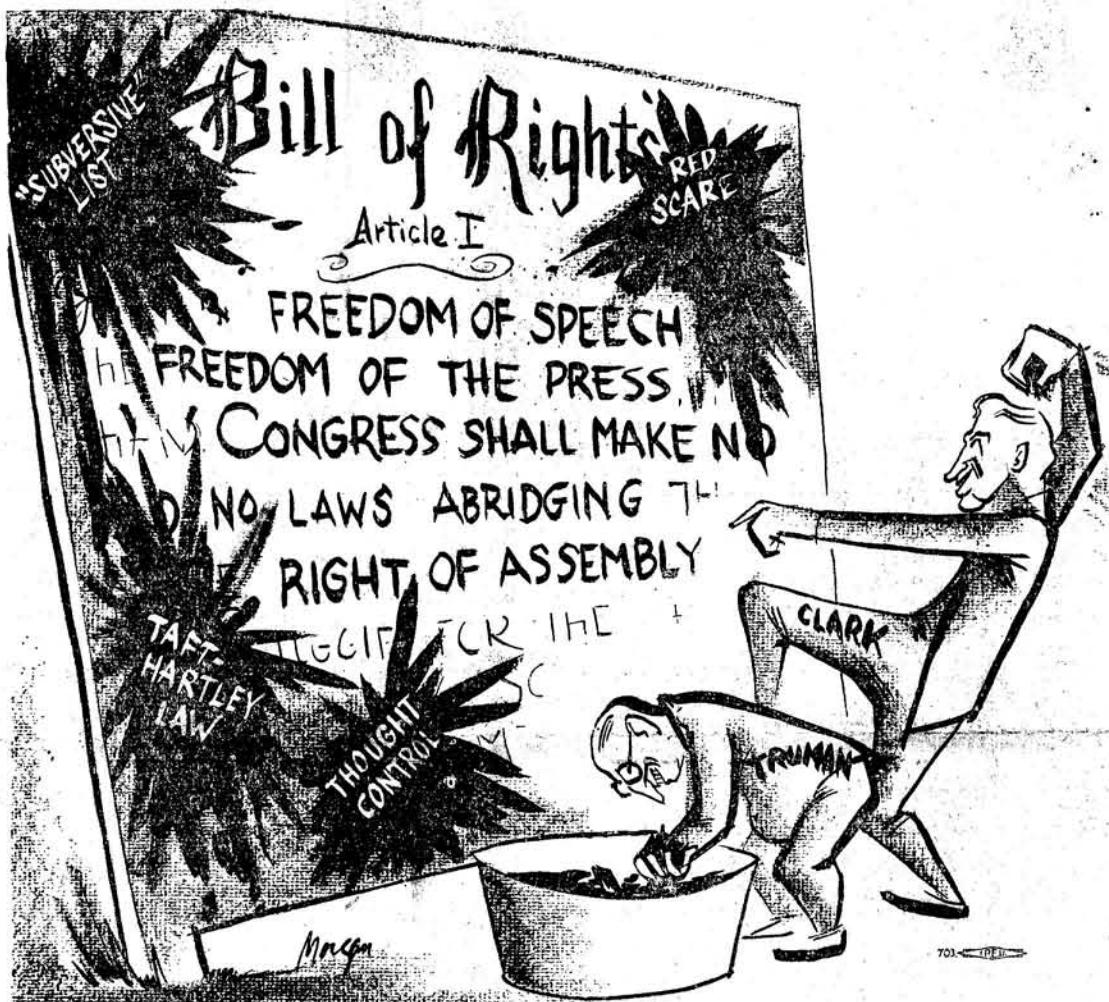
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Decorating the Constitution



"Death-to-Strikers" Law Passed by Greek Regime

Death for strikers is the penalty written by the Sophoulis-Tsaldaris regime into a Greek version of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor law.

Workers accused of the "crime" of suspending work will be court-martialed. Their judges presumably will be fascist-minded officers of the royalist Greek armed forces now operating under the "advice" of a U. S. Army staff.

After the cabinet adopted the measure Dec. 7, Parliament rubber-stamped it the same day. It was then rushed to King Paul for his signature.

Minister of Justice Christos Ladas, who drew up the bill, offered an excuse for this murderous legislative blow against the Greek unions that "disturbance of tranquility on the home front is inadmissible" so long as the partisans in the mountains continue to resist the Athens regime.

In consultation with the American and British Ambassadors some of the puppets were jerked out of the limelight and the present cabinet installed with high-powered ballyhoo about its "democratic" character. The whitewash didn't last.

In short order these quislings of Anglo-American imperialism, remains in office thanks solely to the

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What Trade Unions Leaders Are Doing About the Taft Act

By Art Preis

Many union leaders have been kidding themselves and their members that the Taft-Hartley Act isn't as tough and vicious as it reads. Now we are beginning to see the Slave Labor Law in life — and it looks every bit as deadly in practice as it looks in print.

Evidence is piling up rapidly to prove how false are the notions that the unions can evade the Act or that they can "live with" the Act merely by conforming to requirements like the "yellow dog" affidavits.

It is becoming especially clear that the new National Labor Relations Board cannot and will not serve labor in the slightest degree. This governmental agency, like the law which created it, is designed exclusively to serve the employers. That is what the NLRB is demonstrating daily.

The latest proof is the NLRB ruling in the Remington-Rand case. This ruling not merely permits, but urges the corporations to tear up existing contracts with international unions representing 3,000,000 members. It tells the employers that "only at their own peril" can they deal with unions which refuse to sign "yellow dog" oaths.

TAKES INITIATIVE

The NLRB has taken the initiative in using the Taft Act against the unions and sharpening its bars. NLRB General Counsel Robert N. Denham, speaking on Dec. 5 before the NAM's Congress of Industry, demanded that "employers stop 'appeasing' the unions. He pointed a warning finger at employers who make agreements circumventing the Taft-Hartley ban on closed shop or union shop contracts.

At the same time, he publicly supported publishers' charges against the AFL International Typographical Union four days before hearings on these charges were scheduled to be held. Even before the NLRB

attempting to run in two directions at once.

Murray and the Steelworkers officers have refused to sign the "yellow dog" oath. But Murray and the CIO Convention, including the Stalinists, adopted a policy of permitting any CIO union that wants to do so, to sign the "yellow dog" oaths. This was a policy of opening the door to piece-meal capitulation. It gave the green light to Reuther and his red-baiting crew in the CIO United Auto Workers.

There is a third, and powerful section, of the union movement which refuse to handle scab products. It has started several injunction proceedings. Corporations are bringing ruinous damage suits against unions—the latest being the A & P suit for \$150,000 against a striking AFL Meat Cutters local in Los Angeles.

LEWIS' STAND

UMW President John L. Lewis sounded a clarion call for uncompromising resistance at the AFL Convention in October. The UMW has maintained its exemplary stand in the face of almost universal opposition from the top AFL leaders.

Following the example of the mine workers, some 14 CIO international unions, including the 900,000-member Steelworkers, the 600,000-member Electrical Workers and the National Maritime Union, have refused to sign Taft Act oaths. A strong minority at the CIO auto union convention fought bitterly against Reuther's capitulation.

A section of the CIO leadership, like Walter Reuther and Emil Rieve, have joined their AFL counterparts in signing the Taft oaths. They give all kinds of "practical" reasons for their capitulations. But their real reason is their support of the foreign policy of the enactors of the Taft-Hartley Law and their aim to "get" the "communists" by any and every means.

Another section of the CIO leadership, represented by CIO President Philip Murray in his capacity as head of the Steelworkers, is at-

Shape of Things to Come



These 4,000 men waited all night long to get an application for a laborer's job after New York City announced 1,000 openings were available. More than 2,000 others applied in the next two days. And the job pays only \$41.54 per week.

Federated Pictures

out the country.

The Remington-Rand decision now confronts the CIO United Electrical Workers and ultimately all unions which refuse to sign the degrading "yellow dog" oath—with the necessity of mass action struggle to enforce recognition and collective bargaining rights.

Virtually every union in the country won recognition and contracts only through bitter strike struggle. That was how the CIO was organized. No employer ever redogonized the Wagner Labor Relations Act until a union jammed it down his throat.

Today the unions face the same necessity to fight as they did a decade ago. They will not defeat the Taft Act by retreat and evasion. They will project their present positions and go forward only through militant, united, counter-offensive on the economic and political fields. Fight or perish—that is the choice.

Four days later, the N. Y. Times, mouthpiece of the billionaires, pooh-poohed what "looked like a depression nightmare." Its polished journalists hastened to reassure a jittery public that this "bad dream" was nothing more than a "line of men simply looking for more secure jobs at better pay."

