

Rent Boost Threatens  
As Government Wilts

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# Workers Of The World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

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## 400,000 STRIKING MINERS DEFEND RIGHTS OF ALL AMERICAN WORKERS

### Growing Strength Of American Trotskyism Shown At SWP's 12th National Convention

Approaching Depression Heralds Social Crisis; Capitalism in U. S. Is Doomed, Delegates Hold

By Joseph Hansen

In the largest gathering yet held by the American Trotskyist movement, 117 voting delegates, 70 alternates and 33 fraternal delegates of the Socialist Workers Party and 190 registered visitors convened in Chicago from Nov. 15 to Nov. 18 to deliberate on problems of the coming socialist revolution in the United States.

This Twelfth National Convention of the American Trotskyists registered the growth, strength and vitality of the Socialist Workers Party.

Eighteen years ago, the representatives of revolutionary socialism in America were but a small handful. They had been expelled from the Communist (Stalinist) Party for the "crime" of supporting Lenin's and Trotsky's program of building world socialism as the only possible way to end unemployment, imperialist war and fascism.

Now these few heroic pioneer Trotskyists had the satisfaction of seeing how the ideas they represented 18 years ago have attracted the most militant, far-sighted American workers.

At the Chicago Convention the 410 participants came from all the major industrial regions of the United States, a total of 41 branches of the SWP being represented.

Militant activists from all the major trade unions were present—Steel, Auto, Rubber, Railroad, Maritime, Packinghouse Workers, and so on down the list.

All colors were represented at this convention. The warm comradeship among the delegates showed how completely the Socialist Workers Party carries out in practice what it preaches in theory about racial and national equality. The convention gave a preview of future socialist society where all color lines, all national and race prejudices will have disappeared.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and founder of American Trotskyism, opened the convention with a tribute to the fallen martyrs of our cause.

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### Final Minnesota Returns-- 11,421 Votes For Carlson

By V. R. Dunne

ST. PAUL, Nov. 25—Final and official figures for the Minnesota elections give the Socialist Workers Party a 31 per cent higher vote than in the previous election. Grace Carlson, SWP candidate for U. S. Senator received 11,421 votes; Warren Creel, candidate for Third District Congressman, 1325 votes; Dorothy Schultz, candidate for Fourth District Congressman, 1138 votes.



Grace Carlson

Because of Minnesota election regulations, the SWP candidates could not appear on the ballot under the party's own name. Revolutionary Workers Party was the ballot designation. By voting for our candidates, thousands of Minnesota workers and farmers indicated their conscious and militant opposition to capitalist politics. The SWP candidates were the only opponents of the Republican and Democratic-Farmer-Labor Parties for these posts.

In 1940, Grace Carlson received 8,761 votes as the party's senatorial candidate. At that time, the ballot designation was Trotskyist Anti-War Party. A comparison of the 1940 SWP vote with that received this year

### CSU Leaders Arrested In Studio Strike

By Harry Thompson

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 23—The entire top leadership of the striking Conference of Studio Unions was arrested last Monday morning, and indicted by the County Grand Jury on charges of conspiracy to attack with a deadly weapon, conspiracy to obstruct administration of the laws, and unlawful assembly. CSU leaders were charged with three counts of felony and two of misdemeanor.

On the basis of the type of charges filed, the entire union movement could be attacked as a "conspiracy."

Trial has been set for Jan. 7. Meanwhile CSU leaders are out on bail of \$5,000 each. To date, approximately 1,500 CSU strikers have been arrested and charged with assault and battery and violation of court injunction against picketing. The 893 arrested at Columbia studio on Nov. 14 began a hunger strike in jail, but their action was quickly ended by the bailing-out procedure.

Toward the end of the seven-month studio strike last year, a Southern California Conference was set up by AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods to aid the strikers. Interest in the Conference died when the strike ended. Now the arrests in the new strike make a united labor conference doubly necessary.

### Answering The Injunction



### CIO Delegates Open Wage Drive; Reject Red-Baiting Witch Hunt

By Art Preis

(Militant Staff Reporter)

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., Nov. 22 — The Eighth Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, which this afternoon concluded its five-day deliberations at the Chelsea Hotel's Westminister Hall here, again demonstrated that the CIO represents the most progressive sector of the American trade union movement.

More than 600 delegates from 40 international unions and 280 state and local CIO councils devoted their main attention to the basic problems of American labor, particularly the issue of higher wages to meet the soaring cost of living.

At the same time, while adopting an ambiguous anti-communist statement, the convention re-

jected the insidious demand by Big Business and its government agents that the CIO divert its energies into an internal witch-hunt against militant and radical workers.

Although the convention was composed largely of the top circles of the CIO and did not reflect the real militancy and democratic spirit of the CIO ranks, the leaders were forced to recognize and make concessions to the progressive sentiment of the CIO membership.

For weeks before the convention the capitalist press had been hopefully predicting that the CIO Convention would launch a red-baiting purge of "communists." The keynote address by CIO President Philip Murray, at the opening session last Monday morning, contained no reference to "communists."

He stressed at the very start of his remarks that "without doubt the most important considerations to be presented to the convention will be the economic

or wage aspects." In a blistering attack on Big Business profiteers, Murray pointed out that corporate profits are piling up at the rate of 15 billion dollars annually, an unprecedented profit, a higher profit than ever experienced at any time in the history of American business.

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### CIO Adopts Many Progressive Demands

ATLANTIC CITY, Nov. 22

— The CIO convention here has adopted strong resolutions on vital social and political questions, condemning racial discrimination, anti-Semitism, universal military conscription, atomic warfare, occupation troops, etc.

The convention called for vigorous action against lynchers, the passage of a Fair Employment Practices Act and a Federal Anti-Lynching Law. It demanded that the American government open the doors of this country to homeless Jewish refugees. It called for discontinuation of the stockpiling of atomic bombs; condemned compulsory military conscription; and demanded the withdrawal of American troops from China.

### Challenge Combined Attack Of Big Business, Government

Nov. 25.—The bitter battle between the nation's 400,000 striking soft coal miners and Wall Street's government is rapidly developing into the most crucial struggle ever faced by American labor.

### CIO Oil Workers Win Sliding Scale Wage Clause

The CIO Oil Workers International Union, which led off last year's great strike wave for wage increases to make up for loss in take-home pay, last week signed the first major contract in American industry providing a sliding scale of wages, automatically rising with the cost of living.

The contract was signed with the Sinclair Oil Company. Negotiations with other large corporations, including Standard Oil, are nearing completion.

The new Sinclair contract provides a flat increase of 18 cents per hour to compensate for increases in living costs which occurred in the nine months ending Sept. 30, 1946. To prevent this raise from being whittled away by further increases in living costs, the contract includes an escalator clause.

Under this clause, wages will be reviewed every three months. If the cost-of-living index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows an increase of three per cent or more in the preceding quarter-year, an equivalent increase will be given the oil workers. If prices should go down, wages cannot be reduced below the basic rate including the new 18-cent raise.

The contract runs for one year, from Oct. 1, 1946. At the end of the first quarter, Jan. 1, 1947, an additional three per cent raise is expected.

Basing the escalator clause upon government figures is a weakness, because the BLS is notorious for understating the actual rise in living-costs. However, even with this defect, the escalator clause provides far greater protection for the maintenance of living standards than a flat increase alone.

The principle of the sliding scale of wages has long been advocated by The Militant and the Socialist Workers Party as the only immediate effective answer to the consequences of inflation. The Sinclair contract represents a historic step forward.

On one side are arrayed not only the militant mine workers, but the entire trade union movement of 15,000,000 workers. Both the AFL and CIO have issued public denunciations of the infamous federal injunction against the mine strike.

On the other side it is the most complete mobilization of the capitalist class and its government agencies ever witnessed in a strike.

The federal government, climaxing its unprecedented strike-breaking campaign, is threatening savage reprisal against AFL United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis for refusing to surrender the rights of the tolling miners.

Day Lewis was hailed before a grand jury court in Washington, D.C., where Federal Judge T. Alan Goldsborough, acting as the judicial agent for Big Business and the rich coal operators, ordered the miners' leader to stand trial on Nov. 27 for alleged contempt of court.

This "contempt" consisted of Lewis' failure to comply with the most fantastic strike-breaking injunction to issue from a federal court. This injunction was ordered by Judge Goldsborough on Nov. 18. It commanded Lewis not merely to withdraw his announcement of the termination of the UMW contract with the Truman administration, but not even to mention that the contract might be terminated at any time in the future.

The judge's order claimed that any announcement of the termination would result in strike because "it is the announced practice of the members of the United Mine Workers of America to refuse to work while there is no contract in effect"—said refusal constituting in the opinion of the class-biased judge, an "illegal strike."

Because he did not bow to this illegal injunction, issued in clear violation of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act, Lewis faces possible imprisonment for an indefinite term and fines amounting to as much as \$200,000.

MINERS DETERMINED

But the issue will not be settled in the courts. The determined miners, who began walking out of the pits days before the deadline of the restraining order, have made clear their stand: "You can't mine coal with injunctions!"

Even the vampire press swarming after Lewis' blood, is expressing fear that throwing Lewis into jail will make him a "martyr" and make the miners more

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### United Labor Action Is The Watchword!

An Editorial

Big Business and its whole government apparatus have unleashed a "fight to the finish" against the heroic coal miners. This savage assault is aimed not merely at crushing the miners—they have been selected only as the first victims for the capitalists' legal chopping block.

It is clear that Wall Street is mobilizing its governmental and judicial forces for a full-scale war on all organized labor. By crushing the miners, the American plutocracy hopes to blunt the spearhead of the developing drive of all labor for wage increases to meet the soaring cost of living.

If the government's infamous injunction against the miners is not smashed, if John L. Lewis and other mine union leaders are victimized for defending the workers' interests, then the judicial knife will be sharpened for every section of labor, for every militant leader.

More—much more—is at stake in this crucial struggle than the immediate just demands of the miners. Imperiled are the most fundamental rights of every working man and woman—the right to strike and freedom from legal persecution by corporation-dominated, class-biased courts and judges.

Both the AFL and CIO leaders recognize the decisive importance of this struggle. They have sharply denounced the government's use of injunction against the miners. For the first time in more than a decade the whole American labor movement—15,000,000 strong—stands united on one great issue. Truman's injunction must be smashed.

But more than words and verbal protests are needed. It is not enough to deplore and condemn the government's strike-breaking moves. These arrogant moves must not be taken lightly. The American money-bags are clearly determined to break the miners as the first step in breaking the whole labor movement.

Action is needed—united militant labor action on a scale this country has never before witnessed. The full, concerted power of the organized American working class must be speedily mobilized and hurled into the battle. A mighty counter-offensive must be immediately unleashed that will drive the jackals of capitalist reaction to flight.

To that end, as the CIO United Auto Workers proposed months ago, a National United Conference of Labor—representing every trade union body in America—must be immediately convened in Washington.

Its first duty would be to draft and set into motion a fighting program of united labor action to give the only effective answer to the united assault of big capital on the coal miners.

United labor action is the watchword of the hour! The union ranks must demand that labor leaders act now!

### Highest Minority Vote In N. J. Goes To Trotskyist Candidate

NEWARK, Nov. 25—Returns from New Jersey's 21 counties indicate that the Socialist Workers Party has succeeded in rolling up the highest minority vote in the state. Total vote for Alan Kohlman, SWP candidate for Governor, has climbed to 9,829 or more than the combined vote of the Communist, Socialist and Socialist Labor Party candidates.

Kohlman's vote registers a new high in SWP electoral results in New Jersey. George Breitman, SWP candidate for U. S. Senator, rolled up 4,978 votes.

