

The Private Kingdom

By Theodore Kovalesky

Down in the furnace yard we scarcely felt any breeze at all, but after we had climbed part way up the steps we had to hold on to the iron handrails to keep from being blown off. The steps were small and narrow. Only one man at a time could pass, so we trudged slowly upward, gripping the railing with one hand, holding our shovels and picks with the other, turning our heads from the tugging, tearing wind.

It's a rotten job, cleaning a furnace top. Some men will tell you it's the worst job in the world, but it isn't that. There are a lot of other jobs in the blast furnace department that are just as bad and worse. Still, some men can't clean a furnace top at all. When they climb halfway to the top, or even farther, they suddenly realize that they are seventy-five, a hundred, a hundred and twenty-five feet above the furnace yard on a little narrow stairway with low handrails that they have to lean forward to grasp (and if they lean backward, they can tumble off the stairway and down to the brown-red ore dust below, far below), and they crouch on the steel steps and hug the railing with a death grip, so that two men have to help them back down to the ground again. Most of us aren't like that. . . but none of us like to clean furnace tops.

Jimmy and I were putting in a double shift so we could get a few extra dollars to squander on food and rent. The turn foreman had told us we could get a shift if we wanted to clean furnace tops, so half an hour later we were with a gang on our way up to the top of Number Four.

It must have been about an hour later that I looked up from the caked flue dust we had been hacking and shovelling from the top of Number

Four. The wind was all around us, whipping the dust into our faces and eyes until we were all of the same color. I put down my shovel and leaned my elbows on the rail at the edge of the platform. Far below me, about a hundred thirty feet, an engine was pulling a line of scalloped cinder ladles, and as they swayed on the uneven tracks the molten slag flashed at the sides of the hardened crust. Then I looked around.

I saw the line of blast furnaces stretching away with brownish spume seeping up into the smoky sky from the bleeders. A million and a half dollars, wasn't it, to build a blast furnace, I mused. "Jimmy," I called, "Look at this!"

Behind us was the slip with lake freighters tied up in it. Soon the company's ore boats would be steaming in and out. Beyond that lay the coke oven with its batteries and stacks and a geyser of steam billowing from a heat that was being quenched, and farther out another slip for the coal boats. We could see the great bridge crane with their little cabs moving back and forth and the buckets rising and falling like fat spiders.

Looking the other way we saw the huge open hearth sheds and their tall slender stacks, and the mills, longer and lower with smaller stacks. Jimmy and I stood without speaking, looking over the private kingdom of the steel plant. How many millions of dollars were here? And this place was owned, owned by men, human beings like Jimmy and me, men who made other millionaires out of the sweat and sometimes the blood of this gang cleaning the furnace top. Hundred thirty feet above the ground, of the gangs in the open hearths and mills, the coke ovens and blast furnaces!

Then, as an afterthought, we turned and looked out beyond the mills at the dirty little town where we lived under the smoky shadow of the plant. We looked a moment, shook our heads, and began shovelling the flue dust again.

The Negro Struggle

Why Stalinists Slander Us

By Albert Parker

If readers of the Communist Party's Worker of Mar. 28 were confused after they finished reading Benjamin E. Davis' column, then they were in

just the state the author tried to get them. The article is a denunciation of Almena Davis, editor of the Negro weekly, Los Angeles Tribune, because she attacked Claudia Jones, Stalinist leader who is

threatened with deportation to the West Indies, and cynically expressed "indifference" to her fate.

Then, suddenly, Benjamin Davis switches over into an attack on Trotskyism, making the fantastic (and familiar) charge that it "is a synonym for corruption, political degeneracy and service to reaction and fascism," and inventing a new lie—that the "Tribune is a net of Trotskyism" and that Almena Davis is a Trotskyist!

Readers of The Militant know that we Trotskyists, despite our opposition to the Stalinists, have strongly protested the deportation campaign against Claudia Jones, and her associates and have called on labor to put an end to the government's witch-hunt campaigns. And readers of the Los Angeles Tribune know that it has nothing in common with the Trotskyists; for example, the Tribune supported the recent imperialist war (as the Stalinists did) while we opposed it from beginning to end.

