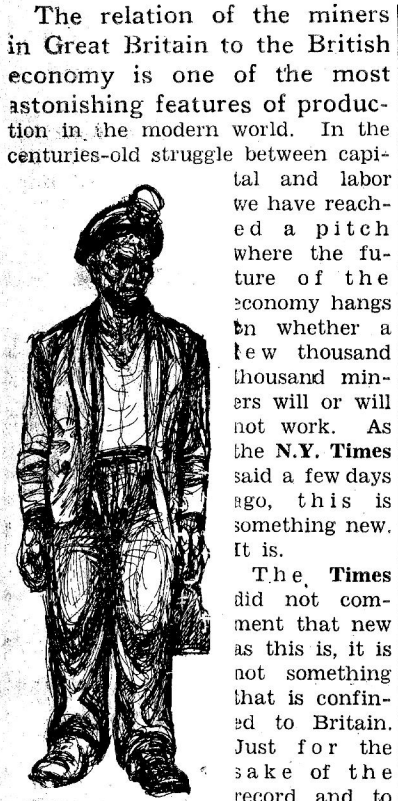




# Something New In the Mines

Scientific socialism is the conscious expression of the unconscious historical process; namely, the instinctive and elemental drive of the proletariat to reconstruct society on communist beginnings. These organic tendencies in the psychology of workers spring to life with utmost rapidity today in the epoch of crises and wars. —Leon Trotsky, 1940

By J. R. Johnson



The relation of the miners in Great Britain to the British economy is one of the most astonishing features of production in the modern world. In the centuries-old struggle between capital and labor we have reached a pitch where the future of the economy hangs in whether a few thousand miners will or will not work. As the N.Y. Times said a few days ago, this is something new. It is.

The American coal miners are constantly being transferred from private ownership to government control and back again. The British mines are nationalized and administered by a government board. The American miners have been persecuted by the government. The British miners have won from the government special favors. Thus there are similarities and dissimilarities between the two groups of miners which make it impossible to unite them in any pattern except one. They are miners of 1947 and resent bitterly the circumstances and conditions of their labor. Not very long ago there were dispatches from Stalinist Russia in which the Stalinist bureaucracy spoke with bitterness about the attitude of the miners in Russia to their production schedules. The dramatic circumstances of the British crisis have brought into sharp focus the relation of the miners to British production. But it is nothing like that particularly British. It is world-wide phenomena characteristic not only of miners but of labor as a whole. This is what is new. The British Labor Government is bankrupt before it. The British miner may or may not give way. That depends on too many circumstances for us to attempt a judgment here. But I believe that this attitude that they have taken is to be closely followed by American workers and revolutionaries. In it can be discerned an anticipation of a later stage of development of the coal miners of the U. S. The most powerful impression that emerges from the accounts of the British miners over the last year is the impression of their im-

potence. They do not know what to do. The mines are nationalized. They have a Labor Government. They have demanded special wages and special conditions. They have got them. What next for them? It is obvious that they do not know. They can only show their dissatisfaction by grim resistance to any encroachment on their privileges and a supreme disregard for any propaganda even from their own labor leaders. But it is precisely the same feeling which has been widely noted in the American coal fields. With nothing like the experience of their British brothers, the American miners can only strike and strike and strike. Sometimes they actually confess their impotence. The solution is such a transformation of society as yet even the British miners are not yet able to envisage. It involves a method of production in which the complete responsibility for the mines must rest with the miners themselves. The actual production must be under their direct control. The government which administers must be a government of the workers, resting upon, dependent upon, controlled by the workers, a system in which the miners can feel that every effort and even privation are contributing to their own cause and the cause of the other workers like themselves. The British miners are saying as plainly as possible that the present Labor Government is not their government. And they are correct. The experience of the French Revolution, and of the Russian Revolution in its heroic days, showed that once the masses of the people are convinced that the government does indeed represent them, there are no limits to the endurance and creative power of which they are capable. That stage still awaits not only the American but the British miners also. That is socialism. And the sullen hostility of miners all over the world is one of the great indications of the bankruptcy of capitalist society.