But the men on the line had a somewhat different story to tell. Official Bureau of Labor statistics claim the average factory wage is \$49.29 a week. Employment is supposed to be at record peak. Yet these men were frantic for jobs they knew paid only a little over \$40. Why?

Because higher paying jobs to them are more of a myth than a reality.

"They're offering \$28 and \$30 for sheet metal work now," said a Marine veteran interviewed by the daily PM. Others told how restaurant jobs are paying \$28 today; the Edison Company is offering \$30 a week, and a machine operator who has been out of work for six months said: "I'd be willing to work for even \$30 but I can't seem to get anything."

Despite the capitalist ballyhoo about high wages and full employment, the men on the line were unanimous that getting jobs today is "tough" and getting increasingly tougher. One of them indicated what they thought the future looked like. "Next year it'll be a bread line."

They think if they scream "reds" and "communists" long enough and loud enough that this will keep the people's minds off their real needs and problems.

This red scare is being pumped up artificially. It may distract and confuse the workers for a time, especially because the Stalinists have such a reactionary record in the labor movement. This makes it all the easier for the government to obscure its real target—the labor movement as a whole.

But the red scare cannot succeed in permanently blinding the militant workers to the mortal danger of the anti-labor drive. It cannot take the place of food, clothing, shelter, medical care. It cannot relieve the terrible weight of insecurity that presses upon the masses.

The task and the duty of every individual and organization that remains loyal not to the predatory minority of rich but to the working population, is to stand firm and fight with all their strength and resources against the red-baiting assault on labor and civil rights.

The labor militants will rally against the reactionary red-baiters and mobilize on every front to defend the rights and liberties of all working class organizations.

That defense must also include an attack—an attack against the profiteers and monopolists, their conspiracy to drive down the living standards of the American people and their plot to plunge this country again into a frightful imperialist war.

CIO and AFL Peddlers Of Wall Street's Plans

By Arthur Burch

With a vigor reminiscent of their support of the last imperialist war, the AFL and CIO top leadership are throwing their full resources behind campaigns to "sell" the Marshall Plan to the workers of the world, as well as of the U. S.

For that purpose the AFL has set up its Free Trade Union Committee, with the prospect of setting up similar committees in the sixteen Marshall aid nations. This network is to be combined later into a single organization. With this body, the AFL leaders hope to replace the World Federation of Trade Unions to which the CIO is now affiliated, after the WFTU has been rent asunder by the sharpening conflict between U. S. imperialism and the Soviet Union.

The CIO on the other hand is waging relentless war within the WFTU against the Stalinist leadership of this organization of almost 80 million workers from approximately 50 countries. James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO, has just returned from a mission to Paris where he succeeded against Stalinist opposition in presenting his views in support of the Marshall Plan before the WFTU Executive Board.

The WFTU was originally a joint enterprise of the victor powers but especially sponsored by the Kremlin which controlled most of the affiliates. The CIO and the British trade unions joined the WFTU because the interests of the respective imperialist masters coincided at the time with those of the Moscow bureaucracy. The chief program of this organization was to prevent revolutions in Europe and Asia. On this, Stalin and the CIO top leaders

saw eye to eye.

Once the Kremlin had succeeded in its task of crushing or derailing workers' revolutions and thus further discrediting itself before millions of workers, Washington found itself in a position to assert its mastery and inaugurate its campaign whose ultimate goal is capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. It is obvious that under these circumstances the Stalinists can no longer be utilized as agents of American imperialism. More trusted lackeys are necessary—those whose undivided allegiance is to the U. S. State Department.

With the help of the Taft-Hartley Law and the red-baiting drive the American monopolists have coalesced a union leadership within the AFL and even in the more progressive CIO which fawns before the might of American imperialism and is ready to do its bidding.

The immediate objective is everywhere the same—to cleanse the unions first of Stalinists and then of all real militant leadership. That is why the main drive is at this stage being directed against the Stalinists. While Reuther does the bidding of the State Department at the UAW convention, Carey is sent to Paris to undermine the Stalinists in the WFTU and its affiliates in Western Europe. Wall Street and its labor agents could not have asked for a better and more vulnerable target.

The entire record of the Stalinists is so infamous that it is easy for demagogues to obscure the vital class issues that are involved here.

Carey was especially fitted for his assignment. He distinguished himself over a period of years by conducting a red-baiting offensive against the cynical and bureaucratic Stalinist leadership in the CIO United Electrical Workers. Like Murray and Reuther and the AFL heads, he renders his service gratis to his imperialist masters. He gained considerable experience as a lackey in beating the drums for



JAMES CAREY

Wall Street's war; he is anxious to knuckle under to the Taft-Hartley Law; he is satisfied with the monopoly-controlled Democratic Party.

As befits a labor statesman, Carey lied to the workers abroad in the best diplomatic fashion about the "benefits" of the Marshall Plan. He swore that the liberal and workers of this country backed the plan while only the reactionaries opposed it. Naturally, he omitted to explain how the same Congress which passed the Taft-Hartley Bill also approved the Marshall Plan.

Carey lied when he stated that no political conditions were imposed by Washington, on whose orders the Stalinists were removed from the Italian and French governments; this was a pre-condition for U. S. aid.

Carey peddled the most brazen lie of all when he alleged that Washington was interested in

raising the living standards of the European workers, and this at a time when the living standards of the American people are being slashed ruthlessly at home.

As capitalism sinks ever deeper into the abyss the labor fakers are

asked to perform dirtier and dirtier tasks. At the very time that American labor is being pounded by Wall Street's hurricane offensive, the AFL and CIO tops picture this monster as an angel of philanthropy to the European workers.

Carey was able to score effectively against the Stalinists on one point. He reminded them that the Marshall Plan coincided with WFTU policy in 1945. It might also be pointed out that the American Stalinists failed to wage a serious struggle against the Marshall Plan at the CIO convention where they still had considerable forces. The Stalinists evaded this issue even when Carey raised it, deciding that the WFTU should not concern itself with controversy over the Marshall Plan. The reason for this crawling is obvious.

There is no principled difference between the Stalinists and the CIO bureaucracy. Today as in 1945 the Stalinists are once more ready to act as lackeys for Wall Street if the latter come to terms with the Kremlin.

On his return Carey boasted that the Stalinists would be defeated by the Marshall Plan. All working class militants would like to see the Stalinist grip on the trade unions destroyed. But it must be borne in mind that if they are defeated by American imperialism instead of by the militant workers, this could mean the crushing of the unions altogether. That is precisely one of the main purposes of the Marshall Plan.

The AFL and CIO leaders vie with one another to prove that they are the most reliable agents of Wall Street. The Stalinists serve their Kremlin masters no matter what crimes are committed against the workers.

Each shields his master while pointing to the perfidy of the other. The genuine militants must cleanse the labor movement of both the Stalinists and the red-baiters of Carey's stripe in both the AFL and CIO. Only then will the trade unions become the independent and democratic instruments of the working class.

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 consumer 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-breaking!

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 tax on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

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

7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!

End Jim Crow! End anti-Semitism!

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

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

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

Against capitalist conscription!

Abolish the officer caste system!

Full democratic rights in the armed forces!

Trade Union wages for the armed forces!

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

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

For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!

Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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New York 3, New York

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 To obtain further information about your organization.

To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

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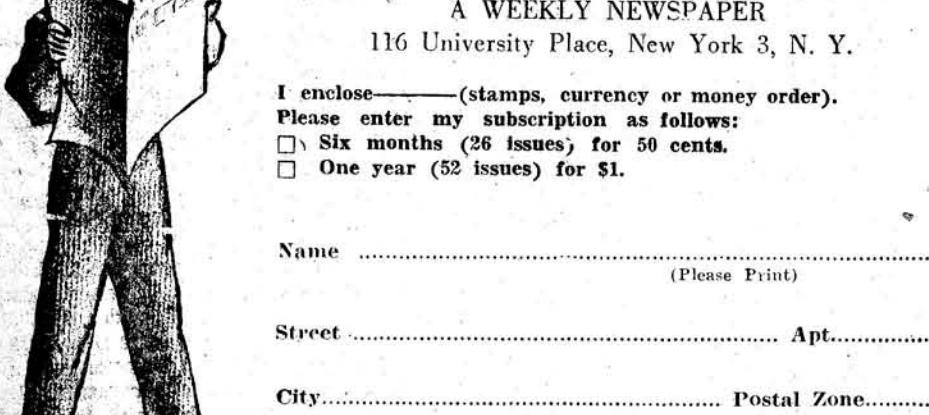
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Nation-Wide Strike Wave Rocks Capitalist France

The following article, giving a first-hand account of the crucial French strike struggle, was mailed from Paris nine days before the ignominious capitulation of the Stalinist leadership. Although the strike was thus ended, the article retains its full validity as an analysis of the nature, course and scope of the struggle and of the basic political problems and tendencies involved in it.—Ed.

