

Old League Of Nations And The New UNO

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UAW Convention Marks New Stage For Auto Union

By Art Preis

(Staff Reporter, The Militant)

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., March 30.—Some 1,877 delegates to the 10th National Convention of the CIO United Automobile Workers this afternoon adjourned their eight days of tumultuous deliberations.

This convention recorded, though in a distorted and unclear form, two far-reaching achievements. It approved and vindicated the bitter strike and advanced program of the General Motors workers. And again indirectly, it chalked up an important triumph of program over factional, machine politics.

Not a single basic issue was thrashed out openly on the convention floor. Nevertheless, the issues of the General Motors strike and the program it advanced were implicit in the central and dominant conflict of the convention, the battle for the UAW presidency between GM strike leader Walter Reuther and the incumbent R. J. Thomas.

ISSUES IMPLICIT

Reuther was elected, though by a narrow margin, because he was the aggressive leader of the GM strike and because in the course of that strike he had advocated new and far-reaching progressive demands.

In electing Reuther, the majority of the auto workers were voting for the program which in their minds his leadership of the GM strike represented. They expressed in this fashion their approval of a policy of militant union struggle and their desire for a program, going beyond immediate wage issues, aimed at resolving those basic economic and political issues which emerged on the crest of the titanic strike wave.

But because the battle over program was conducted within the narrow framework of struggle for posts rather than in the open arena of direct debate on the actual issues, the triumph of the progressive and militant

delegates was limited and inconclusive. The old-line conservative leaders of the Thomas-Addes faction, supported by the Stalinists, were able to swing enough votes away from the Reuther caucus to win three of the four top executive posts and a majority of the executive board.

COMING STRUGGLE

Both the top bureaucracy of the CIO and the capitalist press clearly indicated their appreciation of the underlying significance of the Reuther-Thomas fight. CIO President Philip Murray appeared in person at the UAW convention to throw his prestige and influence behind the Thomas-Addes-Stalinist machine.

At the same time, the boss press treated the UAW convention and particularly the race for the UAW presidency as news of top-ranking national importance. The preference of the capitalist press for the Thomas-Addes leadership as against the "socialistic" Reuther was made plain.

From the very outset of the convention, in the opening "key-note" address of R. J. Thomas on Saturday, March 23, the character of the central convention struggle was indicated. The major point of Thomas' speech was a scarcely-veiled attack on Reuther and the conduct of the GM strike. This was cloaked in a slanderous accusation, lifted bodily from the Stalinist press, that Reuther was plotting with the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers' president David Dubinsky, whose union had contributed \$86,000 to aid the GM (Continued on Page 2)

THE REAL AIMS BEHIND SPY SCARE IN CANADA

By George Martell

(Special To The Militant)

TORONTO, March 23.—In a Montreal courtroom today, Igor Gouzenko, formerly employed by the Soviet Staff in Ottawa as a secret code expert, submitted evidence calculated to prove that high-ranking officials of the Labor-Progressive Party (Stalinists), in this country are in the service of Stalin's GPU secret police. Gouzenko charged Fred Rose, LPP Member of Parliament for Montreal-Cartier, and Sam Carr, Stalinist National Organizer, with being recruiting agents for the GPU in Canada.

ANTI-CLIMAX

Despite the sensational nature of the charges, the trial of Rose came: as an anti-climax to the monster spy-scare instigated by the Dominion government five weeks ago today. Numerous arrests were made of persons who were charged with purloining Canadian military secrets for the Soviet Union. The spy hysteria was aimed directly at the Soviet Union. If carried to its logical conclusions, Canada would have been obliged to sever diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government for "unfriendly activities" on its soil.

But when Prime Minister Mackenzie King explained his actions to the House of Commons on March 19, he had nothing but honeyed words for "our great neighbor to the north" with whom war was—of course—"unthinkable." The spying was the work of evil men about whom "Generalissimo Stalin" had no knowledge and if he had "he would not have countenanced action of this kind." And now he, King, was seriously contemplating a trip to Moscow to patch things up with "my friend, Stalin."

WAIT 'RIGHT' MOMENT

King was in possession of Gouzenko's dossiers on the operation of Soviet agents seeking military information in Canada last September. The official pretext for withholding this information was a desire not to upset friendly

Washington Joins In Spy Scare

Following the pattern set by the Canadian government and then emulated by London, the FBI with State Department approval, took a hand in further promoting the international spy scare against the Soviet Union by uncovering its own Russian spy suspect in Portland, Oregon.

Lieutenant Nicholas Redin, Russian naval officer and member of the Soviet Purchasing Commission, at Seattle, was arrested last week just as he was about to board a Soviet ship in the harbor, and was held on charges of espionage.

Relations. Subsequent developments revealed, however, that the information was withheld only for a more propitious moment. That moment was decided on by Truman and Attlee with whom King held prior consultations. It came when American imperialism and its British satellite decided to launch their furious propaganda barrage against the Soviet Union.

Obviously, King was chosen to lead off with his disclosures on Soviet espionage activities. In short order, Vandenberg and Byrnes took up the cry of the Soviet "menace to peace," and it was left to the "unofficial" Winston Churchill to bring "the war of nerves" to its peak.

With his speech Mackenzie King dropped the whole spy scare on the local Stalinists and shifted the issue from the foreign to the domestic front. This new turn of events is sending

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Virginia Uses State Draft To Bar Strike

Employing a new form in vicious and brazen strike-breaking tactics, Democratic Governor Tuck of Virginia on March 29 ordered 1,600 workers of the Virginia Electric and Power Company into the state's "unorganized militia," subject to court-martial if they dare strike for their just demands.

The pretext for Tuck's outrageous action was a 1930 statute defining this militia as including every able-bodied male citizen from 18 to 35, subject to "emergency" call.

The alleged "emergency" was a walkout scheduled for midnight, Sunday March 31, by production and maintenance workers who are members of the AFL International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Negotiating since February 12, the union has won a 17% cent hourly raise. The company however is making a last-ditch fight to slash the corresponding \$250 retroactive pay to \$125. By Tuck's high-handed action, the union was forced to agree on March 30 to arbitration proceedings on this question.

On Wednesday, March 27, Tuck proclaimed his "state of emergency." The company handed him a list of all workers, who then received summonses arrogantly ordering: scab or be court-martialed!

"Having been drafted by the Governor of Virginia," the orders read, "... you are now granted a temporary suspension of your active military duties so long as the Virginia Electric & Power Company is conducting its operations without interruption by strike..."

"If and when any union of its employees calls its members out on strike, your status as an employee of such company shall thereupon cease, and you shall immediately thereafter be on active duty as a member of the state militia, and assist in the operation of said company's plants and facilities which shall be taken over by Virginia."

Such state seizure, like federal seizures of other plants in the past, would be utterly fraudulent. Locals in Alexandria and Norfolk immediately showed they understood this. They have declared their refusal to scab for the state, regardless of Tuck's threats.

Victory Near In The Fight For Legalization Of "La Verite"

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

PARIS, March 20.—As a result of the vigorous national and international campaign for freedom of the press by the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, French section of the Fourth International, the party's official organ La Verite is in process of being granted full government authorization.

The first resistance paper issued in the underground struggle against Nazi occupation, La Verite continued to be deprived of legal status after the "liberation" without any formal explanation by government bodies. Repeated requests for authorization went unheeded. In the last two months, the PCI opened a forceful public campaign for legalization.

Branches and federations of the French Socialist Party, among them the powerful Seine and Rhine federations, joined the campaign with protests to the government. Labor and liberal organizations in the United States also backed up La Verite's demands for freedom of the press. Among these were the editors of New Leader, The Call, The Militant, and Labor Action, as well as Roger Baldwin, Chairman of the League for the Rights

Hatched In The Imperialist Incubator



400,000 Bituminous Coal Miners Go On Strike For Union Demands

In accordance with their traditional fighting slogan: "No Contract—No Work," 400,000 soft coal miners, members of AFL United Mine Workers of America, went on strike at 12:01 a.m. Monday, April 1. This strike, second largest in the country this year, follows

the first days of negotiations between the UMW and the coal operators which opened on March 12 in Washington, the mine union indicted the coal operators for "gross mismanagement, cupidity, stupidity and wanton neglect" which resulted over the past 14 years in the mine-deaths of 28,000 and the injury of more than a million mine workers.

The mine strike was called when the coal barons ruthlessly rejected the demand of the UMW for the immediate establishment of a health and welfare fund, to be raised through a small levy on each ton of coal produced, out of the huge profits of the coal operators. The union is demanding that this question be settled first before wage-hour issues are brought up for negotiations.

SMEARED WITH BLOOD
Every ton of coal mined in the United States is "smeared with the blood" of the mine workers, charged UMW President John L. Lewis during the negotiations. The union is demanding additional

Lifetime Disguise
KENT, O.—"Americans are all capitalists at heart, but most of us are just temporarily embarrassed for funds," Raymond K. Moran, business administration instructor at Kent State University told his students.

"This temporary embarrassment often lasts a lifetime," he added sadly. (United Press.)

1946 Version
"The sun never sets on a revolt against the British Empire." (PM.)

Still On "Relief"
The Treasury Department announced on March 18 the granting of a tax refund of \$1,993,738.20 to General Motors Corporation. The refund was for a claimed over-assessment of income and undistributed profits taxes for the year 1936.

Who Won the War?
Alben W. Barkley, Senate Democratic majority leader, addressing the New York Credit Men's Association on February 28, described the fruits of victory: "We have become the world's banker."

Rest in Peace
Vice Admiral W. H. P. Blandy, commander of the Joint Army-Navy task force which will conduct the Pacific atom bomb tests this summer, said the tests are "in the interests of peace," not to "demonstrate American power."

IN THE NEWS

Big Three "Unity"

"The Russian situation was so tense just before Stalin started pulling his troops out of Iran that U. S. military men seriously discussed bombing Russian oil fields — if the Red Army started an aggressive move on Turkey," reports Drew Pearson in the March 29 N. Y. Mirror.

Philadelphia Meeting

Hears Edward Ferguson See Page 6

of duty." He announced that if this board finds they were killed "in the line of duty," he will file a damage suit against Romeika and the Village of Freeport. This will mean a complete new investigation by Nassau County officials.

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Iranian Issue Is Pretext For Drive Against USSR

By John G. Wright

Last week Wall Street's deliberate, cynical and ruthless campaign to prepare public opinion in this country for the outbreak of the Third World War moved into high gear with the convening of the so-called "United Nations" Security Council in Hunter College, New York City, on Monday, March 25.

The stage was set with the ballyhoo, lavishness and care that Hollywood reserves for its super-colossal productions. Nothing was overlooked in order to build up the fraudulent solemnity and "drama" of the occasion.

Every trivial detail—the rose-colored hall, the chairman's shining mahogany desk, the semi-oval conference table, etc.—everything was played up amid the glare of publicity and the glare of floodlights. The American imperialists do not propose to miss a single trick as they speed up their entire vast propaganda machine.

The press, the radio, the pulpit, the newsreels and every other visual and oral medium of influencing the human mind worked in unison aiming and hitting at one and the same target, namely: the USSR—via the pitiful plight of poor "little Iran."

To be sure, among themselves the real directors of this "war of nerves" do not hesitate to assay the Iranian question as a detail. Thus, on March 31, the N. Y. Times, the most authoritative organ of U.S. imperialism carried an article under the heading: "MAIN PEACE PROBLEMS WILL COME AFTER IRAN." In plain language this

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Mass Meeting Wins Reversal In Ferguson Case Conviction

By William S. Farrell

(Special To The Militant)

FREEPORT, N. Y., March 29.—Widespread public pressure has forced Nassau County officials to reverse the kangaroo court conviction of Richard Ferguson, Negro veteran and brother of Charles and Alfonso Ferguson who were murdered by a Freeport cop on February 5.

A completely new investigation of the entire Ferguson case is now in order. This sudden reversal of the Grand Jury's whitewash of Joseph Romeika, the cop, follows the recent exoneration of Joseph Ferguson, ship's cook, by a special Navy committee headed by Captain Sidney S. Bunting of the Lido Beach Naval Station.

Evidence of official backtracking in the face of increasing public protest is the fact that District Attorney James N. Gerbig, who prosecuted Richard Ferguson at the kangaroo court, was in agreement with the reversed decision made by County Judge Henry A. Collins. The Judge dismissed the case against Richard and ordered the \$100 fine returned.

FRAME-UP EXPOSED

This brutal and deliberate murder is now officially exposed as one of the most outrageous Jim Crow crimes on record. The cold-blooded murder and subsequent whitewash of the killer stand out starkly as a frame-up and legal lynching in an attempt by public officials to terrorize the Negro population of Freeport.

Now that both Richard and Joseph Ferguson have been officially cleared of any "disorderly

UAW Convention Marks New Stage

(Continued from Page 1)

strikers, to swing the UAW into the AFL.

This lying accusation, expressed only by innuendo in the convention itself, was repeated openly in the corridors and hotel rooms, and in the meetings and literature of the Thomas-Addes caucus.

Lying Accusation

But the crux of their opposition to Reuther and the militant forces who supported him was their opposition to the GM strike and the advanced slogans which had been projected in that strike. This real issue the Thomas-Addes caucus plus their Stalinist supporters never dared to bring out openly on the convention floor.

The GM battle had been fought out on the picket lines. It had spearheaded the whole strike wave which won the largest single wage increases ever attained by key American unions. The policies and demands of the strike were approved by the GM workers themselves through their rank and file delegates to the representative GM Delegates' Conference. They had made national issues of not only the immediate wage question, but of such crucial factors as prices and profits, through their progressive demands of "Open the Books of the Corporation!" and "Wage Increases Without Price Increases."

Thomas-Addes Method

By contrast to this in the Ford negotiations the Thomas-Addes leadership had compromised on the wage issue without any real battle. They conducted the negotiations behind the backs of the Ford workers. They yielded to the company's demand for "company security" and agreed to the inclusion in the Ford contract of a clause which would permit the company to victimize union militants for "unauthorized strikes."

None of the key issues was brought directly before the convention. The first four days of the convention were occupied primarily with organizational questions. Everything was pointed toward the fight for leadership in which the real issues were reflected only indirectly.

Such discussion of issues as did occur took place in the big caucus rallies held at night after the convention sessions. Here, however, there was little opportunity for a thorough airing of the questions by the ranks. Discussion was limited to the one-sided presentation of speeches by the respective caucus leaders.

Issues Not Discussed

Thomas, Addes and the Stalinists concentrated on reckless and crude personal attacks against Reuther, not excluding red-baiting against his "extremist" and "socialistic experimentation." This reached the low point when Thomas belittled in the course of one caucus speech, "Don't forget that Mussolini was once a socialist too!"

On the other hand, the Reuther caucus meetings were distinguished by a greater attention to program. Reuther spent one entire evening discussing in detail a program for the union dealing with many of the important problems confronting the workers.

He avoided, however, as did the Thomas-Addes group, any discussion on the key issues arising from the strike wave, such as "company security," the participation of the union leaders on the pro-corporation government boards, and offered no program of independent labor political action through the formation of an independent labor party.

The closest approach to a convention discussion of issues occurred during the closing moments of the third day's session. The Reuther caucus had issued a leaflet challenging Thomas to a formal debate with Reuther on the issues in the GM strike. The

Thomas-Addes group had issued a counter-leaflet contemptuously rejecting the idea of a debate on the issues.

During the last hour of the Monday session, while Secretary-Treasurer Addes was in the chair, Delegate Murphy of Detroit Dodge Local 3 secured the floor on a point of special privilege. The convention was thrown into pandemonium when she introduced a motion for "a closed session tonight at 8 o'clock in order to have the candidates discuss the issues involved between Brother R. J. Thomas and Brother Walter Reuther."

Addes Evades

Delegate Murphy called directly on Thomas to answer if he would "agree to debate this question tonight."

Addes sought to divert the matter by giving the floor to another delegate, but persistent shouts arose from all sections of the vast auditorium, "Answer the question! Answer the question! Are you afraid of a debate?"

A Thomas supporter, Delegate Paul Silvers of Local 351, took the floor amid constant boos and interruptions to argue against the proposed debate because "Sister Murphy would have made her request on Saturday if she was as disturbed as she contends she was."

