

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. XII.—No. 10

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MARCH 8, 1948

9

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Wallace—His Record As Capitalist Politician

— See Page 2 —

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 union ranks 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

made public their opposition to any wage increases on the grounds that higher wages would "increase inflationary pressures." GE has announced this "get tough" policy despite the fact that its profits before taxes last year equaled approximately one-third of the company's whole net worth.

That the corporations won't suddenly open their hearts and their money-bags to labor is demonstrated by their entire post-war record. In the two previous wage drives the employers fought and haggled with the unions for the last fraction of a cent, then used the meager wage increases as the pretext for shooting prices sky-high and quickly stealing back all and more than the workers had gained.

Now the unions have been forced to demand a new round of wage raises. The average demand of the CIO unions just to restore real wages to the level of June 1946, is for increases of 25 to 30 cents an hour. These demands have in no way been weakened by the recent decline in wholesale commodity prices. Indeed, the CIO leaders have stated that "nothing that has occurred in the past few weeks alters the CIO's determination to pursue these objectives" — that is, substantial wage increases.

But this is so much hot air in view of the clear intention of the Murray-Reuther leadership to come to terms with the corporations for anything they can get. They are making no plans for a real fight; they advance no program of unified strategy to consolidate the CIO unions in a battle with the united front of Big Business.

The illusion that the corporations are going to prove "soft" this time must be dispelled first of all. The CIO will have to put up a militant fight, with a unified, solid front of action, if the "substantial wage increases" the CIO leaders talk about are to be won.

Petition Drive for Dobbs - Carlson Already Started in New Jersey

Preparing for World War III



The U. S. Navy is demonstratively 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

Dobbs Exposes Pacifism as A Shield for Warmongers

NEW YORK, March 2.—In a statement issued today, Farrell Dobbs lashed the warmongers in Wall Street and their government in Washington who are dragging this country headlong into the bloodiest trap ever set for mankind, the trap of atomic annihilation in World War III.

"The danger doesn't stem from the loud-mouthed warmongers and imperialists alone," Dobbs warned. "They are aided and abetted in their nefarious work by a special type of capitalist politician whose job it is to distract public attention away from the frenzied war plans. This is done by means of pacifist demagoguery which seeks to lull the people into a sense of false security. Most prominent among those who are now performing this task of deception is none other than Henry Wallace."

Farrell Dobbs is the Presidential nominee of the Socialist Workers Party whose candidacy is subject to ratification by the party's next convention scheduled around June. The text of Dobbs' statement follows:

MASK OF PACIFISM

"The struggle against war demands a merciless exposure of pacifist illusions and of the role of capitalist politicians like Wallace who don the mask of pacifism only in order to dupe and betray the mass of the people.

"Henry Wallace is no novice at this game. As a member of the Roosevelt administration he, like his chief, swore undying 'hatred of war' only to plunge the American people into World War II. Today he is seeking to repeat

this trick under new conditions and with himself as the Presidential banner-bearer. His disguise is even thinner than Roosevelt's.

"Take for example his recent testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee where he appeared ostensibly to combat the Truman-Republican bipartisan war policy and in particular to oppose the plans for universal military training.

"Wallace stated in so many words that he, too, was in favor of 'military preparedness' for the United States. He said: 'I am in favor of it (preparedness) until we get an understanding to set up a United Nations police force stronger than the military force of any individual nation.'

"Wallace disapproves not of what is being done, but the way it is being done. He thinks the proposals of the militarists (like the introduction of military training) are too premature and crass. He would like the same thing accomplished in a different way and under the cover of the United Nations.

"The biggest hoax now being perpetrated in this country is the campaign, backed without any reservations by the Communist (Stalinist) Party, to sell Wallace to the labor movement not only as a pro-peace but as an anti-imperialist leader.

"At the same hearing Wallace heatedly denied the 'charges' of Republican Representative Judd of Minn. that he, Wallace, had accused the U. S. of being imperialist. In his direct testimony Wallace insisted that all he intended to say was that 'there are strong elements

in the United States that are imperialistic. (N. Y. Times, Feb. 25).

"Let me stress," concludes the Dobbs statement, "that the danger doesn't stem from the loud-mouthed warmongers and imperialists alone. They are aided and abetted in their nefarious work by a special type of capitalist politician, whose job it is to distract public attention away from the frenzied war plans. This is done by means of pacifist demagoguery which seeks to lull the people into a sense of false security.

"Most prominent among those who are now performing this task of deception is none other than Henry Wallace."



FARRELL DOBBS

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. Bohannon for Congress from the state's 11th District. The last time Breitman and Bohannon 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.

The SWP nominating convention is scheduled tentatively for next June, at which time regular nominations will be made by the delegates. If changes are made in the national ticket, they will then be made on the state ballots where petitions have already been filed.

A conference of Pennsylvania SWP branches was held in Philadelphia last Sunday, and heard a report by William F. Ward on the National Committee's plans. Most of the conference was devoted to practical arrangements for collecting 7,574 signatures in the 30-day period following Mar. 8. (Actually, a margin of safety requires the collection of many more than this number.)

The conference appealed to readers of *The Militant* to assist in the collection of petitions, especially through the formation of volunteer committees in the shops. Petitions and further information can be secured from the Socialist Workers Party, 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., Philadelphia 23, Pa.

Stalinists Utilize Mass Pressure to Make Deal With Czech Capitalists

By Paul G. Stevens

Under the new Gottwald government, Czechoslovakia is being swiftly and brutally integrated into Moscow's East European bloc against the threat of the Marshall Plan in the Kremlin's "cold war" with American imperialism. Czechoslovakia is the western-most of the Soviet "buffer zone" countries and the most highly industrialized.

The pattern of the Czech "alignment" is marked by several significant features which render it distinct from the Kremlin's course in Hungary, Rumania and other buffer countries.

