

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. XI — No. 24

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1947

401

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Behind The Conflict Over Hungary

— See Page 3 —

Budenz Reveals Trotsky Murder Facts To Jury

Tells Grand Jury That Stalin's GPU Made Assassination Preparations In New York City

NEW YORK, June 11 — Louis Budenz, former Daily Worker editor and Communist Party National Committee member, appeared on June 5 before the Grand Jury to tell what he knew about the conspiracy to assassinate Leon Trotsky which he himself confessed was hatched in this city by agents of Stalin's GPU.

The Grand Jury hearing follows the demand for such an investigation made on March 17 by a delegation headed by Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas, New York City Councilman Louis P. Goldberg and novelist James T. Farrell. This delegation presented a statement signed by scores of prominent citizens, asking that "Earl Browder, Jack Stachel, Budenz himself, and all other Communist Party leaders, past or present, who are known to have been involved in the activities of the Soviet Secret Police in our community, or who are declared to have had knowledge of such activities, should be subjected to official examination and such judicial action as the facts may warrant."

SWP Chalks Up 5% Of Vote In Essex County

FIRST OF A SERIES

Prior to going before the Grand Jury, Budenz was questioned for an hour by Assistant District Attorney Jacob Grumet. Budenz stated to the press that his appearance is the first of a series in which he proposes to reveal many aspects of the preparations made in America for the assassination of Trotsky not disclosed in his book.

The statements in his book provided new and hitherto missing links in the chain of evidence presented during the trial of Frank Jackson, the assassin, which showed him to be a GPU agent. In his book, Budenz admitted that he himself worked with GPU agents here to weave their web around Sylvia Ageloff, a friend of Trotsky's household. Jackson used Sylvia Ageloff to gain access to the house to commit the crime.

SAME PATTERN

Budenz also told reporters that the preparations for Trotsky's killing followed the same pattern used by the Stalinist murder machine in other political assassinations. Budenz's book refers to the mysterious disappearance in 1937 of Juliet Stuart Poyntz, former Communist Party leader. He says that he was told by "Comrade H," a national committee member of the CP, that Juliet

Poyntz was "liquidated" by the GPU. The delegation which urged the investigation called the Grand Jury's attention to other political assassinations committed by or attributed to the GPU such as the murder of Ignace Reiss in Switzerland, the series of murders of Trotsky's secretaries and members of his family, the slaying of Carlo Tresca, Anarchist leader in New York, and many others.

Since the publication of the damning admissions in Budenz's book, the Daily Worker has maintained total silence regarding these new proofs of Stalin's guilt in Trotsky's murder.

NEWARK, N. J., June 9 — The three candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in Essex County polled 5% of the votes cast in the June 3rd Constitutional Convention election. Out of 48,000 votes cast in the County, Alan Kohlman received 2,438; George Breitman received 2,393 and William E. Bohannan received 2,378. The referendum for the holding of such a Convention carried 43,422 for, and 4,757 against. The 13 candidates of the "Clean Government" Republicans were all elected.

Outstanding feature of the election was the small turnout at the polls. All press and political commentators were agreed that this light vote reflected wide-spread lack of interest throughout the state. This was especially true of the Essex vote where the majority of workers stayed away from the polls. The trade union leaders, while officially on record for constitutional revision, made no effort to rouse the ranks.

The average SWP vote was about 500 votes higher than that of the two Stalinist candidates. On a statewide basis, the coalition Republican - Democratic slates carried in all counties, thereby leaving Constitutional Revision completely in the hands of the boss parties.

Attacks On India Trotskyists Spread As Strike Continues

BOMBAY, May 16 — Attacks on the Trotskyists in India have spread from Madras to Bombay. Yesterday the Bombay office of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India was searched and two members — Indra Sen and Ananth Mandekar — were arrested.

Meanwhile C. S. S. Antony Pillai, president of the Madras Labor Union and member of the Central Committee of the BLPI, whose arrest and detention have been earlier reported, has been externed (deported) to Ceylon by the Madras government in a final desperate attempt to crush the 68-day-old strike of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mill workers. The striking workers, however, remain solid.

Indra Sen is charged with being the editor of a Marathi-language bulletin produced without official authorization. His case comes up for hearing on May 30, and in the meantime he has been released on 1,000 rupees bail.

Sen has been in the thick of the anti-imperialist struggle since his student days in Calcutta. He was arrested during the civil disobedience movement in 1931. In 1941 he was first externed from Calcutta, then placed under house arrest in Calcutta and finally warranted. Until the end of the war, however, he managed to elude the

MINE STRIKERS PROTEST TAFT-HARTLEY SLAVE BILL

Favor People's Referendum On War Or Peace

Flint Chevrolet Local Hits Truman Doctrine

FLINT, Mich., June 7 — UAW Chevrolet Local 659 this week urged the coming Michigan State CIO Convention to go on record in favor of a people's referendum to decide the vital questions of war and peace. The resolution declared:

Whereas: Congress, controlled by Democrats and Republicans, is rushing this country towards a third World War, and

Whereas: All the public opinion polls indicate that the American people are opposed to the Truman Doctrine and a new war, and

Whereas: The War Department has made plans to regiment labor in the event of a new war, depriving labor and the people of this country of our democratic rights, and

Whereas: Millionaires became billionaires in World War II while American workers are suffering from inflation, lack of homes and depressed living standards,

Therefore Be It Resolved: That Chevrolet Local 659 requests the Ninth Annual Convention of the State CIO to go on record demanding that the war making powers be taken out of Congress and that a referendum vote of the people of this country be taken to decide all questions of war.

Pickets Protest Greek Regime's Reign Of Terror

NEW YORK, June 7 — Two hundred pickets paraded before the Greek Consulate at Rockefeller Plaza this afternoon in protest against the arrest of Trotskyists in Greece by the reactionary Royalist Maximos government. Three of those arrested in Salonika are to be brought to trial by court martial and face the death sentence.

The picket line, organized jointly by the New York locals of the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party, was also a demonstration against the notorious Truman Doctrine which buttresses the reactionary regime and gives financial and military assistance to the reign of terror by the Greek government.

For one hour the streets surrounding the Greek Consulate echoed with the shouts of the picketers: "Free the Political Prisoners in Greece!" "End the Reign of Terror!" "No Arms Against Greek Workers!" "Down with the Truman Doctrine!"

The joint statement of the two parties read in part as follows: "The Trotskyists in Greece are a section of the Fourth International who fought the Nazis during the German occupation and have continued the struggle for a free Socialist Greece against the reactionary governments supported by British imperialism and by the Truman Doctrine."

"The Greek government has filled the jails and concentration camps with trade unionists, liberal democrats — with all those who have dared to criticize one of the most reactionary dictatorships in the world."

"The Royalist mob ruling Greece persecuted its opponents under the German occupation for the benefit of the Nazis."

"The Truman Doctrine now gives moral aid and financial assistance to this murderous dictatorship in Greece. Under the guise of stopping 'totalitarianism' the Truman government is upholding a vicious dictatorship. Encouraged by this support the Greek Government has scorned all demands for a general amnesty of political prisoners."

Wall Street's Rubber Stamps



Political Expediency To Decide Truman Stand On Anti-Labor Bill

By Joseph Hansen

Will Truman veto the Taft-Hartley anti-labor bill? If the President favored the working people and opposed the giant monopoly interests, this question would have been answered some time ago. As soon as the threat appeared serious that a majority in Congress wanted to place this legislative hangman's noose around labor's neck, Truman would have taken a firm stand.

If Truman acted in the interests of the working people, he could have announced when the bill was introduced that he would never sign it. In fact that is the least of the steps he would have taken. Besides hampering proponents of the measure by the threat of a sure veto, he could have taken the lead in publicizing its dangers to the union movement. He could have

mobilized every power at his command to kill this savage anti-labor bill the moment it was proposed by Wall Street's henchmen in Congress.

It is not difficult to visualize the kind of pressure the President of the United States could have mobilized against these anti-labor cut-throats. In a series of nation-wide radio addresses, he could have informed every voter of the diabolical provisions of the proposed legislation. He could have summoned the people to meet this menace head on. He could have called for demonstrations from coast to coast to convince the tools of Big Business sitting in Congress that they had better think twice before attempting to push through such a law. And he could have utilized his vast power over the disposition of patronage to convince the more hard-headed political gangsters

in Congress that it would decidedly not be in their interest to press the bill further.

Yet Truman did none of these things. He did not take a public stand against the bill. He did not mobilize a fight against it. He did not lift a finger to stop it. Even with the bill on his desk he has not uttered a single word to organize Congressional support for a veto. This course

(Continued on Page 2)

Nationwide Strike Paralyzes Railway System In France

Sporadic strikes were reported on the railways in the vicinity of Paris on June 6. These rank and file strikes were not authorized by the official heads of the railway union. But they swept along the steel lines of France's entire railway system at express train speed. Within four days the entire railway system was completely tied up. Paralysis threatened the entire industrial system.

Like the strike that flared in the Renault auto plant a few weeks ago, this general railway strike arose out of the burning impatience of the French workers to have done with the government policy of shifting the costs of the war and reconstruction onto the backs of the working class. The demands of the railway strikers are directed squarely against the wage freeze. They ask a minimum monthly wage of 5,500 francs (\$46.20).

The Ramadier regime thus found itself floundering in the worst crisis that has yet struck it. Since the announcement of the Truman Doctrine, the Ramadier regime, against the will of the people, has moved to the right, counting on Wall Street support to keep it in office.

The first major sign of the bitter resentment among the workers over the continued wage freeze and of their readiness to

24-Hour Protest Strike Urged By Union Groups

Four more powerful union groups have joined in calling for a nation-wide 24-hour work stoppage to demonstrate labor's opposition to the Taft-Hartley bill. Requests for a national protest strike have poured into the CIO office from about 100 different places, according to reliable reports. Similar resolutions have been adopted by numerous AFL and independent unions.

LOS ANGELES, June 7 — The Los Angeles CIO Council last night unanimously went on record for a national work stoppage against the Taft-Hartley bill. Over 400 delegates pledged the national CIO that 100,000 workers in this area would join the protest.

The vote in the Council followed an investigation of strike sentiment throughout the local labor movement. Numerous locals have voted for such action during past weeks.

The Council is also organizing a parade and demonstration in downtown Los Angeles next Saturday. This will be the second local CIO rally against anti-labor legislation; over 10,000 participated in one in front of City Hall two weeks ago. The AFL has also held one, and plans another. These separate demonstrations for the same purpose underscore the need for united labor action.

AKRON, June 5 — The Akron CIO Council has come out for a 24 hour demonstration against the pending anti-labor legislation. The AFL Typographical local took similar action last week.

The CIO resolution urged "the officers of the National CIO to immediately contact the officers of the American Federation of Labor, the Railroad Brother-

Rank-And-File Miners Lead Fight On Union-Busting Law

June 9 — More than 11,000 Pennsylvania soft coal miners have downed tools in protest against the Taft-Hartley bill. The stoppage began three days ago when 400 men in the Fayette-Greene

County area decided it was time to take action against the Taft-Hartley anti-labor bill now on Truman's desk.

Their strike was not official. Andrew S. Rayner, president of the Gates Mine local of the United Mine Workers, declared: "The men refused to work for some reason but the local did not call any strike."

STRIKE SPREADS

The strike rapidly mushroomed throughout the Pittsburgh area. "The men think President Truman will veto the anti-strike bill if all the men come out on strike," said John Ozanich, president of the Robena local. "The men went to work Saturday morning, but the word was spread around that there was no work on account of that bill."

As the spontaneous protest action swept from mine to mine, United Mine Worker officials tried to get the men back to work, but up to now appeared to have no success. At Uniontown, Pa., William J. Hynes, President of UMW District 4, who reported the official efforts to halt the protest action, said the walkout was due to "unrest" over the Taft-Hartley bill.

SAVAGE PENALTIES

With 20 mines already shut down, Capt. N. H. Collisson, Coal Mines Administrator, ordered an "investigation." Under government operation of the mines, the United Mine Workers are subject to savage court penalties for official strike action. The Krug-Lewis agreement bans demonstrations such as this one. The coal operators can demand the imposition of fines of \$1 or \$2 a day.

So far the rank and file strike

BULLETIN

LOS ANGELES, June 11 — The AFL Central Labor Council, in an emergency meeting last night, voted to launch a Labor Caravan which will march on Washington to protest anti-labor legislation. The Caravan leaves Los Angeles on Thursday, June 12, and is scheduled to arrive in Washington Thursday, June 17.

AFL President William Green has approved this action. All Labor Councils are invited to join this march. The CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods, Independent unions and other organizations are urged to make it a unified labor demonstration. The AFL Central Labor Council has also called for a nation-wide work stoppage next Tuesday to support the Labor Caravan.

action has been confined to the "captive" mines of certain steel companies in Pennsylvania, but federal authorities expected the protest strike to spread into Kentucky and West Virginia.

This militant action of the coal miners, taken on their own initiative, is a dramatic index of how profound the opposition in labor ranks is to the Taft-Hartley bill. Their action likewise shows how insistent the rank and file are that effective action be taken to halt enactment of the bill.