Delegate Thornton of Flint Buick Local 599 demanded that the convention "bring them (Reuther and Thomas) together and have them make their statements in the presence of each other" and "deny them if they can."

Then the Thomas-Addes-Stalinist group put forward the discredited Vice-President Richard Frankenstein, Frankenstein, who had announced his intention to retire from office to take one of the "fine opportunities" offered him, was greeted with a tremendous demonstration of hostility. His sole argument, when he finally could be heard, was that the debate proposal was "tom-foolery." He said "when President Roosevelt was running for re-election, and Tom Dewey knew he was beat, he challenged Roosevelt to a debate, too, because he wanted an out."

Delegate Shelton Tappes of Ford Local 600 tried to come to the rescue of the Thomas-Addes forces by a motion to table the question of a debate. After twice taking a standing vote, Chairman Addes had to rule the motion to table lost.

Finally, the question of the night session to hold the debate was put to a vote. An overwhelming majority of the delegates supported the motion for a debate. But Addes ruled that the motion was lost because a motion to amend the rules of the convention "requires a two-thirds vote."

The desperate maneuvers of the Thomas-Addes forces to avoid a real discussion of the issues left a majority with the well-founded suspicion that the Thomas-Addes group feared any direct debate.

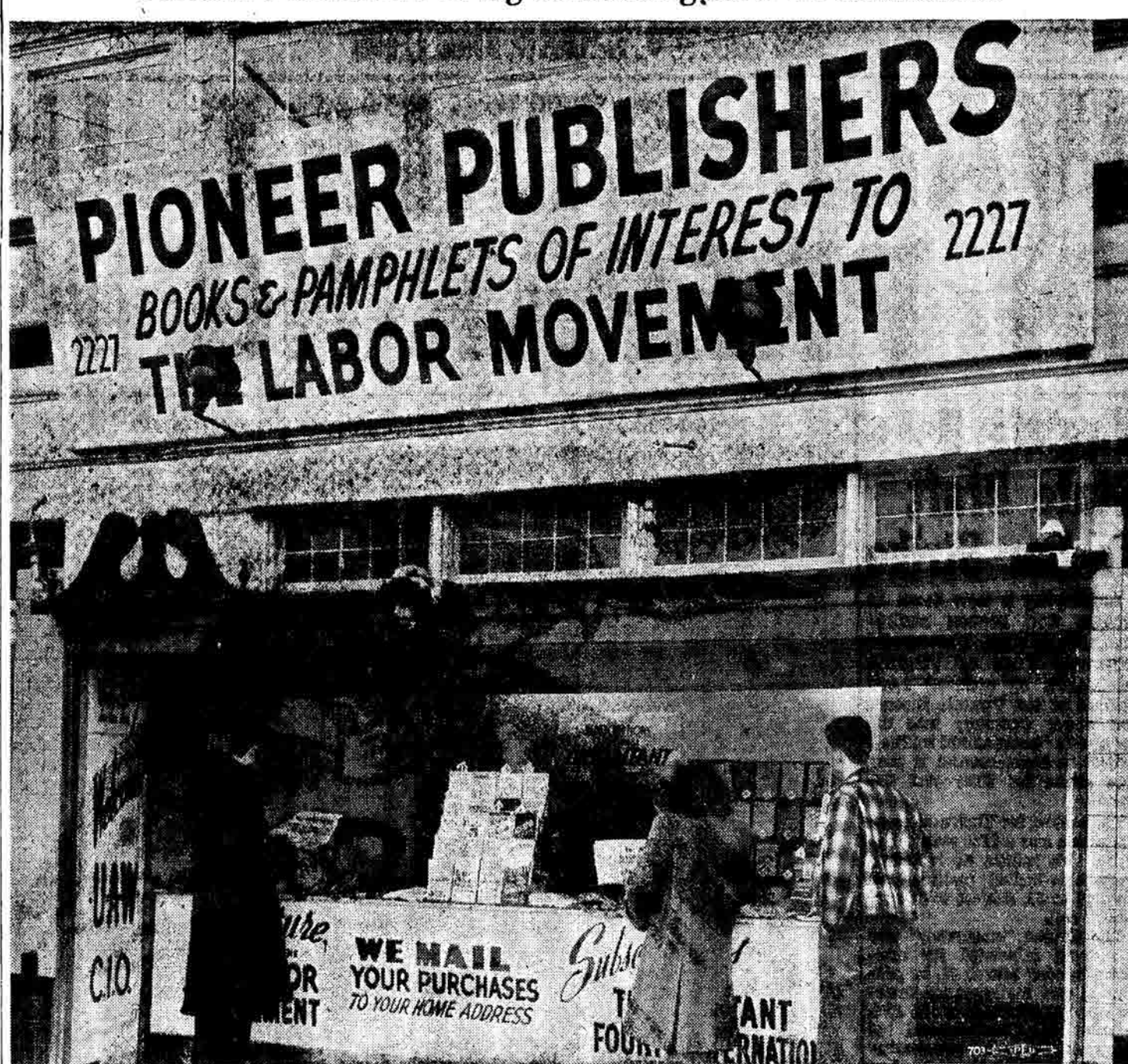
Election Session Tense

On Wednesday morning, March 27, the climactic point of the convention was reached, the election of a president. The auditorium was packed to capacity. The atmosphere was tense and explosive. The long press tables below the huge platform were jammed, testifying to the significance the boss publications and radio networks placed on the outcome of the UAW convention.

Ben Garrison, of Ford Highland Park local 400, nominated Thomas. The opportunist Garrison had become known through his opposition to the no-strike pledge at the September 1944 UAW convention. He was used to try to swing the votes of militants against Reuther.

At a previous session of the convention, Garrison, a reporter for the Resolutions Committee, had launched a full-blown red-baiting attack against the

Pioneer Publishers Bring Something New To Boardwalk



One of the main centers of attraction for the delegates and visitors to the CIO United Auto Workers Convention last week was this Pioneer Publishers Book Stall, set up at 2227 Boardwalk, Atlantic City. Located just a few doors from the huge Civic Auditorium where the Convention was held, this splendid display of labor and socialist literature added something new to the boardwalk. Scores of delegates and visitors stopped before the attractive display and purchased many of the pamphlets and books advertised in *The Militant*. A mailing service was provided by Pioneer Publishers for the convenience of purchasers.

Stalinists during a discussion on Negro discrimination. It was this red-baiter who nominated Thomas, the candidate whom the Stalinists supported all down the line.

Reuther was placed in nomination by Delegate Cote of Detroit Local 174. The nomination and seconding speeches for a discussion of Reuther's policies in contrast to Thomas', but the Reuther spokesmen failed to avail themselves of this opportunity.

Each nomination was followed by boisterous and tumultuous demonstrations and parades intended to stampede wavering elements.

Narrow Margin

The decision was in doubt almost to the last moment of the hours-long roll call. It was finally reported that Reuther had won by the narrow margin of 134 votes, with more than 8,800 cast. This announcement touched off another tremendous demonstration.

Reuther spoke briefly and called for "unity" of the top leadership. He stated "I extend my hand" to Addes and pledged to work to make the UAW a "source of strength to President Murphy" of the CIO, who had tried to swing the convention against Reuther.

The jubilation of the Reuther caucus and its hopes for "unity" were short-lived. The very next day the Thomas-Addes group came back to capture by narrow margins the three other top officers' posts, two vice-presidencies and the secretary-treasurer ship.

Reuther had attempted to get agreement for a division of the two vice-presidential posts be-

tween the two contending caucuses. In a surprise move, the Thomas-Addes group nominated Thomas to run against Reuther's man, Melvin Bishop, for first vice-president. This was clearly a declaration of continuing warfare.

The nomination of Bishop, the result of a purely factional deal, played an important part in the election of Thomas. Bishop, as Regional Director for the important Detroit East Side region of the UAW, had aroused real enmity because of his bureaucratic and reactionary policies. He was heartily disliked by most delegates from the East Side region. The powerful Detroit Briggs Local 212 delegation, staunch militants and supporters of Reuther's candidacy, did an about-face in protest against Bishop and demonstratively voted in a bloc for Thomas. The tide swung decisively in Thomas' favor.

Secretary - Treasurer Addes, who ran unopposed, was reelected.

The Thomas-Addes group then secured a three-to-one majority of the executive officers when Richard T. Leonard, Ford negotiator and leading exponent of the notorious "company security" clause, won by a narrow margin of 42 votes over his Reuther opponent, John Livingston. The Reuther caucus had failed to expose the "company security" position of Leonard. Had they done so, they might have rallied many more votes for Livingston.

The election of executive board members left the decisive voting strength in the top leadership of the UAW in the hands of the Thomas-Addes faction. There were only two changes on the board of 18.

Emil Mazey Elected

One of these was extremely significant. The delegates from Detroit East Side Region 1, which contains some of the oldest and most militant locals in the UAW, elected former Briggs Local 212 President Emil Mazey to replace Melvin Bishop.

Mazey, a GI on his way back from Okinawa, was elected in his absence as a delegate from Local 212. At the 1943 UAW convention, he led the fight against the no-strike pledge and called for the formation of a labor party. He received prominence only a few months ago as a leader of the soldier "Get Us Home!" protests in the Philippines.

Mazey was elected by the large Region 1 delegation on the very first ballot. He received more than 1,000 votes, nearly double the number cast for the leading contender against him, the well-known Stalinist floor-whip, John Anderson of Detroit Amalgamated Local 155. Mazey is expected to fight on the board for more militant policies.

A number of key resolutions on policy questions were not acted upon by the convention but "referred" to the incoming executive board. These included resolutions on the union's wage-price policy, a subject of sharp difference between the Reuther and the Thomas-Addes groups, and on "So-Called Company Security."

The wage - price resolution, drafted by the Resolutions Committee, correctly exposed the threat of Big Business and the Truman administration to rob the workers of their wage gains by deliberate price inflation. It condemned the Wage Stabilization Board, but made no reference to the "fact-finding" boards which have served to whittle down the workers' wage demands. It said nothing about withdrawing union representatives from all government wage-freezing, semi - compulsory arbitration bodies.

"Company Security"

The resolution entitled "So-Called Company Security" declared the union "stands unalterably opposed, and will struggle to prevent or eliminate, any and all types of penalty systems which the corporations have falsely labeled 'company security.'" This position, which undoubtedly expresses the opinion of the great majority of UAW members, never came to the floor for action.

No resolution on labor political action was reported out by the Resolutions Committee. On this most crucial question neither Reuther nor the Thomas-Addes faction offered a program for genuine independent labor political action through a labor party. Both continued to speak of support for "progressive" candidates of "both major parties" and merely gave lip service to the idea of a possible "third progressive party." Reuther, in a press interview, spoke of the "impracticality" of "a third party" even in the 1948 elections. The one vital question the delegates did have an opportunity to discuss was the issue of discrimination against the Negro workers. Several resolutions, containing many progressive points, were adopted by the convention.

But several Negro and white delegates pointed out that sim-

ilar resolutions had been adopted in the past but the leadership had not carried them out effectively. Representative Negro delegates rose to plead for "more teeth" in the anti-discrimination resolutions.

The Stalinists, taking advantage of the failure of the Reuther caucus to make a clear-cut and militant stand on the question of discrimination and demagogically seeking the support of the Negro delegates, introduced a proposal to provide a post on the Executive Board for a Negro representative.

This proposal was fought by both the Thomas-Addes group, whom the Stalinists support, and the Reuther followers, except for some of the most advanced militants. The latter, despite the fact that the proposal for a Negro Board member had been introduced by the Stalinists for factional reasons, favored it as a demonstration of the sincerity of the union in eliminating discrimination and giving recognition to the Negro members.

Anti-Discrimination Proposal Debated

The debate on this issue began the second day of the convention on a resolution for the establishment of a Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department, headed by the International President who shall appoint its administrative staff.

Nat Ganley of Local 155, a leading Stalinist, proposed that the Fair Practices Department be headed by a Negro member who would be a member of the International Executive Board. Hodges Mason, of Local 208, a Stalinist supporter and prominent Negro delegate, also spoke in favor of the idea.

Members of the Resolutions Committee opposed the proposal with the stock arguments that this would lead to special posts for "all groups" and "we don't recognize any differences in our ranks." This, of course, ignored the fact that even in the outstandingly progressive UAW, which has done more than any other union on the question of discrimination, qualified Negro members still have to buck under currents of discrimination which deny them an equal opportunity to secure top office.

This was pointed out by Delegate Irwin Bauer, of Detroit Budd Local 306, who scored both factions in the leadership for their failure to nominate any Negro delegate for a top office. He declared that "either we must create a special post in the top Executive Board for the Negroes so they can have representation in the top leadership of the union, or the top caucuses of this union, the Addes and Reuther caucuses both, must combine on

an agreed top officer for the Union."

The issue was then referred back to the Resolutions Committee, which returned the next day with a majority and minority report on the question. The minority report, which was presented by the Stalinists whose position was represented by Shelton Tappes of Local 600, this time eliminated the question of a Negro representative on the board. It called only for an additional board member, to be elected by the convention at large, to head the Fair Practices Department.

At that point delegate Garrison, who spoke for the majority of the Resolutions Committee and who was later to nominate Thomas for president, launched into a red-baiting tirade against his Stalinist colleagues in the Thomas-Addes caucus. He opposed what he called an organizational policy "on the basis of lines adopted by the Soviet Union" and the establishment of "a commissar over any particular segment of our membership."

The Stalinists this time evaded the question of a Negro board member, but merely pointed out that the minority proposal for an additional board member elected by the entire convention offered a more favorable opportunity for the election of a Negro to the board.

"A Disgrace"

Briggs Local 212 Delegate Ernest Mazey, brother of Emil, the newly - elected board member, gave support to the minority resolution, pointing out that it "is regrettable and a disgrace" that the top leadership had permitted the issue to be raised in the manner it did, when the issue could have been easily settled "if the four top leaders had gotten together and agreed on a mutual candidate, a Negro candidate."

With the whole top leadership supporting the majority resolution, it was passed, overwhelmingly. The minority resolution was supported by about 300 delegates.

Some resolutions of a generally progressive and constructive character on which there was no controversy were acted upon by the convention on the opening day and in the last couple of hours before adjournment. These included resolutions supporting the CIO's campaigns to "Organize the Unorganized" and "Organize the South," a program of demands for the veterans, and the establishment of a \$1 assessment for a special strike fund to aid GM workers and all other UAW members still on strike. A special resolution in support of GM strikers still out because of the corporation's refusal to settle local grievances was unanimously adopted.

Democratic Character

The democratic character of the UAW-CIO and the membership's suspicion of any moves by the top leadership to strengthen its bureaucratic hold on the union were demonstrated several times on important organizational questions.

The first of these was the unanimous proposal of the Constitution Committee to extend the officers' term to two years instead of one. The argument that this would "prevent politics" in the union was hooted down by the delegates, who after brief debate voted virtually unani-

mously to continue the one-year term of office.

Another issue was the proposal for a dues increase, to raise the present monthly dues from \$1 to \$2. The leadership had also cooked up an alternative proposal for \$1.50 dues, with most of the increase going to the International.

The delegates voted down both proposals. They adopted instead a proposal for \$1.60 dues, the additional 50 cents to be equally divided between the local unions and the International. The motion provided for the allocation of the International's additional 25 cents to special funds, including 5 cents to an emergency strike fund.

The Constitution Committee, with the behind-the-scenes support of the top officers, also tried to put over an across-the-board salary increase for the executive officers and board members. Present salaries range from \$5,000 for board members to \$9,000 for the UAW president.

Reject Increases

Among the arguments were that the top officers were "entitled to a 17 1/2 per cent increase like they had won for the members" and "it would look bad" if the union which has fought for wage increases denied proposed annual increases of from \$1,000 to \$1,500 to the officers.

It was pointed out by several delegates that the officers had had a substantial increase voted in 1943, while the workers wages were frozen. The delegates made it clear they did not want their officers to live too far above the standards of the membership. By an overwhelming vote, the membership flatly rejected all proposals for salary increases to officers.

The 1946 UAW convention, as reflected in the policies implicitly endorsed by the election of Reuther, marked a high point in the militant, progressive trend of the auto workers. The failure to thrash out the issues openly, however, has left the settlement of these issues inconclusive.

