

MINE STOPPAGE MOURNS 111 DEAD

Brewster Links Middle East Oil With War Move

By Joseph Hansen

The ugly word "oil" is being heard with increasing frequency in connection with Truman's demand for \$400,000,000 and U.S. military missions to bolster monarchism in Greece and dictatorship in Turkey.

In hearings March 23 and 29 before the Senate War Investigating Committee, Senator Owen Brewster (R., Maine) directly linked oil with Truman's recently-announced foreign policy. He declared that the effect of Truman's proposals would be to protect the fabulously-rich concessions of the giant American oil companies in the Near and Middle East.

Potential profits from the concessions held in Saudi Arabia by the Texas Oil Co. and Standard Oil of California are between five and ten billion dollars.

"Already," charged Brewster, "the United States government is underwriting these concessions. Private corporations have got them and the government is holding the bag. And our recent move seems to guarantee this position."

ANOTHER OIL SCANDAL

Testimony in the first two days of hearings indicates the Committee is drilling into a pool of scandal that may bring in a gusher like that of the 1924 Teapot Dome investigation. James A. Moffett, former \$110,000-a-year Standard Oil executive, revealed lurid details of how the oil monopolists socked the Navy \$1.05 a barrel for fuel oil during the war. In 1941 this oil was offered at 40 cents a barrel.

"I say they deliberately defrauded the United States government," Moffett testified under oath.

Brewster introduced figures showing how the California and Texas Oil company got \$33,460,000 of the taxpayers' money in this deal, charging the government \$59,879,000 for oil worth \$26,418,000 according to 1941 figures.

But this is only one item in the sordid tale of palm-greasing, profit-gouging, and oil diplomacy unfolded before the Committee. Eight months before Pearl Harbor, when Roosevelt was preparing to plunge the country into World War II, King Ibn Saud, who granted the oil concessions, demanded \$6,000,000 a year in royalties for five years from the Arabian-American Oil Co., which is owned by Texas and Standard of California.

Advances on future royalties to the King already amounted to \$6,800,000. The Arabian-American outfit decided to send Moffett to Roosevelt in hope of tapping the U.S. public treasury for the \$30,000,000.

GOT THE MONEY

Roosevelt said it was impossible to do this through Lend-Lease, but he referred the matter to Jesse Jones, the Federal Loan Administrator. Jones then wrote Moffett that "At the instance of the President and the Secretary (of State) I suggested to the British Ambassador that Britain consider providing King Ibn Saud with such funds as in its opinion were necessary to meet the requirements."

Out of a subsequent loan of \$425,000,000 to Britain, King Ibn Saud got the money he wanted.

But this was only the beginning of government help to the American oil monopolists. Drew Pearson, the Washington columnist, revealed March 28 that "King Ibn Saud gets almost anything he wants. Last summer he wanted a railroad built across the desert from his capital to his summer palace, Riyadh, and sought a loan of around \$10,000,000."

"Ibn Saud got not only \$10,000,000 but \$25,000,000 from the Export-Import Bank." Thus the total "put up by the U.S. government to help protect the oil reserves of two private oil companies was \$55,000,000. This does not count the \$33,000,000 over-

charge for fuel oil to the Navy. "The taxpayers paid for all improvements and investments," said Moffett, "and they (the companies) are sitting there with concessions worth billions of dollars free and clear."

Greek Monarchy Continues Terror Against Workers

By Jean Paul Martin

PARIS, Mar. 21 — Encouraged by Truman's plan to send money, arms and military advisors to Greece, the reactionary Maximos-Tsaldaris government of Athens has launched a vigorous military offensive against the partisans.

All the repressive operations undertaken against the partisans in the winter have failed. Even the Greek capitalist press has been forced to recognize that civil warfare has been extended all over the country.

To better prepare this "spring" offensive, the government is trying to consolidate its position in the towns by carrying out new attacks against the trade union and political working-class movements.

The Maximos government, which was formed on Feb. 13, started its career by announcing a series of so-called "pacifying" measures. But only a few days later it started a new wave of terror in all the big towns of the country. Here is one example reported from Greece:

At 3 a.m. on Mar. 5, the police of Athens moved with considerable forces to cordon off the workers' centers of the town. The police forcibly entered homes, breaking down doors with the brutality recalling the activities of the Gestapo during the German occupation of Greece.

They arrested 571 people. Among them were a number of members of the Trotskyist movement.

120,000 German Workers Protest Hunger Under Allies

In the largest mass protest demonstrations against food shortages since the end of the war, more than 120,000 German workers stopped all but essential services in a number of British-occupied Ruhr cities March 28. On the following day miners from three pit heads stopped work to join a protest demonstration of 8,000 other workers at Dortmund.

The British occupation authorities were reported to be standing by, ready to use troops against the German workers if the protest movement continued.

In Dusseldorf, according to United Press, "an estimated 100,000 men, women and children staged a two-hour protest march in the morning. Later another crowd marched on the British military telephone exchange building, hurling rocks that broke 59 windows."

The Dusseldorf workers paraded in a drizzling rain. They carried placards declaring, "We are hungry," and "We want bread." At Dortmund the workers' banners demanded: "We want action, not words."

Demonstrations likewise occurred in Essen, Solingen, Cologne, Osnabruck, Hagen and Aachen. A representative of the workers in Dusseldorf told officers of the British military government that thousands of the demon-

The Truman Doctrine



Liberals Back Pepper-Taylor Bill As 'Alternative' To Truman Plan

Survey Shows People Oppose Truman Plan

With the Gallup Institute and similar outfits strangely silent about public reaction to Truman's March 12 speech, the chief indication for judging what the people think about it is the mail being received by Congressmen.

The N. Y. daily, PM, last week reported on a survey it had made among 20 Senators from all parts of the country. The survey showed that "aid to the present Greek and Turkish governments is deprecated."

"Virtually all the letter-writers want to help Greece, a few number Turkey."

"Direct military aid is strongly criticized."

An overwhelming majority of the letters want the government to act through UN.

Opposition to the Truman program is strongest in the East and weakest in the South; but even in the South mail "is evenly divided for and against."

Only one alternative has been offered so far in Congress to Truman's demand for authorization to bolster action in Turkey and Greece with U.S. funds and military missions. This alternative is the Pepper (D., Fla.) and Taylor (D., Idaho) bill in the Senate and Blatnik (D., Minn.) in the House.

A correct political estimate of this resolution is important, since it is being backed by the Stalinists and a wide assortment of liberals as the right answer to Truman's latest war moves.

The resolution calls for relief funds for Greece, the U.S. contributing \$250,000,000, the fund to be administered by the United Nations. It excludes military supplies. It calls for an emergency meeting of the UN General Assembly to consider and take action on the Greek "crisis," as Pepper terms it, and "the problems of Palestine, Dardanelles, and Middle East oil."

OIL OBJECTIVES

In presenting the resolution, Pepper explained the objectives of Truman's so-called "doctrine" as follows:

"Bolled down to the dregs, the President's proposal is this. American corporations have big oil interests in Saudi Arabia in the Middle East. The British have oil interests and other interests in many Middle Eastern countries; and the British life line, so-called, leads through the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal on toward India and other British possessions in the Far East.

"The British for centuries have been fighting to keep the Russians out of the Dardanelles and out of influence in the Eastern Mediterranean, Greece, Turkey, and the Middle East. The British are still carrying on that fight, but they are so embarrassed financially that they are having to retreat. They put it up to us to take over their load in this battle.

"We have stepped in and now we are going to defend as strategic areas, Greece, Turkey, the Dardanelles and the Middle East, not only against possible Russian aggression, but against becoming communistic in their domestic politics.

"So we support the Greek and Turkish armies; we maintain a fleet in the Mediterranean; we put up enough money to keep the present Government headed by King George, in power in Greece by enabling it to kill off its opposition by the gun and the bomb; we make it clear that we are committed to the same policy at least in every area of the world which we deem to be of strategic significance. By this logic, tomorrow it may be France

End The Mine Murders!

— An Editorial —

111 more miners murdered for profit!

Killed through criminal negligence of coal barons who blocked elementary safety precautions in the pits.

Killed through criminal negligence of Illinois Governor Green who ignored the appeal sent by the Centralia miners over a year ago, warning of dangerous conditions and pleading to "please save our lives."

Killed through criminal negligence of Washington officials who forced the miners back to work by strikebreaking orders and then failed to enforce state and federal mine safety codes.

The Centralia disaster is the worst since 1928—but death is an everyday affair in the coal industry under capitalist operation. Twenty miners were killed and over 1,000 injured every work week last year!

What must be done to stop these bloody sacrifices?

No miner expects the greedy coal operators and their callous managers to change the present system. Their sole interest is in squeezing profits out of mine labor, regardless of human cost.

Nor can existing state inspection agencies be depended upon to protect the miners' welfare, no matter how strict the laws enacted. Like the state governments, these are under the thumbs of corporate interests.

Nor can the Federal government be relied upon. Truman and Krug have shown they are far more concerned with protecting the properties of the operators than with safeguarding the lives of the mine workers.

For the mines to be converted into secure places of labor, the ruthless incentive for private profit arising from capitalist control over the mines must first be removed. The mine workers must themselves take charge of supervising working conditions and enforcing safety regulations.

That means the mines must really be taken over by the government without compensation to the parasites who have fattened on the blood, tears and sweat of generations of miners. And they must be operated, not by bureaucratic stooges for the operators, but under control of the miners' own union.

Waiting For The Rescue Squads To Bring Up The Miners' Bodies

By George Lavan

WAMAC, Ill., Mar. 28—Tragedy broods over this little mining community. Villages like this in the coal-rich Egypt section of Illinois come to the attention of the outside world only when an event such as the government's breaking of a coal strike or a mine disaster occurs. The disaster struck Tuesday afternoon, three days ago.

Last night 27 more bodies were carried to the surface, raising the death-toll to 79. Thirty-two miners are still unaccounted for. Is there any chance they are still alive? Only their wives and children still have hope. The further down the seven-foot high tunnel the rescue squad moves, the more horribly-burned and mangled are the bodies they find.

CROWD STANDS WAITING

Pressed against the wire barrier, the crowd stands waiting. All eyes are fixed on the wooden tippie which stands out against the threatening sky like a weird pyramid. From this evil looking tippie rises a small column of grey smoke. When the damp, chilling wind changes, people cough and realize the grey smoke is still filled with gas from the explosion.

In the company wash house are these wives, more probably widows, whom neither exhaustion nor pleas of friends can send home. Some have been there for four days and this will be their fourth heart-breaking night of hoping against hope. Above their heads, hanging from pulleys, because the company didn't furnish lockers, is the change of clothing they fear their husbands will never again put on. They sit silently, staring at the children or into space. A miner in the rescue squad says after leaving them, "They're all cried out now."

Subdued conversations take place in the

crowd watching the pit head. A woman with a baby in her arms says she heard on the radio that the Governor is coming down. Last year the men of this mine had appealed to the Governor "to please save our lives" by enforcing the safety regulations. Of the four officers of the local who signed the letter, three are missing down in the mine and the fourth is digging with the rescue squad.

"He'd better not come near here if he knows what's good for him," says a small woman bitterly. A railroad worker, who used to work in the mine and knew the men down below, turns and says, "I'd like to see him come, him and Krug both and drop the cage on them. And that judge with his injunction and his three million dollar fines. Sure, it's the government's mine when they want to bust the strike, but it ain't theirs if you ask them to make the mine safe." A "teen-aged girl with red eyes whispers, "They're just murderers, just plain murderers."

The rescue squad has been working in shifts of eight hours on and eight hours off. They are numb with fatigue. A bigger squad of rescue specialists could be used to spell these men off, but is not available. Only the specialists have the oxygen tank equipment and this afternoon the "fresh-air men," who are without the oxygen tanks, were driven out of the mine by the deadly fumes. Three hours were lost and the shift is going to stay down now till 9 p.m. to make up for lost time. By 6 p.m. the crowd has tripled. Wide-eyed children have worked their way to the front and stand against the wire barrier. Mining-camp children become accustomed to stark tragedy and death at an early age.

Though no word has come from the tunnel at the bottom of the shaft, where the rescue work is going on, the crowd

Government Failed To Enforce Safety Code At Centralia

APRIL 1—The nation's soft coal mines shut down today as 400,000 members of the United Mine Workers began six days of mourning for their 111 comrades murdered in the Centralia mine explosion.

The memorial for the 111 and the protest against the criminal negligence of government officials that led to their death was called by UMW President John L. Lewis on March 29.

"We who are privileged to speak for our dead, and for those pathetic widows and orphans, and for the future safety of our people, challenge this criminal and calloused attitude," said Lewis. "This killing must stop. This debauched administration of mine safety must stop."

"It must be stopped now. The American people must be aroused to the stark realities of the situation and the casualties of the coal industry. Coal is already saturated with the blood of too many brave men and drenched with the tears of too many surviving widows and orphans."

Some 35,000 miners began the memorial a day in advance. This action indicated how thoroughly the miners approve the six-day memorial and agree with Lewis' explanation of the need to throw a spotlight on government failure to enforce safe operating provisions.

CENTRALIA, Ill., Mar. 31—Today is Black Monday in this grief-stricken town and its suburbs. The last of the 111 dead miners has been brought to the surface.

It is now known that at least 14 were trapped and died lingering deaths as the deadly gas closed in on them. Pathetic notes were found on these men showing that their last thoughts were not about themselves but their families, whom they were leaving with no means of support.

One note said only, "Take care of our families." Will the operators and the federal and state authorities, who were so deaf to



JAMES A. KRUG
Secretary of Interior
Accused by John L. Lewis of responsibility for permitting conditions which snuffed out lives of 111 Centralia miners.

the pleas of these same men "to please save our lives" by enforcing the mine safety laws, give any heed to this plea?

Another note read, "D. T. help Elma and Dickie." Still another was illegible save for a single line, "God bless you all."

The tragedy is all the more heart-breaking since it could have been prevented if the Centralia Coal Company had not placed profits above men's lives. It could have been prevented if the state and federal governments had enforced the existing safety code.