The coal miners, despite the shackles of government administration of the mines, despite the threat of fierce court reprisals and fines, have demonstratively shown the correct way to fight the projected anti-labor law. Their example should serve as an inspiration to labor throughout the country.

24-Hour Protest Strike Urged By Union Groups

Four more powerful union groups have joined in calling for a nation-wide 24-hour work stoppage to demonstrate labor's opposition to the Taft-Hartley bill. Requests for a national protest strike have poured into the CIO office from about 100 different places, according to reliable reports. Similar resolutions have been adopted by numerous AFL and independent unions.

LOS ANGELES, June 7 — The Los Angeles CIO Council last night unanimously went on record for a national work stoppage against the Taft-Hartley bill. Over 400 delegates pledged the national CIO that 100,000 workers in this area would join the protest.

The vote in the Council followed an investigation of strike sentiment throughout the local labor movement. Numerous locals have voted for such action during past weeks.

The Council is also organizing a parade and demonstration in downtown Los Angeles next Saturday. This will be the second local CIO rally against anti-labor legislation; over 10,000 participated in one in front of City Hall two weeks ago. The AFL has also held one, and plans another. These separate demonstrations for the same purpose underscore the need for united labor action.

AKRON, June 5 — The Akron CIO Council has come out for a 24 hour demonstration against the pending anti-labor legislation. The AFL Typographical local took similar action last week.

The CIO resolution urged "the officers of the National CIO to immediately contact the officers of the American Federation of Labor, the Railroad Brother-

hoods, the Telephone Workers, and all other labor organizations that are sympathetic to the continued life of organized labor, to set a common day for a nationwide demonstration of a 24-hour period, this demonstration to be carried out as soon as can possibly be done, but in any event prior to the time set for the signature of President Truman to enact it into law."

The sentiment among the workers is to fight back now, to make their strength felt and show Congress and the White House that labor is not going to take this vicious attack lying down. However, it is reported that the national CIO leaders are opposed to any demonstrations of this sort.

Local labor leaders who voted for a 24-hour demonstration were later reported to have rescinded their stand when they learned it would throw them into opposition to CIO President Philip Murray. Their feeling was that they did not want to give the public the impression that labor was divided. However, these leaders as well as many others elsewhere, must learn that the only way for the labor movement to survive is to break sharply with the do-nothing policy of the Murays and to unleash the mighty power of 15 million workers against their enemies.

PASSAIC, N. J., June 7 — The convention of the Passaic CIO Council has called on the national CIO to take steps to initiate a national 24-hour protest stoppage against the Taft-Hartley slave labor bill.

Pressure from the unions in this area has also persuaded the Passaic City Council to petition President Truman to veto the bill.

BUFFALO, June 6 — A conference of 125 shop stewards, committeemen and others called by Region 9 of the CIO United Auto Workers this week resolved "that Region 9, UAW-CIO, representing a membership of 15,000, call upon the International UAW, the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods to declare a one-day national holiday" to protest the Taft-Hartley bill and to demand that President Truman veto it.

"It is plain," the conference resolution declared, "that only immediate action on the part of the million-fold labor movement of America can prevent this bill from becoming law."

The chairman, Sub-Regional Director Edward Gray, ruled out of order a section of the resolution calling for a united labor demonstration by all Western New York labor organizations. He declared the conference had "no legislative power to issue a call for the demonstration."

Regional Director Martin Gerber came out in support of an independent labor party, for which he received hearty applause from the whole audience. But when a delegate introduced a motion putting the conference on record for a labor party, Gray again ruled it was out of order because the conference had "no legislative power to entertain such a motion."

Notebook Of An Agitator

A Rift In The Iron Curtain

The decay and corruption of present-day society finds its expression in all fields, and not the least in the degradation of the noble art of portraying life through fiction. The novelists, to be sure, are freer and far superior to the professional writers in other fields, but they too find it necessary to consider the money angle and keep away from themes which are excluded from honest treatment by an unspoken censorship.

The Catholic Church, for example, with its vast ramifications, and its reactionary power ever more brutally and arrogantly asserted, is virtually unexplored territory. Since James T. Farrell wrote his Chicago novels, I do not know and have not heard of a modern American writer who has touched the Catholic Church without sobbing over it and bending the knee before it. An iron curtain of silence and suppression has shielded the doings and misdoings of this colossal institution from true report, as effectively in fiction as in the press and on the radio and the screen.

All the more welcome and important, therefore, is the publication of a new novel last week which chips open a chink in the iron curtain and throws some light on an underworld of avarice, obscurantism and privilege, dominated by an interlocking directorate of Tammany Hall and the Catholic hierarchy. In *Moon Gaffney* (Henry Holt & Co., \$2.75) Harry Sylvester tells the story of a young Irish Catholic made and trained for politics. He was doing well at it before he reached the age of 30, and was scheduled to go higher, much higher, with the assured support and backing of the Church and the "organization," as the Tammany banditti innocently describe their self-serving machine.

BELIEVED IN BOTH INSTITUTIONS

The going was all the easier for Moon because he fervently believed in both institutions, and thought politics was the ordained way for a sensible young fellow with the gift of gab and a liking for people to do favors for his friends and make something for himself at the same time. As for the Church, which he also took for granted as God's representative on earth, it not only raised no objections to this somewhat dubious philosophy and practice, but took a big hand in the business and shared in the privileges.

Moon, the son of a deputy fire commissioner who was a power in the "Hall," and well-liked on his own account, was already a favored man in the inner circle of the organization, holding down a sinecure clerkship which gave him plenty of time to get around. He was entrusted with confidential errands for the higher-ups and deferentially treated by the lower orders who were looking for favors; slated for the Party's nomination for the State Assembly at the next election, with higher honors and offices looming ahead; drinking plenty, like all the others in his crowd, and having a good time.

The world looked rosy and the future assured until he stumbled over a cherry stone which he didn't even see and broke his neck. Moon's faults, which eventually disqualified him, were good nature and a strain of conscientiousness which he didn't fully understand and didn't fully believe in, and a glimmering—although only a glimmering—of social consciousness.

One night after a drinking bout he was steered into the office of the Catholic Worker. This is a little sheet put out by an unsponsored lay grouping of Catholics who are worried about the sufferings of the poor. It appears that they want, somehow or other, to reconcile institutionalized Catholicism with genuine charity, justice, human brotherhood, etc. This is quite a large order, and the group is not favorably regarded by the well-heeled hierarchs who prefer the flesh pots of Egypt to the locusts and wild honey of the desert. The meek and lowly Jesus stuff is all right for preaching, but these just priests of mammon want no part of it in practice; it smacks of "communism," something they are very allergic to.

THE BEGINNING OF HIS DOWNFALL

Moon slept off his drunk in the Catholic Worker office and the next morning, feeling rather heroic, helped the volunteer staff to pass out hot coffee and day-old bread to a line of derelicts who showed up there regularly for hand-outs. Up to then he had scarcely noticed that there were hungry people around. At the Catholic Worker office he was told that a block of slum tenements owned by the Church was about to be torn down to make room for more profitable buildings, and that the poor tenants had been given only thirty days to get out.

This was a double jolt to Moon Gaffney. He didn't know that the Church owned and collected rent from slum properties; and he couldn't believe their story that it was impossible for the poor families, some of whom were Catholic parishioners, to get a hearing at the chancery to plead for a delay in the eviction notice.

On a generous impulse he used his political influence to arrange a meeting with the Monsignor for a spokesman of the tenants and he went along. That was the beginning of his downfall, although he didn't suspect it at the time. The Monsignor didn't like this sort of interference in the business affairs of the Church. Later, when it was already too late, a priest explained to him: "Oh, I know you didn't do it deliberately, Moon," the priest said, holding up

a restraining hand. "It was an impolitic thing to do that was all, the sort of thing that might embarrass the associates of a young politician. That might give them pause as to his future reliability."

Not satisfied with this faux pas, Moon—again not realizing what he was doing—secured a friend of his to act as attorney for a struggling union in which the Catholic Worker group was interested. Moon felt very good about this gesture. It gave him the double satisfaction of helping out some poor people, and at the same time doing a favor for his young lawyer friend who was badly in need of the fee of \$3,000 a year which the job paid. But this good deed also boomeranged. The union was in a fight of some kind with a reactionary and therefore more respectable organization on the docks run by Bernie Brosnan (a thin disguise for Joe Ryan). Brosnan was in solid with the Church, which had written the other union down in its black book as a "communist" front.

WOLVES CLOSED IN FOR THE KILL

The net result was that the young lawyer got in bad with his wife's family for going to work for an outlaw union and had to give it up; her old man was a power in the political machine and he couldn't afford to antagonize him. As for poor Moon, he got tagged definitely as a man whose reliability could not be depended on. Then his father, the influential "commissioner," died and the wolves closed in for the kill. Before Moon Gaffney knew what had struck him, he was out on his ear, his promising career as a politician at an end.

The story part of the novel is integrated with a moving panorama of an upper middle-class Irish Catholic community, with priests and politicians working in cahoots, dominating the scene. Such a job has not been done before in this country to my knowledge. Politics, of course, including the malodorous municipal variety, has been quite adequately treated. The fact that Tammany politicians, like the others, are in politics for what they can get out of it is not a new revelation in American fiction. What is new is the thoroughgoing treatment of the role of the Catholic clergy in politics and their totalitarian interference in every concern of the daily lives, in the manners, morals and incentives of their parishioners.

The author's account of all this bears all the greater stamp of authenticity because it obviously comes from the inside. The book is not written from an anti-Catholic, but simply from an anticlerical point of view. The characters whom the author has created to deliver the most blistering philippic against the greedy and materialistic clergy are all Catholics who aim at the apparently modest but in reality unattainable goal of restoring organized Catholicism, with its huge property interests and uncounted funds, to the simple ideals of Christian charity and justice which inspired the barefooted Christians of ancient days.

INDICTMENT OF THE HIERARCHY

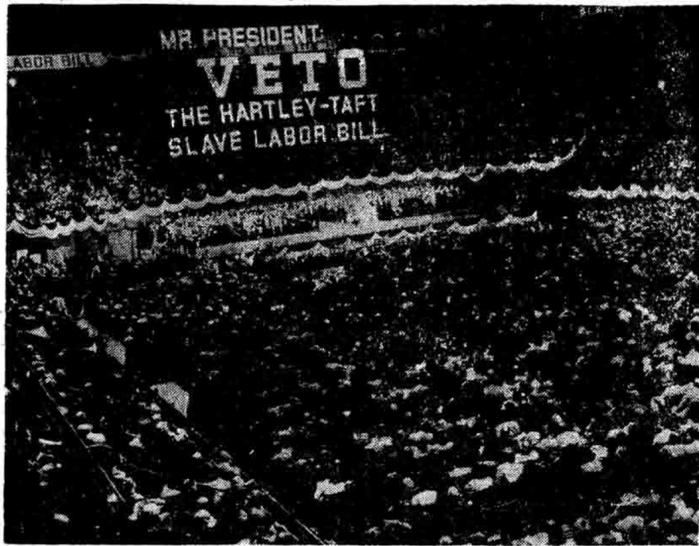
But even within this narrow framework a terrific indictment is brought against the higher ranks of the Catholic clergy of New York in general, and its Irish section in particular. "I'm half Irish," says the Catholic newspaperman Schneider, "and I hate the way they've bitched up the Church, perverting her doctrines and twisting her teachings and then patting themselves on the back. I hate their insane pride of race and of religion and their incredible fatuousness. . . . What I hate is a priesthood that lacks both charity and humility and has misled and confused its people until they mistake black for white, hate for love and darkness for light. A priesthood that has substituted chastity for charity and frequently a chastity so warped and misinformed that its ultimate fruits compare with those of lust."

The author of this book is no Fancy Dan, and he doesn't spar with his antagonists when he gets them into the literary ring. He is strictly a slugger; he hauls off and lets them have it without euphemisms, allusions or indirections of any kind whatever. This man is blazing mad. The pages of the book are scorched with his anger.

In scene after scene he describes and denounces the ignorance, malice, hatred and greed of the Irish clerical big-wigs, and their reactionary hostility to every progressive thought. He exposes their vicious anti-Semitism openly expressed, their vicious prejudice against the Negroes and their megalomaniac race theory, reminiscent of Hitler's, that the Irish—of all people!—are the chosen ones and the greatest of the earth. Even the Italians who belong to the same church are despised and openly derided as "Ginnies." A well-to-do Irish girl is scolded by a priest for electing to serve as a volunteer in the maternity ward at the hospital, helping out with "Ginny babies," in preference to the more rarefied atmosphere of "the sewing room" where the select circle of Irish Catholic ladies do their charity work in the preparation of bandages and the dissemination of gossip.

Moon Gaffney is a horror story if there ever was one. It depicts a priest-supervised system of marriages for convenience and marriages for money, in which the prospect of bringing more money into the parish of the interested priest is shrewdly calculated. What could be more horrible than that? The book reveals a priesthood obsessed with sex repression, thunderously ex-

N. Y. Protest Rally Against Slave-Labor Bill



50,000 AFL men and women jammed Madison Square Garden and the streets outside on June 5 to voice their protest against the Taft-Hartley slave labor bill. The bill, passed by both houses of Congress, is now on President Truman's desk. Federated Pictures

Political Expediency Guides Truman On Anti-Labor Bill

(Continued from Page 1)

has had the effect of a green light on the anti-labor crew.