The relationship between program and leadership received a clearer expression than ever before. But this was insufficiently appreciated to effect a clean-out break with the old leadership.

Coming Issues

The mounting inflation and pressure on the workers' living standards, the increasingly reactionary attacks of Congress and the Truman administration on labor, the new anti-labor offensive which Big Business is preparing, serve to clarify the questions of program and will widen the cleavage between the ranks and the top conservative leadership.

The auto workers have in an indirect fashion shown their readiness to break with conservative, bureaucratic leadership. They have indicated their desire for militant policies and for a program which will meet fundamental economic and political problems.

The next period will see the continuation of the fight on the issues which this convention failed to resolve—the elimination of "company security" clauses, the withdrawal of union representatives from all government wage-freezing and arbitration bodies, and above all the formation of a labor party.

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Disease Germs— A New War Weapon

This is the third of a series of articles on the death-dealing weapons in the hands of the imperialist warmongers who in their lust for world-domination, threaten the destruction of modern civilization. The first article showed how the destructive powers of warfare have multiplied. The second described the impossibility of protecting any city from the new air weapons.

By Eugene Varlin

Among the most horrible weapons that are being stored up in preparation for World War III are the weapons of biological and chemical warfare.

Biological warfare is the use of bacteria, viruses and poisons made from living organisms to infect and kill men, animals and plants. Among the known diseases that can be spread by biological warfare are influenza, infantile paralysis, cholera, typhoid and leprosy.

Modern laboratory techniques make production of biological weapons quite simple. In a War Department report, George W. Merck, special United States government consultant on biological warfare, states: "The development of agents for biological warfare is possible in many countries, large and small, without vast expenditures of money or the construction of huge production facilities."

On January 14, Newsweek described the weapons of biological warfare as "more devilish than rockets and bombs"—and with good reason. During World War II, the United States had already perfected a plague serum, known as toxin botulinus, so deadly that an invisible speck of this serum could kill a man.

One of the most insidious features of biological warfare is the ease with which these deadly agents can be spread. On October 24, 1945, Gen. Chisholm, Deputy Health Minister of Canada, declared: "What of an invasion of a country by a few thousand immunized tourists loaded with anthrax or the toxin of bacillus or typhoid or influenza or perhaps some new bacteria or filterable virus especially developed for the purpose, or the spreading of such materials by planes without warning? Any country could be paralyzed and destroyed at leisure by a well-organized attack of this type and without any development of heavy industry" by the attacker.

All the major warring powers of World War II stored up huge quantities of poison gases. Some of these are very deadly. Hydrocyanic gas, for example, causes unconsciousness and convulsions in 10 to 20 seconds; in 45 seconds, the victim stops breathing; in a few minutes, he is dead. There are other gases equally potent.

Why weren't these gases used? Had the imperialists become soft-hearted? They were anxious to create that impression. In 1943, when it was rumored that the Axis imperialists intended to use poison gas, Roosevelt's sensibilities were apparently aroused. "Use of such weapons," he de-

claimed indignantly, "has been outlawed by the general opinion of civilized mankind. This country has not used them . . . We shall under no circumstances resort to the use of such weapons unless they are first used by our enemies."

These hypocritical mouthings had nothing to do with the real reasons. On January 3, 1944, Time magazine let the cat out of the bag when it said, "The real reason for not using poison gas is not that it is inhumane or immoral, but that it is ineffective."

In World War I, while only one out of thirteen gas casualties died, one out of every four injuries by explosives resulted in death. A United States Chemical Warfare officer interviewed by Time stated: "Gas is not a good weapon without air supremacy, and with air supremacy there is no need for gas." An airplane loaded with explosive bombs could kill and destroy more people and property than an airplane loaded with gas weapons.

New and deadlier weapons than gas or bombs were perfected by the United States after Roosevelt made his plea for humane slaughter. And neither Roosevelt nor his successor, Truman, hesitated to use them—first!

The United States developed incendiary bombs that could not be extinguished by any existing fire-fighting apparatus. These incendiaries burnt people to a crisp. They were deadlier in their effects than any known blister gas. Their fumes choked people to death in the air-raid shelters as relentlessly as any choking gas. And while there were defense measures that could be taken against these gases, there was no protection against the incendiaries. Commander-in-Chief Roosevelt used these incendiaries—first.

Finally came the crowning glory of "humane warfare"—the atom bomb. The two atom bombs which destroyed 600,000 men, women and children in Hiroshima and Nagasaki were used by the United States—first!

If World War III comes, will poison gas be used? Only on condition that gases have been developed so deadly in character as to make the imperialists forget "humane considerations" in their desire to strike a decisive blow.

WALL STREET MEN RULE ARMY GHQ IN PHILIPPINES

The close connection between Big Business interests in the Philippines and the General Staff of the Army was revealed by Drew Pearson, well-informed Washington news-commentator, in his March 8 column.

General Douglas MacArthur is "reported" to have heavy investments in the Philippine Islands. He is associated with Courtney Whitney and Andres Soriano in the Consolidated Gold Mine and Antamok Mine.

Courtney Whitney, a Manila lawyer, was commissioned a General during the war and placed in charge of the Philippine section of General Headquarters. Whitney, a close friend of General MacArthur, "virtually ran the Philippines."

Andres Soriano, "wealthiest man in the Philippines," was a Spanish citizen until shortly after the war with Japan. According to Pearson: "He was also Franco's honorary consul in Manila, collected large sums of money for Franco during the Spanish civil war, and was given the Grand Medal of Naval Merit by Franco as reward." MacArthur made Soriano a colonel on his staff.

General MacArthur's staff also included Mike Elizalde, owner of "thousands of acres of sugar plantations" and "one entire block of Manila warehouses." Elizalde is a close friend of the reactionary General Manuel Roxas, who has MacArthur's backing in the presidential elections.

The Filipino people "are up in



Mac ARTHUR

arms against the big land owners and business-military group, claiming that General Roxas, candidate for president, is merely their tool."

President Osena, the Filipino, is a tool of American Big Business. "There is little choice between them."

ENEMIES AT HOME

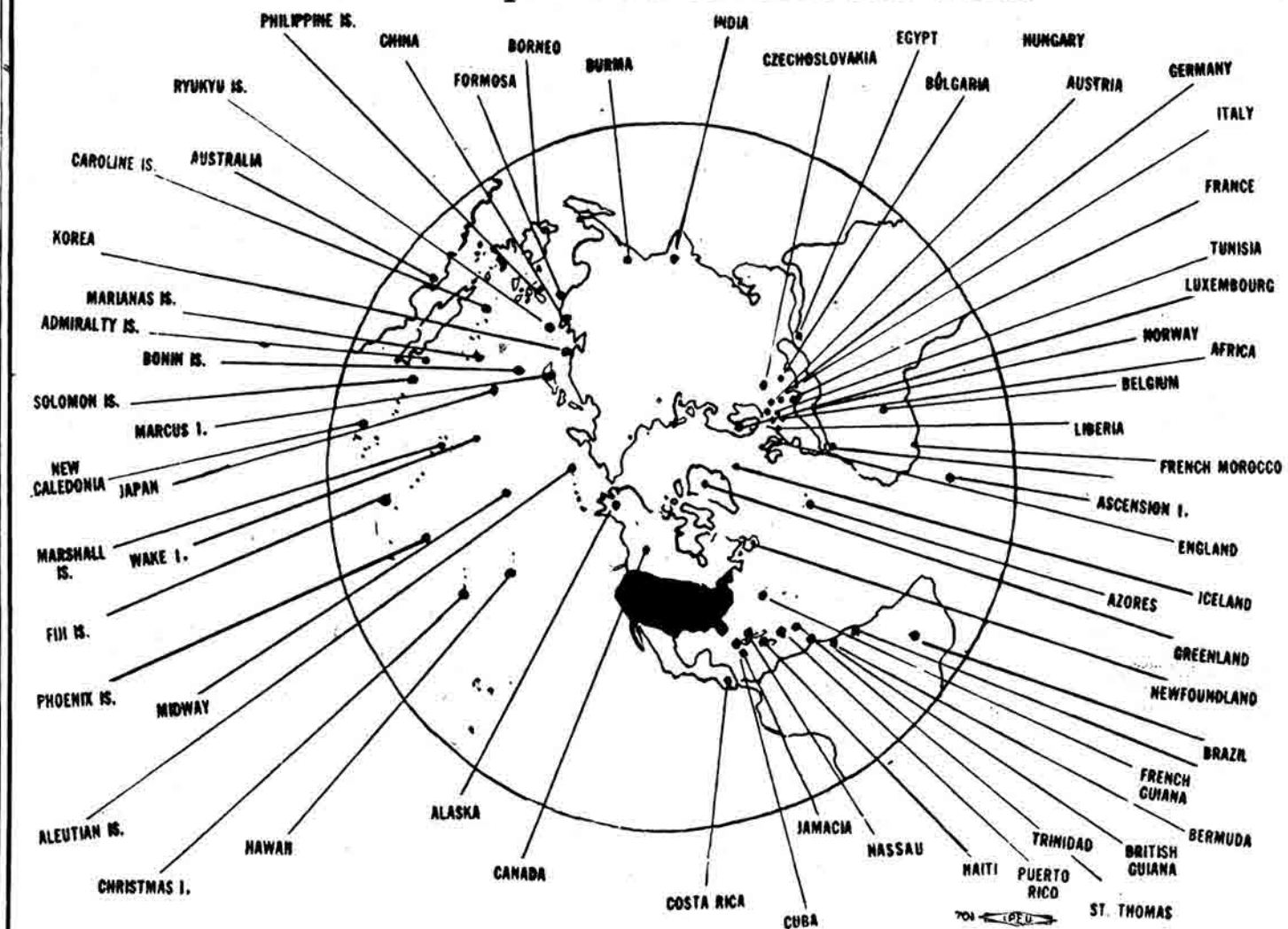
Having fought Japanese imperialism, the Hukbalahap, people's anti-Japanese army and militant agrarian movement, are now fighting against their enemies at home—the big-land owners and the business-military group.

The Hukbalahap and other farm-worker organizations have led mass demonstrations demanding land. This agrarian struggle is only in its initial stages.

One of the reasons Washington is keeping a huge army in the Philippine Islands is for "the prevention of domestic trouble," that is, to prevent seizure of the large plantations by the landless, poverty-stricken farmers.

Stimson Statement Confirms Marxist Analysis Of Roosevelt's War Plans

American Imperialists Garrison The World



Truman and Byrnes who are expressing such mock indignation about Soviet occupation troops violating the sovereignty of Iran display no such tender concern for the rights of the many countries still occupied by American troops. More than 1,275,000 U. S. soldiers are today sta-

tioned on every continent and in 56 foreign countries and main islands. This map indicates where they are located. A glance will show that Wall Street's armed forces constitute two huge pincers, encircling the Soviet Union and the Kremlin-dominated areas.

League Of Nations And The UNO: Important Lessons From History

The United Nations Organization had its predecessor in the League of Nations which was created by the victorious Allies in 1919 following World War I, and lasted until the outbreak of World War II. The ostensible purpose of the League, like that of the UNO, was to preserve peace by international co-operation. Its real purposes however were to enforce the brutal provisions of the Versailles Treaty and organize a counter-revolutionary bloc of nations against the young Soviet Republic.

The conquered Central Powers were excluded from the League. The United States did not participate directly but only behind the scenes. The victorious imperialists completely controlled the League through an automatic majority vote on the Council. The Assembly, on which the small powers were represented, was nothing but a talking shop.

The Covenant of the League of Nations turned over the colonies of the vanquished German Empire to the Allied imperialists as "mandates" of the League. This term was used to cover up imperialist seizures.

The League's pretext for estab-

lishing mandates was that the peoples of these colonies were "not yet able to stand up by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" and that "the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization."

Today, UNO conceals the annexation of Japan's colonies by the word "trusteeship." The names change: the facts of imperialist banditry and domination remain. At no time in its history did the League of Nations have any word of criticism for the unbridled violence with which France and England maintained and extended their domination in the colonies, or the United States interfered in the lives of the Latin American people. The French government under Herriot suppressed a revolt in Syria. The League was silent. The British bombed Alexandria in Egypt; put down a nationalist revolt in India; sent an expedition to crush

the Chinese Revolution in 1927. The League was silent. Not satisfied with the former German colonies in China which the Versailles Treaty gave her, Japan annexed Manchuria in 1931. The League was mildly "critical." From its inception, the Soviet Union under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky exposed the reactionary role of the capitalist League of Nations. Lenin called it "a thieves' kitchen of the imperialists." Trotsky described it as "a filthy agency of imperialism."

In 1927, Joseph Stalin himself stated that "the Soviet Union is not a member of the League of Nations and does not participate in its work, because the Soviet Union is not prepared to share the responsibility for the imperialist policy of the League of Nations, for the 'mandates' which are distributed by the League, for the exploitation and oppression of the colonial countries, for the war preparations and military alliances which are covered and sanctified by the League, preparations which must inevitably lead to imperialist war . . . The Soviet Union

is not prepared to become a part of that camouflage for imperialist machinations represented by the League of Nations . . ."

STALIN SWITCHES
Nevertheless, in 1933, the Soviet Union, under Stalin's leadership, joined the League of Nations. What was the reason for this change of heart?

Hitler had come into power in Germany in 1933 and was rearming in preparation for war against the Soviet Union. Stalin entered the League, hoping to use the League, and an alliance with the imperialists who controlled it, to block Hitler. Instead, in 1938, England and France made the notorious Munich agreement with Hitler which enabled him to gobble up Czechoslovakia and which they in turn hoped would divert German imperialism's drive against the Soviet Union.

History decreed otherwise. In August 1939, Stalin came to terms with Hitler. Their agreement gave the signal for the outbreak of the second World War. In November, 1939, the Soviet Union invaded Finland. Now, for the first time, the League of Nations sprang to life. It had ignored the suppression of colonial revolts by England and France. It was only slightly ruffled by Japan's invasion of Manchuria and Italy's invasion of Ethiopia. It had taken no action on Germany's seizure of Austria. It had allowed the Munich agreement to settle the fate of Czechoslovakia.

But a holy war of imperialism against the Soviet Union: that was another story. The League of Nations expelled the Soviet Union. It placed its technical staffs at the disposal of the Finnish government, the first time in League history that this had been done for a warring power. It urged its members to come to Finland's aid. Today the UNO is playing the same role as the dead League. It has replaced. It says nothing about the American occupation forces stationed round the world. It is silent about the suppression of the Indonesian and Indo-Chinese fights for freedom by Dutch, British and French imperialists backed up by Wall Street.

But when Anglo-American imperialism was to safeguard its strategic military outposts, and the concessions of the big oil companies in the Middle East, the UNO, under the pretext of defending the rights of Iran, is set into motion against the USSR. It thus fulfills the main function for which it was created, namely, to serve as a convenient cover for consolidating the domination of Wall Street over the world. The real name of the UNO should be—American Imperialism and Co.

By Charles Carsten

Striking confirmation of Li Fu-jen's Marxist analysis of "War Guilt in the Pacific," an article in the October 1945 issue of Fourth International, is contained in the statement by Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of War to the Congressional Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack. The Statement released on March 21, 1946, reveals important information hitherto known only to a restricted circle of top Washington officials.

Li Fu-jen's analysis led him to conclude: "that President Roosevelt, while proclaiming his love of peace and hatred of war, was embarked on a deliberate course of war with Japan (and Germany) long before Pearl Harbor and that this was the conscious policy of his administration."

Stimson reveals in his Statement that by the spring of 1941 the Roosevelt Administration had definitely decided to wage war against Japan and Germany. He asserts that Japanese moves in the Far East were a "threat to our safety and interests."

The only question in Roosevelt's mind was how far Japan could be permitted to proceed with her expansion in the Far East before it would be necessary to fight. "Our military advisers," says Stimson, "had given the President their formal advice that, if Japan attacked British Malaya or the Dutch East Indies or moved her forces west of a certain line in Indo-China, we would have to fight for the sake of our own security."

CABINET UNANIMOUS

On Friday, November 7, 1941, a month before Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt took a "general poll of his Cabinet" on the question of immediate war with Japan. The Cabinet, Stimson states, voted unanimously for war.

The reason Roosevelt didn't begin the war at that time was explained by Li Fu-jen, who wrote last October "that Roosevelt's policy toward Japan was one of systematic pressure to force the Japanese to commit the overt act which could touch off a war explosion."