The difference in votes between Kohlman and Breitman is attributed to the fact that Breitman had the most unfavorable position in the Senatorial column on the ballot. Despite that, Breitman's vote was seven times greater than the number he received for the same office in 1942. Kohlman's vote was four times greater than that of the Stalinist candidate for Governor.

In the 11th Congressional District, William E. Bohannon secured 300 votes while in the Hague stronghold of the 13th District, Arlene Phillips received 1,720 votes, more than five times the vote for her Stalinist opponent.

These election totals are a fitting climax to the SWP's hard-hitting state campaign. With tremendous enthusiasm and determination, the New Jersey Party waged a broadscale campaign on many fronts; street meetings in the neighborhoods, election rallies, five radio broadcasts, over 55,000 pieces of printed literature, scores of news releases to the daily and Negro press and numerous state-wide mailings.

More important than the vote was the fact that the program of the Socialist Workers Party was carried to at least 100,000 people, that scores of new friends were made for the Party, and that recruitment to the Party doubled during the election campaign.

The election campaign thus becomes a stepping stone to further growth of the SWP, to intensified activity both in the mass movement and the legislative field in order to fight for the interests of New Jersey workers against the new Republican administration.



Alan Kohlman

# CIO Convention Demands "Substantial" Wage Rise; Rejects Political Witch-Hunts

(Continued from Page 1)

\$13.20 less today than it was in March of last year" despite the 18 1/2-cent an hour wage boost won last February.

The main discussion on wage policy was based on the Wages resolution which declared "there is no immediate prospect that run-away prices will be checked." It concluded:

"While profits soar the workers' share of the national income steadily declines. Millions of American workers today find themselves totally unable to meet a budget providing for minimum necessities of living. This situation can only result in an early and inevitable economic depression as in 1929 with the accompanying human misery and chaos. Under present conditions it is therefore imperative that American industry in collective bargaining give substantial wage increases."

This resolution fell short in its lack of an effective program of united action to implement the demand for "substantial wage increases." Murray himself concluded the discussion with a lengthy appeal to the rapacious corporations to "Come on, be decent, be gentlemen, sit around the bargaining table . . . in the spirit of good faith." At the same time he sought to appease the employers with the assurance that "there is no threat of strike in the offing."

## WAR-CHEST ASKED

The only hint from any CIO leader of the need to prepare for a concerted nation-wide show-down struggle was given by United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther. He proposed that the convention initiate a war chest "of about 10 or 12 million dollars" and added "that any CIO union making a fight in these basic struggles could know that they had that whole war chest behind them."

But neither Reuther nor any other CIO leader pressed for a program of unified action, although the nearness of great strike struggles was emphasized by Herbert March, a leader of the United Packinghouse Workers. March advised the convention:

"It is indeed a tragedy when the people who produce the meat and meat products of the nation are in a position today to eat very little but neck bones and spare ribs, if they can afford them."

"So I say to you that we of the packinghouse industry are facing a crisis in the matter of a few very days. We will prosecute it to the best of our ability and we call upon all of you in this great organization for your support in our attempt to establish a decent living wage for the packinghouse workers."

## OIL WORKERS

The most important contribution to the wage discussion was the speech by O. A. Knight, president of the Oil Workers International Union. Knight described the sliding scale of wages clause the OWIU had just won from the Sinclair Oil Co., in addition to a flat 18-cent an hour raise in the basic wage scale.

"During recent days," Knight reported, "we have reached a wage agreement with a major oil company somewhat different from the pattern we usually follow in that it provides, for a temporary period, upward and downward movements of wages based upon the cost of living."

"Under this plan all employees of the company receive an upward adjustment of 18 cents an hour effective as of and retroactive to Oct. 1, 1946. That means that all employees affected will immediately receive approximately \$43 back pay. If the cost of living increases, additional upward adjustments will be made, based upon the amount

of increase in the cost of living index and with no ceiling on upward adjustments."

Knight made it plain that any downward adjustments may not go below the basic wage scale, including the 18-cent increase. "It has been made clear to the companies with whom we are dealing now," Knight emphasized, "that we will never get ourselves in position where we cannot continue to improve the standard of living of the workers we represent."

Immediately following Knight's talk, Joseph Curran, President of the National Maritime Union, rose to make a veiled attack on the progressive sliding scale of wages principle. He demagogically declared that "if we tie ourselves too closely to that kind of theory we will find that our standard of living will remain static."

## CURRAN'S DISTORTION

Curran, who despite differences with the Stalinist leaders in the NMU is still running interference for the Communist Party in the trade unions, deliberately distorted the clear meaning of Knight's remarks. Knight had showed that the oil workers have not only won another substantial wage increase but have fully protected that increase from those further inflationary price rises that the CIO resolution itself stated are "inevitable."

In putting up Curran to attack the sliding scale of wages, the Stalinists revealed themselves as among the most conservative forces in the convention. They took the lead in opposing the most progressive wage demands.

The question of "communism," which the reactionary press had hoped would be the central issue of the convention, was dismissed in a half hour during the first afternoon session. It was a dead duck thereafter.

Under the proddings of reactionary red-baiters led by the Social-Democrats and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, Murray introduced an ambiguous "Declaration of Policy" that said "we resent and reject efforts of the Communist Party or other political parties and their adherents to interfere in the affairs of the CIO."

Instead of fighting this concession to the red-baiters and demanding a forthright condemnation of red-baiting in any form, the Stalinists dealt with Murray. Three well-known Stalinist leaders — Benjamin Gold, of the Fur Workers; Michael Quill, of the Transport Workers; and Abram Flaxer, of the United Public Workers — were part of the six-man committee which drafted the declaration. A number of Stalinist heads of CIO unions are on the 51-man CIO Executive Board that unanimously endorsed the declaration.

In presenting the declaration to the convention, Murray emphasized that "there is no prescribed legislation contained in the document" and that "it should not be misconstrued to be a repressive measure." He added: "I am definitely opposed to any form of repression in this movement of ours. There should be no misunderstanding about that. . . . It does not convey the impression to a single, solitary member of this Union that this organization is going to engage itself in diabolical pursuits. That must not be resorted to."

Murray concluded his statement by calling for an immediate rising vote for the declaration without "needless debate." It was significant that a score or more of delegates remained seated. When he called for opposition votes, the convention was surprised to observe two well-known Communist Party followers in the National Maritime Union, Joseph Stack and Howard McKenzie, break party discipline and vote against the declaration.

As the delegates were starting to leave for the adjournment, a group of Stalinist hacks headed by Joseph Selly of the American Communications Association rushed over to Stack and McKenzie in the middle of the convention floor and began to harangue them publicly. Under this pressure, McKenzie rushed up to the platform and button-holed Murray, who called the convention to order and announced that the two dissenting votes were withdrawn and the statement adopted "unanimously."

But the score of abstentions and the demonstration of Stack and McKenzie had revealed deep opposition right in the Communist Party ranks to the cowardly capitulation of the Stalinist leaders to the red-baiters as expressed in the "declaration of Policy."

From this point on, however, the only attempt to inject red-baiting into the convention was made by the Social-Democrat Jack Altman, of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees Union. But even Murray squelched him when he tried to swing the convention into an anti-Soviet attack.

In fact, the most spontaneous ovation of the convention was accorded the guest speaker, A. F. Whitney, President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, who made a stirring appeal for union militancy and exposed red-baiting as the instrument of the bosses to divide labor.

## WHITNEY SITES DEBS

Whitney stated that whenever "a large section of industry sees a threat to its profits or unchecked power," it resorts to the "red" issue to divide and weaken labor. He evoked thunderous applause when he reminded the convention that "one of the most magnetic labor leaders this country has ever known was Eugene V. Debs," the great socialist anti-war fighter.

He concluded: "I speak to you out of a lifetime of experience. Do not let this issue divide you. If you do, labor will be set back many years in its struggle to achieve dignity and security and freedom for the average man and woman. Your energies and your militancy will be consumed in a futile witch hunt. The staggering load of economic and social misery on your back will grow heavier."

"Stick by your demands for the settlement of grievances and for the recognition of your rights as free men. Do not allow yourselves to become the tools of Fascists or reactionary forces." One of the most important resolutions adopted by the convention attacked the federal government's use of "a sweeping injunction against the United Mine Workers of America." This action was declared a "clear violation of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. No anti-labor injunctions can dispose of the problems now confronting workers who see their earnings shrink before the fast-rising cost of living. American democracy cannot tolerate any attempt to impose economic slavery through vicious anti-labor injunctions."

This statement was introduced and adopted, however, without any discussion. The CIO leaders refrained from any comment on the crucial struggle now unfolding between the miners and the government and made no direct appeal to the CIO members to rally in full support of the battling miners.

At the very tail-end of the convention, with Murray pushing for an early adjournment, the vital question of political action was introduced. The resolution tried to minimize the defeat suffered

## Miners Walk Out



Three of the thousands of miners who left work 24 hours before the strike deadline, in answer to Truman's injunction proceedings against John L. Lewis. The picture was taken at a Pennsylvania mine, as the men ate lunch before leaving the pits. Federated Pictures

# Mine Strikers Defend Rights Of All Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

stubborn than ever in defense of their rights. They are offering the court sideline advice about how to cripple the mine union with staggering fines without inciting them to prolonged resistance by imprisoning their president.

## GOVERNMENT ROLE

Never has the government shown its capitalist class character more completely in a strike.

To begin with, the Truman administration last May 21 tried to break a seven-week mine strike by seizing the soft coal mines. But the administration was forced to grant major concessions to the miners. The operators refused to sign a contract embodying recommendations approved by the government. But nothing happened to them. Their profits continued and swelled.

Actually government operation was a fiction designed to cloak the operators with the protection of the American flag. As the N. Y. Times, Nov. 24, described it: "American flags were hoisted over the tipples; officials of the mining companies were designated as Government officers in charge of the mines and mining areas. These were the only signs of the Government's role."

The terms of the government's contract were systematically violated by the mine officials acting as government agents. Washington fronted for them. On top of that, skyrocketing prices in the company stores quickly wiped out the miners' wage gains.

On Oct. 21, prior to the national elections, the UMW requested the administration to reopen the contract. This was clearly within the terms of the contract as taken over in part from the previous contract with the mine owners.

Only with the threat of strike on Nov. 1, did the government, acting for the coal operators, condescend to meet with the UMW committee and discuss the question.

On Nov. 15, with the election

by the Democratic Party as "in no sense a landslide" and that "a small shift in the vote" could have changed the result.

It complained about the millions of voters who stayed away from the polls to "express their dissatisfaction," and the others who "were misled by the demagoguery of the Republican high command into voting indiscriminately against the candidates of the party in power." It concluded with the old bankrupt policy of urging the CIO members to work for "progressive candidates" of the capitalist parties in 1947 and 1948.

Jack Kroll, chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, advocated that PAC work harder in the next Democratic primaries to ensure the nomination of more "progressive" Democrats.

Murray, obviously anxious to forestall any real discussion of political action, hurriedly closed debate while a number of delegates were frantically trying to secure the floor. Among these were several who this reporter knows were anxious to present proposals for the formation of an independent labor party.

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Three of the thousands of miners who left work 24 hours before the strike deadline, in answer to Truman's injunction proceedings against John L. Lewis. The picture was taken at a Pennsylvania mine, as the men ate lunch before leaving the pits. Federated Pictures

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(Continued from Page 1)

campaign out of the way and the results recorded, Truman felt he had nothing to lose politically by getting "tough." He announced there would be no opening of the contract.