Truman's course demonstrates how far he is from being a political representative of the working people. Truman is the leading executive of the capitalist class. Consequently he has no basic objections to the Taft-Hartley bill becoming law.

Why, then, does he not come out clearly in support of the measure? The answer is—for tactical reasons.

He must pretend to represent the people. He cannot frankly admit that he is a political servant of Wall Street. In fact he must give the illusion of opposing Big Business. To reveal the truth would be political suicide. Besides this, other grave considerations must be weighed by the High Command of the Democratic Party before enacting such a drastic law against the labor movement.

NOT UNITED

First of all the capitalist class itself is not completely united in the demand for passage of this far-reaching measure now. A section would prefer postponing enactment of a law designed to strangle the labor movement. They fear that labor will not strangle so easily. Indeed, that labor might strenuously resist being strangled. Because of the unsettling effect it might have on labor relations, they are not sure that the law is desirable at this time.

If a militant mood prevails among the rank and file of the unions, then it can be expected they will put up a tough fight to defend their organizations and preserve the hard-won gains made in decades of bitter struggle. Once such a struggle begins, it can have far-reaching consequences, thoroughly harmful to the capitalist class. The existence and extent of a militant mood among the union membership can be gauged by the size and character of demonstrations against the Taft-Hartley bill. The protest strikes, parades, public meetings, and rallies are weather-vanes closely studied by the political experts in Washington. Had the top AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhood bureaucrats called a 24-hour nation-wide protest strike, such an action would have been interpreted by the Democratic



TRUMAN

High Command as a most serious warning of grave trouble ahead if they insisted on passage of the Taft-Hartley bill.

Moreover, if the union membership appear determined to defend their gains, then passage of the bill can unsettle internal relations in the labor movement, to the detriment of Wall Street. The top union bureaucrats would feel their present easy position completely undermined. They would have to begin producing or face the prospect of replacement by a more militant leadership that would arise from the ranks. The failure of most of the fat, slothful old-time bureaucrats to struggle would not prevent this struggle from developing. At most it could only delay it with more explosive final consequences. And in the process a new, revolutionary union leadership might come to the fore.

This consideration undoubtedly weighs heavily with the Democratic pundits. They know that a powerful labor movement cannot be wiped out by passing a law against it.

WOULD HASTEN TREND

Besides this, if Truman should sign the measure, it would hasten the trend of the working class toward independent political action. This trend is a logical continuation of the great union organizing drives of the Thirties. It was postponed by the war. But recent developments show that this trend is now gaining momentum. The victory of the labor movement in Oakland over an entrenched political gang is a significant indication of what can happen.

Finally, there is the immediate consideration of what can happen in 1948. It is fear of the consequences in next year's elections that has moved the Demo-

cratic machines in such cities as New York to make the record against the Taft-Hartley bill and in favor of a veto.

In view of all these possible far-reaching consequences, the high circles of the Democratic Party are faced with a grave decision.

These clever machine politicians are undoubtedly scheming how they can let the bill become law and still avoid direct responsibility. If Truman, for instance, were to veto the bill but his veto were to be overridden, then they could claim that Truman was against the anti-labor bill. At the same time they would please the truculent, reactionary core of the capitalist class who insist on enactment of the law now.

To count on such a shallow maneuver fooling the working class, however, is a long gamble. Workers, aroused over the bill now, will study how it came to be passed with tenfold attention once it begins to affect their daily lives. Then they will ask what the Democratic Party did in Congress and what Truman did in the White House to stop this legislation besides the token gesture of registering a veto.

They will have a simple standard by which to judge precisely what lengths Truman went to stop the bill. They need merely compare what Truman did to ensure approval in Congress of his foreign reactionary doctrine last March when, it will be recalled, he cracked the whip and Congress lined up like trained seals.

2 Political Wings Of Wall St. Vulture

Passage of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Bill by both Houses of Congress was a bipartisan action. A majority of Democrats lined up with a majority of Republicans to put over the measure.

In the Senate, 37 Republicans and 17 Democrats voted for the bill; 15 Democrats and 2 Republicans against.

Previously, in the House, 217 Republicans and 103 Democrats supported the bill, with 66 Democrats, 12 Republicans and one American Laborite against.

J. P. C.

Essential to an understanding of the present policies of the Stalin bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

The End Of The Comintern

By James P. Cannon

Manifesto Of The Fourth International On The Dissolution Of The Comintern

order from
Pioneer Publishers
116 University Pl.,
N. Y. (3), N. Y.



TRADE UNION NOTES

By Art Preis

Wage negotiations between the AFL United Mine Workers and the northern and southern coal operators associations were broken off last week. UMW representatives halted talks with the southern operators charging the latter with breaking an agreement on "no publicity." Government control of mines ended July 1, raising the possibility of a strike thereafter if contracts are not signed. Operators are stalling, awaiting their advantages under the Taft-Hartley Anti-Labor Bill.

To leave no loopholes for labor, the Taft-Hartley bill contains a section providing that nothing in the bill shall permit the federal law to supersede the open-shop laws in the various states. That's to uphold state laws that may be more viciously anti-labor than the federal bill.

Union restricting laws are now operative in 29 states, including such major industrial states as Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Indiana, New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Delaware. Closed shop and union shop contract bans now exist in 13 states. The Iowa state legislature recently enacted the thirteenth open shop bill. Corporation and land-owning interests in Texas have pushed through eight union-busting bills, already signed by Governor Jester, and are working on the ninth.

20,000 CIO United Automobile Worker members in six Detroit and one Evansville, Ind., plants of the Briggs Manufacturing Company are scheduled to go on strike June 11 if the corporation "does not yield" on contract demands for retroactive wage increases, improved grievance procedure and contract coverage for salaried employes. Briggs is notorious as an anti-union outfit, never ceasing its provocative tactics. The Briggs workers, how-

ever, have a reputation for militancy. The UAW International Executive Board has approved a strike.

Two big strides forward were made by the progressive caucus of the Consolidation Committee of Engineers at the convention last month of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. The CCE is working for amalgamation of the dual railway unions, the BLE and Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers (BLFE). The BLE convention Committee on Cases unanimously voted down charges brought by Grand Chief Johnston against a member and officer of the CCE, Paul J. Goodsell. Charges were dismissed on the grounds that the CCE is not a dual labor organization, as Johnston tried to contend. BLE delegates also voted to empower the BLE Conference Committee to meet with representatives of the BLFE.

The CIO Political Action Committee begins its annual dollar voluntary contribution campaign on June 15. CIO Steelworkers Secretary-Treasurer David MacDonald spoke pessimistically of the PAC's financial situation at a meeting of CIO editors recently. He said it must become self-sustaining or fold up. Rank-and-file enthusiasm for PAC has waned because of the anti-labor record of Democratic and Republican congressmen PAC supported as "friends of labor" last November.

Union membership is at an all-time peak, according to recent Labor Department figures, 14,800,000 American workers are covered by union contracts, 41% under closed shop or other forms of union security. If this mighty union army were united politically in a labor party, Congress today might be passing a law to safeguard union security contracts instead of the open-shop Taft-Hartley bill.

Our Program:

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

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
116 University Place
New York 3, New York

- I would like:
- To join the Socialist Workers Party.
 - To obtain further information about your organization.
 - To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

NAME _____ (Please Print)
STREET _____
CITY _____
POSTAL ZONE _____ STATE _____

Mail This Coupon With 50c For A 6-Month Subscription To

THE MILITANT

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Published in the interests of the working people.
The only newspaper in this country that tells the truth about labor's struggles for a better world.

You may start my subscription to The Militant for 6 months I enclose 50 cents (coin or stamps)

Send me The Militant at your regular rate of \$1 for 12 months. I enclose \$1 (coin, stamps or Money Order)

Name _____ (Please Print)

Street _____ Apt. _____

City _____ Postal Zone _____

State _____



pounding the hateful dogma that sex is sinful, dirty, unnatural, something to be ashamed of. Overriding all is the devastating picture of the Catholic hierarchy's subservience to wealth and power; their selfish and brutally avaricious participation in the privileges; and their callous disregard for the bitter consequences the whole system has for its innumerable victims.

They insanely hate "communism," by which they designate every kind of progressive thought or protest against the most flagrant discrimination and injustice. They tolerate no encroachment on property rights or privileges. Even the pathetic Catholic Worker group, with their Christian meekness and their utopian idea that humility and charity can conquer greedy privilege armed to the teeth, is hated and persecuted as a "communist group."

There is a savage irony which the author most probably didn't notice in the circumstance that his Catholic protagonist came to grief, with the consent and connivance of the priests, for doing no more than the mildest liberal or any decent man of good will would do without attaching any great importance to his actions. The bare fact that a man only half consciously performing a few simple humane deeds can be presented as the hero of a novel in an Irish-Catholic setting, bringing the unrestrained wrath of the clergy down on his head, gives a certain measure—perhaps more than the author understood or intended—of the black reactionary mentality of these ecclesiastics who wear the cloak of religion to serve and support a system of exploitation and discrimination.

Moon Gaffney is a warning to all those who strive for social progress that they confront a

Germany — 1947

FROM POTSDAM TO MOSCOW

By Ernest Germain

It is historically fitting that the present enslavement of Germany was decided on at Potsdam, the former capital of the Prussian kings who in their day sought to reduce to slavery not only the "sister" German principalities but Poland and Holland as well. But what bitter irony that the final agreement on this enslavement was worked out at Moscow, former revolutionary capital and seat of the Communist International.

At Potsdam the conquerors came to agreement on a joint program, de-industrialization, reparations, dismemberment, long-term occupation. Since then, however, this general agreement has given way to a situation where each of the four bigwigs is putting up a furious defense of its own case for brigandage.

This development is to be explained by the catastrophic results which a rigid enforcement of the Potsdam policy would have had on Germany and European economics and politics; by the sharpening antagonisms between imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy; and by the domestic difficulties of each of the "conquerors," difficulties which are growing and which they seek to resolve by exploiting prostrate Germany—each in his own way.

PLAN ABANDONED

The plan for complete de-industrialization of Germany, which fixed the productive capacity for steel at 7.5 million tons (39% of the 1936 capacity and 25% of 1939) and limited annual production to 5.5 million tons, has been abandoned by one occupying power after another.

The British were the first to do this, because they saw the impossibility of the economy making even the slightest recovery at that level and were afraid of the costs involved; because they began to feel the loss of the German market; and because they wanted to add a more or less revived German productive potential to their own potential, in order to offset the overwhelming supremacy of both American and Russian industries.

American imperialism, after a few first hesitating steps, seems to have finally abandoned the "Morgenthau plan" which provided for the complete transformation of Germany into an agricultural country. This policy has now yielded to one of imitating, with regard to Germany, the tactics followed toward Japan; seizure of the German productive apparatus by

The Fourth In A Series Of Articles

American capital and its reconstruction for the purpose of turning it into an arsenal and a stronghold for the projected war against the Soviet Union. By reconstructing German economy, American imperialism seeks primarily to attract into its orbit the countries of the "Soviet buffer zone," which are desperately in need of the industrial equipment that Russia cannot furnish them.

The unification of the British and the American zones is an important step toward total seizure of the German industrial potential by American capitalism. By "nationalizing" industry, British imperialism attempts to prevent American capitalists from buying up the Ruhr plants.

But the joint economic administration will fall into the hands of people like Brigadier General William Draper, of the firm of Dillon, Reed & Co. of New York, specialists in "peaceful penetration" by means of the gold dollar! From now on, the possibilities of an "independent" British policy will be more and more limited.

As for French imperialism, it is pursuing, with the desperation of a starving man, its mirage—annexation of the Saar and seizure of the Ruhr coal. The Stalinist deputies roam and run around the streets of Paris just like simon-pure de Gaulists, with placards screeching that "we have to have the Ruhr coal."

IMPERIALIST UNITY

A certain degree of economic reconstruction in France is important for American imperialism in order to assure however slightly the "stability" of the country and to prevent it from falling "prey to communism." That is why the American and British imperialists, after many months of bickering, have now set up a "united front" with their weakened French partner and arranged to share among themselves the Ruhr coal. These brigands no longer make any bones about it and have openly announced that German production will be allocated in accord-

ance with orders from the three imperialist chancelleries!

The Soviet bureaucracy after having adopted the previously-described system of "Soviet Joint-Stock Companies" in its occupation zone, now demands control of the Ruhr by the Big Four and reparations payments out of current production in the Western zones, in order to share equally in the loot of the most important sector of German industry, which the British and Americans had assured to themselves.

When the latter oppose the plans, it is simply to be able to pursue their own aims of plunder. They retort sharply by demanding economic unification of the four zones, so as to drain off the agricultural production of the Russian zone and begin their economic penetration there.

As for the future political structure of the country, the disagreement remains fundamental. The Soviet bureaucracy is demagogically for "unity" of Germany—but it excludes from this unity the 20% of German territory which was ceded to Poland. The Anglo-Americans are against "annexations"—by Poland. But they propose a complicated federative system which would make it easy for them to combine their seizure of the economy with permanent political control.