First, it has been accompanied by a call to mass action, the formation of "Action Committees," which gives it a "revolutionary" allure. Backed with the threat of a general strike and an insurrection led by these "Action Committees," Stalin Premier Gottwald forced President Eduard Benes to accept his reorganized cabinet last week.

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 themselves of the support of the Social Democrats, with whom they have



KLEMENT GOTTFELD

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 "disguised 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 militias."

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 a freedom of the press in Greece today as there is in the United States." This was a statement, printed in the Athens newspapers on Feb. 26, by the press officers of the American Embassy and the American Aid Mission in Greece.

The very same morning that this laudatory statement was printed, two Socialist newspaper editors were arrested on orders of the military governor of Athens, according to a report in the Feb. 28 N. Y. Herald Tribune from its Athens correspondent, Homer Bigart.

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 Lados who, like Premier Theodoros Sophoulis, sports the title of "liberal."

The Socialists declared that these ELAS members had been guilty of

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 offense was the reprint of a clemency petition by political prisoners in Avarof Prison addressed to Premier Sophoulis. 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-

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 Vandenberg, unanimous approval was obtained in the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee for aid in the sum of 5.3 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 570 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 6.8 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

Quislings and to bolster their reactionary regimes that the massive ERP is being rushed through.

Hanson W. Baldwin, N. Y. Times military specialist, states that what is most needed in China and Greece is military and not economic aid. That is also the view of the State Department for the proposed help to Greece is definitely earmarked for military purposes with additional economic aid to come from ERP.

Although assistance to China is camouflaged as economic aid, Secretary of State Marshall admitted before the Senate Committee that "the United States was providing military material in a volume beyond previous Congressional knowledge."

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 unheeded, that 1,000 American army officers are training 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.

HOW STALINISTS USE SMITH CASE IN NMU

By C. Thomas

By a vote of 589 to 287, 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."

The proposal to support Smith was submitted by N. Y. Port Agent, Paul Pallazi, as part of a "package" which included a number of other propositions. This has been a customary Stalinist practice in the NMU. A number of proposals are lumped together in one package and presented on a take it or leave it basis. By this device, members who favor one proposal are compelled to vote for others with which they disagree. But this time the device backfired. The whole package was rejected by a vote of two to one.

The Stalinists have made the Smith case a factional issue in the fierce internal struggle. Included in the Pallazi "package" for example, were a number of proposals of an outright factional character. Under the circumstances even those who were in favor of voting support

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 submerged 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.

This dispute dates back to the year 1944. Ferdinand Smith was on an election tour of the country for Roosevelt when the N. Y. World Telegram published the fact that he was a non-citizen. The matter was taken up by the national officers of the union and Smith resigned his office of National Secretary. He made a trip by ship to Mexico to establish legal entry as

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-reports committee contends that Smith refused to submit evidence of constitutional compliance when questioned at that time.

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 union constitution. That is strictly an internal question that must be decided only by the membership on the basis of the laws of the union. The other is the ques-

tion of government persecution of political opponents. To mix the two can only serve the purpose of confusion.

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.

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 "red 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.

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."

Liberal phonies always use such glittering generalities. Only Wallace repeats them more often, more vaguely and more shamelessly. This windy demagoguery 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 13 1/2 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 employes, 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 Odele 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 movements.



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 landowners 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 sharecroppers. 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

special role of whitewashing the imperialist character of the war and dressing up its sordid aims. In his highly-publicized address on the "People's Century," he lied about the war as a "people's war," even a "people's revolution," whose aim was to bring a quart of milk a day to every child in the world.

Today, as we all know, not the least result of the war has been to bring starvation and death to millions of children in Europe and Asia.

Deal with Stalin

Wallace's campaign for a deal with Russia and his expulsion from the Truman administration over this issue has led to the charge that he is "pro-Russian" and a "Communist fellow-traveler." Macdonald's crude Stalinophobia and lack of a class approach to politics leads him to make similar charges.

Wallace is just as much an American imperialist today as he was during the war. He is no more "pro-Russian" than were the capitalist politicians—from the White House down—who whitewashed the crimes of Stalin during wartime, just as the Stalinists whitewashed Wall Street and its chief political agent, Roosevelt.

Wallace today asks no more than Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to, in essence, at Tehran and Yalta, and Truman underwent at Potsdam. He wants to give American capitalism a breathing spell through another deal with Stalin to divide the world into "spheres of influence." Wallace's differences with Truman are tactical, not fundamental.

What Wallace wants he stated in his Madison Square Garden speech, on Sept. 12, 1946. He declared that "by mutual agreement, this competition should be put on a friendly basis" and mutual fears should be "allayed by practical regional political reservations." These "regional reservations," he stated, would include the one-third of the world which "Russian ideas... are going to govern" and "much of the rest" of the world where "American Ideas" will rule.

This is dirty horse-trading disguised as a "peace" program. It is Wallace's chief plank today—the most he has to offer the "Common Man."

Teachers Strike In Minneapolis Against Pay Cut

Parents and Children Join Picket Line

MINNEAPOLIS, March 1

—On Feb. 24, 1,100 union school teachers went on strike closing 93 public schools. The immediate cause of the strike was the decision of the Board of Education to reduce the school year by four weeks in 1948. This decision violated an agreement made with the Teachers' Unions in December 1946. This shortening of the school year would mean that 2,400 school teachers would receive a 10% cut in pay. This is a proposal to solve the schools' financial crisis by cutting the teachers pay by 10% at a time when prices are at an all time high and prospects for still higher prices in the offing.

The union teachers responded to this arrogant proposal of the reactionary school board by calling the strike presenting new demands for wage increases.

Picket lines have been set up at all the schools. The morale is high. Parents and the children in the workingclass districts are joining the teachers on the picket lines. With the strike going into the second week the school board remains adamant.

The city council has informed the school board that it is prepared to support a bond issue of 3 million dollars for the purpose of keeping the schools open the full term. The school board voted against requesting the issue of bonds.

