

SWP Plenum Resolution On Wallace Movement

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Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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Green, Reuther Hand Out Same Political Bunkum

Offer No Positive Labor Program in Speeches At Convention of Truman Doctrine Liberals

By Art Preis

AFL President William Green and CIO United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther were the chief union spokesmen at the American Democratic Action convention on Feb. 22 in Philadelphia. The ADA is the organization of Truman Doctrine liberals.

Green, an ancient mossback, represents the horse-and-buggy era of craft unionism. Reuther is a star graduate of the newer school of streamlined labor bureaucrats who pose as up-to-date and "progressive" in their thinking.

But they spoke the same language before the ADA convention. They expressed identical views on political action and the Marshall Plan—and all their views were reactionary.

IGNORED LABOR'S PROBLEMS

The problems of American labor before advancing Big Business reaction found place in their speeches only in a few brief complaints. They had another program to peddle—the Truman Doctrine, currently disguised as the European Recovery Program.

When it came to a political program for labor and progressives in 1948 they came forth with a hollow negative—"Get Henry Wallace!"

Green ranted about Wallace's third-party venture as "ill-conceived and ill-timed", not to speak of "red-starred". Reuther proclaimed "We've got the job of taking on Wallace and his Joe Stalin associates."

From their concentration on Wallace, you'd think that all evils stemmed from him rather than the Democratic and Republican freebooters who have mutually held a political monopoly for eight decades. But you will search in vain in

their speeches for any direct intimation of who these big "labor statesmen" are for. And that's what shows them to be such sad bankrupts. They've literally nothing to offer.

BLIND ALLEY

Wallace is a phony who doesn't represent labor. Good. Taft is the co-author of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law. Nuff said. Truman? Well, he's the author of the Truman Doctrine and they're all for that. But still they didn't dare let his name pass their lips. Not yet anyway.

That is the blind alley that the whole past policy of the top trade union leaders has led to. At this late hour and at this critical stage in American and world developments, the Greens and the Reuthers have no political answer for the American workers.

Shall they continue to play the politics of the "lesser evil" and go down to defeat with strikebreaker Truman or some other Democratic stumblebum? Shall they stall around until after the Democratic and Republican conventions in the hopes that from one or the other they'll get a name to which they can attach a "liberal" label? Or shall they just forget all about national politics in this year of decision and put the stress on "local politics," as some are counselling?

This Gordian knot of political ineptness and indecision can be cut through at one stroke. Let the 15 million organized American workers, through their elected representatives, hold a national union labor conference, form their own Labor Party and run their own presidential and local candidates in November.

SWP Plenum Adopts Election Year Policy

NEW YORK, Feb. 23 — A full meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, with members assembled from all parts of the country, today concluded a three-day session devoted to discussion and action on the party's tasks in the light of the latest political developments at home and internationally. After a thorough-going review and analysis of the crucial problems of the labor movement and the developing political trends, the National Committee plenum voted to run SWP candidates on a national ticket in the 1948 elections.

The plenum nominated Farrell Dobbs as the party's presidential banner-bearer, and Grace Carlson for the vice presidential candidate. These nominations will be presented to the SWP national convention to be held around next June. (Text of adopted resolution appears on Page 4). Pre-convention discussion was immediately opened in the Party.

DISCUSSION ON WALLACE

Discussion in the plenum centered on the Wallace candidacy and third-party movement as the newest and most significant political development. The first two days of the plenum were devoted to this question and the party's attitude toward the Wallace movement.

The overwhelming majority of the plenum held the position that Wallace is a capitalist politician and that his movement can in no way be considered a labor party development. A contrary view was also presented which held that the Wallace movement might represent a step in the direction of a labor party and that labor should give him critical support.

After all points of view had been fully discussed, the committee adopted the majority resolution, rejecting any form of support to Wallace, by a vote of 22 to 1, with 4 abstentions. This resolution, printed in full on page 2, says in part:

"The Wallace party does not emerge as a political expression, however inadequate and perverted,

of the unions. It arises out of the failure of the union bureaucrats to open up a new political path for the workers. It cannot be regarded as an aid to independent political labor organization but as a spurious "progressive" substitute for a Labor Party."

Owing to the explicit repudiation of utility by the Nov. 1947 plenary decision of the Workers Party, the plenum in a special resolution recognized that the question of SWP-WP unity was terminated "as a realistic possibility." The vote was unanimous, with two abstentions.

The plenum reviewed the world situation, including the latest developments in Russia. There was general agreement with the position of the world Trotskyist movement as expressed in its latest resolutions and theses (published in Fourth International, Nov.-Dec., 1947).

All over Europe, particularly France, many former Socialists and ex-radicals are eager to serve as agents of American imperialism and its native allies. They flump for the Marshall Plan, collaborate with all the reactionary sections of the ruling class. But to be really effective they have to maintain the confidence of the workers.

To lull suspicion, they seek to cover up their present crimes by their previous connections with the labor movement. And Wall Street is not at all adverse to lending them a helping hand now and then.

One of the most notorious of these renegades among the intellectuals is Andre Malraux, well-known French novelist. After many years of service to the Kremlin, Malraux has joined de Gaulle's fascist-minded party, "The Rally of the French People." Malraux now wants to refurbish himself in order to facilitate the passage of Social Demo-

DOBBS AND CARLSON TO HEAD '48 NATIONAL TICKET OF SWP

Strikers Put Heat on Scabs



Members of the American Communications Association (CIO) and the Independent All America Cable Employees Association have been on strike against the cable companies since January 2. Here they are demanding that scabs hired by the boss accept messages. When the scabs refused, the strikers threatened to notify the Federal Communications Commission about the lack of service.

Federated Pictures

Judge Upholds Taft Act In ITU Injunction Case

Government strikebreaking by injunction has become a greater threat than ever as the result of a Federal Circuit Court decision handed down in Indianapolis on Feb. 25. The ruling was made in a hearing on the National Labor Relations Board petition for a sweeping injunction to restrain the AFL International Typographical Union from committing 23 alleged "unfair labor practices."

Federal Judge Luther M. Swygert, setting aside an ITU motion for dismissal of the NLRB petition, ruled that the Taft-Hartley Act provision under which the injunction is sought is constitutional. This not only clears the way for an injunction in the ITU case, but juridically strengthens the Taft-Hartley Act and its chief agency, the NLRB.

Specifically, Judge Swygert ruled that the NLRB, through its General Counsel Denham, has the legal right to seek an injunction against a union on disputed charges still being heard "impartially" by the NLRB itself. Thus, the NLRB can invoke court action to break a strike or otherwise shackle any union even before evidence has been heard or employers' complaints have been upheld.

In the ITU case, the injunction proceedings were instituted by Denham as part of a conspiracy between the NLRB and the big newspaper publishers to impose an open shop contract on the ITU and thereby undermine the largest union in the printing trade. The ITU has been waging a determined fight for months, spearheaded by the strike of ITU Local 16 against the Chicago Eigh Business dailies to win justifiable wage increases and sustain its traditional contractual conditions of employment.

If Judge Swygert now grants the petition of the NLRB, the ITU will face one of the most vicious and all-embracing injunctions in the whole notorious history of government strikebreaking. It would literally prevent the ITU from even "advocating or counseling" strikes or "other disruptions" both before and after the NLRB decisions. Legally, it would place the ITU completely at the mercy of the publishers.



EDUARD BENES

Murray Policies Bring Danger of Split in CIO

Los Angeles Stalinists Try to Evade Issues

Philip Murray's drive to line up all CIO affiliates for the Truman-Marshall Plan and against any break with the two-party system has brought the grave danger of a split in the CIO.

Last week *The Militant* reported how right-wing delegates, a minority in the Newark, N. J., CIO Council, walked out and are attempting to set up a dual council.

A similar split was engineered on Feb. 20 in the Los Angeles CIO Council. Right-wing delegates walked out of the Council meeting after the majority refused to rescind a previously-adopted resolution to "take no action pro or con" on the controversial questions of the Marshall Plan, the third party and Wallace's candidacy.

This split was clearly inspired by Murray. His lieutenant, John Brophy, national director of CIO Councils, sent a letter to the Los Angeles CIO Council demanding that the local body make a positive declaration in support of the Marshall Plan and against any third party in 1948. He claimed that even a "compromise position" on these questions violated the rules governing local councils.

The pro-Wallace Stalinists who dominate the Los Angeles CIO Council had thought they could avoid a fight and a split simply by ducking the issues. They had pushed through a resolution "that this Council and its political action committee take no action pro or con upon the questions which remain at issue among international unions of CIO with respect to the presidential campaign, Truman or Wallace, or the issue of a third major political party, or the Marshall Plan."

NOT "IN HARMONY"

Brophy promptly wrote Secretary-Treasurer Philip Connelly of the Los Angeles CIO Council demanding that it "clarify its position." He said that its "Policy Statement" is not "in harmony with national CIO policy."

Brophy said that the CIO "is opposed to formation of a third party in 1948 and favors the Marshall Plan." He added: "Any statement by any industrial union council which takes a compromise position on these points is in conflict with CIO policy and in violation of Rule 8, governing Councils."

Brophy's letter was a signal to the right-wing delegates. They went into the last meeting of the Los Angeles council and demanded that the "neutrality" resolution be reconsidered. When the majority refused, the right-wing minority leaders led their followers demonstratively from the hall.

Will Fight for Socialism In Presidential Campaign

By Joseph Hansen

For the first time since the days of Eugene V. Debs and the pioneer Communist movement, Wall Street's candidates will be opposed in a presidential election by a working class slate standing squarely on the program of revolutionary socialism.