Molotov seeks to win the sympathy of the workers in the Western zones by demanding—the true "democrat!"—a "plebiscite." The Anglo-Americans answer by a campaign of agitation in favor of the Silesian and Pomeranian refugees and by bringing up again the question of the Eastern boundaries.

This game of chess might seem tiring to follow; but the pieces being played with are the lives and the misery of millions of human beings! No one is really concerned with asking them their opinion.

The Social-Democratic leader Schumacher, with whom we shall deal later, summed up the situation in a beautifully concise sentence: "The total victory of the Allies has given them total responsibility." As could be expected, the imperialists and the Soviet bureaucracy have been incapable of assuming this responsibility. While they continue their interminable quarrels, a country of 66 million people is slowly dying of asphyxiation.

(Next week: The Great Acquiescence of the year 1947.)

Tense Conflict Over Hungary Mirrors Trend Toward War

By William F. Warde

World politics is today dominated by the cynical and open preparations for a bloody showdown between the Anglo-American imperialists and the Soviet Union. The recent coup d'etat in Hungary is part of this gigantic struggle.

It is sheer hypocrisy when the Trumans and Vandenberg denounce Russia's intervention in Hungary's affairs. These indignant champions of democracy for Hungary are themselves sponsors of dictatorial regimes in South America, Asia, Greece, Turkey and Western Europe.

In their contest of power politics, none of these antagonists displays the slightest regard for the democratic rights and interests of small and weak peoples. On both sides tyranny and oppression is screened by demagoguery and hypocrisy.

The Kremlin's coup in Hungary is the latest link in a chain of its crimes beginning with the winter of 1944-1945. At that time Hungary along with the rest of Eastern Europe was ripe for the socialist revolution. The workers and peasants greeted the Soviet armies as a herald of their liberation from capitalist rule.

SECRET DEALS

But they suffered cruel disillusionment. The Big Three had secretly agreed to hand over Eastern Europe as the Kremlin's special sphere of influence provided capitalism was maintained there. Stalin was willing to comply since the Soviet bureaucracy feared the independent revolutionary movements of the masses as much as did the imperialists.

When the Russian armies marched in, it would have been easy to replace the despised capitalist state apparatus with genuinely democratic workers' and peasants' government. Instead Moscow set up a hand-picked four-party coalition cabinet. This Popular Front combination of Stalinist, Social-Democratic and capitalist politicians was used as a convenient mechanism for enforcing the orders of the Kremlin.

It would have been equally easy to take over the banks, industries and landed estates and proceed to reorganize Hungary's economy on socialized foundations in order to raise the living standards of the masses. But the redistribution of the land and the limited nationalization measures undertaken by the four-

party regime left the basic capitalist relations of production and property intact.

Far from bringing freedom and prosperity, the Kremlin and its agents extended over Hungary the methods of police terrorism and parasitism by the Stalinist gang main-power within the USSR it-

The Russian occupation has driven this poverty-stricken and war-shattered country ever deeper into ruin. The Kremlin demanded \$300,000,000 in reparations. Occupation and reparations costs consume 65% of all state expenditures. Under these burdens Hungarian economy could not possibly recover but is plunging again toward disastrous inflation.

WORKERS DISHEARTENED

The majority of the workers have been disheartened and demoralized by these reactionary political and economic policies of the Kremlin. The peasants have increasingly turned against the Stalinist-controlled regime which gave them neither political liberty nor economic improvement. Their revolution was first expressed in the results of the November 1945 elections when the conservative pro-capitalist Small Holders Party received 57% of the votes while the Communist Party got only 17%.

Taking advantage of these sentiments among the population, the most reactionary elements of the possessing classes have since then moved to strengthen their positions within the country. Prodded from behind the scenes by the Anglo-American imperialists and encouraged by the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine, they have been working to swing Hungary away from Russian domination into closer connection with Washington and London.

The Kremlin has replied to these maneuvers in its typically brutal bureaucratic manner. Its agents have engineered a little coup d'etat by ousting the leaders of the Small Holders Party from the government. In these moves to secure an utterly subservient regime in Hungary and eliminate elements hostile to it and friendly to the Anglo-American imperialists, the Kremlin has not appealed to the self-interest of the workers and peasants. It relies exclusively upon the military power of its occupying forces and the repressive measures of its police apparatus.

This contemptuous disregard of the masses can only serve to intensify their revulsion against the regime and feed the demagoguery of the Western powers who masquerade as the protectors of democracy in Europe.

In any event, Stalin's reshuffling of the puppet regime and tightening of his dictatorial hold over the country will not help solve a single one of the problems confronting the Hungarian people. Caught in the sharpening conflict between the great powers, crushed and drained of its life blood by the rapacious tools of Stalinism, this little country can only sink deeper into degradation so long as the masses cannot find a way out through the road of socialist revolution.

TRACHEROUS FORCES

Nor will these desperate measures in the occupied countries accomplish the aims hoped for by the Kremlin. Stalin seeks to build up a ring of friendly governments in the buffer zones surrounding the Soviet Union as a means of defense against Anglo-American aggression. But those pro-capitalist elements which today line up with the Kremlin as the strongest power can change their allegiance tomorrow as quickly and easily as many of them previously switched from Berlin to Moscow. The leaders of the Small Holders Party represent an advance detachment of these treacherous forces.

The sympathy and support of the workers and peasants is the one force the Soviet Union could depend upon to counteract the encroachments of Anglo-American imperialism in Hungary. But the conduct of the Kremlin and its agencies provokes discontent and distrust among the masses, alienating them from the Soviet Union. The abominable crimes of Stalinism strike heavy blows both at the Hungarian people and the security of the people of the USSR.

Thus, while it might appear for the moment that Moscow has fortified its position in Hungary, in reality Stalin's moves and methods foster sources of hatred and hostility which can assert themselves with explosive force in the future.

Picketing Greek Consulate In New York



Some of the 200 pickets who marched around the Greek Consulate in New York on June 7, protesting the arrest of Trotskyists by the Monarchist government in Greece. (See story on Page 1.)

Mood Of British Workers Shows Rise In Militancy

By T. J. Peters

MARGATE, England, May 31—Although the annual conference of the British Labor Party, which closed here last night, is generally held to have consolidated the party leadership, a closer analysis of its proceedings reveals a different situation. Indeed the shouts of victory for Bevin, Attlee and Co. are pretty much confined to the newspaper headlines.

The articles below the headlines show a much more serious and sober view. Thus, for instance, the conservative Observer, in an article headed "Bevin Is Stronger After Margate," concludes that "Mr. Dalton, and indeed the whole Labor movement (what is meant is the whole reformist leadership) may live to regret his easy victory."

Wherein lies the "victory" of the Labor Party misleaders? And what are the causes that will make them "regret" it? The Party leadership, that is, the Labor government, was not overthrown or seriously threatened by the conference. That is indisputably true. For those who feared that an immediate and sweeping storm would emerge from the rumblings of discontent in labor's ranks this past year, this fact naturally is looked upon as a "victory." It serves to reassure them somewhat. But in actual fact, the ferment—which was expressed on both domestic and foreign policy by the revolt in Parliament and such incidents as the Spellthorne Letter on the one hand, and the series of "unofficial" strikes and protest movements on the other—found substantial expression at the Margate conference.

What saved Bevin and Co. in their defense of British foreign policy was the lack of a principled leadership to give a clear lead to the discontented rank and file. The same Observer, already quoted above, comments: "The foreign policy debate at the Labor Party conference on Thursday was not so much a triumph for Mr. Bevin, as a discomfiture for his Left-wing critics. Their case had broken down even before Mr. Bevin opened his mouth."

In their pre-conference pamphlet, *Keep Left*, the "loyal" opposition headed by Crossman and Mikardo merely sought to "improve" on Bevin's imperialist policy without taking up the cudgels against it in principle. Bevin could easily show that if an imperialist policy were to be pursued, the "improvements" of his "Keep Left" critics were simply ridiculous and that he himself knew best how to apply it.

As to the pro-Stalinist opposition led by Zilliacus, Bevin was easily able to throw the Kremlin's whole book of crimes at them in self-defense. Their case was so discredited that they received a mere 12 votes for their resolution.

The "Keep Left" opposition very obligingly withdrew even its milk-and-water resolutions when the platform requested them to do so in order to "save the government from embarrassment." But when one among them, Harold Davies, refused to oblige, and insisted on putting to a vote a resolution calling for

the workers of England are spilling for a fight to make their recent electoral victories genuine victories for their class. In this they clash continually with their leaders. The role of the "Keep Left" crowd has been to head their fight against the Bevin and Attlee in order to head it time and again. Their experiences with these fake "lefts" undoubtedly are a cause for frustration, and if continued could open up the road for reaction.

But for the present the mood of the British workers is one of ever-greater militancy. They express it first and foremost through their trade unions, which form the basis of the Labor Party. Both in the unions and in the Labor Party the rise of a genuine left wing leadership is on the order of the day.

International Notes

The French Socialist Party leadership last week suspended "one of its youth organizations for having affiliated itself too closely with the Trotskyite Communists." (N. Y. Times, June 6.)

The Indonesian trade union movement at a conference in Malang last month asked for a world-wide boycott of Dutch ships.

Strikes are spreading in Ceylon, the AP reported last week. About 25,000 industrial and government employees were out in Colombo.

Washington has called off its dispute with the Argentine government and is now willing to help arm and consolidate the Peron dictatorship. Spruille Braden, who opposed this policy as Assistant Secretary of State for American Republic Affairs, has been kicked out.

Negotiations for an end to the war in Indo-China fell through last month when the French imperialists demanded that the Viet Nam leaders agree to turn over all arms and let French troops move freely about in all parts of the country. The Viet Nam government rejected these demands and called on the Indo-Chinese to continue their struggle against the French butchers.

The Polish Ambassador in Mexico has just decorated Nestor Sanchez Hernandez, one of the Stalinists arrested in Mexico in 1940 for participating in the first murder attempt on Leon Trotsky, Victor Serge reports in the June 7 New Leader.

Serge's article also reports on the present situation of "Frank Jackson," the convicted GPU assassin of Leon Trotsky, who because of Stalinist support, has "for years enjoyed numerous privileges and a secret but recognized authority" at the Mexican Penitentiary.

Since international conditions have shifted to the disadvantage of the GPU, the authorities became alarmed that "Jackson" would escape. So on May 12 many of his privileges were with-

Mass Demonstrations Rock Bloody Kuomintang Regime

By George Lavan

The Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship is faced with the greatest revolutionary threat to its existence since the end of the war with Japan. Giant protest parades and demonstrations led by students are demanding "Bread and Peace."

The bloody Kuomintang regime has met these demands with beatings, torture and executions. So bestial have been the reprisals against the students that entire city populations have rallied to their side. Even foreign correspondents friendly to the regime have been forced to report that all foreigners in China are "shocked" by the treatment of students.

Beginning last month, student demonstrations have swept through the major cities of China. In Nanking students stormed and occupied the Ministry of Education and the Executive Yuan buildings. In Tientsin martial law was declared as the police and army fought the students. Large demonstrations and clashes took place in Shanghai. In other cities students commandeered

of the workers and impoverished middle classes for—Bread and Peace.

While the corrupt regime and profiteering capitalists get richer, the working class and lower middle classes have been brought to the verge of starvation by the unparalleled inflation. For example, prices in Tientsin last month were 16,790 times higher than before the war. The billions poured into China by U. S. imperialism have gone into the war against the Chinese Communist Armies or into the pockets of Chiang Kai-shek's henchmen.

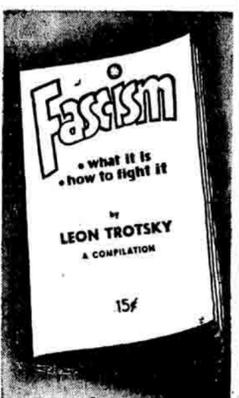
The government has branded the student movement as "communist." All observers agree that the Stalinists are not in the leadership. The demonstrations are spontaneous mass movements of the rank and file students.

The Chiang Kai-shek regime is in a precarious situation. Confident that with unlimited American aid, he could wipe out the Stalinist-dominated Yen'an regime, Chiang announced early in May that decisive victory would be won by September. But the recent major victories of the Yen'an armies in Manchuria are shaking Chiang's rule.

Washington has dropped up Chiang with huge military supplies and many naval vessels and amphibious landing craft. A U. S. Army advisory group has been reorganizing the army and instructing it in the use of new weapons and tactics.

The U. S. Navy's 7th Fleet is in Tsingtao, 190 miles south of Russian-held Port Arthur, and strategic port for support of Government armies fighting in Manchuria. Since December 1945 U. S. Naval forces there have been training Chiang's Navy. The Navy does not expect to leave Tsingtao until 1951.

Chiang Kai-shek's regime could not have lasted these past two years without the aid of American imperialism. The latest events now raise the question of whether the bloody tyranny can remain in power even with Wall Street's help.



Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Published Weekly by THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-0338 FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorial.

Subscriptions: \$1.00 per year; 50c for 6 months. Foreign: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Single copies: 5 cents per copy for 5 copies or more in the United States, 6 cents per copy for 5 copies or more in all foreign countries.

Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.



"Before exhausting or drowning mankind in blood, capitalism befools the world atmosphere with the poisonous vapors of national and race hatred."