"Roosevelt was obliged to pursue this strategy," continued Li Fu-jen, "in order to be able to brand Japan as the 'aggressor' and stampede the people of the United States into a war to which a majority of the nation had been steadfastly opposed."

"DEFENSE" MANEUVER

"The 'peace-loving' President," declared Li Fu-jen, "had assured the American people that their sons would not be sent to fight in 'foreign wars.' This made it necessary that the United States should be attacked so that the drive of American imperialism for mastery of the Pacific could be presented in the guise of a war of national defense and survival."

After years of vehement denial that this was the real course pursued by Roosevelt's administration, a member of his Cabinet and one of the chief warmongers, Henry L. Stimson, now admits:

"In spite of the risk involved . . . in letting the Japanese fire the first shot, we realized that in order to have the full support of the American people it was desirable to make sure that the



STIMSON

Japanese be the ones to do this so that there should remain no doubt in anyone's mind as to who were the aggressors."

In the October Fourth International, Li Fu-jen further pointed out that "Roosevelt understood better than the generals and admirals that the limits of military preparedness under peacetime conditions had been reached and that further delay in plunging the country into war could have only adverse effects on the grandiose plans of American imperialism."

The primary objective in Roosevelt's war strategy, stated Li Fu-jen, was to force Japan into striking the first blow and thus bring America into the war before Washington's allies were defeated by Germany.

Stimson's statement also confirms this point in Li Fu-jen's analysis. "It was vitally important," Stimson now declares, "that none of the nations who were then desperately fighting Germany . . . should be knocked out of the war before the time came when we would be required to go in."

The warmongers were worried for fear Japan would not strike soon enough. They put additional pressure on Japan through a series of ultimatums. Finally the Pearl Harbor blow fell. Roosevelt publicly denounced it as "a stab in the back." But in private the President and his Cabinet rejoiced.

"When the first news came that Japan had attacked us," Stimson discloses, "my first feeling was of relief that the indecision was over and that a crisis had come in a way which would unite all our people. This continued to be my dominant feeling in spite of the news of catastrophes which quickly followed."

Thus Stimson reveals the ruthless cynicism of Roosevelt and his Cabinet. With their provocative imperialist policies they had succeeded in dragging the country into a war in which countless lives were sacrificed. Roosevelt's Secretary of War felt "relief."

German Workers Demonstrate Against Allied Hunger Policy

"The United States must now choose between sending more food or more troops to Germany." This cynical but true observation was made to the press last week by a high officer of America's occupation troops after an exhaustion of bread supply had resulted in rioting and deaths in Hamburg on March 18, 19 and 20.

As signs of starvation multiply in Germany's industrial centers, all indications are that her conquerors intend to put an end to hunger demonstrations by the use of bayonets rather than bread.

The Hamburg food riots, which flared spasmodically over three days, erupted after the United States occupation authorities had announced a further cut in the already starvation level of rationed bread. Significantly, as yet neither the British nor the American authorities are attempting to paint these riots as Nazi-inspired. The facts of starvation are so stark that even the military mind can conceive no way of covering them up.

COLLAPSE FROM HUNGER

Thirty-three workers collapsed of hunger on March 22 in the German State railroad machine tool shops in Hamburg. These were skilled workmen, presumably paid a higher scale than other laborers, and most certainly paid more than the 900,000 un-

employed in the American zone of occupation. Wages alone do not determine how well the German workers eat . . . for there is just not enough food available for them at any price.

A British medical officer said that conditions in Hamburg are worse than during the widespread starvation in the Netherlands last year, "when people were collapsing in the streets all around one."

"The first signs of starvation, yellow faces and dejection, are apparent among many people in the streets," he said. "They are getting just like the Dutch were, and I think it will be worse here."

This extremity of starvation has goaded the German people into direct action. Ten food stores were stripped during the riots. In one case, 60 men and women entered a shop and demanded bread without ration coupons. When the storekeeper refused, the crowd helped itself to his 60 loaves of bread and left.

Fifty-one persons rushed into another shop and left with 100 loaves of bread and a quantity of rolls. A band of starving children descended on a third

shop and stripped it clean of bread. On the final night of the riots a food factory was relieved of two tons of sugar, a ton of syrup, 300 sausages and two sides of bacon.

DESPERATE FLIGHT

In face of this admittedly desperate plight of the German people, American authorities announced this month that rations will be reduced from 1,550 to 1,200 calories, with the possibility of a further cut to 900 calories.

Here is what the 1,200 calorie ration means in terms of food: A daily serving of four thin slices of bread, three small potatoes, one and a half ounces of meat, a half ounce of fats and sugar and one cup of coffee-substitute. In addition there is a cup of tea every second day. Allied occupation authorities supplement this diet, of course, with many lectures and pamphlets on the benefits of "democracy."

Meanwhile their answer to the demands of the people for food is another turn of the iron heel. The British authorities announced that they were "prepared to employ armor" to maintain order. American General Joseph T. McNarney alerted his troops and announced that henceforth there would be extra vigilance against "potentially dangerous groups."

Starvation, Disease Ravage Italy; Food Rations Cut Further

In no corner of Europe's "black belt" of starvation is famine's face more terrifyingly clear than in Italy. While UNRRA is all but paralyzed by a constant political crisis, and Wall Street's envoy Herbert Hoover dines with the Pope and declares that Italy eats well, the Italian people are being cut down by tuberculosis, smallpox, typhus, the bubonic plague and plain malnutrition.

Italy's wheat shortage is now the most critical in Europe. This year's crop is about half the size of the average pre-war harvest. Though officially the individual ration is 200 grams of bread daily, the average Italian, who is unable to buy on the black market, receives only 180 grams. UNRRA officials in Italy have reported that Italy must start at once to import a minimum of 250,000 tons of wheat monthly to "prevent actual famine."

Take a glance at a few of the prices in Italy's flourishing black market. The cheapest cut of meat is \$1 a pound, sugar goes for \$2 a pound, and white bread at 50 cents a loaf. With the wage for skilled workers at \$40 and \$50 monthly, it is easy to understand why food riots are now erupting with increasing frequency.

Since the curve of tuberculosis follows the curve of living costs,

50 cent bread is a signpost pointing to thousands upon thousands of disease-ravaged bodies. Last year an average of more than 10 persons died of tuberculosis every day in Rome alone.

The infant mortality rate has reached the figure of 98 dead babies out of every 1,000 born. A smallpox epidemic broke out this winter in Campania; typhoid fever ran through the northern provinces like a prairie fire, and the age-old bubonic plague reappeared in Taranto, striking down 15 people in as many days. Dysentery, tuberculosis and the twisted, rickety bodies of young children all testify to the presence of a constantly gnawing hunger in the bellies of Italian men, women and children.

This month the UNRRA warned the Italians that a reduction in relief supplies appears probable. At the same time the U. S. State Department announced that after the first of the year this government will withdraw from all food relief activities and only sell on the open market. It is clear that the Italian people face many more black months of hunger and death.

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Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy.

—Leon Trotsky

Let The People Vote On War!

Only a few months after V-J Day the American people face the frightful menace of a new and more catastrophic world war.

This unexpected turn of events has caught the masses off guard. They believed the lies told by the capitalist politicians and labor bureaucrats that once the Axis powers were crushed, peace and security would surely follow. And when Japan surrendered they hoped to enjoy that promised peace together with their loved ones.

Now, stunned and bewildered, they read the ominous statements of administration spokesmen and generals at Washington. They listen with fear clutching at their hearts to radio commentators beating the drums for war against the Soviet Union. With mounting dismay they scan the warlike headlines and editorials in the papers.

"We feel so helpless and so scared!" writes one woman from Iowa to Thomas L. Stokes, Scripps-Howard writer. "The common people do need to rise and demand peace but we must have leadership."

Another woman writes from California: "I'm just a housewife with three young children to care for. . . . Now I've been wondering for years: Why aren't the voters allowed to vote on major matters that actually concern them, such as declaring war? After all, it's our boys who have to fight and we mothers who have to worry—not the President and Congressmen who have the authority to declare war."

In our opinion this mother has hit the nail right on the head. The millions of common people will agree with her. They are the ones who have to do the fighting, paying, sacrificing and dying. They alone should have the power to decide whether or not this country shall ever again be plunged into war.

But the blood-soaked billionaire rulers who have dragged the United States into two wars in a generation are determined to withhold that right from the people. They don't want any hindrances to their schemes for world conquest and unlimited profit-making. They want to continue preparing for World War III without any checks upon their vile conspiratorial activities.

That is why their political agents in Washington—Democratic and Republican alike—are no less opposed to a people's referendum on war than they were in the period preceding World War II.

The American people want peace, not war. They should have the democratic right of determining what shall happen to their own lives. From coast to coast a mighty movement of the masses should be organized in protest against the war plans of Big Business.

These slogans should resound in a direct challenge to the imperialist war-mongers:

"TAKE THE WAR-MAKING POWERS AWAY FROM WASHINGTON AND WALL STREET!"
"LET THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THEMSELVES VOTE ON THE QUESTION OF PEACE OR WAR!"

Look At The Record

When Big Business makes a request, Democratic and Republican Congressmen alike spring into action and deliver the order without much delay.

Congress obliged Big Business with a drastic cut in the surplus profits tax, and voted to hand out billions of dollars from the public treasury to the big corporations in the form of tax refunds.

Responding to the clamor of Big Business for anti-labor legislation, Congress recently drafted the Case Bill, designed to cripple labor's right to strike and picket, and quickly pushed it through the House of Representatives.

On March 29, by a vote of 186 to 16, the House adopted a bill directed against James C. Petrillo, president of the American Federation of Musicians, who has been singled out as a special target of the labor haters.

In response to the demands of the Wall Street imperialists for a huge Army and Navy, Congress appropriates billions upon billions of dollars for the armed forces. Congress is favorably considering extension of the Selective Service draft law for another year.

Through a legislative swindle scarcely paralleled in American history, which was revealed

in the January 12 Militant, Congress handed the ship operators not less than six billion dollars.

This is how Congress acts when the measures are in the interests of Big Business. On the other hand, it makes short shrift of bills favorable in any way to labor.

After long delays Congress has finally considered the minimum wage law, but only to amend it so that Presidential veto is virtually assured. Congressmen knifed legislation designed to raise unemployment compensation. The FEPC bill was filibustered to death. No consideration has been given anti-poll tax or anti-lynch laws. The Patman bill, intended to provide housing for World War II veterans, has been mutilated and made ineffectual by amendments.

Thus the record shows how completely Big Business dominates Congress through both the Republican and Democratic parties. Labor is hamstrung because it lacks its own independent political instrument with which to fight for its demands.

This situation in Congress cannot be radically changed until organized labor breaks with the capitalist dominated parties and builds its own independent labor party.

Bring Them Home!

The hue and cry raised by Truman, Byrnes and their underlings about the retention of Russian troops in Iran is being used, among other things, to divert attention from the fact that U. S. troops are stationed in almost every part of the world.

The map on page three of this paper shows all the places where American troops are located. It can be seen that from these bases which are now maintained in 56 countries, bombers can be dispatched carrying devastating atomic bombs to any corner of the earth.

These strategic bases are garrisons with about a million and a quarter American soldiers who are being kept away from their families and friends against their will. They are being held in the Army despite their protests in world-wide demonstrations last January. At that time they made it unmistakably clear that they wanted to get out of the Army at once.

American men are being held in these far-flung outposts of American imperialism despite Washington's earlier promise that they would be demobilized as soon as Germany and Japan were defeated and despite War Department assurances that they would soon be demobilized.

Soldiers and sailors are prevented from returning to this country despite the insistent demands of their wives and families that they be immediately brought back home.

Why don't Washington officials heed these demands? Why are American troops stationed in every part of the world?

They are held there to prop up Wall Street's puppet regimes; to safeguard the investments and interests of American Big Business; to build a ring of steel around the Soviet Union as part of the preparations by the Anglo-American imperialists for their contemplated drive against the Soviet Union.

The American people don't want their sons to rob other people of their liberties, nor act as policemen for Big Business. Nor do they want their sons and loved ones dragged into another imperialist war.

The answer of the American people to the ruthless designs of the imperialists should be the one that the GIs themselves have raised repeatedly in letters home and to Congressmen and in their demonstrations against the slow-down in demobilization:

Bring the boys back home! Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

Who Told The Truth?

Speaking before the UAW Convention at Atlantic City on March 25, CIO President Philip Murray said that Congress was one of the biggest problems facing the CIO today. He termed it "about the most reactionary Congress that we have had at any time during the last twelve years."

Murray's admission constitutes a powerful condemnation of the CIO Political Action Committee policy of using labor's votes and money to put capitalist "friends of labor" into office.

In 1944 Murray and Hillman opposed any genuine independent labor political action. They called upon the workers to put the Democratic candidate in the White House and PAC-endorsed Democrats and Republicans into Congress. They declared that this was the only realistic way to promote labor's interests.

Immediately after the elections, the Hillman-Murray leadership of the CIO-PAC boasted that it had won a "great victory" for labor by electing Roosevelt and Truman and a "progressive Congress." A CIO-PAC statement proclaimed that it was the decisive factor in returning 137 Democrats and Republicans to the House and Senate who could be depended upon to help labor.

Now in March, 1946, Murray is compelled to acknowledge the fact that this same "progressive" Congress is "about the most reactionary that we have had at any time during the last twelve years."

What a confession of bankruptcy!

In an editorial in its November 18, 1944 issue entitled "Who Really Won?" The Militant wrote in answer to Murray's boasts of victory: "Despite organized labor's prodigious electoral activity, thanks to the policies of the labor bureaucrats operating through the apparatus of the CIO-PAC and the American Labor and Liberal Parties, the enemies of labor are riding high. There is not a single independent voice—not one—to speak for and defend labor's interests in Congress."

We predicted then that "the full meaning of the treachery of the pro-Roosevelt labor leaders is bound to expose itself in the coming period." Murray's unwilling confession at Atlantic City is part of that self-exposure.



"How do these people expect to get anywhere? Who do they have behind them?"

Workers' BOOKSHELF

VIGILANTE TERROR IN FONTANA, the Tragic Story of O'Day H. Short and His Family, by Myra Tanner Weiss. Los Angeles Local, Socialist Workers Party, 1946. 24 pp., 10 cents.

The Los Angeles branch of the Socialist Workers Party has just published a 24-page illustrated pamphlet, "Vigilante Terror in Fontana," written by Myra Tanner Weiss, SWP organizer who recently completed a West Coast tour to demand action in this case. The pamphlet contains an introduction by Carrie Stokes Morrison, sister of Mrs. O'Day H. Short.

"This pamphlet tells the story of the fire in which my sister Helen and her family were burned to death, and of the threats they received from vigilantes less than two weeks earlier," Mrs. Morrison explains in her introduction.

"My brother-in-law O'Day Short wanted those threats publicized. He didn't want them hushed up and he didn't submit quietly to them. He went to the newspapers with the story and he refused to give up the fight for his right to live in his home, the fight against race discrimination."

"We are convinced that only through spreading the story of what happened in Fontana, far and wide can we have the basis for mobilizing public opinion against vigilante terror. Jim Crow and all other forms of oppression from which minorities suffer."

FULL STORY TOLD

The harrowing story of the death of O'Day H. Short, his wife and two young children is told in full, from the first vigilante threats to the brazen whitewash of the terrorists by the coroner's inquest. Mrs. Weiss reveals the official complicity in the crime by "law-enforcement" agencies. She scores the so-called "friend of labor," State Attorney General Robert Kenny, whose personal deputy at the inquest "did nothing except give further legal sanctification to the proceedings by his official presence—and silence."

One of the most revealing sections of the pamphlet is the transcript of District Attorney Kavanaugh's persecution of Short, while the latter lay critically ill in the hospital. Kavanaugh, against the warnings of physicians, mercilessly interrogated Short, who over and over said, "I do not see why I should be compelled to lie on a sick bed and give information" about the cause of the fire.

"I am not competent to give any reply. . . . I am here on my bed sick, my hair burned off my head, my legs twisted under me. You have no respect for my position. All you want to do is to get the information you are looking for," Short protested.