The mine workers had no choice but to announce the expiration of the contract on Nov. 20. This could only mean the beginning of a nation-wide coal strike because of the traditional position of the miners, "No contract, no work!"

The Pengertast machine's man in the White House had hurried in retreat before the price demands of the profiteers and monopolists. An entire nation had heard his nervous, stumbling words when he announced his unconditional surrender to the meat trust over the radio.

But now, when it came to giving justice to the miners, Truman became a "lion." He puffed out his size-34 political chest and announced on Nov. 17 from his warm vacation retreat down in Florida that "we will fight Lewis on all fronts." He commanded the miners to remain in the pits and scab.

At the same time, Attorney General Tom C. Clark, acting under orders from Truman and armed with affidavits from the heads of eight government departments including the War and Navy Departments, went into Judge Goldborough's court to obtain a restraining order. This was promptly granted.

The government also announced it was preparing to proceed against Lewis and all other UMW leaders under the Smith-Unnally anti-strike law. The precedent for the use of this law was set last year in the case of William Patterson, a Pennsylvania mine worker who was jailed for six months as the first victim of this infamous law. Only The Militant came out in defense of Patterson in a nation-wide campaign. The union leaders, including Lewis, were silent.

A terrific drive was opened up by the government to intimidate the miners and arouse public hysteria against them. The ODT announced the curtailment of train service by 25 per cent. Congressional leaders raised a howl for new anti-labor laws. A "brown-out" was ordered in the major cities. The culture press spread scare-heads about "25,000,000 workers to face unemployment in coal crisis."

QUIT PITS  
But the injunction and threat against their leader evoked only bitter anger among the miners. By the day before the contract termination, more than 127,000 miners had quit the pits in defiance of the capitalist government.

A battle has been joined that will spell tremendous consequences for American labor. A defeat for the miners would be a disastrous blow to the American working class. A victory would pave the way for effective struggle by all organized labor for higher wages to protect the workers' standard of living.

**AKRON**  
Turkey Dinner  
Sunday, Dec. 8, 5 p.m.  
Socialist Workers Party  
8 So. Howard St.

# Capitalist Press Silent On Dangers Of Mining

What an avalanche of class hatred descended upon the 400,000 soft coal miners last week! The idle rich were enraged because these men asserted their right not to work without a contract. The coupon-clippers and sweaters of labor shrieked in chorus that the miners ought to be herded back into the pits by armed force if necessary.

This pack of capitalist wolves was headed by millionaire Senator Harry F. Byrd, who sent a telegram to Truman calling for all-out war against the miners and warning against any "appeasement." This descendant of the slave-owning Byrds of Virginia thinks he's back in the 18th century and that the coal miners are his chattel slaves.

Backing up Byrd was W. Averell Harriman, Truman's new Secretary of Commerce. This railroad magnate and financier, who belongs to one of America's 60 richest families, hypocritically moans about the tragic consequences of the miners' walk-out. But these same representatives of the rich have never concerned themselves about the tragic consequences of the daily toil of the mine workers.

## COST IN LIVES

The coal miners pay an appalling price in life and limb for the millions of tons of coal they produce each year. Coal mining is the most laborious and dangerous of all industries. There are from five to ten times more accidents in the American coal mines than in any other occupation.

From 1906 to 1945 an average of 1,981 men were killed in American coal mines each year — a total of 77,289 murdered for profits in the past 39 years! From 1930 to 1944 the number of totally disabled, permanently partially disabled and temporarily disabled totalled 1,004,524.

Read through the entire capitalist press and you will not find a word about this terrible toll exacted by greed from the American coal miners. Listen to the sleek senators and spokesmen for the plutocrats in high government offices—and you would never know that the mine workers have violence and sudden death as their constant companions.

This same press keeps mum about the tens of billions in profits made by the coal barons and the corporations, while it howls about the "high" pay of the miners. To make ends meet the miners have to work a 54-hour week. On paper this is a nine-hour day, six days a week. But in reality, from the time the miners leave home at 5 a.m. un-

til they return from the pits, it amounts to a 13 or 14-hour day.

Miners are terribly squeezed by the skyrocketing cost of living. A miner has to load a whole carload of coal to earn enough money to buy one pound of meat. Company-owned stores raised food prices even before the miners won their last raise in May. Since then, prices have soared until now they are almost double what they were in June. In some places ordinary work shirts, when the miners can get

them, cost \$10 apiece. These men spend a good part of their lives in the dark and dangerous bowels of the earth. They produce the coal that keeps the wheels of industry turning. Their labor also serves to provide the rich with luxury and limousines. They have every right to demand a living wage and decent working conditions. They have every reason to be outraged when the profiteers and their paid press hurl slanders and lies against them, and the government tries to whip them back into the pits with an injunction and prison threats.

# 1894 Injunction Against Debs Used As Precedent By Truman

The government injunction against John L. Lewis cites as precedent the injunction against Eugene V. Debs in 1894. This infamous injunction of 52 years ago created a nation-wide sensation. It was a historic landmark in the long struggle between labor and the Washington political agents of the capitalist class.

## PULLMAN STRIKE

The defeated rail barons were already howling for removal of the ARU "agitators" who had led this victorious strike, when the next blow against them came at Chicago. There, in June, the workers of the Pullman Company struck. They were not ARU members, but they needed help. The ARU voted to cripple 24 roads throughout the country by boycotting Pullman cars.

The rail workers ran to the government. Democratic President Cleveland obligingly chose a railroad corporation lawyer as government "counsel" in the "crisis." Pullman's hand-picked stooge, Federal Judge William A. Woods, issued injunctions against the strikers.

In the Debs case, as in the fight against the miners, the administration claimed that the strike barred the government from "judicial protection of its rights lawfully to exercise its sovereign functions without interference or obstruction." Then, too, the courts prohibited "any persons" from "inducing or encouraging" workers to strike.

Stopping the mails had never been included in the union strategy, yet this was the pretext used by Cleveland for sending in troops and armed company thugs, over the protests of Governor Altgeld of Illinois and Mayor Hopkins of Chicago. The union had announced it would move mail; but the corporations had flatly said, "no Pullmans, no mail." And the troops were turned loose on the strikers.

Debs later wrote that the rail owners "hired goons, set fires, started lying rumors that strikers were 'burning and sacking the city.' They issued frenzied demands for 'Death to the strikers!'" Offices of the ARU were sacked and put under guard and their communications destroyed.

ARREST LEADERS  
The ARU continued its strike. Debs and three other leaders were arrested for contempt of court. Criminal charges of "conspiracy to obstruct the mails" were filed against 45 ARU leaders and members in another Federal Court.

The four leaders were sentenced to six-month terms for "contempt." But the criminal charges were later "postponed" forever, when the union proved in court that government and railroad collusion was responsible for arson and 20 deaths.

When Debs entered Woodstock jail in May, 1895 to begin his sentence, he was a militant trade unionist. But the strike had shown him how the government acts for the capitalists against the labor movement. He had learned from life, that trade unionism was not enough. He emerged from prison in November, 1895 as a socialist, ready to devote the rest of his life to the political struggles of the working class.

Finally, it was pointed out, this is a settlement and not a contract. The company refused for 15 months to come to agreement on a contract. Now, with the union committed to a strong no-strike clause, the company can stall even further.

After the meeting many workers expressed the opinion that a more militant and far-sighted leadership is on the order of the day.

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Wages, Prices and Profits
Wages And Production
In The Present Period

By Warren Creel

We have seen, even in the case of the great monopolies, that while they have power, there are also limits to their power.

They boast that they can and will raise prices as fast as the workers win higher wages, so they advise the unions that they might as well give up the struggle. But their boast collapses when we ask the question, "If they have such power to raise the price, why didn't they raise it before?"

We know the answer. The monopolists already had raised the price as high as they could put it without losing their mass outlets. They were not charging less than the highest price, nor missing the chance to reap additional millions in profits, just to be generous to the public.

They cannot pass on the wage raise indefinitely by raising prices. In the final analysis, they have to pay wages raises out of profits. And that's why they fight like demons against raising wages.

That's the answer in ordinary times when the propagandists for the employer tell us, "It's useless for the workers to struggle, because the employers are all-powerful."

When we apply these principles to the present period, after World War II, we find a special case, but it also illustrates the principles. The employers are giving the show away by raising prices much more than they raise wages, which proves again that they are not merely passing on wage costs.

The war inflation has dumped a lot of artificial dollars on the market, so today they can charge more and get it. So they raise prices, not because of wages, but just to meet the market, as always.

They try to meet this boom market by higher prices, and not by more production. Thus capitalism shows its true character in this situation. Even in today's rich market the capitalists must make their profit by holding production down to scarcity levels. They do not care to produce plenty, even though the market can take it and more.

During the war American industry poured out goods at the rate of \$7,500 per family per year, but this high production did not raise living standards because most of the goods were used up in the war. In peacetime American industry could easily keep up the wartime rate of production of goods. But under capitalism the capitalists couldn't sell the goods unless they were paying enough wages to allow the workers to buy about that much per year. They certainly don't intend to pay any such wages.

So the capitalists face a desperate need to cut production in half, or even to less than half. They must cut their output down to the ordinary minimum living standard of capitalism. And they find it no easy job.

Their plants could pour out abundance now. But if they organize for big production they will face trouble in the future. They would quickly fill the present demand. Then when the market went down to the ordinary level allowed by capitalist wages, they would have no buyers for their goods. They have to look ahead, and keep the market hungry so there will be buyers next year as well as this year.

To protect themselves they must hold production down. They let out only a bare minimum of goods, just the amount that they know is their ordinary market. This is just enough to supply the usual low living standard of capitalism.

Although they hold the supply of goods down to a trickle, they have no thought of letting the flood of wartime money get away. They simply propose to raise prices until it takes the whole flood of money to buy the usual capitalist trickle of goods.

That's how the scarcity policy of capitalism operates in today's inflation market. It's a stiff fight, and a risky one for the capitalists, cutting down the output of a productive giant like American industry. And the hardest part of the job is trying to pretend that the factories that produced for the war can't produce for peace.

Next Week: Why Prices Go Up

Rising Unrest Of German Workers Shows Gravity Of Economic Crisis

60,000 Votes Polled For Trotskyists In France

PARIS — The French Trotskyists, who presented candidates for Parliament in 16 areas in the Nov. 10 elections, received a total of 60,000 votes. This shows a numerical increase but a slight percentage drop over the Trotskyist vote in the June elections, when candidates ran in 11 areas and got 45,000 votes.

This percentage decrease was to be expected. In June elections to the Assembly had been for a six-month duration. The new Parliament has a five-year duration, and there was a greater tendency not to "waste votes."

Under these conditions the Trotskyist vote was on the whole quite stable as compared with the June vote, except in two or three areas, especially the Gironde department. (In June the Stalinist candidates in the Gironde were defeated by less than the vote cast for the Trotskyist ticket, and there was therefore a greater tendency to vote only for candidates who stood a good chance of winning.)

The stability of the Trotskyist vote was especially notable in the workers' areas and the Paris suburbs. In the suburbs Seine-et-Oise, where the Trotskyists appeared as candidates for the first time on Nov. 10, they collected an impressive total of 13,890 votes.

This means that there exists in the working class areas a minority which clings to the revolutionary program despite the Stalinist slanders and the argument that voting for the Trotskyists divides the workers' votes. This revolutionary minority can play an important role in the future struggles of the French masses.

Egyptian Police Seize Revolutionist

The trial of Aly Abu el Nil, a shoemaker of Alexandria who was arrested for "distributing alleged subversive literature signed Fourth International, Communist Revolution, Middle East Center," was scheduled to begin in Cairo, on Nov. 1, according to the Egyptian Gazette of Oct. 20.