Leon Trotsky

An Appeal For Aid

The Militant is not "impartial" in the conflicts between Big Business and labor. It takes its stand foursquare on the side of the working man against the profiteers and warmongers. Week after week The Militant carries on its fight to protect the living standards of the workers against the price-gougers and profit hogs. It defends their right to strike and better their conditions.

The Militant exposes the sinister plans of Wall Street and its government in Washington to try to shackle the labor movement and clear the road for its imperialist conquest of the world. The chief aim of The Militant is to teach the American workers that only through socialism can they achieve peace and plenty and create the kind of world they want for themselves and their children.

Big Business has a virtual stranglehold over the country's press and all its vital instruments for shaping public opinion. Through this vast propaganda machine it grinds out lies against labor, distorts and suppresses news, whips up red-scares and labor-hating sentiment. The Militant fearlessly exposes the criminal activities of the monopolists and counteracts the lying propaganda of the labor-haters. That is why The Militant is feared and hated by all enemies of the working class.

But The Militant is respected and admired by the people for whom it speaks—the workers and their families. For them it is a beacon light of truth and courage. It gives them new hope and inspiration.

To these devoted readers and friends, The Militant must now turn for financial aid. It appeals to you for help. During the past year printing and paper costs have skyrocketed. This extra cost has become a severe handicap, for The Militant is not subsidized the way the capitalist press is subsidized through lucrative advertising.

Will you send a contribution today to the Business Manager of The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.? If you can, we urge you to follow the example of those Militant boosters who have already pledged to send a regular monthly contribution, as reported in "The Militant Army" on page 5.

Help maintain a free labor press! Help spread the liberating message of Socialism! Help The Militant.

Green's Politics

50,000 AFL workers crowded in and around Madison Square Garden in New York City last week to protest enactment of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Bill. They came full of fight and eager to do battle. They came, many of them, in high hopes of hearing their top leaders, including AFL President William Green, offer a real program of action to halt the menacing assault of Wall Street's government.

Above all, they wanted to get a new and vital political answer—a program of labor political action. They were bitterly disappointed.

They received from Green only a rehash of the AFL leadership's traditional policy of political subservience and cowardice—the philosophy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies." This has always meant in practice that when labor's "friends" in Wall Street's Republican Party stab labor in the back, then the workers should turn and embrace labor's "friends" in Wall Street's Democratic Party. Or vice versa.

What's happened to labor's "friends" that AFL votes helped to send to Congress in November 1946? That's the embarrassing \$64 question the top union leaders fear to answer. Most of their November 1946 "friends" have gone the road of the "friends" of previous elections. As agents of the parties owned and controlled by Big Business, they have taken their orders from the big bosses. They have openly joined the wolf-pack howling at labor's heels.

The workers have no effective independent political party of their own to smash Wall Street's political monopoly enforced through the capitalist two-party system. Why then should the corporation stooges in Washington worry about Green's loud words and threats? He still promises to deliver labor's votes to some more capitalist political flunkies when the workers can no longer stomach the present batch.

Union workers today are sick and disgusted with riding the capitalist political merry-go-

round. The answer the workers expected to get at Madison Square Garden—the answer they should have received long since—is a fighting call for a complete break with the capitalist political machines, for an end to company unionism in politics, for the formation of a Labor Party based on the trade unions and a program of irreconcilable struggle against the rule of the Wall Street bankers and coupon-clippers.

Who are labor's real and only friends? They are the men and women from labor's ranks who built the unions, organized and led the picket lines, brought the bosses to their knees in militant actions. These are the men and women to put in Congress. These are the friends whom the workers should reward with their votes and their political confidence.

Pentagon Conspiracy

Drew Pearson, the well-known columnist, revealed June 4 that "one of the most secret meetings since war days was held behind tightly barred doors in Washington's vast Pentagon Building this week."

The meeting was shrouded in this heavy secrecy for two reasons: (1) It concerned a blueprint for mobilizing American industry in accordance with Wall Street's plans for another war; (2) the participants were highly anxious to avoid the spotlight of publicity.

"The secret Pentagon meeting, called by Secretary of War Patterson," declared Pearson, "was attended by a number of prominent industrialists and labor leaders, including representatives of the Edison Electric Company, the National Association of Manufacturers, American Federation of Labor, CIO, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the railway labor brotherhoods, the Association of American Railroads, Radio Corporation of America, the aircraft industry, the Petroleum Institute and others."

The purpose of the meeting was to outline "in detail" the projected "establishment of an industry reserve corps of American workers and employers" with "units in every major manufacturing plant in the nation."

That the NAM, Chamber of Commerce, power trust, railway moguls, oil barons, and so on, should be actively engaged in this conspiracy against the people, is to be expected. They are the forces who launched the anti-labor drive now reaching a high point in the Taft-Hartley bill.

But what were representatives of the AFL, CIO and Railway Brotherhood bureaucrats doing in this conspiratorial gathering of capitalists and brass hats?

The answer is that they were betraying the American workers and the American trade union movement. They participated in the war plot as labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. They were being instructed on details of the reactionary scheme in order to help put it over with greater finesse.

Who gave these top union officials any mandate to work out plans for regimenting labor and shackling it to a new war machine? Who gave them the right to barter away the lives and liberties of the working men and women?

This kind of secret diplomacy between the heads of the trade unions and the political representatives of Big Business is a menace to American labor.

The full light of publicity should be directed on the discussions that went on in the Pentagon building.

Double Standard

During the same days the Stalinists were putting the squeeze on Premier Nagy to force his resignation, a Wall Street puppet down in Nicaragua was pulling a similar coup d'etat. If the Nicaraguan coup d'etat differs from the Hungarian, it is only in its greater boldness and contempt for public opinion. And that's not much of a difference.

Anastasio Somoza, one of the brutal dictators from which Latin America suffers under Wall Street's shadow, had expected newly-elected President Arguello to act in office like a humble foreman who would carry out orders with jumping-jack promptness. But Arguello, the first president to be elected in ten years in Nicaragua, proved to be too independent for Somoza's comfort. So Somoza ordered out the National Guard, told the Nicaraguan Congress to hold an immediate session (3 o'clock in the morning) to declare Arguello "mentally incompetent" and put Lacayo-Sacasa, a more servile tool, in the President's chair.

This coup d'etat in Wall Street's back yard got not even a gentle slap on the wrist from the White House. It was called neither a "terrible situation" nor an "outrage."

The reason for this complacency is obvious. Wall Street practices a double standard of political morality. It disapproves in others what its own puppets do any day in the week.

Wall Street is not at all averse to dictatorial rule or to overturns of legally elected governments by armed minorities. Nor is it averse to rule by puppets.

Wall Street judges a regime not by any high and lofty principles of democracy, but simply by what interests the regime serves. If it serves the interests of Wall Street, then the regime has passed the acid test no matter how it obtained power.

Somoza is only one among many puppets who rule by grace of Wall Street. King Paul I, the monarch seated in Greece by Anglo-American imperialism and kept in office by hard American dollars, is another such puppet who rules in defiance of the popular will. Chiang Kai-shek, the butcher of the Chinese masses, whose armies enjoy their present strength by virtue of American dollars and military supplies, is another.

When Wall Street raises its hands to heaven over the outrageousness of the overturn in Hungary, it is not venting righteous indignation but only disclosing the depths of its hypocrisy.



"Oh, yes! Don't forget to invite our dear friends, Senator Taft and Representative Hartley."

BOOKSHELF

OUR FAIR CITY, edited by Robert S. Allen, Vanguard Press 387 pp., 1947, \$3.50.

Over forty years ago Lincoln Steffens created a sensation by exposing corruption in the cities of America in his *The Shame of the Cities*. Now Robert S. Allen, the other half of the former Pearson-Allen team, has sought to do a similar job. He has had fifteen experienced newspapermen, a magazine writer and an historian write about their cities—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Miami, Birmingham, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, Memphis, St. Louis, Kansas City, Denver, Butte, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles.

However, *Our Fair City* is not to be compared with Steffens' book. The cynicism of its title as against the honest indignation of Steffens' title is symptomatic. Steffens' crusading zeal and his desire to get at the root of things gave his book a moral fervor which made it carry a kick. But graft and bribery are old stuff to these men. They can't get very excited about them. Each piece is tailored after the same fashion: a brief discussion of local and regional peculiarities, a survey of the political scandals of the last generation, an anecdote or two. The result is a fairly useful guide-

book with all the aridity of the guidebook. The cities just do not come alive.

Although *Our Fair City* makes difficult consecutive reading, its chapters add up to a detailed demonstration that the typical American city possesses certain features which Allen highlights in his introduction. First, it has been run for decades by a graft-ridden machine which loses power only for brief intervals to "reform" movements. Secondly, the city nourishes parasitic suburbs where many of its wealthy businessmen reside immune from taxes and living a life apart from the city masses they exploit.

Many cities, especially those of the South and West, such as Birmingham and Denver, are, in fact, economic satrapes of absentee owners living a thousand miles away. "A banker in New York, an estate in Boston, a mill owner in Pittsburgh wield greater power over the political, economic, and cultural life of distant communities than the people who live and work in them." One of the principal ways big business rules the city is through rural-dominated state legislatures which derive their power from antiquated constitutions and laws. This is true of mighty New York City as well as of Butte, Montana. Finally, these newspapermen,

with inside knowledge of their home-town newspapers, demonstrate that municipal corruption is covered up by the press, which works with the business and financial interests that keep the political machines in power. This Allen and his associates bring Steffens up to date. But they fail to attain the understanding which the veteran muckraker finally attained—perhaps because they do not wish to do so. He correctly concludes that municipal corruption is an integral part of capitalism, one of the ways in which plutocracy operates behind the forms of democracy. "In a country where business is dominant," wrote Steffens in his autobiography, "business men must and will corrupt a government which can pass laws to hinder or help business."

"Reform" government is the periodic attempt of capitalism to set its own house in order, to make government "an efficient, orderly business-like organization for the protection and furtherance of all business." But such attempts always break down under the competition of rival proprietary interests for privileged positions and under their need for a machine organized on the ward level with graft all along the line. —Paul Schapiro

Unions Must Adopt Policies To Fight Cutbacks, Layoffs

By John G. Wright

The capitalists are still heatedly debating among themselves whether or not there will be a depression soon. So far as the workers are concerned this debate among the capitalists has little meaning. For the workers the handwriting is already on the wall. They are faced right now with the vital problem of what to do about steadily increasing cutbacks, layoffs and shut downs, reports of which now come almost daily from all parts of the country.

There are already close to 5 million jobs. The cutbacks and layoffs have thus far affected primarily branches of light industry (apparel and textile trades, furniture, leather and shoe, and a few branches of household appliances). Among the basic industries, only the construction workers are now feeling the pinch.

It may take months before the workers in a particular industry become directly affected. An army of 8 to 10 million unemployed within a year's time would still be considered as "prosperity" by the capitalists whose profits would continue to roll in at these lower levels of production. But it would be the height of shortsightedness for the organized labor movement to wait for unemployment to reach such proportions before devising ways and means of doing something about it.

From the standpoint of the jobless workers, the depression is already here; for millions of others it is on the horizon. What the organized workers do in these initial stages is of the utmost importance.

CAPITALIST SOLUTION
The last thing in the world the labor movement can afford to do is to leave the solution of such problems as growing unemployment to the employers and their agents in the federal, state and local governments. Regardless of what measures these gentlemen are eventually compelled to apply when the monstrous results of their own system stare them in the face, one thing is sure: In every instance and at every phase of the unfolding depression, they will seek above all to protect their own interests. They will in-

stances of economic (and political) measures prepared in advance by their enemies.

One of the main jobs of capitalist spokesmen at the present stage is to minimize the gravity of the situation. The keynote of their current campaign is that ahead lies only a "mild recession," a few minor adjustments, and then everything will be rosy again. Meanwhile labor must not "rock the boat." Workers must not demand "too much," and so on.

Labor "statesmen" like Philip Murray help spread this do-nothing psychology by such actions as pledging and ordering no strikes in the steel industry for the next two years. This plays in the best possible way into the hands of Wall Street propagandists who are now busy trying to psychologize the workers to remain supine.

Congress and the state legislatures supplement this campaign by anti-labor measures, trying to intimidate the workers from bringing into play the full force of their powerful organizations. The official leadership again shuns bold protest actions like the plague.

ACTION IS NEEDED

The insidious effects of all this should not be underestimated. When workers are again and again lulled, cajoled or browbeaten into doing nothing, moods are engendered that there is really not much that can be done.

There is a great deal that the workers can do right now about what happens to this country's economic life — provided they act and act boldly. The pre-condition for this is the will to act.

The immediate task therefore is to convince the organized workers that they can and must act immediately, and not when their unions become weakened by spreading unemployment and when moods of apathy and demoralization gain the most fertile soil for their dissemination. As a corollary to this, it is necessary mercilessly to combat and expose all those who throw sand in the workers' eyes by assuring them that something "mild" will hit them in the months ahead.