One of its members gave the reason that he did not want to see the teachers benefit "as a direct result of the strike."

Open Forum on Crisis Offered by Philadelphia

THE CRISIS OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM will be the subject presented this Friday evening, March 12, at 8:30 p.m., by the Philadelphia Branch of the Socialist Workers Party. "Prosperity" and depression in the midst of plenty; America as a world power; the labor struggles; the real New Deal; and labor political action are topics which will be covered in the discussion. The address of the Philadelphia headquarters is 1303 W. Girard.

ACEWR REPORTS SUCCESSFUL AFFAIRS

The American Committee for European Workers Relief

reports the close of a highly successful bazaar season. In a 2 1/2 month period ending Jan. 31 ACEWR chapters held nine bazaars. The net proceeds of these bazaars were as follows:

Allentown-Bethlehem	\$ 25.65
Chicago-Calumet	420.00
Los Angeles	970.00
Milwaukee	200.00
New York City	1,388.05
Philadelphia	149.95
San Diego	50.00
San Francisco	177.00
Minneapolis-St. Paul	700.00
Total	\$4,080.05

The final total will be actually more when the complete returns from the Minneapolis-St. Paul bazaar come in.

In addition to the bazaars, \$422.35 were realized from other affairs held by the ACEWR chapters. These were: New Haven (Italian Dinner) —\$235.25; Lynn, Mass., (Banquet)—

\$113.00; Pittsburgh (Social)—\$40.00, and Seattle (Xmas Party)—\$34.10.

The need for relief in Europe has not diminished. The ACEWR requests that all who want to extend a hand of solidarity to the European working class send in contributions of money, food or clothing. Checks and money orders should be made out to ACEWR and forwarded to 130 West 23rd St., New York 11, N. Y.

Twin Cities ACEWR Holds Relief Bazaar

By Barbara Bruce

MINNEAPOLIS—A breath-taking Bargain Bazaar, which netted over \$700, was sponsored on Jan. 31 by the Twin City chapters of the American Committee for European Workers Relief.

In numerous booths, gaily decorated in the spirit of the bazaar, a wide variety of merchandise was displayed. The articles were donated by hundreds of individuals

and business firms eager to aid European relief.

There were buttons, belts, jewelry and notions galore. Toiletries, dishes, canned goods and books, imported carved statues, pictures, mirrors and frames; household articles of all kinds—linens, aprons, pillows and pot-holders and clothing.

An auction held during the evening put on the block such scarce articles as tires, tubes, anti-freeze, motor oil and other auto accessories. Other items offered by the auctioneer included radios, rare art objects and electrical appliances.

A lunch counter did a booming business during the entire affair.

One very attractive feature of the bazaar was a display advertising the ACEWR, showing samples of work done by the chapters in both cities.

Besides the financial returns, many supporters were gained to help in sending food, clothing and medical supplies to needy European workers and their families.

"Bull Moose" Party and Its Sellout

By George Lavan

The main stock in trade of the Progressive or "Bull Moose" Party of 1912 was a capitalist politician—ex-President Theodore Roosevelt—just as the main stock in trade of the current third party movement is former Vice-President Henry Wallace.

The Progressive Party was born when Roosevelt bolted from the Republican Party. It died when he went back to the Republican Party. Today's third party movement was born when Wallace bolted from the Democrats. He can kill it as it is now constituted, by returning to the Democratic fold.

The Progressives campaigned in a near-religious fervor based on hero worship and a platform of social reform. The results were disastrous for the Republican machine. Taft got only eight electoral votes, Roosevelt 88. The Progressive vote was 650,000 greater than the Republican. The Democratic nominee, Wilson, became President.

The Progressives, believing they were building a new party, were jubilant. Another such defeat for the corrupt Republican Party, they thought, and it would disappear from the political map. In one campaign the third party had become the second.

MIDDLE CLASS

What was the composition of this rump mass movement? The bulk of the rank and file and the secondary leadership were middle class.

CURRENT ISSUE OF FOURTH INTERNATIONAL FEATURES THREE ARTICLES ON 'MANIFESTO'

Featured in the Jan.-Feb. issue of Fourth International are three articles celebrating the 100th anniversary of the "Communist Manifesto."

This epoch-making revolutionary document was universally assailed and distorted by capitalist periodicals. The current issue of Fourth International studies it from the standpoint of both its historical significance and present-day validity.

In a special editorial article, "The Communist Manifesto: 1848-1948," the ideas of the Manifesto are reviewed and discussed particularly from the standpoint of their applicability to the United States today. Tracing the spread of revolutionary Marxist ideas in other countries, this article shows that virtually the same fraudulent anti-Marxist arguments were advanced (in Germany, in Russia, etc.) as are being now spread in the United States.

In his article, "Decline of the American Middle Class," C. Curtis begins a series dealing with the capitalist "refutations" of the basic propositions of Marxism. By means of a thorough statistical study, Comrade Curtis shows that there has been a steady decline in the social weight and relative position of independent small farmers, small business men and professionals. Most striking of all is the impotence and growing subservience of both the old and new middle class before monopoly capital.

In the Arsenal of Marxism, there is reprinted Leon Trotsky's article written 10 years ago as a preface to the first edition of the Manifesto in Afrikaans, the language of the Boer settlers of the Union of South Africa. This brilliant study of the main propositions of Marxism in the light of 90 years of history is in reality an indispensable supplement to the classic work of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

In addition to the above articles, the reader will find the draft theses of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International on the Jewish Question. F. Forest writes on the new developments in connection with the Negro problem in this country.

The editorials deal with the latest events in France: the 1948 presidential election as it shapes up under the two-party system; and the February commodity price break.

Single copies for 25c or a six month subscription for one dollar can be obtained from: Fourth International, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

It was a very disturbed and confused middle class. The pyramiding of wealth by the monopolists had diminished the role of the middle class in public affairs. Monopoly control of state and federal government, usually by the crassest corruption, allowed no room for independent middle class politicians.