(Special to The Militant)

PARIS, Dec. 1 — The scope of events here is much broader than one might gather from the lying bourgeois press and radio. At present nearly 2,500,000 strikers are out. Mines, steelworks, railways, electricity are tied up, even though all the workers are not on strike. One can say without exaggeration that, at least in Paris, the strike has had the same effect as a completely successful general strike would have had.

Up to now, no call has been issued for a nation-wide general strike. The Executive Committee of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) discussed only the possibility of such a call. Twenty trade unions, mostly of key importance, voted for immediate action, 18 against. The federations favoring immediate action have proclaimed nation-wide stoppages in the industries under their jurisdiction.

Naturally, the refusal of the 18 reformist-led trade unions to go into action was gratefully seized by the Stalinist bureaucrats as a pretext to get around the rank and file demand for a nation-wide general work stoppage.

Their motivation is very clear. The Stalinist leadership has desperately tried up to now to keep the strike within the framework of general economic demands. A general strike would put the political issue squarely before the working class. In actuality, proclamations of the general strike today would mean the beginning of the French revolution.

Even without a formal call, the strike has gone far beyond the limits of economic demands, not only in scope but in the extraordinary militancy and ripening political consciousness of the striking workers.

DECISIVE BATTLE

The strikers clearly feel this strike is a decisive battle. They know that they will not be able to repeat such a showdown every three months. They feel that what is at stake for the capitalist class is the whole authority and strength of its government and all its class privileges. And they therefore sense quite clearly that a showdown is in the air.

Leon Trotsky once said that a general strike was a potential civil war. Actually, we are already beyond the stage of potentiality. There is incipient civil war in the militant actions of the striking railroad workers and miners. It is beginning in the actions of the government itself which is sending armored cars into the mine areas and using its armed forces to dislodge the workers from the occupied factories.

The high point of those developments to date was reached Nov. 28 when 100,000 demonstrators at the great industrial center of St. Etienne tried to occupy the City Hall. For the first time troops were sent against the demonstrators—the famous 17th regiment—



LEON JOUHAUX

gain their ends by bluffing, rather than by struggle.

The bourgeoisie knows that it is unable today to halt a real workers' uprising. The French government is scraping the bottom of the barrel of its dollar resources. All imports of petroleum, wheat, coal, etc., are blocked. In all France and the German Zone not more than 80,000 French troops were under arms.

SCRAPING THE BARREL

In the department of Pas-de-Calais, 5,000 Stalinist workers closed all the pits with flying squadrons. On that day the government had an armed force of exactly 200 in the same department to "prevent" such violence. . . . It is clear that under such conditions, the bourgeoisie could only bluff and not wage a successful civil war.

The Stalinists on the other hand experienced a frightening spontaneous revolt in their ranks a month ago during the subway strike, when even the lower ranks of the party apparatus refused to carry out strikebreaking orders of the Central Committee and came out in support of the strike. The Stalinist leaders grasped the meaning of that lesson. They had to stage a demonstration in order to win back the confidence of French militants.

But they also wanted to bluff—not actually to start something which could lead to civil war. Forced against their will to go along the road toward mass mobilization, the Stalinist leaders are learning the bitter lesson that, on the one hand, without real workers' democracy great gains cannot be made, and on the other, that workers' democracy advances the program of Trotskyism wherever it is applied.

The bourgeois press has played up the so-called "workers' resistance" against "Stalinist-led strikes." Its lies are exceeded only by the lies of the reformists, who have once again exposed themselves as cynical betrayers. They are not an iota less gangsterlike to Jouhaux, Marceau Pivert and the anarchists.

However, not only the criminal past policy of the Stalinists, but also their present bureaucratic handling of the strike situation fosters demoralization. Wherever they could, the Stalinists launched the strike by bare committee vote, without even consulting the workers, trying to trample opposition, even with physical violence, and spread-

000 workers therefore did not vote. About 2,000 voted for the strike, 4,000 against. On that basis—a bare 20% for their line! — the reformists boasted they had two-thirds of the workers behind them.

If, however, it is quite natural to see a Jouhaux, as rotten and treacherous as the most rotten Stalinist bureaucrat, push his class-collaborationist line to its logical conclusion; if, as always, strikebreaking leaders try to mobilize the most backward layers against the movement—still there is also no doubt that some advanced layers do really oppose the strike, especially workers influenced by the anarchists and left centrists.

A HEALTHY ELEMENT

They argue that the Stalinist leaders opposed strike when the defense of their living standards was at stake, consequently they see no reason why they should strike now for political reasons. Obviously this is a result of Stalinist treason; but there is also a healthy element in it. These workers have freed themselves from the Stalinist demagogic.

But no Marxist can deny that as a whole this reaction is one of demoralization and retreat. These workers, hypnotized by Stalinism, lost sight of the decisive point: that this is a life-and-death class battle. Defeat of the strike would be a disastrous setback for the working class that would place de Gaulle's bid for power on the order of the day!

Great political events have this great advantage—that they completely expose all false ideas. It is now clear how criminal was the "advice" certain faraway "strategists" gave the Trotskyists to form a "united front" at this stage with the "left" anti-Stalinist workers against the Communist Party. Such a "united front" has in fact been formed—it is the united front of the strikebreakers, reaching from de Gaulle and the bosses to Jouhaux, Marceau Pivert and the anarchists.

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Head of French Capitalist Gov't



Robert Schuman, 61-year-old member of the Catholic Popular Republican party, is interviewed after his appointment as Premier of France. Immediately after forming a coalition government, he launched a drive to smash the strike wave through use of police, armed forces, and passage of anti-labor legislation.

Federated Pictures

ing the impression that this was "ist" but to desert the working class, "their" affair and not the workers'.

The Communist rank and file elements, however, displayed a healthy reaction. And wherever Trotskyists were present, they succeeded very quickly in turning the tide in favor of workers' democracy. At the Renault plant, for example, the Stalinists had to relinquish control to a genuine strike committee.

The Trotskyists explain to the workers that this is the workers' strike and not the CP's; that workers have to lead it themselves through democratically elected strike committees; that they have to decide their aims themselves; that under these conditions to desert the strike means not to be "anti-Stalinists."

Stalinist party speakers in the factories are now obliged to repeat the words of the Trotskyists about the need to kick out the reaction-

ary, strikebreaking government. This tremendously increases the prestige of the Trotskyist militants.

The Trotskyist paper *La Verite* (The Truth) is read with sympathy by all the CP militants who see it. Big groups form around its distributors. For the first time, animated discussions occur as hundreds of Trotskyists collect around one or two Trotskyists explaining their program.

Everything now depends on the outcome of the strike. The government tested the combativity of the workers on the political field by seizing an issue of the two Stalinist dailies, *L'Humanite* and *Ce Soir*. The answer of the Paris workers was very clear—that would mean civil war!

The government, which had planned to proclaim martial law, prudently substituted a law increasing the penalties for disorder, violence, sabotage, etc., and mobilized 80,000 reservists to have enough soldiers under arms to defend itself.

COMPROMISE SOUGHT

The Stalinists in the National Assembly filibustered for three days against passage of the anti-labor law. Jouhaux and his reformists were disturbed by its threat. The danger of a split in the CGT now seems delayed; a compromise is being sought to permit the Stalinist leaders to call off the strike movement without discrediting themselves.

The emergency law proposed by the government also had another important result. It forced the Stalinists to include a political point in the strike demands ("Immediate withdrawal of that law!"), and future of the European continent.

caused fresh hesitation among those workers opposed to the strike. The anarchists especially see that this law is directed not so much against the Stalinists as against the militant workers.

The Trotskyists are now trying to broaden the authority and significance of the strike committees. They urge (1) that the committees should organize the workers' defense, food supply, truck transportation, etc.; (2) that they should set up permanent local, regional (and later national) bodies to coordinate the struggle and authoritatively represent the whole working class. Such committees could play the role in France that was played by the Soviets in Russia in establishing a Workers and Farmers Government.

A strike victory would almost immediately transform the French and European situation, which is now pre-revolutionary, into a fully revolutionary one. The enthusiasm and confidence which it would create in the French working class, together with the development of the Trotskyist party into a leading working class party, would inspire the greatest hopes for the future.

A defeat, on the other hand, would encourage the bourgeoisie to speed up civil war preparations, and de Gaulle would again come to the forefront.

