

# CZECH COUP INTENSIFIES "COLD WAR"

## Big Corporations Threaten 'Tough' Policy on Wages

The top union leaders are conducting an unofficial campaign to give the workers the impression that a third round of wage increases is "in the bag" and that the unions don't need to prepare for a real fight to gain substantial wage concessions.

This notion emanates particularly from Philip Murray, Walter Reuther and others of the top CIO circle. The capitalist press has collaborated in spreading this false impression with repeated rumors, for instance, that the steel bosses are prepared to offer the CIO Steelworkers some significant concessions. Murray has issued no cautioning word to offset any illusions this propaganda may breed.

Instead, long in advance of negotiations, Murray has demonstratively announced that, as far as he is concerned, the steelworkers are not going to strike under any conditions and are going to adhere strictly to the two-year no-strike clause Murray signed last year. Thus, Murray has informed the steel barons that he will take anything they offer — of course, with unofficial assurances, to the unions that the offer will be "substantial."

Reuther has been demonstratively palsy-walsy with billionaire Henry Ford the Second, head of the anti-labor Ford Motor Company. Reuther's private conferences with Ford are designed to give the impression that auto bosses like Ford are becoming "enlightened" and are ready to talk liberal terms to the CIO United Auto Workers.

It is a most dangerous assumption that the corporations, just because they are rolling in the biggest profits in history, are going to turn "soft" in the coming wage negotiations.

### "GET TOUGH" POLICY

The true attitude of the corporations was indicated last week by General Electric on the eve of wage negotiations with the CIO United Electrical Workers. GE officials

## Congress Rushes ERP

## To Bolster Reaction

By Arthur Burch

Stunned by successive blows to their plans and prestige in China, Greece and Czechoslovakia, the American imperialists are hastily rushing through Congress their "European Recovery Program." Through the expert guidance of Republican Senator Vandenburg, unanimous approval was obtained in the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee for aid in the sum of \$3 billion dollars under the Marshall Plan for a one year period ending April 1, 1949.

This is exclusive of help to China to the tune of \$70 million and 275 million dollars for additional aid to Greece and Turkey. Nor does it include the sum of two billion dollars for occupation costs in Germany, Japan and Korea. As originally proposed by the Administration the over-all cost was to be \$6 billion dollars for a 15 month period. By shortening the period from 15 months to 12 the committee gave the false appearance of reducing the cost, and nothing more.

### FIRST INSTALLMENT

Even these huge sums are regarded only as the first installment. Representative Judd of Minnesota referred to them as providing only a "little puddle in the center of a vast desert." Already 257 million dollars have gone down the drain in Czechoslovakia.

Ex-President Hoover bemoans the fact that Washington cannot count on a single ally despite the enormous sums already expended and doubts if the Marshall Plan can achieve its objective of a solid war alliance against the Soviet Union. frantic steps are being taken to set up a Western European Bloc headed by Washington's quislings and committed to the war aims of American imperialism. It is to reassure these

## Petition Drive for Dobbs-Carlson Already Started in New Jersey Stalinists Utilize Mass Pressure to Make Deal With Czech Capitalists

Preparing for World War III



The U. S. Navy is demonstratingly staging a series of "war games." Shown above is a scene from Atlantic fleet maneuvers in the Caribbean area, with U. S. Marines "capturing" the beach at Vieques Island. More than 16,000 sailors, soldiers and marines are engaged in these maneuvers.

Federated Pictures

MARCH 4 — The campaign to place the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket on the 1948 ballot is already under way in New Jersey, where independent nominating petitions must be filed not later than March 11. Final preparations are also being made for the collection of petitions in Pennsylvania beginning March 8.

Members and friends of the SWP in New Jersey have been out on the streets during the past week, requesting signatures for Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice-President. A short campaign for collection of the petitions was made necessary because the New Jersey Assembly suddenly introduced and pushed through a bill drastically reducing the period allowed for obtaining the petitions

### COMPLETE CONFIDENCE

Despite this handicap, the SWP members in New Jersey expressed complete confidence that the SWP ticket would be on the ballot in this important industrial state. With one more week to go, they expect to get at least 50% more than the necessary number of signatures.

In addition to petitions for Dobbs and Carlson, the New Jersey SWP is circulating petitions for George Breitman for the U. S. Senate and William E. Bohannan for Congress from the state's 11th District. The last time Breitman and Bohannan ran as SWP candidates, they received 5% of the vote.

Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson were nominated by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party last month in order to make possible the filing of petitions in such states as New Jersey and Pennsylvania, where petitions must be presented long in advance of the national nominating conventions.

Secondly, it has not called forth open rebellion on the part of the capitalist elements associated with London and Washington as was the case with Mickolajczyk in Poland, Nagy in Hungary, Maniu in Rumania, Petkov in Bulgaria. The leaders of Czech capitalism bowed to complete Stalinist domination in the new government and all its institutions.

The businessmen, according to dispatches, remained "strangely at ease" although they "probably had not expected to be able to exist under such circumstances." Benes and his colleague Jan Masaryk, the Foreign Minister, are said to be congratulating themselves that "the changes had brought no bloodshed and no large sacrifices."

It thus appears that with the Stalinists in complete domination of the government and with all phases of public life now undergoing a drastic purge, the Czech capitalists have reason to believe that "all is not lost" so far as their basic profit-making privileges are concerned. Evidently another compromise — although far less advantageous than previously — has been reached behind the scenes between them and the Kremlin agents.

Thirdly, the Czech coup has been executed within the framework of parliamentary legality. Before confronting Benes with their ultimatum, the Stalinists assured them of the support of the Social Democrats, with whom they have



KLEMENT GOTTWALD

a slim majority in parliament.

These three factors are interrelated, of course. The pressure of mass action was decisive in swinging the Social Democrats into line. This bloc of the two workers' parties left the capitalists without any adequate cover in an open struggle depriving them of even a plausible appeal to constitutional legality. When the protest of USA-Britain-France against the installation of a "dictated dictatorship" arrived in Prague, Benes-Masaryk joined Gottwald in rejecting it.

One of the first measures announced by Gottwald is the establishment of a state monopoly over all foreign trade.

It is not yet clear just what character and development the "Action Committees" have taken. The "Central Action Committee" at Prague is undoubtedly an airtight bureaucratic affair. But information is still scant about the local committees and the "factory committees."