Making The World Safe From Atom Bombs

By Art Preis

While headlines and ether waves spread ominous forecasts of future war and atomic annihilation, a calm and comforting note is struck by a classified ad in the June 2 Toledo Blade. The human species is not utterly doomed. An enterprising realtor heralds in heavy type:

SAFE FROM ATOM BOMB LAKESHORE ESTATE

YEAR-ROUND 5-BEDROOM RESIDENCE
No cave in the mountains, no shack in the wilderness is this refuge from radio-active slaughter. Life will not only go on—but it will go on with abundant delights. The ad informs us glowingly:

"Hot water, oil heat, fully equipped guest house, caretaker's lodge. Caretaker and maid available. Garden and fowl space, separate bath houses, cabana, outdoor grill. Garage. Clean, safe, sandy beach; water skiing, surf board, swimming, sailboating, fishing, ice boating, skating and hunting. Five miles to golf course. **YEAR-ROUND VACATION LIVING.**"

You can have all this "within 25 minutes drive from your downtown office" — provided the lucky owner gets a 25-minute tip-off on when an A-bomb is scheduled to descend.

Naturally, not everybody is invited to put in a bid for the privilege of carrying on the human race five miles from a golf course in the year One A.D. (Atomic Destruction). The ad specifically states:

"Willis, Packard, Martin-Perry, Mather Spring, Gordon Bumper EXECUTIVES take NOTICE. This delightful place to live in is only 15 minutes from your plant."

Of course, only Junior Executives are expected to take advantage of this offer. Most of the top corporation executives and millionaire absentee-owners already have their baronial country estates and luxurious hide-aways complete with swimming pools far from the swarming centers of humanity and future targets for total obliteration.

But where will the Willys, Packard, Martin-Perry, Mather Spring and Gordon Bumper WORKERS go to be safe from atom bombs? Where will the millions in Chicago's, New York's or Detroit's teeming slums go?

Capitalism has failed to provide decent housing for tens of millions in the United States, let alone "Year-Round Vacation Living Safe From Atom Bombs."

The only hope of the masses of people to escape from atom bombs, radio-active gases and bacteriological infection is to halt American imperialism from unleashing these scourges against mankind.

World capitalism has dragged humanity into two catastrophic global wars. It is moving with rocket-speed, impelled by Wall Street's planetary ambitions, to a third world war.

American labor can halt that war only by eliminating capitalism and establishing a workers' society on the foundations of socialism.

The slogan is: Make the world safe from atom bombs by making the world safe from the capitalists.

Spanish POUM Moves Farther To The Right

The Executive Committee of the POUM ("Workers Party of Marxist Unification") has published a manifesto in Spain which, by its complete break with Marxist ideas and even terminology, poses the question of the future of this party.

The POUM was founded in 1935 on a basis of centrist confusion and hostility toward Trotskyism. It was created by the fusion of the "Workers and Peasants Bloc," an extremely confused centrist organization centered about Maurin which had split from the Stalinists in 1930, and the Spanish section of the International Left Opposition, which thus abandoned the Fourth Internationalist movement and program.

This mixed grouping soon underwent a series of crises; some elements went over to the Stalinists, some were attracted to the Socialist Party. Since the end of the Spanish civil war, right wing elements such as Rivera have been working to form a party, the "Socialist Movement of Catalonia," together with all the reformist and "left" Catalan nationalist forces. The split in the POUM is taking place on the basis of the right wing's actions and of the refusal of the proletarian rank and file to follow them.

Now however, the POUM leaders in Spain, who claim to be left wing, have published a manifesto containing the same liquidationist and capitulationist ideas, the same abandonment of Marxism, as the right wing raised when it split to form the Socialist Movement of Catalonia.

This manifesto asserts that Spain is a western country and therefore its destiny is linked to those countries "which are leading civilization forward." It says that the main problem for Spain at this critical hour is to make possible the cohabitation of all Spaniards; that it is necessary to carry on the political struggle in an atmosphere of respect for everyone; that it is necessary to "overcome" the civil war atmosphere.

Reestablishment of the cohabitation of all Spaniards, the manifesto continues, requires a provisional government which will include the monarchists, legal courts to judge common crimes and attacks on civil rights, etc. (Such an approach would make a joke of a fascist purge in Spain as it did in so many other countries.) The manifesto also asserts that the workers must do nothing that might "impede the action of the Big Powers who can act" in favor of the Spanish people. These few samples give an idea of the tone and content of the POUM manifesto.

What will be the reaction of the working class rank and file of the POUM? There is no doubt that most of them will be against this policy. But the "left" POUM leaders are at present busy trying to hide and minimize the affair, an attitude which is very revealing.

The Spanish section of the Fourth International, in the June 1 issue of *Lucha de Clases*, calls on the workers in the POUM to take the offensive at once against this policy. Its appeal declares:

"Speaking to you fraternally, as one should among revolutionaries, we say to the militant workers of the POUM: Begin an implacable, over-all political offensive. In this struggle, count on our complete support. To the extent that you advance toward revolutionary Marxism, we will find ourselves together! The construction of the revolutionary workers party and the consolidation of the world revolutionary party are the tasks which will permit a fruitful and fraternal collaboration."

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Voice Of Trotskyism Must Reach Workers

Editor:
I am pledging \$1 a month for one year to help out The Militant. We have a small twice-monthly paper to support here; however, I realize the importance of The Militant as the voice of the Socialist Workers Party, and that voice must reach the American workers.

The articles by James P. Cannon are very good and should help to clear up many misunderstandings.

J. G. B.
Alberta, Canada

Lumberjacks Picket For Sixteen Months

Editor:
For 16 months the AFL Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union has been picketing 8 mills of the Union Lumber Co., Scotia Lumber Co., Pacific Lumber Co., and the Casper Lumber Co. The mills are in Fort Bragg, Rockport and Eureka, California. The union demanded a raise from 82½ cents an hour to \$1.25 and a closed shop.

The mills are being worked by a strikebreaking crew. A picket told me, "These scabs do not know any better. They are from Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas."

The pickets will not surrender their right to a decent living. Burned by sun and wind, their faces are red and weather-beaten; but they are very pleasant to converse with.

"The companies will not negotiate with us," a picket said. Thanking me for a copy of The Militant and the pamphlet Build A Labor Party Now by George Clarke, he agreed that it was a labor party the workers needed.

Eureka, a city of 17,055, is feeling the effects of the strike. A year ago rooms and lodgings were scarce. Now "Vacancy" signs are in appearance. The districts where the lumberjack lived and spent his wages sees many stores padlocked. In the main part of the city are also empty buildings. For the strikebreaker is not buying in the city. He stays in camp.

Many of the lumberjacks' cabins appeared to be rotting and falling apart in one of the camps we drove past.

Paul Kolinski
Oakland, Calif.

CHICAGO

Lecture on
The Labor and Nationalist Movement in Africa
Speaker
ROBERT L. BIRCHMAN
Tues., June 17, 8 p.m.
DUSABLE HISTORY CLUB
Hall Branch Library
4801 Michigan Ave.

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

AKRON—2nd floor, 8 S. Howard St. Open Mon. through Friday, 3 to 5 p.m.; Saturdays 2 to 4 p.m.

BOSTON—30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Tuesdays 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone MADison 3960. Open every afternoon except Sunday.

CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Phone Dearborn 4767. Library, bookstore.

CLEVELAND—Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave., phone TY. 7-6267. Open Monday through Saturday, 12 to 5 p.m. Current events forum and open house, Saturday from 8 p.m.

FLINT—215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3, Mich. Open Monday through Friday, 5 to 9 p.m.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644. "The Fight For Socialism," Discussion led by Myra Tanner Weiss, Fridays 8 p.m., June 20, 27 and July 11.

SAN PEDRO, Militant Publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

LYNN, Mass., 44 Central Square,

Holds J.P.C. Erred In "Notebook" Article On Suspended Cutters

Editor:
In the issue of May 3, there appeared a column Notebook of an Agitator, signed J. P. C., dealing with the case of the suspended cutters of Local 10, ILGWU. That article, insofar as I can see, is built upon either wrong information, or else upon a wrong assumption.

The article in question conveys the impression that the suspended members of local 10 in addition to being suspended are also deprived of the means of making a livelihood, and as a result are in dire need. As a member of Local 10, let me inform you that such a contention has nothing in common with the true nature of the case.

Suspension of these cutters does not at all mean the loss of their respective jobs. They themselves in their printed material during the recent election in the local, as well as their followers in the local who speak at union meetings in their behalf, do not say so, as it is entirely impossible to say so. The working card system in Local 10, in which a record is kept of the shop and earnings of the members, speaks against such a contention.

In one instance where they tried to use such a plea before some misinformed judge in court in order to obtain an injunction against Local 10 on the eve of the recent election, their plea was quickly disproved through that very same working card system and the request for the court and their request for an injunction was promptly denied.

By that I don't mean to say that oppositionists in Local 10 or in any local in the International for that matter even when they are not suspended, are first in line to receive the good jobs as the jobs first come in. In normal times, when the demand for jobs is greater than the supply, oppositionists were always last in line unless one was fortunate enough to find a good job on his own.

But this cannot be applied to the present day suspended cutters in Local 10, because they were suspended in 1944 at the height of business activity. And from 1944 until recent days, say some three or four months ago, hardly anybody in the local was out of work of those who wanted to work, and that includes the suspended cutters in question. But that of course is a side issue. Also, the question of whether or not the punishment meted out to these members by suspending them from union activity for such length of time is justifiable or correct can be debated and disagreed. But that again is not the purpose for my writing this letter.

Last but not least. In the same article you do not even mention,

let alone condemn, the fact that the suspended cutters who claim to be left-wingers in the local and who are known to be outright Communists (Stalinists) have resorted to the police whistle by going to the capitalist court to seek redress in their fight against the bureaucratic leadership in Local 10.

In my opinion, comment along these lines is of vital importance. It would tend to clear up some of the confusion created by the Stalinists in their zig-zagging along both fronts, political as well as economical. Above all, it would help to bring back into the labor movement the old established moral that in the inner fight in the labor movement, progressives, Socialists, Communists, seek to settle their grievances within the labor movement and under no circumstances do they resort to the capitalist court to seek justice, nor can they expect to find it there.

Hoping you will print this letter in order to correct an error on your part—and also pass comment on the danger involved in resorting to capitalist courts on the part of progressive ideas on the economic field as well as on the political field.

J. G.
New York City

ILGWU Suspension Wrong And Dangerous, Says J.P.C. In Reply

The May 3 Militant article which J. G. refers to, did not say that the suspended members of Local 10 had been taken off their jobs, but rather warned against such a procedure, which is commonly employed in other unions in similar cases.

We are glad to publish J. G.'s correction of any different impression which may have been conveyed by the article. The fact that the four Stalinist oppositionists, although suspended, are still permitted to work is to the credit of the officialdom of the ILGWU. In particular, it is evidence that the membership of the union retains some part of the old-time socialist spirit of repugnance to the practice of depriving a worker of his livelihood as a punishment for opposition to union officials, regardless of whether this opposition be right or wrong.

We agree also with J. G.'s condemnation of the suspended Stalinists for taking their fight against the union leadership to the capitalist court. The Stalinists have violated what J. G. aptly calls "the old established moral of the labor movement" so many times in so many ways—and their duplicity, cynicism and treachery have become so well known in the ranks of progressive workers—that we simply neglected to mention this



one additional violation of labor ethics on their part.

But that, after all, is not the main thing at issue in the case of the suspended members of Local 10. They were deprived of their union rights for criticizing the official leadership. We haven't the slightest doubt, as stated in our May 3 article, that their criticism included defamation and slander, for the Stalinists don't know how to criticize in any other way. Nevertheless, the act of suspending them is wrong and dangerous. It sets a precedent for similar actions to be taken against a loyal and progressive opposition which criticizes the leadership loyally and honestly and from a progressive standpoint. Such actions are a serious blow to trade union democracy.

The genuinely progressive workers in the ILGWU know that as well as we do. They make a great mistake in giving the suspensions indirect support by switching the issue to the subsequent action of the suspended Stalinists in appealing to the capitalist court. That doesn't change anything in the real matter. If the suspensions were wrong from the standpoint of trade union democracy before the court action, they were just as wrong after it, and in spite of any other later mischief the Stalinists may have been guilty of.

The suspension is doubly dangerous insofar as it feeds the general current of reaction and intolerance now running in the United States, which is not merely aimed at the Stalinists. If this reactionary trend is encouraged and fostered, it will strike with full and devastating force against the labor movement itself, and against the Jewish people as a minority group; and it will not spare even the high and mighty officials of the ILGWU, who have become purblind and complacent with momentary success, who live only for the day and think not of the morrow.

We don't want to give the slightest aid and comfort to Stalinist reactionaries and disrupters in the labor movement. That certainly was not the purpose of our comment on this case, and that is not the issue in this discussion. Far bigger things are involved here. By the unjustified suspension of their Stalinist critics, and by the tacit support of this action by rank and file militants who in their hearts know better, the ILGWU dealt a blow against itself and against the labor movement as a whole. This is the real heart of the question, and we sincerely hope that all concerned will think it over and pause a long time before taking further measures on this fatal course.

J. P. C.

NEWARK
June Carnival
Sat., June 21, 9 p.m.
Dancing, Entertainment
423 Springfield Ave.