Aly Abu el Nil went on a hunger strike, protesting against the delay of the trial. His spirit was reported to be high as he prepared to make a militant defense at the trial.

A number of well-known journalists who had been arrested around the same time—Ramsis Yennane, Loutfallah Soliman, Anwar Kavel, Bokhor Menasse and Klail el Assy—have been recently released.

How Trotsky Viewed Disarmament

By Joseph Hansen

How does the slogan of "disarmament" raised by Molotov at the United Nations fit in with Wall Street's preparations for another world war?

The answer to this question can be determined most easily by referring to Leon Trotsky's writings on "disarmament." Like Lenin, Trotsky considered two variations of the demand for "disarmament": (1) the demand for total abolition of militarism; (2) the demand for a "reduction" of armaments. Like Lenin, Trotsky shows how both variations play into the hands of the imperialist war-mongers.

"Of course, if all the countries disarmed," said Trotsky in 1929, "it would constitute a serious guarantee of peace. But self-disarmament is just as excluded as the revolutionary demolition of tariff walls. In Europe today there is only one major country which is seriously disarmed, to wit, Germany. But her disarmament was accomplished, as everybody knows, by crushing her in a war..."

"Disarmament and the United States of Europe," published in the May, 1945, issue of Fourth International.

The victorious powers after the First World War did not voluntarily disarm, despite various conferences where the slogan of "disarmament" was given great publicity.

"The peace of Versailles," Trotsky pointed out in 1940, "... has done the Allies a poor service. After fifteen years of German disarmament Hitler was compelled to start building an army from nothing, and thanks to this the army is free of routine and does not have to drag along obsolete technique and equipment. The tactical training of troops is inspired by new ideas based on the latest word in technology. Apparently only the United States is destined to surpass the German murder machine."

Historic facts thus demonstrate that even where an imperialist power is utterly crushed and completely disarmed by force, war is not thereby prevented from breaking out again. On the contrary, when the defeated capitalist class begins rearming, they start with the very latest word in armaments. So long as capitalism endures, total disarmament is nothing but a utopian delusion.

But the proposal to avoid war by "reducing" arms, as Molotov now proposes, is just as delusory. "This amounts to saying," Trotsky declared in 1929, "that the surest way of suppressing duels is by regulating the size of pistols to be used by the duellists. Common sense would indicate that the situation itself points to just the contrary."

To paraphrase the example then cited by Trotsky: If two of the strongest powers haggle so furiously over the atomic

bomb, then this only goes to show that each of them is simply jockeying, through diplomacy, for the most advantageous position in the coming military conflict.

Trotsky explains that the issue in modern war is "determined by the relative productive power of the two camps." He points out that the "soldiers, sailors, ships, guns, tanks and planes available at the outbreak of war represent only the initial stake. The issue will be decided in dependence upon the extent to which a given country is able, while under fire, to produce ships, guns, soldiers and sailors."

Thus a power with the tremendous industrial capacity of America gains in relative preponderance through reduction of arms. For such countries as Britain, Japan, Germany, etc., to agree to reduce their armaments, means to cut down the initial stake they can throw into the battle field, thus eliminating their strongest card—a very great military-technical preponderance which would in some measure compensate for the incomparable technical and economic preponderance of the United States."

There is still another advantage in reduction of armaments, which the Wall Street militarists have undoubtedly taken into consideration: "Today when the colossal experience of the war and the resulting flood of inventions and discoveries are just being elaborated for military needs, any and all instruments of military technology are rendered obsolete in a far briefer space of time than was the case before the war."

Referring to the battle fleets, Trotsky asks, "Under such conditions, what sense is there in accumulating ships in advance? A rational approach to the problem demands that the fleet

be just large enough for the initial period of the war and of sufficient size in peacetime to serve as an adequate laboratory for testing and checking new inventions and discoveries with a view to placing them in standardized mass production in the course of the war. All the great powers are more or less interested in the 'regulation' of armaments, especially such costly ones as naval armaments. But inexorably this regulation becomes transformed into the greatest advantage for the economically strongest country."

Have You -- Anything That Can Be Used It's Needed For EUROPEAN RELIEF BAZAAR to be held Dec. 7 in N. Y. Entire proceeds to American Committee for European Workers Relief. Send or bring articles to: ACEWR 197 Second Ave. New York 3, N. Y.

Trotskyists In Belgium List 19 Candidates

The International Communist Party (PCI), Belgian section of the Fourth International, will enter the Nov. 25 local elections at Gilly, a coal mining center, with 19 Trotskyist candidates, according to the Nov. 16 La Lutte Ouvriere, PCI newspaper.

The list is headed by Jules Henin, veteran Trotskyist, who participated with Leon Lesoil in founding the Belgian Communist Party and later the Trotskyist Left Opposition.

In the announcement of its program and platform, the PCI candidates state that the fate of the workers will be decided in struggles in the factories and on the streets.

TAX THE RICHS

The platform includes taxing the rich instead of the poor, a fight against higher taxes on wages, immediate construction of low-cost homes for workers, the planning and execution of public works projects, such as roads, canals, running water, etc.

In answer to the argument that "there is no money" to carry out this program, the PCI points to the tens of millions squandered in the past to maintain an army which collapsed in 17 days before "the foreign enemy" and failed to alter in the least the fate of the country or the issue of the imperialist war. The PCI demands that this money be used to construct homes and schools for the workers, and calls upon the masses to fight for this program with their own class weapons.

The PCI is calling upon the workers in other areas, where no PCI candidates are running, to vote for the Socialist and Communist Party candidates. At the same time it urges the voters to place no confidence in the reformist leaders of these parties which have abandoned the fight for the working class and replaced this struggle with an effort to rehabilitate Belgian capitalism.

Misery In Germany



Two young boys haul a cartload of coffins through a Berlin street. This picture was taken last winter, when death took a heavy toll in ruined Germany. Conditions are reported even worse as another winter approaches.

Interim Government In India Cannot Solve Basic Problems

BOMBAY, India, Oct. 20 — The following statement on the entry of the Moslem League into the "Interim Government" was made today by the Secretary of the Bombay Committee of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, section of the Fourth International:

After prolonged huckstering, the Moslem League has joined the Interim Government. Whatever the Moslem masses may think, the try of the League into the Government will not improve the lot of the masses, Hindu or Moslem.

This entry is neither a victory of the League nor of the Congress. It is only imperialism that has won all along the line. The Congress participated in the formation of the Government from the very beginning. Imperialism has now managed to get the Moslem League into the Interim Government where it can be used as a counterweight to the Congress.

Imperialism knows very well that the bourgeois Congress and the feudal communal League cannot agree on any major question except of course the question of defense against the exploited masses. The two will always need a conciliator, a mediator, a court of arbitration, which role will be played by imperialism through the Viceroy.

Dangling the carrot of long-term proposals, imperialism secured the acceptance of the short-term proposals both by the Congress and the League. Participation both by the League and the Congress in the Interim Government was necessary from the point of view of imperialism. It has provided imperialism with a "popular" facade behind which it can operate as of old. And this participation has been secured on imperialism's terms. The Interim Government is to function within the framework of the existing constitution.

Notwithstanding all the ballyhoo by the press, the Interim Government has failed to withdraw Indian troops from foreign lands where it is acting as gendarmes of imperialism. The Indonesians' appeal to Nehru for the withdrawal of Indian troops from Indonesia has not even been referred to by Nehru in his speech enunciating his foreign policy. The other day Bhabha confessed candidly that the Interim Government has no power to buy off the foreign capitalists.

The Indian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference chosen by the so-called "Caretaker Government" was not or could not be changed by the Interim Government. What sort of independence or semi-independence is this if you cannot determine your foreign policy, if you are not free to proceed against foreign capital? The participation by the Congress and the League in the Interim Government is really reinforcing the imperialist stranglehold and not loosening it, as the Congress and the League would have the masses believe.

NEW ALLIANCE

Through these governmental setups the imperialists are only cementing a new alliance with the Indian bourgeoisie and feudalists — an alliance more in keeping with the new balance of forces, the outcome of the imperialist war. Whatever may be the calculations of the imperialists or of the Indian propertied classes in setting up the Interim Government, however best they may plan to prevent, control, sabotage and crush any mass struggle, there is bound to be another regroupment of mass forces.

Sooner or later, the masses will get disillusioned with the Congress and the League. They will realize that the Interim Government, whether Congress or League or a Congress-League coalition, cannot solve any of the fundamental problems facing them. They will realize that neither of the established parties is capable of solving or intends to solve these problems. The hard blows of experience will again switch them on the road of struggle—the struggle against imperialism, against the bourgeois-feudal setup. Along the road of class struggle, they will find their salvation and class politics will finally replace the present communal politics.

British Troops Demand Faster Demobilization

Coinciding with the new session of Parliament in London earlier this month, British troops at Tel-el-Kelbir, Port Said, Suez and Abbasia went on strike to protest against the slowing down of demobilization. The Parliament is expected to deal with the problem.

BOSTON You are invited to attend a showing of Sergei Eisenstein's "Thunder Over Mexico" Proceeds to Christmas benefit fund for the families of former concentration camp prisoners—trade-unionists—anti-fascist fighters—minority peoples The Ritz Plaza 218 Huntington Ave (at Symphony Station) Saturday, Dec. 7 8:00 p.m. Dancing and Refreshments Auspices: American Committee for European Workers' Relief

Jobless And Hunger Riots Anticipated This Winter

With another disastrous winter facing the German working class, expected to be far worse than the last, Military Governments in the four zones are disturbed by mounting signs of mass discontent. Its sharpest manifestation this month was a protest action by the organized Ruhr coal miners. On Nov. 16 at a meeting in Bochum, the miners overwhelmingly rejected the proposal, agreed to by their union leaders, to work an extra shift of one voluntary Sunday a month.

The miners refused to work the extra shift because their food rations and wages are insufficient. They accused their union leaders of having agreed to this proposal of the British occupation forces without previously consulting them. (The French Stalinists, in their desire to obtain coal for French capitalism and to aid the Soviet government to participate in the exploitation of the Ruhr, denounced the miners for this action.)

CHAOIS COMING In the Ruhr industrial region, about 6,000,000 inhabitants need vast quantities of food, especially cereals and bread grains. But the bottom of the food barrel in the whole of Germany has been scraped. Outright starvation looms in the north Rhineland and Westphalia, where winter stocks of potatoes have been exhausted.

Economic conditions throughout split-up Germany are approaching chaos. According to the Nov. 18 N. Y. Times, the reserves of food and clothing are used up, fuel is almost impossible to get, transportation is broken down, spare parts and raw materials exhausted, and nothing has been replenished. Whole families move for the winter into a single room, which ever can be best heated. Only in American occupied houses is there central heating. The physical resistance of the

people, already drastically "whittled down," is less than it was a year ago. Deaths, especially infant mortality, is on the rise. "Puttyfaced townspeople" in every German town, make endless trips into the countryside, often giving up a day's pay at work to forage for food and fuel for their families. "men, women and children on their hands and knees patiently searching out whatever the peasants have left behind. In the forests they gather firewood and find beechnuts — 12 pounds can be exchanged for a liter of oil."

Since these supplies are limited, most of the city workers take along with them something to trade with the peasants. "Unless ration coupons are supplied, such trading is illegal, but that scarcely interferes with the flow of shoes, overcoats, clocks, typewriters, cigarettes, coffee and jewelry from town to country."

British and U. S. military authorities admit they cannot guarantee the 1,500 calorie-ration promised this winter. The French zone is "if anything, more grim. Even the Russian zone, with all its farmland, appears to be faring no better."