The Fourth International can be proud of the French Trotskyists. What they have done in three brief weeks now ranks as an essential contribution to the building of the Fourth International. The outcome of their struggle can decide the future of the European continent.

Bitter Conflict Flares Over Palestine Division

By I. Dale

The first result of the UN partition of Palestine was the sharpening of relations between Arabs and Jews throughout the Middle East. While the heads of Arab governments held a "war council" in Cairo, the Jewish Agency for Palestine called for full mobilization of all Jews between the ages of 17 and 25. Jews in their exultation over the

establishment of a "Jewish state," have closed their eyes to the full implication of the strife that lies ahead.

The Zionist leadership is proceeding to paint up their miserable fake "independence." A Jewish army is being established in Palestine and plans are being made to float a "state loan" to purchase heavy military equipment. They are making plans to replace the British in policing the environs of the all-Jewish city of Tel-Aviv which is next to the all-Arab city of Jaffa—the area in which most of the conflict thus far has taken place.

Unfortunately, the Jewish masses in almost all countries—blinded by the miserable fate of the Jews during the war and by the glowing promises now being made to them—are supporting the Zionist leaders.

The Jews of the Middle-Eastern countries, however, are not in such whole-hearted sympathy with the "Jewish state." Despite the conflict which has existed in Palestine, Jews in other Arab countries have lived peacefully with their neighbors for many years. Now scores have been murdered in Aden and other Arab lands.

The partition plan has jeopardized their position to the point where the Chief Rabbi of Bagdad called for Jews in Iraq to support the Arab cause. In response to this call the Jews collected \$2,000,000 to help the Palestinian Arabs.

A break in the Arab front occurred when the mayor of Jaffa proposed a truce to the mayor of Tel-Aviv. The Arab Higher Committee immediately forced him to halt the negotiations. The Arab mayor feels the direct pressure of the population who are endangered by the struggle as well as that of the Arab bourgeoisie who stand to lose business in the conflict. The Higher Committee represents the interests of the Arab feudal lords who own most of the land and control the oil-rich territory of the Middle East. They are committed to a last-ditch fight against partition.

Of all possible solutions to the Palestine problem, partition is the worst for the Arab and Jewish masses and the best for the imperialists. To drive the imperialist rulers out of Palestine it is necessary for the Jewish and Arab masses to unite in common struggle. Partition works to divide them even more deeply.

Stalinists Knife Strike Struggle in France

(Continued from Page 1)

Moch, the Social-Democrat Minister of Interior, deployed the armed forces against the strikers. It was his office that relayed Schuman's order to fire on the demonstrators.

Leon Jouhaux, another Social-Democrat, utilized his high position in the CGT to start a strike-breaking "back to work" movement. Many anarchists, blinded by their justifiable hatred of Stalinism, permitted themselves to be sucked in.

The Social-Democrats likewise share responsibility for passage of the Taft-Hartley type legislation that now threatens the entire labor movement in France.

THE MOST GUILTY

Nevertheless, chief responsibility for the defeat lies squarely on the Stalinist leaders. Because of the Soviet victory in World War II and the memory of the November 1917 revolution, a decisive majority of the organized French workers placed their confidence in the leadership of the Stalinists. These workers envisioned a victory in France comparable to that of the Russian workers under Bolshevik leadership in 1917.

They had found the wrong address, however. To the Stalinists, this confidence was only political capital to be expended in the interests of the Kremlin's foreign policy. For two years after the war, they followed a policy that was a deadly repetition of the one followed by the Social-Democrats after World War I.

They took posts in the capitalist government to bolster it up and to prevent the workers from over-

turning it. In return they expected Wall Street to make concessions to the Kremlin.

Wall Street and its French agents observed that the policy of the European capitalists had found success in handling the Social-Democrats, particularly after World War I. They accepted the counter-revolutionary services of the Stalinists for the time being while they built their own native French forces to put down the workers. When these forces became strong enough, they ousted the Stalinists from office.

For a while the Stalinists continued to swear allegiance to French capitalism and its government. Then on orders from Moscow, these opportunists turned adventurist, once again demonstrating that opportunism and adventurism are two sides of the same coin.

On an arbitrary date, chosen to coincide with the opening of the Foreign Ministers Conference in London, the Stalinists loosened the brakes and permitted the workers to move forward. The Stalinist objective was to frighten the American imperialists. Wall Street could have conceded to the Stalinists at any time and thus got them to end the strike. But these aspirants to world rule, armed with the atomic bomb, preferred to call the Kremlin's bluff.

The situation could have been saved even then had the Stalinists come out for a Workers and Farmers Government and coordinated the energies of the entire working class in a general strike to make possible the immediate establishment of such a government. This would have required all-out efforts to organize workers committees to serve as the base of that government and heroic attempts to organize squads to defend the working class from the capitalist counter-revolution that was certain to come.

The fight would have been more difficult than two and a half years ago when the Stalinists were raised to key government posts on the shoulders of the working class, but victory was almost certain, as was clearly demonstrated by the universal fear expressed in the capitalist press at the outbreak of the strike.

The last, attempted to prop up and give a breathing spell to the tottering capitalist structure in Germany. What they actually did was to pave the way for Hitler. Similar regimes in France today (Ramadier, Schuman) perform a like role. De Gaulle in France is preparing his forces and bidding his time to make his definitive thrust for power, just as Hitler did in 1932. But he can succeed only if the workers fail in their revolutionary task.

When the masses are in motion and the capitalist ruling class is badly shaken, the time becomes ripe for the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government. But the fulfillment of this task, as Trotsky pointed out, requires more than numbers and fighting capacity. It requires a revolutionary program and showed the capacity to carry it out in action.

Failing this, he warned, the middle class elements would swing behind the aggressive fascist movement.

In this critical pre-revolutionary period, a succession of coalition cabinets (Bruening, Von Papen, Schleicher) each one weaker than

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The terrible defeat in Germany in 1933 resulted from the failure of the leading working class parties to adopt such a program. In its suicidal course, the Communist (Stalinist) Party, with five million members and followers, refused to mobilize the workers into a united front with six million Social Demo-

crats to meet the fascist threat. Trotsky explained that in 1932 the hour was so late that the fight against the Nazi menace must at first take on a defensive character, but it would soon pass over into an offensive struggle under the slogan of "All Power to the Workers and Farmers Government." Such a program would inspire the whole people to extraordinary efforts and lead them to victory against the storm troops of reaction.

But Stalinist policy then, as today, was dictated not by the needs of the people but solely by the bureaucratic aims and dictates of the despots in the Kremlin. In Germany the Stalinists covered up their capitulatory policy with the boast: "Let Hitler come to power; he will last only a day and our turn will come next."

Millions of German workers paid for this treachery with their lives.

Today the Stalinists are repeating the role they played in Germany by blocking the French workers from heading off the threat of de Gaulle. But if General de Gaulle rides to power, his main task, like Hitler's, will be to smash the organizations of the workers and clamp the iron bands of a military dictatorship on the French workers.

NEW YORK OPEN FORUM

"The Partition of Palestine"

Speaker:

IRVING BEININ

Sunday, Dec. 21, 3 p.m.

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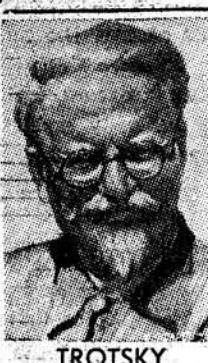
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"In all countries the same historic laws operate, the laws of capitalist decline. If the means of production remain in the hands of a small number of capitalists, there is no way out for society. It is condemned to go from crisis to crisis, from need to misery, from bad to worse. In the various countries the decrepitude and disintegration of capitalism are expressed in diverse forms and at unequal rhythms. But the basic features of the process are the same everywhere. The bourgeoisie is leading its society to complete bankruptcy. It is capable of assuring the people neither bread nor peace. This is precisely why it cannot any longer tolerate the democratic order. It is forced to smash the workers by the use of physical violence."

—Leon Trotsky, 1934, "Whither France," P. 8.



LENIN

The SWP Is Loyal to the Working Class

Truman's Attorney General Tom Clark has put the Socialist Workers Party on his blacklist of "disloyal" organizations.

Who and what are the Trotskyists "disloyal" to? To Truman? To the Democrats and Republicans, the Big Business Congress, monopoly capitalist "free enterprise," Wall Street? To American imperialism and its conspiracy to drag this country into a Third World War?

The Socialist Workers Party can't be disloyal to any of these, because it never promised loyalty to them to begin with. As a matter of fact, the SWP has openly and consistently maintained an implacable opposition to the capitalists, their system of labor exploitation, depressions, oppression and war.