Kavanaugh continued to pound at him—Was it an accident? Was it an accident? Was it an accident? Finally Short, to get rid of his tormentor, said sarcastically, "As far as I am concerned—sure." This was the "evidence" used by the officials to "prove" that the deaths of four Negro people were "accidental," despite expert testimony that the fire had been deliberately set.

The ruthless destruction of the Short family was not an isolated incident, this pamphlet shows. Other recent examples of anti-Negro terror in Los Angeles are cited to demonstrate that "unchecked terror is the order of the day. Not the least guilty are the government officials themselves" who by withholding punishment, encourage the perpetrators of these inhuman crimes.

PRESENTS PROGRAM
Mrs. Weiss warns that the entire labor movement will become a target for attacks if vigilante violence is unchecked, and presents a 3-point program of action. She calls for mass pressure to force official action against vigilantes; a broad labor committee of investigation to prevent whitewashing of crimes against minorities, and formation of defense organizations by labor and minority groups.

Many West Coast unions have taken a step in the right direction by resolutions condemning official inaction in the Fontana tragedy. Many others are still unacquainted with the facts. It is essential that this pamphlet, which gives all the facts suppressed by the capitalist press, reaches the hands of workers throughout the country.

Single copies of the pamphlet can be obtained for 10 cents, bundle orders of 12 for \$1. If you live west of the Rockies, order from Socialist Workers Party, 145 W. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, California. East of the Rockies, order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Reviewed by
Ruth Johnson

Congressmen At Work

Millions of victims of World War II are wandering homeless over Europe. At the same time, millions of GIs are being held overseas to prevent rebellions that might endanger Wall Street's power. The public is so aroused over these two questions that a flood of mail is pouring on Congress demanding action. Get the GIs back home! Provide for the war victims!

How to handle these two hot political issues without offending Wall Street? It looked like an insoluble problem until Representative O'Konski of Wisconsin decided to devote his brains to the question on February 26. First he outlined the bitter plight of the displaced persons:

BURNING QUESTIONS

"Mr. Speaker, there are millions of freedom-loving people throughout the world without a country and without a home. By the hundreds they are committing suicide rather than go back to where they came from. . . . It is against every segment of decency to force these millions to go back against their will. . . . They have suffered perhaps more than any people in this war. They have been victims of concentration camps and slave labor. What are we going to do with these people? That is the burning question of our time."

O'Konski then outlined the other problem: "Our own boys in the service who have made victory possible are tired and weary. They want to come home. Not a day passes when a Congressman



The whole fate of American militarism might be at stake: "If we insist on keeping the homesick soldiers overseas after they have won the victory for us, it lowers their morale and, to a certain extent, destroys the confidence of the people in maintaining a strong military force in peacetime."

With this high-powered wind-up, O'Konski then uncorked his sizzling speed-ball—square across the plate: "Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a resolution giving authority to the Military Affairs Committee to make a study to determine the advisability of providing for the establishment of an American Foreign Legion."

The purpose of the Foreign Legion would be to "help to im-

plement, by military force, our international commitments made up to date and which will be made in the future. . . . This force could completely take over our army of occupation serving under Regular Army officers." And thus Congress could let the GIs come home!

FITTING CLIMAX

Where would this Foreign Legion recruit its forces? The answer is a natural—recruit the displaced persons who need homes! "Great numbers. . . would regard it as a godsend to be able to join an American Foreign Legion where, as professional soldiers, they could be used in the army of occupation or wherever the military leaders of our Government deemed necessary. . . . It would hold out a new hope for hundreds of thousands of men who have fought in various military organizations for the freedom they hoped would come after victory."

With this brilliant proposal O'Konski won the gold-plated spittoon for the week's most constructive suggestion in Congress. What could more fittingly climax Wall Street's war propaganda about fighting for peace, freedom and democracy than converting the millions of war victims into mercenary shock troops in the service of American imperialism?

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The Militant
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PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

Big money real estate and loan interests are having a field day slashing to shreds the Patman Housing bill now before Congress. They want to perpetuate the housing shortage and are against any comprehensive housing program because it might interfere with the present speculative orgy.

At best the Patman bill will provide not more than one third of the needed housing units in two years. Prices of homes under the bill will range from \$6,000 to \$10,000. Few veterans earn enough to make payments on such expensive homes.

Veterans who rent apartments or houses, and they are in the majority, are unable to pay the high rents allowed by OPA for new housing. Present OPA rent ceilings in New York, for example, are \$82 a month for a three-room apartment. Four out of five veterans say they cannot pay over \$60 a month rent.

These high prices add up to huge profits for the real estate interests, but the present take is not large enough to satisfy their greed. They are dead set against the Patman bill because it provides a semblance of price ceilings and control over building. It may interfere with the even more fabulous profits the corporations are looking forward to. Their lobbies in Washington are working with feverish energy to prevent passage of any housing bill that will in the least cut down on their plundering.

The Producers' Council, with a five million dollar war chest, represents the Big Business building material firms. It opposes the subsidy provisions of the bill because the subsidy is intended to bring small and marginal manufacturers into production and this would endanger their monopolistic control.

Banking Forces Mobilize

The National Association of Real Estate Boards also has a battery of big guns blasting away at the housing bill. This outfit represents the big banking, insurance and other property interests. Its forces are mobilized to fight against ceilings on rents and any curbs on speculation in real estate.

The National Real Estate Foundation, formed last summer, announced it was raising five million dollars with which to combat low rent housing projects. Another powerful section of the anti-public housing lobby is composed of representatives of the National Savings and Loan Association and the U. S. Savings and Loan Association. This group is fighting price controls and liberalization of government mortgage insurance.

These lobbies are united in their determination to prevent passage of legislation designed to ease the housing crisis. They are bearing down on Washington legislators, all of whom are extremely sensitive to the wishes of Big Business.

Unless veterans in alliance with the unions adopt an aggressive policy in pressing for adequate housing, ex-GIs have slight chance of getting homes for their families in the next few years.

Worker veterans must mobilize all their forces and make an all out fight for adoption by the government of a full-scale, low-cost, low-rent public housing program. The only way to block the attack of the real estate interests is with such a broad and vigorous offensive.

To relieve the situation while such a house building program is getting under way, veterans must demand that the thousands of unoccupied houses and apartments owned by the rich be made available to them at reasonable rents.

Corporation Tax-Steals Used To Fight Unions

How could General Motors afford to keep all its plants shut down for 113 days?

Why can many of the big corporations withhold their products from the market until they extort the price boosts they want from the administration? You'll find part of the answer to these questions in the amount of tax refunds Big Business can count on receiving from the U. S. Treasury, no matter how little or how much their plants produce during 1946-1947.

Standard & Poor's statistical service has recently released figures on the estimated tax carryback refunds per common share that key corporations can obtain, even if they don't show a penny profit on the books from their operations this year.

The principal beneficiaries of these huge tax rebates include many of the automobile, steel, electrical equipment, machinery and metal working companies which have most stubbornly resisted the wage-demands of their employees.

General Motors, for example, could get \$2.70 per share. Spicer Manufacturing is high on the automotive list with \$4.00. Chrysler is entitled to \$2.85; Briggs Manufacturing, \$2.00; Allis-Chalmers, \$1.90; Kelsey-Hayes, \$1.30. The would-be union-busters at Timken Roller Bearing could get \$1.50 per share.

Inland Steel leads the parade of the steel corporations with \$3.75 per share ready to pour into the pockets of its stockholders. Next comes Bethlehem with \$3.40. Youngstown Sheet and Tube can look forward to \$2.10, and Anaconda Wire to \$2.00.

Douglas Aircraft tops the list in heavy industry with \$6.10 per share. That ain't peanuts, brother. In addition to these rebates on wartime taxes, GM, Inland Steel and a number of the other big profiteers are also entitled to large credits against their 1945 excess profits taxes.

During the steel strike CIO President Philip Murray declared that these Treasury refunds to the labor-hating industrialists could amount to twenty-billion dollars. This is eleven billions more than total net corporate profits in 1929.

Since the settlement of the strike, however, Murray has lapsed into silence on his demand that the administration and Congress amend or repeal these vicious tax laws. But they still remain as a menace to labor and a colossal gift to the rich at the expense of the taxpaying poor.

Here's one more urgent reason why the unions need a Labor Party to organize the movement to eliminate these tax steals which put so powerful an anti-union weapon in the hands of the corporations.

Read:

"Vigilante Terror in Fontana"

Written By

Myra Tanner Weiss

Organizer, Los Angeles SWP

Price 10 Cents

If you live west of Rockies order from
Socialist Workers Party
145 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif.
East of Rockies; Order from
Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

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.

Survey Shows Vets Know the Score

The Counselor's Bulletin, published daily in the Counseling Section, Separation Center, Ft. Sheridan, Illinois, had the following in its edition of February 26, 1946:

"The survey in the issue of Feb. 15 (of Forbes Magazine) is devoted to the opinions of veterans regarding business, labor unions, and the home community. Probably the most surprising fact revealed by the poll is that the ANTI-LABOR ATTITUDE OF EX-GIs HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT EXAGGERATED. (emphasis mine, E.T.) The following are the answers to questions asked:

"Do you feel business is playing fair with veterans in filling jobs?"

Yes31%
No47%
Undecided22%

"Do you feel unions are doing their best to aid you as a veteran?"

Yes37%
No23%
Undecided40%

"Do you feel the current wave of strikes is justified?"

Yes49%
No29%
Undecided22%

Since the third question appears to me most significant, the figures are especially revealing. The capitalist class, it seems, and its hirelings of the press, radio, and other mediums for peddling its poison, have been barking up the wrong tree with respect to the majority of veterans, fellows who learn what the score is, more easily than the aforementioned think.

S. T.
Madison, Wis.

THE BEGGAR

He was nondescript and shabby
Yet, he wore his tattered rags,
Like a flaunted accusation
Or a rack of battle flags.
And his eyes held boundless mockery,
As he paced the city's strand
In the keening wind of winter—
With an outstretched, grimy hand . . .

Did we hark a vengeful whisper,
As he took our grudging dime?
Did we see a moving finger
Spelling out our ancient crimes?

Yours! Not mine! This wretched system,
Filthy, foul, and lacking hope!
Sprung from out the womb of evil,
Crowned, ordained, enshrined as Pope.

Yours! Not mine! This scarlet scaffold;
Yours the guilt, and yours the blame—
'Til its wormy timbers perish
In the Revolution's flame!

Yours the guilty conscience,
Oh! Deny it if you can!
'Til I wrest from you my birthright—
And be born again . . . a Man!

Eddie Dumaine

Fourth International Opens Campaign For 500 New Subs

The two-month campaign for 500 new six-month subscriptions announced last week by Fourth International has already brought results even before the official opening date of the campaign, April 1, reported National Campaign Director Connie Locke.

Eleven subscriptions from cities all over the country have already been sent in for the Trotskyist theoretical magazine. Fourth International is offering a six-month subscription for the low price of \$1.

MANY ADVANTAGES

"A subscription has many advantages over the practice of buying Fourth International at the newsstands," stated the Campaign Director. "There is first of all a considerable saving in subscribing to this magazine at the rate of \$1.00 for six months. These same six issues would cost \$1.50 if bought on the newsstands. Promptness and convenience in receiving their copies are added features of becoming a regular subscriber to Fourth

International."

Campaign Director Locke reported that Chicago, the first city to accept and increase its quota to 50, has already sent in its first three subs. Two of these are \$2.50 combination one-year subs to both Fourth International and The Militant.

A. Winters, Bayonne's campaign director, sent in three subs together with their acceptance of a quota of 10. Bayonne has thus obtained 30 per cent of its quota before the official opening of the campaign.

Campaign director Locke also reported that many copies of Fourth International were sold to the delegates and visitors at the recent UAW convention held in Atlantic City. "These trade unionists know that they will find in Fourth International a revolutionary Marxist analysis of the labor movement both at home and abroad. This analysis, available in no other magazine in this country, is of great importance to every advanced worker," she said.

Readers of The Militant are urged to take advantage of this subscription offer and write today for a subscription to Fourth International, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Flint, Mich.
Socialist Workers Party
Meeting
EVERY SUNDAY
YWCA
First Street and Harrison
8 p.m. Admission Free

Dutch Reader Praises "Militant" For Realism

Editor: "A comrade handed me The Militant. I cannot avoid telling you that your paper is very interesting. Information is given about the real policies of the United States in the Far East.

"Seen from here, through the eyes of the bourgeois press, the U. S. is a savior who will give food, money and democracy too. But the reality we find in your paper."

B. M.,
Amsterdam, Holland

OPEN LETTER TO LYNN BOMAR

(Head of Tenn. State Highway Patrol.)

As you were the leader of the state troopers who quelled the recent "Negro riot" in Columbia, Tennessee, it is you whom I especially wish to receive my sentiments.

I wish foremost to offer congratulations on your splendid heroism in connection with these incidents, during which your character was unmistakably revealed and achieved widespread fame.

You could hardly help noticing, I think, that you demonstrated to the world beyond all doubt that you were fearless in the face of the most terrifying and ferocious opposition; revealing, in fact, that you would not even hesitate to shoot down and club any number of these dangerous Negroes, the more daring of which undoubtedly defended themselves from your bullets with such dreadful weapons as slingshots and brooms.

Being a white man myself, I recognize the courage with which you must have acted, and it just makes my blood boil when I hear stupid people say you are just an ordinary coward who is always brave when he faces a defenseless opponent from behind the comfort of a gun and from among numerous other such armed and fearless allies. I repeat, the people who say these terrible things about you make my blood boil! How can they call you an "ordinary coward" when you have so amply proven how extraordinary you are.

My scalp crawls when I recall how, against insurmountable odds, you dared to invade the Negro community there, armed only with a few thousand troops and machineguns, and with only the additional paltry support of a few hundred other heroic white individuals who had answered your call for solidarity against this horrifying enemy?

Who can doubt that these Negroes were preparing a white massacre when the Negro veteran James Stephenson had attacked the white radio-repairman William Fleming, and for no further provocation than that Fleming was beating up Stephenson's mother for having the audacity to protest paying for a radio repair simply because the radio wouldn't work any more after the repair.

But, fortunately, you were there to nip this ruthless plot in the bud, and the white people were saved once more from the "black menace."

I am sure you have amply demonstrated to the people for whom you work that it would be beyond the realm of possibility, indeed, to find a man better equipped in character than you for your job. You need no longer fear losing your job, I think. Yours against unemployment, William Van Los Angeles, Calif.

J. PIERPONT MONEYBAGS
Says: "JOBS FOR EVERYONE?—WHY, THAT'S SOCIALISTIC!"

A Talented Negro Crushed By Capitalism

Editor: I recently had an experience which clearly demonstrates the cruelty of the capitalist system with its attendant evil of racial discrimination.

Two friends and I met an old Negro one evening, who told us he could read, write and speak numerous languages including many Chinese dialects. We couldn't tell, of course, whether this was entirely true, but we pooled our own knowledge of foreign languages and talked to him in Italian, French, German, Yiddish, Hebrew and a smattering of Russian. He spoke all of them very well.

He had tried to get a job with the UNO, which was supposed to be in need of interpreters. Being a Negro, miserably clad and demoralized by years of denial of a decent job, he "naturally" was refused employment by the organization that's supposed to "guarantee" the world's welfare. We asked him if he knew of Trotsky. All he would answer—

in several languages—was that we "talked too much." He must have known about Trotsky, but years of oppression had robbed him of the courage even to speak of international socialism.

During the war this capable linguist had managed to find work—in the shipyards. Now that the war is over, he has no place to turn, no hope of any kind of a job. He has been completely broken by discrimination and poverty. That is capitalism's "recognition" of his abilities! It's high time to wipe out capitalism and establish a socialist system of equality which will give every man and woman a chance to use his talents to the utmost.

Frank Mele
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Officer-Caste Lives In Luxury While GIs Must 'Sweat It Out'

Editor: As a merchant seaman I have seen many Army and Naval bases overseas. I have never ceased to be angered and incensed at the criminal discrimination practiced against enlisted men by officers who are living like kings on the fat of the land.

The conditions in Noumea, New Caledonia, are a case in point which I want to tell about. When I was in New Caledonia in 1943, the island was a tremendous army and navy base. In addition to being a supply and replacement base, fighting outfits returned there for reorganization, rest, recreation and furloughs after being relieved of fighting in the Solomons.