Workers at three big motor works in Cologne downed tools last week in protest against inadequate food rations. The workers were getting only 1,000 calories daily instead of the official ration of 1,500. Bread riots and demonstrations of the unemployed are anticipated this winter, writes Anne O'Hare McCormick from Frankfurt. Alarmed occupation officials admit that their policy has failed. But the "real dread" of the military governments is of an economic and social collapse which they admit will be "highly dangerous."

Striking Seamen In Trinidad Defy Police Raids, Arrests

A strike of the Seamen & Waterfront Workers Trade Union on Nov. 9 climaxed a deadlock in negotiations with the Shipping Association of Trinidad and Tobago. The workers are demanding a 50 per cent wage increase and a 44-hour week.

Immediately the British overlords through their Commissioner of Police, Col. W. A. Muller, cracked down on the striking workers with vicious police repressions, arrests and threats of strikebreaking.

On Nov. 11, H. O. Culhane, Superintendent of Harbors and Wharves issued an ultimatum to Port-of-Spain dock workers to return to work by 11:45 the following day under the threat that strikebreakers would "be recruited from all available sources," according to the Trinidad Guardian.

The workers defied the ultimatum and threats. Instead of going back to work, "demonstrations increased towards noon as hundreds of strikers marched about Port-of-Spain's streets parading with placards and banners. Crowds of spectators gathered on the footpaths."

Despite truckloads of police which drove in to attempt to break the picket lines, the number of pickets increased and wives joined their husbands, demonstrating side by side with them in the streets.

FIVE ARRESTED

On the third day of the strike, five waterfront workers, including C. P. Alexander, President of the Seamen and Waterfront Workers Union, were arrested during a night raid carried out

N. Y. Marxist Labor School Mondays, Dec. 2 to Jan. 6 First American Revolution WILLIAM F. WARDE, SWP Educational Dir. 7:30-9 p.m. Historical Materialism JOHN G. WRIGHT, Fourth International Asso. Ed. 9-10:30 p.m. Tuesdays, Dec. 3-10, Jan. 7: Fridays, Dec. 28 and Jan. 3 From 3rd International To The 4th GEORGE CLARKE, SWP New York Org. 7:30-9 p.m. Democracy, Fascism and Socialism DAVID WEISS, SWP Ed. Dir., N. Y. 9-10:30 p.m. Mail this reservation with tuition, \$2 per course, to Marxist Labor School, 116 University Pl. Check courses you wish. Name Address City Zone State

# THE MILITANT

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"The unprecedented wave of sit-down strikes and the amazingly rapid growth of industrial unionism in the United States (the CIO) is the most indisputable expression of the instinctive striving of the American workers to raise themselves to the level of the tasks imposed on them by history."

—Leon Trotsky

## SWP Convention

The Twelfth Convention of the American Trotskyist movement marked a new stage in the development of the Socialist Workers Party. For 18 years our main task was the clarification of program and the assembling of the initial cadres. Today we have definitely entered the road leading toward a mass party of action.

The Convention was living proof of the power of the Trotskyist movement to resist the blows of reaction.

During the war, the Roosevelt Administration attempted to stamp out Trotskyism in America. The leading figures of the Socialist Workers Party were arrested. Because they opposed imperialist war and advocated socialism they were railroaded to prison.

Two years ago, at the Eleventh Convention, 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were behind bars in Federal prisons.

The Roosevelt Administration likewise tried to halt the circulation of the Trotskyist press. The second class mailing rights of *The Militant* were revoked.

All the worst forces of reaction in America centered their attack on the Socialist Workers Party.

On top of these blows, a big proportion of the most active and energetic trade unionists belonging to the SWP were drafted into the armed forces, seriously depleting our strength on the national political scene.

But the Trotskyists were trained in the hard school of the class struggle. Adherence to principles was placed above all other considerations. We did not water down our program, or bow before arrogant reaction. We fought back with all our strength.

It was this firmness, this refusal to give up the principles of socialism which enabled us to weather the storm. And the fruits of our loyalty to program and to party were visible at the convention.

Since 1944 we have more than doubled in size. Moreover, the new adherents to Trotskyism are the finest and most far-sighted militants of the labor movement.

The achievements registered at the Twelfth National Convention, however, are only a token of what the future holds in store for the Socialist Workers Party. During the hard years of bitter reaction we resisted all the torrents of abuse, slander and persecution. Now American Trotskyism will begin to record in positive action what its program offers to the American workers.

As the crisis of American capitalism deepens, it will become clear to hundreds of thousands and millions of workers that only revolutionary socialism can end unemployment, hunger, fear, war and fascism.

By its loyalty to program the Socialist Workers Party has earned the right to lead the American workers into the socialist world of the future.

## Oil Union Shows Way

Every worker is puzzling over the difficult problem of maintaining his standard of living in the face of skyrocketing prices. The CIO Oil Workers International Union has shown in practice how this problem can be solved.

The Oil Workers have negotiated a nationwide contract with the Sinclair Oil Company providing for a sliding scale to meet price rises. They are now negotiating similar contracts with a number of other big companies, including the giant Standard Oil trust.

This contract provides for an immediate wage rise of 18 cents an hour retroactive to Oct. 1. This restores some of the oil worker's purchasing power, which like that of all other workers, was further undermined by recent price jumps.

Far more definitive, however, is the way in which the contract guarantees that the oil worker's purchasing power shall remain in line with future price advances. The sliding scale provides that if the cost of living goes up, then wages shall automatically go up in proportion. There is no ceiling on this sliding scale. If the cost of living should double or triple, for instance, the contract guarantees proportionate upward adjustment of wages.

In the highly improbable event living costs go down during the one-year life of the contract, wages cannot drop below the minimum

basic scale, including the latest increase, already won by the oil workers.

In September 1945, the oil workers opened the great CIO strike struggles to maintain take-home pay. They won their 18½ cents an hour. But in the short time since then they have seen their gains completely wiped out by price increases. They have drawn the logical conclusion. To protect their standard of living they now demand their wage gains shall be protected by a sliding scale provision.

In winning a contract with Sinclair containing this provision they have broken ground for the entire labor movement. It can be done!

## Injunctions

Truman's action in obtaining an injunction against the striking miners once again throws into the limelight the use of the courts as a means by which the corporations and their agents have succeeded in breaking one strike after another in the past.

The list of strikes broken by means of injunctions is far too long to enumerate here. Suffice it to recall that injunctions played a central role in breaking the miners' strike in 1921 and the strike of the railroad shop workers in 1922. This is what Truman hopes to repeat in 1946.

The whole record of the law courts proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that they are among the most profoundly reactionary and viciously anti-labor institutions in the land. Let us cite only a few of the most recent legal decisions.

At almost the same time that one federal judge was issuing an injunction against the miners, another judge in a U.S. District Court was dismissing the four-year old case against George E. Deatherage, Lawrence Dennis, George Sylvester Viereck and a score of other notorious fascists. The dilatoriness and leniency of the courts toward these fascists is in marked contrast with the swift and peremptory action against the coal diggers.

Another recent sample of capitalist "justice" comes from the state of New York where the courts whitewashed the police killer of the two Ferguson brothers in the Freeport Case and where the Democratic and Republican judges worked hand in glove to remove the Socialist Workers Party and two other minority parties from the ballot in the last elections.

The U.S. Supreme Court refused even to act on an appeal to prevent Ku-Kluxer Bilbo of Mississippi from taking his seat in the Senate, although his election was as fraudulent as any plebiscite conducted under Hitler. But the legal machinery invariably functions without a hitch when it comes to using it against workers who fight to defend their standard of living.

More and more brazen use is being made of injunctions, the issuance of which in labor disputes has been ostensibly restricted by the Norris-LaGuardia Act. It was only a few weeks ago that three judges issued a sweeping injunction against the Pittsburgh power workers, banning their right to strike and tossing their leader into jail for one year.

The aroused labor movement of Pittsburgh forced these gentlemen to revoke their injunction and to free the jailed union leader. The Pittsburgh workers have shown an excellent way of preventing the utilization for strikebreaking purposes of these direct agencies of the capitalist class which operate in the name of the law.

## CIO Rejects Purge

The CIO convention delegates are to be commended for refusing to be stamped into a witch-hunt against members with radical political views. Their rejection of a purge campaign reflects the powerful opposition of the CIO workers to red-baiting and repression of political minorities.

The overwhelming majority of CIO members recognize that such a course would lead to the weakening and disruption of the CIO. As CIO President Philip Murray himself pointed out, the greatest menace to labor is not the "communists" but Big Business reaction.

The stand of the CIO convention was weakened, however, by its concession to the red-baiters in the form of a "Declaration of Policy" saying that the CIO "resents and rejects" the interference of the Communist Party in the affairs of the CIO. The naming of the Communist Party, and no other organization, was clearly motivated by the desire to appease reactionary elements.

Otherwise, why didn't the declaration also name the Social Democrats who have been campaigning up and down the CIO for repressive measures against "communists"? Or the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, another red-baiting outfit, to which Murray himself belongs? Or the Democratic Party, whose policies have long dominated the CIO politically?

It is true the "Declaration of Policy" is ambiguous. It proposes no acts of repression, and Murray emphasized that the CIO is opposed to any form of political repression. But the declaration does provide a basis for the reactionaries to continue their red-baiting efforts.

The CIO should have taken a clearcut stand against red-baiting in any form. That it did not do so is partly the responsibility of the leaders of the Communist Party (Stalinist). The leading Stalinist trade unionists inside the CIO made a miserable deal and supported the "Declaration of Policy."

Red-baiting is by no means a dead issue inside the CIO. Murray and the other top leaders are under ever-growing pressure from the reactionary forces, both without and within the CIO. They cannot be depended upon to stand up under this pressure. It is up to the CIO membership to continue to be vigilant and to vigorously repudiate the red-baiters wherever and whenever they raise their ugly heads.



"I've been thinking how much you'd enjoy this ever since last Thanksgiving!"

## A Workers' BOOKSHELF

**EMPIRE IN THE CHANGING WORLD**, by W. K. Hancock, Penguin Books, Inc., 1943, 186 pp., 25 cents.

In this book the author attempts to make a feeble defense of British imperialism by carrying on a whining argument with its rival, U. S. imperialism. He does not deny that glaring injustices exist among the colonial peoples controlled by Great Britain. But, asks the author, do not equal or even worse injustices exist in colonies under American control?

He further argues that these are not the fault of the British government, but solely of the traders and settlers! The government, he claims, was called in by missionaries for the sole purpose of protecting the natives!

Sometimes, the author admits, Great Britain came into conflict with other nations' monopolistic practices in colonies, which threatened the interests of British traders.

"In the territories which she annexed, she offered equal opportunity to the traders of all nations. She did not exercise a selfish sovereignty." One wonders why it has been necessary to maintain armies in the colonies and build high tariffs.

The author tries to make out that Britain is a benefactor of mankind. Through loans, India has been "freed from the tyrannical rule of the British."

ny of recurrent famine," while the British government is "trustee for those people who are unable as yet to stand on their own feet under the strenuous conditions of the modern world."

A touching story is told of the British subject's claim on the protection of his sovereign. But on whom can a British subject (of India, for example) call for protection, when the injuring parties are also British subjects (the troops)?

In this book, the author himself makes damaging admissions about the treatment of such races as the Maoris and the Africans. But he throws this back in the face of the American rulers, because of their own scandalous conduct against the Negroes.

The only conclusion one can draw from the entire book is that all imperialism is bad, be it British or American or any other nationality. Far from being qualified to bring about a better postwar world, as is claimed, imperial rule must be wiped out before it exterminates humanity.