For the first time since the inception of the American Trotskyist movement 20 years ago, the Socialist Workers Party is entering its own candidates in a national election.

As candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for President of the United States in the 1948 elections, the National Committee of the SWP at its Feb. 21-23 session nominated Farrell Dobbs, Editor of *The Militant* and well-known former trade union leader. For Vice-President, the National Committee chose Grace Carlson of Minneapolis, Minn. Both candidates accepted the nomination.

Farrell Dobbs came to the fore as a capable, fighting labor leader during the historic Minneapolis Teamsters strike of 1934. This struggle made open-shop Minneapolis a union town and inspired organization of the whole Northwest.

After serving a number of years

as Secretary Treasurer of Local 544 of the AFL Teamsters and as Secretary of the Teamsters Eleven State Area Committee, Dobbs went to New York to serve as National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

In 1941 he was among the 18 defendants framed-up in the Minneapolis Labor Case. Sentenced under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act for the "crime" of opposing imperialism and advocating socialism, he served 13 months in Sandstone Federal Penitentiary.

Grace Carlson has a similar active record in the labor movement. A graduate with a Ph.D. degree from the University of Minnesota, she decided years ago to devote her life to the revolutionary socialist movement.

For four years she served as delegate of the Minnesota State Employees Union, Local No. 10, to the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly.

The only woman among the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis Labor Case, Grace Carlson served 13 months at the Alderson Federal Penitentiary for Women. Like Dobbs, her "crime" was opposing imperialist war and advocating socialism.

Grace Carlson is a member of the National Executive Board of the Workers Defense League and a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Upon accepting their nomination to head the SWP national ticket, Dobbs and Carlson issued the following statement:

"We are 100% opposed to the capitalist system. It is this wretched system which is responsible for all the economic, social and political ills that harass the workers and poor farmers today.

"Capitalism has inflicted two world wars on us in a quarter of

a century. It has given us fascism in Europe and a number of world depressions. It fosters race prejudice and hatred.

"If Big Business is permitted to continue running the country, a



FARRELL DOBBS

depression worse than that of the Thirties is inevitable. And so is another world war. Waged with atomic weapons, that war can mean the end of human culture.

"The Republican Party hasn't changed since the days of Herbert Hoover. This political machine of Wall Street now hopes to stage a comeback. But a vote for the Republicans in 1948 is a vote for breadlines just as it was in 1928. Don't vote yourself out of a job by voting Republican!

"The Democratic Party is not a whit better. Like the Republicans, the Democrats stand for unbridled militarism. A vote for Truman is a vote for atomic war!

"Wallace considers Truman doomed to defeat. The Democratic Party is a sinking ship. But does Wallace's sudden departure from the Democratic Party make his program any

(Continued on Page 4)

Stalinists Take Over Government In Czechoslovak Political Crisis

By Paul G. Stevens

Czechoslovakia's political fate hung in the balance last week as Stalinist Premier Klement Gottwald moved to install a new government completely dominated by the Communist Party. The old Gottwald government fell when its capitalist ministers, headed by members of President Benes' National Socialist Party, resigned in protest against alleged moves by Nosek, the Stalinist Minister of Interior, to place the country's police under exclusive CP control.

Benes at first refused to accept the resignations. He later capitulated. Faced with this stalemate the Stalinists decided to form a coalition government with the Social Democrats, who did not resign. Together these two parties constitute a majority of 151 out of 300 in the Czech parliament and are thus in a position to meet the formal constitutional requirements.

Should this coalition materialize, President Benes and his capitalist supporters would be faced with the alternative of accepting it or attempting a revolt that would open wide the gates to civil war.

Gottwald has charged the National Socialist Party with preparing a coup. The Stalinist-dominated police not only raided its headquarters, but placed other party headquarters, including the Social Democrats, under "protective guard." Simultaneously Gottwald issued an appeal for the formation of "Action Committees" in all "factory towns, villages and districts" in support of his new government.

After some vacillation, the Social Democrats are reported to have ordered their members to join these "Action Committees."

The trade unions, under Stalinist control, conducted on Feb. 24 a one-hour general strike to back Gottwald in his stand against Benes, with a threat in "case of need" to call a general strike of indefinite duration.

Although the reported police measures serve as the immediate cause of this crisis, its underlying causes go much deeper. They are twofold in character.

On the one hand, the Kremlin is confronted with the need of integrating Czechoslovakia more closely

with its East European bloc where, as in Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc., all oppositional elements have been purged.

On the other hand, continued exploitation of the workers by Czech capitalism, left intact by the fake "nationalizations," has produced growing unrest and discontent. The Stalinist party, dominant in both the government and the trade unions, has found it more and more difficult to suppress this discontent without incurring the danger of losing its mass base.

ALIGN WITH MOSCOW

The Stalinists, in accordance with the new Cominform line, are apparently trying to use mass action in order to align Czechoslovakia with Moscow as completely as the rest of Eastern Europe.

While the Stalinist leaders are basing themselves on mass action, they are proceeding with a caution that reveals their fear of its revolutionary impetus. Thus, according to dispatches, the Stalinists have restricted conventions of factory delegates to "establishments with more than 350 employees, nearly all of which were already nationalized."

This shows how much the Stalinists fear the much more sweeping demands that would come from delegates of smaller and still un-nationalized factories.

Should a civil war actually erupt, the likelihood is that the situation will grow out of hand, no matter what the bureaucratic plans. But before this point is reached, the Stalinists will make every effort to arrive at another compromise with Benes and Czech capitalists.

MALRAUX, WITH AID OF 'TIMES', SLANDERS TROTSKYISM

By G. F. Eckstein

All over Europe, particularly France, many former Socialists and ex-radicals are eager to serve as agents of American imperialism and its native allies. They flump for the Marshall Plan, collaborate with all the reactionary sections of the ruling class. But to be really effective they have to maintain the confidence of the workers.

To lull suspicion, they seek to cover up their present crimes by their previous connections with the labor movement. And Wall Street is not at all adverse to lending them a helping hand now and then.

One of the most notorious of these renegades among the intellectuals is Andre Malraux, well-known French novelist. After many years of service to the Kremlin, Malraux has joined de Gaulle's fascist-minded party, "The Rally of the French People." Malraux now wants to refurbish himself in order to facilitate the passage of Social Demo-

crats and ex-revolutionists to this new reactionary movement in France, and to facilitate acceptance of it in the United States.

LIES AND SLANDER

The N. Y. Times correspondent C. L. Sulzberger helps out Malraux by his Feb. 14 Times article. Sulzberger's article is full of inaccuracies and downright slanders both about the current policies and the past history of the Trotskyist movement.

It seeks to link up Malraux with Trotsky himself. And the name of the deceased Victor Serge is dragged in for the same purpose. On top of this, it is stated that "there is a segment of French Trotskyism who would be inclined—to follow and support deGaulle-Malraux.

What connection did Malraux have with Trotskyism? His political connections were with the Kremlin. He took part in the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 and embodied his experiences in a novel, *Man's Fate*. Trotsky warmly reviewed it, but at the same time ruthlessly exposed

the perfidious Stalinist policy in China, supported by Malraux.

Later Malraux visited Trotsky in France, publishing an account of his visit in the *Modern Quarterly* (March, 1935). Here he expressed some Platonic sympathies for Trotsky.

But even this literary enthusiasm was short-lived. The Moscow Frameup Trials and the Spanish Civil War proved a turning point for Malraux, as for so many other intellectuals. He went to Spain and in the beginning of 1937 came to the U. S., soliciting aid for the Spanish Republic.

HELP THE KREMLIN

At that time the Dewey Commission of Inquiry—which later completely vindicated Leon Trotsky and his son, Lev Sedov, and condemned the Moscow Trials as a gigantic judicial frameup—was starting its work.

Trotsky at the time accused Malraux of coming to the US for the purpose of aiding the Kremlin in

stifling this movement to unmask its crimes. Trotsky also pointed out that Malraux had worked hand in hand with the Stalinists in China, just as he was doing in Spain.

These accusations appeared in a UP dispatch from Mexico, March 8, 1937. They, together with Malraux's reply were published in the *Nation*, March 27, 1937.

Malraux claimed that Trotsky's attack was due solely to Malraux's political differences with Trotsky on Spain and accused Trotsky of being ready to hurl any accusation to dramatize his personal conflicts. "This was the sum-total of Malraux's 'Trotskyism.'"

Malraux took part in the resistance movement during Hitler's occupation of France, and after the expulsion of the Germans, appeared in the cabinet of deGaulle as Minister of Information. In that post he refused to issue a publication line of the French Trotskyist paper *La Verite*.

The fascist aims of de Gaulle

and his "corporate state," are now no secret. Malraux therefore is in desperate need of using his past to deceive the workers about his present politics. According to Sulzberger, Malraux "always says that had Leon Trotsky won his party battle with Joseph Stalin, he himself would today be a Trotskyite Communist." Not only Malraux but many others would have gladly attached themselves to a victorious state-power.