This mine blew up last Tuesday afternoon. The surviving miners and rescue squads from all over the state worked frantically till Saturday trying to reach the victims. Their rescue work was hampered by the in-

(Continued on Page 2)

waits patiently, silently huddled together against the biting wind. Finally, there is a movement near the tippie. The new shift is getting ready. Their movements betraying their weariness, these men don their equipment, put blankets on one another's shoulders. These blankets will protect them from the cold as they wait their turn to descend into the mine and will later serve to wrap up the burned and bleeding bodies of their dead comrades when they ascend. Suddenly, with a bang and a rattle the cage drops from the top of the tippie down shaft to bring up the squad being relieved. The cage—so-called although it has no sides and the men must hang on to chains like subway straps—has reached the surface with the first load of rescue workers.

13 MORE DEAD

After the whole shift has been brought up the bodies are hoisted out. In the dusk each person in the crowd counts the times the cage comes up. Thirteen! Thirteen more dead miners brought out tonight! The women from the wash house stand by silently. Some of them hold babies in their arms. The bodies are completely wrapped in blankets. The dead are too badly burned and blown apart to permit the wives to try to identify them. All the victims that cannot be identified will be buried together at a mass funeral. The ambulances load up. In the crowd an infant chilled by the cold begins to wail, the mother makes no attempt to hush it.

The crowd moves back to let the ambulance through on its trip to the garage in nearby Centralia, being used as an emergency morgue. The crowd dwindles. The wives go back to the wash house. They have vowed not to leave until the last body has been brought up. In that way each can be sure that her man is not left alone three miles down in the dark.

Centralia Miners Worked Under Sentence Of Death For More Than One Year, Appeals For Action Show

By George Lavan

CENTRALIA, Ill., Mar. 30 — The 111 miners killed in the explosion deep in the bowels of the Centralia Coal Company's Number 5 mine had been under sentence of death for over a year. This death sentence had been passed by the profit-hungry absentee owners of the mine and the U.S. Coal Mine Administrator. All appeals of the condemned men were denied by the State of Illinois and the Federal authorities.

Conditions at this mine had long been notoriously unsafe. Local 52 of the United Mine Workers had time and again tried to get the company to comply with the federal and state mine safety laws. The mine manager and superintendent flatly refused the local's requests. In December 1945 the local preferred charges before the State Mining Board against the company officials, demanding that their certificates be revoked for flagrant violations of the mine safety laws.

A special investigating commission was appointed. On this commission was a former officer of the coal company, Robert Weir, who led the commission around by the nose. The commission hardly bothered to listen to the men, ignored Local 52 officers and hurried through the mine guided by the very superintendent whose license the union was demanding be revoked. The report of the commission stated that "the complaint sounds a good deal worse than it really is." It refused to act against the company officials.

TERRIBLE DANGER

The men who had to go down into that mine every day knew how real and terrible the dangers were. On March 3, 1946 they sent a letter signed by their four union officers, three of whom are now dead as a result of the disaster, telling the governor what the conditions were, what a mockery the commission's "investigation" had been and pleading with him to intervene before they were killed in an explosion. This was the famous "Please save our lives" letter. It was ignored.

On May 29, 1946 the Federal Government took over the mines including the Centralia Coal Company's Number 5. The agreement signed by Secretary of the Interior Krug and UMW President John L. Lewis dealt with the Federal Government's enforcement of the safety code in the mines it had seized. This part of the agreement reads:

"The Coal Mines Administrator will put this code into effect at the mines. Inspectors of the Federal Bureau of Mines shall make periodic investigations of the mines and shall report to the Coal Mines Administrator any violations of the Federal Safety Code. In cases of violation the Coal Mines Administrator will take appropriate action which may include disciplining or replacing the operating manager so that with all reasonable dispatch said violation will be corrected."

REPORTS ON FILE

The Department of the Interior's CMA knew about the conditions in the Centralia mine for reports on its dangerous state were on file in another section of the Department, in the Federal Bureau of Mines. Yet no action was taken nor any "disciplining or replacing of the operating manager" done by the

CMA as promised in the Krug-Lewis agreement.

A federal mine inspector spent three days, Nov. 4-6, 1946, investigating the mine. This inspector, Frank Perz, found 60 violations of the Federal Safety Code. Still the CMA did nothing. Yet the Krug-Lewis agreement specifically stated: "The Coal Mines Administrator is the exclusive agency charged with the enforcement of this code and the correction of violations thereof."

Five days before the explosion which killed 111 miners, Federal Inspector Perz made another investigation of the mine. It was not ordered by Washington, but was a routine investigation. He found that in the five months which elapsed, 57 of the 60 violations previously noted still existed. Some of the conditions had grown even more dangerous. And in the five months the company had not even received as much as a letter from Washington telling it to correct the dangerous state of the mine.

NUMEROUS VIOLATIONS

To mention only a few of these safety violations: excessive accumulations of coal dust, which is explosive; timbers used as crossbars not provided in the working sections; unsupported loose roof and overhanging ribs and brows; explosives fired with blasting caps and fuses, instead of being fired electrically. The ventilation system supplied enough air for only 100 men, but the company made it do for 135 men.

Working places were not tested for gas; grossly insufficient rock-dusting to prevent coal-dust explosions; open-flame lamps were used instead of electric lamps; bare power wires installed by nailing them to timbers, when all such wires should be insulated and not touch combustible materials. The sides of the cages, in which the men were lowered and hoisted out of the mine, were open.

There were 50 other violations. None of them disturbed the labor-haters in the Department of the Interior the least bit.

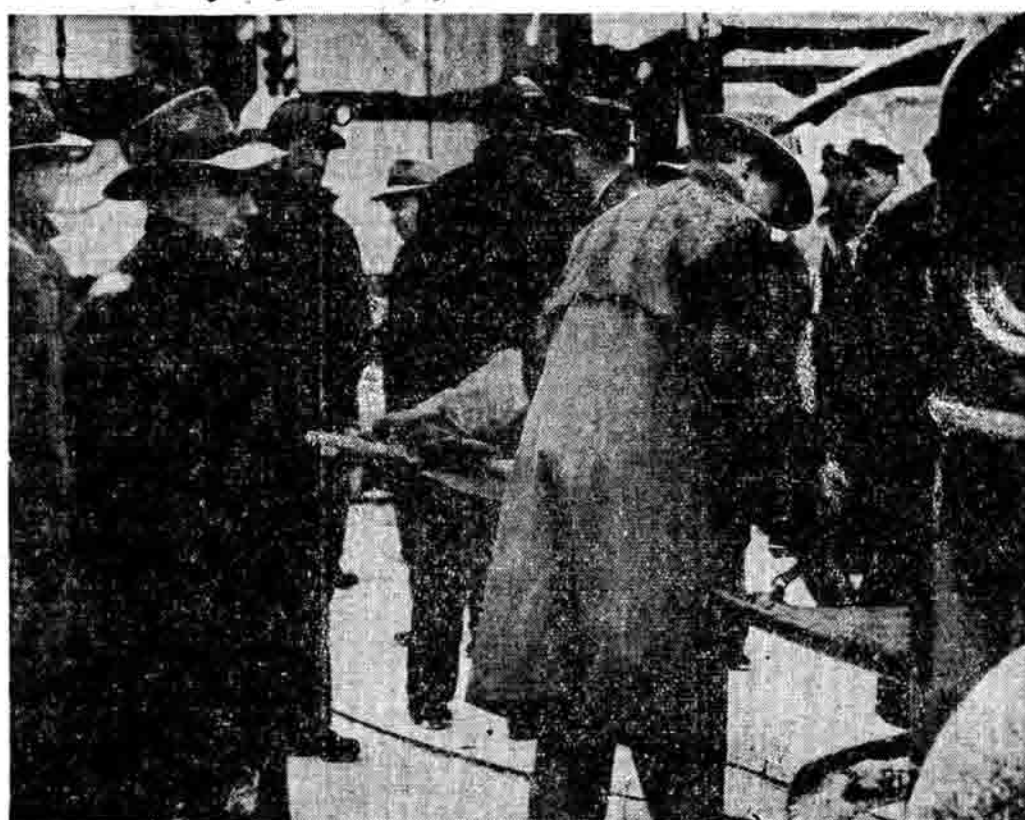
There were so many possible ways the explosion might have occurred that it isn't known yet just which violations proved fatal.

PASSING THE BUCK

In contrast to the state and federal authorities' lack of interest in the appeals of the now dead miners, there are now six official investigations being launched. But let no one think this means a real interest in punishing the guilty and protecting miners still in danger in other unsafe mines. The case has now become a political football. The Democratic politician are trying to pin the blame on the Republicans, and vice versa. The Federal authorities are claiming that they weren't supposed to close unsafe mines they had seized. The officials of the State of Illinois try to cover up their guilt by asking how they could have closed a mine being operated by the Federal Government.

In truth, the operators who swell their profits on the blood of their miners, the state government that conspires with the operators to violate the primary laws of safety and the Federal Government which seizes the mines to break the miners' strikes are all equally guilty. They have murdered 111 workmen. They have widowed 99 women, who have the bleakest of futures now before them. They have left at least 78 children fatherless.

Body Of One Of The 111 Dead Miners



Rescue workers carry the body of a miner from the Centralia, Ill., mine where 111 members of the AFL United Mine Workers perished in an underground explosion last week.

St. Louis Star-Times Photo

Mine Stoppage Mourns 111 Dead At Centralia

(Continued from Page 1)

competence of the State Mine Director, who endangered the lives of the rescue crews by ordering the electric current turned on in the gas-filled mine.

One rescue worker told him, "You're either too damn ignorant or you ain't satisfied with killing them, you wanted to kill us too."

This same state mine department had repeatedly turned down all pleas by the miners' local union to enforce the safety laws. It has now been revealed that this department shook down the coal operators for campaign contributions in return for agreement not to enforce the safety code. The dead miners did all they could to avert the explosion. They appealed to the State Department of Mines, to Governor Green, to their local Congressman, Representative Vursell—all to no avail.

This mine, like all other bituminous mines in the U. S. is officially operated by the Federal Government, and the government was bound by the contract to enforce the safety code. But not a single move was made by the authorities in Washington to save these men's lives. Two routine federal inspections of the mine had been made. The first showed 60 violations of the safety code and the second, five months later, showed 57 of these violations had been continued and even worsened. Still the Federal authorities made no move.

Of the four local union officers who wrote to the governor to "please save our lives" and who visited their congressman to get the Federal Government to save their lives, only one, William E. Rowekamp, recording secretary, is alive today.

In their letter they told Governor Green, "Several years ago after a disaster at Gillespie we saw your picture in the papers going down in the mine to make a personal investigation of the accident. We are giving you a chance to correct the conditions at this mine that may cause a much worse disaster than the one in Gillespie or the one in Kentucky."

The governor had no time for

desperately in a rescue squad. He brought up the bodies of his brother, Adolph, and his cousin John. Two doors away Mrs. Laughmunn and her five children are mourning Fred, head of the family. He had insisted that his four sons never work in the mines. In the 14 homes on this block of S. Cherry St., only five have husbands left.

As the sun rises here in Centralia this morning it starts a black day that will never be forgotten nor forgiven by the coal miners and their neighbors. The whole town is sick with sorrow for men needlessly murdered. Murdered by greedy operators. Murdered by corrupt state officials. Murdered by federal authorities, so blinded by their hate of organized labor that they could not find the time nor the interest to enforce the most elementary safety laws.

Cavalcade Of California Vets Demands State Build Homes

SACRAMENTO, Calif., Mar. 25 — Demanding immediate action to ease the California housing crisis, almost 1,000 veterans, many with their wives and children, converged upon Sacramento over the week end. Cavalcades of automobiles and busses from all over the state made the long trip in an attempt to get action from the state legislature in setting up a large scale low-cost housing program.

The demonstration was organized under the auspices of the Veterans Housing Committee composed of local chapters of the American Veterans Committee, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars and Amvets. This combination is significant since the state officers of the

Strength Of Minority Shown In Los Angeles Area Voting

LOS ANGELES, Mar. 29 — The vote received by two Negro candidates in recent municipal elections of neighboring communities, together with the energetic campaign to elect Dr. Jonathan L. Caston as District 7 councilman in the Los Angeles election on April 1, demonstrate again the strong sentiment for independent political action by minority groups in this area.

Percy Williams Jr., sole Negro candidate for the Pasadena Board of Directors, received 2,000 votes in the district he proposed to represent—double the vote of the incumbent, Milton S. Brenner. However, Brenner was elected by the undemocratic election procedure in Pasadena, which permits the voters of the entire city to elect the representative from each district, although non-Caucasians are practically limited to residence in one district by race restrictive

covenants which cover 82% of the city.

White supremacist forces were thus able to gang up on Williams and give Brenner a total city-wide vote of 14,046, the largest vote received in the election.

In the Santa Monica election, where Rev. Welford P. Carter was the sole Negro candidate, and the first in the history of the community, 49 candidates were in the race for the seven councilmanic posts. Carter received 2,353 votes, coming in ninth and missing seventh place on the council, by 468 votes.

In the Los Angeles campaign the greatest degree of unity of the Negro community ever achieved behind a councilmanic candidate has developed for Dr. Caston. All four leading Negro weeklies for the first time support the same candidate. Caston can be elected by getting out the vote in the East Side and the labor vote in the white neighborhoods on the West Side of the district.

MILWAUKEE

"Labor Can Fight Back"

Speaker:

ROBERT HENDERSON

Sunday, Apr. 13, 8 p.m.

608 South 5th St.

Briggs Meeting Scores Cliques

DETROIT, Mar. 29 — The General Council of Briggs Local 212, UAW-CIO last Saturday unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the unprincipled factionalism in the top leadership of the United Auto Workers which has seriously crippled all the worthwhile activities undertaken by the union during the past year.

"We cannot conduct an effective struggle for higher wages, and against the vicious anti-labor campaign in Congress, unless we unite all of the union's energies behind it," said Ernest Mazey, who introduced the resolution.

"The present factional battle in the union has no basis in programmatic difference, in strategy, etc. It is nothing but a clique fight—to see who will hold the offices of the union, the powers and privileges that go with them."

"It is necessary for the ranks to tell the officers that we disapprove of their squabbling and to call them to order," Mazey concluded.