There are indications that factory "action committees" may have been taking over industrial plants and land "action committees" seizing estates. Premier Gottwald has promised that 20 million acres of landed estates would be distributed among "those who till the soil." Previously announced was the government intention to nationalize all enterprises employing more than 50 workers. The question naturally arises: Is the government merely legalizing actions already accomplished by the masses?

## "Freedom of Press" — Greek Royalist Style

"There is no country in Europe where a greater degree of press freedom may be found than in Greece. There is as real nothing but fighting the Germans and their Greek collaborators, and asked why the executions had been necessary at this late date. That was 'crime No. 1.'

The second offence was the request of a clemency petition by political prisoners in Avarof Prison addressed to Premier Sopoulis. Apparently, it is illegal to let the Greek people know that some of the government's prisoners want clemency.

Bigart also supplies the wording of the press law of 1931, under which the two editors were arrested:

"Any one who publicly incites citizens, directly or indirectly to dissension or mutual disdain, shaking the confidence of the people in the armed forces of the country, and anyone who provokes dissension among the armed forces and undermines their discipline, may be punished with imprisonment of three months to five years, if not punished more severely for another offense."

Since 1936, Bigart adds, "all offenses against public order and security have been tried by court martial."

This "press law" is a fitting companion to the law providing the death penalty for strikers, adopted last year. This is the kind of "democracy" in Greece that the American people are being taxed to pre-

## HOW STALINISTS USE SMITH CASE IN NMU

By C. Thomas

By a vote of 589 to 287, at a regular membership meeting of the CIO National Maritime Union rejected a proposal of the Stalinist-controlled National Council to make available "the full resources" of the union to secure the release of Secretary Ferdinand Smith, held on Ellis Island for deportation as an "undesirable alien."

130 million rounds of ammunition had been sold to the Nanking government. 10,000 tons of surplus war supplies on Marinas Island were sold to Chiang Kai-shek for 1% of the original cost and a similar amount at Guam was likewise disposed of. 1,000 war planes are being secretly delivered. Henry Wallace has made charges which remain undenied, that 1,000 American army officers are training ten new Kuomintang divisions as American bases are being erected secretly in Tsingtao and Formosa. 271 U. S. Naval war vessels in addition to aircraft have been turned over to Nanking while the seventh American fleet cruises in Chinese waters.

### LITTLE FAITH

Yet Washington seems to have little faith that military aid will suffice. It bemoans the fact that the soldiers in Greece, China, etc., have no stomach to fight against their own people. It hopes to discourage the rising militancy of the working class abroad by a flood of financial and military aid to reactionary regimes.

to Smith, despite their opposition to the Stalinists, were unable to do so. If the Stalinists persist in their course Smith will become a pawn in the internal struggle for power in the union. In that case the broader issues will become subordinated to the detriment of the fight against political persecution and government interference in the internal affairs of the unions.

### CURRAN STATEMENT

The issue of defending Smith against government persecution has been mixed up with the question of his status as an official of the union. A statement issued by NMU President Joseph Curran urging non-support lays primary stress on the charge that Smith holds office "illegally." The Stalinists are charged with conspiring to keep him in office in violation of the union constitution which provides that officers must be citizens or have proof of having filed legal intention of becoming a citizen.

One of the charges on which Smith is being held for deportation is "illegal entry." The Stalinists maintain that he has complied with the law and they have announced their intention of running him as a candidate for re-election this summer. The whole case is fouled up in a maze of technicalities around the phrase "legal entry," and "legally filing intention to become a citizen."

### TWO QUESTIONS

There are actually two separate questions involved. One is whether Smith holds office in violation of the government in 1921. The Palmer raids ushered in the period of the open shop and the company union. The present deportation drive coupled with the union-busting Taft-Hartley Act aims to achieve the same purpose.

part of the process of getting his citizenship papers.

Upon his return he claimed to have complied with the constitutional requirement of filing intention to become a citizen. He ran for office in a special election and was re-elected. Since that time Curran has repeatedly charged that Smith was in office illegally. Curran repeated the charge in his report to the NMU convention in the fall of 1947. The officers-report committee contends that Smith refused to submit evidence of constitutional compliance when questioned at that time.

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But it would be a fatal mistake for union militants to become blinded by their justifiable hatred of the Stalinist zig-zag artists. If the government is permitted to establish a precedent without serious challenge the entire labor movement will suffer.

The deportation delirium unleashed by U. S. Attorney General Palmer after World War I led immediately and directly to the smashing of the maritime unions by the government in 1921. The Palmer raids ushered in the period of the open shop and the company union. The present deportation drive coupled with the union-busting Taft-Hartley Act aims to achieve the same purpose.

The Stalinists are now singled out for persecution by the government because they are the most vulnerable and discredited section of the labor movement. As long as they preached the Stalin line of national unity, labor-management co-operation and the permanent no-strike pledge the Stalinists were tolerated and even encouraged. Now that the Kremlin's line has changed they bear the brunt of the attack by the strikebreaking Truman administration.

The nature of the "crime" charged against the two editors throws light not only on the kind of "press freedom" existing in Greece today but also on the bloody character of the dictatorship that is being upheld by American dollars and military men.

It seems that Machi printed two articles that met with the disapproval of the military governor.

The first of these two "criminal" articles criticized the recent execution of between 40 and 50 members of ELAS (the guerrilla force that fought against the German occupation), who had been kept in jail since 1945. Their execution had been ordered by Minister of Justice Christos Ladas who, like Premier Theodoros Sopoulis, sports the title of "liberal."

The Socialists declared that these ELAS members had been guilty of serving.

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# Henry Wallace—His Record as Capitalist Politician

By Art Preis

Henry Agard Wallace is a middle-class capitalist politician who feeds on liberal-sounding words. These he chews over like a cow does its cud. He never tires of the flavor of such phrases as the "Common Man," the "General Welfare" and "Progressivism." And who dares oppose these?

Liberal phonies always use such glittering generalities. Only Wallace retains them more often, more vaguely and more shamelessly. This windy demagogic is the foundation of his reputation as a "Champion of the People."

Fortunately, we are not forced to judge him by words alone. Wallace has had ample opportunity to demonstrate in deeds his self-proclaimed love for the "common man." He was a top figure in the government for 13½ years and once bore the proud title of Roosevelt's "Crown Prince."