# The Fable of the Fox and the Bureaucrat

By Albert Parker

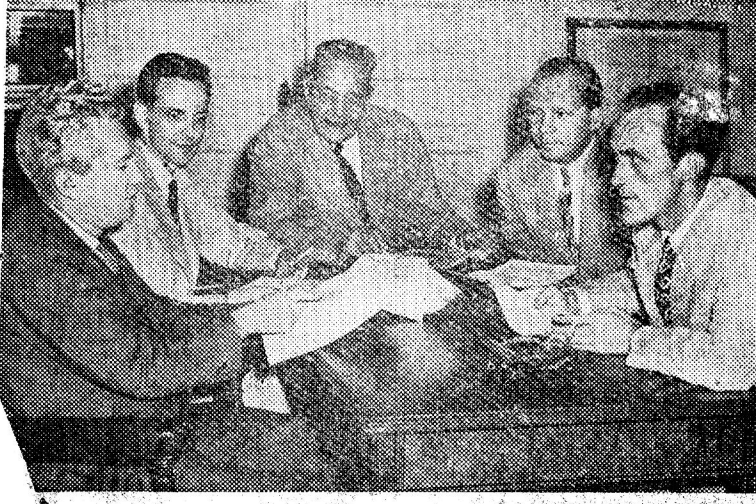
Once there was a fox who came from a famous family; one of his great-grandfathers had been immortalized in Aesop's fable about the fox who jumped again and again for the grapes and finally walked away, saying: "They were probably sour grapes anyhow." This modern fox was walking down the road recently, feeling rather hungry, when he came upon a vine from which hung grapes so big and ripe and juicy that they made his mouth water. He judged the distance carefully for he recalled what a fool his great-grandfather had made of himself and he saw that he could reach the grapes with ease. So he tensed his muscles and prepared to jump. At that moment a Man interrupted him and said: "Stop, don't be so rash. Don't you know that these grapes are probably sour? Don't you realize that you aren't big enough to reach them no matter how much you try? Aren't you aware of the possibility that in jumping for them you may break a leg?"

The fox again looked at the grapes and again measured the distance he would have to jump. Then he leaped and got the grapes the very first time. As he trotted off, with juice dribbling down his chin, he said: "If I spent my time listening to the advice of cowards, I would have starved to death a long time ago." \* \* \* No one in the whole wide world more closely resembles the man in this fable than the average union bureaucrat at the head of the CIO and AFL unions in this country. Covered from head to foot with a yellow streak, these miserable creatures have the nerve for only one thing—to mislead, misguide and restrain the workers by preaching sermons about the weakness of the powerful labor movement. A representative specimen of this breed is Emil Rieve, president of the CIO Textile Workers and a national director of the CIO Political Action Committee. A typical example of his kind of "leadership" was the speech he made last week at the New York State CIO Convention in Saratoga Springs. As is well known, Rieve, like Philip Murray and William Green and John L. Lewis, is opposed to the formation of a Labor Party. As is equally well known, Rieve, like the other top bureaucrats, answered the rank and file demand for a Labor Party after the Taft-Hartley Law was enacted by promising to drive from office every member of Congress who supported that law. Such a program cannot amount to much if it results in the election of other anti-labor Congressmen, as it must if labor does not put up its own candidates and oppose both the Democrats and the Republicans. But even this promise now seems "too bold" to Rieve. For he tried to renege on it at the CIO convention. He warned labor "not to dissipate its strength at the polls by trying to defeat in one swoop all Congressmen who voted for the Taft-Hartley Labor Law." He declared it would be "too big a job" for labor to accomplish its stated goal of defeating all who supported the law. Instead, labor ought to "pick out a list of 100 Representatives and Senators

and to concentrate on them." In that case, "then something might be done." And to drive his point home, Rieve warned that those in organized labor "should not kid ourselves that labor is so strong that it can control the political destiny of the country." (N. Y. Herald Tribune, Sept. 5.) Chicken-hearted themselves, afraid to break away from their political masters in the capitalist parties, the Rieves try to discourage and demoralize and frighten the workers so that they will fail to understand and utilize their unsurpassable strength. Fifteen million organized workers and their families plus their allies among the working farmers and the Negro people cannot control the political destiny of this country, they say. Why not? Aren't they the undisputed majority of the country, even Daniel Tobin of the Teamsters was forced to admit recently? Don't they produce the things that make this country great? Don't they have the right to say how it shall be run and to run it themselves through their own party and in their own interests?

Who or what is going to stop them—a few hundred thousand bloated capitalists, corrupt politicians, brass hats and faint-hearted labor lieutenants of capitalism? Not if labor is conscious of its strength and of the need to use it politically as well as economically. American labor has had enough of the Rieves and their counsels of pessimism, despair and defeatism. If such cravens had been listened to in 1776, the American colonists never would have been able to win their war for independence from Britain. If such misleaders had been followed in the 19th Century, the Negro people would still be groaning under the yoke of chattel slavery. If we ourselves had not had more guts in the 1930's than Rieve advises us to show now, the CIO itself could never have been built. Like the fox in our fable, we must turn our backs on the false advice of the union bureaucrats, tense our muscles and jump for the goal which is easily within our grasp—a Labor Party of our own, through which we can begin the political job of building a new and better world.