PHILADELPHIA
A Series of Six Lectures
Why A Minority Problem Exists in U. S.
The Means For Elimination of Racial Antagonisms
Monday, June 23, 8 to 10 p.m.
BEGINNING OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA
The African background and early slave trade . . . relations of early capitalism to the slave trade . . . the slaves and the enslaved.
Max Geldman
Discussion Leader
MILITANT LABOR FORUM
1303 W. Girard Ave.

Criticizes 'Militant' Editorial On Resisting Lynch Murder

Editor:
I have just finished reading an editorial in your May 31 issue of The Militant. My attention and interest were drawn to the editorial on lynchings in the South, and of your disagreement with a statement made by officials of the National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People.

For several years, I have been a member of the NAACP, and all my life I have been a Negro. Therefore I feel that I know a lot about the NAACP and its gigantic program, and about all there is to know about the prejudices, segregations, discriminations and other evils that make up the well-known "race problem" of the Negro race. In view of these facts I would like to comment on your editorial on the lynchings.

You say that you "vigorously" disagree with the NAACP when they say that Negroes, in an attempt to protect themselves from mobs, would be committing lawless acts and would be making futile gestures. If I know the NAACP policy and program correctly, I am inclined to agree with them for a number of reasons.

No, the NAACP does not mean that Negroes subject to mob violence should fold their arms and become submissive to mobs, but they are looking at the situation from a tactful point of view. I believe that I am correct in saying that the NAACP means that it is much better to be on the right side of the law, as it stands on the books, than to be on the wrong side and in the wrong part of the country where justice is rarely known.

The NAACP cannot and would not advise anyone to band together and fight a lost cause. Fourteen million Negroes would be foolish to arm themselves and try to fight such a large white majority group on any basis. Negroes are getting wise these

days. They realize that brains are much more powerful and gainful than brawn. They also know that blood is much thicker than water, and regardless of the issues involved, many people belonging to a certain race will take part in a conflict without any knowledge of the issue, but because they see others of their race being beaten or winning the conflict.

It is definitely true that such acts would be lawless and futile. If a leading organization like the NAACP would issue directives to its supporters to arm themselves and fight off mob violence in the sense that you indicate in your reply, many families would be wiped off the earth before proper and adequate aid could reach them. Even if they survived, they would be brought to justice in a southern court and found guilty because they dared to take the law into their own hands, rather than to submit to the due processes of the law. An all-white jury would convict them without hesitation.

The NAACP knows well that with an anti-lynch law on the statute books, it can prosecute lynchings in the highest courts in the land and possibly get convictions, but if there is no law, and the organization condones violent protection, it is just as guilty as those who have actually committed such acts. No organization has to tell people when to protect themselves. Natural impulses govern that itself, but when all people have to band together to achieve a goal for the good of all men, then tactfulness and common sense must be applied rather than utter violence.

William H. Staton
Youngstown Ohio.

Editorial Note: An answer to this letter by William E. Bohanan will be found on Page 6 of this issue. Readers interested in this discussion are invited to express their opinions.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Boosters Send Pledges To Keep "Militant" Going



Three more Militant boosters added their names last week to the growing list of friends who are responding to our appeal for financial aid. Through their three-month pledges or contributions these friends of The Militant show in a very concrete way how much they appreciate the paper. Their personal sacrifice will go a long way in assuring the regular appearance of The Militant every week.

The following three-month pledges or contributions have been made:

1. S. H., Spring Valley, N. Y., \$5 contribution
2. W. T., Buffalo, N. Y., \$5 a week pledge
3. W. S., New York, N. Y., \$1 contribution
4. C. L., Austin, Minn., \$1 contribution
5. H. C., Roanoke, Va., \$2 a month pledge
6. G. W., Bronx, N. Y., \$4 a month pledge
7. D. K., New York, N. Y., \$10 contribution
8. E. C., New York, N. Y., \$1.50 a month pledge
9. O. F., Franklin, N. Y., \$5 contribution
10. S. A. M., Portland, Ore., \$5 contribution
11. J. G. B., Alberta, Canada, \$1.00 a month pledge 12 mos.
12. A. C. D., Los Angeles, \$10 contribution

Join these friends in sending what you can. Any amount—no matter how small—will help in assuring the continued weekly appearance of The Militant.

The San Francisco comrades are "going to town" in their campaign for 100 new subs to The Militant. F. Lester sent in 49 new ones, stating: "South-of-Market Team leads with 29 new subs. The team captains, Comrade Ida and Comrade Tori, lead with 6 and 7 subs respectively."

Competition is keen among the Akron comrades who are eager to be the winner of a "Free Week in Mid-West Summer Camp." Comrade O'Kenny, director of the subscription campaign, points out that the 11 subs mailed in this week give "a pretty good start in our campaign which still has four weeks to go. Comrade Andrews is out in the lead with 4½ points, but he is threatened on all sides. Comrade Chomajou who hasn't got started yet is now promising to walk off with the prize."

According to Chicago's latest Militant Sub Campaigner, their total number of subs stands at 201 in five weeks. Only 99 more subs to achieve their goal of 300. The teams line up with South Side first—78 points, North Side with 47½, Northwest with 45 and West Side with 39. Comrade Frank is leading the Pace-Setters with 26½ points, Hoet comes second with 16, Ho-

ward with 14 and Rosalie with 12½.

"Nothing short of a miracle will keep the South Side from winning the team championship," says the Campaigner. "Second place is still wide open. Comrade Frank continues to maintain a comfortable lead in the individual race. With only three weeks left to go, it begins to look like Frank can start making plans for a free week at camp . . . unless someone starts moving pretty fast. Runner-up to the Pace-Setters are Sylvia with 12 points and Bob C. with 11½."

"It rained again this Sunday, but it didn't stop our comrades from going out," writes E. Brent, campaign manager for Detroit. "We did not like to call off the mobilization because of the rain. And considering the bad weather we did fairly well. Fifteen comrades went out—the result, 34 new subs to The Militant."

Detroit has 115 subscriptions toward its goal of 200. Comrade Brent tells us that "competition between the comrades is riding high. Every comrade is out to win the top prize of a week-end at Mid-West Summer Camp. The following comrades are in the lead: E. Drake with 19 points, E. Kennedy 13, J. Gaynor 11, and Lee 9. Comrade Drake and Kennedy both feel confident that one of them will enjoy the week-end at camp. They might be caught asleep, however, as there are many other comrades who feel that the remaining week of the campaign is time enough to beat both Drake and Kennedy to the finish line."

Total subs for May were 722 as compared with 665 for the previous month. The subscriptions received are listed by branch.

New York Local	148
Detroit	119
Chicago	118
Boston	51
San Francisco	50
Buffalo	45
Los Angeles Local	29
Minneapolis	20
Philadelphia	20
Akron	17
Cleveland	16
St. Paul	12
Lynn	10
Milwaukee	10
Newark	10
Youngstown	8
Flint	7
St. Louis	7
Seattle	7
Oakland	4
Rochester	3
Calumet	2
Connecticut State	1
Pittsburgh	1
Reading	1
Allentown	0
Portland	0
San Diego	0
Toledo	0
General	6
Total	722

Classes On Important Topics Featured At Mid-West Camp

The program of classes for the first two weeks of the Mid-west Summer School and Camp at Grass Lake, Michigan, has just been announced. The Camp's season begins on June 29.

William F. Warde, National Education Director of the Socialist Workers Party, will give a series of lectures on American history from 1492 to the close of the First American Revolution in 1789. This course will be followed by a similar series during the second week on "The Irrepressible Conflict," a study of the social and political struggles in the United States which culminated in the Civil War.

Michael Bartell, Organizer of the Chicago Local of the SWP, will teach a class on "The Struggle For A Proletarian Party." His discussions will deal with such questions as the nature of a revolutionary socialist party, the laws of factional struggle between diverse tendencies within the party, the place of splits and unifications in the course of its development. The instructor will bring forward much material from the history of Lenin's Bolshevik Party and set forth the lessons of party building here in the United States.

Other courses include a survey of "Economic and Political Prospects in the United States" and a study group on the history and ideas of the Trotskyist movement. A course on public speaking for trade unionists will also be given by an experienced instructor.

Militant readers are urged to make their reservations for accommodations now. The full season extends from June 29 to Sept. 2. Clip the coupon on this page or write to Oscar Coover, Camp Manager, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

PHILADELPHIA
Benefit Performance
Sergei Eisenstein's
"Thunder Over Mexico"
Dancing Refreshments
Sat., June 28, 9 p.m.
1303 W. Girard Ave.
Proceeds to American Committee for European Workers Relief

Mail This Blank For Your Reservation At Mid-West Vacation Camp And School

Season June 29 to Sept. 2 Adults \$25 week, Children \$15

OSCAR COOVER, Manager
116 University Place

Reserve accommodations for below from.....to.....

Family Couple Single

List all who will attend:
Name (Mr., Mrs., Miss)

List of Children and Age
Name of Applicant (Please sign)

Address
City & Zone State

Now on Sale

Fourth International

CONTENTS FOR JUNE

Review of the Month
Present Mood of the American Workers Has the Depression Already Begun? By John G. Wright

Manifesto on Germany A. Leon By Ernest Germain

Against the War in Indo-China! Appeal by the IEC of the Fourth Int'l. A Wall Street Drummer Boy By Joseph Hansen

The Road To Socialism In India By Indra Sen

The Renault Strike By T. J. Peters

From The Arsenal Of Marxism Letters To Bordigo, By Leon Trotsky

The World Struggle For Oil By T. Cliff

25¢ a copy • yearly subscription \$2

Order from Business Manager
116 University Place, N.Y. 3

Diary of a Steel Worker

A Leader Of Men

By Theodore Kovalesky

Tony Gordini spat into the gutter. "My own lousy brother!" he snorted.



Old Dominick Gordini, his father, shook his head and said nothing. On his face was shame and disappointment. "It's like that sometimes," I said. "Sometimes some little thing looks mighty big to a man . . ."

When Old Dominick was laid off at the steel plant during the hard times he was lucky enough to get a job in a big hotel. It wasn't much of a job, but he was getting on in years, so when the plant began to get into production later on, he didn't go back. Then, too, it was sort of a family affair. His son, Carl, worked there, and so did both his daughter, Santina, whom everybody calls Sally, and her husband, Mario, who had a good job as chef.

In a lot of ways it was nice working there. It was clean, the work wasn't hard, and there was a little family group. Mario, in particular, made it enjoyable for him. Any time the old man got away from his own job, he could walk into the big kitchen, and Mario would yell out, "Hi, Pop, how goes it?" And then he'd give Dominick anything he felt like eating.

Mario was like a son to him . . . and better than a son, if you compared him with Carl. For Carl was quiet, distant. He avoided the old man and seemed ashamed of him. But Mario introduced him to all the other cooks and kitchen workers, called him Pop and got the rest of the kitchen staff to call him Pop and laugh and talk and joke with him.

But then Carl wasn't just a worker. He was a "leader of men." He was one to order, while others obeyed. Carl, you see, had been promoted to bell boy captain.

Bell-hops don't get much in weekly wages, but they make it up partly in tips. The captain, on the other hand, doesn't get any tips, and he doesn't get much more in his paycheck than the bell boys who jump to do his bidding.

Ah, but money isn't everything in this world, the preachers and priests tell us. The best things are the things of the spirit. And Carl's spirit got the biggest bang out of the job of bell hop captain, with the right to tell others what to do . . . and best of all, the magnificent uniform with the gold braid, which the other bell boys couldn't wear, the gold braid which told the world that here was no ordinary bell boy—but a captain!

That's the reason, I guess, why Carl didn't want to have anything to do with old Dominick during working hours. And that's the reason for what happened later that made his brother Tony spit disgustedly into the red-brown dust of the steel town street and made old Dominick Gordini shake his head in shame and sorrow.

There was a union representing the hotel employees to which everyone in the family belonged. Carl used to be a member too, an inactive one, until he became a leader of men.

So when a strike was called to give the hotel workers a decent wage, Mario was on the strike committee, and he and Sally and old Dominick walked up and down in the line with picket signs. But Carl, Captain Carl with his gold braid and his authority and his \$35 a week paycheck, sneaked into the hotel and stayed there all during the strike.

Afterward Carl, in his quiet, distant, somewhat sullen way, had even less to do with his family and very little to say in general.

But old Dominick was most affected. He could no longer go into the kitchen and laugh and joke with Mario and his fellow workers. He was afraid somebody might say, "That's the father of Carl, the scab!"

The Negro Struggle

In Answer To Mr. Staton

By William E. Bohannon

When the 28 lynchers were set free in South Carolina last month, both the NAACP and The Militant renewed their demand for an effective federal anti-lynch bill. The NAACP also said that in the absence of such a bill, "some Negroes, abandoned to mobs by the law, may be forced, in their desperation, to devise some means of protecting themselves. This would be a lawless and futile gesture . . ." The Militant vigorously disagreed with this viewpoint in an editorial dated May 31. Now William H. Staton of Youngstown, in a letter printed on Page 5 this week, undertakes to defend the NAACP statement and thus raises some vital questions.

The first question is: What in the world is "lawless" about protecting yourself against lynchers? I don't know how Mr. Staton would feel, but if someone tried to lynch me, I wouldn't feel that I was breaking any law (except lynch law) by resisting and trying to save my life. Lynching is murder, and murder is still illegal even in the South, at least according to the law books. Can Mr. Staton or Walter White or anyone else explain what law I am breaking if I protect myself against a gang of murderers?