USES SERGE

Malraux uses another device. Sulzberger quotes extensively from a letter shown to him by Malraux, allegedly written by Victor Serge. The quotations, though lengthy, are not precise. But there is no mistaking what they indicate and still less what use Malraux is making of them. Serge reportedly hails de Gaulle's electoral successes, states that he endorses Malraux's political position and indicates that were he in France he would do what Mal-

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SWP Resolution on Wallace Third-Party Movement

Resolution Adopted by the February Plenum of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

The Wallace third party movement emerges as a consummation of the postwar fight, primarily over foreign policy, waged within the Democratic Party since Roosevelt's death. This has been and remains a purely tactical fight rigidly restricted within the framework of the Wallace movement, as a capitalist splinter party, is not altered either by its petty bourgeois composition or by the penetration of its apparatus by the Stalinists and their fellow-travelers.

The Wallace movement objectively expresses the interests and outlook of those elements among the U. S. ruling class who believe it expedient to conciliate the labor movement at home and the Kremlin abroad. Their stamp is placed upon the movement by Wallace, the millionaire publisher and self-proclaimed defender of capitalism and "Americanism." This ex-Secretary of Agriculture and Vice-President under Roosevelt and Secretary of Commerce under Truman holds the reins of the movement in his own hands.

Capitalists Could Turn

The capitalist character of the Wallace movement is not altered by the fact that the monopolists are at present united in opposing it. Big Business today, drunk with power and bent on world domination, is opposed to any policy of conciliation either in domestic or foreign affairs. Wallace cannot hope for any appreciable support from decisive capitalist circles at the present time. But under different circumstances, at a later stage of the development of the capitalist crisis, they could easily turn to him, as they turned to Roosevelt, in an attempt to head off an independent class movement of the workers.

Wallace's third party program and propaganda are cleverly designed to appear as an anti-war, pro-labor, liberal alternative to the Truman party of war, depression, and assaults on labor's rights and civil liberties. That is why it evokes a response among workers and Negroes who take its phrases and promises at face value and cherish illusions about the progressiveness of Wallace.

But this fairly wide mass sympathy for

Wallace is by no means a sufficient reason for class-conscious workers to participate in his party or to give it critical endorsement. Nor can such sympathies and illusions alter the capitalist character of the movement—or impart to it a Labor Party character. Roosevelt and other bourgeois demagogues had far greater allegiance from organized labor without meriting or receiving the slightest endorsement from the revolutionary vanguard.

Who Controls Wallace?

What is the relationship of forces within the Wallace camp? The liberal bourgeois politician, Wallace, personally dominates and directs it, setting its tone and formulating its policy. He is subject to control by no one. The Stalinists, concerned solely with their pressure campaign for a compromise agreement between Washington and the Kremlin, obediently follow in his footsteps while the organized labor movement is conspicuously absent. Actually, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois liberals are in command; the Stalinists serve as their lieutenants, and the ranks trail along.

The unions have no way of exercising control over Wallace, his party or his program. Under these circumstances millions of votes garnered by Wallace can enhance his personal influence and prestige, increase his bargaining power in negotiations with the Democratic leaders, and give him all the greater independence from the labor movement.

A genuine mass political party of labor cannot be built in this country without the participation and support of the unions. The established economic organs of the working class provide the only serious and solid foundations for the independent political activity and organization of American labor. Thus the indispensable minimum requirement for giving critical support to a third party movement is that it be based upon a significant section of organized labor and subject to its control and pressure.

The Wallace party does not emerge as a political expression, however inadequate and perverted, of the unions. It arises out of the failure of the union bureaucrats to open up a new political path for the workers. It cannot be regarded as an aid to independent political labor organization but as a spurious "progressive" substitute for a Labor Party. Wallace has moved in to fill the vacuum that should be filled by a genuine Labor Party and to exploit the widespread revulsion against

the Democrats and Republicans and the desire for a new political road.

Some workers may feel that since the success of any third party depends upon labor support, the Wallace movement must inevitably gravitate in that direction; and that if they plunge vigorously into this movement, it might be possible to switch it from its present wrong course over to the Labor Party track.

The premise of this reasoning is false. In determining a correct attitude toward a political formation like the Wallace movement, it is false to proceed from purely or mainly tactical considerations, or guesses on the possibilities of using it to good advantage. That is the wrong end from which to begin. This new political current must first of all be approached from the standpoint of class principle.

The chief function of the Wallace party is to deceive the workers with demagoguery against Big Business rule and to take command of the anti-war and anti-imperialist struggle of the masses in order to sell them out sooner or later.

Left the Door Open

Apart from its relations with the union movement, the Wallace formation has not even as yet completely detached itself from the Democratic Party. Wallace has announced plans to back liberal Democrats and progressive Republicans in 1948. He has left the door open to make peace with the Democratic high command after the 1948 campaign, and possibly before, and lead his "Gideon's army" back into that cesspool. The destiny of the movement hangs upon this single individual, his decisions and his ambitions.

Despite attempts to belittle the Wallace movement, it will undoubtedly attract considerable popular support and it seriously imperils Truman's election. Moreover, the Wallace candidacy not only damages the presidential prospects of the Democrats but delivers a blow to the two-party system. That is the most favorable factor to its credit from the standpoint of political progress. This break with the Democratic Party helps to shatter the hold of the two-party system upon the workers and to upset the whole political situation, setting new political trends in motion, spreading new ideas and raising more sharply the question of labor's independent role in politics.

This heightening of political conflict

should be utilized to expose the servility of the labor bureaucrats to the Democratic machine, to advance the need for the Labor Party—and lay bare the Wallace-Stalinist adventure as a spurious substitute for a Labor Party and a false answer to labor's political problems.

But these objective consequences flowing from the emergence of the Wallace movement cannot provide justification for its support. A Marxist analysis of the Wallace third party movement at its present stage of development dictates the following attitude toward it:

Expose the Demagogue!

1. Principled opposition to this political adventure undertaken by an ambitious capitalist politician and backed by the Stalinists. This adventure aims at channeling anti-war sentiment, exploiting the discontent with the capitalist regime, and making a deal with Wallace's former Democratic associates at home and a deal with the Kremlin on the field of foreign affairs.

2. Sharp exposure of the fake "peace" program of Wallace and his associates, their subservience to imperialism, their reformist panaceas, and their false methods of struggle against war and capitalist domination. Instead of joining the Wallace phrasemongers and Stalinist sell-out artists or giving their candidates critical support, we, as Marxists, must counterpose to them our working class program and methods of struggle against the war danger and capitalist evils. At the same time, in opposing and criticizing the Wallace movement, it is important to acknowledge the validity of many of its arguments against the present bi-partisan government and its policies. These constitute a common bond between us and the rank and file supporters of this movement and differentiate our condemnation of Wallace from the utterly reactionary opposition of the labor bureaucrats.

3. The union militants must combat BOTH the Wallace-Stalinist third party, and the AFL and CIO bureaucrats who support the old-line capitalist parties and candidates. Union militants must continue to fight for the formation of a genuine party of labor, based on and controlled by the unions.

4. We call upon all workers and all supporters of the struggle for socialism to support and vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidates, Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice-President, in the 1948 national elections.

Rebels in American History

NAT TURNER

By William E. Bohannon

Nat Turner, Negro slave who organized an insurrection against slavery in Virginia, was hanged on Nov. 11, 1831. Although it was put down in blood, the rebellion had instilled fear in the hearts of the slaveholders of that area for the next 30 years, and inspired the slaves and abolitionists to continue their struggle.

The son of a native of Africa, Turner was born in Southampton County, Virginia, in 1800. In his youth he was impressed with the religious customs and beliefs of the neighborhood, and when his master gave him permission to learn to read and write, he became a preacher.

Both his education and his experiences convinced him that he and his people had only one solution to their oppression—and that was to organize themselves to fight for freedom. He felt that he was a servant of God, and that it was his mission to lead his people in the struggle.

Like many other rebels of his time, his philosophy was a queer mixture of superstitious belief and a practical understanding that nothing could help the slaves without their own organized efforts to end

slavery. He was able to utilize prevailing superstitions in arousing the Negroes to fight for liberation.

Turner not only learned to read, but he also had some knowledge of mechanics, and experimented in making pottery, paper and gunpowder. In spite of his knowledge and talent, he was sold several times by his masters. We can understand why, when we learn that once he was severely whipped for predicting that some day Negroes would be free.

SAN DOMINGO REVOLT

A number of white slaveholders who had fled from San Domingo after the successful Negro revolution there, had settled in Southampton County. There is reason to believe that as a preacher who was able to move relatively freely about the neighborhood, Turner heard many stories from their slaves about the victories of the armed Negroes. At any rate the story of the San Domingo revolution was widely circulated among American slaves, and strongly influenced their thinking.

At one time Turner escaped from his master. After being at large for a month, he returned by himself. He said he had had a vision to return and wait for a "sign"—a

signal that would summon him and others to action. He also said that the "white spirit" and the "black spirit" were in combat and that the "black spirit" was fighting fiercely for freedom.

Finally, in July, 1831, he and four other slaves—Nelson, Wilson, Samuel Francis, Henry Porter and Hark Travis—met secretly and began to plan the details for an uprising to begin at his master's home and then spread throughout the area. There was some talk about setting up a Negro government, but most attention was paid to the practical details of the insurrection.

The plan was to kill the white occupants of the nearby plantations, take their arms, and organize the slaves as they marched from plantation to plantation.

"DEEDS, NOT WORDS"

The night before they started the uprising on Aug. 21, Turner is said to have made the following speech to his men:

"Friends and brothers, we are about to commence a great work tonight! Our race is to be delivered from slavery, and God has appointed us the men to do his bidding; and let us be worthy of our calling."

"We have no arms or ammunition, but we will find them in the homes of our oppressors. Remember that ours is not a war for robbery, nor to satisfy our passions; it is a struggle for freedom. Ours must be deeds, not words."