Why do Benjamin Davis and the other Stalinists resort to such monstrous (and easily dispro-

ved) slanders against the Trotskyists? Because that's the only kind of "answer" they can give to our political arguments and program. Because they are afraid to let the Negro people know that the Socialist Workers Party program is the only way to end capitalist wars, fascism and race prejudice.

A reader says: "After reading your laudatory remarks about Caste, Class and Race by Oliver C. Cox, I naturally wondered what your criticism of it was. You say that 'some of the points Dr. Cox tries to make are not acceptable to Marxists.' Why didn't you indicate what they are?"

We are concentrating for the time being on calling attention to the virtues of this book, in order to help it get the kind of audience it deserves. But we obviously did not seek to hide the fact that it has shortcomings and weaknesses.

On the political field, for example, the author's attempt to "simplify" Marxism leads him to numerous serious errors in discussing recent political developments, especially in his treatment of Roosevelt and the New Deal. Dr. Cox is by no means a Stalinist, but his apparent lack of acquaintance with political labor problems and strategy causes him to accept many of their estimates which are in direct conflict with Marxism.

We repeat, however, that the book's positive qualities and contributions to an understanding of race prejudice far outweigh these and other faults.

"Freedom of the Seas"

By Art Preis

Don't look now, but there's a red periscope peeping above the waterline in your bathtub. Russian submarines, equipped with schnorkels too, are being sighted faster than flying saucers these days.

It all began at the hearing of the Senate Armed Service Committee on March 25. The Big Brass and Gold Braid were basking in the spotlights and smiling at the senators. The senators were nodding and smiling back. It was a wonderful spring day—just right for another big raid on the U. S. Treasury by the military.

Into this idyllic scene burst the submarine scare. Secretary of Navy Sullivan made the sensational announcement that undersers craft "not belonging to any nation west of the Iron Curtain have been sighted off our shores."

The panic was on. Two august senators fell off their chairs simultaneously. A stenographer swallowed her gum and nearly choked to death. One reporter required emergency hospital treatment after being trampled in the rush of newspapermen to the nearest telephone.

Not another word would Sullivan speak—for "security reasons," of course. But it didn't take the kept press more than two hours to dig up the details. By mid-afternoon disaster-type headlines trumpeted the red sub menace and why we need UMT and the peacetime draft.

Th usual "informed sources" and "anonymous naval officers" supplied the usual "reliable information." In all, seven "purported" Russian submarines had been spotted "recently." Five

of the seven lurking "off our shores" were vaguely placed as "off the Aleutians"—about 9,000 miles from Seattle and less than 400 miles from Siberia. Two of the reports came from unnamed merchant ships. One saw a "periscope" just "200 miles from San Francisco"—"at night."

Immediately after Sullivan's "revelations," Admiral Louis E. Denfield, Chief of Naval Operations, blandly admitted the U. S. has 35 submarines in the Pacific and 41 in the Atlantic. Four are en route to Turkey as part of the "European aid" program. 12 U. S. destroyers and three aircraft carriers in the Western Pacific are guarding "our shores" a few hundred miles from Siberia. American warships are at Trieste; 17 are in Greek waters.

But as Admiral Halsey said, "We'll send our ships any damn place in the world we please." And Air Forces Secretary Symington, following Sullivan at the Senate hearing, boasted that American bombers from Alaska "could bomb any part of Russia and return to American bases."

So you see why we need universal military training, peacetime conscription and more tens of billions for the Army, Navy and Air Forces, not to speak of the atomic bomb development. By God, these Russians are going too far. What do they mean operating submarines in "our" Pacific Ocean? Don't they know we've already fought two world wars for "freedom of the seas"?

month signed a bill, passed by Congress, authorizing military units of Southern states to carry the Confederate flag along with the U. S. flag.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE—A 14-year-old Negro boy in North Carolina was last week sentenced to 30 years in jail for the alleged theft of a flashlight.