## Cooking Up New Angles



At a meeting in Washington the top legal figures of the NLRB get together to cook up new angles in administering the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law. Right now they are concentrating on maneuvering the unions into submitting "anti-communist" affidavits. Seated (l. to r.) are David Findling, Joseph C. Wells, Czar Robert Denham, Charles Brooks and Ellison Smith. (Federated Picture)

# Pope's Speech Steps Up Reactionary Intervention in Italian Political Life

By George Lavan

Abandoning previous pretenses of promoting peace through neutrality in politics, the Pope last Sunday called for a crusade against communism and the Soviet Union. The Sept. 7 speech made it clear that the next World War, directed against the Soviet Union, would have the Vatican's full support. This speech also marked an intensification of the Vatican's intervention in Italian politics. It is plain, this intervention is on the side of the reactionaries and bitterly against the working class parties, in the first instance against the Stalinist and Socialist parties. Following up the recent exchange of letters between the Pope and Truman, the Vatican publicly announced in effect that it would go all out for the Truman Doctrine. Not only will the Holy See henceforward furnish "spiritual" support on the international arena, but it will take the leadership of the anti-communist forces in Italy. BELLICOSE TONE Although the speech was clothed in the usual pomp and ritual of papal utterances, it was remarkable for its bellicose tone and the repeated use of semi-military terms and references. The N. Y. Times headed its dispatch: "Pope Asks War On Foes Of Church In An Attack At Moscow." It also drew attention to the statement that in this battle against communism (and the Soviet Union) "even a few minutes can decide the victory." In addition to the open call to battle, the Pope's speech contained a liberal dose of social demagoguery. It was stated that the Vatican was opposed to the unequal distribution of the world's goods, "if those goods are in the hands of a relatively small and exceedingly rich group while vast masses are condemned to pauperism and to an economic position unworthy of human beings." This "defense" of the poor is an attempt to make the Italian people forget that the Church in Italy has sided time and again with the wealthy landowners and capitalists, and was a leading supporter and collaborator of the Fascist regime. The situation confronting the Italian capitalist class and the Vatican is extremely perilous. The dominant moods among the peasantry and working class are anti-capitalist and anti-clerical. The working class parties have tremendous followings. Strikes are continually rocking the country. At this writing a million agricultural workers are on strike in the Po-River valley. Former partisans are bitter at the government's leniency toward prominent fascist criminals. Huge protest meetings including city-wide general strikes in northwest Italy have followed the freeing of fascists who had been arrested by the partisans. FLIGHT CONTINUES The economic plight of Italy shows no promise of improvement under capitalism. This coming winter again offers the workers cold and hunger. The only perspective of the Italian capitalists and government leaders is another loan from the Truman administration. They hope that they will get enough to avert an overturn and that the Stalinist and Social Democratic leaders will meanwhile succeed by their policies in reducing the masses to a state of disillusionment and apathy. Then the neo-fascist movements, which have sprung up all over Italy and which have ample financial backing, will be able, they hope, to repeat Mussolini's "March on Rome." The urgency of the situation, mirrored in the Pope's speech, is increased by the impending withdrawal of American troops from Italy. Truman will do this reluctantly under the terms of the recently ratified peace treaty. This will leave the Italian capitalists and the Vatican face to face with the peasantry and working class—without foreign bayonets to protect them. The masses who still follow the

in the Pope's speech at face value and conclude that the Holy See is actually fighting for freedom and democracy. The Vatican's record shows just the contrary. FAVORS FASCISTS The papal thundering against dictatorship do not apply at all to Fascist Spain. Franco still remains the favorite ruler of "Pope Plus XII," just as it was Pope Plus XI who spoke of Mussolini as "the man sent by Providence." The Papacy accepted 750 million lire in cash from Mussolini and one billion lire in Fascist State bonds. Far from being a force for freedom and democracy, the Vatican still remains a center of world reaction. It has openly taken its place as proponent and fighter for capitalism in Italy and for the Truman Doctrine throughout the world.