For three days the insurgents struck at one point after another—burning homes, killing slaveholders and gathering support as they went along. Their numbers increased to more than 200. None of the slaves whom they reached refused to take up arms with them—an indication that they too were ready for action.

At first it was their intention to kill every white they met, but they made one interesting exception—a family of non-slaveholding whites. This signified that they realized their real struggle was not against the white race, but against the slave system.

In the end the rebels were overwhelmed by tremendous forces and hunted down in the woods until every last one was captured or killed. Turner was tried and convicted and calmly went to his death, declaring that he felt no guilt, that he had only been trying to lead the slaves as Washington had led the American revolution—for freedom, peace and the right to live as human beings.

But this was not the end of it. Fear had struck into the heart of the slaveholding aristocracy, and everywhere they looked they saw the figure of Nat Turner arising to plague them. They murdered hundreds of slaves who had had nothing to do with the uprising, and they were so panicky that they decided to prevent Negroes from becoming preachers thereafter. There were even reports from far-off North Carolina that slaveholders had died from shock at the news of the Turner rebellion!

Turner was hanged, but they could not kill the spirit of revolt he

Wallace and Isacson



Henry A. Wallace and Leo Isacson acknowledge cheers at a rally. Isacson won the special election in the 24th Congressional District in the Bronx, New York, by an almost 2 to 1 majority over his nearest opponent, Democrat Karl Propper.

Federated Pictures

symbolized, which spread far and wide among the slaves and gave a new impetus to the activities of their allies, the abolitionists. The slaves were finally emancipated, a little over 30 years later, after a bloody struggle in which they bore arms and conducted themselves after the fashion of Nat Turner.

And today, when our fight is against Jim Crow oppression and terror, the 20th century substitute

for chattel slavery, we still draw inspiration and courage from Nat Turner's militant example and tradition. Alone, the Negro people cannot win their second emancipation. But even by themselves they can strike mighty blows at the capitalist Jim Crow structure, and thereby arouse the support of the white workers, with whose assistance they can and will build a new world of freedom and equality.

THE MILITANT ARMY

'47 Militant Bound Volumes Available

Most magazines pay handsome premiums for subscriptions, so that thousands of men and women make good livings that way, maybe "working their way through college." But with The Militant it's just the opposite.

Militant sub-getters not only contribute their spare evenings, Sundays and holidays to this work, and in the bargain bear the cost of money orders and postage to mail in the subs, but also help defray the deficit which every single subscription entails. It actually costs more than the price of your subscription to produce and distribute The Militant. The difference is made up by contributions from devoted readers and, in large measure, by the very ones who devote the greatest effort to getting more subs.

Militant sub-pluggers are "compensated" by the satisfaction of helping broadcast the program of socialism which only The Militant presents consistently from year to year.

C.R.P. of St. Paul renewed for a year although "I do not work steadily and have so many doctor bills I never know if I will meet the expenses. However, I do enjoy the paper and since it is election year I certainly want to get it."

More and more readers are keeping watch of their subscription expiration dates, which are always printed with their names and addresses. This informs them when to renew and is a receipt when they subscribe or renew.

J. M. of Seattle complained some recent issues failed to arrive (probably through a postal mixup) although his sub does not expire until June. While writing, he renewed for another year, explaining, "I don't like to miss one issue." The lost copies were duplicated.

R. Z. of Illinois noticed his sub will expire the end of this month, and renewed for a year: "I am very much interested in the information The Militant contains."

J. S. of Los Angeles is the first to order the 1947 bound volume of The Militant, which is just being bound and has not yet been advertised. She also paid for a 1946 volume and inquired about 1944. Available volumes, with prices, are as follows:

1942	\$8.00
1943	6.00
1944	6.00
1945	5.00
1946	5.00
1947	4.50

Rise and Fall of Populist Party in the United States

By George Lavan

The Populist movement gained great power in the West and South before it created a national third party. Finally in 1891 the People's Party was founded at a national convention of 1,400 delegates from 33 states and territories in Cincinnati.

A labor resolution adopted by this overwhelmingly farm convention called for the eight-hour day for industrial workers. But the main plank was for unlimited coinage of silver, abolition of privately owned national banks, government crop loans, tax reform, direct election of Senators (U. S. Senators were appointed by state legislatures until 1913), government control or ownership of railroads and telegraph.

The 1892 presidential candidate of this party was General James B. Weaver, who had been the Greenback Labor candidate in 1880. Following a campaign filled with enthusiasm and crusading spirit, the new party rolled up more than a million popular votes and 22 electoral votes. Many local offices were won in the South and West.

EFFECT ON THE SOUTH

It is interesting to note the effect Populism had on the South. The Bourbon landholders were in the main thrown out of office by the small farmers under the banner of Populism. To accomplish this, many (though not all) Populists saw, they needed the Negro farmers as allies.

In many sections white farmers banded together to protect the Negro's right to vote. Cases occurred of white farmers riding all night to save a Negro Populist from a lynch mob. Political rallies of white and colored farmers were addressed by both white and Negro speakers. In Texas two members of the party's state committee were Negroes. The 1892 platform of the Alabama People's Party stated:

"We favor the protection of the colored race in their legal rights and should afford them encouragement and aid in the attainment of a higher civilization and citizenship, so that through the means of kindness, fair treatment, and just regard for them, a better understanding and more satisfactory condition may exist between the races."

As can be seen from the above quotation, the attitude of the white Populists to the Negroes was not that of one equal to another. Nor did they believe in complete equal rights. Nonetheless the Populists were making a definite breach in the wall of Jim Crow erected by the Bourbons. Their willingness to guarantee Negroes political rights would have permitted the Negro people to force more concessions.

When the Populist movement collapsed, the Bourbons passed poll tax and other laws, which barred the Negroes and many of the poor whites from voting, and at the same time reinforced the monstrous Jim Crow system that prevails today.

By 1893 there were 345 People's Party representatives in 19 state legislatures. In Washington ten Populist representatives were in the

House and three in the Senate. This was an encouraging record for a young third party.

1893 was the year in which a great financial panic started. Hundreds of banks closed. Unemployment mounted and crop prices fell. The Populists redoubled their agitation for the free coinage of silver and devoted more attention to the plight of the working class.

COXEY'S ARMY

In 1894 the Federal Government intervened on the side of the railroad monopolists to break the American Railway Union, then conducting the great Pullman strike. Debs and other union leaders were sent to prison. The Populist movement organized a great army of unemployed under Jacob Coxeys to march on Washington.

In that year's state and congressional elections the Populists polled 1 1/2 million votes—a 50% increase in two years.

Both the Democratic and Republican Parties recognized the threat of the new party and took steps to combat it. Stuffing the ballot boxes and counting out Populist candidates was not enough. Both old parties wrote Populist planks into their platforms. Increased coinage of silver was tried to appease the wrath of the farmers.

Sections of the Democratic Party endorsed or made alliances with the Populists and tried to persuade them back into the Democratic Party. These attempts were to be successful.

At the Democratic convention of 1896 William Jennings Bryan, a "Silver Democrat" from Nebraska, was nominated. His speeches, full of sound and fury, were generally of a Populist tone, with the main emphasis on the free coinage of silver as the cure-all for the people's ills. The only "labor" plank in the Democratic platform of 1896 were for restricting immigration and for compulsory arbitration. Neither of these aroused much enthusiasm.

The People's Party convention met in St. Louis and the big question was whether it should endorse the Democratic candidate, Bryan, or run its own candidate. Leaders like Ignatius Donnelly, Clarence Darrow, Coxeys and labor leader Schilling were for maintaining Populist independence.

However, the right wing of the party carried the convention. Bryan was endorsed, although his Democratic running mate Sewall, a banker and railroad director, was not. Thus the Populists were in the ridiculous position of running their own vice-presidential candidate, Watson, but no presidential candidate.

Bryan's vote was less than the 1892 Democratic and Populist vote combined, and McKinley won. Watson received only 200,000 votes for the vice-presidency. The Republicans won the White House and both houses of Congress. The People's Party had signed its own death warrant. From this point on it was a mere pressure group inside the Democratic Party.

Although even today many people look back upon Bryan as a "radical"

and a true Populist, it is now known that substantial financial interests supported his candidacy. Among these campaign contributions was \$250,000 from the notoriously corrupt Montana mine owners. In 1900 Thomas Fortune Ryan, one of the richest men in the country, secretly contributed \$500,000 to Bryan.

In his third campaign Bryan showed that his usefulness to the Democratic machine was largely finished. The Rockefeller's picked an obscure, reactionary judge, Alton B. Parker, for the Democratic presidential nomination. Parker obediently declared in favor of the gold standard, thus ending forever the free silver demagoguery that had attracted so many Populists to the Democratic Party.

Thousands of former Populists, who wanted to continue the fight against monopoly, joined the new Socialist Party, whose candidate, Eugene V. Debs, was making socialism a force to be reckoned with.

Wallace Party Unveiled in Mich.

LANSING, Mich., Feb. 21

—Official unveiling of the Michigan Wallace movement as the "Progressive Party" took place today at a state-wide conference attended by one thousand delegates and observers. Minority racial groups and students were heavily represented. The Michigan labor movement was conspicuous by its absence. The only unions represented were Stalinist dominated—the Fur and Leather Workers-CIO, and the United Office and Public Workers-CIO.

There was little discussion of program. The avowed policy is to support "good" Democrats and Republicans in the various Congressional Districts.