In all those years he did not do a single thing of benefit for the "common man"—not for the workers, the Negro people, the poor farmers and sharecroppers or the small business man.

His deeds in office were an unbroken chain of reaction. That is a matter of public record, if not of public knowledge. Most of the facts have now been conveniently compiled in a book, "Henry Wallace—The Man and the Myth" by Dwight Macdonald (Vanguard Press, Inc., New York City).

Wallace was the Roosevelt administration's loudest warmonger, jingo and apologist for U.S. imperialist participation in World War II.

He was a member of Roosevelt's secret policy group that initiated the development of the atomic bomb. He hailed this most fiendish instrument of war as a major triumph of Roosevelt and the "New Deal."

He upheld Roosevelt's wartime demand for Saudi Arabian oil, boasting this "was not ruthless imperialism but good old-fashioned American imperialism" and "the United States is proud of it."

He defends to this day the dismemberment of Germany, starvation rations for the German people and continued ruthless military occupation of the conquered countries.

## "World Peace" Formula

His "anti-imperialist" program, stated most fully and crudely in his Madison Square Garden speech in September, 1946, calls for an agreement between Washington and the Kremlin to divide the world between them. That is his formula for "world peace."

Here are some highlights of his record on the "common man" at home:

He put through, as Secretary of Agriculture, a program of "planned scarcity," whereby the big landowners were paid to destroy crops and livestock to boost prices in a world of unemployment and hunger.

He fired his own "New Deal" colleagues out of the Department of Agriculture at the behest of cotton speculators, textile interests and the reactionary Farm Bureau of big landowners.

He falsely interpreted a clause in the Agricultural Adjustment Act to permit wealthy landowners to reduce acreage by evicting thousands of tenant-farmers and sharecroppers.

He repudiated, at the climax of the 1946 General Motors strike, a confidential report of Commerce Department economists which he himself had released before the strike and which showed that the auto corporations could raise wages 10% without raising prices.

He demanded, just after the 1946 coal strike, that the government take

over strike-threatened industries and that the workers, "like other federal employees, give up the right to strike."

He rudely refused to see a Negro delegation and sneaked out on them when they came to appeal for aid in saving the life of the Virginia sharecropper Odell Waller, who was later executed for his self-defense slaying of a white man.

He surrounded himself, as Secretary of Commerce, with a retinue of conservative big businessmen and proclaimed himself "the representative of business in government."

## Defends Profit System

He has championed consistently but one program, "the preservation of our democratic free enterprise system"—that is, the capitalist exploitation of labor for private profit.

These fully documented damning facts go unchallenged and unmentioned in an attempted reply to Macdonald's book in a review by Russell Lord in the March 1 New Republic, Wallace's mouthpiece.

Lord treats us to the worshipful disciple's fanciful portrait of Wallace, "profoundly simple, profoundly practical...it is certain he will keep growing." Lord concerns himself chiefly with heated denials of the least important aspects of Macdonald's book, his psychological and moral appraisals of Wallace.

The record cited by Macdonald shows that Wallace is a "trimmer, hedger and chronic reneger" who "lacks the guts to stand up under pressure." But Macdonald overemphasizes personal quirks and traits and leaves out the key to a real understanding of Wallace.

That key is the class character of Wallace, his politics and his movement.

Henry A. Wallace poses with his prospective running mate, Senator Glen H. Taylor (D., Idaho) shortly after the latter bolted from the Democratic Party.

Federated Pictures



ment. In every major test of his career Wallace has proved himself a loyal defender of capitalism and American imperialism.

From 1933 to 1940, when Wallace headed the Department of Agriculture, he faithfully served the rich landowners against the poor farmers, tenant-farmers, sharecroppers and low-wage consumers. He worked most closely with the Farm Bureau Federation, the lobby of the "400-acre farmers." The Farm Bureau's 1,800 county agents became the local agents of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA).

The AAA paid landowning farmers to withdraw a portion of their land from cultivation in order to reduce crops and raise prices. But the majority of farmers are tenants and sharecroppers and only landowners received benefits. The landowners first withdrew from production land occupied by tenants and share-croppers. These not only were deprived of a livelihood, but were kicked out of their homes.

## Wallace's Sell-Out

A clause in the AAA contract said that the landlord "shall permit all tenants to continue in occupancy of their houses on this farm, rent free, for the years 1934 and 1935." The Southern Tenant Farmers Union protested there were hundreds of evictions in spite of this clause. Wallace fired several of his aides who supported the tenants. He said the clause did not mean the same tenants must remain, only the same number of tenants. The Arkansas courts promptly accepted his interpretation and upheld hundreds of evictions.

Ten years later, when he was Secretary of Commerce, Wallace followed similar policies. He appointed as his undersecretary Alfred Schindler, a conservative big businessman who had previously served under banker Jesse Jones. Another top job went to Albert J. Browning, who called for incentive wages. Wallace brushed aside the small business interests who sought his aid against the monopolies. The May 20, 1945 N. Y. Times published a special article describing the surprise and pleasure of Big Business at Wallace's policies.

While Vice President, from 1940 to 1944, Wallace destroyed any claim he might have to being "anti-war" and "anti-imperialist." He served the

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"The petty-bourgeois viewpoint differs from the bourgeois one (outright justification of war, outright 'national defense', i. e., a defense of the 'interests' of the home capitalists, defense of their 'right' to annexations) in that the petty-bourgeois renounces annexations, 'condemns' imperialism, 'demands' from the bourgeoisie to cease being imperialistic while remaining within the framework of world-imperialist relations and the capitalist structure of society. Limiting himself to this innocuous, shallow, empty declamation, the petty-bourgeois, in practice, trails helplessly behind the bourgeoisie."

—V. I. Lenin, The Revolution of 1917, Book I, pp. 111-112.



LENIN

## Washington's Palestine Policy

The statement by Delegate Austin to the UN Security Council that the U. S. will advocate nothing but "peaceful means" to promote partition has been widely recognized as a death-blow to the UN proposed plan for Palestine.

This sharp reversal of Washington's Palestine position has been brought about by Cabinet and State Department officials who are primarily concerned with preserving friendly relations with Arab leaders and land-owners in order to safeguard the tremendous oil resources leased to American companies.