# HOW TO BECOME A "FRIEND" OF LABOR

By Art Preis

Maybe I'm a little slow in the head, like my best friends say. But all these years it seems I've been going around with a cock-eyed notion about what a "friend of labor" is. Last week, thanks to the New York State CIO leaders in convention assembled, I began to see I had things turned on their head. Now what would you say a "friend of labor" is? A militant union leader, an advocate of no taxes on the poor and bigger taxes on the rich, somebody who demands all war funds be used for low-cost government housing projects, an opponent of Wall Street's political monopoly who wants to build a labor party? If so, you're a comic. You ought to be making big money like Jack Benny. You see, that's just what I've been saying—and not in joke either. So it's quite a shock for me to realize how wrong I've been. And that's on the authority of the whole top leadership of the State CIO. THE CANDIDATE It all came about when they picked a candidate for me to vote for—Mayor O'Dwyer. They called him the "next governor" right from the state CIO convention platform. They cheered and beat their palms and hailed him as a super deluxe model of a "friend of labor." And that's how I've come to see what a "friend of labor" is.

Of course a "friend of labor" is a Democrat, particularly a big-shot from Tammany Hall. But that's just a general qualification, like being a citizen before you can vote. To rate a nod from the State CIO leaders you have to demonstrate additional talents. Right at the top of the list is strikebreaking. You've got as much chance getting political support from these CIO leaders without being a strikebreaker as I've got of winning the Pulitzer Prize for this article. Your record must be outstanding in this field—nothing short of trying to bust more strikes than any public official in the country, excepting maybe Truman—and that's tough competition. This politician I've been told to back for governor has been Mayor of New York City since Jan. 1, 1946. Within a month he had disaster headlines plastered on every front page, howling against the striking AFL tugboat workers with scareheads about "famine" and "starvation." He shut the whole city down for 16 hours just to prove his point. Even the businessmen thought that was going too far. Next, the CIO workers at Western Union went on strike. The Mayor put more cops around the Western Union picket line than you'll see escorting a parade of the President down Fifth Avenue. Big, tough, scab-herding cops, thousands of them—the kind that get a thrill out of clubbing women and itch to create a picket's skull with a blackjack. Right there you could see he was making it hard for the



MAYOR O'DWYER

state CIO leaders to back anyone else for governor. If you think he ever supported any strike, even hinted the strikers were in the right one, you're as thick as I've been. Never—never—back strikers, if you want the New York CIO to ask you to run for governor as a "friend of labor." Bust 'em all impartially, must be your motto. Every time the CIO subway workers asked for a raise—the Mayor demonstratively called to gether all the police officials and city authorities. He let the newspapers know that if there were a subway strike he had 15,000 more cops than his predecessor and he would know how to use them in the "public interest." His cops beat up on the Brooklyn Trust Company strikers a few weeks ago. They ran interference for scab drivers, mobilized by the Mayor, in the recent Queens strike. And when these cops have nothing better to do, they put in a little

extra practice by terrorizing the Negro people in Harlem or running in pickets protesting Jim Crow, like the Palisades Park incident a couple of weeks ago. Yesterday, I was passing a picket-line of 12 women in front of a 14th Street department store, Hecht's. There were six big cops, armed to the teeth, "keeping order." Also a squad car standing by for "emergencies." It's these little touches that make you a "friend of labor." Don't these 15,000 extra cops now and then nab a gangster? Well, I see by the papers that they've had 11 unsolved gang murders in a couple of months over in a small section of Brooklyn. But the police positively assure us they have a "lead." All they need is more time and fewer strikes to occupy their attention. Our Mayor and "next governor" has many other qualifications. A month after he was in office he doubled the city sales tax. Everytime I buy something for more than 15 cents, I pay two per cent more because of this "outstanding political figure." That doesn't go for stock transactions on Wall Street. Now, that stink coming from the New York subways is more than their natural odor. It's the millions going yearly to the bankers and other big bondholders who "sold" the subways to the city for five times their worth and have been living off the interest on the city debt ever since. Our "friend of labor" is pushing for a subway fare boost. Another reason why he's supposed to get my vote. That's just a few of the main qualifications for a "friend of labor," according to the model pointed out by the state CIO leaders. Frankly, I'm still not sold, but then, as I say, I'm inclined to be stubborn in my opinions. Maybe one of these days I'll be on a picket line and get a love-tap from one of O'Dwyer's cops. Maybe that will pound the "it" slant into my head about this "friend of labor" business.

**Broker Answers \$64 Questions**  
A contestant on Phil Baker's "Take It or Leave It" program drew loud boos from the audience. His name was Waring and his reply to Baker's question about his work was that he was a real estate broker. "Have you any apartments?" Baker inquired. "Oh, yes," answered Waring. "We've got lots but we're not renting them." "Why not?" "Because OPA's still in existence and we're waiting until the next election for it to be voted out." It wasn't revealed whether Waring demanded a 15% increase on the \$64 question.