At that time there were 13 officer clubs in Noumea. (9 Army and 4 Navy clubs, I believe.) At these clubs the officers enjoyed all possible comforts and recreational facilities. The thousands of enlisted men, however, had absolutely nowhere to go except a small Red Cross club where they could get coffee and play checkers.

While officers could get any drinks they wanted in any quantities over the bar at officers' clubs, the GIs had to stand in line for at least two hours for two cans of warm beer. The beer line started forming at about noon and didn't move until 2 p.m. This was outdoors, of course, and they would have to wait either in the broiling sun or in the downpour of tropical rain.

A Chief Petty Officer told us that he had recently seen five holds of a seven-hold ship unloaded at the Army dock. The cargo was whiskey. It made a stack ten cases high, ten cases wide and as long as "from here over to that launch." On each case was printed in letters two inches high: "FOR THE ENLISTED PERSONNEL." The CPO said that every bit of this whiskey went direct to the officers' clubs. The only portion of it that any GI got was from an Officers Club bootlegger at \$35 a fifth.

While the officers were served good food at reasonable prices in their clubs, the GI on "furlough" couldn't get a decent meal at Noumea for any price. The only recreation he got was roaming the streets in search of a bottle of "Butterfly Rum" or a "Domestic" (Noumea) brandy which was described as being made from benzene and sold for about \$25 per bottle.

The women at Noumea, the WACS, Red Cross girls (most of them), Army and Navy nurses, etc., were regarded as the exclusive property of the officers' clubs. While we were there one of the nurses went for a sailboat ride with an enlisted man, and was promptly given a dishonorable discharge.

D. Kirke
Newark, N. J.

L. Ray
Chicago, Ill.

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An exposition of basic theory and analysis of present-day tendencies in capitalism.

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SAN FRANCISCO

Militant readers are invited to the SUNDAY NIGHT FORUM

on "LESSONS OF THE STRIKE WAVE"

and LABOR'S NEXT STEPS"

Speaker: ED DAVIS

Sunday, April 14, 8 P.M.

305 Grant Ave., 4th floor

Admission: San Francisco Socialist Workers Party

Discussion Refreshments

PHILADELPHIA—Youth Forums held every Saturday, 8 p.m. 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor.

LOS ANGELES—Write to SWP headquarters, 145 S. Broadway, for information on Youth Group activities.

Watch this column for further details on youth activities.

Minneapolis
Buy THE MILITANT
AT THE
LABOR BOOK STORE
10 S. 4th Street

Veteran's Reward



"I need a job," says the huge placard carried by a Philadelphia veteran, patrolling the streets in search of work. He is only one of millions of veterans all over the country, who have come back from years of horror in capitalist war, to face the horrors of capitalist "peace"—unemployment, hunger, homelessness.

Wants Action-Slogans On Unemployment

Editor: As a suggestion—I think it is time we began to put forward some action slogans for unemployed activities.

If price ceilings on rents are lifted there will be such an immediate scramble for housing in places like Chicago, that evictions will be worse than at the height of the depression. Workers are worried. Packinghouse workers when they protested lay-offs here recently, also demanded retention of price-controls on food, clothing and rent. As they signed the price-control petitions, there were shudders at the future prospects.

The situation is in a very embryonic stage at present, but is one we should be ready to act on at once. Shortages of food, clothing and housing are greater now than at any time during the war.

D. Kirke
Newark, N. J.

L. Ray
Chicago, Ill.

Officers Shrug As Unemployment Rises In Germany

In order to carry out the ruthless decisions of the Potsdam agreement, an Allied commission has drafted a plan under which "Germany's heavy industry is riddled, German peacetime living standards are slashed," according to a March 28 dispatch to the N. Y. Times.

One of the problems, "inherent in the program," said Brig. Gen. Wm. H. Draper, American spokesman, "undoubtedly will be the extensive unemployment as a consequence of the prohibition of various important industries and restrictions on others."

"In any case," Allied officers brazenly asserted, "all countries experience unemployment to an extent fairly constantly."

Pioneer Notes

The international aspects of the revolutionary socialist movement reflect themselves in our mail again this week. Letters from many diverse sections of the world tell the same story. The war just completed has left in its wake not only death and destruction for humans and property but has literally wiped out most of the great libraries where revolutionary students could go for literature and study.

Those persons fortunate enough to own their own Marxist libraries have returned home to find them destroyed. A great hunger for the works of the Marxist masters exists in the world today.

From a group of Indo-Chinese students in Europe we hear:

"We are a group of Indo-Chinese students who are very interested in the International Communism study. We are in constant contact with French, Belgian, and Spanish students for discussion on the theses of Trotskyism. But in Europe we find difficulties to get our Old Man's (Leon Trotsky) works. Most of the books and publications about communism were destroyed by the Nazi occupation in Europe."

And from Bombay, India, we have this letter:

"We have been given to understand that you have published a good number of political books and if this is a fact please send us a list of all books you can supply us so that we should send our orders as well as the orders of our clients . . . Moreover, in the future, if there is any new book published, please send us the full details of the same so that we should pay our immediate attention."

"Wishing you a solid worldwide success to your publications in bringing Labour Power to the Top!"

Harlem: Every Monday, 8 p.m., class on "Fundamentals of Socialism," Dick Guerrero, instructor, 103 W. 110 St., R. 23.

Bronx: Youth class on "What Is Socialism?" begins Thursday, April 4, 8 p.m., at 1034 Prospect Avenue.

BUFFALO—Militant Youth Club meets every Sunday, 7 p.m. Discussion, music, dramatics. Refreshments served. Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor.

PHILADELPHIA—Youth Forums held every Saturday, 8 p.m. 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor.

LOS ANGELES—Write to SWP headquarters, 145 S. Broadway, for information on Youth Group activities.

Watch this column for further details on youth activities.

Minneapolis
Buy THE MILITANT
AT THE
LABOR BOOK STORE
10 S. 4th Street



MILITANT ARMY

The Militant is introduced to new readers by various methods. Door-to-door canvassing has been one of the most effective, and has spread The Militant to thousands of new readers.

Another is the use of a mimeographed "dodger" pinned to papers distributed by the San Francisco branch, described in this column a couple of weeks ago. The Militant advertising coupon on page 2 is one of our most dependable submitters; subscriptions are received almost daily on this blank.

Still another source is the Militant advertising coupon featured in the popular pamphlets of Pioneer Publishers. In the past few days we have received three new subscriptions; two clipped from the pamphlet "A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow," written by Militant columnist, Charles Jackson, and another from Joseph Hansen's pamphlet "American Workers' Need a Labor Party."

Larry Turner of Boston sent this interesting item: "We put the extra bundles we received to excellent use. The Boston comrades drove 40 miles to Worcester on their day off and distributed several hundred copies of The Militant on a door-to-door basis. This was done for two weeks. Then we had to wait until the steel strike was over before knocking on doors for subs."

"We succeeded in getting a total of 44 new readers for The Militant in a city that up to a month ago never heard of the paper."

"We are sure that after these steel workers get acquainted with The Militant and the ideas that it stands for, many of them will want to join the Socialist Workers Party."

Anne Alexander of San Francisco sends in this note: "I am enclosing 6 six-month and 1 one-year new subscriptions as well as 2 one-year renewals."

All the new six-month subs were secured at the meeting held on the Fontana case with Myra Tanner Weiss as the speaker. It was the most successful meeting we've ever held. As a result we

received 7 applications for membership."

Dorothy Lessing of Newark writes: "Yesterday we distributed Militants at a large meeting of the Westinghouse Local Union, one of the few unions still on strike in the city. One of the workers greeted us as soon as we arrived: 'Give me a copy of The Militant. I see you're right on the job.'"

"A couple of people lolling about tried to break up our distribution, but the overwhelming crowd of workers looked too ready to come to our defense, for the others to try to do anything. We gave out about 150 copies of The Militant to the Westinghouse workers who knew and wanted to read the paper."

From Minneapolis, A. Field sent this story: "I am happy to have this large amount of subscriptions to send to you. One of the subs was obtained by one of our comrades while she was distributing at a union hall. One of the workers came out of the hall and handed her a half dollar and a slip of paper with his name and address on it and said: 'Here, you can take care of this for me.'"

"The 3 one-year subs were obtained by one of our railroad comrades who has been doing a wonderful job of selling subscriptions. The others were obtained by a comrade who recently became a packinghouse worker."

Notice To Militant Readers

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party is beginning the organization of its first band. We have obtained the help of a very well known and capable band leader and music teacher. He has offered to organize an SWP band and to teach free of charge any friends of the Party who wish to learn to play a musical instrument.

All those interested are invited to attend meetings of the band. For further information call C. Kerry, GR. 5-8149.

OUR PROGRAM:

1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!

A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!

A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!

Government operation of all idle and government-built plants under workers' control!

Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!

2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

No restriction on the right to strike!

3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!

4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!

Down with Jim Crow!

5. Build an independent labor party!

6. Tax the rich, not the poor!

No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!

Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions! Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

8. 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!

9. 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 our organization.

☐ To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

NAME _____ (Please Print)

STREET _____

CITY _____

POSTAL ZONE _____ STATE _____

OVER \$1,000 CONTRIBUTED LAST WEEK BRINGS 'MILITANT' FUND UP TO \$2,618

By Justine Lang
Campaign Director

Responding in admirable fashion to our appeal to maintain the pace of \$1,000 a week nationally throughout the campaign, the branches of the Socialist Workers Party sent in \$1,001.38 last week to The Militant Sustaining Fund Drive. This makes a total of \$2,618.32 at the close of the second week. The scoreboard now registers 17 per cent of our \$15,000 goal.

Twenty-three branches have already eliminated the zeroes beside their names. We expect that all the zeroes will vanish shortly. Portland, Oregon is the second branch to complete its quota. It now stands together with Rochester. These two cities which have fulfilled their obligations 100 per cent so quickly, deserve special praise.

Here's the note that accompanied the Portland check: "We enclose a check for \$25 on our Militant campaign quota. This is a good start. We hope to double it before the campaign is over." Congratulations, Portland! We hope many more branches rapidly follow Rochester's and Portland's fine example.

The New York Youth have paid 54 per cent of their quota and our scoreboard shows them in third place nationally. The other youth groups in Philadelphia and Los Angeles have not sent in anything as yet on their quotas, but ere long, we expect the challenges to be flying from coast to coast. How about it?

BRANCH REPORTS

The "I Want To Help" coupon has also brought several quick responses from our readers. In the past few days contributions have been received from M. Wilson of Pennsylvania, F. Greenwood of Chicago and M. M. of Minneapolis. The latter reader has been one of our stalwart supporters in other drives.

A number of letters have accompanied SWP branch payments this week, and we pass the interesting information on to our readers.

Dan Roberts of Seattle writes: "Attached is our first payment on the \$15,000 Militant Fund Drive. The branch has responded enthusiastically to the call for pledges. Members have already pledged a total of \$265 of our \$500 quota. One, a new recruit who is joining formally today, is giving \$30. We should be able to fulfill our quota without trouble. We will set to work on collection of all the pledges immediately."

"We are starting a subscription call-back campaign beginning next Sunday. It will run until the end of the fund drive. We will take collection sheets with us and we will acquaint you with the results."

G. Worth of Boston: "We are enclosing our check for \$85, our first payment on our Militant Fund quota. We have had an enthusiastic response from our comrades, and expect that we shall do better than the quota originally accepted by us."

In line with the recommendation made last week, we again urge our Militant readers and branches to determine their own weekly quotas and aim to meet these quotas consistently. In this way we can raise \$1,000 a week nationally, the minimum amount needed to insure that the Militant Sustaining Fund goal of \$15,000 is reached on or before June 15.

Buffalo CIO Reports 10 New Vet Committees

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

BUFFALO, N. Y., March 28.—Activity by the CIO to protect the interests of the veterans in the plants is beginning to show results in this area. The CIO Veterans' Committee has announced that ten local unions representing seven international unions have set up veteran committees that are active in dealing with vet problems in the shops through the regular union channels.

At least four of these local veteran committees were formed while their unions were out on the picket line in the recent strike wave. All the committees have been set up in the last three months and several more are in process of formation in other locals.

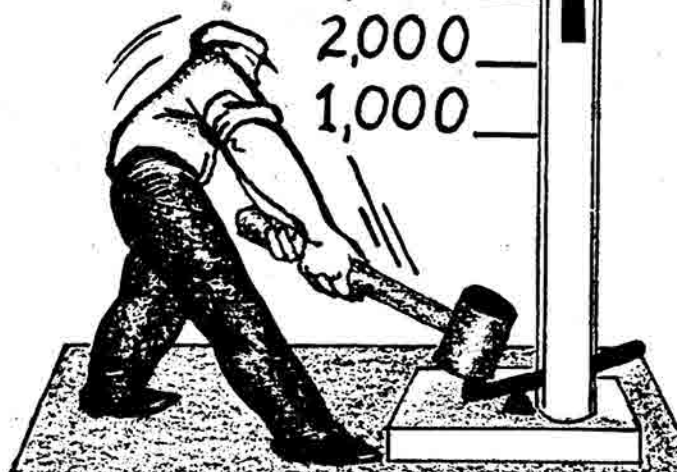
The main concern of the vet committees at this time is with grievances on the job. The companies are using many pretexts to cheat the veterans out of the wage increases that they would have received had they been in the shop and not in the army. The committees discuss these matters and route the grievances through the local's grievance machinery. Many grievances have been settled to the advantage of the vets through this method.

At the committee meetings discussions of other issues affecting the welfare of the vets take place. Housing, on-the-job training, bonus, super-seniority and unemployment are some of the questions dealt with. Representatives from these local vet committees make up the CIO Veterans' Committee which coordinates the local activities, aids in the organization of new committees, and plans veteran work on an area basis.

With the continued growth of this very important phase of veteran activity by the unions, it should be possible in the very near future to organize area-wide action on other veteran issues such as housing.

\$15,000

Ring the Bell!



MARCH 28 — \$2,618.32

SCOREBOARD

	QUOTA	PAID	PER-CENT
ROCHESTER	50	50	100
PORTLAND	25	25	100
New York Youth	50	26.80	54
San Francisco	1000	445	45
Baltimore	25	10	40
St. Paul	250	95	38
Akron	300	82	27
Minneapolis	500	137	27
New York City	3500	902.02	26
Connecticut	100	26	26
Cleveland	250	65	26
Boston	400	88	22
Buffalo	500	96.50	19
Newark	300	65	21
Youngstown	400	61	15
Philadelphia	500	70	14
Seattle	500	50	10
Milwaukee	100	10	10
Chicago	1500	120	8
Reading	100	7.50	8
Detroit	1250	85	6
Flint	100	20	5
Los Angeles	2000	55	2
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	0	0
Bayonne	75	0	0
Cincinnati	25	0	0
Los Angeles Youth	75	0	0
Philadelphia Youth	25	0	0
Pittsburgh	100	0	0
St. Louis	50	0	0
San Diego	100	0	0
Toledo	200	0	0
General	575	29.50	5
TOTAL	\$15,000	\$2,618.32	17

Pensioner Sends \$5 To 'Best Paper I Ever Read'

Dear Friend:

I am enclosing \$5.00 for The Militant Campaign Fund. The Militant is the best paper I ever read. More power to you. I would like to send more but since I am an old pensioner, I can't.

J. M. B.
Seattle, Washington

Philadelphia Protest Meeting Hears Edward Ferguson Speak

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., March 23.—The large new hall of the Philadelphia branch of the Socialist Workers Party was filled last night by a capacity audience of Negro and white workers who came to protest the Jim Crow murder of the two Ferguson brothers in Freeport, L. I., on February 5.

The main speaker of the evening was Edward Ferguson, of Washington, D. C., a fifth brother and also an Army veteran.

"I am not a speaker but I am a veteran," said Edward Ferguson, "and the veterans better learn to speak up before they get pushed too far. When I was in the Army I thought many times that something like this murder of my brothers might happen after the war—but I never thought it would happen to my family."

"The police and the newspapers are trying to slander my brothers now that they are dead. People out in Nassau County don't want to tell how my brothers were sent into the Army to fight for democracy in foreign countries... how they were denied the right to a cup of coffee in a public restaurant... how they were murdered because they stood up for their rights..."