The gathering was tuned to only one theme—WALLACE, WALLACE, WALLACE. The austere setting of a public hall clashed with this atmosphere of an old time revival meeting which lacked only a tent with a sawdust floor.

The entire proceedings of the convention were dominated by the Communist (Stalinist) Party machine. Their representatives sat on every committee. Mort Furay, regional director of the United Office and Public Workers-CIO, and a known Stalinist, chaired the Nominating Committee.

Members of the CP, or fellow travelers, also provided the top leadership. At the Conference each congressional district elected four local representatives who collectively help make up the 68 man State Central Committee. On each of the local congressional district committees of the six important ones in and around Detroit, the Stalinists have at least one representative.

It was glaringly evident that the newly born "Progressive Party" was conceived and launched without either the official union leadership or the rank and file of the labor movement.

WORKERS' FORUM

The Significance of Union Factionalism

Editor: What is factionalism in a union? Is it good or bad for a union? I think all militant unionists would do well to examine carefully their use of the term factionalism.

In what kind of a union does factionalism exist on a large scale? It exists in the UAW, which is still one of the most democratic unions in the country. Reuther notwithstanding. It does not exist in many AFL unions.

Factionalism in a union is merely the democratic expression of different opinions and thought. Factionalism gives rise to discussion amongst workers which in time gives opportunity for the spread of education by the more advanced workers.

I read in Business Week magazine, where even the boss thinks factionalism is good for the workers and bad for the bosses. They point out that in many UAW plants, where there is strong competition between the factions, committee men and shop stewards are ready to call a strike to settle a tough grievance just to impress the workers.

The competing groups constantly keep the leadership on the hot seat; and also on their toes, which is all to the benefit of the workers. Business Week bemoans this fact no end, pointing out how hard it is for the boss to maintain what they call "discipline" in a plant that has factionalism. By discipline, of course, they mean whip cracking.

On the other hand, examine a union where the leadership brags of unity and no factionalism. Here

you will generally find a union without democracy.

Dan Tobin's teamsters, Ryan's longshoremen—any factionalism that starts in the unions of these two dictators is immediately squashed and smashed in as brutal a manner as is necessary to stop it.

I think we would all do well when speaking of factionalism to some of our uninformed shopmates to explain this to them thoroughly. Some workers get discouraged when they see debates and arguments in union meetings and are apt to resent it. We should show them that factionalism, so long as it functions openly, is usually the sign of a good healthy union.

Above all, a militant worker should always take advantage of any factional discussion in a union meeting, and turn it into something educational and constructive.

This chance is denied him where factionalism and discussion does not exist in a union.

Bill Thomas
Cleveland, Ohio

A Frequent Happening Among the Miners

Editor: This is about a miner who has reached the age where the unhealthy conditions of the mines are being manifested in his body in the form of lung diseases, rheumatism, etc. Carl Varbanoff has worked in the mines for over 28 years. His last employer was the Pursglove Mining Company. For the last year he has been unable to work, due to trouble with his lungs. He was examined by the company doctor at various times, but the company doctor said that he did not know what he had.

Varbanoff was finally sent to Hopsonmont Sanitarium, where doctors found he had silicosis.

With this information Varbanoff applied for compensation from the mining company. The mine owner flatly told him that he would not give him compensation, and that he had better go back to work or he would be thrown out of the company house. Varbanoff was again examined by the company doctor, who told him this time that he had something but he didn't know what it was.

Varbanoff asked if he was eligible for compensation. The company doctor said no, but offered to sign any paper needed to make him eligible for the welfare fund. This is a scheme of the mine owners to get out of paying compensation because a miner is not eligible for both compensation and the welfare fund aid.

The miner does not want to be put on the welfare fund when he can draw compensation, mainly because the welfare fund only lasts as long as the present contract, and there is a possibility that there will not be a welfare fund in the next contract, if the labor unions show no more opposition to future anti-labor laws than they have shown to the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law.

This is not an isolated case. It is a frequent happening among the miners. The only solution for the miner in cases such as this or any other medical problem, is to have a union doctor responsible to the local mine union rather than having the company doctor paid for by the workers and responsible to the mine owners.

R. E. Dehaven
Morgantown, W. Va.

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Monday, March 1, 1948

Crisis of Italian Socialism Shown in Party's Convention

By Marcel Rogier

The Congress of the Italian Socialist Party (the party led by Nenni) concluded its sessions in Rome recently, at a time when working class agitation was assuming more and more violent forms.

But the results of the discussions confirm the opinion of those who had long ago given up the idea that the centrists of the Italian SP could be a possible center for regrouping the revolutionary forces in Italy.

It was evident that the Congress had been carefully prepared organizationally. More than half of the delegates were local, regional or national functionaries of the party, constituting that notorious "monolithic apparatus" which gives this party a certain resemblance to the CP.

Of course, the Congress itself was not exactly made-to-order like the Stalinist masquerades. Expressions of opposition did make themselves heard.

THREE TOP LEADERS The head of this "apparatus" and the general secretary of the party, Lello Basso, has the reputation among the bourgeois and petty bourgeois public of being the "best Marxist" in the country.

But Italian Socialism which, together with Austrian Socialism, remains the only socialist movement with serious roots among the workers and with a tradition of militancy that is not dead, will find an outlet neither by severally following the capricious tactics of the Stalinist leaders nor by turning themselves into pure and simple lackeys of the capitalists.

GRAVE ERROR For the revolutionary elements this combination with Saragat was obviously a grave error. As was to be expected, events have subjected their position to implacable criticism.

RIGHT WING OPPOSITION The present leadership of the SP is hypnotized by the power of Stalinism within the country and abroad. It is a prisoner to a schematic and naive idea, carrying over the old illusion about the "peaceful growth" of socialism within capitalist society into the present world situation, where it becomes the idea of the "growth of the class struggle on the international plane."

Moreover, these members, for the most part older than those in the CP, live in dread of a return of fascism and no slogan has gripped them so thoroughly as that of "unity of action." It is not astonishing that more than 98% of the delegates voted to reaffirm the unity of action pact with the CP, against which Romita vainly tried to defend the "autonomy" of Socialism.

Repeating the line which the French centrists, Guy Mollet, had tried to introduce at the beginning of the Congress, Romita fought for the Marshall Plan, against abandoning the "independence of the party," for a "union" with "western" socialists, etc. The party leaders did not have a difficult task in demonstrating to the delegates how

Protest High Cost of Living



Mrs. Ruth Berbes found it impossible to keep up with the rising cost of living. As a protest she put on a one-woman demonstration by going on a bread and milk diet for a few weeks.

the attitude of the "western" socialist leaders had weakened the French working class. Similar opposition would only succeed in strengthening such a leadership.

AN ENCOURAGING SIGN Italian Socialism is without a doubt passing through a profound crisis in which it is torn more and more between Stalinism and the capitalists. It is not surprising that in a country where the social struggles and the rivalry for power are becoming more and more acute, the intermediate currents—for international Social Democracy cannot pretend to be anything else—are subjected to opposing pressures.

THE CONGRESS OF THE PSLI which is to open in a few days in Naples, will show whether the left wing will remain true to itself and draw the appropriate organizational conclusions from its political position.

Comrade Charles Curtis, SWP national committee member, was the main speaker. He demonstrated by statistics and vivid graphs that the basic propositions of the Manifesto had stood the acid test of history.

What was involved in this issue? The disintegrating British empire which was greatly weakened by the Second World War, amid the threat of a production crisis at home

The Ceylon Trotskyists And the 'Independence' Bill

Statement by the International Secretariat of the Fourth International

The electoral victory of the Trotskyists in Ceylon was a source of great jubilation to the Fourth Internationalists the world over. The Lanka Sama Samaja Party, Ceylon organization of the Fourth International together with the dissident organization bearing the same name and also claiming adherence to the Fourth International, returned 15 deputies to parliament out of a total of some 100 elected.

The election results indicated: a) that the Trotskyists in Ceylon have deep roots among the masses; b) that the most oppressed peoples of the colonies, fighting for freedom and independence, are prepared to rally around the banner of an uncompromising revolutionary party; c) that it is possible in the colonies at least, to by-pass the obstacle of treacherous Stalinism and Social Democracy.

We are fully cognizant at the same time of the unfortunate division existing between the official section of the Fourth International and the dissidents in Ceylon. But the fact that both organizations bear the same name and campaigned under the banner of the Fourth International, signified that the masses voting for these parties and their candidates had no way of distinguishing between them and the election results had to be taken in their totality. It was a great victory for Trotskyism.

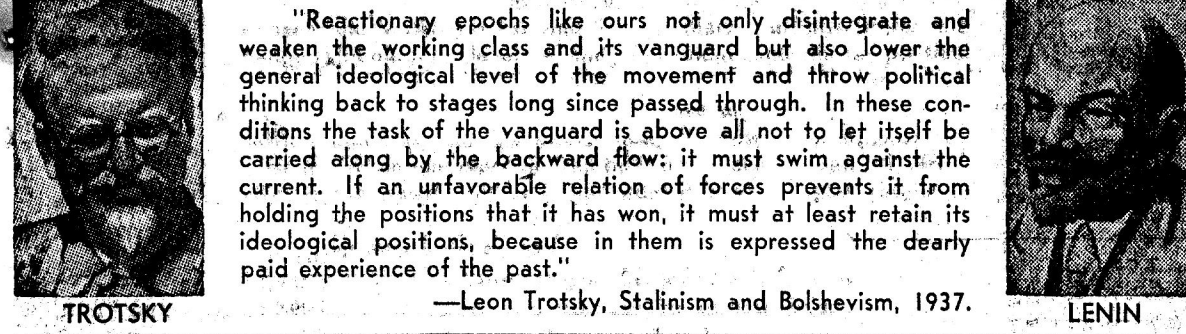
The division in the ranks, however, made us apprehensive about the possible future developments. We asked ourselves: would the split be healed in the face of the responsibilities imposed by the victory in the elections? Would the parliamentary fraction work as one in the face of the class enemy?