Truman has been extremely embarrassed by the Zionist pressure for partition. He has had to weigh the Jewish vote in the big cities against Arab support. The superior interests of U. S. imperialism have evidently triumphed over immediate partisan interests. Truman, who first took a step toward satisfying the Zionists by approving partition, now appeases the Arabs by refusing to implement it.

The Zionist leaders are panic-stricken by

## Truman's Deportation Drive

The Truman Administration is stepping up its red-baiting witch-hunt by widening its deportation drive against non-citizens who belong to the Communist (Stalinist) Party.

Among the latest victims of this persecution are Irving Potash, one of the leaders of the CIO Furrier Workers, and Ferdinand Smith, National Secretary of the CIO National Maritime Union. They were seized without warning, dragged off to Ellis Island, and held without bail. (Potash was later granted bail.)

These threatened deportations are designed not only to weaken the Stalinists, but to intimidate all working-class political opponents of the Truman regime and its war-mongering Truman Doctrine.

The arrested Stalinist leaders have been in this country for years. Their political affiliations and non-citizenship have long been known. Why didn't the government deport them years ago?

Because, until recently, the Stalinists were

## Congress and the Rent Gougers

Millions of tenants anxiously scanned the headlines the last week of February to find out what Congress is going to do about rent controls. As the March 1 deadline approached, Congress hastily passed one-month extension of the old law and Truman signed it on Feb. 27.

This is small consolation to worried tenants. It means that we can sweat an extra month before we find out how big a bite on our paychecks Congress is going to permit the landlords and real estate sharks.

On the same day it adopted the 30-day extension bill, the Senate also passed a 14-month extension bill with a "few modifications" of the old Act. This latter bill must still receive House approval.

The "modifications" contained in the pending bill have the landlords gleefully rubbing their hands. Especially the clause that would compel area rent boards to raise rents

on the mere claim by landlords that their costs have increased. You'll pay the rent increase first, with the privilege of protesting the landlord's rent-hike afterwards.

Under the previous bill, with its "voluntary agreement" clause and landlord "hardship" provisions, average rents shot up 15%. Hundreds of thousands of rental units were completely decontrolled. Their average rent, according to Truman, skyrocketed 60%. Imagine what your rent will be if the newest Senate bill is passed, allowing your landlord to raise your rent simply by claiming higher costs.

Mass action by tenant and labor organizations alone can prevent Congress from opening the flood gates to unrestricted rent-gouging. The time is short and action is needed now. Fight for a prohibition on ALL rent boosts!

## The Real Crime in Czechoslovakia

The capitalist press has worked itself into a self-righteous frenzy over the "rape" of Czechoslovakia. Editors, who have pretty strong stomachs for Greek "democracy", where "freedom of the press" is maintained by jailing editors of labor publications and by keeping firing squads working overtime, have become fighting mad over Czech events.

This newspaper-fuming about democracy is, of course, hypocritical. The capitalist commentators are so aroused because the Stalinist coup in Czechoslovakia represents a victory for the Kremlin and a setback for American imperialism.

To be sure, the Stalinists have been long trampling on democratic rights. But these were not the "rights" of the Czech capitalists, they were the democratic rights of the Czech workers.

The Communist (Stalinist) Party and the Social-Democrats of Czechoslovakia have long enjoyed a majority — 52% — in parliament and a far greater strength in the coun-

try as a whole. These parties have had a perfect "democratic" right to abolish capitalism and introduce socialism. Even the capitalist president Benes admitted that this was desired by the vast majority of the population.

However, since 1945 the Stalinists have done everything in their power to maintain capitalism by means of their artificial "National Front". This was the real violation of the will of the Czech masses by Stalinist Premier Gottwald and his henchmen since the end of the war.

Now that the "cold war" has forced the Kremlin to consolidate its position in Czechoslovakia this violation of workers' democracy continues. The Stalinists are trying to refurbish the "National Front." The revolutionary aspirations of the workers' "Action Committees" are being curbed. The next Stalinist crime will be the purging of the revolutionary workers in the "Action Committees" themselves.

# The Kremlin's Real Aims and Policies in Czechoslovakia

## Vets Demands Decent Housing



Just before opening sessions of the National Veterans Housing Conference in Washington, D. C., Feb. 29, Representative John F. Kennedy (D., Mass.), a Veterans of Foreign Wars delegate, and Gray S. Tilly, VFW Alaska representative, discuss last minute plans. More than 2,000 ex-GIs from all vet organizations attended the meetings designed to pressure Congress into passing an adequate housing bill.

Federated Pictures

employing over 350 workers, while leaving all others in the hands of their previous owners. The revolutionary upsurge of the workers was thus arrested and sold out by their leaders. In return, Czech industry began to deliver important quantities of goods to the commodity-starved USSR. Profits flourished while the workers' wages began to shrink more and more in the general European post-war inflation.

From the domestic point of view, continued exploitation of the workers by Czech capitalism, which was left essentially intact at the end of the war, has resulted in growing unrest and discontent. The Stalinist party, dominant in both the government and the trade unions, has

been constantly more difficult to suppress this ferment without risking the danger of losing its mass base. At the last elections in 1946, the CP polled 38%, the largest single vote of any party, in what was generally conceded to be an electoral contest run fully along Western standards. Its problem was how to maintain and bolster this hold.

### THE KOSICE AGREEMENT

The Czechoslovak state was re-established toward the end of the war, by an agreement (at Kosice) between Stalin and Benes, as the Soviet armies moved in. Everywhere in the country, the workers had risen in armed revolt against the Nazi regime. Workers' militias liberated Prague and occupied factories there as well as in other industrial cities. The Kosice Agreement established a "National Front" of the capitalist and working-class parties. For the former, Benes pledged the new state to an intimate Soviet alliance. The Stalinists and Social Democrats, in turn, undertook to disarm the workers and preserve private property.

Economically, a "compromise" was reached, nationalizing with full compensation all industrial plants employing over 350 workers, while leaving all others in the hands of their previous owners. The revolutionary upsurge of the workers was thus arrested and sold out by their leaders. In return, Czech industry began to deliver important quantities of goods to the commodity-starved USSR. Profits flourished while the workers' wages began to shrink more and more in the general European post-war inflation.