### Our Program:

- 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!
- 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!
- Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-breaking!  
No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!  
No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!
- Build an independent labor party!
- Tax the rich, not the poor!  
Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes!  
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
- An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!
- Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!  
End Jim Crow! End anti-Semitism!
- For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!
- 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!
- 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!
- For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

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Workers' Forum

Political Action Labor Day Keynote

The Oakland labor movement came out in full force on Labor Day to demonstrate closed ranks against the Taft-Hartley Law...

CONTROLS

Bankers, lawyers, clergymen influence workers' minds. With movies, radio and press and controls of other kinds...

The mind is like the stomach. It works with what is in it; if workers get security they must learn to win it...

Republicans and Democrats unite themselves as one, monopolize from Wall Street Magazine Washington...

"I Wept Over Bilbo"

Talking about Bilbo, don't you think Hillary Belloc's Epitaph on the Politician is appropriate? This is the full text:

Likes Articles on Women's Problems

I think that the Sept. 1 issue of The Militant is excellent. The article on Orphan Annie, Why Some Mothers Can't Stay Home...

Offers to Submit Short Movie Reviews

The Workers Forum of Aug. 18 published a letter from a girl of seventeen who would like The Militant to print more movie reviews...

Opposes Attempt To Abolish Parks

This past summer, we were able to take our children on a camping trip to the National Forests in the west...

Rising Prices Break Up Homes

The press and the church give us lectures about the sanctity of the family and the need to preserve it against the dangers of "collectivism"...

But what kind of life is that where all you can do is eat and sleep out of your income? Isn't it plain that inadequate wages and ever-higher prices are bound to break up more families than anything else conceivable?

A Request: For Old Songs and Poems Many old songs and poems once widely popular among the labor and radical movement in this country have been almost forgotten...

Are You Losing Any Benefits Owed to You in Social Security?

By Evelyn Atwood You can often learn a lot from government publications. For example here is the pamphlet explaining the Social Security Act...

cludes unemployment insurance, old-age and survivors insurance, old-age assistance, aid to the needy blind, aid to dependent children...

But the government says it has no statistics on who is eligible for Social Security unemployment or old-age benefits. So there are no reminder letters on this.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Los Angeles Subgetters List Gains of Sub Drive

The Socialist Workers Party comrades in Los Angeles can already count many gains from their subscription campaign. "Next week," reports Al Lynn...

levelly a place as the old one. The new headquarters may have certain disadvantages which we feel will be more than made up for by our being in a working class neighborhood...

Shipyard Industry Gripped By New Post-War Crisis

Direct government intervention in the current strike of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers was accomplished this week when representatives of the union and the shipbuilding firms were called to Washington...

having fallen from approximately 650,000 in August 1945 to about 70,000 in June of this year, the companies felt that it would be possible to strike a mortal blow at the union...

Through these agreements, the union got wage increases in 1941 and 1942. However, wage-freezing was applied in 1943 and the wage reviews were outlawed until the war's end.

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

- AKRON--2nd floor, 8 S. Howard St. Open Mon. through Friday, 5 to 5 p.m.; Saturdays 2 to 4 p.m.
BOSTON--30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Tuesdays 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.
BUFFALO--Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone MA 10-3960. Open every afternoon except Sunday.
CHICAGO--777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m., daily, except Sunday.
CLEVELAND--Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St.

Meeting Honors Trotsky Memory In St. Paul

By Winifred Nelson ST. PAUL, Sept. 6--To find the road to socialism is the task for the masses of the world today, and Trotsky's contribution to that struggle was the building of a party to lead the way.

MARITIME By Frederick J. Lang

A comprehensive study of labor relations in the maritime industry and a militant program for the solution of seamen's problems. 182 pages. \$1.00

YOUTH ACTIVITIES

- AKRON -- Socialist Youth Club, 8 South Howard St., 2nd floor.
CHICAGO -- 777 W. Adams, 2nd floor.
NEW YORK -- 116 University Pl., Tele. GR. 5-8149 for information.
PHILADELPHIA -- For information call ST. 4-5820, from noon to 6 p.m.

N. Y. Weekend Camp Is Highly Successful

CARMEL, N. Y., Sept. 7--A highly successful weekend encampment organized by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party was concluded here tonight. Over 65 comrades spent an enjoyable weekend on the premises of The Homestead which included swimming, boating, tennis, volleyball games, campfire singing of revolutionary songs and two important lectures.



New York Marxist Labor School

Beginning Monday evening, Oct. 6, and each Monday in October 7:30 p. m.--THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT THEN AND NOW: A Marxist review of the class struggles in the mid-nineteenth century culminating in the American Civil War...