The text of the resolution, entitled "Factionalism in the UAW-CIO," reads as follows:

WHEREAS: Our union has been torn by sharp internal factionalism continuously during the past year, and

WHEREAS: This factional bickering among the leadership of the UAW more and more reveals itself as a clique struggle for posts and privileges, with no fundamental differences, and

WHEREAS: Every worthwhile project or action undertaken by our union, such as the wage fight, the FEPC, the housing fight and the struggle against anti-labor legislation, has been seriously crippled by their being converted into a battleground of the rival groups, and

WHEREAS: "Red-baiting," use of the boss press, charges and counter-charges have become stock-in-trade of the warring factions, and thus have facilitated the attacks of the employers and their agents upon the labor movement, and

WHEREAS: This unprincipled

factionalism is positively criminal at the present time when the labor movement is under its sharpest attack in decades and with a wage fight on the immediate agenda,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That this General Council of Local 212, UAW-CIO send a wire to the International Executive Board meeting in Louisville, Kentucky, expressing a strong condemnation of the continued factionalism of both sides, and urging the International Executive Board to unite their energies in developing an effective struggle against lynch-labor campaigns of the state and federal legislatures.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That we call upon the International Executive Board to proceed to the pressing of our wage demands in the bold militant spirit of a year and a half ago.

Bay Area SWP Hits Red Drive

SAN FRANCISCO, Mar. 29 — The Socialist Workers Party, Bay Area Local, this week issued the following statement sharply condemning the anti-Red drive now taking place on the national and local scene:

"Although ostensibly aimed at 'Reds,' this drive aims its main blows at the labor movement. For this reason the Socialist Workers Party can only condemn the actions of some sections of the labor movement which have catered to this campaign by expelling or restricting union members because of their political beliefs. Unions that take such steps only lay themselves open for similar attack by the government."

Our Program:

1. Defend labor's standard of living!

A sliding scale of wages — an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!

Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging! Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers' control!

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

For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours — reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!

Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control! Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!

3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-breaking!

No restrictions on the right to strike and picket! No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!

4. Build an independent labor party!

5. Tax the rich, not the poor!

Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes! No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

6. An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!

7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!

End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!

8. For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!

9. A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war.

Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!

Against capitalist conscription! Abolish the officer caste system!

Full democratic rights in the armed forces! Trade union wages for the armed forces!

Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!

10. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!

For the complete independence of the colonial peoples! Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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

I would like:

☐ To join the Socialist Workers Party.

☐ To obtain further information about your organization.

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The Correct Way To Fight Stalinism

Full Text Of Statement Sent By Ruth Fischer

James P. Cannon,
National Secretary
The Socialist Workers Party
116 University Place
New York, N. Y.

My attention has been called to your editorial in the February 15 issue of *The Militant* entitled "Not Trotskyist." I do not intend to discuss the precise meaning of the term Trotskyist, for it seems to me a rather silly and dogmatic approach to an important problem. The fight against Stalinist terror is not the private property of the group organized under James P. Cannon but a vital issue to the millions of Europeans, Russians included, suffering under the lash of the GPU. It is an honor to the memory of Leon Trotsky that these fighters, differing in everything but their will to crush the GPU machine, are termed Trotskyists.

No more do I wish to answer your personal attack on me, for this kind of vicious smear is outside rational polemics. Your Central Committee knows better than most Americans the details of my fight against Stalin for the last twenty years—knows, in particular, that Maslow and I were the only German socialists accused in the Moscow GPU frameups of plotting with Trotsky the assassination of Stalin, and that I am the last survivor of those "trials."

Facts About Eisler

What I consider worse than your attack on me is your utter indifference to instructing your readers on the facts about Gerhart Eisler. Eisler, you say, has been "charged by the FBI with being an undercover agent of the Kremlin," and that is all you have to say on his case. You do not indicate by so much as an innuendo whether you consider this charge to be based on the truth or merely the result of my "serving as a tool of American imperialism." For the benefit of your members and readers, I ask therefore that you print the bare facts of his GPU career.

Eisler became a GPU-man in 1926, when he entered the information service of the Soviet Embassy in Berlin. Uninterruptedly from 1928 on, he served the Comintern branch of the Moscow Politburo in various assignments. Note particularly his performance in 1929-30 in China, where he was sent to liquidate in blood the Trotskyist opposition in the Chinese party. Having thus regained the good graces of Stalin, he maintained his position in the GPU by an uncountable number of crimes, of which his role in the murder of Bukharin and his comrades of his German caucus is the most distasteful. I must explain, it seems, to the simon-pure Trotskyists of the United States that a man like Eisler did not survive the Moscow frame-ups by luck.

Linked to Trotsky Murder

In 1933, during the negotiations concerning the American recognition of the Soviet Union, Litvinov stated that no Comintern agents would be sent to this country; and in part Eisler got his assignment to the United States because he is not a Russian, because his cover as an anti-fascist Austrian refugee has a certain plausibility. The assassination of Leon Trotsky, carried out in Mexico, was prepared in New York, and the men who worked on this assignment had been under Eisler's surveillance.

During the Stalin-Hitler pact, Eisler was interned in a camp at Vernet, France, as a Russian agent. In 1941 he climbed over a pile of corpses of his former comrades into the United States, given a helping hand by the fellow-travelers in Federal agencies. The Communist cell organized in the camp, linked to committees in this country, blocked American visas to all inmates, even party members, who were suspected of insufficient loyalty to Stalin. Among those handed over to, or later seized by, the Gestapo and killed in Auschwitz were former intimate friends and comrades of Eisler.

Danger for Refugees

As your Central Committee knows, I reached the United States only after a terrible fight with the Stalinist apparatus, which, free from your dogmatic prejudices, regarded and regards me as a dangerous opponent to its manipulations in the United States.

This control of the visa machine by the fellow-travelers did not reflect on me alone; Franz and Anya Pfemfert (she was the translator of Trotsky's books into German), for example, got to

the United States only with great difficulty and were not able to remain but had to go to Mexico. There were others: for example, Victor Serge, Babette Grosz (Willi Muenzenberg's widow). On the other hand, not only Eisler but hundreds of GPU agents, literally, entered the United States safely and were allowed to remain. To name a few: Jacob Walcher, Albert H. Schreiner, Alfred Kantorowicz.

Must Expose GPU

When I first learned that Eisler was in this country, I found it hard to believe, for I felt sure that the State Department must have a complete file on him. Eisler's activities here during the war, however, were not inhibited by any legal stricture. Trotsky's book on Stalin could not be printed, and Joseph E. Davies' book was written on order. During these years I undertook, virtually single-handed, the fight against the GPU by publishing a monthly bulletin concerning it, *The Russian State Party*, and preparing a study on Stalin's disastrous policy toward German labor and his contribution to the rise of the Nazis, a book to be published this spring. In the course of this work, I exposed Eisler's status incessantly, but because of the Soviet-American war alliance got no hearing. This became even more urgent with the end of the war, when Eisler, confident of his position in this country, was busy promoting a program of terrorist extermination of the German people.

As your Central Committee knows, thousands of anti-Nazi, anti-Stalinist Germans have been either murdered or kidnapped by the GPU. Deported German workers and prisoners of war serve today to build up the resources in the far reaches of the "workers' state." The Socialist Unity Party is preparing the same terrorist dictatorship for Germany that the Russian people have been suffering under for two decades, and if this plan is completed in Germany and in Europe, American workers will be isolated in a hostile totalitarian world. At the moment the main task in the interest of the world working class is to fight this GPU-ization of Germany and Europe with all the means at our disposal. As Trotsky put it in 1932, Germany is again the key to the international situation. The exposure of Eisler in this country, branding him as Stalin's paid agent before he returns to Germany, is a not unimportant aspect of this battle, in which all who fight Stalinism should join.

Use Every Forum

As your Central Committee knows, Leon Trotsky wanted to accept the invitation (later withdrawn) of the Dies Committee to appear before it. If Trotsky had been able to do as he wished in this respect, would he also have been an "informant," as I am termed in your editorial? Trotsky, unlike certain Trotskyists, recognized that in fighting the GPU apparatus one uses whatever forum is available to shine the light on it. After the unsuccessful attempt on his life, he did all that he could to have Siqueiros and the others brought before the courts of bourgeois Mexico. Before that, he had insisted that the French Trotskyists demand an investigation of Sedov's murder by the French courts. I hear, in fact that your Central Committee joined in a demand, based on the revelations in Budenz's book, for a grand jury hearing. This follows from their previous collaborations with agencies of the bourgeois state apparatus, such as when they joined in a demand that the Nuremberg court investigate Trotsky's case.

How To Fight Stalin

When Eisler returns to Germany, he will carry your editorial in his pocket, to give his GPU cronies a good laugh too. Let your Central Committee rather discuss two principled issues than defend Gerhart Eisler: Is Stalin's Comintern and its GPU avant-garde a workers' organization, to which we owe solidarity? Shall we use the tribunes of the United States to publicize the agents and acts of the GPU, remembering always that this is almost the last country with enough political freedom left to make such an above-ground fight possible?

I have lived through two decades of fighting Stalin, and over and over through these two decades I have watched such immature stupidities as your edi-

BY JAMES P. CANNON

Ruth Fischer's letter, which is published in this issue of *The Militant* with her permission, affords an occasion to present our point of view once again on certain aspects of the complicated and many-sided problem of Stalinism in the labor movement of the capitalist countries, especially in the countries of Western Europe where it is now a burning and decisive question.

A frank discussion among those anti-Stalinists who strive for the socialist goal should help to clarify the issue and thus aid our cause. (Last week's *Militant* carried a correction on the personal references objected to by Ruth Fischer, and she has expressed her satisfaction, so we need not return to that subject here.)

It is known that we are and have been for a long time opposed to Stalinism, or to any conciliation with it whatever. We started on this theme more than 18 years ago and have been hammering away at it ever since. We may have been somewhat remiss in publicizing the Eisler case and this may have been a fault, but the fault sets lightly on our shoulders. In any case, it was not due to sympathy for Eisler or his kind. We have printed plenty on Stalinism in the past 18 years; so much, in fact, that if this single Eisler incident wasn't even mentioned in our press, the score on our contribution to the journalistic struggle against Stalinism would be scarcely affected by a fraction of one per cent.

First And Main Duty

The Eisler case came in the midst of a furious reactionary campaign in Congress to enact anti-labor legislation and infringe upon democratic rights all along the line, and was a dramatic episode in the campaign. Let us make our position clear at the outset. If we concentrated our publicity and agitation on the reactionary campaign of the Republican-Democratic coalition to the neglect of the Eisler case itself, it was because we believe that the greatest and most menacing enemy of the human race is the bi-partisan imperialist cabal at Washington. We consider the fight against war and reaction in the United States to be the first and main duty of American revolutionaries. Those who disagree with us on this point do not understand the reality of the present day, and do not talk our language.

We need no convincing, however, about the danger of Stalinism and the necessity of fighting it, and that includes its gang of GPU killers too. In the face of the record doubts on this score would appear to be unfounded. But the doubts seem to persist. Besides Ruth Fischer, who deserves a serious answer, others, we have learned, took note of our negligence on the Eisler case. The skeptical Jack Weber, for example, came out of his hole on groundhog day—he comes out every year—to accuse us, by our politics, of serving "not to unmask but to abet both Stalinism and the GPU apparatus." (Labor Action, March 17.) That's pretty bad, and if it is really so, all we can answer in exculpation is the following: We didn't do it on purpose. We have good reason to be apprehensive about the GPU, and worse yet, are working out in the open where they can easily keep track of us. It would be very foolish on our part, after thus exposing ourselves to their attacks, to further "abet" them in their murderous work. We wouldn't do that on purpose.

An understanding of the perfidious character of Stalinism is the beginning of wisdom for every



serious, class-conscious worker; and all anti-Stalinists who are also anti-capitalist should try to work together. But anti-Stalinism, by itself, is no program for common struggle. It is too broad a term, and it means different things to different people. There are more anti-Stalinists now than there were when we started our struggle 18 years ago, especially in this country where Stalinism is weak and Trumanism is strong, and they are especially numerous in New York and not all of them are phonies. But very few of the current crop of vociferous anti-Stalinists have anything to do with us, or we with them. That is not because of exclusiveness or quarrelsomeness, either on their part or ours, but because we start out from different premises, conduct the struggle by different methods, and aim at different goals.

Common action for an effective struggle against Stalinism requires, we think, an agreement as to what Stalinism really is, how the struggle is to be conducted, and what the parties to the common action propose to put in its place. Ruth Fischer's letter, if we read it correctly, devotes itself exclusively to the terrorist activities and totalitarian methods of the Stalinists. This is a rather common approach to Stalinism nowadays, but in our opinion it is an incorrect one. We believe it puts the question in too narrow a frame and provides neither an explanation of the monstrous phenomenon of Stalinism nor an adequate program by means of which the revolutionary workers can rid the labor movement of this plague.

Social Base Of Stalinism

Stalinism manifests itself in a totalitarian police state in the Soviet Union and a terrorist apparatus in the labor movement of the capitalist countries. But it is not only that. Stalinism has its social base on the nationalized property of the Soviet Union—the product of the great revolution. It is not the continuator and legitimate heir of Bolshevism, but its antithesis. The Stalinists, a privileged bureaucracy which fastened itself on the Soviet state in the period of its degeneration and decline, had to liquidate in blood virtually the whole generation of the original Bolsheviks, before they could consolidate their power. But despite all the crimes and betrayals of the Stalinists, great masses of radical workers in Western Europe still identify them with the Soviet Union and, in turn, identify the latter with the revolution which gains attractiveness in their eyes the more that capitalism reveals its irremediable bankruptcy. Herein is the main secret of the malevolent influence of Stalinism in the European labor movement.

By far the greatest power of Stalinism derives from the illusion in the minds of the European workers that Stalinism means communism as represented by the great Russian revolution. They want the same kind of revolution, and they will not be freed from Stalinism until they are freed from the illusion that Stalinism can help them to get it. Most anti-Stalinists, especially the professionals, identify Stalinism with communism. This only serves to embellish Stalinism in the eyes of the radical workers, to reinforce their illusions, and to strengthen the position of Stalinism in their midst.

For there is one thing that the workers of Europe have very few illusions about, and that is capitalism. In this fundamental disillusionment lies the great hope for the future. Two world wars within one generation, with their sum total of 40 million dead and uncounted wounded; the wholesale destruction of material culture in Europe; the crises, the unemployment and insecurity between the wars; and the universal hunger, poverty and misery at the end—all this has served to convince the masses of European workers in their bones that they have no further need of the social system which engendered these horrors and promises nothing better for the future.