Apparently the "nationalizations" of key industry did not bother the Czech capitalists too much. With their rich compensations they got around that by investing heavily in plants employing less than the prescribed number of workers. Czechoslovakia had always had its richest markets in Western Europe. Its capitalists began to find ways and means of tapping them again, in spite of the strict government controls, and often to the detriment of Russia, besieged by critical shortages.

The first Marshall Plan conference last summer revealed the initial symptoms of a crack in the "National Front," of the previously "exemplary" collaboration between Stalinism and Czech capitalism. A majority of the Czech cabinet voted

to join the conference in spite of the Moscow ban. Prompt pressure from the Kremlin forced a quick reversal. But that the Czech capitalists would continue to seek means of penetrating the profitable Western markets was obvious.

At the same time, persistent reports of strikes announced a growing clash with the working class at home. The Cominform conference of the nine Stalinist parties took stock of this situation and, among other things, foreshadowed the showdown preceding in Prague.

The foregoing is borne out by reports of the demands advanced at the convention of factory delegates called by the General Federation of Labor in Prague on the eve of the showdown. The N. Y. Times (Feb. 23) describes the main resolution adopted as follows:

"It demanded the nationalization of all wholesale trade . . . all department stores, all export and import business, all concerns with more than 50 employees, all printing and publishing establishments . . . the Communist labor leaders . . . gave as their reason the charge that private enterprise, by seeking profits, exploiting workers and black-marketeering, had annulled the (Kosice) agreement."

The dispatch quoted notes that the convention of factory delegates was restricted by the Stalinist leaders to "establishments with more than 350 employees, nearly all of which were already nationalized."

The Stalinists obviously feared much more sweeping demands from the delegates of the smaller factories, whom they could not control as easily as those of previously nationalized plants. In the latter, their state positions facilitate the hand-picking of delegates.

It is an indication of the ways and means by which the Stalinists hope to strangle bureaucratically the revolutionary mass actions which the critical position of the Kremlin on the world arena increasingly forces upon them.

The American imperialists are utilizing the Czech events, along with the new diplomatic crisis in Finland to beat the drums again for their war to save "democracy."

Particularly, to obtain passage of the Marshall Plan by Congress, as the most immediate objective.

## ITALIAN SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAVE SARAGAT PARTY

able to the workers for the defense of their class interests.

2. Define a clear-cut policy offering the proletariat the alternative of revolutionary socialist initiative as against the Stalinist policy, which is absolutely incapable of defending the interests of the working class, because it is an expression of the diplomatic-military apparatus of the Russian bureaucracy on a world scale.

3. The essential task of a real Socialist Party must consist in an unflinching defense of the proletariat against the offensive of the capitalist bourgeoisie and its agents, particularly the Christian Democrats, as well as against the opportunism of the Stalinist apparatus.

4. The Ministers in the Christian-Democratic Government who are party members, must leave this government.

5. Presentation of Socialist unity lists at the elections, and where this proves to be impossible, of autonomous PSLI lists.

6. Activity directed toward the unity of the world proletariat, indispensable precondition for a socialist construction, and, consequently, opposition both to the Stalinist position which wants to adapt the policy of the proletariat to the interests of the Russian state, and to the Laborite position, which is openly endeavoring to tie up the activity of international Socialism with the diplomatic plans of the British government.

7. Solidarity with the movements of the proletarians, peasants and toiling people of all categories, which arise from the ever growing misery and increased capitalist oppression. The party must reassume the leadership of these workers' struggles after demanding the withdrawal of the Saragat Ministers from the government.

8. Struggle for the recognition of the management councils, and condemnation of all attempts to split trade union unity. Denunciation of the attempts of pseudo-reformists and Stalinists to tie the trade unions to the state apparatus.

## Viet NAM WORKERS ARRESTED IN FRANCE

We have received the following resume of a statement to the press on the arrest of Viet Nam workers, published by the Association of Viet Nam Workers in France. It speaks for itself:

"On Saturday, Jan. 31, and Sunday, Feb. 1, large police and mobile guard forces in the whole of France proceeded to encircle the camps of the Viet Nam workers and arrested 150 of them, consisting of old and newly elected delegates and rank and file workers.

"Clearly, this is a classical 'concentration' in a world of concentration camps, and not, as the communiqué of the Ministry of the Interior says, a simple 'regrouping.' Many of those held have to sleep on the floor. Those arrested at Belfort were only allowed to wear light clothing. At the Bias camp, they are allowed only one meager meal a day. Drinking water is severely rationed. 40 mobile guards

armed with sub-machine guns patrolled the camp day and night. Everywhere the prisoners are accompanied by policemen. It is the worst form of prison life.

"We Viet Nam workers who are still 'free' appeal to the French workers, to all men devoted to the cause of justice and freedom, to join forces with us in order to save the arrested workers from the brutality of the colonialists. Only the international solidarity of all the oppressed can stop the imperialist oppression.

"French workers, from your workshops, your offices, your trade unions, everywhere, send motions to the government to protest against police arbitrariness, against the arrest of the Viet Nam delegate Tran Ngoc Danh, against the incarceration of Viet Nam workers at Bias, for their return to their comrades!"

The Central Committee of Viet Nam Workers in France  
February 8, 1948

## How Stalinists Strangled Indo-Chinese Revolution

By Lucien

The Trotskyists had marched with the masses in the Aug. 21 demonstration organized by the United National Front. They could not avoid participating in the demonstration of Aug. 25, even though this one was directed by the Viet-Minh, which was now trying to test the sentiments of the revolutionary masses.

All classes of society participated in this mighty demonstration. Over a million participants gathered there from all corners of the western region of Nam-Bo. The political character of this demonstration was more clearly and deeply defined than the one held four days previously. The number of political groups and varying tendencies was over 30; of these the most remarkable were the Viet-Minh Stalinists and the Trotskyists.

EVEN POLICE DIVIDED

The extreme tension of the classes was such that even the police were divided into two opposing political camps. The first, directed by the two former Japanese police heads, Huynh-van-Phuong and Ho-vinh-Ky, took places among the marchers behind the flag of the Trotskyists. The second, more numerous and under the influence of the Stalinists, told the masses that the revolution had not yet been achieved.

Against the Stalinist cry of "All Power to the Viet-Minh!" we called for "All Power to the People's Comrades!"

Two days after his coup d'état, the Stalinist Nguyen-van-Tao, commissar of Internal Affairs of the government, threatened the Trotskyists of the ICL in these terms: "Those who urge the peasants to seize landed property will be severely punished."