This middle class, with all its woes, saw nothing wrong with the system as such. It believed capitalism the best possible system. All that needed to be done was to correct the abuses of the system. In other words, the middle class wanted to turn the clock back to an earlier period of capitalism when competition left plenty of room at the top and the middle class could play an important role.

The confusion of this class can best be seen in the fanatical belief that Roosevelt was its champion. Even today there are those who look back on Theodore Roosevelt as a "trust buster" and fearless enemy of the "criminal rich." This is a tribute to the gullibility of the American petty bourgeoisie and to Roosevelt's talents as actor. Roosevelt entered politics under the auspices of Wall Street. Throughout his career he never took any real action against the monopolists.

TRUSTS GREW

In 1900 there were 149 trusts in the United States with a total capitalization of four billion dollars. When the "trust buster" left the White House after two terms in 1908, there were 10,020 trusts with a capitalization of 31 billion dollars.

George W. Perkins, a J. P. Morgan partner, persuaded Roosevelt to throw his hat in the Republican ring. When the Taft administration steamrollered the convention, Perkins advised Roosevelt to walk out and start a new party.

This Wall Streeter was the real power in the new Progressive Party. He collected the necessary campaign funds for the "trust buster" from Morgan monopolists. In "America's Sixty Families" Ferdinand Lundberg correctly writes: "Perkins and J. P. Morgan and Co. were the substance of the Progressive Party; everything else was trimming."

The trimming was the Progressive program. The main planks were greater regulation of monopoly, easier amendment of the constitution, farm relief and workers' unemployment, old age and health insurance. So "radical" did the campaign propaganda of the Progressives sound that a widely reprinted cartoon of the times showed Roosevelt and Debs fighting for the possession of a maiden labeled "socialism."

Debs concentrated his fire on Roosevelt. He exposed the "trust busters' long anti-labor record. He ridiculed Roosevelt's "over-night conversion" to Progressivism and accurately predicted the betrayal of the new party.

That Roosevelt's "radical" program did not cut into the Socialist ranks was shown by the more than 100% increase in Debs' vote.

MORGAN SABOTAGE

Roosevelt repeatedly promised his followers that the Bull Moose Party would not be a one-election party.

It was to be permanent. But after elections it became apparent that the House of Morgan had other plans. Perkins, the Morgan partner in charge of the Progressive movement, began a systematic campaign of sabotage. In 1916, against the will of the membership, the movement was finally liquidated.

Perkins, as head of the organization, informed the press that a suitable Republican candidate would receive the endorsement of the Progressives. He tried to prevent nominations at the Progressive convention. A convention revolt upset his plans and Roosevelt was nominated unanimously.

But this did not change the course of liquidation mapped out by Wall Street. Under pressure from Perkins, Roosevelt ignored the national committee of the Progressive Party and endorsed the Republican candidate Charles E. Hughes.

Consternation marked the meeting of the Progressive Party National committee. Tearful pleas were made to continue the party and its crusade for reform and honest government. John M. Parker, Roosevelt's running mate, announced that whatever decision was taken, he would campaign for the vice-presidency (he did, but was able to get on the ballot only in seven states).

"Teddy" had climbed back on the Republican bandwagon and the Progressive national committee followed. By a vote of 32 to 6, with 9 abstaining, Hughes was endorsed.

BACKED BY MORGAN

This was the end of the third capitalist party which, in one election, surpassed the powerful Republican Party. Progressive leader, Senator Beveridge, later wrote: "I think that history has not one single example of a party or a movement which was so cold-bloodedly and wrecked so cynically and selfishly as the Progressive Party has been used and wrecked."

THE MILITANT ARMY

812 Readers Near End of Subscriptions

Four hundred and eighty-two Militant readers will miss some issues unless they renew before the end of this month, and 330 others will have to renew in April if they want to avoid missing any numbers. They will be notified but they can't look at the expiration date printed under their name and address on this paper.

These 812 approaching expirations are naturally concentrated in the centers of largest circulation, but the hardest hit will be Allentown, Pa., and vicinity, where a majority of subscriptions will expire in March and April. Here's a good job for Allentown readers: Renew your own sub promptly and get a fellow worker to subscribe at the same time. Put Allentown on The Militant map in a bigger way than ever. How about it, Allentown readers?

Connecticut, Minneapolis, Chicago, Detroit and New York readers also

take special note. Many of your subs also will expire this month or next. But no area is exempt—except Kewanee, Ill., where none of the subs expire until June. Of course that won't stop 75-year-old James W. Coinery from turning in his frequent bath of new subs.

One of Milwaukee's new subscriptions "was obtained when we were busy getting signatures on nomination petitions in our majority campaign. He seemed quite impressed with our ideas," wrote Carol Andrews, literature agent.

A former Cleveland reader, long out of touch with us, wrote for a new subscription to both The Militant and Fourth International. "I hope that all my old comrades are still alive and in the scro for a better world." Yes, we are, J. P. K.

Detroit comrades went to the Henry A. Wallace meeting in Lansing and sold Militants as well as 60 pamphlets advocating a Labor Party Now, by George Clarke, 10c, and American Workers Need a Labor Party, by Joseph Hansen, 15c.

Urges Mass Action as Answer to Taft Bill

Editor:

There is one phase of this Taft-Hartley Law, or perhaps I should say, one thing the rank and file workers in the shops want to know, and that is, some clarification on the reasons for compliance or non-compliance.

The one plausible argument used by such demagogues as Reuther is that a non-complying union cannot get their name on the ballot, and to some timid souls accustomed to running to the NLRB on every and all occasions, this seems an unanswerable argument. The Reuther forces seem to think also, that any non-complying union is or should be fair game for a campaign of raiding.