Looking To Socialism

The workers of Western Europe can see a way out only along the lines of socialism. They demonstrate their will to socialism at every opportunity, as in the revolutionary upsurge following the conclusion of hostilities, in the subsequent

elections, etc. And when they think of socialism, they look to the east, not to the west. They have had victorious "democracy" brought to them twice already in the shape of guns and bombs from America and they don't want a third visitation of that blessing.

How explain the well-established fact that the workers follow the Stalinists in increasing numbers, while the Social Democratic parties are more and more pushed out of the labor movement and obliged to base themselves on a predominantly petty-bourgeois composition? It is absurd to imagine that this result is simply brought about by the terrorist activities of an army of GPU agents. No, the sweeping movement of the masses is to be explained by the fact that they think the Stalinists represent socialism more truly and more militantly than do the Social Democrats. Those who do not take due note of this phenomenon and make it the starting point of their tactical struggle may rail all they please against the Stalinists, but they will not defeat them in the European labor movement.

The illusions of the masses as to the real nature of Stalinism are continually nourished and kept alive by the Stalinist propaganda machines with their perfected technique of demagoguery and mass deception. Stalinism is, first of all, a political influence in the labor movement in the capitalist countries. And it exerts this influence, primarily, not as a police force or a terrorist gang, but as a political party. The fight against Stalinism is first of all, and above all, a political fight. This political fight will never make any serious headway with the radicalized workers—and they are the ones who are decisive—unless it is clearly and unambiguously anti-capitalist from beginning to end. No propaganda that bears, or even appears to bear, the slightest taint of Trumanism will get a hearing from the anti-capitalist workers of Europe. That kind of "anti-Stalinism," which is currently popular in the United States, is absolutely no good for export.

We have no reason to minimize the terrorist apparatus of Stalinism, unexampled in its magnitude and monstrosity in all history. It is a bloody and fearsome thing; we have paid enough in blood to know it. This terrorism must be exposed and fought. We must keep the pitiless light of publicity shining on it. But the exposure of the terrorist activities of the GPU is only one part, important to be sure, but not the most important part of the struggle against Stalinism.

The Same Basic Error

Leaving out of consideration altogether the capitalist demagogues who exploit the fraudulent slogan "democracy versus totalitarianism" for their own imperialistic purposes, there are a great number of people who sincerely hate Stalinism for its violence and terror, its bloody and awful tyranny, its utter disregard for human life and human dignity. But in their revulsion against this horror—which does them credit, no doubt—they fall into the same basic error as that of the Stalinists themselves. They over-estimate the power of naked force. The Stalinists think that violence can accomplish anything, and this fallacy will eventually facilitate their downfall. Many of their opponents likewise imagine that violence and terror are omnipotent, able to repeal the historical laws explained by Marx.

It is wrong to make a fetish of violence and terror, to see only the GPU and not the tens of millions of Communist and Socialist workers in Europe. It is fatally wrong to lose faith in the ability of these workers to overcome their illusions and take their destiny into their own hands. And it is criminal to proceed from these errors—as so many anti-Stalinists are doing in this country—to the dreadful and monstrous conclusion: The destruction of hateful Stalinism must be entrusted to Truman and his atomic bombs.

If Stalinism were merely a totalitarian police state in the USSR and a terrorist apparatus in the labor movement of the capitalist countries, then the struggle against the terrorists by publicity, exposure and any other means at our disposal would be the main, if not the only, task. But the problem doesn't end there; it only begins. The real fight against Stalinism, the main fight, takes place on the political field. That is the way Trotsky explained the question and conducted his struggle. And that is why the Stalinists have always regarded Trotskyism as their most serious and consistent enemy. Trotsky's method must be the model for the revolutionary workers of the present day.

Mass Influence In Europe

The influence of Stalinism today is stronger in France and Italy than in the countries of Eastern Europe which have experienced Russian occupation, and stronger by far than in the Soviet Union itself. To those who are prostrated before the fetish of police and gangster violence, who see the Stalinist police machine ruling supreme everywhere, over a vast domain in the east, this may appear as an astonishing, even as an absurd statement. But it is true and can be demonstrated.

Stalinism has a million members in the party in France, and controls the trade union federation with its six million members. In Italy the number of party members is even greater. In these two countries it appears from all the evidence that Stalinism virtually dominates the proletarian sector of the population, along with a substantial section of the peasantry. From all reports, the Socialist Parties in Western Europe

in France and Italy especially—steadily lose their working-class support to the more radical appearing rival. This tremendous mass influence of the Stalinists is not the result of police measures. In the main it is the product of the illusions of the masses, nourished and reinforced by the demagoguery and deception of the Stalinist propaganda machine.

On the other hand, reports from Eastern Europe, where the first approaches of the victorious Red Army were greeted by revolutionary uprisings and mass acclaim, the workers have already been sadly disillusioned and the moral position of Stalinism has apparently been hopelessly shattered. The conditions are maturing there for the construction of a genuine Socialist (or Communist) party—anti-Stalinist as well as anti-capitalist.

What, then, can be the real situation within the Soviet Union itself, after all the bitter, bloody years? Can the masses still believe in Stalinism? Are there any illusions left? The known reaction of the masses in the occupied territories should give us the answer. The very fact that the terror, instead of mitigating, grows worse from year to year, with the police apparatus swelling to ever more monstrous proportions—all this testifies not to the strength of the Stalinist regime within the country, but to its weakness, to its isolation and lack of mass support. The Stalinist regime in the USSR, isolated from the masses and ruling by terror alone, is weakest at the moment when it appears to be most secure. The strongest assaults of the Nazi military machine proved unable to bring about the downfall of the regime in the USSR from within. And that is convincing evidence, we think, that the Russian masses don't want liberation from accused and hated Stalinism in the shape of capitalist restoration and the colonial dismemberment of the country. But one strong revolutionary demonstration from the outside can bring the whole regime, with all its apparatus of repression and terror, crashing down in ruins.

Task Of The Workers

The salvation of the Soviet Union, or rather what is left of it, from the curse of Stalinism, depends in the first place on a strong revolutionary impulse from Europe or America, or some other part of the world. This impulse will come, we firmly believe, and this will change everything. This task of liberation belongs to the workers. It cannot be farmed out to their class enemies, the Anglo-American imperialist gang, in the hope that somehow something good will come from the greatest evil. To assign the task of liberating the Soviet Union and the labor movement of the west from Stalinism to Truman and his atomic bombs is to renounce faith in the future of humanity, to pass a premature death sentence on civilization.

We must go back to Marx, and reassert and be guided by his affirmation that "the emancipation of the working class is the task of the working class itself." Only on that basis can we make an effective common front against Stalinism and free the labor movement of its malign power and influence. Only on that basis can we see the future clearly and prepare for it.

In a personal letter to me, Ruth Fischer said: "I sincerely do hope that all anti-Stalinist elements of the socialist camp will be able to form a united front in the difficult days ahead." I share this hope and heartily support it as a program, with only one explicit proviso: those whom we count in our socialist camp must be real socialists and not bourgeois agents masquerading as such, not ignoble stooges of Yankee imperialism, not "Truman socialists."

The revolutionary socialist movement in Germany during and following the First World War had to reconstitute itself in mortal struggle against those traitor socialists who had led the German workers into the imperialist slaughter—the "Kaiser's socialists," as they were derisively called. The best hope today for the German workers—and not only for the German workers but for all the workers everywhere, all over the world—is that they will succeed by their own efforts and their own strength in cleansing the labor movement of the influence of both the Stalin "communists" and the Truman "socialists." That is the way to victory and socialism. There is no other way.

This discussion has been necessarily limited to only certain aspects of the complex problem of Stalinism. There is much more to be said, and we hope to return to the subject another time.

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Liberals Back Pepper-Taylor Bill As 'Alternative' To Truman Plan

(Continued from Page 1)

Nations." His contention is that U.S. troops sent out under auspices of the UN to "fight with the other forces of the world trying to maintain democracy" will not be "suspected as being but the emissaries of a new imperialism raising its head above the nations and the peoples of the earth."

In addition, by following this course of using the UN as a mask, "we will get the material and moral help of many other nations."

Moreover, "we will strengthen, instead of weakening the United Nations to meet future crises."

"LEADING PART"

To show how Wall Street's imperialist aims could be carried

out just as well—although more deviously—through the UN as through the direct method proposed by Truman, Pepper pointed out: "The resolution contemplates that we shall, of course, take a leading part in not only helping to formulate the program that the UN might devise, but that we shall, of course, have a leading part in carrying it out, and that we shall be a prominent part of the committee that will be charged with the execution of the program."

Pepper argues that using the UN in this fashion will maintain the peace. "The United Nations," he says, "is the only hope mankind has against the unspeakable destruction of World War III."

Pepper, like Henry Wallace, seeks leadership of the masses who are disoriented and want

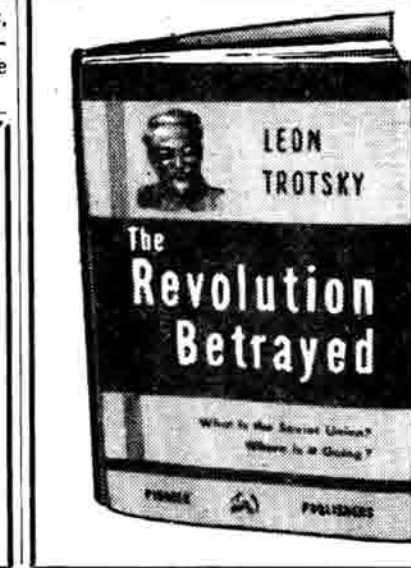
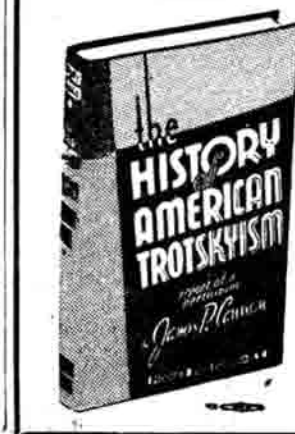
a genuine change in Washington. His purpose is not to organize a Labor Party that would set out to put a Workers and Farmers Government in power.

He wants to prevent that by keeping those tending in this direction corralled in the Democratic Party. In his bid for leadership, he is forced to appeal to their fear of another slaughter and to their well-founded suspicion that Truman's "doctrine" is a long step toward it.

But in painting up the UN as the "only hope mankind has of avoiding war," he plays Wall Street's political game. By centering attention on the UN and building false hopes in what it can do, he diverts the masses from the only real way of preventing an atomic war—that is, ending the rule of the capitalist class and instituting the planned economy of socialism.

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"Partial reforms and patchwork will do no good. Historical development has come to one of those decisive stages when only the direct intervention of the masses is able to sweep away the reactionary obstructions and lay the foundations of a new regime."

Leon Trotsky

The "Loyalty" Decree

Truman's order to purge "disloyal" persons from government employment is a long step in the direction of a domestic spy system patterned on the "internal security" secret police systems of Europe such as the Nazi Gestapo, the Fascist OVRA, and the Stalinist NKVD (formerly the GPU).

By-passing Congress, Truman is trying to ram this poisonous pill down the throat of the American people by executive decree in the style of Hitler or Mussolini.

The sugar-coating on this deadly concoction is the word "loyalty." We are to have secret informers, secret denunciations, and drumhead "Loyalty Boards" under guise of making sure every one of the 2,200,000 government employees holds "unswerving loyalty" to the United States.

What is meant by "loyalty" in the Truman decree can be judged from the fact that the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities are officially made one of the sources of evidence by which a person can be condemned. In the dictionary of this reactionary committee, a "Communist" is "disloyal." And a "Communist" is anyone who differs with the fascist-like ideas of such capitalist politicians as J. Parnell Thomas and John Rankin.

Thus if you are opposed to racial segregation, racial discrimination and the Bourbon poll tax system, you are considered a "Communist" and "disloyal."

If you favor a federal anti-lynch measure or Fair Employment laws, you are considered a "Communist" and "disloyal."

If you favor militant unionism and defense of labor's right to strike, you are considered a "Communist" and "disloyal."

If you oppose Wall Street's preparations for a Third World War, you are considered a "Communist" and "disloyal."

In fact, between the sweeping character of Truman's decree and the sweeping character of this committee's definitions of what constitutes a "Communist" and a "disloyal" person, anyone standing for progress is a candidate for persecution.

Truman's decree for a "loyalty test" strikes at the heart of civil liberties in America. It is the gravest threat to democratic rights since the days of the notorious Palmer red raids after World War I. It foreshadows the rise of fascism in America.

The labor movement must fight this "dangerous thoughts" decree with all its energy and without compromise.

Defend Civil Liberties

Testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities March 25, AFL President William Green opposed any legislation to outlaw the Communist (Stalinist) Party. Such measures, he correctly held, could start off "witch hunts by which many innocents can be victimized."

He added that "There are many who would readily seize upon laws of this kind as a happy means whereby to crush any opposition to their political, social or economic views."

"We are not without those who today conveniently label as communism anything they find disagreeable to them. It is safe to say that should we pass laws outlawing communism, these people would strive with all their power to persecute and prosecute liberal groups in our country."

When Green says that the laws now before the Thomas Committee can start "witch hunts," he is stating an elementary truth. Such laws would only begin with persecutions against the Stalinists. They would quickly be extended to outstanding union militants and eventually include all those who dared to breathe a word of opposition to the reactionary aims of Big Business and their political representatives in Washington.

The savage red-baiting drive now under way is an integral part of Wall Street's general anti-labor drive. The real target is not simply those designated as "reds;" it is the entire union movement.

But Green comes with unclean hands. He has long been a notorious red-baiter himself. He has hounded militants and participated in the campaigns inspired by Big Business to drive "communists" out of the labor movement.

He has conducted the same kind of campaign inside the labor movement that the most unbridled reactionaries are now conduct-

ign in the political field. Just as they are trying to smash civil liberties, so Green has done his utmost to deprive militants of their democratic rights inside the unions.

Thus Green has played the game of Wall Street reaction and seriously weakened the defense of the unions against the current anti-labor drive.