The SWP prides itself on its steadfast fight against the political rule of American Big Business and its two-party political monopoly.

Trotskyists pledge their loyalty only to the working class, the exploited, the dispossessed—that

is, to the overwhelming majority of society. To profess or demonstrate loyalty in any way to the capitalist rulers and their agencies would indeed be disloyalty—to the workers.

During the war, the Trotskyists demonstrated their loyalty to the fundamental interests of the American working people by opposing the imperialist war and warning it was a war for imperialist profit and plunder. For that loyalty, 18 leaders of the SWP were railroaded to federal prison.

But the SWP did not yield an inch. It has continued and will continue to fight for the working class. It puts forward the program of independent labor political action through formation of a Labor Party. It urges the labor movement to fight uncompromisingly against Wall Street rule, to win political power, to establish a Workers and Farmers Government, to replace corrupt and decayed capitalism with the planned economy of socialism.

The SWP is loyal to this program. Nothing and no one will swerve it from such loyalty.

Lovett Gives the Tip Off

Despite some haggling in Congress over the precise amount of interim aid to be allotted various countries under the Marshall Plan, both Republicans and Democrats are solidly behind its reactionary aims. The bill was passed by the Senate, after a debate so perfunctory that neither party took all the allotted time. The House is now preparing to place its rubber stamp approval on the bill.

The interim aid plan is being played up in the press as "relief" for the stricken European peoples. But Congress is not being moved by charitable feelings toward the hungry Europeans. In voting this money they are concerned solely with propping up the existing anti-labor governments in France, Italy, Greece, etc., and to further Wall Street's drive for world conquest.

Testimony at hearings in Washington brings out with deadly clarity the true nature of the Marshall Plan's "interim relief." On Dec. 5 Under-Secretary of State Robert A. Lovett urged Congress "not to be frightened out" of subsidizing this imperialist plan, no matter how costly it might be, because of the militancy displayed by the millions of French workers in their mass strikes. He lauded

the Schuman government, which had ordered out some 230,000 troops against the striking workers. Thus he plainly indicated how U.S. backing would stiffen the anti-labor forces abroad.

Lovett also explained that the bill empowered the President to terminate aid to any nation when it is considered no longer necessary "or desirable." This, he said, should give assurance that if the "Communists" gained control over the governments in France and Italy, interim "relief" could be promptly cut off.

What Lovett really meant is that regardless of the needs of the people, if any governments should be installed which resisted Wall Street's dictates, the U.S. would promptly attempt to starve them into submission.

To remove any remaining misunderstanding, Republican Senator Homer Ferguson drove the same point home more bluntly. The interim "aid" program, he said, "is the same as spending money on guns here." In other words, "relief for Europe" really means aid to the anti-labor regimes abroad in their efforts to keep the workers from setting up their own governments.

French Workers Demand Sliding Scale

One of the demands some 3,000,000 strikers fought for in the great strike wave in France was a sliding scale of wages. They wanted this provision to protect their wage standards against further increases in the cost of living. They demanded that wages be adjusted every three months to bring them into accordance with the latest price jumps.

The Schuman cabinet admitted that this demand was "logical." However, they "unanimously" rejected it. They argued that it would be "disastrous for French finances" if it were applied.

There is an instructive lesson here. It was the Trotskyists who first suggested that the workers should fight for a sliding scale of wages to safeguard their living standards. In America, the Socialist Workers Party advanced this demand in 1938 and The Militant has consistently advocated it ever since, explaining its special applicability in periods of inflation.

In France, the publicity given this slogan by the Trotskyists, has now borne important fruit.

It has become one of the main demands of the working class of an entire country. Here is another convincing proof of the validity of the program of Trotskyism and its ability to solve the problems of the workers.

This demand has served to call sharp attention to the utter inability of the capitalist system and its government to guarantee the workers a decent standard of living. The Schuman cabinet was compelled to admit that they cannot maintain real wages. Their only "solution" to inflation is to hold down wages while prices soar. Naturally they said nothing about limiting the profits of the capitalists.

Rejection of this demand leads to only one logical conclusion: the necessity of replacing the capitalist government by a Workers and Farmers Government and the building of the planned economy of socialism. For if capitalism cannot guarantee the living standards of the masses then by that fact alone it has shown that it is not fit to run the country.

Cheers from Taft Law Supporters

The French and Greek capitalist governments have just written into their statute books anti-labor laws that match the savage measures invoked in the days of Hitler and Mussolini.

Run-of-the-mill strikebreaking devices, including police orders to shoot to kill, proved unavailing to break the ranks of strikers in France. Thereupon Premier Schuman jammed through the "democratic" French Parliament legislation that strips labor of elementary civil rights and virtually outlaws strikes.

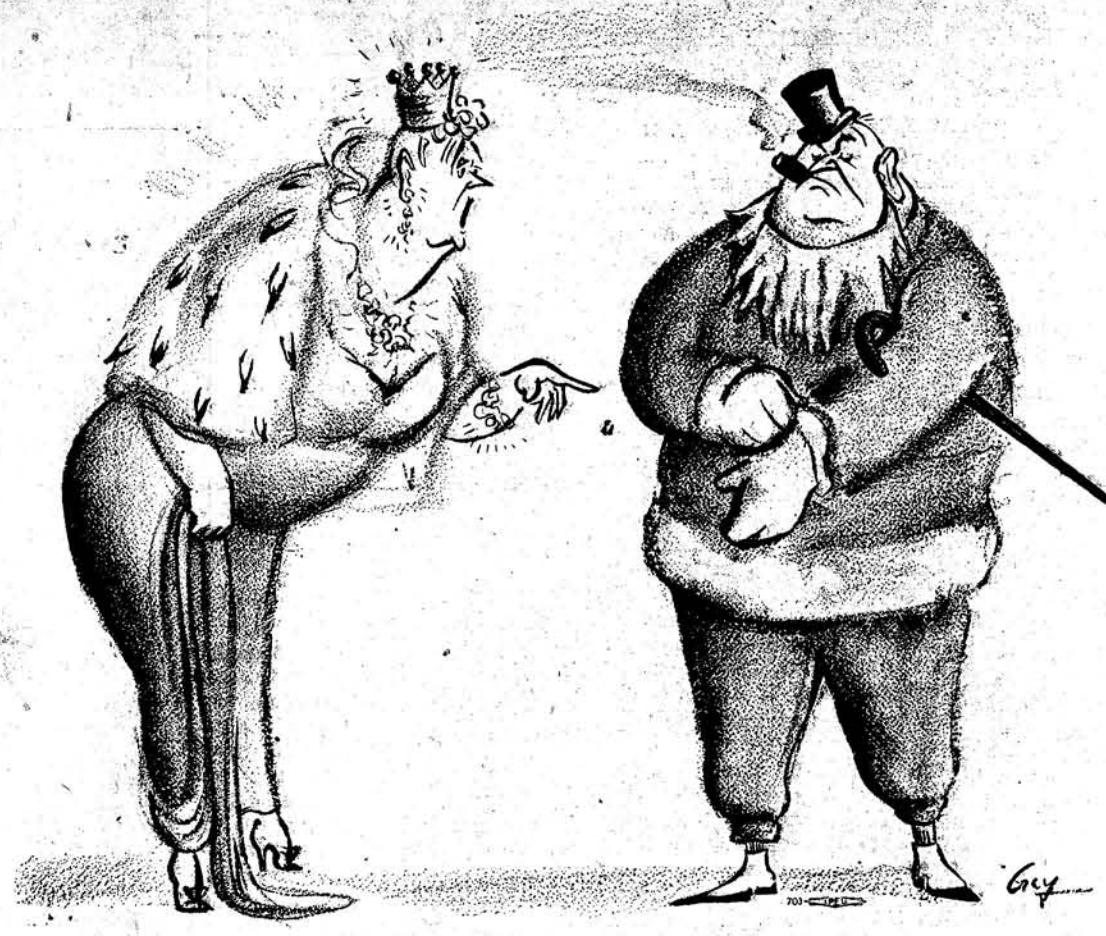
The French Minister of Interior is henceforth empowered to employ troops against strikers. "Inciting strikes" is made a crime punishable by long prison terms and heavy fines. Doubly severe penalties are imposed for "sabotage."

The Greek "democrats" dispensed with all camouflage and flatly outlawed all strikes, fixing not only prison terms but the death penalty. This bestial decree, which goes beyond even the Nazi labor code, will be enforced not by regular courts but by court-martial.