For instance, the United Farm Equipment Workers-CIO is a non-complying union. They are the bargaining agency for several years. The union in this plant has been raided every year for the past four years, and each time the workers have voted for the same union; the one that represents them now.

It would seem that in the face of this record, such fakers as Reuther would stay away and leave these workers alone, but under the sort of leadership given by Reuther, organized workers are not being given the opportunity to concentrate all their efforts on fighting the boss, but must devote the major part of their effort to fighting the UAW-CIO.

On Feb. 18 one Harvey Kitzman arrived in Peoria with one of his so-called organizers, took up a suite of rooms in the Pere Marquette Hotel, and proceeded to hold a meeting with a conglomeration of company stooges, with the idea in mind of disrupting negotiations now going on. The Caterpillar workers found out about this, and swooped down on this gathering and in no uncertain terms, told Kitzman and his pal where they stood. They chose to get out of town—but quick.

Although my hatred for such misleaders as Reuther is deep and wide, I certainly would not weaken the bargaining power of any local union in the UAW by raiding. To me, and I think to any honest worker, this certainly must be their position. I am sure the action of these Caterpillar workers in driving Kitzman out of town was the correct procedure.

Mass action is the answer. It is

the answer to every problem raised by Taft-Hartley. If the workers are not given leadership, and shown how to act in a mass, then Taft-Hartley has us whipped, and make no mistake about that.

Already this red headed demagogue has succeeded in part at least, in diverting the workers' interest in a wage increase, up the blind alley of an election for the so-called "union shop" in GM. Now such an election is a delusion and a snare. In the first place, should the union by some miracle win such an election, just what have we won? And discuss the question. That is all. This same thing could be done by mass action, and with less trouble.

So we have won the right to discuss the matter of the closed shop, and in the meantime the matter of more money is being forgotten or compromised. The employer is not required to grant the so-called union shop, even though the workers with fifty such elections.

The kind of "union shop" permitted under T-H is only a ghost of the real thing, as Reuther very well knows. He knows also, that this business of time wasting elections under T-H is only a clever way to divert the workers' attention from wage raises.

J. C. H. Peoria, Ill.

Confusion Spread By the Technocrats

Editor:

W. T. Moore in The Militant (Feb. 16) takes exception to my letter on Technocracy. He says, "Mr. Moore (re Orientals). Since the end of hostilities only aliens and politicians are banned" (from Technocracy).

Now isn't this just dandy? Technocracy has kindly condescended to allow the "lesser races beneath the law," to quote Kipling, to enter its ranks now that the war scare against the Japanese is safely behind. Or did Technocracy have some other reason for barring Orientals? I'll let Mr. Moore supply the answer if he can.

In contrast, we poor benighted "politicians" of the Socialist Workers Party never deviated from the policy of keeping our ranks open to the workers of all the world whatever the color of their skin or the country of their birth.

Mr. Moore says that "Technocracy, unlike Fascism, builds not

upon ignorance and prejudice, but... This is complete nonsense. Technocracy's whole structure rests upon the average member's profound ignorance of politics. Politics is taboo in Technocratic circles. Talk politics to Technocrats and you find yourself as isolated as a jazz fan in a classical music society.

The results, of course, are monstrous, the most important being a complete misunderstanding of the class nature of society. Thus Technocrats teach that the capitalists, driven to the wall by dislocations in the economic system, will, out of a clear sky, hand over power to them. This in face of the fact that Technocracy in theory leaves no place for the capitalists.

Any youngster or adult who has any understanding of history or politics knows that ruling classes just don't operate that way.

Howard Scott, Technocracy leader, would be invited to conferences by the capitalists where he would be told, as were Hitler and Mussolini, to "clean house." This means that the Technocratic demagogue would be used to mask the continued existence of capitalism while all those innocents who believed in Technocracy's paper program would either recant or face a "blood purge" like that of June, 1934 in Hitler Germany.

A real revolution in property relations can only be accomplished by a political party freed of all capitalist connections, a workers' party. The SWP is that party.

Chas. Grant Los Angeles, Calif.

Brooklyn To Hold Forum on Wallace

SHOULD LABOR SUPPORT WALLACE? will be the topic of the Brooklyn forum to be presented on Sunday afternoon, March 7, at 3 p.m. Militant readers and friends are urged to attend both the forum and the Sunday dinner which will be served after the discussion. The address of the Brooklyn Branch of the Socialist Workers Party is 635 Fulton St. in downtown Brooklyn.

Akron to Hold Forum For Militant Readers

"THE SPLIT IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN SUMMIT COUNTY" will be the topic of discussion at the Akron Militant Open Forum on Friday night, March 12, at 8:15 p.m. The headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party is at 4 South Howard Street.

Subscriptions: \$1 per year; 50c for 6 months. Foreign: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9339) FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 85c each in U.S., 40c each in foreign countries. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XII—No. 10

Monday, March 8, 1948



TROTSKY



LENIN

"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.

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 landowners 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

Washington's about-face. The Jewish people feel that they have been tricked and betrayed. Actually, Truman's double-cross is an inevitable consequence of Zionist policy, which seeks deals with the great powers in order to win concessions and statehood for the Jews in Palestine.

With the weakening and withdrawal of England, the Zionists transferred their hopes to Washington — only to find them blasted again.

Just as was the case with England, their military and diplomatic aims in the Middle East are far more important to the American imperialists than any promises to the Jews. This latest development provides a fresh lesson on the bankruptcy of the Zionist policy of dependence upon imperialism. Any further trust in any of these big bandits and double-dealers can lead only to more blasted hopes and new catastrophes for the Jewish people.

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 warmongering 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

supporters of the Democratic administration. They beat the drums for Roosevelt, the imperialist war and for Truman. But now that the Stalinists are opposing Truman's policies, he has turned on them. His deportation drive is out-and-out repression of a working-class political minority. As such, it is a threat to all political minorities and to the political rights of all labor.