—Ethel Dondorp

**ATOMIC ENERGY IN THE COMING ERA**, by David Dietz, Avon Book Co., 1945, 184 pp., 25 cents.

David Dietz is the science editor of the Scripps Howard newspaper chain. "What is atomic

energy?" he asks. And he gives a competent explanation in understandable language. But you'll find no answer in his book to the second question he poses, "What does it mean for the future of America and the world?"

Dietz is a firm supporter of American capitalism. He speaks in gingerly fashion about applying atomic energy to peacetime uses, pointing out all of the hindrances—except the profit system, which is the real barrier to scientific progress.

When he touches the subject of the atomic bomb as a weapon, Dietz is scared, but not nearly scared enough. He still thinks, after the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, that the "humane spirit" of science will guide mankind to peace. He quotes one of the atomic bomb scientists, Dr. Smyth, as saying that "at the start of the researches . . . many scientists hoped that . . . no such thing as an atomic bomb was possible."

That the bomb was possible, was created, and was unleashed by the capitalist government, Dietz supports, does not enter into his "reasoning." His book is designed to lull its readers into a false belief that Wall Street can be trusted to avert a Third World War and the annihilation of civilization.

—Ruth Benson

## British Labor Party Faces Crisis At Home

Opposition to the imperialist policy of the British Government has created a political crisis of the most serious dimensions within the parliamentary Labor Party. An amendment to the King's address to Parliament condemning Foreign Secretary Bevin's foreign policy was signed by 58 "Left Wing" Labor Members of Parliament, including four Ministry secretaries, and presented for debate in the House of Commons on Nov. 18.

The amendment called on the Government to "review and recast its conduct of international affairs" and to "provide a democratic and constructive socialist alternative to an otherwise inevitable conflict between American capitalism and Soviet Communism."

Although the critical amendment was defeated by a 353 to 0 vote, the large number of Labor abstentions—estimated at about 120, or one third of the Labor MPs—revealed the serious proportions of the revolt within the Labor Party.

The insurgent Laborites also introduced an amendment opposing peacetime conscription. It was defeated by a vote of 320 to 53, but again with many abstentions.

Churchill's Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and other leading Conservatives demonstratively joined Prime Minister Attlee in voting down the amendment. Bevin's policy received the "almost solid support" by the Opposition members present," according to the Nov. 19 N. Y. Times, which declared that "the total vote for the Government in both foreign policy and conscription is regarded as disappointingly small."

If the amendment on foreign policy had carried, the Government would have been compelled to resign. Its introduction was a public challenge to the Attlee Government.

Disciplinary action against the rebellious Labor MPs is unlikely. Without question the amendment on foreign policy has the widest support in the working class. Expulsion of such a large section of the most active and well-known "left" MPs would have dangerous consequences for the Labor Party's right wing.

These developments show the deep unrest that is stirring the British working class. Labor MPs closest to the ranks and most sensitive to their pressure were forced to put up a token struggle against the Attlee-Bevin Government's Churchillian foreign policy. In effect, the amendment demanded that the Labor Government withdraw from its bloc with American imperialism which is driving toward war with the Soviet Union.

## Billions For Battleships Or Homes For Workers?

The diplomats try to soothe the public by speeches on the need for disarmament and reductions in armament. But the brass hats are driving ahead to create the biggest military machine in the country's peacetime history.

This was shown last week when in a move that received little publicity the Navy heads asked the Budget Bureau in Washington for a record-breaking peacetime appropriation of \$5,900,000,000 for the 1948 fiscal year.

This amount is \$750,000,000 more than the revised Navy budget for the current fiscal year, ending next June 30. The Navy's biggest request before the war was in 1941, when it asked for less than 2½ billions.

Already bigger than all the other navies in the world combined, the U. S. Navy is still not satisfied, and demands ever greater diversion of the nation's resources into the military machine. Already the official and unofficial propagandists of the War and Navy Departments are raising a howl about possible cuts in military appropriations for next year and warning about the terrible disasters that will face the nation if the brass hats don't get what they demand.

The growing influence of the militarists in all departments of the government represents a danger to the labor movement, as has been shown by the readiness of the government to use troops in breaking strikes. Equally dangerous is the brass hat's demand for a lion's share of the federal appropriations. The choice is between homes and battleships, and the struggle for an adequate housing program is directly tied up with a struggle for decreased military appropriations.

## Banks Curtail Credit As Loans Hit Peak

Manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers have been borrowing from banks at a record-shattering pace. According to figures released last week by the Federal Reserve Board, business loans passed the 10 billion dollar mark on Nov. 13. This figure represents an increase of 73 per cent over last year's low of 5.7 billion at the end of May.

It is no secret that these billions are being borrowed primarily against the inventories that have likewise accumulated at an unprecedented rate.

As a matter of fact, the loans made by the banks since June 1946 approximate rather closely the total amount by which the inventories of manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers have increased in the same period. The increase in business loans and in business inventories amounts to about 2½ billion dollars each.

Soaring loans, as well as swollen inventories serve to underscore the unbridled speculation that characterizes the current boom. The rising output of civilian goods is not being absorbed by the market but is piling up in warehouses with the aid of credits. In this respect we have here a repetition—on a far larger scale—of the development that occurred following World War I when production and the price structure were also maintained temporarily by the manipulation of the credit system.

Although by October the Treasury officials had issued three warnings on the over-extension of credit, the banks refused to clamp down. Beginning with November, however, they took fright. According to Wall St. Journal, Nov. 20: "Commercial banks are beginning to bring down the 'rejected' stamp on more and more of a record flood of applications for business loans. They are generally inching up on interest rates, too . . ."

Bank loans as a factor of stabilizing economic life can very swiftly become transformed into just the opposite. If "easy money" feeds the boom, then credit restrictions must pave the way for the forced liquidation of inventories and the resulting slashes in production.

## Our Program:

- 1. Defend labor's standard of living!**  
A sliding scale of wages—an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!  
Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!  
Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers' control!
- 2. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!**  
For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours—reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!  
Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control!  
Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!
- 3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strikebreaking!**  
No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!  
No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!
- 4. Build an independent labor party!**
- 5. Tax the rich, not the poor!**  
Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes!  
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
- 6. An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!**
- 7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!**  
End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!
- 8. For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!**
- 9. A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war.**  
Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!  
Against capitalist conscription!  
Abolish the officer caste system!  
Full democratic rights in the armed forces!  
Trade union wages for the armed forces!  
Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
- 10. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!**  
For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!  
Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!
- 11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!**

# Strength Of American Trotskyism Shown At SWP's 12th Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

Since our last convention, he reported, we have learned of the death of hundreds of Trotskyists in Europe during the war at the hands of the Nazis. In Greece and the other Balkan lands, he added, the Stalinists have followed up this murderous work of the Nazis, killing additional scores and hundreds of the fighters for world socialism.

In memory of these martyrs to our cause, the convention stood in silence for one minute.

E. R. Frank, Editor of *Fourth International*, the theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism, then gave a report on the international situation. He demonstrated that capitalism on a world scale has no possible perspective but continued decline. The present armaments race will end in a Third World War, a war waged with atomic weapons that will destroy all the conquests of civilization and possibly mankind itself.

But there is every reason for revolutionary optimism, Frank declared. He pointed to the victory of the Soviet Union over German capitalism as a mighty demonstration of the power inherent in nationalized and planned economy—a power that displayed itself despite everything the Stalinist regime did to shackle it.

Comrade Frank called attention to recent great events to support the revolutionary optimism of the Trotskyists. He recalled the revolt of the Italian workers upon the fall of Mussolini's regime, and the revolutionary wave that swept over Europe in 1945. He showed that the German workers manifested a similar desire to do away with Hitler's regime and it was the frightful havoc of war and the presence of Allied troops that prevented them from going forward in Germany. He pointed to the great colonial rebellions that have lifted tens of millions of people to their feet in Indonesia, Indo-China, India and other colonial areas. All these stormy developments on a world scale, he declared, show that capitalism cannot become stabilized, and that mankind faces a long revolutionary period ahead.

A minority position, which envisages the indefinite postponement of socialism, was presented by Felix Morrow. The world working class and mankind as a whole, he maintained, had been hurled back, placing on the order of the day not the socialist revolution but the



JAMES P. CANNON

struggle for democratic rights and national liberation.

This viewpoint was overwhelmingly rejected by the Convention which adopted the international resolution by a vote of 113 to 3.

Comrade Cannon reported on the perspectives of the socialist revolution in the United States. The question he considered was: How realistic are the prospects of a socialist revolution in America in the coming period?

On the economic side, Cannon recalled the course of events since the First World War. The fabulous prosperity enjoyed by Wall Street in the Twenties led to the most catastrophic of depressions. American capitalism never recovered from this depression. Only by plunging the country into the Second World War was Wall Street able to stave off new and ever more precipitous declines.

## PROSPECTS IN U. S.

But by entering the war, American capitalism simply paved the way for a still worse depression. The real fundamental prospects, he said, are for an economic crisis far more acute than that of the 1930's. Even the capitalist economists, he pointed out, believe that a new depression will start anywhere from next spring to two years from now.

What about the working class? Will it prove capable of ending capitalism and building socialism?

Comrade Cannon answered, "Yes." He traced the development of the working class since World War I. The capitalist class succeeded after that war in

## CONVENTION GREETINGS TO TROTSKYISTS THROUGHOUT WORLD

As the American party of socialist revolution in the stronghold of world capitalist reaction, we hail your heroic struggles and salute the memory of the countless Trotskyist martyrs who have fallen in the fight.

The workers and the oppressed of the world face their greatest enemy in the power-drunk Wall Street bandits who are bent on dominating the entire earth.

As part of our unrelenting opposition to the imperialist designs and atomic war plans of Washington, the Twelfth National Convention of the SWP calls on the American workers to demand the immediate withdrawal of all American troops from foreign soil.

The greatest contribution the SWP can make to the struggle for world socialism is to organize and lead the mighty American working class in accomplishing the socialist revolution in the U. S.

All the work of this Twelfth National Convention, the largest in the history of American Trotskyism, has been directed to this end.

In the indomitable revolutionary spirit of our great leader Leon Trotsky, we go forward with the greatest optimism.

Shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary vanguard in Europe, Latin America, Asia, Africa and Australia, we are marching towards the decisive battles for the socialist liberation of mankind.

Ohio, our party forged ahead, winning members by the score, as well as hundreds of sympathizers, and putting our name on the political map as the most dynamic party in the labor movement. Full returns on the vote were not yet in for Minnesota, New Jersey and Washington; but first reports are most encouraging. In California where arbitrary, anti-democratic election laws virtually exclude small parties from the ballot, a write-in campaign brought excellent results. A great future lies ahead for us in the field of election activity, said Stein.

Now we must go over our experiences, see where we missed



FARRELL DOBBS

up on opportunities, work out improvements, and prepare for a national campaign in 1948.

No matter what the ups and downs in the class struggle in the immediate future, declared Comrade Stein, the general instability of the capitalist system inevitably impels the workers on the road to struggle. Fear of depression, fear of another war, fear of fascism continually prevent the working class from settling down to any sort of stable or routine existence. Capitalism itself forces them to organize and to take part in politics. This is the guarantee of our success.

In the two years since its last convention, the SWP's rate of recruitment has steadily risen. It has not only more than doubled in size but its composition has steadily improved. The influx of trade unionists, of Negroes, of housewives and youth has transformed the organization and its activities.

Now we have the realistic possibility, continued Stein, of extending our activities on a much wider basis than formerly. We are on the road to transforming the American Trotskyist movement into the mass party of the working class.