These acts of naked reaction are cheered and defended by the American capitalist press. And why not? As the N.Y. Times, Dec. 8 points out, the principle that underlies them—that "there is no right to strike against the government or in cases of a national emergency"—has been "established" here in the U.S. "not only in the Boston police strike but also in the railroad and coal strikes and is specifically laid down in the Taft-Hartley labor law."

In other words, the anti-labor laws passed in France and Greece are nothing less than adaptations to conditions in these countries of the basic propositions contained in the Taft-Hartley Act. They are all part and parcel of the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan.

And for that reason they constitute a serious warning to American labor. The laws in Greece and France foreshadow what the Taft-Hartley Act will mean to labor when it is drawn to its logical conclusion in this country.



"For heaven's sake, don't let the servants see you in that Santa Claus costume — they might ask for a raise!"

BOOKSHELF

THE STOIC, by Theodore Dreiser, Doubleday, 310 pp., 1947, \$3.

The Stoic completes Dreiser's Trilogy of Desire begun in 1912 with The Financier, and continued two years later in The Titan. Dreiser was within one chapter of completing this mammoth work when death struck him down. The last of his posthumous novels shows him at his mightiest; nothing is lacking in Dreiserian method except, happily, extraneous detail and wandering speculation. Apparently The Stoic was taken up and put aside again and again during the course of some thirty years. It does not suffer from its late appearance.

It is a dying man's testament to his prowess and genius.

Frank Algernon Copperwood is a character modeled on the famous financial swindler, Charles Tyson Yerkes, who began life in Philadelphia, son of a moderately successful Quaker banker. His meteoric rise begins when as a youth he buys several cartons of soap at wholesale and sells them to his neighborhood grocer. This starts him off on his career which leads to the sack of the city treasury. At the age of 15, having left high school, he obtains work in a grain commission house; at 22 he has his own brokerage business, and at 25 he is in the banking business specializing in high grade bonds.

His exploits, both financial and amorous, are graphically described by Dreiser. Having partially served his sentence in prison for marketing city bonds, he strikes out for Chicago with his mistress, Aileen Butler. The Titan deals with his machinations in obtaining control of the street railway systems in that city. Here can be ascertained Dreiser's ability to effectively use documentation without resorting to journalism.

Copperwood, an alien in the city, attempts to buy himself into favor by donating a fountain to beautify a park. Later he endows the University of Chicago with a telescope. He attempts to crash Chicago society, but the avant-garde is wary of this brusque, individualistic and somewhat vulgar interloper. He

is flattered with this apparent sim-

ilarity being paid her by this fascinating young man. She fleetingly thinks of her husband and Bernice, but her admission into continental society pacifies her somewhat. She is worked upon by a masseuse, a hair dresser, boot makers, dress makers, and beauticians. In short, everything money can buy. She has lost some of her embonpoint, and anticipates confronting Copperwood once again, hoping to rekindle his desire. Gone is the caked powder on her face, impressively noted by him, and her habiliment and general appearance serve to lighten her spirits.

Copperwood, nearing his end, is making grandiose plans to perpetuate himself into posterity. He collects objets d'art, and makes bequests for the building of a hospital to bear his name and financing his home as a museum for the public. He parcels out largesse to his former associates and mistresses, some of whom he has dispatched to various capitals in Europe when he tired of them. A mausoleum is erected to house his remains. Everything he does is in consonance with what his historical counterparts have done.

Bernice, after his death, takes up the study of Yogism in India; and from her inheritance sets in motion the building of a hospital which Copperwood wanted. Litigation, claims, counter-claims, court actions, process servers, and haggling over the remainder of his estate causes much of his philanthropy to be disregarded. Aileen witnesses the sad spectacle of her home being auctioned off piece by piece. She refuses to attend his funeral because of his unconscionable deceit with Bernice. Upon her death, she requests that she be laid to rest beside her fabulous husband.

A voluntary at heart, Copperwood found little permanent satisfaction in either his mistresses or the power which his money gave him. Dreiser, to his very end, preached no sermon. He put down in his works what he saw of life, and allowed his portrayals to teach their own lesson. No more could be asked of any artist.

—NORMAN JOHNSTONE

Congressmen at Work

The "Aid-Europe" Debate

Wall Street's hired hands down in Washington have been bringing their giant brains to bear on the proposed "stopgap aid" bill for Europe. While Austria gets a smaller share, the bulk of this "aid" is to keep the French and Italian governments functioning till the Marshall plan can be put into effect. By something more than coincidence these are the countries where gigantic strike struggles broke out.

The debate in Congress shows that the Congressmen know better than to share the widest, widespread among newspaper readers, that the aid is humanitarian.

Senator McClellan (D., Ark.): "The contract of which the Senator (Vandenberg) speaks could be so drafted that it would preclude any of this aid or relief to strikers in that case." The Senator's point of view, and I sympathize greatly with his ultimate objective."

Vandenberg, however, knows the way to discriminate against strikers is at the administrative end. He doesn't want to put it down in black on white for all the world, including the French workers, to see. So he suggests it is wiser not to write it

into the bill.

In the House Rep. Lodge (R., Conn.) who has been touring Europe at the taxpayers' expense estimates that this "aid" is as good as far as it goes but maybe troops should be sent, too. Says Lodge: "In wartime we are not averse to using flame throwers, incendiary bombs and atom bombs to achieve victory."

To this, the questioner ventured: "Too many things are being kept from the American people under the special argument that the people should not know."

But nobody paid much attention to that point.

In the House debate another point relating to the "aid" program and its effect on living costs was ignored with equal agility. The following exchange is illustrative.

Rep. Gore (D., Tenn.): "... If we finish the foreign-aid program too soon, then a lot of questions might be asked why something is not done about the high cost of living before Congress goes home for Christmas."

Rep. Keefe (R., Wis.): "That is a demonstration of the little cheap politics that usually comes from the gentleman from Tennessee."

France and Italy to combat internal force. It may not even require force on our part but it will certainly require action.

Lodge wound up by urging his fellow politicians to resort to "actions" and not to be "squeamish."

When Lodge was asked exactly what actions he had in mind he replied: "that we are in a cold war and that, as I remarked in my speech, a disclosure of details might compromise the aims."

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Workers' Forum

Who Are the Real "Subversives" in U.S.?

Editor:

The name of the Socialist Workers Party stands out on the list of "subversive organizations" prepared by that Wall Street lackey, Attorney-General Tom Clark. It stands out, my friends, to challenge the whole vicious un-American crowd in control of Washington to day.

You are guilty of what? Standing for a liberation of colonial people and against all brands of imperialism. Defending with your very lives the cause of labor. Fighting Jim Crowism, anti-Semitism and all other brands of racism. Exposing the war mongers. Fighting for a free ballot and a free electorate. Yes, fighting for humanity against its capitalist enslavers. Guilty — of being the faithful friends of the people.

No, Mr. Clark. The Socialist Workers Party is not subversive. It is you who are subversive, and Harry S. Truman, and J. Parnell Thomas and all the rest of the Democratic-Republican-capitalist party who fear the might of the workers. You, ward-heeler, witches, hangers, defenders of imperialism; lynchers, poll taxers, strikebreakers are really un-American and subversive. The record is clear and we hurl it back in your face, Tom Clark & Co.

George R. Stryker
Bayport, New York

Criticizes UAW Convention Article

Editor:

I have long been interested in your paper, especially in the style of the articles. I used to try to imitate it sometimes in my high school themes (I just graduated) and once brought an article to class to read. Some day I will write you another letter and tell you what my teacher said.

That was why I was surprised to find one of your correspondents, Art Preis, call the UAW convention "dull and lifeless." From the rest of the article, the convention seemed to be very far from dull and very lively indeed. And I must admit I was surprised to find *The Militant* on the other side from Reuther. Surely, *The Militant* doesn't condone such tactics as the recent action of the old UAW executive board in forbidding Reuther to send any statements to the membership unless he first submitted them to the secretary-treasurer for approval?

E. S.
Montague City, Mass.

Indignant About The Nature of U. S. "Relief"

Editor:

An editorial entitled "Gambling with World Peace" caught my eye in the Youngstown paper the other day. I read that the House Foreign Affairs Committee had added 60

MINNEAPOLIS

Children's Christmas Party

Sunday, Dec. 21

3:00 - 6:00 P. M.

10 S. 4th St.

Make reservations by calling Main 7781. Minneapolis: Garfield 2785, St. Paul

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

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

BOSTON — 30 Stuart St. Open Saturday 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 — 777 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 every night 7-9 p.m.; Saturday nights Open House, Sunday nights Meetings and Forums.