Most of those arrested for deportation are union leaders. Truman's attack comes as timely aid to reactionary red-baiters inside the unions who are trying to purge the Stalinists. Thus, the government is directly intervening in internal union affairs and attempting to dictate union policies and leadership by police measures. This is a dangerous threat to the independence of the union movement.

However much we abhor Stalinism, we regard persecution of Stalinist figureheads by the capitalist government as an assault on the political rights and independence of the whole labor movement.

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 a 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

What precipitated the sudden turn of the Stalinists toward complete domination in Czechoslovakia? The capitalist press speaks of several possible causes: the desire to take initiative there before the Marshall Plan gets started and exerts its influence; the consequent fear that Czechoslovakia might serve as a dangerous "bridge" for the "West" to Eastern Europe; the fear that the Communist Party would lose strength in the next elections, etc. Undoubtedly all these played a part. But only on the surface. In reality the Czech crisis has for sometime been unrolling as a result of more deep-seated causes, international as well as internal.

From the international point of view, the Kremlin has been increasingly confronted with the need to integrate Czechoslovakia more closely in its strategic, diplomatic and particularly economic plans, like Hungary, Rumania and the other countries of Eastern Europe. The greater industrial weight of Czechoslovakia—with a coal, steel and machine-tool potential and a technical know-how that comes closest to replacing western Germany in present day central Europe—made this even more urgent than in the case of the others. But for that very reason such a move required far greater caution.

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 found it 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

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.

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, beset 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 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 their most immediate objective.

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 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.

Against the Stalinist cry of "All Power to the Viet-Minh!" we called for "All Power to the People's Committees!" Two days after his coup d'etat, 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 this 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.

Dr. Phan-ngoc-Thach, faithful lieutenant of Tran-van-Giau, and a whole band of bureaucratic hacks of the Stalinist government ceaselessly preached to the people in the daily press and radio the idea that the national independence of Viet-Nam was only a matter of diplomatic negotiations with the Commission of the imperialist Allies. "Those who," stated Tran-van-Giau on Sept. 1, "incite the people to arm will be considered as saboteurs and provocateurs, enemies of national independence. Our democratic liberties will be granted and guaranteed by the democratic Allies."

In the afternoon of Sept. 1, the propaganda commission of the government of Nam-Bo toured the entire city of Saigon-Choulou 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.

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 Saigon 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 45 to say, in a massacre of the whole revolutionary people. It was a question of life and death.

(Another installment of this eyewitness account of the Indo-Chinese revolution will be printed in next week's Militant.)

Events on the International Scene

By Paul G. Stevens

ITALIAN SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAVE SARAGAT PARTY

"We are leaving the Saragat Party because it stands irrevocably outside the Socialist Movement and is moving further and further away from the working class to become a left cover for the bourgeoisie," Comrade Maitan, general secretary of the Italian Socialist Youth said in an interview to the Rome daily Repubblica.

Refuting reports circulated by the Saragat party leadership, Comrade Maitan categorically stated that this was not a resignation of the Socialist Youth leadership, but a split which takes almost all the Socialist Youth outside the ranks of the Socialist Party of Italian Workers (PSLI) led by Saragat. He added that all over Italy, regional congresses of left militants belonging to the parent party were taking place, to discuss the regional details of the split and to determine the orientation of the new independent movement.

In the interview published in the daily Repubblica of Feb. 3, Comrade Maitan likewise defined the class position of the new movement and clearly indicated that the split was not the result of a difference of opinion over tactics, but of a principled incompatibility between a reformism bogged down in the mire of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and a sincerely revolutionary tendency, placing in the forefront the defense of the class interests of the proletariat.

The Revolutionary Left of the Saragat party drew up their political platform before the Congress which led to the split. It appeared in No. 3 of their tendency publication Riscossa Proletaria. We publish below the text of this platform, which specifies the following points after demanding the withdrawal of the Saragat Ministers from the government:

1. Return of the party to its proper domain, namely, the class struggle, in order to convince the workers that the PSLI will not serve as an instrument for the consolidation of the capitalist regime, but remain the political instrument indispens-

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 commune 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 patrol 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 3, 1948

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the Socialist Workers Party

- ARRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 7 to 9 p. m. Branch meeting. Sun. 8 p. m.; Socialist Youth Club meeting. Sun. 3 p. m.
BOSTON—30 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p. m. Tues., 7:30-9:30 p. m.
BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3966. Every afternoon except Sun.
CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Phone DEARBORN 4787. Daily except Sun., 11 a.m.-5 p. m. Library, bookstore.
CLEVELAND—Laditant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m., Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off. Wade Park Ave.).
DETROIT—608 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-8287. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. FLINT—215 E. Ninth St. Daily 7-9 p. m. Open house, Sat. eve. Forum, Sun. eve.
LOS ANGELES—Militant Pub. Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Phone Richmond 4644. Daily, 12-5 p. m.
SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Beach.
WATTS—Militant, 1720 E. 97th St. LYNN, (Mass.)—44 Central Sq., Rm. 11 Sat. 1-5 p. m. Discussion, Tues., 7:30 p. m.
MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone Broadway 9645.
MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone MAIN 791. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m.-6 p. m. Library, bookstore.
NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8:10-10 p. m. NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone BIGELOW 8-2574. Reading room, week nights, 7-10 p. m.
NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR. 5-8149.
EAST SIDE—251 E. Houston St. 1st fl.
HARLEM—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23 Phone MO. 2-1865. Open discussion, Thurs. 8 p. m.
BRONX—1034 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LU. 9-0101.
BROOKLYN—635 Fulton St. Phone ST. 3-7433.
CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone CH. 2-9454.
OAKLAND (Cal.)—Write P. O. Box 1351, Oakland 4.
PHILADELPHIA—1803-05 W. CHICAGO Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-8326. Open daily, Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.
PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 3rd fl. Open meetings, 1st & 3rd Sun., 3:00 p. m. Marxist Study Class, Thurs. 7 & 9 p. m.
SAN DIEGO (Cal.)—For information write P. O. Box 857.
SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI. 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m.
SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. South & Washington. Phone Main 2274. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.
ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Forum, Thurs. 7:30-10 p. m.
ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St. Phone GARFIELD 1187. Open daily, Bookstore, Forum, 3rd Sun. of each month, 3:30 p. m.
TACOMA (Wash.)—Write P. O. Box 1073. Meeting, Wed., 8 p. m., Odd Fellow Hall, 6th & Fawcett.
TOLEDO—113 St. Clair St., 2nd fl. Open daily.
YOUNGSTOWN—115 E. Federal St., Rm. 202. Phone 8-1855. Mon. through Sat., 11 a. m.-4:30 p. m.