The report on trade union work was given by Farrell Dobbs, editor of *The Militant*. The facts and figures he presented show that the Socialist Workers Party has not only achieved the goal set six years ago of becoming proletarian in composition, but is forging rapidly ahead, recruiting the cream of the militants in the trade union movement.

## TASKS OF SWP

The report on the immediate political prospects and the tasks facing the Socialist Workers Party was given by M. Stein. The primary task, he pointed out, was the rapid transformation of the SWP into a mass party of action. In this connection, he outlined a whole series of problems for discussion by the delegates. Among the most crucial, he said, is the present rebid-red-baiting campaign waged against the labor movement by Wall Street and its agents.

He told how the Socialist Workers Party is fighting the red-baiters with all its strength and energy. In a number of trade union bodies, he reported, members of the Socialist Workers Party have succeeded in blocking the efforts of the red-baiters to split labor. The Communist (Stalinist) Party, by way of contrast, he pointed out, has either retreated in the face of the onslaught or has added its own variety of red-baiting—slandering attacks on the "Trotskyists."

Stein reported the great gains made by the Socialist Workers Party in the recent election campaign. Despite being thrown out of the ballot in both New York and

## Convention Greeting To Natalia Trotsky

The Twelfth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, meeting on the Eighteenth Anniversary of American Trotskyism, sends you, dear comrade, its warmest fraternal greetings.

This is the largest national assembly our movement has yet held. Every delegate has reaffirmed his resolve to carry forward our revolutionary work guided by the method and program of Leon Trotsky.

One of the forces helping to steel our ranks for the great task before us is the heroic example and indomitable spirit of our great teacher. We are confident of the victory of the World Party of the Socialist Revolution.

ists to its banner. There are more trade unionists on the new Committee than any previous one.

A proposal of the Workers Party for "unity" was rejected with only 3 in favor. The Workers Party is a group, petty-bourgeois in ideology and composition, which split from the Socialist Workers Party in 1940. Although vigorously attacked by Leon Trotsky before his death, they have since maintained the pretense of being Trotskyists too. The Convention characterized their offer of "unity" as nothing but a shabby maneuver designed to split away a few members of the Socialist Workers Party.

After discussing the internal situation in the party, the convention by a vote of 101 to 4 with no abstentions decided to expel Felix Morrow and David Jeffries for "disloyal and disruptive activities." Their followers were given one final opportunity to return to the party loyalty.

Comrade Murry Weiss closed the convention with a speech on the meaning of this gathering to the delegates and to the party.

The Twelfth Convention of the Socialist Workers Party then concluded with the singing of the revolutionary song of the working class, the *International*.

The largest party gathering yet held in the 18 years of the American Trotskyist movement, the Twelfth Convention marked the great progress of revolutionary socialism in America. The first difficult stage of building a mass working class party has been passed. The plans agreed upon at the Convention furnish the tools for the next great stage of development.

From a party of propaganda, the Socialist Workers Party will now swiftly be transformed into a party of action.

# THE MILITANT ARMY

## 'Militant' Election Issue Well Received In L.A.



Harry Thompson, energetic Section Literature Reporter for Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party, relates a few highlights in his round-up report on the distribution of 11,000 copies of the election issue of *The Militant*:

"We had good reception at a Stalinist street corner meeting. The Stalinists were haranguing the workers with their people's front line while the workers read *The Militant*. The Stalinists became furious. One Stalinist ran up to their bookstore and returned with a few copies of the *Peoples World* plus their *Conspiracy Against The USSR*.

"All of this running around was of no avail. The workers felt they had something solid in *The Militant*. Finally the Stalinists resorted to slander and vilification by the chairman of the meeting and their trade union director. They attempted to form goon squads against *The Militant* distributors, but the sympathy of the workers toward us prevented them from physically attacking us."

Comrade Thompson tells about a distribution at a Studio Mass Meeting in the Hollywood Legion Stadium: "Comrade Dick L. reported a conversation with a picket captain. This picket captain subscribes to *The Militant* and likes it very much. Comrade Dick asked him for an interview for *The Militant* to further publicize the strike. The picket captain (a leading militant in one of the studio unions on strike) agreed.

"From the beginning of the election campaign until the day he left for New York City, Comrade Manuel Fischer distributed the bulk of the election *Militants* and election folders. He was assisted by Comrades Mae Manning, Manuel Sunshine, Harry Thompson, Sam Stark, Cecelia and Dorothy.

"From Oct. 24 until election eve, Comrades Mae Manning and Harry Thompson distributed the bulk of the literature. They were assisted by Comrades Jack Dall, Leah, Carl F., Bernard, Sid, Pauline and Eileen of Westside Branch, Wallace and Bill K., a new comrade.

"The comrades mentioned above, plus the comrades who participated in the distributions at the Negro churches deserve commendation for their good work."

Militant Director El Snyder of Flint writes: "I am submitting another sub that you can credit to the Flint Branch for November. You see, we set the goal for each comrade as five subs to have their names mentioned in *The Militant Army*. The comrades must work for it. We have a friend who has gone out and obtained not one sub, but three. This is what I mean when I say the comrades must work for it; if a friend can do it, certainly comrades can."

We can add that Comrade Snyder's name appears well at the top of that scoreboard.

Fred Martin, Milwaukee Militant Manager, comments about the work being done by other branches: "From the latest Militant Army columns the Boston Branch is certainly proving to be a live-wire branch. Such results as that should shame us other branches into more activity. From their results it seems that the mobilization basis is the best method of really arousing the morale and enthusiasm of the comrades."

"The scoreboard idea of the Flint Branch is proving valuable. We are planning to do that for our branch, but have not done so as yet. I keep a record of who got subs and the comrades are given credit at our branch meetings for their work."

E. Brent forwarded six subs obtained by the comrades of Detroit during the week.

Flo Hamish of Chicago Branch sent six subs explaining: "These people are located in an area which we intend to canvass thoroughly in our projected 'neighborhood work.' You will note they are primarily renewals."

Five subs have been received from Cleveland Branch during the last few days.

Other branches heard from with subs are: Akron—2 subs, San Pedro—6 subs, Toledo—3 subs, New York—8 subs.

Militant boosters are finding many ways to help build circulation.

Belle Montague of Cambridge writes: "Thank you very much for printing the article about Howard Street, Cambridge, and the adventures of Mr. Paris. It has aroused the interest of the entire neighborhood in *The Militant*. After all, people are funny in a way and they always respond to news of the home town! I was wondering if you could spare some extra copies of the Oct. 26 number, which contains the above-mentioned article.

"Of course, I will pay for them, if you would be willing to wait a week or two for payment. I have heard about the financial situation, of course, but this is an exception as it is a chance, I believe, to interest many new people and perhaps obtain quite a few subscriptions."

## NEWARK

Charlie Chaplin Film Festival, Social and Dance SATURDAY, NOV. 30 Socialist Workers Party 423 Springfield Ave. 8:30 p.m. Refreshments

## Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers At these Local Activities of The Socialist Workers Party

- AKRON — Visit The SWP, 2nd floor, 8 So. Howard St., Akron 8, O. Open daily except Sunday, 2 to 4 p.m.
- Baltimore — Current Events Discussion, 8 p.m. followed by social. Admission free.
- BALTIMORE — For information write Box 415, Baltimore 3, Md. Monthly forums.
- BAYONNE — SWP headquarters, 62 W. 23rd St., Open house 2nd and 4th Saturdays.
- BOSTON — Office at 80 Stuart St. Open Saturdays from noon until 5 p.m.; Wednesdays and Fridays, 7:30 to 9:30 p.m. Sunday Forum — 3 p.m.
- BUFFALO — Open every afternoon except Sunday. Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone Madison 3960. Open house and current events discussion every Saturday, 8:30 p.m. Admission free.
- CHICAGO — Visit SWP 777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 4787. Library, bookstore. Sat. night, open house.
- CLEVELAND — Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall 1446 E. 82nd St. off Wade Park Ave.
- CONNECTICUT — Write to the Militant, P.O. Box 841, New Haven.
- DETROIT — Open house every Saturday, 8 p.m. at 6108 Linwood. Office open daily 12 to 5. Phone Tyler 7-6287. Sunday forums, 3 p.m.
- FLINT — Visit SWP and Militant headquarters, 215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3, Mich. Open Monday through Friday, 5 p.m. to 9 p.m.
- LOS ANGELES — Visit Militant Publishing Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644. Every Friday, 8 p.m. — Militant Workers Forum, 466 E. Vernon.
- SAN PEDRO, Militant Publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.
- MILWAUKEE — Visit the Milwaukee SWP branch, 424 E. Wells St., evenings from 7:30 to 9:30 p.m. Book Store, 10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily. Sunday Forums, 8:30 p.m.
- NEWARK — Visit SWP headquarters, 423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Library and reading room open week nights, 7-10 p.m. Friday night forum, 8:30.
- NEW YORK — CITY HQ., 116 University Place. GR 5-8149 Tues., 9 p.m. and Sat., 4:30, rehearsal of Militant chorus.
- HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St. Rm. 23. MO. 2-1866. Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.
- BRONX: 1034 Prospect Ave. 1st floor. phone TI 2-0101. Reading room open Mon to Fri., 7 to 10 p.m. Current events discussion, Fridays at 8.
- BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433. Mon. Class — "Program of SWP" 7 p.m.
- CHELSEA: 130 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.
- OAKLAND, Cal. — Meetings Wednesday, Odd Fellows Temple, 410 - 11th St For information write to P.O. Box 1351.
- PHILADELPHIA — SWP Headquarters, 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 5820.
- PITTSBURGH — SWP headquarters 1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor. Round table discussions, 2nd and 4th Sundays each month, 3:30. Phone: Court 6060.
- PORTLAND, Ore. — Visit the SWP headquarters, 134 S. W. Washington, 3rd Floor. Tel ATwater 3992. Open 1 to 4 p.m., daily except Sunday, and 6 to 8, Tuesday, Friday.
- Wed. night class on Socialism and current events, 8 p.m.
- SAN DIEGO — Headquarters 623 Sixth Ave., open 3-9 p.m. daily.
- SAN FRANCISCO — Visit the San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., corner of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor: open from 12 noon to 4:30 p.m., daily except Sunday. Phone EXbrook 1926.
- SEATTLE — Visit our Headquarters, 1919 1/2 Second Ave. Open Monday through Saturdays, noon to 6 p.m. Tel. SE-0543. Library, Bookstore.
- Friday forum — 8 p.m.
- ST. LOUIS — Visit our Headquarters, 1023 N Grand Blvd., Rm. 312, open Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 7:30 to 9 p.m. Forums every Thursday, 8:30 p.m. Phone Jefferson 3642.
- ST. PAUL — 540 Cedar St., St. Paul 2, Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily 2:30-9:30.
- TACOMA, Wash. — Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Oddfellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P.O. Box 1079.
- TOLEDO — SWP headquarters at 108 Summit St. Toledo 4, O. Open daily. Phone MAin 8919.
- YOUNGSTOWN — Militant Laboratory, 35 1/2 S. Watt St., Youngstown 3, O.

# WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant" Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

## Suggests Ways To Aid Miners

Editor: A thought—in the event that United Mine Workers funds are tied up by the government. Has anyone considered addressing a slogan to the entire labor movement, "Feed The Miners!" I suggest an open letter to the labor movement calling upon it to place its funds at the disposal of the UMW, and if need be, to collect a special assessment from ALL union members. The AFL and CIO have already backed the UMW in words.