LOS ANGELES — Militant publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

LYNN, Mass. — 44 Central Square, Room 11. Discussion every Tuesday 7:30 p.m.; open Saturdays 1-6 p.m.

OAKLAND, Cal. — For information write to P.O. Box 1351, Oakland, 4

PHILADELPHIA — 1302-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone STEvenson 4-5820.

The Troubles of a Government Worker

Editor:

When I was a child, my parents often expressed the hope that I would be able some day to get a civil service job. I believe that among the older generation, or people born in Europe, it is a widely held thought that it is a good thing to be working for the government. The pay may not be the highest, but they also must reject the cut for Europe.

Friends, after reading as far as the above, I started to feel the same as the writer would want me to, because I assumed that I could associate the word "relief" with the destitute conditions of the workers throughout the world, and it flashed through my mind that it would all go to purchase food, clothing and shelter for the workers that are in absolute need because of this rotten system that brought capitalist war upon them.

Further down in the same editorial, this scribbler for the capitalist system also stated that apparently the committee men think Chinese aid must be given at the expense of aid to Europe. But, he says, there are ways to help China which would not interfere with the money appropriated for European aid, and he quotes Governor Dewey's confirmation. One of these proposals is to give China the surplus war equipment which our Army has discarded in Asia.

In other words, this "relief," instead of being something to help the working people, is guns, bombs and bullets to suppress them. And that is why we wage earners have to pay such high taxes.

Youngstown, O.
Joe
"Gag and Padlock"
Philadelphia, Pa.

Working for the government that calls itself "the bastion of democracy" means enjoying less democracy than anyone else in the country.

Youngstown, O.
Joe
"Gag and Padlock"
Philadelphia, Pa.

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.

Militant Fund Goes to \$16,000, Exceeds Quota Before Deadline

THE MILITANT ARMY

Direct Subs and Renewals Supplement Branch Sales



You have a date with *The Militant*. It is printed right under the name and address on nearly all address labels and wrappers. That date is the expiration date of your subscription.

We try to remind readers direct by mail about a month before their subs expire, and a second time whenever possible. But you can avoid missing any issues by watching your "date with *The Militant*" and renewing well in advance.

A few address plates still have volume and issue numbers instead of date, but we are rapidly replacing these with month and year, for readers' convenience.

During November, 61 readers subscribed or renewed direct with *The Militant* office, while many others turned their renewals in to Socialist Workers Party branch offices. These 61 included two Canadian readers, one in Scotland and one in imperialist-torn Palestine. SWP branches received credit for any subs received direct from their cities.

"I do hope I don't miss any issues," wrote V. O. from Canada when he renewed for a year. "I look forward to *The Militant* each week for a working class answer to the many events taking place in the world today. . . . Wish I could contribute to your financial drive but we have just come through a very strenuous financial campaign ourselves. . . . Revolutionary greetings to all the comrades."

New York held a brief mobilization on the lower East Side last Sunday and signed up 18 new subscribers besides selling 16 pamphlets and 51 single copies of *The Militant*. Fourteen persons visited showed special interest in the Socialist Workers Party and asked to be notified of meetings. One donated \$5.

New York painter comrades, conducting their own sub campaign, have obtained 43 readers in two months.

"Enclosed are five subs," wrote Beverly Wise, **Oakland** agent. "Three are from one comrade's shopmates who liked the UAW activists."

Reporting on four subs from **Milwaukee**, Carol Andrews wrote: "The

Scoreboard For

\$15,000 Militant Fund

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
ST. LOUIS	\$ 50	\$ 115	230
FLINT	200	258	129
CLEVELAND	250	316	126
LOS ANGELES	1,500	1,812	121
NEWARK	500	576	115
DETROIT	600	672	112
TWIN CITIES	1,000	1,075	107
NEW YORK	4,500	4,534	101
Akron	300	301	100
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	75	100
Buffalo	600	600	100
Chicago	1,500	1,506	100
Connecticut State	200	200	100
Lynn	125	125	100
Massillon-Canton	50	50	100
Milwaukee	200	206	100
Oakland	250	250	100
San Francisco	1,250	1,250	100
Tacoma	25	25	100
West Virginia	25	25	100
Youngstown	600	600	100
Pittsburgh	150	142	95
Philadelphia	300	272	91
San Diego	100	91	91
Toledo	150	122	81
Seattle	300	238	76
Boston	275	179	65
Reading	100	50	50
General Contributions		497	
Total		\$16,162	107

Fine appreciation real militants have for our work."

FROM OUR READERS

Last week we received 25¢ from young Spencer of Ohio who writes: "Gentlemen: Enclosed find 25¢ for your fund, I am sorry I couldn't send any more, but I am only in junior high school. I wonder if there is a youth division of the Socialist Workers Party? If there is, I would like to become a member."

A quarter may seem like a small sum in a \$15,000 fund, but the expression of solidarity it represents cannot be measured in dollars.

From Mrs. P. S., of Pennsylvania

we received the following interesting letter:

"Enclosed find my small contribution of \$2.20. I would have sent more if I had it to spare. When I saw in *The Militant* the contributions the other readers send in, I just thought I had to do my little bit."

"There is one article in *The Militant* that I enjoy thoroughly, that is the story of Mother Jones. Very interesting reading. The workers were being pushed around in her time too, especially the miners. I also find that she was one of the organizers of the 'Appeal to Reason.'

"I just thought I had to let you know that my father was an enthusiastic subscriber to that paper. I was rather young then. I was born in 1907. At that time my

young mind was unable to comprehend the poor workers' struggles. I wish you had headquarters here. I would like to attend some of your meetings."

"In the recent elections here, my husband's uncle ran for sheriff on the Democratic ticket. He's only a small business man. Comes from a large family, all poor workers. Well! He was cheated out of that office. He was told that the reason he didn't receive more votes was because he was Jewish. He is no more Jewish than I am. Now please don't misunderstand me, I am not against the Jewish people or any other race. The point that I'm trying to make is this. Don't you see, that's racial discrimination. His opponent had money and his husband's uncle did not. So there you are. You have the money, you can buy your way into office or out of anything for that matter. I'm neither Democrat nor Republican.

"I find *The Militant* more interesting after each issue. Success to your paper and everything it stands for."

A post script says: "Grace Carlson's articles I also find very interesting."

In addition to the above two donations we received as follows from readers: La Poila \$2; Samuel \$1; Martin \$1; Kusmit 45¢; Schwen \$1.70.

U. S. OIL RATIONING AND MARSHALL PLAN

By John Fredericks

One of the many phases of the Marshall Plan will be supplying Europe with \$600,000,000 worth of oil and petroleum products annually. American oil barons plan to increase their shipments abroad to a point where, by 1951, they will achieve a volume of 75 billion metric tons of oil per year, twice the present export rate.

Given the present capacity of American industry to produce these oil supplies, the only way in which the quota can be met is by the immediate institution of gas rationing on a nationwide basis. The government is already acting on the question and is expected to announce rationing plans within a few weeks. The American worker

will foot the bill, the oil imperialists will pocket more huge profits.

To increase oil exports to the point proposed in the Marshall Plan is impossible without seriously curtailing the domestic consumption of gasoline and fuel oil. The House Committee which reported on the exact nature of European aid under the Marshall Plan, at the same time reported that world oil production could only be increased by 30% by 1951. The natural consequence of pouring American oil on troubled European waters will be a period of five years in which American workers will do without sufficient heat for their homes, and less gasoline, or none at all, for their cars.

Crude oil production in the United States is at an all time high. Refineries are producing more gasoline than ever before. Foreign oil fields owned and controlled by American interests are producing more crude oil than ever before.

Yet only last week the Sun Oil Co., which produces little crude from its own wells, raised its offering price for crude by 50 cents per barrel, on the assumption that by raising the offering price it could more readily obtain crude for its many refineries. This was soon followed by the same offer from Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., Sinclair Oil Co., and Sinclair-Prairie Oil Co. The net result is an overall increase in the price to the consumer without substantially increasing the production of crude oil by so much as one barrel.

Today's papers give some additional facts. The right wingers had offered a deal whereby they would be elected state vice president only if the Stalinists permitted a right winger to be elected president of the Stalinist-dominated Greater Newark CIO Council.

President Carl Holderman and other state leaders who have repeatedly expressed a desire to keep the state CIO united, had supported this deal as "reasonable." When the Stalinists turned it down and the right wingers went ahead to deny them proper representation on the State Council, Holderman placed the major responsibility for the threatened split on the Stalinists.

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The Class

By Theodore Kovalesky

"C-M-C," it said on the old blackboard in the front of the room. I stirred a little uncomfortably on the straight wooden chair. Jimmy, sitting beside me, was listening intently to the girl who stood next to the blackboard.