"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 bleedout 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 "Frog Brothers" into his cornucob.

"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

I read? Out of every dollar you pay in taxes, 79c goes for war. How do you like that?"

The Old Man puffed on his cornucob, sighed again. One of his boys was blown up in the South Pacific.

"You can add a couple cents to that, Jimmy," I said. "They don't list atomic bomb research under 'war'."

"Sure you got to pay," Jimmy reassured him. "And you got to pay salaries to Taft and Hartley and Rankin and Bilbo—"

"Bilbo's dead," Pete told him.

"There's plenty of Bilbos in Congress."

"Trouble with you, Jimmy," I said, "you're too unpatriotic. If you were patriotic like the big corporations, maybe the government would pay you. The companies are getting three billion dollars tax refunds from the government, just as much as they earned in 1939. U. S. Steel alone gets 63 1/2 million."

"Um, UM!" the Old Man muttered. "Sixty-three—" and his voice trailed off. He sat shaking his head.

"Say!" Pete was suddenly excited. "Where does that three billion come from?"

Jimmy grinned. "Where do you think? You pay taxes out of your paycheck every week, don't you?"

"Oh, well," Jimmy said soothingly. "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 subtle forms of discrimination as practiced 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-

ably the best-rounded library in which to study the international aspects of this problem.

The N. Y. library officials and "City Fathers" are using the fact that the Schomburg Collection gets as much as any branch library as a pretext for refusing additional financial aid. What is the real situation?

(1) The present sum of \$1,000 annually for acquisitions is about one-fifth of what is needed to purchase books, periodicals, mass prints and for binding. The library maintains such a good collection of periodicals because so many are donated. (2) The building that houses the collection at 104 W. 136th Street is kept up poorly and has no elevator, drinking fountain or rest rooms for the public. (3) The present staff of six persons is entirely inadequate and badly underpaid. The demand for a raise in salary by one third and an increase of the staff from 6 to 10 is modest indeed. In terms of the total budget for New York City, the request for \$100,000 in capital outlay and an increase of \$30,000 annually is a mere pittance. It amounts to but one per cent of the library income. That is little enough for the Negro community to ask the largest city in America that brags about its non-discrimination in educational and library facilities. Thus far there has been a flat "No" from both the library authorities and Mayor O'Dwyer. The latter is apparently too busy figuring out how further to tax the New York populace by raising the subway fare to explain why he so neglects Negro needs.

In face of the refusal, Dr. L. D. Reddick, the Curator of the Schomburg Collection, has handed in his resignation. Unfortunately, there is no word in the statement he sent to the press which takes issue with the authorities and shows the actual, though subtle, discrimination involved. Dr. Reddick evidently thinks that such "gentlemanly" protest will "convince" the powers that be. It is up to the labor and Negro organizations to throw their full weight behind the fight to maintain the Schomburg Collection.

Search for a White House Tenant

By Art Preis

Housing shortage got you lown? A couple of real estate brokers named Phillip 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," workingclass 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.

There's one other very important restriction. Opponents of the Truman Doctrine are barred from the start. Anyone who doesn't stand four-square for American imperialism, support of anti-labor regimes in Europe and preparations for World War III against the Soviet Union had better not send in an application for White House tenancy to Murray & Green, Inc.

But, you will probably ask, why are these real estate brokers—whose sideline, incidentally, is holding union offices—looking for a new tenant? Don't they have a desirable tenant in the White House now? Well, yes—and no.

If it were altogether up to Murray and Green, they'd renew Harry S. Truman's lease in a minute. But there's one further little hitch.

The lease to the White House has to be renewed every four years and signed by a majority vote of the American electorate—meaning principally the workers. And Truman, it looks like now, is suffering from an aggravated case of political halitosis. Even his best friends are beginning to tell him so.

So, Murray & Green, Inc., have to scram around at this late date to line up a possible new tenant, acceptable to the landlord, Wall Street, and yet who can turn on the "liberal" charm like a neon sign and attract the labor vote. That kind of tenant is scarce as hen's teeth today.

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 war-time average and 1,442% above the pre-war average. The textile workers in the industry in 1947 averaged \$40.60 per week.

VIGILANTES—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 Ettore, famous IWW organizer, died at the age of 62 at his home in Cucamonga, Cal., February 26. Ettore, 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 frame-up attempt to send Ettore 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."

Union Movement Rallies to Aid Of 5-Month Farm Strike in Calif.