THE MILITANT

Wallace Endorsed by Handpicked Conference of The California IPP

Washington Plans To Turn Germany Into Base for War

(Continued from page 1)

catch from Washington on March 27 reveals that "the first ship carrying Marshall Plan aid for Europe may dock in a foreign port two days after President Truman signs the bill." The dispatch adds: "It is possible the initial cargo . . . will go to Italy about 10 days before the critical election test."

ANOTHER BRIBE

The State Department itself, on March 26, publicly announced — pointedly claiming no intention of influencing the Italian elections — that the U.S. government has ordered the distribution of 360,000 packages of cigarettes in Sardinia. These cigarettes would be an inducement to "contentment, as every smoker knows," the State Department said. With the approval of the State Department a special short-wave broadcast on the Italian elections is being beamed daily to Italy from Boston over station WRUL.

U.S. intervention in Greece has long since been in the "hot war" stage. Every dispatch from Greece makes it clear that the monarchist forces are being not only armed and trained, but ordered and led by the American military mission. For example, a March 30 United Press dispatch from Salonika reports the opening of the spring offensive of the monarchist army "supported by waves of fighter bombers." It adds, "The offensive was completely planned by the Americans."

The dispatch reports that Dwight Griswold, head of the U.S. mission to Greece, has announced the calling up of conscripts to the Greek army's National Defense Corps, including "the number to be drafted. Griswold assures us the mobilization was 'proposed by American advisers' and 'approved by the U.S. State Department.'"

Meanwhile, the threat of military totalitarianism becomes more ominous in this country. The big parade of top military officials, joined by leading representatives of Wall Street and Big Business, continued last week to pressure the Senate Armed Services Committee for universal military training and the peacetime draft.

JUST A STARTER

The heads of the National Defense Establishment, which includes all the departments of the armed forces, and the secretaries of these departments, put in their second appearance within a week. This time Forrestal demanded, in addition to UMT which will cost four billions annually, the immediate draft of up to 345,000 youths between 19 and 25. He made it clear that this is just a starter.

The hearings were climaxed

Victims of War



Staring hopelessly into space, these three youngsters typify the war-ravaged children of Europe. This scene is from The Search, a film telling the story of these children, which recently opened in New York.

with statements of Bernard Baruch, Wall Street's direct adviser to two wartime administrations, and General Electric's president C. E. Wilson. Both demanded quick passage of UMT and the draft. Baruch also called for "total mobilization," a wage freeze, and an anti-strike "work-cr-draft" law.

RECORDING READY

The Militant Chorus makes its first recording this week. It should be ready for May Day meetings. The single 12-inch record at \$5 will contain Go Forward, Whirlwinds of Danger, The Warrior Song and The Locomotive.

Send cash orders to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

George Clarke speaking on:

The Political Crisis In the United States

Schedule of Clarke Tour		
Pittsburgh	Saturday	Apr. 3
Akron	Tuesday	Apr. 6
Cleveland	Thursday	Apr. 8
Toledo	Saturday	Apr. 10
Chicago	Sunday	Apr. 11
Milwaukee	Tuesday	Apr. 13
Twin Cities	Friday	Apr. 16
Flint	Tuesday	Apr. 20
Detroit	Thursday	Apr. 22
Youngstown	Friday	Apr. 23
Buffalo	Saturday	Apr. 24

PRESENT COST OF MILITARISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Here are the estimated Federal Government expenses for 1947-48. Note how future wars, past wars, and war preparations account for more than 71% of the total budget.

FUTURE WARS	\$10,776,000,000	
(War Department, Navy Department, Terminal leave for enlisted personnel, Stockpiling of strategic materials, etc.)		29.0%
PAST WARS	\$12,294,000,000	
(Veterans' services, Pensions, Insurance, Re-adjustments, Benefits, Hospitals, Other services, Administration, Interest on public war debt, etc.)		33.0%
WAR PREPARATIONS: PROPPING UP WAR ALLIES	\$3,617,000,000	9.7%
WELFARE, HEALTH, EDUCATION, INTERNAL EXPENSES, ETC.	\$6,989,000,000	18.8%
OTHER	\$3,517,000,000	9.5%
(General government, Refunds, Reserve, etc.)		
TOTAL BUDGET	\$37,193,000,000	

SAN FRANCISCO, March 21. — 175 handpicked delegates attended a meeting of the State Organizing Committee of the Independent Progressive Party of California, endorsed Wallace and Taylor and approved a Wallace program for the party. Through this session, the top committee has been able to tighten its grip upon the party apparatus.