Actually, this question of "lawlessness" is a secondary one, and hardly worth discussing except the only ones helped by false ideas on this score. A far more important point to be considered is the question of whether self-defense against lynchers is "futile," as Mr. Staton thinks it is.

But let us stop and ask: What is the alternative to protecting ourselves against lynching? There is only one, and that is not to defend ourselves—that is, to let ourselves be lynched without resisting. Is there anything more futile than that? When it comes to choosing between the only two courses of action open when we are faced by lynch mobs—resisting or not resisting— isn't it clear that not resisting is far more futile?

We are ready to grant that self-defense will not be successful in stopping the lynchers every time. But at least we have a chance when we fight back. (I have never heard of a case where the victim of a lynch mob was let go with his life just because he refused to defend it.) And at least we could discourage some of the cowardly swine in lynch mobs by showing them that

their pastime can be dangerous for themselves as well as for their victims.

Mr. Staton seems to think we want 14 million Negroes to arm themselves and go out to fight the rest of the population. That would indeed be foolish, but it doesn't happen to be what we propose. To begin with, not every white man is hostile to Negroes and sympathetic to lynchers, even in the South. If that were the case, our plight would be hopeless, anti-lynch bill or no anti-lynch bill. But fortunately that isn't the case at all; the fact is that the lynchers represent only a small percentage of the white population.

Our task as Negroes is to band together with those whites who realize that Jim Crow and lynch terror harm them as well as us, and to jointly defend ourselves against our common foes. That means an alliance with the labor movement, leading to the formation of workers' defense guards to protect us against lynchers, fascists, strikebreakers, etc. But even where that is not possible, we must try to defend ourselves against lynchers for the simple reason given above—we have no other choice.

Mr. Staton also seems to think that it is an either-or proposition: EITHER we fight for an anti-lynch bill, OR we actively defend ourselves against mob violence. But why can't we do both? Why shouldn't we do both? As it was pointed out in the Militant editorial referred to by Mr. Staton:

"A federal anti-lynch bill will discourage lynching, but it will not by itself prevent lynching. A federal bill will make it easier to punish lynchers, but it will not restore life to the victims of the lynchers. A federal bill is necessary, but there is no contradiction at all between such a bill and defensive action by the Negro people against lynch mobs, both before and after a federal bill is adopted.

"The fight against lynching takes many forms. It requires legislation in Congress; political action to secure adoption of legislation and election of officials who will enforce it; mass action to end the capitalist system which spawns Jim Crow terror. No less important is the organization of effective action by the people themselves to stop lynch mobs before they can kill their victims."

Mr. Staton keeps stressing the need for fact. Of course, but it is even more necessary to stress the need to fight. Slavery was not ended by fact, and neither will the lynch system.

Notes From The News

Camel cigarette workers have won their 38 day strike. Among the contract provisions was an 8c hourly increase, union security and 5 paid holidays. For at least two more weeks, the food and evictions situation will remain desperate. Since there is less than \$100 in the strike relief fund, the union still asks for financial help. The address is: Strike Relief Committee, UTW Local 22, 247 1/2 N. Main St., Winston-Salem, N. C.

Former Staff Sergeant Charles White, Silver Star hero, was refused service in a Colorado tavern because he was Mexican and then murdered outside the tavern in a fight that followed.

Jimmy Durante denied that Congress had asked him for its anti-labor "mandate." The radio program was Did They Ask You? sponsored by the AFL against the Taft-Hartley Bill. Said Jimmy, "They didn't ask me. Maybe dey ast Umbrigo!" The most striking answer on the program, however, came from an old time steel worker who told of the massacre of union men at Homestead, Pa. in 1892 when the bosses sent armed scabs and Pinkerton detectives down the river on barges to break the strike.

Eugene Belner, veteran, unemployed for a year and a half after discharge, has found a job. At the Textile Exposition in New York he sits in a tiny room heated to a temperature of 125 degrees and sweats. Fabrics are put on him for color fastness tests, etc. In an eight hour day he sweats five to six quarts. Says Belner, "I've been sweating all my life for nothing. It's nice to get paid for it."

Senator Harley Kilgore says that U. S. monopolies participating in a cartel with Germany's I. G. Farben "cost our government untold millions, but the really tragic aspect of this cartel is the fact that it contributed to the loss of

many American lives." Among those corporations named were the Aluminum Company of America, Dow Chemical Company, Standard Oil of New Jersey and the du Pont industries.

The Pittsburgh Courier prints the following lynching score since V-J Day:
Lynchings 29
Number of lynchers arrested 48
Convictions 0

New York University secretly grades its students on "patriotism." Teachers are required to fill out a confidential report and note if the student has shown an "improper attitude towards American ideals and government."

The UN has cancelled its rental agreement with the Metropolitan and New York Life insurance companies for 912 apartments for UN personnel. The insurance companies would not change its Jim Crow rules for UN workers from Asia and Africa.

General Mark Clark's radio speech against Soviet Russia was sponsored by the Gulf Oil Company. Releases of the speech sent out before the broadcast denounced Russian confiscation of former American oil holdings in Austria. General Clark is on active duty with the U. S. Army.

State Representative Papy resigned from the Florida legislature after being indicted by a grand jury. Papy is accused of trying to bribe fellow legislators with money and whiskey to vote against a bill aimed at bookies.

Negro veterans who apply for terminal leave in many parts of the South "place their lives in jeopardy," a delegation of the United Negro and Allied Veterans in Washington, D. C. charged. The purpose of this intimidation and terror, it was stated, is to keep the Negro destitute so that he will work cheaply.

House Censors Publication On Fascist Activity

It has taken a bitter four months battle before the House of Representatives agreed to authorize publication of a documentary report entitled Fascism in Action. The enemies of this report agreed to its publication only after they were given a free hand to censor it.

The opposition by anti-labor representatives to this rather wishy-washy compilation of fascist activities in Europe is very significant. Rep. Fred Busbey of Illinois who led the fight assailed the projected publication because in it Franco Spain is described as a fascist state and because it contained "smears on business." Busbey did not go into any detail on this score. Apparently a mere recital of how Big Business supported Hitler and Mussolini are "smears" to his mind.

Fascism in Action was prepared by the Library of Congress as a companion piece to Communism in Action. This latter was enthusiastically approved by Congress and the U. S. Printing Office was ordered to turn out 500,000 copies for sale at 25c a piece or available free if you wrote to your Congressman. The proponents of the volume on fascism asked only for a top printing of 100,000. Even this was refused until congressmen solicited of Big Business' reputation, were allowed to censor the text.

There are several books on fascism that are far superior to the one prepared by the Library of Congress. Fascism and Big Business by Daniel Guerin is the outstanding Marxist work on the subject. But it is obvious that the politicians in Washington don't want anybody to get any real information concerning the rise of fascism in Europe. Their reasons are equally obvious. The interests they represent in this country are the very counterparts of those capitalists who backed Hitler and Mussolini abroad.

Oakland Angered By Brutal Police, Demand Shakeup

By Ed Davis

OAKLAND, Calif., June 7 — A storm broke over the Oakland Police Department this week. Up to this time the chief claim to fame of the police has been their quickness to jump down to the picket line to protect "law and order." Now, new "honor" has been added to the credit of Oakland's finest.

Early last week, one member of the police was booked, charged with the murder of his wife. This week two officers were identified in the line-up by a 17 year old high school girl as the men who had raped her after threatening that she would be sent to the reform school unless she submitted.

Last night the City Council was thrown into an uproar when an angry audience brought to the light specific cases of police brutality against the large Negro population of West Oakland. The NAACP, through its chairman, demanded the elimination of the notorious West Oakland lockup. Incumbent Councilmen tried to parry the attack by throwing the whole matter into the lap of the City Manager for investigation.

Councilman-elect Raymond Peace, railway engineer and successful labor candidate for council, took the floor and laid the blame where it belonged, in the City Council. In reply to one incumbent who said that he had heard enough for his \$15, he promised that such statements would never be made on the floor of the Council when the labor slate is sworn into office.

The Negro population, like the rest of the community, is incensed at the brutal and dictatorial conduct of the police. It is demanding quick action for a complete shakeup of the police.

Proposed Dismemberment Of India



British imperialist plan for smashing the rising independence movement in India is to cut up this vast land into two dominions divided along religious lines (Hindustan and a Moslem Pakistan) and 563 princely states (shown in white on the map) which have been developed as British military bases.

Big Rally In New York To Protest Jim Crow

NEW YORK—The Negro Freedom Rally at Madison Square Garden on June 16, will undoubtedly be the biggest demonstration against the Jim Crow system held in this city since the huge Negro March-on-Washington Movement rally held in the same place five years ago. As such, it will surely reflect the Negro people's bitter dissatisfaction with the postwar pattern of segregation, discrimination and lynch terror.

Thus far the sponsors of the meeting have given no indication of what program—if any—they will offer at the meeting. The Negro people of New York are ready and willing to express their indignation with existing conditions; but they want and need more than that—they want and need a program which will enable them to change these conditions.

The speakers scheduled for the meeting can be expected to describe and denounce the assaults on the rights of the Negro people. They include Mrs. Tessie Earle, mother of the South Carolina lynch victim; Nnamdi Azikiwe, African leader; Stetson Kennedy, author of Southern Exposure; Earl B. Dickerson, president of the National Bar Association; Willard Townsend, president of the CIO Red Caps; George Weaver of the National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination; and others.

The Negro Freedom Rally bought big ads in the Negro press, but these ads gave no indication of what its speakers would offer. However, since the Rally movement is understood to be sponsored by followers of Adam Clayton Powell, Harlem member of Congress, and since Powell was supposed to be the chief speaker before he became ill last month, it is clear that the speakers will generally follow the line pursued by Powell.

Powell has come to public prominence for one reason only—he talks like a radical. He knows how to make militant speeches, and he understands Negro mass sentiment well enough so that he generally supports the measures they want supported. He realizes the Negro people are pro-labor, and he usually lines up behind the bills favored by the unions.

But at the same time Powell remains in, supports and urges the Negro people to support one of the worst props of the Jim-Crow system in this country—the Democratic Party. His prestige is used to win votes which helped to elect Truman and other Democrats who oppress the Negro people. That simple fact far outweighs all of the most radical speeches

By Joseph Hansen

On June 3 there was exultation in "the City" in London—that financial section corresponding to New York's Wall Street. On that day the British Government announced simultaneously in New Delhi and in London that the political representatives of the Indian capitalist class had agreed to the partition of India.

Winston Churchill hailed the announcement. This watchdog of the British Empire, who swore he would never preside over its liquidation when the question of India's independence came up during his term of office, congratulated Prime Minister Attlee on his resounding victory for British capitalism. Attlee, declared Churchill, had succeeded in doing what he had sent Sir Stafford Cripps to do in 1942 when the plan was turned down as "too little and too late."

In India, however, where the fate of 400,000,000 people is involved, the reaction was different. One nationalist paper termed the plan to chop up India into a crazy-quilt pattern a "great betrayal."

Nehru, Gandhi and Jinnah, the outstanding spokesmen of the Indian capitalists and big landholders, were cautious about displaying too great enthusiasm over their agreement to the deal, pending evidence of the political repercussions among the masses.

Churchill and Attlee joined in pressing for speed in carrying out the plan, intimating their readiness to put it into effect within a few months. This haste contrasts strangely with the previous endless postponements of the question of India's independence. They deem haste now to be of the utmost necessity—not to give India her freedom—but to still the rumblings of revolt that have been shaking the entire sub-continent of India the past year and more.

Thus the widely-greeted announcement of the Attlee government last February 20 that it intended to grant India her "freedom" within a year turned out in reality to be but another scheme to continue Britain's domination of India by cutting this vast, thickly-populated land into segments ruled by puppets of London.

The plan provides for splitting up India into a gerrymandered Hindu state (Hindustan), two segments of a Moslem state (Pakistan) and some 563 princely states. Pakistan and Hindustan would be recognized as "Dominions," the status of the princely states has not been announced. Aside from the princely states, the division would be made along religious lines, arbitrarily severing all the natural links of economy and geography that bind India into one whole.

Warehousemen Settle 3-Day Strike In San Francisco

By D. Rossa

SAN FRANCISCO, June 4 — After reducing a 10 cents an hour "rock-bottom" demand to 6 1/2 cents before the strike began and before the employers made any kind of union negotiating committee, which included an important health and welfare plan, 11 paid holidays, and double time for overtime.

When the 6 1/2 cents offer was made by the union, 11 1/2 cents was asked for the large percentage of women workers in the industry who usually work at extremely onerous belt-line jobs. The fight for the elimination of sex wage differentials was also forgotten in the settlement.

At a big mass demonstration two weeks before the strike, when 10,000 CIO members marched up Market Street, Local 6 President Eugene Paton told the demonstrators, "Taft, Bill or no Taft Bill, our membership has no intention of retreating." At the general membership meeting tonight, with the Taft-Hartley bill passed by the House, Paton crowed that by settling now the union was not caught "on the bricks" with the bill an actuality.

Pass This Copy Of The Militant To Your Neighbor