Every worker must oppose with all his energy the proposed measures that would destroy civil liberties. He must at the same time do all he can to force William Green and the bureaucrats like him in both the AFL and CIO to cut out the red-baiting and to launch an effective fight against all the dangerous anti-labor, red-baiting bills earmarked for passage by Wall Street's Congress.

Two More Crimes

Two brutal incidents, both reported March 27, cast a pitiless light on the kind of democracy the war for "Four Freedoms" brought the Negro people.

At Camp Kilmer in New Jersey, Private Townsend Horton was ordered by a white officer to dig a deep hole in the frozen, snow-covered ground with just a tablespoon. He was then beaten unmercifully with a broomstick. His "crime" was allegedly writing a letter to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People requesting aid.

In Birmingham, Ala., Joseph Kirk, a Negro combat veteran, now a member of the CIO United Steelworkers Union, was waiting for a trolley with a friend. Two policemen drove up, arrested him, and threw him into their automobile. There they beat him into unconsciousness and gouged out his right eye. The two cops accused him of "disorderly conduct."

These shocking crimes are only the latest in a long series of beatings, home-burnings, and lynch murders. Unfortunately, it can be predicted with assurance, they will not be the last.

Terror against the Negro people is part and parcel of the capitalist system in the United States. It grows worse as this capitalism grows older and more vicious. It can be finally stamped out only by ending capitalism.

Let the wrath of the workers of all colors over these unspeakable crimes not be wasted in silent indignation. It is necessary to set out seriously to end the rotting society that fosters such unspeakable crimes and build the clean new world of socialism where human brotherhood will rule. And that means as the first big step, building the revolutionary socialist party.

Truman And The UN

With rubber-stamp approval virtually assured in Congress for Wall Street's imperialist designs in Greece and Turkey, the White House is now supplying face-saving formulas for having by-passed the UN.

Most shocking to the liberals was Truman's brazen disregard of the UN. This action was no blunder committed in haste, but a calculated step. It underscored the determination of the decisive section of the American capitalist class to force a showdown with the Soviet Union. It was timed to bring maximum pressure on the Kremlin at the Moscow Conference for concessions to Wall Street.

The liberals can stomach Truman's aims but they find it difficult to swallow the brutal method of openly bolstering reactionary regimes abroad and of openly launching war moves against the Soviet Union.

The hand of Wall Street is too nakedly exposed for their comfort. Even worse, the United Nations, which they proclaimed as the only hope of mankind in preventing a Third World War, is revealed as utterly ineffective. The announcement of the Truman-Marshall Doctrine had the same effect on the UN that a bayonet point has on an over-inflated toy balloon.

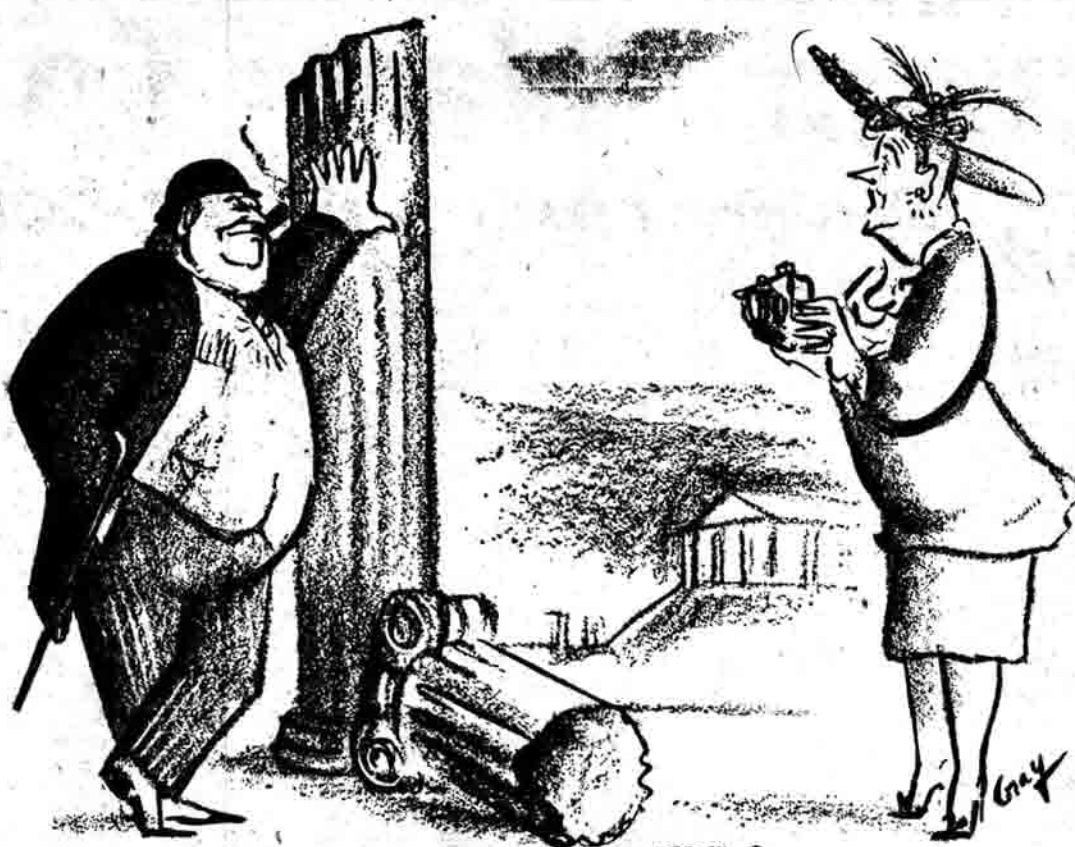
Consequently, while making clear that they agree with Truman's aims, they have centered a good deal of fire on his by-passing the UN.

Truman's first move to meet this barrage was a telegram to UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie on March 25, the first anniversary of the first UN meeting in this country, declaring that "The United States in all its acts seeks to add strength to the United Nations and to give effect to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter."

This was followed three days later by a statement by Warren R. Austin, U. S. Representative on the Security Council. This official statement, prepared in consultation with Truman, followed the line worked out by Republican Senator Vandenberg to meet the criticism about by-passing the UN. A few days after Truman's speech, Vandenberg proposed that Truman "inform" the UN of the plan to move into Greece and Turkey, keep the UN "informed" at every step, "emphasize" that the moves are aimed "to protect the sovereign rights of those countries," that Washington is "acting to maintain peace and security," and that "these objectives are precisely the objectives of the United Nations."

How successful these and similar gestures will prove in patching up the badly-damaged prestige of the UN in the eyes of the liberals remains to be seen. How keeping the UN "informed" about Wall Street's war moves abroad can be taken as "strengthening" the UN as an instrument of peace would seem difficult even for the blindest liberal to accept.

For class-conscious workers, the by-passing of the UN only confirms once more what The Militant has pointed out since this revised edition of the League of Nations was first projected. The UN, we said, is nothing but a cover for Anglo-American imperialism. It cannot bring enduring peace. It can only help pave the way to World War III just as the League of Nations helped pave the way to World War II.



"Don't you just love this ancient Greek culture? And to think, it's all OURS!"



THE GREAT PRISONERS, selected and edited by Isidore Abramowitz. E. P. Dutton & Co. 879 pp., 1946, \$4.95.

From Socrates to Odell Waller, the great prisoners of the world are represented in this anthology. A collection of their writings is accompanied by brief reviews of their lives and times. There is one glaring omission, however, that of Leon Trotsky who during his lifetime spent many years as a prisoner, contributing a good deal to world revolutionary thought.

Poets, saints and kings, as well as revolutionists, are gathered together here under one literary roof. John Donne, Jeanne d'Arc, Charles I, Anne Hutchinson, Honore de Balzac and Dreyfus occupy pages in the same book with Debs, Sacco and Vanzetti, Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin.

Odell Waller's Dying Statement is the most touching piece in the book. An obscure Negro sharecropper, Waller was executed in 1940 during the administration of that great "friend of the colored people"—Roosevelt. The death sentence followed trial by a poll-tax white jury. This "legal lynching" became a symbol of the tragedy of the sharecropper system.

In the statement written just before he was put to death, Odell Waller struggled to find words to express why "I worked hard from sunup until sundown trying to make a living for my family and it ended up to mean death for me." This poor, uneducated farmer, whom some would call "ignorant," penned an eloquent conclusion to his dying words: "The penitentiary

all over the United States are full of people who (who) was pore, tried to work and have something, couldn't, so that made them steal an rob... While they are in prison for life that's what happens to the poor people. I won't say any more."

The famous words spoken by Eugene V. Debs, before the court which sentenced him to prison for his opposition to the first Imperialist World War, are reproduced here: "... while there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free." And the stirring words of Bartolomeo Vanzetti before his death are included: "Our words—our lives—our pains—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish-peddler—all! That last moment belongs to us—that agony is our triumph."

The memoirs of Toussaint L'Ouverture, leader of the revolt of the slaves in San Domingo are reprinted here. So also are the letters and writings of such Irish rebels as Charles Stewart Parnell, Michael Davitt, Padraic Pearse.

In this reviewer's opinion, the anthology's editor is sometimes guilty of choosing unimportant and insignificant writings of the prisoners. Such political figures as Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg are represented with personal letters written on such subjects as receiving the wrong underwear, timidity and birds, rather than by excerpts from the great revolutionary works they penned while in prison.

—Winifred Nelson

THE BEST OF ART YOUNG, Vanguard Press, 1936, 181 pp., \$4.

Art Young can be described as the greatest of the radical cartoonists of the past generation. He started out, however, as a Republican, drawing advertising cartoons for a Chicago wholesale grocery house. From this he went on to draw for the capitalist newspapers, covering the trial of the anarchists in the Haymarket affair in 1887 for the Daily News.

In 1904 Young undertook serious social studies in New York's Cooper Union university and became a radical. After this, his days of earning money very easily were over. But he felt compensated for this through his attacks on social conventions and the tyranny of wealth.

During the First World War he was one of the four editors of The Masses who were placed on trial for conspiracy to obstruct the draft. He wanted to get up and say "I hate war," but was dissuaded from this by his lawyers and lost interest in the trial. John Reed was one of his co-defendants.

The drawings in this book are not confined to politics but include what he calls "jokedrawing." Many of his drawings could be run today without seeming dated, such as the prisoner who was persuaded to "come clean," after a little session of police brutality. Young took a particular delight in exposing the prostituted capitalist press, and inveighed strongly against child labor which was particularly infamous in his day.

—Al Lynn

Congressmen At Work

Righting A Great Injustice

If you were one of the unemployed evicted for non-payment of rent during the great depression of the Thirties and had to move into a Hooverville — those packing-box residential areas which appeared near the city dumps of most big towns in America at that time — you will undoubtedly be touched by what the House of Representatives did on March 6 to right a grave injustice done to the eminent citizen after whom the Hoovervilles were named.

It seems that besides the depression villages, the world's biggest dam was likewise christened in honor of President Herbert Hoover. "Then suddenly, and without warning," explained Rep. Herter (R., Mass.); "its name was changed."

Rep. Sabath (D., Ill.) explained why. "Unfortunately... as a President... (Hoover) did not please the American people." Consequently when Roosevelt went into office in 1933, Secretary of Interior Harold L. Ickes crossed out Hoover's name and wrote in a different one for the dam.

Rep. Brown (R., Ohio) denounced the new name "Boulder Dam" as "a name which has no significance — a dull lifeless name." But the rank "injustice" done Hoover was even worse than the loss of the significance, zip and vitality his name bestowed on the huge dam. In Brown's opinion it was such a burning injustice it could be righted only by immediate passage of "House Joint Resolution 140, to restore the name of Hoover Dam."

The urgency of this bill can be judged from the fact that the powerful Rules Committee reported it out ahead of housing, FEPC, social security and similar legislation the people are clamoring for.



Brown described what a noble man Herbert Hoover is: His "life is the story of the typically American way to success" from "son of a village blacksmith... to the Presidency of the United States."

Rep. Vorys (R., Ohio) told how Hoover "combined a great heart with a keen mind and... deep spiritual background and broad human sympathies."

Rep. Rankin, Democratic poll tax spokesman for the Southern lynch-minded Bourbons and one of the outstanding authorities in Washington on how to tell "loyal" from "disloyal" Americans, enthusiastically backed the bill, vouching that "No intelligent man has ever accused Herbert Hoover of being tainted with un-Americanism."

Rep. Halleck (R., Ind.) reported how Hoover had borne up during the terrible years when people called the famous structure "Boulder" Dam. "He holds no bitterness. He does not seek revenge upon those who vilified him. He does not seek glory, public acclaim, or monetary reward. He does not ask that this dam be made possible be named after him. With that same quiet dignity that he retired from public office, he seeks only to serve the country he loves."

Rankin thought that Congress shouldn't "wait until Mr. Hoover

ver dies to pay him this compliment." And Rep. Bender (R., Ohio) quoted a moving poem about telling people now if you like what they're doing and not waiting "Till the priest makes his oration and he lies with snowy lilies on his brow."

"For no matter how you shout it, He'll not know about it, For he cannot read his tombstone When he's dead."

Dirksen (R., Ill.) recalled the legend of how Emperor Justinian had his name chiseled on the cornerstone of a "great mosque" to the "glory of his own god." But "angels came from heaven and erased the name Justinian and substituted the name St. Sophia." Dirksen drew the moral: "Today the Congress becomes a gracious angel to erase one name and to substitute another..."

The opposition to this battery of gracious Congressional angels was feeble to say the least. Rep. Murdock (D., Ariz.) said he could not "enthusiastically endorse" it. However, "I want to honor ex-President Hoover today."

Rep. Fernandez (D., N. Mex.) offered an amendment to "designate it as the 'Hoover-Boulder Dam,'" thus retaining enough of the present name to please those who still don't like Hoover and his depression.

But this straddle over a "great wrong" got no response. Disdaining to take a vote, the House slapped the measure through. At the polls last November, the Republicans got a mandate to end injustice wherever they find it, and as can be seen from this example, they intend to do their duty.

Now how about getting a new name for the Hoovervilles of the next depression?