The session had been announced early in March as a broad, democratically organized meeting at which the ranks of the petition gatherers and other supporters of the organization could make their wishes heard. However, two weeks before the date of the meeting, all mention of this was dropped. Those attending were members of the Organizing Committee plus three representatives from each county, who in the main were appointed by the state executive committee. All other IPP members were permitted to attend only as observers.

STALINISTS TOOK OVER

The heavy hand of the Stalinists was evident throughout the proceedings. Immediately after the meeting opened a motion was made to transform the Organizing Committee into a temporary State Central Committee and to elect all State officers. Passed unanimously. A preamble was read which committed the organ-

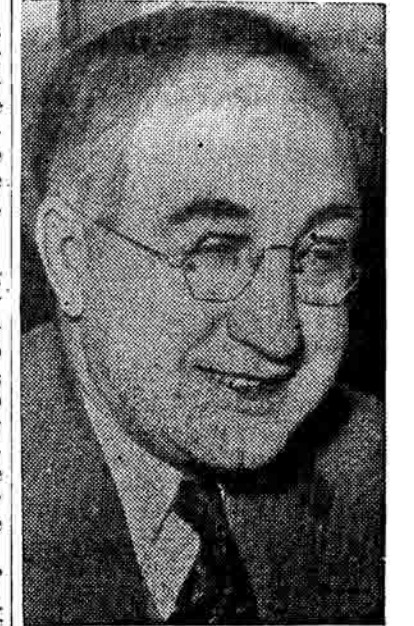
ization to the support of Wallace and Taylor. Passed without discussion. By-laws were adopted to restrict membership to "registered voters who accept IPP principles . . ." Passed unanimously.

Discussion took place only around the party platform but the differences were mainly on minor corrections and wording. The program includes removal of military and financial leaders from policy-making posts in the State Department; opposition to the draft and UMT; a \$1 minimum wage; State and Federal veterans bonus; \$100 old age pensions for all over 60; roll back prices to 1945 and recreate the OPA; public ownership of essential utilities; bigger taxes for higher income brackets; lower ones for the lower brackets; repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law. The assembly also approved a platform on peace to be achieved through the UN.

Thus the Stalinist pro-Wallace program has been foisted upon the IPP without the ranks having any opportunity to discuss it. Candidates for the primaries will be chosen by consultation between the hand-picked county representatives and the State Executive Committee. In many cases the IPP will support Republicans and Democrats who will be labeled "progressive."

A special handbill, was distributed to the gathering, signed by four unionists from the CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards, Steel workers, Longshoremen, and AFL Painters Unions, all registered members of the IPPC.

It declared that "since the IPPC has already become part of the Wallace-third-capitalist-party machine it can no longer merit our support. We will continue to fight to build a genuine Independent Labor Party."



JAMES C. PETRILLO

N.Y. Painters Urge Political Action

By Raymond Rice

NEW YORK CITY. — With two-thirds of the union painters in New York unemployed or working part time, progressive members of the union are demanding political action to compel landlords and real estate operators to paint and repair apartments, offices and factories.

Local 892, the largest painters local in the N.Y. district, heard a full discussion of the problem and voted overwhelmingly to call upon the union district council for immediate action. The painters demand that the NY authorities begin a rigid enforcement of the sanitary and building laws.

A number of buildings have collapsed in recent months with the tenants barely getting out in time. Cornices and stone copings have fallen into the streets from many of the old dilapidated structures still occupied as homes and factories.

Progressive speakers pointed out that if these conditions are to be remedied, it will be necessary to present the unions' views to the voting public in the coming election. These speakers pointed to the necessity of strict enforcement of the sanitary and building codes. They called upon the union to examine the possibilities of running a number of union candidates for office, and expressed the opinion that it would be possible to mobilize the union membership for active support of such a political campaign.