The day following the statement of the leader of Viet-Nam Stalinism, the press of the Stalinist party fiercely attacked the Trotskyists, accusing them of trying to create disturbance and provoke social disorder.

The force of workers marching with the ICL (Indo-Chinese Trotskyist organization) on this day was reduced to 2,000, as against 30,000 on the 21st. This was not an accident, for this time the majority of workers had their own unions with which to march.

Despite its numerical weakness, the ICL continued to be a very important political force in the demonstration. Its clear and genuinely revolutionary slogans drew the support of all the best elements in the working class. Hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants vigorously applauded the slogans: "Land to the peasants! Factories

to the workers!" This sight infuriated the Stalinists.

Faithful to its revolutionary program, the ICL remained politically independent of the Viet-Minh Front, at the same time proclaiming the constant need for the tactic of the anti-imperialist united front. It unceasingly explained in all its leaflets and its press that the Viet-Minh is a form of bourgeois coalition in which the Stalinists remain the political pivot. Whereas the Stalinists cynically asserted in their propaganda that the democratic republic has already been realized, we, the Internationalist Communists, told the masses that the revolution had not yet been achieved.

Next day, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, over four hundred thousand people of both sexes and various ages, massed in columns, armed with bamboo pikes, bearing placards and streamers, marched by the cathedral of Siagon completely peacefully. Suddenly from the top of the church, through the windows, a hail of machine-gun and pistol bullets fell upon the peaceful and defenseless masses. Some 40 demonstrators fell. About 150 were wounded.

Cries rose to the skies: "The French have fired upon us!" Exasperated with anger, the demonstrators forced the doors of the church, mounted to the roof, searching every corner in which the criminal enemies could be hiding.

The events of the evening of Sept. 2 provoked an incredible tumult among the people of Saigon. Here was proof that the government was incapable of defending the country and even less able to lead it towards real independence.

From then on the rumor was current throughout the city that French imperialism would soon be aided by the Allied forces in reconquering its colony, that is to say, in a massacre of the whole revolutionary people.

It was a question of life and death.

Another installment of this eye-witness account of the Indo-Chinese revolution will be printed in next week's *Militant*.

In the afternoon of Sept. 1, the

propaganda commission of the government of Nam-Bo toured the entire city of Saigon-Choulon by automobile, calling to the population to participate in a ceremony to be held in honor of the Allied Commission which was to arrive at Saigon in the evening of Sept. 2. The members of this propaganda commission stated, among other things, that the independence of the country depended entirely on the will of the Allied Commission, and this consequently required, in accordance with pledges made by the government that the people should maintain absolute order.

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**"Don't Seem Worth It"**

By Theodore Kovalesky

We were sprawled in the shanty up on No. 3 blast furnace, Jimmy, Slim, Pete Rossi, the Old Man, and I. It was a lucky day. The night gang had left us in pretty good shape, and our own cast had been perfect, the iron pouring out of the tapping hole a mile a minute and leaving the runners almost as clean as we had fixed them before cast-time. Sometimes it happens that way, and then there's plenty of time to roast your kielbasa over the "bathtub" in the bloodbath runner and sit talking in the shanty.

There's only one thing to spoil a day like that: most of the things you find to talk about make you good and mad. And that's how it was this time.

It was payday. We had our checks, and the checks had their stubs. Slim said, "I'd be better off if I could cash the check stub and throw the check away."

"You better stop crying," Jimmy advised. "March 15's coming along fast, and you're gonna cry plenty about that income tax, so you want to have some tears left."

The Old Man sighed and began stuffing "Five Brothers" into his corncock.

"OK, Jimmy," Pete Rossi said. "Let the man cry. We got a 250 billion dollar national debt to pay off. I feel like crying myself, particularly when I stop to think that it's guys like us that are going to pay the biggest part of it."

"National debt!" Jimmy snorted. "Ain't only a part of the taxes going to pay that. You know what

The Old Man grumbled. "Where do you think? You pay taxes out of your paycheck every week, don't you?"

"Oh, well," Jimmy said soothily. "Don't feel too bad. It only takes two cents out of every tax dollar to run the government." He turned toward the clouds of tobacco smoke. "Pretty cheap, huh, Old Man?"

The Old Man sucked on his pipe and reflected. Then he shook his head. "Don't seem worth it," he said.

The Negro Struggle

**Maintain the Schomburg Collection!**

By F. Forest

The Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature, this country's most valuable library of its kind, is in danger. The story behind this is the story of the subtler forms of discrimination as practised by "cultured Northerners" who are supposedly above the vicious discrimination the Solid South enforces. The Schomburg Collection is a part of the New York Public Library. It now gets about one-third of one per cent of the library's annual income of over 4 million dollars.

However, the Schomburg Collection is far more than just a branch library. Located in the heart of Harlem, the largest Negro urban community on earth, it services not only that community but more than half a million persons of the Negro community of greater New York. Secondly, many persons come from out of town to do research on special topics for which materials may not be had elsewhere.

That is true not only of Negroes but of whites since two-fifths of the people who utilize the collection are non-Negro. There are books in the Schomburg Collection not in any other library in America. Thirdly, it is the repository of original manuscripts that have never been published. For example, many special studies that were prepared for *An American Dilemma* by Gunnar Myrdal but not used by him, are available to the public.

Fourthly, the Schomburg Collection also conducts valuable lectures and exhibitions. In 1944-45 the series of thirty public lectures entitled "A World View of the Negro Question" were attended by about 300 persons weekly. Views from those of Uncle Tom to those of revolutionary socialism were voiced. Finally, the Schomburg collections on Africa, the Negro in Latin America and the West Indies, present a world-wide view of the Negro question. It is prob-

**Search for a White House Tenant**

By Art Preis

Housing shortage got you down? A couple of real estate brokers named Philip Murray and William Green are seeking a new tenant for one of the choicest residences in Washington, D. C. It's in an exclusive neighborhood, but close to the shopping district. It's equipped with a new \$15,000 balcony for sun-bathing. And it's rent free—with a \$75,000 a year honorarium just to help you keep up this elegant joint.

But before you start writing any letters like "Dear Sirs: I'm a veteran with a wife and two kids living in a one-room cold-water flat," you should know there are a few strings attached to the deal. The lease contains a list of restrictive covenants a yard long—and the usual one barring occupancy by "non-Caucasians" is just a starter.