It was our fervent hope that this would be the case and that such common work would lead to the eventual fusion of the two organizations. We expressed this hope in a message of felicitation sent to the two organizations.

We did not have to wait long for an answer to the above question. The independence issue which came up before the Ceylon parliament shortly after the elections, presented the Trotskyists with an early test. Two separate positions and two different stands were taken on this issue. Nine members of the parliament adhering to the dissident organization took a "neutral" position, abstaining from the vote on this burning issue.

It remained for six other members of parliament, five representing the official section of the Fourth International, to take a firm stand against the spurious independence bill and to defend an uncompromising position in behalf of genuine independence from British imperialism.

What was involved in this issue? The disintegrating British empire which was greatly weakened by the Second World War, amid the threat of a production crisis at home



TROTSKY

A Milestone for American Labor

The decision of the Socialist Workers Party to run its own presidential ticket in the 1948 elections is a great milestone in the history of American labor. It marks the emergence of the revolutionary party, the party of struggle and hope, as a national factor in American politics.

This announcement may not arouse the fanfare and commotion which accompanied, say, the acceptance speech of Henry Wallace. Among many who acclaimed the Wallace nomination, there was undoubtedly a feeling of hope for the breakup of the vicious two-party system.

In comparing his movement with the pre-Civil War Republican Party, Wallace is keen enough to exploit a wide and deep-going sentiment for fundamental change. This comparison is false. Wallace's party does not at all seek fundamental changes. It is, in fact, unalterably opposed to ridding America of its present-day slavemaster, the billionaire corporations, banks and monopolies.

The emergence of the Wallace Party lends still greater significance to the coming presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. In times such as these, when the old order begins to founder and when a new awakening is opening the eyes of the exploited and underprivileged millions, the clear, uncompromising voice of the party of the socialist revolution is most urgent.

Such a party is the Socialist Workers Party. For twenty years the SWP has prepared for this occasion. Not for one day in these twenty years has the SWP faltered in the struggle for the great objectives of socialism.

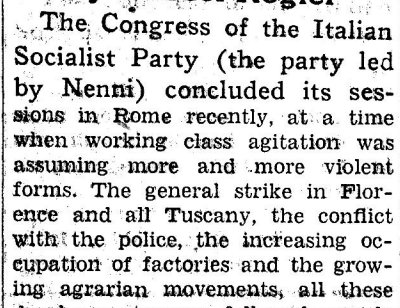
The presidential campaign will place the Socialist Workers Party before the eyes and ears of the workers of the nation. That is a major step toward the establishment of the new leadership that will bring peace, abundance, and socialism to the American people.

Washington's Undeclared War The Truman Doctrine continues to unfold in Greece. Major General Van Fleet, a combat general, has been named Commander of U. S. Army, Navy and Air Forces in that unhappy country.

Washington is openly dissatisfied with the slow tempo of the war in Greece. True, the firing squads are working day and night. There is a death penalty for strikers. The concentration camps are filled to overflowing.

The Greek capitalists have not delivered the full scale warfare they promised. This is not because of lack of military supplies. Truman has been especially generous in donating all the latest equipment including a new batch of fighter planes now being ferried from Germany.

Wall Street is determined to keep Greece as a battlefield whether the Greek people like it or not. General Van Fleet's mission is to



LENIN

Story of Stalinist Coup in Indo-China

By Lucien

On Aug. 23, 1945 the ICL (Indo-Chinese Trotskyist organization) unfurled its giant red banner before its headquarters in Saigon in effect, proclaiming its own legalization.

Under these conditions the Stalinist party was able to rise above the social confusion and elevate itself to the position of a Bonapartist dictatorship.

At a meeting of the United National Front's Assembly on the night of Aug. 22, Tran-van-Giau, seconded by the Japanese former chief of police, Huynh-van-Phuong, in authoritarian manner compelled the so-called pro-Japanese parties to surrender their administrative posts to the Viet-Minh, "official representative of the Allies."

At five o'clock in the morning of Aug. 25, all governmental posts were taken over by the leaders of the Viet-Minh Front. The change in State power was effected in silence and without the people's knowledge.

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the Socialist Workers Party

- AKRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 7 to 9 p. m.; Branch meeting, Sun., 8 p. m.; Socialist Youth Club meeting, Sun., 3 p. m.
- BOSTON—30 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p. m., Tues., 7:30-9:30 p. m.
- BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MADISON 3960. Every afternoon except Sun.
- CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner National), Phone DEARBORN 4767. Daily except Sun., 11 am.-5 p. m. Library, bookstore.
- CLEVELAND—Lafayette Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m., Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).
- DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TV 7-6287. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. FLINT—215 E. Ninth St. Daily 7-9 p. m. Open house, Sat. eve. Forum, Sun. eve.
- LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Phone Richmond 4644. Daily, 12-5 p. m.
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- WATTS—Militant, 1720 E. 97th St. LYNN, (Mass.)—44 Central Sq., Rm. 11 Sat. 1-5 p. m. Discussion, Tues., 7:30 p. m.
- MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 698 S. 5th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone BRADWAY 9645.
- MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m.-6 p. m. Library, bookstore.
- NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8-10:30 p. m. NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone BIGELOW 3-2374. Reading room, week nights, 7-10 p. m.
- NEW YORK CITY (Ho.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR. 5-8149.
- EAST SIDE—251 E. Houston St. 1st fl.
- HARLEM—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 25 Phone MO. 2-1856. Open discussion, Thurs., 8 p. m.
- BRONX—1034 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LU. 9-0101.
- BROOKLYN—635 Fulton St. Phone ST. 3-7433.
- CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone CH. 2-9494.
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Presidential Campaign Resolution of the SWP

Resolution Adopted by the February Plenum of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

The National Committee reaffirms the decision of its August 1947 Plenum to enter a Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket in the 1948 elections.

In addition to the considerations for a party presidential campaign which were enumerated in August, such as the political and propaganda value of appearing on the national arena as a political force contending for the most important office, several important developments since the August Plenum make participation in the campaign a more urgent task for the party.

The party must find the most dramatic and effective means of counteracting the reactionary offensive of finance capital on the domestic scene and its war drive. The temporary recession of mass struggle on the economic plane has not eliminated the sources of popular discontent. On the contrary these grievances have become sharper as a result of rising prices, anti-labor legislation and the danger of war. The presidential election campaign will provide the party with the best arena in the next period for presenting its revolutionary answer to the reactionary offensive.

AIM OF THE RED-BAITERS

The strategy of the ruling clique of the bourgeoisie in its red-baiting drive has been to identify all revolutionary opposition with Stalinism and thereby to smear the authentic representatives of revolutionary socialism with the crimes and discredit that is attached to Stalinism. Because of our small forces it is difficult to counteract this strategy in a routine day to day propaganda manner and in the trade unions. The presidential campaign, however, will provide us with a broader vehicle to differentiate genuine communism from Stalinism. Regardless of the scope of our campaign, which must be limited by funds and forces, our appearance as an independent political factor will go far in accomplishing the above aim.

The party presidential campaign will act as an antidote to Attorney-General Clark's designation of the SWP as a "subversive" organization. It will demonstrate to party members and to its sympathizing periphery that bold, aggressive struggle is the best way of fighting the reaction and that the party intends to stand its ground.

Perhaps the most pressing reason that has arisen since the August, 1947 Plenum for a party presidential campaign has been the emergence of the third party Wallace ticket. Precisely because the Wallace candidacy will have great attractiveness for radicalized workers, the party must have a positive alternative in the form of its own ticket. The SWP campaign will provide the means for clarifying our conceptions of the Labor Party and for opposing Wallace from the left.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FEASIBLE

The August plenum made its decision to launch a party presidential campaign with full knowledge of the technical difficulties involved, and with the belief that the party could get on the ballot in a sufficient number of states to justify the campaign. There has been no fundamental change in the problem in the interim period to justify a reconsideration of the decision.

a) There has been no decline in party forces available for such a campaign—on the contrary these have grown to some extent.

b) While the party faces greater financial difficulties which may limit the extensiveness of the campaign, it can be confidently expected that new sources of funds will be found for a presidential campaign.

c) Although the red-baiting atmosphere may engender a certain rise in attacks and intimidation against the party's campaign, these attacks, if properly combated, can be turned to political advantage by the party. The alternative to incurring such attacks is retreat from the public political arena.

CIO Shipyard Union's Structure Radically Altered at Convention

By Bob Lowell

When the thirteenth annual convention of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers came to a close in Cleveland on Feb. 13,

the union emerged strengthened in numbers, but with the organizational structure so changed that it now resembles a catch-all for widely-different industries.

This radical change came through the admission of some 25,000 dues payers from the CIO United Railroad Workers and approximately 15,000 members of a split-off from the Stalinist-dominated CIO International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

The entrance of the mine-mill workers, who had split from the parent organization and formed an independent group, the Progressive Metal Council, raises problems of a far-reaching nature.

The change in the structure of the IUMSWA developed out of a series of problems that face the shipbuilding and repair industry in this country.