MacArthur Prepares More Anti-Labor Edicts

With a general election scheduled to take place in Japan this month, General Douglas MacArthur is preparing to again crack down with all his might on the fast-growing organized labor movement. Despite his order which broke the Tokyo general strike scheduled for Feb. 1, the "union situation has been growing worse since last fall," according to a Mar. 31 dispatch to the N. Y. Times. By this it is meant that the Japanese labor movement continues to militantly defend its rights and standard of living.

The answer to this militancy, "in the opinion of certain high-ranking officers of the occupation forces," is to jam through vicious anti-labor legislation, "limiting the tenure of office of union officers and possibly demanding publicity for union financing," and barring union members from political activities.

In little more than a year, 4,400,000 workers have joined 17,000 unions in two big federations, according to the Mar. 24 Time magazine. The most powerful is the National Congress of Industrial Unions (Japanese equivalent of the American CIO). Before the war organized labor numbered at most 400,000, and belonged to the National Federation of Labor Unions (NFLU), which has been revived in the past year.

What MacArthur and his puppet Yoshida government fear is the spread of such revolutionary actions as the one described in the above issue of Time by the small Pilot Workers Union. Last summer, with inflation soaring the small union which had organized the Pilot Fountain Pen Company asked for more wages and a formal contract. In reply the company fired eleven union leaders. The union had no treasury with which to conduct a strike, and picketing was impractical because many bombed-out workers lived in the plant.

Undaunted, the union initiated a new type of strike called a "production control strike." Instead of walking off the job, the union members "kicked the management out." They set up a 30-man committee, divided just as management had been divided, into departments—production, sales, electric power. Then they stepped up production, used receipts to pay wages and buy materials."

The union posted notices for the bosses: "To the Management: If you should come to the factory, please keep to the Board Room and do not come to any factory buildings." The strikers kept producing pens and ink all through the fall months. They "did not swing toward American-style action until the company tried strikebreaking." In the end the crestfallen and "homesick executives came back. They gave the union everything it asked."

Full Freedom Not Won In Dutch-Indonesia Pact

"The Indonesian man in the street, like the 50,000 who gave Premier Sutan Sjahrir a delirious ovation yesterday, now thinks the Dutch are 'out' and that the republic immediately has its own ambassadors, consuls and free trade — in other words, complete independence. These people have a shock coming to them."

In these blunt words, a Mar. 27 dispatch from Batavia to the N. Y. Times reveals the real character of the Cheribon agreement signed last week by the Dutch and Indonesian representatives. Immediately after the agreement was signed, Dr. H. J. Van Mook, Lieutenant Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies, stated that the agreement "may not stop the shooting for a long time in Java, but we hope to get it on a more friendly basis."

The Dutch also warned that the present restrictions on Indonesian trade would remain and the economic blockade continue. They "promise" to seize a shipment of American automobiles en route to Java on the steamship Flying Cloud. Military occupation of the Modjokerto area continues.

For over a year the Indonesian people heroically defended their young Republic against the savage warfare unleashed against them by Dutch and British troops, armed with American-made bombs, guns and planes. Unable to crush the Republic by force, last fall the Dutch imperialists were compelled to negotiate with the heads of the Indonesian Republic.

Right after the agreement was signed, Dr. Van Mook cynically declared that the Dutch will only "endeavor" to create a United States of Indonesia, as a partner under the Dutch crown, by 1949, but that the "realization of the political aims by this date cannot be guaranteed." Meanwhile the Dutch are pushing for a "quick return of non-Indonesians to their properties in the interior" and the disarming of the Indonesian defenders of the Republic.

10,000 Slain For Asking Self-Rule In Formosa

An estimated 10,000 people in Formosa were massacred by order of the bloody dictator Chiang Kai-shek in the past month. The killings and arrests still continue, according to a Nanking dispatch on Mar. 29 to the N. Y. Times. Many Formosans are reported to have fled to the hills, fearing they would be murdered if they returned home.

The people of Formosa had asked for self-government; they wanted an end to the corrupt and brutal rule imposed on them by foreign monopolists and military despots. General Chen Yi, governor of the island, answered them by unleashing a full scale reign of terror "after unarmed Formosans took over the administration of the town peacefully on March 4 and used the local radio station to caution against violence."

When Chiang's troops, rushed from China to Formosa, arrived on March 7, the wholesale slaughter began. For three days there were indiscriminate mass killings and looting. Homes were broken into and the occupants murdered. In the poor sections the streets were littered with dead. Men were beheaded and mutilated, women were raped.

The murderous orgy swept through every town. In Takao, Chiang's troops from an outlying fort "deployed through the streets, killing hundreds with machine guns..." Foreign witnesses, who fled from Formosa to China, reported that Formosan leaders were executed, thousands thrown into prison, many bound with thin wire that cut deep into the flesh.

These witnesses also reported that leaflets, signed by Chiang and dropped from airplanes, promised leniency and urged all those who had fled to return. As a result, many Formosans were tricked into coming back only to be imprisoned or murdered. The massacre is described by these witnesses as "completely unjustified" in view of the peaceful nature of the demonstrations.

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.

Holds Gov't Violates Clayton Anti-Trust Act

Editor:
Ray Morkowski, President of the San Diego CIO Council, and 14 others, members of Local 36, CIO International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America, went on trial March 26 in U.S. District Court in Los Angeles. They are charged with violating the anti-trust laws.

This in effect proves that the United States Government is no more averse to breaking one of its own laws to throttle labor than using "legal" means. For the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, passed in 1914, states in its fourth provision: "Labor unions and farmers' organizations are not to be considered as combinations in restraint of trade."

D. M. Steelquist
San Diego, Calif.

Thinks Lenin Would Like 'Militant' Edit

Editor:
Please accept my congratulations on your editorial "By-Passing the UN" in the Mar. 15 Militant.

The power and simplicity of this editorial could not be improved upon. The worker in the shop need not wade through a maze of diplomatic and formal phrases to get the plain undiluted truth. Fortified by humor, the strength of its simplicity is a relief to the tired shop worker.

The great and plain-speaking Lenin would appreciate this editorial for American workers.

Genora Dollinger
Flint, Mich.

Campus Red-Baiting Impression Corrected

Editor:
When you quoted from my recent letter to the Workers Forum, an error must have crept in which calls for rectification. You stated "It's becoming an offense to be seen reading The Militant on the campus."

Though I do not recall the precise words I used, I certainly did not desire to appear as an alarmist where the situation, strictly speaking, did not warrant it. To be sure, the red-baiting drive is gaining momentum throughout the country, on the campuses as well as among the organized workers and in the political field. At the University of Wisconsin, however, there has been no attempt as yet to outlaw any of the organizations which, for one reason or another, might come within the scope of the rampaging red-baiters.

That these soundbites might well begin a witch-hunt soon is definitely not excluded. In that event, I have no doubt that reading The Militant, or in any way "preaching" Marxist doctrines, will be an offense against



the "free enterprise" system, ad infinitum, ad nauseum.

Already, in the Wisconsin State Legislature a bill has been proposed to that very end. Some two-bit politician named Gettelman is reviving what appears to be almost an exact replica of the old criminal syndicalism laws. Whether his bill will become law is not yet certain. So far, a few voices have spoken out against it.

In the meantime, keep up the good fight against the reactionaries, red-baiters and 100 per cent flag-wavers everywhere.

You were right and John L. Lewis was wrong when you put the Supreme Court in the same category with the rest of them, and Lewis deceived himself—and above all, the miners—with the idea of the so-called impartiality of the men in the Black Robes. They're all cut out of essentially the same pattern. In many places they're gagging the students already; in some states they've rushed through anti-labor laws; and in Congress they're evidently planning to cap it all.

S. T. Madison, Wis.

Considers Heckling With Frozen Peas

Editor:
Here is more proof that the frozen food packers are running a lot of well-chilled garbage across retail counters. At the first national convention of the Association of Frozen Food Packers, held in San Francisco, March 19, Frank E. Jerome, vice president of the First National Bank of Seattle confessed to "large quantities of inferior merchandise being thrown on the market."

Even this tight-fisted banker thought that "some of the existing stocks should actually be dumped now."

Since these packers are not dumping their frozen garbage, but passing it on to the public, the industry expects a kick-back. "The frozen food honeymoon," said Jerome, "is now at an end."

So far as I am concerned, that last crack of Jerome's can be put down as an understatement. I would like to have been within heckling distance of this Seattle banker when he unwrapped the last package of frozen peas we took a chance on.

J. H.

Holds Over-Population Is Cause Of Misery

Editor:
In your issue of Mar. 15, Mr. Joseph Hansen says: "Under world-wide planned economy mankind for the first time would achieve complete freedom from want."

Do not deceive yourself. Let me tell you this: As long as the world remains over-populated, no economic system can be devised that will alleviate the distress of the masses.

If the present birth rate continues unchecked, this country is headed for a devastating famine such as has stricken the teeming multitudes of Asia in past times.

I recommend abandonment of your present 11-point program, and substitution of the following:

For smaller families among the working class. Not over three children to a couple. Instruction in the use of contraceptives.

No more immigration. Close the doors to inhabitants of other countries.

When the population of the United States is reduced to 100,000,000 it will be time to reinstate your present program.

Ross W. Gilbert
Oakland, Calif.

Rain Fails To Stop Phila. Distribution

Editor:
Last Thursday an FEPC rally was held which we had planned to cover with a distribution some time in advance. But Thursday evening turned out to be stormy.

Nevertheless all seven comrades who took the assignment showed up—on time. Despite the hammering rain, we sold 76 pamphlets (A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow and Build A Labor Party Now.)

Comrade Betty of the Youth group led with 25 sales. She was closely followed by George, also a Youth Group member who sold 17. Comrade Pauline some 12, and Elsie (who claimed she did not know how to sell) chalked up 13.

Like the famed mail man, the revolutionists "go through—rain or shine."

R. Oliver
Philadelphia

Salutes "Militant" For Courage, Honesty

Editor:
May I take this opportunity to salute you for your steadfast stand on the side of labor and against the capitalist oppressors of humanity. Yours is a paper of fearless courage and idealistic honesty.

George R. Stryker
Bayport, N. Y.

Diplomatic Haggling At Moscow Conference Forces More Secret Allied Deals Into Open

By Joseph Hansen

In seeking the best possible positions for World War III, the diplomats at the Moscow Conference were forced into moves they may not have anticipated when they began this latest round of power politics. By the time these moves had run their course, a few more of the shameful secret deals made by the Allied powers in World War II were out in the open for the whole world to see.

To bolster Kremlin demands for reparations, Foreign Minister Molotov, on March 17, released another clause of the rotten secret deal made by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin at Yalta in February 1945. On March 24, the State Department, undoubtedly to take the initiative away from Molotov, published what they claim to be the rest of the high-smelling, under-cover horse-trades made at Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam.

The secret clause bared by Molotov calls for reparations of 20 billion dollars to be wrung



CHURCHILL

that at Tehran the Big Three tried to get Turkey into the war. Yet only three days before the release of this secret clause, the same State Department passed out "official documents" maintaining that Turkish neutrality during the war was more desirable to Allied interests than belligerency. These "official documents" are designed of course to paint the reactionary Turkish regime in favorable hues now that Wall Street has decided to bolster it with American dollars and American arms.

Another item agreed upon secretly at Yalta and again at Potsdam was revision of the Montreux Convention governing the Dardanelles. The language on this point is ambiguous; apparently the Kremlin was promised control over this strategic water way.

At Yalta the Allied chiefs agreed on the "dismemberment of Germany," and at Potsdam they agreed to split up the German merchant marine "equally" three ways.

VERY CLEAR

The language of one of the secret clauses of the Potsdam agreement shows with unusual clarity what these statesmen considered the war was being fought for. This clause declares that removal of the property of Allied "nationals" (capitalists) would mean the "consequent loss of markets and trading connections." It calls for "compensation" to these "nationals" for any losses "and that such compensation have priority equal to that of the reparations payment."

For reparations taken out of current production where Allied "investments" are involved, the Allied capitalists shall not only be compensated but also receive "a reasonable return on their investment." And as a final fitting touch, "We deem it essential that satellites not conclude treaties, agreements or arrangements which deny to Allied nationals access, or equal terms, to their trade, raw materials and industry."

The State Department officially announces that now "every word and piece of punctuation" used by the Allied chiefs at these three meetings has been made public. However, the record up to now indicates that no confidence can be placed in this assurance.

At Yalta, for instance, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin solemnly proclaimed that no secret agreements had been reached outside of strictly military decisions. Those familiar with the ethics of capitalist politicians and their agents took this declaration as a certain sign the secret deals were of unusual importance.

The State Department revealed

NEWARK

MILITANT LABOR FORUM
Fridays at 8:30 P.M.
April 4 to May 16

AMERICA'S SOCIALIST FUTURE
OUT OF THE PAST—America's Revolutionary Traditions
APRIL 11 WM. F. WARDE

"BOOM AND BUST"—Rise and Decline of U.S. Capitalism
APRIL 18 JOHN G. WRIGHT

THE RISE OF AMERICAN LABOR—Unions in the Epoch of Capitalist Decay
APRIL 25 ART SHARON

NEGROES AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT—The Struggle Against Jim Crow
MAY 2 JOE MAGLENO

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY—Role of Socialist Workers Party
MAY 9 GEORGE CLARKE

AMERICA'S SOCIALIST FUTURE—What Socialism Will Mean for U.S. Workers
MAY 16 JOSEPH HANSEN

423 Springfield Ave.
\$1 for series 20c per lecture

BROOKLYN
"The Coming American Revolution"
Speaker:

George Clarke
Organizer, SWP Local N. Y.
Thursday, April 10, 8 p.m.
635 Fulton St.

privileges in Manchuria. This deal was made without bothering to consult the Chinese government. The opinion of the victim did not interest the bandits haggling at Yalta, even though China was listed as an Allied power.

As one secret protocol after another came to light, the Allied statesmen assured the public again and again and again that all was now public and there were no more secret clauses. On June 7, 1945, for instance, Winston Churchill, when asked about suspected secret deals at Yalta, coolly responded: "There were no secret agreements entered into at all."

Even if all the secret deals that were written down at Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam are now public, this would change little. Who knows how many secret deals, made behind the backs of the people, at Quebec, London, Paris, or for that matter over the telephone, remain locked from the public in the State Department files? Who knows how many new secret pacts are being hatched right now at Moscow?