I turned a little and looked at the other people sitting in the room. There were perhaps a dozen this evening, all sitting quietly, all listening intently, trying very hard to understand and learn.

"C-M-C," the girl was saying in the front of the room, "was the formula Marx used to explain the circulation of commodities . . ."

I smiled inwardly. How many years ago would I have sat here like this? Here I was, old enough to be this girl's father, listening, straining every nerve, every mental cog and wheel to get the full meaning of what she was saying. Age didn't matter any more. The youngest or the oldest listened, asked questions, or spoke up with some fact or idea that fitted into the discussion.

"Labor power," she went on, "is a commodity, as we have explained. The worker takes this commodity to the labor market. For it he is given money. With the money he buys other commodities. C-M-C—Commodity—money—commodity . . . that goes on every hour of every day. That is the pulse and the bloodstream of the capitalist system. That is the life of every one of us here in this room and everybody else outside who works for a living as a factory worker, a clerk, a professional . . . anyone who works."

It was no later than nine o'clock, and life out in the streets was pouring past the party headquarters. Lights blinked off and on at the marquee of the movie across the street throwing a dim, intermittent flash through the window, silhouetting the words, "Socialist Workers Party," printed backward. Claxtons blared, trucks roared as they climbed into motion at the intersection, and occasional street cars rattled and clattered past . . . C-M-C.

Jimmy and the rest of the class sat there still intent and intent, still laboring with these ideas which were new, entirely new . . . but yet . . . just as old, as we were, ideas that were at the root of our life, that same

The Negro Struggle

Politics and the '48 Elections

By Albert Parker

Will the Negro elect the next president? That is the question Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, discussed at some length in the Nov. 22 *Colliers*. In it he showed that there are enough Negro voters now to swing any "reasonably close election" next year. And he pointed out: These facts, very disturbing to old-time politicians, have given rise to a whole series of questions which are perplexing the masterminds of both major parties; for the next year you'll see them scrambling frantically to learn the answers.

That's true enough; in fact, you can see the capitalist politicians scrambling both for the answers and ways to garner the Negro vote right now. Truman's civil rights committee report was one sign of this scramble. Stassen's demagogic remarks about My-white Republicans in the South was another; the Republican leaders' promise to act on anti-lynch and anti-poll tax bills in the near future was still another.

But there is "a whole series of questions" perplexing the Negro people as well as the politicians. The most important is: How should the Negro people vote in 1948? You might expect Walter White and the other Negro leaders to take a stand on this, which really gets to the heart of the 1948 political problem so far as the Negro people are concerned. But White and practically all the other Negro leaders are as

mum as a tomb when confronted with this question.

Precisely because the Negro vote is going to be very important, the capitalist politicians are going to try all kinds of fancy tricks to cover up the Jim Crow character of their parties. If the Negro people aren't on the alert, large numbers will go to the polls next November and help to elect an administration that talks good before elections and then stabs them in the back after elections.

This places a special responsibility on so-called Negro leaders. If they are to be of any use at all, they should be helping the Negro people to avoid this trap by speaking up and telling the truth about the hypocritical reasons behind the capitalist "scramble" for the Negro vote. And—much more important—they have got to speak up and indicate where they think the Negro people should go politically next year.

More and more the Negro struggle for equality becomes a political question; less and less can it be separated from all the other big political developments in the country. The old-time Negro leader, with no leadership to offer on the political field, is fast becoming obsolete. What the Negro people need and what they are going to get is a leadership that functions in the fight against Jim Crow on all fronts, including the crucial political front. And the Negro people themselves will have to form such a leadership.

A Silk Hat for Santa

By Mary Wood

I've always had a sentimental liking for Santa Claus, in spite of all his faults. Like most other kids whose parents had to work for a living, I was sometimes puzzled about the way he saved his best presents for the rich kids who didn't need them, and gave the rest of us just the leftovers. But I forgave him. He meant well, I thought, even if he didn't have much judgment. Even later, after I realized that Santa Claus had to act that way because he was hired by the big department stores to make people buy presents, I didn't really object.

Behind all the commercial buildup of the jolly gentleman lay a good idea. Santa brings out the best in people, and gives them a good excuse for releasing their generous impulses. He makes people behave, once a year, like warm-hearted human beings.

The Christmas spirit at its best, I've always felt, was a sort of preview of the way we'll all be under socialism. Only then our generosity won't have to be artificially stimulated by profit-making merchants. It will come naturally, all year round.

That's why I'm so mad about an article I saw in the press a little while ago. Read it yourself:

"An up-to-the-minute note is struck by M. A. Knight, of Newport Landing, Nova Scotia, in The Strike in Santa Claus Town, an exercise for five intermediate pupils, printed in the Canadian Teacher. The first pupils speak:

"All the work had shut down in Santa Claus Town,

Notes from the News

HOUSING SABOTAGED—Nathan Straus, former U. S. Housing head, asserts that "not a single proposal for easing the housing shortage" has been permitted to come on the floor of the House of Representatives. The House Banking and Currency Committee is conducting the blockade, Straus says.

RIGHT HAND, LEFT HAND—For three years in a row General Electric has rejected UE contract demands to bar racial discrimination. GE's President, Charles E. Wilson, was chairman of Truman's civil rights committee which recommended an end to racial discrimination in industry.

NEGRO SHERIFF OUSTED—The first Negro sheriff in Savannah, Ga., was forced to resign after holding office nine days. His offense was a statement that he would defend the rights of the colored people in his district.

A MILLION EACH—A House subcommittee investigating wartime activities of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation learned that Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corp. received \$187,000,000 for Navy planes but only 180 were delivered.

PROGRESSIVE BACK—The Progressive, LaFollette's weekly paper, which recently ceased publication because of high printing costs, will soon re-appear as a monthly magazine.

EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE—Major General Bennett E. Meyers was retired on a disability pension of \$550 per month. He never saw combat and his physical injuries apparently was a strain from hauling off too much loot. A combat GI, 100% disabled, can receive at the most only \$138 per month.

EVICTIONS—Despite a city ordinance to protect tenants, 40% of all landlord applications are being granted, the New York City Rent Commission revealed.

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THE MILITANT

PAGE SIX

NEW YORK, N. Y.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1947

Unions with 15 Million Members Set Up Political Action Groups

CIO Wage Parley



Under pressure from the rank and file for another wage increase to meet skyrocketing living costs, CIO Pres. Philip Murray and the CIO's nine vice presidents meet in Washington to discuss what to do when present contracts expire. (See story on Page 1.) Seated left to right, Rieve, Murray and Haywood. Standing, Curran, Fitzgerald, Green, Potofsky, Reuther, Knight and Buckmaster.

Federated Pictures

Hickman Defense Chairman Outlines Committee's Plans

CHICAGO, Dec. 9.—"We're going to see this thing through to the finish," said Willoughby Abner, chairman of the Hickman Defense Committee, in outlining further plans to win freedom for James Hickman, Negro steel worker facing a second trial on a murder charge.

In a letter to all supporters of the Hickman defense movement, Abner outlines the status of the case following a trial that ended with a "hung" jury last month. Hickman had been tried for shooting the landlord he held responsible for the death of his four children.

"The members of this august body (the jury) were unable to agree on a verdict," Abner writes. "Unquestionably a majority of them were for acquittal, but another vocal group was for conviction . . .

NOT SURPRISED

"The Hickman Defense Committee is not surprised at the failure to gain an acquittal. We bitterly condemn the social system which was oblivious of the housing and personal difficulties of a law-abiding and absolutely harmless family, but now tries to prosecute the father for a crime which he is not guilty of.

"It seems to us that the Hickman case epitomized the whole brutal housing shortage, racial restrictions for Negro tenants, and many other evils of the post-war world. To permit this man to be convicted, while thousands of landlords are waxing fat on circumstances which may lead to future Hickman cases, is an insult to any man with a progressive point of view.

"The Hickman case is a challenge to all liberal forces: does a society which attempts to convict a man of a 'crime' have to undertake responsibility for its own lethargy and criminal neglect or doesn't it?

"No one helped this family when it needed help, yet now the state mechanically and 'legally' is trying to railroad Hickman to jail. It must not happen!

"Tis better than pay to labor each day
For others less happy than we."

I don't think the kids are going to like this sick-hatted Santa, who makes the elves work for nothing while he grabs all the glory. He sounds too much like Papa's boss.

And to the poet's delight, he wins. The elves and the brownies go back to work without any gains, convinced that

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I don't think the kids are going to like this sick-hatted Santa, who makes the elves work for nothing while he grabs all the glory. He sounds too much like Papa's boss.

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