Labor leaders, non-believers in capitalist "free enterprise," working-class radicals of any stripe are strictly verboten. The new tenant must be some solid citizen, with respect for property, law and order and the established two-party system. He must have some good Wall Street references, comport himself in a decorous and conservative fashion, but at the same time be able, when the occasion requires, to talk a polite brand of "liberalism."

Murray & Green, Inc., would prefer, if possible, a tenant of long-standing devotion to the Democratic Party. But a Republican might prove acceptable if he can meet all the other qualifications.

**Notes from the News**

**ITS JUICY**—The CIO Textile Workers Union demolished the iron curtain around textile manufacturers' profits with a report entitled "The Nation's Most Prosperous Industry." Some facts are: 1947 profits were \$2,000,000,000 or the equivalent of all the profits from 1929 to 1942. 1947 profits were 148% above the wartime average and 1442% above the pre-war average. The textile workers in the industry in 1947 averaged \$40.60 per week.

**VIGILANTEES**—The Negro press reports that vigilante mobs, believed organized by an American Legion post, have been terrorizing Negroes in the stockyards area of Chicago.

**IWW LEADER DIES**—Joe Ettor, famous IWW organizer, died at the age of 62 at his home in Cucamonga, Cal., February 26. Ettor, a fearless organizer played important roles in all the great IWW led strikes. In 1912 he was the leader of 23,000 striking textile workers in Lawrence, Mass. Despite a framework attempt to send Ettor to the gallows the strike was won.

**VAUDEVILLE TO RETURN?**—Senator Pepper (D. Fla.) has introduced a bill to broadcast sessions of Congress by television.

**SWP LAWSUIT**—The case of the Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party against radio station KFAC has been before the U. S. Supreme Court for several months. The principle at stake in the suit is the right of electoral candidates to make critical remarks, for or against, other candidates.

**PROSPERITY NOTE**—A Seattle judge has recently sentenced three men to jail for "tampering with garbage cans." They were given the "choice" of paying \$25 fines instead. The judge was apparently convinced that a person hunting for his dinner in a garbage can while the inflationary boom is on should have at least \$25 in his pocket.

**ORGANIZING DRIVE**—The AFL Ladies Garment Workers Union has signed up 94 non-union shops in the first week of organizing in the Los Angeles area. 74 non-union shops remain. The CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers which has been co-operating in the drive has signed up nine shops.

**TRAIL'S END**—A Chicago publication entitled *Political Notes* reports that the national secretary and four followers have resigned from the Revolutionary Workers League and that the paper, *Fighting Worker*, has suspended publication. The report concludes that "the national secretary and his friends have apparently retired."

**THE MILITANT**

PAGE FOUR

NEW YORK, N. Y.

MONDAY, MARCH 8, 1948

**Union Movement Rallies to Aid Of 5-Month Farm Strike in Calif.****SWP Supports Labor Candidates In St. Paul****Leaflets Outline 9-Point Program**

ST. PAUL, Feb. 29—At an election rally held in the branch headquarters, the Socialist Workers Party entered the primary campaign of the St. Paul, Minn., municipal elections by giving support to a slate of five union candidates. Dorothy Schultz, branch organizer, speaking for the party, stated, "The St. Paul Branch of the Socialist Workers Party urges St. Paul trade unionists and friends of the labor movement to vote for John Wyant, Brewery Workers' Union, CIO, for Mayor; and William S. Peck, Auto Workers Union, CIO; John Findlan, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen; William Perranto, Boilermakers Union, AFL; and Robert Peterson, Plumbers' Union, AFL for City Council. We endorse these candidates because they are union men, selected and endorsed by the organized labor movement.

"For the first time in more than a decade, St. Paul workers have the opportunity of electing a bona fide labor candidate for Mayor as well as a slate of union councilmen candidates. The fact that these candidates have been nominated by organized labor proves that St. Paul workers favor independent working-class political action."

Five thousand copies of an election leaflet, calling for the "election of labor's candidates to fight for labor's program," will be distributed by the party this week. A nine-point labor program is proposed by the party to St. Paul workers covering municipal housing, expanded public health facilities, better schools and "tax the rich" plank. The last two planks in the program call for the organization of an independent Labor Party and a workers' and farmers' government. Primary elections are on March 9.

On the eve of American occupa-

**Murray Pleads Not Guilty**

After pleading not guilty to charges of violating the political expenditures ban of the Taft-Hartley Act, CIO President Philip Murray (c.) leaves Washington district court with attorneys Lee Pressman (l.) and Charles Margiotti. CIO arguments on the motion to kill the indictment were scheduled to be heard March 5.

Federated Pictures

tion in 1946, through the connivance of American and Spanish officials, some 8 million acres of California land were handed over to 800 Mexican grantees. Today's pattern of monopolistic land ownership is largely based on these original grants, plus railroad grants and the wholesale corruption of state land officials.

**BRUTAL EXPLOITATION**

The land speculators sought crops requiring a low investment and yielding quick, high profits. Wheat, which had good Eastern and European markets and needed no irrigation, was first chosen. Low-paid, brutally exploited labor was substituted for scientific methods and machinery. American Indians were used and Chinese laborers were brought from overseas by the thousands. The methods of the greedy land owners soon exhausted the soil.

At this point fruit growing, today's major California crop, began its history. But fruit growing needed irrigation and irrigation needs large capital investment. This meant dependence upon the cities for bank credits and machinery. Thus the link was forged between the big landowners and the city capitalists.

A new source of labor was also sought. Many Japanese, skilled in fruit growing, were imported. At first the growers described them as "perfect laborers"—efficient, servile and cheap. But soon the Japanese laborers formed a protective organization and set up their own employment agency. They acquired waste lands and turned them into fertile fields, competing with small farmers in buying land and with large growers in selling crops. The small and large growers combined to force a "Gentleman's Agreement" to drive out the Japanese.

**WORKERS RESIST**

After the Japanese came a host of other minorities—Hindus, Armenians, Mexicans, Filipinos, etc. All were brought as toilings fields until they began to resist their abominable conditions. In the suppression of this resistance, the bloody history of California was written.