## Studio Striker Likes 'Militant'

Editor: While distributing a Socialist Workers Party leaflet at a mass meeting of the studio strikers, we met a fellow who was distributing leaflets for his striking union. He asked us if our party put out *The Militant*. He said that he was reading the paper and was interested in finding out about the organization that

## LINES

This is the age of lines, folks, Lines to the end of the earth; Railroad, steamship, airlines, Marks of a world in birth.  
Lines on the face of a nation. Cigarette, butter, and meat; Lines of the people's struggles Looking for something to eat.  
Lines of imperialist armies, Savagery on the march; Lines upon lines of crosses— Price of a triumph arch.

ublished it. When he asked if we would give publicity to the strikers' point of view in *The Militant*, Comrade Lynn pointed out a factual report already carried which gave the main issues and events of the strike.

He then offered to arrange a personal interview with the Strike Committee, so that we can visit the strike headquarters and get an on-the-spot picture of the movie strikers' outlook.

We want to give them a hand in putting their grievances before the workers in other industries.

Dick Greger Los Angeles, Calif.

## By George Kerry

Lines on the faces of children Pinched and dulled with pain; Bread lines for human genius Bowed in the sleet and rain.  
Some lines there are, that are broader And stronger than tempered steel— Lines of the organized worker Fighting to make a world real!

## 'Militant' A Habit

Editor: *The Militant* is a habit with me now. I agree that a labor party of some sort should be forthcoming soon. It's the only salvation of the workers, judging from the last election. I have a son in the Marines, in the last letter he wrote me, he expressed his feelings about the South, thusly: "Thank God, Dad, I was born in the North. The further South you go, Dad, the poorer the people are, and the dirtier everything is. I think we are poor; well, the people down here— God have mercy on them and help them!"

## Hopes For Return Of 8-Page 'Militant'

Editor: I have missed those extra two pages in *The Militant* because your paper carries news I can't find in the daily papers. I hope you'll soon be able to publish an 8-page issue every week.

W. M. Brooklyn, N. Y.

## PHILADELPHIA

Amateur Night Party SATURDAY, NOV. 30 Singers! Dancers! Instrumentalists! Comedians! Militant Labor Forum 1303 W. Girard 9 p.m.

A Handy Way to Help The Militant

To The Militant  
116 University Place  
New York 3, New York.

I like *The Militant* because it tells the truth. I want to help because I know it depends upon workers like me for support.

Here is my contribution of \$.....

Name ..... (Please print)

Address .....

City .....

Postal Zone ..... State .....

Thirty Years In The Steel Mill

By Theodore Kovalesky

There's so much work, and it's such tough work when you change a tuyere, that before the job is done, everybody is sore.

So you can imagine how the boys felt yesterday when old Steve, the keeper, was holding up things, fussing with the ratchet wrench.

I just muttered, "Sure," and held on to the bar.

"He ought to be home in bed . . . or in the labor gang," Jimmy snorted.

In the meantime, old Steve went on working in a plodding, methodical manner, bent and stooped and old.

I don't know just how old Steve is. They say he's about sixty-five, but he looks eighty.

The Negro Struggle Jim Crow And The UN

By William E. Bohannon

Last week the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution on the question of equality for racial and religious minorities.



The General Assembly of the United Nations declares that it is in the higher interests of humanity to put an immediate end to religious and so-called racial persecutions and discriminations.

This resolution plainly does not take up much space. But it is not worth even the small piece of paper it is printed on.

Because the fact is that it was adopted unanimously—that is, every delegation voted for it, including delegations from countries mostly guilty of Jim Crow and terror against minorities.

day, the slab becomes warped and twisted crazily out of shape. Steve is like that. Only, it has taken the heat about thirty years to warp him.

He hasn't much to say. When his buddy relieves him at the end of the shift, he'll jabber at him for a while, complaining that he has to do all the work while the other takes it easy.

When Jimmy complained that Steve should be in the labor gang, I don't suppose he really meant it. He was just hot and crabby, the way we all get when we have to change a tuyere.

No, as long as he can stand it, the old man will just have to keep working and plodding and sweating up on the furnaces that he has known with a terrible intimacy for so many years.

Every now and then you'll see a big ad in the papers that says there's a future for men in the steel plants of the nation.

10 PER CENT BOOST IN RENT IS THREATENED

N. J. CIO Asks Sliding Scale Of Benefits

NEWARK, N. J., Nov. 25—The principle of the sliding scale of wages and compensation received new support last week when spokesmen of the New Jersey State CIO issued a statement in connection with Sickness Compensation hearings being held at the State House.

Carl Holderman, president of the State CIO, proposed that "a cost-of-living escalator clause be embodied in the proposed sickness compensation law assuring beneficiaries of weekly benefits in conformance with living costs as they rise above the index figure for the average cost of living for the period 1935-39 . . . the benefits to be fixed as of Jan. 1 of each year in order to reflect the percentage of increase of living cost as it rises."

Recognizing that this is only a part of the broader program of defense of living standards, Holderman further declared that the escalator clause should also be "applied to the whole range of social security legislation, straight unemployment compensation, old age benefits, survivors' benefits, etc."

IMPORTANT IMPETUS

This significant extension of the sliding scale principle by an authoritative CIO body is expected to give further impetus to adoption of the principle of the sliding scale of wages at the forthcoming December CIO Convention.

This action of the CIO occurs shortly after the vigorous SWP election campaign which prominently featured the need for the sliding scale of wages. The SWP's State Program had specifically endorsed the CIO and AFL proposals for raising unemployment and workmen's compensation and establishing sickness compensation.

CIO Convention In Session



Over 600 delegates, representing the CIO's six million members, shown in session at the Eighth Constitutional Convention of the CIO in Atlantic City last week.

OPA Officials Wilting Before Demands Of Real Estate Barons

OPA officials in Washington last week disclosed they are considering approval of nation-wide rent increases of 10 per cent as a bribe to landlords who are demanding immediate rent-boosts of 15 per cent and removal of all rent-controls by Spring.

Unless quick mass action is taken, the rent hogs, abetted by the government, will steal added billions of dollars from the pockets of the working people, who pay from one-sixth to one-fourth of their income for rent alone.

While landlords from coast to coast are spreading a movement to padlock empty apartments and bar the homeless from available rooms until the OPA yields, government spokesmen said they were "unconcerned" about the situation.

4 Maritime Leaders Expelled By Stalinists

Among the scores of left-wingers who have been expelled from the Communist (Stalinist) party in recent months are four rank-and-file maritime union leaders on the West Coast.

The expulsions public this month, The Maritime Worker, issued by the Waterfront Committee of the Communist Party of San Francisco, scurrilously attacks the four expelled unionists for "carrying on a red-baiting campaign of their own."

Flint SWP Branch Mourns George Hunter

FLINT—George "Scotty" Hunter, revolutionary fighter for socialism, was fatally injured in a hunting accident on Nov. 17. This working class leader, only thirty-two years old, is mourned by his comrades in the Socialist Workers Party and his fellow-workers in the UAW.

Scotty joined the Flint Branch of the SWP a few days after the GM strike began last year. He was a Chevrolet worker with twelve years' seniority and a World War II veteran.

Now as during Browder's time, criticism of the leadership's pro-capitalist line is met with expulsion. Sincere militants who oppose support of capitalist politicians and demand the adoption of a revolutionary program are smeared as agents of the bosses and stool-pigeons.

Flint UAW Local 659 Publishes Articles Opposing Red-Baiting

FLINT, Mich., Nov. 25—Early this month the Executive Board of Chevrolet Local 659, UAW-CIO, passed a motion condemning any form of red-baiting and instructed the union publicity committee to print editorials and articles in the Local's paper, The Searchlight, reflecting that position.

The first editorial following this action explains the need for discussion of issues facing labor "on their merits, and not on the basis of whether or not some proponents or opponents of a question are members of some racial, religious or political minority."

Penn 4-City Bazaar Saturday Evening, Dec. 14 at Militant Labor Forum 1303 W. Girard Avenue Philadelphia

Christmas Bazaars Planned By ACEWR For European Relief

Affairs in several cities are scheduled to be held in December for the benefit of European Workers Relief.

The Boston ACEWR Chapter is having a benefit showing of Sergei Eisenstein's famous film "Thunder Over Mexico" on Saturday, Dec. 7. All those wishing tickets should write to Josephine Jull, Treasurer, 78 Peterboro St. (Apt. 17), Boston 15, Mass.

In the Los Angeles area, Christmas shoppers will have a chance to get many bargains and at the same time help the workers of Europe by attending the bazaar of the L. A. Chapter to be held on Saturday evening Dec. 7 and Sunday afternoon Dec. 8 at 316½ West Pico Blvd.

Four Pennsylvania Chapters of the ACEWR are cooperating on an Xmas Bazaar that promises to be most competitive. While the affair will be held in Philadelphia at 1303 W. Girard Avenue on Saturday evening, Dec. 14, three other chapters, Allentown-Bethlehem, Reading and Pottsville, will operate their own bazaars and sell their wares in friendly competition with their hosts, the Philadelphia ACEWR Chapter.

The arrival of winter in Europe has intensified the suffering of the workers there. Food and clothing are more desperately needed than ever. If you wish to help alleviate the suffering, make a donation today. Funds are urgently needed to ship the large quantities of clothing which the Committee has collected, as well as to purchase food and medicine.

Women Who Build For The Future

By Ruth Benson

Early this month I described the frivolous, parasitic wives of the UN diplomats, who gossip about nothing but fancy clothes, as they jaunt merrily around the world.

The women at the SWP convention hadn't come to eye each other's finery or show off their own. They were serious participants in the workers' struggles.

Some had spent decades in the revolutionary movement; some were mothers and housewives new to the ideas of socialism; some came from the factories; and some, still in their teens, were learning their first lessons in political struggle.

coming hike in rents, and what we could do about it.

We all understood that the many barriers that prevent us from doing the kind of work we prefer, the inequalities of pay, and the extra burden of household drudgery, are conditions we must fight against day by day.

We did not limit our interest to "women's problems" alone. Women delegates participated in the many panel discussions on varied subjects, reporting on their own experiences in the factories, at union meetings, and in every branch of Party work.

There was no aspect of the Convention that did not hold our interest, because like the men, we were there to do a vital task, to help plan the future work of the Socialist Workers Party.

For we understood that only socialism will make us free; and we were determined to build and strengthen the Party which will lead the labor movement to victory.

Political Sleight Of Hand

By Henry Adams

"Voters across the country rejected a majority of the candidates supported by President A. F. Whitney's Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen," wrote a commentator in the Minneapolis Star after the elections.

Heavy election casualties among the so-called pro-labor bloc laid low 107 of the 188 House aspirants. 18 of the 23 Senatorial endorsements fell by the wayside.

Whitney speaks bitter truth in these words. But he conceals part of the truth—that it was the confused short-sighted policy of the railway labor bureaucracy which left railroad workers without a voice in this campaign.

Some rail union leaders, for example, condemned Starkey of Minnesota and others who voted for Truman's slave-labor bill.

The real truth is that railroad men like other workers had no choice. Thousands upon thousands either stayed home or cast a protest vote against the party in office.

A labor party in the campaign could have mobilized behind it the millions of workers who know that the capitalist parties have no program to meet the pressing problems of working people—lagging wages, soaring prices, anti-union drives, etc.

It is precisely Whitney and his kind who stand in the way of the formation of a real labor party. Tied to the discredited "reward your friends and punish your enemies" policy, they can only try through political sleight of hand to deceive the workers as to the real nature of capitalist politics.

It is time for railroad workers to end the parlor tricks of their bureaucratic leadership and join in building a labor party.



Do your bargain shopping for Xmas and help the European anti-fascists. 316½ W. Pico Blvd.