Since Stalin himself took part in these conspiracies, it is not surprising that the Communist (Stalinist) Party backs them up. The Mar. 20 Daily Worker calls them "solemn agreements America made during the war..."

It terms the monstrous reparations deal a "pact we made in good faith." The American people were never consulted about these "agreements." Congress never passed on them, in fact, never discussed them. They were so criminal in character that the participants were afraid to even make them public. Yet the Stalinists try to make it appear that the American people are bound by them!

Why did the Allied bandits resort to secret diplomacy during World War II? The motive is



ROOSEVELT

now clear beyond reasonable dispute. Their sordid, reactionary war aims were the exact opposite of the noble deals they dished out for public consumption.

In the text made public at the time of the Yalta conference, for example, these liars speak about the "principle of the Atlantic Charter—the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live..." Yet they were actually redrawing the map of the world, dividing up the plunder, agreeing to establish slave labor, dismember Germany, and set up an unholy alliance at the expense of the oppressed masses of the world.

Each revelation confirms all over again what the Trotskyists said about World War II when it broke out—that it was an imperialist war marked by secret diplomacy and waged for redivision of the world market, for colonies, for profits, and for booty.

NEW YORK

Militant Chorus Rehearsals
Next Rehearsal
Monday, April 7, 8 p.m.
(For May Day Meeting)
116 University Place
"Militant" Readers Invited

NEW YORK MARXIST LABOR SCHOOL

THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION
FRIDAYS—at 8 p.m.

3—"BOOM AND BUST"—The Rise and Decline of American Capitalism
April 4 Speaker: John G. Wright

4—THE RISE OF AMERICAN LABOR—Trade Unions in the Epoch of Capitalist Decline
April 11 Speaker: Art Sharon

5—THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN THE U.S.—Role of the Socialist Workers Party
April 18 Speaker: George Clarke

6—AMERICA'S SOCIALIST FUTURE—What Socialism Will Mean for the American Workers
April 25 Speaker: Joseph Hansen

116 University Place at 13th St.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Pittsburgh's Success In Six-Week Sub Drive



Pittsburgh Branch of the Socialist Workers Party achieved good results in a fast six-week sub campaign. "I think you'll be interested in hearing the results of our six-week drive to get subs to The Militant," writes Justine Lang, Literature Agent. "You'll remember we had a quota of 25 new and renewal subs. Here's our score. A total of 33 subs, or 132 per cent of our quota. Not bad, is it? We expect to continue selling subs in the vicinity of our headquarters for the next period, and possibly motivate another drive for 50 subs."

At the half-way mark of Flint's subscription campaign, El Snyder, Militant Director, lists the Pace-Setters in the branch. Comrade Snyder tops the list with 31 subs, Jerry Kirk follows with 24, Sidney Bannan with 20, Jeannette Kirk—20, Linda McCauley—13, Douglas Snyder—12, and Henry Robinson—9.

Fred Martin, Milwaukee Militant Manager, has requested that we "increase the bundle of Militants for the Milwaukee Branch to 100 copies a week until further notice." He says, "We can use them for our sub drive and for an anti-Kersten and McCarthy campaign that we are organizing in Milwaukee."

A request for "200 sub cards as soon as possible" accompanied 12 subs sent in by Charles Carlson, Militant Agent for the Buffalo Branch.

Rena Breshi, Literature Agent for Boston, says that because she was ill and could not go door-to-door Sunday for subs, she does not yet know the results obtained by the other comrades. However, she reports the following incident: "A subscriber came to my house in order to renew his sub. He had missed two issues of the paper and said that he really missed reading the paper. Having a Militant reader come to my house in this manner shows that our paper is really of great interest to the workers."

The comrades in Philadelphia are doing a bang-up job in getting renewals. Pauline Ryder mailed in 18 renewals gotten by the comrades during the week. And she says, "There will be more subs in a few days."

Six subs to The Militant were received from the St. Louis comrades today.

E. Brent sent in 8 subs obtained by the Detroit comrades and reports that "six of these were received from our Sunday meeting at which Sol Dollinger spoke. Our comrades have turned in 43 subscriptions so far this month. This figure includes Fourth International subs also. That is a pretty good record."

Militant boosters are giving us a big hand in getting other workers to read the paper.

Karl M. Zwicker of Pontiac, Mich., sent in \$1 and asked that we send the paper to two of his friends for six months.

S. A. Martin of Portland, Oregon, renewed his sub for one year and sent an additional \$1 to cover the cost of sending sample copies to six friends. He closes his letter "with best wishes for greater circulation."

A friend in Canada sent in a one-year combination renewal sub, and states: "Sorry I am not in a position to send a donation at this time to help you in a great cause that can only go forward, not backward as the Stalinists are going in this country with their collaboration methods and selling-out policies, both in the trade union movement and political life... Wishing you all the success in your battle for a better world."

Youth Activities

AKRON.—Socialist Youth Club meets Fridays, 7 p.m. Followed by refreshments, dancing. 8 South Howard St., 2nd floor. CHICAGO.—Youth meetings Fridays at 8 p.m. Discussion on pamphlet Socialism On Trial. Games and refreshments. 777 W. Adams, 2nd floor.

LOS ANGELES.—Socialist Youth Club meets every Tuesday, 8 p.m., at SWP headquarters, 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Educational after every meeting. Refreshments served.

NEW YORK.—For information on the Trotskyist Youth Group send name and address to 116 University Place, N. Y. 3. Saturday Night House Parties: call GR 5-8149 for information. For information about Queens Youth Group, write M. Kevin, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3.

PHILADELPHIA.—For information call ST. 4-5820, from noon to 6 p.m.

ACEWR Asks For Donations Of Food, Clothing, Cigarettes

NEW YORK, Mar. 28 — The American Committee for European Workers Relief this week makes a special appeal for donations of cigarettes to send to workers in Europe. Next to food and clothing, cigarettes are most desired by these suffering people. The following excerpt from a letter recently received by the Committee shows the need for this item:

"Today I received a notice from the postoffice that I should go and pick up a package. The joy about the contents of the package you cannot imagine. Specially my wife could hardly contain herself with joy. The two pieces of butter were of great value. Here, unfortunately, there is a great lack of fat in Germany. For me the two packages of cigarettes were an extremely welcome gift. I lit one right away and smoked it with great joy..."

Tragically highlighting the Committee's continued appeals for food and clothing to send to stricken European workers is the following news item appearing in the March 24 issue of the New York Daily News:

"Berlin, Mar. 23 — The American licensed newspaper Tagespiegel said today that 333 residents of Berlin committed suicide in January, including 186 who 'feared they would starve to death.' The City Health Ministry estimated 400 Berliners died of hunger and exposure in December."

The ACEWR constantly receives letters from recipients of packages sent by the Committee, telling of the almost unbelievable hardships those workers have suffered, and relating the grateful joy with which food and clothing are received. Following are excerpts from one of them, a school teacher in Gelsen-

kirchen who spent the war years in concentration camps for his anti-Nazi activities:

"Again I received a package from you. Again the contents are valuable and necessary things... The cold weather which has lasted now for nearly a month has increased all the difficulties. Most of all the lack of fat is extremely noticeable. People are getting thinner and now they suffer more from the cold than otherwise."

"In school I had no coal for three weeks before and two weeks after Christmas. School had to be stopped but I asked the children who lost so much schooling during the war to come one hour a day. They showed home work, I gave them more homework and they ate their plate of soup... Oh, how poor and ragged, wrapped in miserable rags the children stood in front of me! And in spite of all the misery, full of vast good will and ready to learn."

ACEWR needs money to continue sending food, clothing and medicine to former concentration camp prisoners, trade unionists and other needy workers in Europe. A ten dollar donation puts 22 pounds of food on the table of a European worker. One dollar and fifty four cents pays the postage on 11 pounds of food or clothing. All checks and money orders should be made out to American Committee for European Workers Relief, and sent to 197 Second Avenue, New York 3, N. Y.

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers At these Local Activities of

The Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—2nd floor, 8 S. Howard St. Open daily except Sunday, 2 to 4 p.m.

BALTIMORE—For information write Box 415, Baltimore 3, Md. Monthly forums.

BAYONNE—62 W. 23rd St. Open house 2nd and 4th Saturdays.

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

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone Madison 3960. Open every afternoon except Sunday. 100 Years of Marxism 1847-1947, Thursday nights, 8 p.m. Open house and current events discussion every Saturday, 8:30 p.m. Admission free.

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

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

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

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

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644. Friday, 8 p.m. Militant Workers Forum, 466 E. Vernon. SAN PEDRO, Militant Publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 W.

Room 214. LYNN, Mass., 44 Central Square, Room 11. Discussion every 2nd and 4th Monday, 7:30 p.m., open Saturdays 1-5 p.m.

MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5 St., open 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily except Sunday. Tel. Main 7781. Library, bookstore.

Sunday Forums, 3:30 p.m. NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open Mon., 7:30-9:15 p.m.

Fridays, 8:15 p.m.; 1st and 3rd each month, open forum. 2nd and 4th, round table discussion.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Library and reading room open week nights, 7-10 p.m.

Friday night forum, 8:30. NEW YORK—CITY HQ., 116 University Place, GR. 5-8149

HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St. Rm. 23. MO. 2-1868. Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.

BRONX: 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor. phone TI 2-0101. Discussion on the SWP Program every Wed. 8 p.m.

BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433. CHLSEA: 139 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.

OAKLAND, Cal.—Meetings Wednesday, Odd Fellows Temple, 410 - 11th St. For information write to P.O. Box 1351.

PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 W.

Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 5820.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor. Office hours: Wed. 7 to 9:30 p.m.; Sat. and Sun. 3 to 9 p.m. Open forums Sun. 3 p.m. Tel. Court 6060.

PORTLAND, Ore.—Write to Socialist Workers Party, c/o C. M. Hesser, P.O. Box 3711.

SAN DIEGO—Headquarters 623 Sixth Ave., open 7 to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday.

SAN FRANCISCO—School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., cor. of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor open from 12 noon to 4:30 p.m., daily except Sunday. Phone EXbrook 1926.

SEATTLE—1919½ Second Ave. Open Monday through Saturdays, noon to 6 p.m. Tel. SE-0543 Library, bookstore. Friday forum—8 p.m.

ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Room 312, open Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 7:30 to 9 p.m. Forums Thursday, 8:30 p.m. Phone Jefferson 3642.

ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St., St. Paul 2, Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily 2:30-9:30.

TACOMA, Wash.—Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Oddfellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P.O. Box 1079.

TOLEDO—108 Summit St., Toledo 4, O. Open daily, Phone Main 8919.

YOUNGSTOWN—35½ South Ave., Youngstown 3, O. Open 12-5 p.m., Monday through Saturday. Phone 3-1355.

The Dream They Gave Us

By Theodore Kovalesky

This is it. This is the dream they gave us. They told us to tighten our belts, and they gave us a dream to feast on.



They told us we had to sacrifice to win the war. They said we had to pitch in and help to make the world safe for the four freedoms and democracy.

They told us life would have to be hard for a while, but they gave us a promise, a dream to feast on in the lean years.

They called the dream, "The Post-War World." Some said it would be the "Age of the Common Man," and it would be a bright new world of peace and prosperity. The earth would become a garden.

On the radio and in the movies they spoke to us with golden words.

In the newspapers and magazines they painted pictures of the golden dream, the "Post-War World."

We would have homes and cars and money in the bank.

Our wives would have great bright kitchens filled with electrical appliances, automatic dish-washers, food mixers, washing machines to take the labor out of the laundry.

New alloys were discovered; they would raise our standard of living. The plastics industry was going to revolutionize our lives.

And there would be peace, freedom, and plenty for a world that hungered for peace, freedom, and enough to get along on.

That was the dream they gave us.

And this is it. This is the fulfillment. This is the Post-War World!

But it's not like they said it would be!

Instead of new cars and refrigerators we have old debts.

Instead of bright, modern kitchens many of us have no kitchens at all, no homes at all.

Instead of plenty we still find shortages. The waves of inflation mount higher while our standard of living is anchored down by our low pay-checks and Congress attacks our unions.

Instead of peace and freedom we see:

Palestine, where the jailers of the Jews salute the Union Jack instead of the Swastika; China, where Wall Street helps Chiang Kai-shek murder those who oppose his bloody dictatorship;

Indo-China and Indonesia, where France and the Netherlands unleash the atrocities of modern warfare upon those who struggle to live in freedom in their own countries;

India, still reeking with death and disease, groaning under British oppression ("The Four Freedoms do not apply to India!");

Greece, where a Hitlerian plebiscite placed the tyrant, George II, back on his bloody throne, where Wall Street plans to send American soldiers and wealth to keep him on his throne against the will of the suffering people;

And the whole world, still smoldering, still radiating deadly Gamma rays from the last war, hungering, tortured, quivering, about to plunge into an even more horrible war...

This is what they gave us!

But there is a dream of peace and plenty. It's more than a dream; it's a plan and a program.

We call it SOCIALISM, and it means freedom for all people, a good life for everyone on earth.

And we can have it... just as soon as enough of us unite in our struggle.

Help us make this dream come true!

The Threat Of Germ Warfare

By Grace Carlson

A few weeks ago, American and British troops rounded up a number of "Nazi diehards" who had been working underground in occupied Germany. Horrified journalists told the world that the Nazi underground workers had been developing weapons of germ warfare for use in a future war.

That the labor-hating, race-baiting Nazis are cruel and sadistic does not come under the heading of "news." That they were willing to descend to the inhuman depths of germ warfare is not very surprising. But are the American imperialists any better on this score?

In a calm report, entitled "Nazi Try At Germ Warfare," which appears in the Mar. 8 Science News Letter, there is some straight talk on this subject:

"Nazi scientists were working on biological warfare during the war... The Nazi bacteriologists believed that the only way the Nazis could conquer the United States would have been by a three-pronged germ attack against man, domestic animals and food plants. They realized that they were considerably behind the Americans in development of germ warfare... The underground attempt to develop germ warfare probably was an effort to continue the work begun during the war."

The Science News Letter article goes on to demonstrate that the United States is far in the lead in germ warfare. In November, 1942, the Chemical Warfare Service of the Army un-

dertook a large-scale biological warfare program. The main laboratory for this super-secret project was located at Camp Detrick, Md. with field testing stations in Mississippi, Utah and Indiana. Some 4,000 men and women were employed in these laboratories. George W. Merck, New Jersey drug manufacturer, was the government's special consultant on biological warfare.