Though apparently uneasy at the prospect of having the shipyard workers become an unimportant section of a larger union in which railroad, metal, and possibly other groups will play an increasingly important role, the 426 delegates meeting in Cleveland's Hollenden Hotel voted for the admission of these workers as an expression of their lack of faith in the government's intention to "Save the Industry."

Though complicated in its origin, this amalgamation is developing a union that will, in all probability, become a "home" for splinter groups from Stalinist-dominated unions.

The conservative leadership of

Green, John Grogan and Ross Blood were returned to office with little opposition. But the change in the organizational structure of the union promises to turn the attention of the leadership away from the crucial problems of the shipyard workers.

Held in a city where the CIO Industrial Union Council is torn with the fight between the Stalinists and the Murray-Reuther machine, the convention was used by the CIO top leaders as a launching platform for a major attack on the Wallace adventure, a demonstration for the imperialist Marshall Plan and an attempt to stimulate support for their CIO Political Action Program of continued backing for the two-party political monopoly of Wall Street.

A small Stalinist opposition to the signing of the Taft-Hartley affidavits, the Marshall Plan resolution and the CIO-PAC program was red-baited, shouted down and swamped in the voting. This Stalinist group, which practically controlled the union as recently as 1944, is now thoroughly discredited and was represented by only eight or ten delegates.

The opening day of the convention brought a political debate on the CIO-PAC program when a resolution embodying these ideas was read out by the Resolutions Committee Chairman, Thomas Flynn. A pro-Wallace spokesman quickly gained the floor and spoke about "smoking out the reactionaries in both parties." His speech was met with boos and cries of "sit down!"

A delegate from Brooklyn then took the microphone and attacked Wallace as a "millionaire publisher who had no responsibility to the labor movement." This delegate then criticized CIO-PAC policy as "company unionism in politics" and charged that, implicit in the PAC leadership program is support of "strikebreaker, Truman, the graduate of the corrupt Pendegast machine of Kansas City and his corrupt and reactionary party."

Pointing out the class nature of the union organization, the speaker called for the formation of a party of labor. "Only by independent labor action will we be able to mobilize the workers of America against Wallace, Truman and Taft, all representatives of the capitalist class, the manufacturers, the same people whom we fought on the picket lines for five months last year."

The delegates reacted to this militant speech with marked interest. Although they voted for the resolution endorsing the CIO Executive Board's policy, the interest they showed indicated a willingness to seriously consider the idea of a real labor party.

Though a large majority of the delegates voted for most of the major proposals of the leadership, such as the amalgamation, the Marshall Plan, etc., a scattered opposition—apart from the Stalinists—could be detected. This opposition solidified against the Green leadership on one major question when they defeated a proposed amendment to the constitution that changed the election of officers from once a year to bi-annually.

Malraux Slanders Trotskyism; Gets Aid from "Times"

(Continued from Page 1)
raux is doing, i. e., "collaborate" with de Gaulle. The use of this letter shows that Malraux is aiming not only at the French workers but at his American public which is fittingly aghast at his new political role. But Malraux will not be able to cover himself with the name of Serge whose friendship with Trotsky is heavily emphasized in Sulzberger's article.

SERGE AND TROTSKYISM

Victor Serge was a distinguished revolutionary and writer of many years standing. After taking part in revolutionary struggles in Europe he went to Russia, worked with the Bolsheviks, and joined the Trotskyist Left Opposition. He bore himself heroically against the Stalinist persecution of all supporters of Trotskyism. Through his reputation abroad and the pressure of his friends, he was able to get out of Russia and to expose the crimes of Stalinism.

But for Serge, too, the Spanish Revolution was a decisive turning point in his relations with Trotskyism. Victor Serge publicly became a member of the POUM, a party which joined the Popular Front and carried out a vacillating policy. The break between Serge and Trotsky soon assumed an extremely sharp and well-publicized form.

Trotsky took every opportunity to denounce publicly Serge's political theories and policies especially in relation to Spain. Thus he wrote in 1938: "Serge plays with the concept of revolution, writes poems about it, but is incapable of understanding it as it is." The sharpness of the polemic and its comprehensive character show how necessary Trotsky thought it to break all political ties with Serge. All this appeared in the Pioneer Press edition of *Their Morals and Ours*.

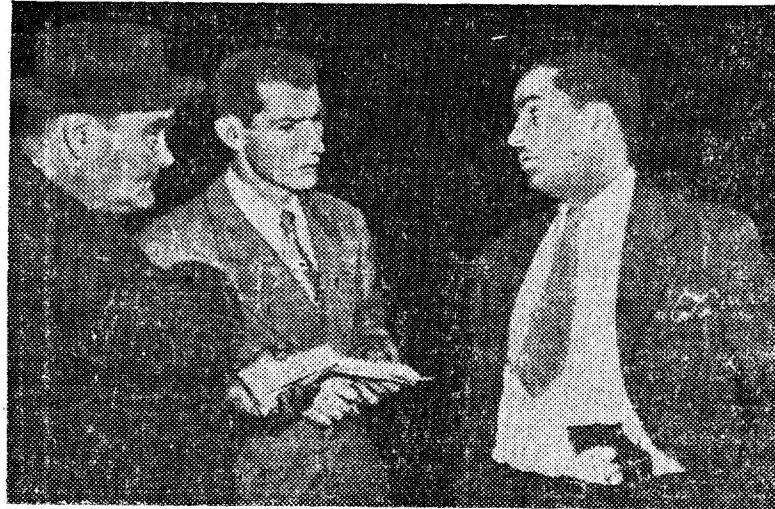
Sulzberger, however, writes of Serge that in Mexico "he was a great friend of Trotsky until the latter was assassinated." After 1938 Serge could not possibly have been "a great friend" of Trotsky in any place. It also appears that Serge arrived in Mexico after Trotsky was murdered.

As for the pretense that there are French Trotskyists who would consider Serge's letter as a good reason to "the left" to join de Gaulle, it is a brazen lie in the GPU manner. The French Trotskyist movement knows de Gaulle for what he is, the mortal enemy of the French proletariat, and is in the vanguard of the struggle against him.

READ

Fourth International

Defies Ku Klux Klan



When Walter Bowland, Lakeview, Ga. basketball coach, was ordered by the Ku Klux Klan to stay out of Rossville, Ga., he decided to put up an argument. The gun in his belt showed that he was prepared to back up his stand with the kind of language the Klan understands. No one bothered him.

Federated Pictures

Dobbs-Carlson Ticket

(Continued from Page 1)

better than that of the other capitalist politicians?

"Wallace claims that he stands for peace. In the same breath he emphasizes his loyalty to the capitalist system. Peace and capitalism don't mix. Woodrow Wilson promised to keep America out of war. In office, however, he plunged the United States into World War I. Franklin D. Roosevelt likewise proclaimed that he hated war and promised 'again and again and again' he would not send American boys to fight overseas. But Roosevelt had Wallace's help in plunging the United States into World War II.

"Wallace now insists that he represents the tradition of Wilson and Roosevelt. Isn't that the tradition of promising peace and giving us war?"

"The Stalinists are now doing the dirty work for Wallace. This is the American Stalinist version of the deadly line handed down by the Moscow oligarchy. To build up a capitalist party is nothing new for the Stalinists. Under Earl Browder they became experts at it. STALINIST BETRAYERS

"True, the Stalinists beat their breasts in repentance over all their wartime political crimes and offered up Earl Browder as a scapegoat; but they didn't really mean it. They asked only two questions of Wallace: Does he favor a deal with the Kremlin? Is he building a capitalist party? When he answered, 'Yes,' that was enough for them.

"In opposition to all these capitalist politicians and their stooges, we stand for establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government. We stand for an end to the anarchy of capitalism with its wars, depressions and anti-labor laws. We stand for the modern socialist system of running industry. Socialism alone can guarantee enduring peace and

Easter Sales Trends and the New Steel Price Hike

By John G. Wright

Feb. 24 — Since the commodity price break, two new developments have taken place in the country's economy. They can prove decisive in determining what lies immediately ahead. On the one hand, we have the first significant signs of dislocation in the home market; and, on the other, there is the action of the Steel Trust boosting sharply prices of semi-finished steel.

These two trends run counter to one another and in the process of their unfolding are bound to lead to highly antagonistic consequences, thus adding still another contradiction to an already explosive economic situation.

The first break of the commodity price break gave no definite signs of disturbance in the domestic market as reflected in the highly sensitive field of department store sales. For the week ending Feb. 7 the Federal Reserve Board weekly reports showed signs of "softness" appearing here and there.

But on a national scale, department store sales continued to record the same gains in dollar volume as in the last several months. In the Feb. 7 week, there was a 9% increase as against last year's sales. But the reports for the following week (ending Feb. 14), show a decrease of 3% as against last year. This drop is quite small. Nevertheless, it represents a

marked shift, which if it persists, will reverse the trend of the entire previous period. Up to now the stores have been taking in an average of 10% more in dollars than they did last year. A shift from 10% over last year's sales to 3% under last year's figures therefore represents a loss in sales of hundreds of millions of dollars a month.

Furthermore, the most ominous feature of this initial decline is its widespread character. The only district reporting any gain was the New York area with its 1% larger sales. The rest of the country showed losses ranging from 9% in the Boston reserve district (covering New England) to 2% decline in the San Francisco district (covering the West Coast).