The farming corporations and land banks, through their "Associated Farmers" organization, fathered the vigilantes and other terrorist gangs that put down with brutal force the workers' attempts to organize. The Wheatland Riot, a spontaneous rebellion of farm workers against the large ranchers, was crushed by the landowners through their sheriff and police.

After the First World War and during the CIO upsurge in the Thirties, the farm workers participated in the waves of strikes. The IWW and then the Communist Party at various times made some headway among them, but unionization on an important scale was not achieved.

This was due in part to the seasonal character of the work, their division into minorities, language difficulties, etc. Even more basic was their isolation and their separation from the urban centers of union organization, where the industrial workers are disciplined to organization by modern mass production. The industrial workers have more opportunity to learn and exchange ideas. Guidance, inspiration and support for the farm workers must come from the more advanced city workers.

Today a new stage has been reached, as the Di Giorgio strike demonstrates. The city workers and farm workers are being tied together. The more organizationally advanced group is giving direction, leadership and material support to the less developed group. The experiences of industrial labor are seeping down into the ranks of the inexperienced but potentially revolutionary farm workers.

Successful unionization will be

the first step in bringing this most terribly exploited section of the working class into the front ranks of working-class economic and political struggle.

LOS ANGELES, March 1—The long struggle of California farm laborers to achieve organization is being renewed in the heroic strike in Kern County at the Di Giorgio farm ranch, together with their government agents, have fought the strikers.

James Price, chairman of Local 218, relates: "During the strike we have been bitterly opposed. We have been arrested, evicted and threatened by anti-labor forces. Not only have they tried every trick to break our strike and discredit our union, but also they have tried to discredit the AFL."

**WHAT IS AT STAKE**

The landowners know what is at stake. The example of successful struggle is being waged at the Di Giorgio ranch through the unity of the farm and city workers opens the gates to organization of some 350,000 California agricultural workers. If the landowners have not used as much violence as is their custom, it is because of the solidarity of the strikers and the aid they are getting from other AFL forces.

Most of the strikers are of a similar background, people uprooted from their farms in Oklahoma, Texas and Arkansas during the Thirties. Prior to the war, most of them had no life apart from farming. Some were drawn into the city during the war and afterwards returned to the fields. Most had no previous trade union experience. A few did, however, and they play an important part in the union.

There is the former coal miner, Ellis, who still wears his United Mine Workers button with his NFLU button. Hattie Shadowens, the secretary, once belonged to the AFL Waitresses Union and her husband was a member of the CIO Warehouse Workers.

After the first drawing together of workers who saw the need of a union, it was decided to write AFL President William Green for help. The request was turned over to AFL President Mitchell who in turn got in touch with Hank Haskins, the union's West Coast representative. In a few months, most of the workers were signed up.

After the First World War and during the CIO upsurge in the Thirties, the farm workers participated in the waves of strikes. The IWW and then the Communist Party at various times made some headway among them, but unionization on an important scale was not achieved.

The strikers set up relief committees and these not only collected food and clothing, but sent delegations throughout the state to speak to AFL councils and locals. They won widespread sympathy and support. Another food caravan, formed in northern California, will reach the strikers in a few weeks.

Committees have worked to spread organization to other farms. Farming communities like Baxter, Shafter and Lamont have been made union towns. The huge farms of Kovacevich, Stainfield and Treadon have been largely organized.

The almighty rule of the corporation-controlled Associated Farmers of California is being threatened as never before.

**GIVE THIS MILITANT TO YOUR SHOPMATE**  
**ASK HIM TO SUBSCRIBE**

**A PROFESSOR SURVEYS U. S. ECONOMY**

By John G. Wright

MARCH 2—Increasing nervousness and tension characterize the economic situation as the domestic market heads for its major test in the next four weeks (the Easter sale season).

The closing weeks in February established no clear trend in retail trade, with the sales for the month as a whole recording a 6% "increase" over last year. The commodity market fluctuated at levels near or below those of last year, with little indication that the existing agricultural price structure can be stabilized. The stock market continued to scrape bottom after suffering an estimated loss of some 3 billion dollars in February. But this decline has not penetrated the low marks of the last two years and the major test of the stock market is likewise still to come.

While the economy is passing through this transitional phase, the debate over what lies ahead grows more and more heated in capitalist circles. Among the super-optimists

is Sumner H. Schlichter, a Harvard economist, who in his survey (N. Y. Times, Feb. 29) concludes that all the existing elements of weakness are far outweighed by the elements of strength, leaving the economy very strong—"stronger than most Americans and foreigners realize."

**TYPICAL SURVEY**

This professional survey is typical of the capitalist school of economic thought and is well worth analyzing. Schlichter begins his catalogue of economic strength by pointing to agriculture. This fear of converting a major current source of weakness into a factor of vitality is accomplished by a twofold operation.

On the one hand the Professor coolly states that the sharp break of agricultural prices has "greatly strengthened the economy." And on the other, he points to the hoped-for "shortages" in meats and dairy products, which will presumably safeguard agricultural prices from a "general weakness."

As the second sign of strength Schlichter singles out the "money

war boom. Today the national income must be sustained at a level of 200 billion dollars in order to keep industry running, not to mention the need of maintaining the huge public debt and the record "peacetime" federal budget. Under these conditions, further increases in private debt add to the strains on the economy and tend to drag it down, and not to reinforce it.

Schlichter's next four points are all devoted to backlogs and unsatisfied needs. There is still a great need of housing, shortage of automobiles, etc. The industrial plant is still in need of expansion and re-equipment. States and cities need "streets, roads, schools, hospitals and other public works," etc.

**TAKES FOR GRANTED**

To be sure, these needs exist, as they always have under capitalism. But they count for exactly nothing when the capitalists find it no longer profitable to maintain production.

Schlichter's final point is that

the "capacity of consumers to expand their demand for goods is still large." In other words, he takes it for granted that the domestic market has not been impaired by the inflationary orgy and remains as strong today as it was last year and the year before. But this is precisely what has to be proved.

Obviously, the professor is just whistling in the dark to keep his spirits up. This is shown clearly by his own remarks, in which he summarizes his optimistic balance sheet: Here they are:

"The many strong features in the economic situation do not assure that the country will not escape an early recession, but they make an early recession unlikely and indicate that, if one occurs, it will be mild."

Just the contrary is true. It is precisely the "many strong features" cited by Schlichter that bring the depression closer and render quite unlikely its being "mild" in character.