"I saw the Jim Crow in the Army before the war and during the war. I asked for an assignment to the aviation corps and I got the Engineers... Do you know what the Engineers are? They are the work battalions. The white officers look at the colored soldier and say, 'He's a nigger!' and they put him to doing heavy work."

AUDIENCE CHEERS

Edward Ferguson roused the militant audience to cheers as he went on to say that Bilbo was only trying to do in this country what Hitler did in Germany. "We got to stick together and fight this thing to the end!"

Other speakers at the meeting were Ross F. Carey, member of the Philadelphia Joint Board of the AFL International Garment Workers Union, George B. Morris, Business Agent of the AFL Window Cleaners, Local 125, Clarence Jackson, Jr., public relations representative of the

Philadelphia Tribune, Mrs. Jane Dabney of the Quaker City Chapter of the American War Mothers and William S. Farrell, reporter for The Militant. Max Geldman, Organizer of the Philadelphia branch of the SWP, was chairman.

Mrs. Dabney introduced a resolution which had been adopted by the Quaker City War Mothers. Before presenting it for a vote she said, "When I read of the terrible murder of the Ferguson brothers I thought of my three boys and one girl in the service and I said to myself, 'It might have been the Dabney children'—in fact it might have been your children, too! So I decided to do everything I could to help win justice for the Ferguson brothers."

William S. Farrell, reporter for The Militant, said: "We must fight each case of discrimination to the limit and win justice but we must also learn the cause of the disease which produces Jim Crowism. We must destroy the disease at the roots—and the root of discrimination is the capitalist system."

MUST ORGANIZE

"We must organize and unite to build a better world for all the poor and oppressed peoples. In this country we must build a labor party so we can have Negro and white solidarity in politics just as we have on the CIO picket lines. And we must build a strong Socialist Workers Party to fight for Socialism!"

The responsive audience unanimously passed two resolutions calling for a public investigation of the Freeport murders and asking the entire labor movement, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and veterans' organizations to set up a committee to investigate these murders.

A collection of \$102 was contributed and several workers indicated their desire to join the Socialist Workers Party.

USSR FACES INTERNAL CRISIS, DECLARES APRIL ISSUE OF F.I.

The Stalinist "left" turn reflecting the growing crisis of the Kremlin regime is analyzed both in a leading article and an editorial in the April Fourth International, just off the press. "Without any fear of exaggeration, one can say that the Kremlin has never

confronted a more critical situation at home and abroad than it does today," the article states.

Explaining the underlying causes of the recent leftward shift in Stalinist policy, the article points out that throughout the world "the Stalinists are the unquestioning agents of the despotic oligarchy in the Kremlin." They are guided in their sharp turns both to the right and to the left by one primary consideration: to retain the power and privileges of the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. "Whatever else may change, these factors remain immutable."

Stalinism emerged from the war, during which it served as an agent of imperialism, as a regime of crisis. Today the Stalinists are trying to disguise themselves as militant fighters, "employing class-struggle phrases, posing as fighters against capitalism and for socialism." This "leftist" disguise the article states, is "just as treacherous, just as inimical to the real interests of the working class as when it is outspokenly reactionary. It is more dangerous because it is more deceptive."

TRY TO LULL MASSES

Stalin was forced to make the left turn for two main reasons. First, to lull the deep resentment of the mass of Soviet workers and peasants from the gross inequalities which separate them

from the privileged bureaucratic caste. Stalin has no answer for the "millions who underwent great sacrifices and privations" during the war except more sacrifices and greater privations after his "victory."

Second, Stalin is compelled to conduct a struggle against a section of the ruling caste which desires the restoration of capitalism. According to first-hand material on the internal life of the USSR, now becoming available for the first time in many years, "there is no lack of data testifying to the fear on the part of the Bonapartist clique of the restorationist wing."

Thus, "under one and the same formula, Stalin combines in his traditional manner the struggle on two fronts—against the immediate threat of the restorationist tendency and against the gravest danger of all—the possible resurgence of the masses." And this "is precisely what the Kremlin fears the most. Not alone because it will precipitate war with the 'democratic' imperialists, but also because the European revolution may be unleashed thereby, and sweep away the Kremlin oligarchy itself in its raging flood."

The April Fourth International also contains acute, first-hand observations of the effects of their great strike victory upon the steel workers in "Lackawanna, Steel Town 1946," by V. Grey.

An analysis of the political up-

SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM

How Factories Were Born

By V. Grey

When you look at the old factories and mills of the industrial cities on the shores of the Great Lakes, it's hard to believe that they stand on Indian trails where the hunter's call and the beat of wild goose wings were the only breaks in the primeval stillness. The lake nearby was an emerald green, untouched by the red ore-mud and slag. Only the paddle of the birchbark canoe broke its surface in fair weather.

How long ago was this? A thousand years? No. Your great-great grandfather, if he were there, could have parted the foliage with his hunting knife and gazed or just such a scene. The factories grew up at a tremendous rate of speed and replaced the wilderness.

These factories didn't come out of the sky. They didn't spring up out of the ground either, like Indian corn. They were imported from England. And over in England, too, where they first started up, they are not so very much older than here. Two hundred years ago, the English mining towns still had "green valleys" and a great many people still made cotton and wool garments by hand.

Handicraft workers had been going along year after year, generation after generation, using their own little cottages for their private factories. These were not like your cellar workshop where you putter around for fun. They made their living and their family's living at their handicraft, even though they had no machinery on tenth as efficient as a Sears-Roebuck lathe.

When it was discovered that the looms of the weavers and the wheels of the spinners could be enlarged, the work simplified and done by several people together—then more material could be produced by each worker than before. And the well-off grocer, merchant, or craftsman, who had the money to buy a new-fangled machine and owned a shed to put it in, began to make money out of other people's labor in this baby factory.

Once these little shops got going, production increased greatly. More money was made by the owners. They enlarged the shops, encouraged inventions to improve the crude machinery, and hired many more workers. Just before 1800 the "Industrial Revolution" began in England. The great discoveries of science began to be harnessed to production. (Most of the early scientists couldn't collect any cash out of this, or were dead before this "revolution" began.) Steam power replaced water power. More and more improvements were applied to the machines that the steam propelled.

Capitalism Only A Few Centuries Old

This factory system of England was the main feature of capitalism, and we call England the classic country of capitalism. Capitalism didn't get much of a hold over here in North America when the first settlers came. The settlers who had money and materials and owned choice land were very much richer than the others, of course, but they couldn't begin to make factories right away. Instead they carved out great plantations from the virgin land and forced white and black slaves to produce wealth for them. Other rich Americans in the early days used the capital they brought from England to build ships and pay sailors to produce wealth in the form of the profits of trade.

The United States was mainly a farming country for several centuries after its discovery. But along in the early 1800's the little capitalists here began to steal the English capitalists' machinery blue-prints and patents. They lured the British master-workmen over here to help them plan these factories which were such gold mines to the owners. Then American inventors began to come forward with inventions thick and fast. Not many of these made the inventors very rich, but like today they increased production, and enormously enriched the capitalist. Most of all they hastened the building of big factories.

The big steel plants were built after the Civil War. Then mines had to be dug deeper and spread farther. Railroads opened up the country in earnest. But the largest single factories in the world—far larger than any of England's—have been started in our own lifetime. River Rouge—GM—Willow Run—Boeing—the population figures of these plants read like the census of large cities.

All this phenomenal growth within the United States from the wilderness to the factory has taken place in a few short lifetimes. Moreover, before that, neither factory owner, factory nor factory worker existed anywhere. The capitalist is a very young master for us workers compared to the 5,000-year old chattel slave master whose system died such a short time ago. But nevertheless, the capitalist system—swifter than all others to grow—is even more swift to decline and die.

Next week: How The Factory Worker Was Born.

heavens in Brazil and a biographical sketch of Leon Lesoli, Belgian Trotskyist martyr, are also featured.

Fourth International last week launched an offer of six-month introductory subscriptions for the low price of \$1. Readers of The Militant are urged to secure their subscriptions now to this important Trotskyist theoretical organ by writing to Fourth International, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

DETROIT April Dance

Sat., April 13

Music Entertainment
6108 Linwood 8 p.m.

Auspices:
Socialist Workers Party

NEW YORK FORUM

"The Soviet Union and the UNO"

Speaker:

JOHN G. WRIGHT

Associate Editor of "Fourth International"

Sunday, April 7

116 University Place

8 p.m.

MILWAUKEE

Spring Social And Dance

SATURDAY, APRIL 13

Entertainment... Refreshments... Fun

Socialist Workers Party Headquarters

424 E. Wells St., Room 215

8 p.m.

I Want To Help!

I like The Militant because it tells the truth. I know that it depends entirely upon workers like myself for support. That is why I want to do my part in contributing to The Militant's \$15,000 Fund Campaign.

To The Militant:

116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

☐ I enclose \$..... toward your work.

☐ I want a contribution-list to circulate among my friends and fellow-workers, so they can help The Militant.

Name..... (Please Print)

Street..... Apt.....

City.....

Postal Zone No..... State.....

N. Y. Painters Hit Ferguson Murder

A resolution condemning the Jim-Crow assault upon the four Ferguson Brothers in Freeport, Long Island, in which two were shot down and killed by a policeman, was passed on March 14 by N. Y. District Council 9, AFL Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators of America.

The union demanded that a broad public committee be organized by labor, Negro, Veterans and other progressive organizations to launch a public investigation of the facts in the case and bring an indictment for murder against the policeman who committed the crime. It also demanded the removal of both the Judge and Chief of Police of Freeport who whitewashed the crime.

Diary Of A Steelworker By T. Kovalesky

I wonder what ever became of old Al. When I was a young kid on my first job, I used to work at the same bench with him and argue most of the day. It seems funny the ideas that I had then. I was going to "work my way up," and his radical ideas then struck me as being pretty foolish. In a way they were. Al didn't know much about Marxism. He used to talk a lot about "dividing things up," and his ideas about the future society were quite sketchy. But he gave me the first vague taste of socialism that I ever had.

I remember how I had gone to work there with a little schooling behind me, very little, but still, more than most of the fellows that I worked with. And I was very conscious of my "knowledge." I was going to work hard, go to night school, and finally, some day take my place in the world up there with the people on top.

Couldn't A Man Rise?

Hadn't I learned in school that honesty and diligence and hard work would make a man rise in the world? Al's ideas seemed like poor sportsmanship. He was a "bad loser." He obviously hadn't been diligent enough, or he too would have worked his way up as I was going to. I used to argue with Al. I used to give him all the stereotyped ideas that had been poured into me in my school days... much to his disgust. Day after day, he used to explain patiently to me how it was next to impossible for a worker to rise out of his class. He used to tell me of the atrocities that the ruling classes had inflicted upon the workers during the long course of the class struggle.

I didn't believe him then. How, I reasoned, could such nice, polite, well-educated people be guilty of such brutality? He used to tell me of the heroic struggles of revolutionaries against tyranny, and those tales did set me dreaming a little.

But it wasn't until several years later, after I had left that shop and almost forgotten Al,

that I began to hear echoes of his voice in the things that I saw about me. When long lines of people began to wait for hours in the rain for a little bit of greasy soup, I thought of Al's description of the wasteful indolence of the capitalist class which lived by robbing the poor. When I learned little by little the causes that brought about war, I saw that Al had been telling me the truth.

When life began to be almost unbearable for me with its privations, with its worries and with a new hopelessness, I began to turn more and more to the things that old Al had told me, and to look for other people who also believed those things. Then, when I found them, the hopelessness turned to a fierce optimism, a sense of brotherhood with all the oppressed, the insulted, the poverty-stricken... the workers.

I Wish I Could See Him

And now, I often think of old Al and wish that I could see him again and tell him what I have learned and what I am doing. And I often think how, if a terrible repression were to come upon the workers and revolutionaries, if all the books on politics were burned in the market place and all the militants were shot by the oppressors or thrown into dungeons and left there to rot in the darkness, the labor movement would go on and grow up again stronger and stronger until it swept all the tyrants from the face of the earth.

How would this happen? There would be another, there would be many more old Als to talk to many more kids like I was, slowly breaking down the cynicism and the framework of fallacies that they learned in school and planting in their minds little seeds of dreams that would grow into a great force and change their lives. If the old books were all destroyed new ones would be written, some by the old men in the shops, and some by the kids whose eyes would have opened. Isn't something like this taking place in Germany, Italy and the rest of Europe today?

But when I write this, I get a sort of homesick feeling for the old acquaintances. I'd like to see old Al again and tell him these things and tell him that he was the one who started me thinking. Good old Al!

Notes Of A Seaman By Art Sharon

We carried a cargo of bulk wheat to Italy. After the wheat was discharged the longshore gang with shovels and brooms cleaned the holds of all the wheat that was left. From this wheat mixed with dirt, many made up little packages to take home. This they would secrete about their persons in order to pass the cop.

Leaving Italy we went on to Spain where we were to take on a cargo of "vino." And in this little port of Cadiz the picture of desperate hunger was continued. Spain in the grasp of a fascist ruling clique was one more prison house of the working people, struggling to survive the monstrous burden of continued capitalist rule.

Swarming aboard the ship and everywhere on the dock were the Spanish Civil Guards, well-armed and arrogant. The working people in the town had little to do with these cops, but would pass them in the street silently with an air of passive hostility. On the ship the longshoremen made it clear to us that they considered these guards as their deadly enemies. We were soon to see why.

Guards Swarm Aboard

I watched the longshoremen go down into the hold to prepare to receive the wine that was to come aboard. As soon as they came down they knew by the smell and by a few minute evidences that the ship had carried wheat. Although the holds looked clean these longshoremen immediately began to go over the holds carefully, picking up small grains of wheat.

And in the crevices of the floor boards, in the dust on the beams and on the sweat batens they found numerous grains. These they gathered together and carefully wrapped up in their knotted handkerchiefs. A prize haul—to people whose hunger is never satisfied.

To the cops lounging on deck these actions

did not go unnoticed. Expressing no open opposition nor betraying by any sign that they were aware of what was going on, they bided their time.

At dinner time the longshoremen climbed out of the hold one by one and advanced to the gangplank. There they were met by Franco's cops. As each man approached the gangway he was immediately searched. The handkerchief of wheat and dust was taken from him and emptied on the deck. The cop would then spit in it and grind his heel into the little mess.

The longshoremen stood there helplessly, their faces red with hate. This scene was repeated with every man who came out of the hold.

After it was all over the cops gathered together and laughed. To the crew watching this scene the whole episode was unbelievable. They were learning at first hand and in a vivid fashion the cruel oppression suffered by the working people of Europe.

Crew Helps Outwit Cops

This served to arouse strong sympathy in the crew for the longshoremen. From that time forward, the crew actively cooperated to outwit the cops and get food to the longshoremen.

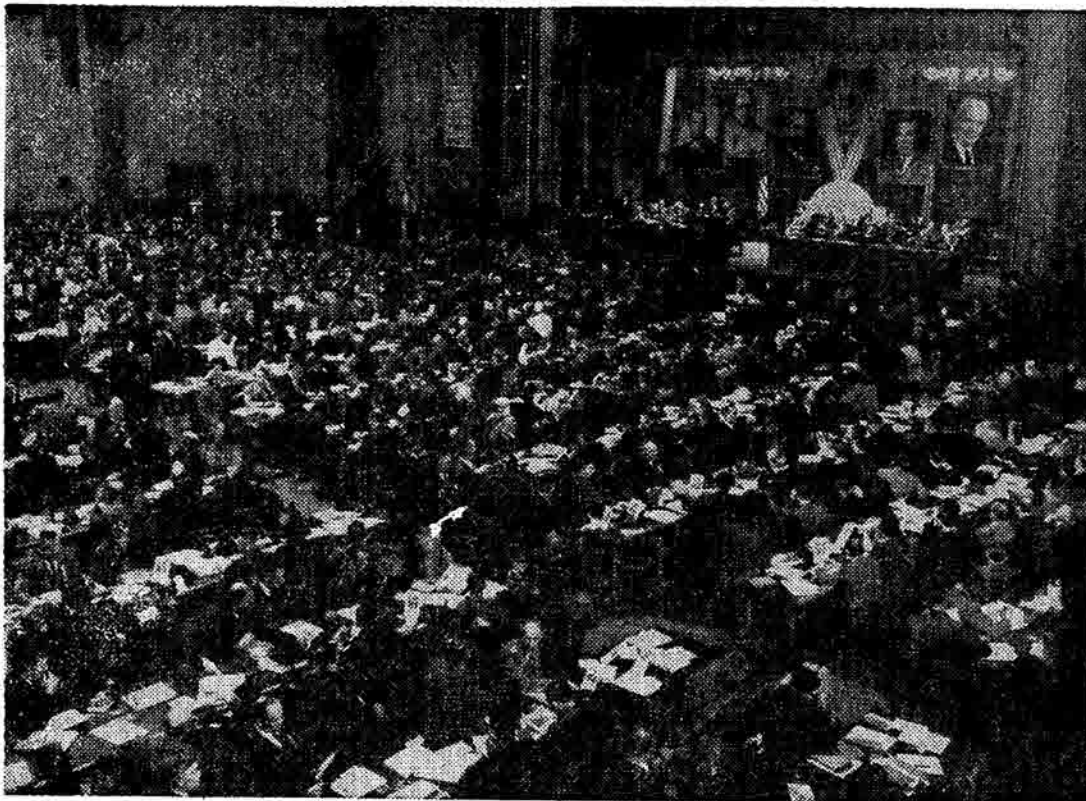
I spent the evening at the home of one of these Spanish longshoremen. He told me how Franco was universally hated. He himself had fought against the fascists during the Civil War and spent one year in prison.