SWP Supports Labor Candidates In St. Paul

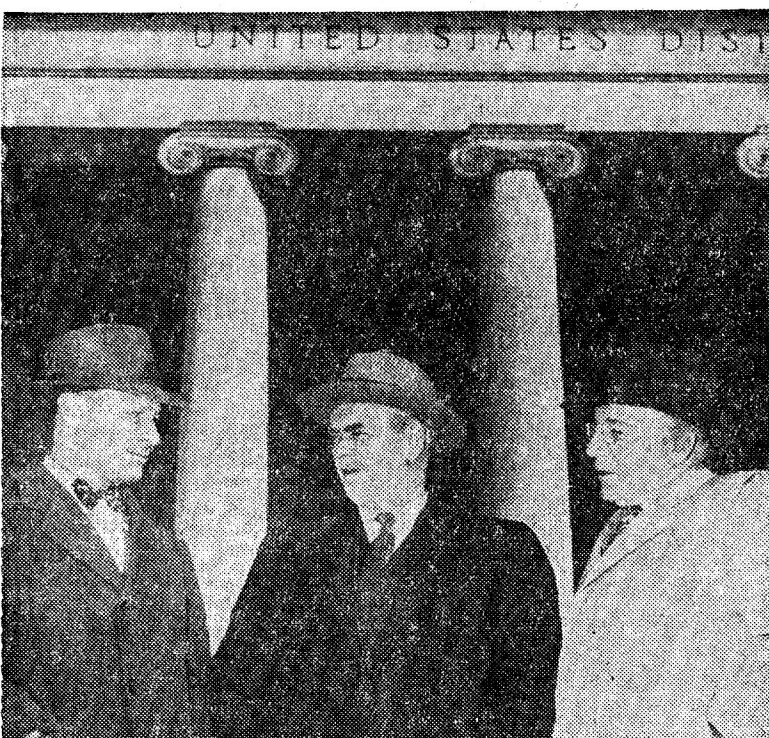
Leaflets Outline 9-Point Program

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. Peick, Auto Workers Union, CIO; John Findlan, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers; 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 bonafide labor candidate for Mayor as well as a slate of union councilmanic 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.

Murray Pleads Not Guilty



After pleading not guilty to charges of violating the political expenditures ban of the Taft-Hartley Act, CIO President Phillip Murray (l.) 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

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 corporation, a 20,000-acre fruit

ranch. A 19 1/2-mile picket line has been maintained for five months, since last Oct. 1, by 1,100 members of the AFL National Farm Laborers Union Local 218 and 125 truckdrivers of AFL Teamsters Local 87.

An outstanding feature of the strike, in addition to the solidarity and fighting spirit of the strikers, has been the aid and assistance given by the AFL, which has brought the help of the city workers to the farm workers.

This help reached a high point on Feb. 6 when the AFL brought a Friendship Train of its own to the strikers, a caravan of some 250 cars and trucks bearing 1,000 AFL members, \$20,000 worth of food and \$6,000 in cash.

After parading through Bakersfield, the caravan went to the ranch. As it passed the main gate, Di Giorgio, in desperation, unsuccessfully attempted to force a wedge through the caravan with about 15 trucks. He also rounded up all his scabs and borrowed what workers he could from other ranches to create the impression that work was going on as usual.

In traditional fashion, Di Giorgio and the Associated Farmers, to-

gether 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 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 NFLU President Mitchell who in turn got in touch with Hank Hasivar, the union's West Coast representative. In a few months, most of the workers were signed up.

Help was asked of Teamsters Union Local 87 in Bakersfield to organize the truckdrivers. The farm hands took Teamsters cards and themselves organized the drivers.

Di Giorgio tried to bust the union with a three-day lockout, but only made the workers more determined. The strike, when called, soon developed into a key struggle.

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 Tre-no have been largely organized.

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



Brutal Conditions Maintained By Big California Farm Interests

The magnificent five-month strike of 1,100 AFL farm laborers against the Di Giorgio Farm Corporation in the San Joaquin Valley continues the long history of bitter struggle that has marked the development of California's "Factories in the Field" as Carey McWilliams so aptly described them in his excellent book of the same title.

California agriculture, from its start, has been based on monopoly and large-scale farming. When the territory was still part of Mexico and under Spanish rule, about 30 large land grants had been made.

On the eve of American occupa-

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—all welcomed as toiling field hands 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 worker has 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 but the first step in bringing this most terribly exploited section of the working class into the front ranks of workingclass economic and political struggle.

NLRB Ruling Is Threat To Industrial Unionism

By Barbara Bruce

ST. PAUL, Feb. 21—A blow was struck at industrial unionism by the National Labor Relations Board in a decision involving the AFL Pulp and Sulphate Workers here.

The ruling, handed down in Washington last week, provides for an election among a dozen electricians, now members of the PSW at the Waldorf Paper Products Company, to see if they wish to be members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, also AFL.

This decision carries out provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act designed to carve up established industrial unions into weak, divided craft unions. For years, the Waldorf plant has been organized on an industrial basis, with all 400 employees belonging to the pulp workers' union.

A request for an election was submitted to the NLRB regional director last summer, the day before the Taft-Hartley Law went

into effect. When the regional decision denied the electricians a hearing on their petition, the case was appealed to Washington.

PAVES THE WAY

Although the Taft-Hartley Act has been ballyhooed by employers all over the country as the means of ending labor strife, this decision, fostered by the law, paves the way for new jurisdictional disputes everywhere. Industrial unions here and elsewhere have been fighting for years against such attempts to weaken industrial organization.

Charles Ryan, NLRB regional director, reports that this decision is the first of its kind in this area under the Taft-Hartley Law. It may enable six, eight or ten craft unions to negotiate with one employer for wages and working conditions where a single industrial union did the job before. The prospects are that other building trades unions here will make demands for similar elections.

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 feat 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

supply." Ironically enough he points to high "hourly earnings" as a safeguard against depression. He omits to mention 1. that prices have far outstripped wages; 2. that an increasing share of the "money supply" has been siphoned off as profits into the coffers of the monopolists; and 3. that the purchasing power of the mass of the people has been dwindling while industry has kept piling up more and more goods into warehouses.

DEBT EXPANSION

Third on the professor's list is the mounting private debt, which has soared to record heights, amounting to more than 170 billion dollars. Schlichter hopes that if people can continue to go into debt, business can keep booming. He bases this hope of further debt expansion on the fact that in 1940 the private debt was much bigger than the annual national income, whereas today "it is over 10% smaller."

But in 1940 the national income was below 100 billion dollars and the country was just entering its

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, a 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., 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.