Very little information has been given out about America's germ-research project, but it is assumed that a wide variety of death-bearing agents were investigated. Biological warfare might conceivably include attacking enemy troops or populations with such diseases as: influenza, infantile paralysis, smallpox, cholera, anthrax, dysentery, leprosy, typhoid fever, malaria, bubonic plague.

A little over a year ago, another Science News Letter writer, Frank Thone, warned against the dangers of biological warfare in these solemn words (Jan. 12, 1946):

"The worst horror about biological warfare is that once loosed it cannot be brought under control again. Other forms of war's destructiveness are self-limiting: they run their course and stop. Not so, however, with the germs of disease. We must face the fact that if one nation launches such uncontrollable agencies of harm against its neighbor, the war will never stop."

"Biological warfare can be terribly devastating. But it is a two-edged weapon, not to be lightly unsheathed."

It is American imperialism which threatens the world with this terrible sword!

Apprehension In Wall Street

By John G. Wright

Since January of this year the physical volume of retail sales has kept dropping steadily. Nevertheless prices have remained high and in many instances have zoomed to even higher levels. In other words, the post-war boom has been maintained in the recent period through the device of squeezing out more money for less goods.

This has drastically slashed the purchasing power of the workers and depleted the backlog of war time savings. Installment buying has soared to an all-time record. Inventories keep piling up. The dislocations that have been accumulating for months are in this way being aggravated to the breaking point.

It is estimated that at current price levels a national income of not less than 225 billion dollars can keep production going at the existing rate. Meanwhile the estimated national income is approximately 185 billions. The 40 billion dollar gap is temporarily bridged by the accumulation of inventories, which are, in point of fact, heading for precisely that huge total.

This acute condition has evoked a flood of pleas for price cuts. President Truman, the president of the NAM and other prominent figures in Washington and in the business world have all issued warnings. (What happened by

the way to the ballyhoo that it was the wage raises that caused the price hikes?)

Analyzing the economic trends, in the light of national income, industrial production, wholesale prices, and value of production, the Journal of Commerce, one of Wall Street's conservative house organs, concluded on March 28 that:

1) "Fundamentally conditions now are very similar to those in 1920."

2) "... A correction of the imbalance between national income, prices, and production will occur in the not far distant future."

3) "The correction of the imbalance will not be a painless process since neither prices nor production can be reduced without national income as well."

4) "Once the process has begun considerable time may elapse... before a balance is restored."

The "correction" (that is, the next crisis) is expected to set in sometime after July.

They all know what is coming; they all admit there is nothing they can do about it. But anyone who proposes to drastically alter this irrational system is denounced by them as a dangerous Red.

Notes From The News

Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz told Congress last week that the brass hats were making "substantial progress" on plans for "the military operations which might have to be carried on in the event of another national emergency."

The NAACP announced last week that its 38th annual conference will be held in Washington, D. C., June 24-29 inclusive, instead of at Atlantic City, N. J. The change was made necessary by lack of adequate facilities for mass meetings and other gatherings at that time in Atlantic City.

The National Republican Club has okayed Truman's Greece-Turkey program.

Governor Thompson of Georgia was compelled for personal political reasons to veto that state's white primary bill. But at the same time he tried to show where he stood by explaining he too wanted Negro voting restricted (by an "educational" clause) and by signing an anti-closed shop bill.

The CIO United Steelworkers announced last week that Philip Murray and other top officials had been re-elected to their posts in a referendum held in December.

It is reported that Negro veterans are buried in a segregated section of the Fort Snelling Military Cemetery in Minnesota.

On charges brought by President Joseph Curran, the New York membership of the CIO National Maritime Union voted to suspend Stalinist Vice-President Joseph Stack from holding any office for five years.

Herman Talmadge has changed his mind and is not going on a tour with Gerald L. K. Smith after all.

Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) has followed the Social Democratic Federation in supporting Truman's program for world domination.

President Truman last month approved the construction of a Jim Crow general hospital for Negro veterans at Mound Bayou, Mississippi.

The CIO will hold a nation-wide legislative emergency rally in Washington, D. C. this month.

The annual individual federal income tax is estimated at about 18 billion dollars. 60% of this sum comes, not from the rich, but from the lowest-income brackets—those earning under \$5,000 a year.

THE MILITANT

PAGE SIX

NEW YORK, N. Y.

SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 1947

Weak FEPC Legislation Introduced In Congress

By William E. Bohannon

A new FEPC bill was introduced into Congress last week. It was sponsored by Ives of New York and endorsed by three other Republicans and four Democrats in the Senate. It has the support of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, whose co-chairmen are Allan Knight Chalmers and A. Philip Randolph.

A curious development was Ives' insistence, when he introduced the bill, that he wanted it "definitely understood that this is not an FEPC bill." According to the capitalist press, Ives sought in this way "to avoid reviving the long and bitter struggle in Congress over earlier efforts to set up permanently a Fair Employment Practices Commission."

"VERY MINOR"

Has Ives accepted the simple-minded notion that giving the bill a new title will reduce the stubborn opposition shown to it in the past? Does he really think that a rose will smell sweeter when called by another name? Perhaps. But there is more to it than that. Listen to what Ives says:

"Heretofore, as I understand it, legislation of this subject which has been proposed has contained a large measure of legal compulsion."

"I do not believe in legal compulsion in dealing with problems of this kind. It is necessary to have a certain amount of it, a minimum, otherwise no attention whatever is paid to that which it is attempted to do. To that extent, this bill has a minimum of legal compulsion, WITH VERY MINOR PENALTIES."

"What this bill does is to pave the way to a new approach—an approach by mediation and by conference."

HOW THE BILL WORKS

In other words, Ives and his capitalist party friends are trying to give the new FEPC bill as few "teeth" as possible. This is how their bill would work:

It declares that employment without discrimination as to race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry is "a civil right of all the people of the United States." It defines the following as "unlawful employment practices":

A refusal to hire because of race, religion, etc.; the use by an employer of discriminatory hiring services; discriminatory or segregation practices in labor unions; discharge of workers because they filed unfair employment charges.

The bill calls for the establishment of a seven-member national commission against discrimination in employment. The members, to be paid \$10,000 a year, would be appointed by the president and approved by the Senate.

The commission would have

the power to investigate sworn and written accusations of discrimination in employment.

After investigating, the commission's first duty would be to try to settle the case by "conference and persuasion."

The next step would be to issue an order against the employer to stop discrimination.

If this did not do any good, the commission could then go to the Circuit Court—or, if that wasn't in session, the Federal District Court—and ask for restraining orders against unlawful employment practices.

The courts could review the findings of the commission; that is, the employers could appeal to the courts against the commission's decisions, thus dragging the case on further.

The commission would also have the power to create local, state and regional "advisory and conciliation councils."

CAPITALIST TRICKERY

What does this long and involved procedure come down to in the end? "Very small penalties." And in the South, where the courts share and spread the worst Jim Crow prejudices, the chances of even small penalties will be very slim.

The Ives bill really waters down the fight for an effective FEPC with a vengeance. It is a vivid example of liberal capitalist trickery.

These Republican and Democratic politicians are not really interested in sponsoring progressive legislation. When they do sponsor it, they do so only because of mass pressure and in order to win votes; at the same time, they weaken it almost beyond recognition in an effort to appease the worst reactionaries.

NEED POLITICAL ACTION

That is what comes of having to depend on capitalist party politicians to introduce legislation required by the Negro people and the trade union movement.

Weak as it is, the Ives bill will not be acceptable to the Southern Democrats and it will not be passed unless the masses demand it and fight for it.

It is necessary to continue the fight for an FEPC and to provide it with powers to really punish discrimination in employment. Petitions and mass demonstrations by the unions and Negro organizations are necessary part of this fight.

Equally necessary is increased support for the movement to create an independent labor party. Only congressmen truly representing the masses can be depended on to go the whole way in the fight against Jim Crow employment practices.

Grief-Stricken Widow Of Miner



Mrs. Anna Tickus (left) broke down and wept when she learned of her husband's death in the Centralia mine disaster. St. Louis Star-Times Photo

Rubber Workers Union Gets Wage Settlement

By Milton Genecin

AKRON, Mar. 28—Just 24 hours before a nation-wide strike deadline, the CIO United Rubber Workers last Saturday night concluded a settlement with the "Big Four"

The final agreement provides for an 11½ cent an hour increase in wages retroactive to Feb. 2; the right of the union to re-open the wage question after 120 days; and the settlement of inequalities on a plant basis.

The union had completed arrangements for a strike, if the corporations did not retreat from their "final offer" of 10 cents an hour. In the week that elapsed between the breakdown of negotiations and the final settlement, the unions mobilized their forces in battle formation and prepared to struggle for their demands.

Here in Akron, a city-wide strike committee consisting of representatives of the Goodrich, Firestone and Goodyear locals was established. Picket marshals and captains were selected and the union members were organized down to departmental levels. A city-wide publicity committee went into action and published 60,000 leaflets describing the union's stand.

This was followed by the publication of 40,000 copies of a 4-page newspaper, Rubber Workers Voice, which blasted the arrogant and unyielding attitude of the corporations. The union drive was climaxed by a full explanation of the union's position in radio broadcasts by the presi-

dents of the three Akron locals and President L. S. Buckmaster of the international union.

The union established relief committees, law-and-order committees, roving picket squads and kitchen facilities. Nothing was left to chance in the preparations for a possible strike.

As the week wore on and the strike deadline approached, the mood of the men in the plants changed from apathy to militancy. The entire city, which is dominated by the 50,000 rubber workers, felt the determination of the men to fight it out on the picket line, if the corporations did not make a better offer.

Feeling the pressure of the union campaign, the corporations made further concessions. Up to the last moment, their best offer had been 10 cents, with no retroactive pay and no re-opening of the contract for one year. At no time did the corporations attempt to answer the union. The union publicity thoroughly exposed the huge profits of the corporations and the reduced purchasing power of the men's wages.

The union is now making plans to obtain a similar agreement for the other workers in the rubber industry who are not in the "Big Four." This will affect the 150,000 workers in addition to the 120,000 covered in the Goodrich, Firestone, Goodyear and U.S. Rubber plants.

Minnesota Legislature Forced To Retreat On Anti-Red Bill

ST. PAUL, Mar. 25—Before a crowd of over a hundred people, the Elections Committee of the Minnesota House of Representatives voted today "to postpone indefinitely" action on a bill to prohibit candidates of the Communist Party from running for state office. The so-called anti-communist bill was unanimously approved last week in a quiet meeting of the Elections Committee of the State Senate. But it is believed that today's action by the House Committee has killed the bill for the 1947 legislative session.

Reported by its authors to be patterned after a bill now under consideration in Congress, the preamble of Minnesota's Larson-Wagener-Dickinson bill asserts that "the communist ideology is directly opposed to and in conflict with the principles of freedom and democracy, as such principles are known and practiced in the United States of America."

Only three persons appeared at the House hearing in support of the bill—its chief author, Representative Dickinson, State Auditor Stafford King and State Representative John Kinzer.

Of the scores of people who clamored to be heard in opposition to the bill, only seven were given the floor in the short time allotted to the hearing!

Anthony De Maio, international representative of United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO; Carl Ross, District Secretary of the Communist Party; Henry Paul, Duluth attorney; A. E. Gustafson, Pine City Superintendent of Schools; E. Dudley Parsons, retired Minneapolis school teacher; Hyman Cohen, St. Paul veteran; Grace Carlson, State Organizer of the Socialist Workers Party.

"Surprises" Listed For World War III

According to Prof. Edward Teller of the University of Chicago, World War III will bring "new kinds of bombs or other methods of destruction" that will come as "no less a surprise than did the blinding flash over Hiroshima."

One of the surprise packages is a bomb that will devastate three or four hundred square miles. Another surprise is clouds of "radioactivity" which would endanger "the whole of the United States."

Those who escaped underground would still face death since food sources would be too radioactive for consumption.

By Alan Kohlman

On June 3 the voters of New Jersey are to go to the polls to vote, first, whether they wish revision of the present 103-year-old State Constitution and, second, to elect delegates to a State Constitutional Convention. The proposals of this Convention will then be submitted to the voters in November.

The Socialist Workers Party urges the workers to utilize this Convention to press for amendments that will protect the interests of labor, as well as those of all minority groups, and to try to broaden the democratic rights of the working people.

The immediate issue posed by the June 3 election of delegates is: Shall the Convention be the tool of the monopolies and trusts through their Republican and Democratic puppets—or shall the working people have their own spokesmen to protect their interests?

Constitutional revision has a totally different meaning for the workers than for the capitalists. To the latter, "modernization" of the Constitution means more efficient protection of their system of private property.

Now, as in the past, the employers are not concerned wheth-

SWP CANDIDATES

for the New Jersey Constitutional Convention from Essex County
William E. Bohannon
George Breitman
Alan Kohlman

er "all men are by nature free and independent." What really concerns them is profits, and measures in the Constitution to protect and promote profits by restricting the rights of the working-class majority.

As the basic law of the state, the Constitution is a legal expression of the struggle between workers and bosses. It is clear that Big Business will utilize the Convention in order to further mold the state machinery to their needs.

It is equally clear that the workers must try to utilize the Convention to enact amendments protecting their interests. The Socialist Workers Party candidates enter this campaign precisely for that purpose: to oppose the capitalists and their Republican and Democratic agents; to defend the democratic rights of the working people and to put forward a program that will ad-

vance the interests of workers in the struggle for Socialism.

In participating in this campaign, we emphatically restate our fundamental view that only a socialist society, based upon the majority rule of 80 million American workers and their families, can decisively resolve the basic problems confronting the working people. Our entire campaign will link up the immediate democratic interests of the workers, which are now under heavy attack, with the need for Socialism.

Further, we are participating in this campaign in order to emphasize the need for working class activity in electoral matters, for independent political action of the labor movement, for the building of a Labor Party.

In order to further the development of the Labor Party we are prepared to support the candidacy of any independents representing bona-fide sections of the labor movement and the Negro people.

The working people of New Jersey now have the opportunity to support candidates pledged to defend the interests of the workers and oppose the policies of Big Business.