After we had taken a little of his wine, a few neighbors came in, introductions were made and other stories were told. These people spoke very softly, almost in a whisper. The window shades were drawn and anytime they heard some one passing the house their voices would die down completely. They sang the revolutionary songs of the Civil War and Spain's working class movement.

And as they sang, working men and their wives together with their children too, it was clear to me that Franco had not killed their rebel spirit.

Cleveland Unionist Describes How His Local Handles Scabs During Machinists' Strike

UAW Convention In Session



Scene at the Tenth Annual Convention of the United Auto Workers, held in Atlantic City from March 23 to March 30. (Story on Pages 1 and 2).

Allis-Chalmers Workers Confident In 3-Week Strike At Cincinnati

By J. Christianson

(Special To THE MILITANT)

CINCINNATI, O., March 31.—The CIO Electrical Radio and Machine Workers Local 765 at the Allis-Chalmers Company here is entering the third week of its militant strike. Starting out the first day with mass picketing, the workers

have been generally successful in keeping management's representatives from entering the plant.

The union is demanding that the company abide by an order from the War Labor Board handed down in October 1945 to open negotiations on equal pay for equal work, improved progression and vacation schedules, proper grading of workers, general increase of wages across the board, and continued maintenance of membership.

Due to the reactionary state legal setup, a court injunction limiting pickets was filed by the company and enforced by the courts.

Emerson Sonnycalb, Local 765 president, who is leading the workers in their hard-hitting strike against the company, has stated "the company here is not negotiating seriously. We're getting ready for a long-drawn-out fight."

To this Militant reporter, he stated that "we are working under a 1943 contract. The negotiations for a new contract settlement ordered and agreed upon by a War Labor Board decision given in October 1945 has been refused by the company. The company refused to recognize the WLB."

RANKS ARE MILITANT

This strike of 1,400 union members and workers of the Allis-Chalmers plant has inspired a great deal of militancy from the rank-and-file. The workers have been tied to an unfavorable contract for several years and are eager to settle many scores with one of the worst labor-hating companies in this area.

No one expects an early settlement, but the members are confident that they can humble this corporation and make it listen to the workers' demands. Following the example set by the GM strikers, these workers have also demanded the right to see the company's books.

Veteran Tells Why Brass Hats And Wall Street Demand Draft

(A veteran of World War II has sent us the following letter on the militaristic schemes of Wall Street and its war-lords.)

Editor: Through my five and a half years in the army I have drawn a pretty clear picture of why the brass hats and government officials want to extend the draft indefinitely. All the regular army gen-

erals are looking for is glory, and believe me, they get it too. But how do they get it? Only by having a large army at their disposal. They are not happy unless they are on the battlefield with thousands of men under them. And strange as it may seem, the one who gets the most glory and gets to be famous the quickest is the one who gets the most men killed in the shortest time.

I was in the 82nd Airborne and can give you a pretty clear picture of why I say this. General Gavin, who was commander of the 82nd Airborne, was only a private in Panama back in the early '30s. Somehow, through politics and by marrying into the Ridgway family which has been a military family for years, he wormed his way to be commander of the 82nd Airborne. He has since become very famous through his ability to lose more men than any other division commander in the same length of time.

Now, as for the government, they are backing the brass hats in keeping the draft so the famous brass hats won't lose their armies. Loss of their armies would mean loss of rank. And also it is very plain that the U. S. is instigating a war against Russia and they want a large standing army ready-trained.

So where is the ever-lasting peace we were promised, that I and some ten million other vets fought so hard to win? If we are going to have peace, why do we

Textile Profiteers Get A Handout

The textile manufacturers, who sweat their workers at one of the lowest wage-scales in the country, have been handed a generous increase in the price of cotton textiles and yarns.

No strings attached — the OPA price-increase order doesn't even require the profiteers to raise wages to the 65-cent hourly minimum set by the National Wage Stabilization Board.

400,000 Coal Miners Strike For Demands

(Continued from Page 1)

quate safety measures and inspection in the mines, and a union fund to provide decent medical care, compensation and welfare for miners and their families.

The UMW has agreed that there will be no picketing during the strike. It is permitting two to ten supervisory and maintenance workers, including pumpers and fan operators, to be assigned to each of the mines to keep them in condition for a return to work as soon as the coal barons agree to the demands of the union.

The union is further permitting about 60,000 members of the United Clerical, Technical and Supervisory Employees of District 50 to continue on their jobs to inspect the mines before the maintenance crews enter them.

UNIONIZATION OF FOREMEN

The issue of unionization of foremen will also be one of the major demands of the UMW. A National Labor Relations Board election was scheduled for Monday at four mines and the general mine office of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation to determine whether supervisory workers want the Supervisory Employees Union District 50, UMW to represent them.

The election will be held at Vesta Mines 4, 5 and 6 in Washington County and Shannopin Mine in Greene County. The election among the J & L employees followed an NLRB ruling that supervisory employees could join the same union as wage workers.

West Virginia and Pennsylvania lead the 23 soft-coal producing states, with about 175,000 in the former and about 100,000 in the latter. Other principal bituminous sources are Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, Virginia and Alabama.

The coal operators, like the steel barons are evidently stalling until they can hijack the administration into giving them a big boost in prices. Last year the Office of Price Administration granted them a price increase of 16 cents a ton, and later in the season granted an extra 3 1/2 cents a ton to operators of some mines.

Speaking of democracy, why aren't the young Americans whose lives will be affected by the draft, allowed to vote on it.

Kent Darrow

New York

By H. R.

(Special To THE MILITANT)

CLEVELAND, March 26.—I am employed at the Cleveland plant of the Chicago Pneumatic Tool Company where the members of the International Association of Machinists have been out on strike for the past four weeks for an 18 1/2-cent wage increase. We had some experiences in handling scabs which I would like to pass on to other workers.

Our union contract states that we represent all hourly-rate employees. That includes everyone from the Assistant Superintendent on down to the sweepers, as even supervisory help here are paid on an hourly rate.

In our fair city we have an extremely hostile anti-labor judge named Stanley Orr, who hands down injunctions and restraining orders against unions at the rate of "a dime a dozen." You can readily see what labor is up against here in Cleveland.

In our case, due to delaying and stalling tactics on the union's part, Judge Orr did not hand down the usual injunction, but the union accepted a mutual consent agreement on limiting picketing. In return, the CPT plant management had the right to call in office help, draftsmen and foremen, with no production work to be done by them.

As is usual in such cases, the company then called in some men whom the union felt should not be allowed into the plant. The union objects to the Assistant Superintendent and foremen entering the plant, as they are hourly rate men who will benefit by the wage increase just as the workers will.

PICKET HOMES

The union committee devised the idea of picketing the home of every hourly-rate employee who entered the plant, from the Assistant Superintendent down. This certainly proved to be a very effective way of keeping them out of the plant.

At the start, about 44 or 45 hourly men went into the plant. But after house-picketing at only seven members' homes on two successive days, only 15 had the nerve to come to work the third day. We intend to picket these men's homes if they continue to enter the plant.

The neighborhood reaction on home picketing is terrific. In one case we picketed a man who lives in a six-family building. When we arrived at his residence, five men started walking with posters stating: "Chicago Pneumatic Tool Co. on strike. (Name) crossing our union picket line."

Results: the owner of the apartment, a union musician, said that when the man returned home, he would tell him to move. The custodian of the apartment, and all five other occupants of

the building, belong to trade unions. One woman said that if her son had been home, she would have him throw the scab out.

Second episode: We pulled up at another man's home at about 9:30 with our little signs. At about 9:40 he got home. As he pulled into his backyard, words followed. But he did not return to work.

KIDS SHAME HIM

Third episode: Another man arrived home at noon, when the usual parade of children was going home from school. One of the kids asked if that meant he was a scab. "I guess so," he said. But the next day he did not report for work. He did say he would never forget this, he was just like an elephant.

Fourth chapter: Two brothers living in the same neighborhood — a strong union district — for years. Republican ward committeemen, and active in fraternal societies. We started to picket. A squad car went by. "Who is the boss here?" the chief asked. No one answered. "What are you guys, a bunch of communists?" He said that there had been 80 calls about a riot and disturbance on this street. He threatened to run us in. We maintained that we were peacefully picketing, minding our own business. Suddenly he asked what union we were from.

CHIEF CHANGES TUNE

"The International Association of Machinists," we said. The area is strongly organized by the IAM, with over 6,000 workers at Chase National Brass and Addressograph Multigraph Company living in the neighborhood. One of the councilmen is an IAM member. The chief talked different now!

"How about you boys leaving here? You've accomplished your purpose."

"Okay," we said. "After you leave, we'll go."

The chief leaves — we stay about 20 minutes longer, then leave unmolested, "mission accomplished." In the other cases very little trouble occurred. In each and every case, not one of the men returned to work the following day. From 45 employees to 15 is a good breakdown of company morale. Our experience should be worthwhile information for workers on strike wherever they may be.

Bitter 55-Day Strike Won By Timken Steel Workers

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

CANTON, O., March 25.—14,000 workers of the Timken Roller Bearing Co. have forced the company to accept the union's terms. After 55 days of strike, during which this

ed every union-busting trick known — these CIO steelworkers won their victory.

The settlement provided for a general wage increase of 18 1/2 cents an hour retroactive to January 1. A new contract is to be negotiated promptly and until it is accepted by the union, the company-cancelled 1943 contract is to be in effect. The union had proposed this settlement March 6. After 10 days more of strike, the company, convinced that it couldn't smash the union, had to admit complete defeat.

Even before the strike began, Timken launched an all-out union-busting campaign. With a barrage of lying propaganda in huge newspaper advertisements, over the radio and through the mails, the company sought to convince the public that the union had violated the contract (which the company itself had cancelled). Timken howled that it was an open shop and that jobs were available, that the union was un-American and the company was pure and unselfish.

LOANS — FOR SCABS

This company, notorious for the unusually large size of its company police force (all of whom wear guns) and its arsenal, shed crocodile tears for its workers. After they had been out two months, Timken offered all strikers a 25 dollar loan. This move to establish the company's love for its workers fooled no one. When recently returned vets applied for this loan, they were informed they would have to scab to become eligible!

In an attempt to break the picket lines, \$5,000 rewards were offered to anyone whose testimony would bring about the conviction of pickets. Timken based this stoolpigeon offer on

the conviction that some people would testify to anything for \$5,000. Closely following the tactics of GM, Timken attempted to build a back-to-work movement. The covering for this was a demand that a secret vote of the membership be taken on ending the strike. Needless to say this met with no more success than it did in the auto workers' union. Highly publicized back-to-work movements turned out to be a pitiful handful of scabs.

When scabs tried to break the mass picket lines in Columbus they were sent running back to their rat holes. Not even the injunction could break the pickets' determination to keep the plant shut down.

STOOGES FLOP

In Canton the company used stooges inside the union in an attempt to break the strike. A few men, one of whom is up on charges in local 1123, claimed the workers had no confidence in the leadership of the strike and urged that a secret vote be taken immediately on returning to work on the company's terms.

The company's terms were, in effect, no maintenance of membership or check-off, no guarantee of seniority rights, vacations, etc. In other words the company was refusing to offer any terms. These self-proclaimed spokesmen for the strikers had never shown their faces on the picket lines in the course of the strike.

By the time 55 days had elapsed, the profit-swollen Timken Company realized that though it had used every weapon in the arsenal of union-busting, it hadn't found the right one. The fact is there wasn't any way available to conquer the courage and dogged determination of the men on the picket lines.

Report From Florida By Larissa Reed

If you're one of the 17 million American workers who were paid less than 65 cents an hour even during the height of the war production boom; if you're one of the five million who work in sweatshops at less than 50 cents an hour; if you're one of the two million workers driven down to starvation levels of 40 cents an hour, you probably didn't take a vacation in Palm Beach or Miami Beach this winter.

But maybe you will be comforted by knowing that you helped others to take a much needed vacation in that Florida vacation-land. You are certainly entitled to know how these people enjoyed themselves and how they spent the fabulous wealth your sweat and toil provided for them. Bill Cunningham, writer for the Boston Herald, gives some information that helps you peek into the pleasure lives of these rich swine.

"Absolutely nowhere in the world today is there a scene to compare with Miami Beach," Cunningham writes. The war profiteers, speculators, black marketeers, "pulled in here for a little while to seek new strength to take back to the battle." These big Business bandits have so much money that they "throw it around as if it were waste paper." Their women are bedecked in more millions of dollars. "You've never seen so much mink, ermine, and chinchilla, such emeralds, sapphires and diamonds, such beautiful gowns..." But all these expensive furs and gems hardly tickled their bankrolls. They had plenty left over for a real spending spree of fun.

The high cost of food and shelter didn't bother these bloated profiteers very much. No matter how much they gorged, they didn't have to pay more than the current black market prices of \$5 for a steak, \$1 for a cocktail, 50 cents for bread and butter, and so on.

The same with hotel rooms. Hotel prices for the approximately 33,000 hotel rooms are supposedly frozen by the OPA with the top posted price \$37.50. But "this frantic herd will practically bribe the hotel to let them pay extra in order to get in. They'll pay extra for bathing rights, parking rights and similar synthetic

privileges," writes Cunningham, even when they aren't bathers and haven't brought their cars with them.

"They're doing fine at the more aristocratic resorts too. 'Lavish prewar-style parties are back at the pristine headquarters such as Palm Beach. The particular center saw the celebrated butlers' and maids' ball last Thursday, for instance, with the socialites sponsoring, and even attending, as of yore.' Who says the rich don't do anything at all for the poor!

Nights are spent in "lavish night clubs with ornate gambling rooms." Here the money is gambled away that represents the butter, shoes, homes that your wives and kids are doing without. Maybe your wives who can't buy enough milk for the kids will appreciate that. Several of these gambling rooms are known to top a million a night.

It takes "work and even a little perspiration to spend this amount of money in a night! Thus the 'coldly beautiful faces' of the women, not to speak of the brutish faces of their 'sleek breed' of escorts, get warm under the fluorescent lights and the strain of spending money so fast. So while you're sweating long hours every day to pile up the profits of these robbers, maybe you won't feel so bad when you know that their faces in the gambling dens shine, too, 'with perspiration and tenseness.'"

In addition, there are the horse and dog race tracks. These are good places, too, to show off the fancy clothes and pour out the dollars you are grinding out for them. Hialeah track has never dropped below a million a day, Cunningham says, and the bookies take more. Never in all its history, has Florida been "bigger, more glamorous and more expensive and magnificent looking. There are bigger night clubs, more gambling rooms and bigger crowds with what seem to be far greater bankrolls."

Yes, these are the bankrolls of our "best people," of our upper ruling class. These are the bankrolls that you piled up for them in their filthy sweatshops. And, I bet these swine never even sent you a post-card thanking you for what you gave them, and never even said "Wish you were here."