EASTER SEASON

In the second place, this relatively sharp drop comes at the beginning of the Easter sale season which as a rule steps up retail trade. It is, of course, too early to say whether or not the long-indicated breaking point in retail trade is already here. A single week is not enough to establish a trend. But the next period up to Easter week itself (ending March 27) is indeed highly symptomatic and may very well tell the full story.

In any case, in our opinion, one controversial aspect of the current situation is already quite clear. The commodity price break has such power behind it that under the ex-

isting conditions it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to confine its repercussions to agricultural products alone. It does, as we have maintained, tend to communicate itself to other markets.

The scope and sharpness of the initial decline in department store sales within two weeks' time is proof of how rapidly and profoundly it is already affecting the vulnerable sector of retail trade.

A continuation of this trend (only potential as yet) would mean a collision between industry and its record volume of output, on the one side, and the limits set by the shrinking domestic market itself, on the other. This has long been a potential danger. In the next stage it is bound to become the reality. Such a head-on collision can prove catastrophic for economy as a whole.

It can be averted and even postponed primarily on one condition—provided the dollar volume of retail sales can either be maintained at former levels or raised above them.

The decline in physical volume of retail sales which set in during the middle of last year did not prove decisive at the time because the economy was jet-propelled to new price levels by the inflationary surge. It was the Steel Trust at that time that fixed the economic pattern of the second half of 1947 by hiking iron and steel prices on top of a thumping increase in coal prices.

As we pointed out at the time, this measure could not fail to produce a general price increase, since the price of these basic commodities—iron and coal—determines the price structure as a whole. The speculative orgy to which this led in all fields (with the exception of the Stock Exchange) is now history. Thereby the collision between industry and the domestic market has been averted for some seven months.

PRICE RISE IN STEEL

The current price hike in steel is intended to serve the same purpose. It is not a minor measure of inflation, even though it appears to be thus far, restricted to only a single sector of steel products, the semi-finished branch, which roughly accounts for one-fourth of the total steel output. The actual boost amounts to more than \$7 a ton as against the reported figure of \$4 to \$5. It directly affects other steel products.

For example, Allegheny Ludlum has added \$10 a ton on cold rolled carbon strip while jacking up the price of silicon sheets by \$15 to \$25 per ton.

By the time such whopping increases reach the consumer they snowball to roughly 20% and more on the price of durable goods from autos and refrigerators to pots and pans. This is, therefore, a major inflationary measure. It is similar, if not identical, to what was done last

July. It is intended to produce the same results.

The prospect of still higher prices makes it profitable to maintain and even add to existing inventories, no matter how large. The fuel that this adds to speculation—buying and hoarding in expectation of still higher prices—hardly requires comment in the light of the still fresh experience.

The whole question therefore is: Will this fanning of inflationary fires prove successful the second time as it did the first? A partial success is by no means excluded. But this in turn depends on several factors, of which the most important is once again the existing condition of the domestic market. Can the latter today absorb a general price rise as was the case in the second part of last year? Or has the inflationary orgy already sapped beyond repair the domestic market?

MORE EXPLOSIVE

The final outcome of this desperate inflationary measure will be only to render more explosive and devastating the effects of the oncoming depression. But the immediate outcome—whether or not it will provide a temporary respite in the current situation—still remains in doubt.

Here again, the answer will in large part depend on what happens in the sphere of retail trade, especially during the current Easter season.

Add A Dash of Poison!

By Grace Carlson

All of the big commercial bakers tell the suffering public that their product is "unique"—that it is baked according to a special "home recipe"; that it "stays fresh longer"; that it contains some "priceless ingredient." The facts are, of course, that the ordinary loaf of packaged white bread is uniformly soggy and tasteless. And recent medical studies indicate that it may be uniformly dangerous to its users.

In the December 14, 1946 issue of the *British Medical Journal*, the famous nutritional expert, Sir Edward Mellanby reported that bleached flour gives dogs fits. Since that time, two groups of American scientists have verified Mellanby's findings. Their reports, published in the November 22, 1947 issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* gave the experimental evidence to prove that bleached flour poisoned dogs, cats, ferrets and monkeys. In each case, the symptoms varied with the species.

Nine-tenths of the bread eaten by the American people is made out of bleached flour. For the past 30 years, most of our bleached flour has been "agenized." Agene is the trade name for nitrogen trich-

loride—a substance added to flour during the milling process. With the agene treatment, the flour is not only bleached, but is made inedible for weevils. Thus, it keeps for a much longer time in the bakeries and warehouses.

On the subject of agene and its possible dangerous effects on human beings, the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Research Council has made the following recommendations:

1. Investigation of the effects of agene-ized flour on human subjects.
2. Exploration of alternative processes of flour treatment to make sure that flour is free from toxic effects.
3. Reduction of the use of agene by commercial bakers.

Agene gives fits to dogs. What it does to human beings is still a matter of speculation. Experiments now under way indicate that agene may change some of the wheat protein into a nerve poison, which, in turn, may cause alcoholism or some other personality disorder.

But the mere discussion of the "agene" question is giving all of the flour trusts and the profit-hungry bakeries fits. Because all of their bread recipes call for the addition of "a dash of poison."

The Negro Struggle

Position of Negroes in Industry Today

By George Lavan

The Negro people engaged in a great migration during the years of wartime prosperity. It was a migration from the farms to the cities. It was also a migration from laborers' jobs and domestic work into semi-skilled factory jobs.

In April, 1940, one-third of all employed Negroes were farm workers and farmers. The same month in 1947 saw only half as many Negro workers left on farms. Many of these had stayed on the land because they owned their own farms or had, with the help of children working in factories, been able to buy farms. So that while in 1940 only 43% of Negroes working in agriculture owned or managed farms, by 1947 the figure had risen to 60%.

But now more than four-fifths of all employed Negroes were outside agriculture. What kind of jobs did they get? The overall picture is beyond question one of advancement into better paid jobs with better working conditions. This progress can be attributed not only to the full employment brought about by World Slaughter II. Much credit must go to the militant spirit shown by the Negro people and the progressive industrial unions—the CIO.

Before the war over 70% of Negro women, not employed on farms, worked as domestics. Fifteen months after Pearl Harbor this figure had dropped to less than 50%. Many Negro women escaped from the long hours of domestic drudgery and went into service jobs—beauticians, restaurant cooks and wait-

resses, etc. By 1947 10.5% of all employed Negro women were factory workers.

This migration of Negro men and women into factory jobs, mainly as semi-skilled workers, was more pronounced than among any other sector of the population. Thus they grew from 6% of total factory employees to 10% in 1944. And it is necessary to bear in mind how much greater the total number of factory workers was by 1944 in order to appreciate the meaning of that 10%.

To a far lesser extent Negro workers were hired as foremen and skilled workers, but the gain here was negligible. That Jim Crow was the main reason for this, needs no explanation. Moreover, since the end of the war the number of Negroes holding jobs as skilled workers and foremen has declined.

The greatest wartime gains in factory employment for Negroes were in the munitions industries—metals, chemicals, rubber, etc. It was precisely these munitions industries which suffered the greatest cutbacks when the world slaughter ended.

Despite discriminatory layoffs and firings with or without cutbacks the Negro people remain today an integral part of the American working class. Creeping unemployment has hit the Negro communities out of all proportion to other sections of the population. It is a threat to the living standards of the whole Negro people, and thereby to the whole working class.

The job for labor now is to continue the fight—batter down the bars to equal employment rights and fight all attempts to squeeze Negro workers out of jobs gained.

Notes from the News

UNION SHOP WINS — A union shop was approved 145 to 16 in a CLEB election last week at Geometric Stamping Co. in Cleveland, it was announced by Steve Sabe, international representative of the UAW-CIO. This was the first CIO election held in Cleveland for a union shop under the Taft-Hartley Law.

MOVIE JIM-CROWED — The scheduled film on the baseball career of Jackie Robinson, starring the Brooklyn first baseman himself, has been cancelled. Reasons were the Hollywood witch hunt and pressure from Southern theater owners.

DEPORTATIONS STOPPED — The fight against deportations has won five victories as courts ruled against the Department of Justice. Among those saved from deportation was Steve Tandaric, who came to the U. S. in 1911 at the age of five. A former member of a CIO Steelworkers local, Tandaric was arrested for deportation after his return from fighting in the Spanish Republican Army. Also saved were Umberto Silix of El Paso, former regional director of CIO Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and Anton Jay, CIO Auto Worker of South Bend, whose citizenship the FBI tried to revoke.

SWEEPING INJUNCTION — The Los Angeles AFL Building Trades Council was forced to call off

a strike against the City Water and Power Department in the face of an injunction which forbade calling a strike, picketing, and declaring the Department's projects unfair.

ONLY SWP FOUGHT HIM — State Senator Jack Tenney, head of the "Little Dicks" Committee, is again pushing the witch hunt at full force in California. At the last elections Tenney was unopposed save for the SWP write-in candidate, Cynthia Rogalin. She received many votes from rank and file Stalinists whose party ran no candidate against Tenney.

11 PENNIES — All the newspaper hullabaloo about dropping food prices in the past two weeks didn't ease the strain on the housewife's budget. A week's food for a family of four bought in New York on Feb. 20 cost only 11c less than the same food bought Feb. 1.

AGAINST UMT — The American Council of Education announced that a national poll of educators showed 73% against Universal Military Training.

LEGAL LYNCHING — A Negro woman, Rosa Lee Ingram and her sons, Wallace, 16, and Sammy Lee, 14, have been sentenced to the electric chair for the self-defense slaying of a white neighbor. The NAACP is appealing the savage conviction by a lily-white Georgia jury.