

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1947

401

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

## American Stalinism And Anti-Stalinism

By James P. Cannon

— See Page 3 —

VOL. XI — No. 15

# MINERS AND PHONE WORKERS FIGHT IN DEFENSE OF LABOR'S STANDARDS

## Telephone System Shut Down In First Nation-wide Strike

By Alan Kohlman

APRIL 8—In the mightiest upsurge of the communications industry, some 350,000 telephone workers set up picket lines at dawn yesterday in a virtually complete tie-up of the nation's long-

distance and manual phones. Switch-board plugs were replaced with picket signs; "number please" became transformed into songs of solidarity; "the voice with a smile" was saying "Ma Bell must give us a living wage."

This is the first nation-wide phone strike, involving tens of thousands of newly unionized workers and a total of 230,000 women, the greatest number ever participating in a single strike. Yet not a single major instance of wide-spread scabbing has been reported.

The bulk of the strikers were members of the independent National Federation of Telephone Workers which accepted the challenge flung down by the huge 7½ billion dollar AT&T monopoly. AT&T owns and controls the long-distance lines, the Bell phone subsidiaries throughout the country and the Western Electric manufacturing units. For months the phone trust had arrogantly refused to meet or even arbitrate the union demands which include \$12 a week raise, union shop and other long-needed improvements. (See other story on this page.)

Underlying these demands is an attempt by AT&T to prevent the consolidation of the organized phone workers unions. In recent months the NFTW has been moving from a loosely-knit federation of autonomous unions to a strong centralized national union. AT&T, which itself exemplifies concentration of monopoly power in the camp of Big Business, deeply fears nation-wide union solidarity of the phone workers. Its strategy has been to refuse to negotiate, to force a strike and then try to get the government to smash the strike and destroy this rising unification of the phone workers' national union.

The phone workers accepted this challenge. They are conscious of their great power to paralyze the communication nerve center of the economy. Their determination to fight

(Continued on Page 2)

## N. J. Telephone Workers Defy State Seizure

NEWARK, N. J., April 8 — Governor Driscoll yesterday invoked the State's Public Utility Act to seize the phones, but 21,000 Bell union workers defied the Governor's edict, kept their picket lines intact and maintained complete solidarity with their union brothers on a nation-wide scale.

This militant action of the New Jersey phone workers, who are backed up by another 20,000 striking Western Electric employees not affected by the seizure, is of great political significance. It demonstrates that the phone workers understand that state seizure is completely in the interests of the AT&T-Bell trust.

### STATE STRIKEBREAKING

Driscoll's action is a clear expression of state strikebreaking — and it was so branded by striking phone workers, by a statement of the State CIO Council pledging full support to the phone workers, and likewise by a statement of the Socialist Workers Party.

Governor Driscoll, rebuffed by this magnificent demonstration of union strength, declared this morning that he would seek new laws for compulsory arbitration and serious penalties for violating state seizure. He thereby gives further proof of how the government stands on the side of Big Business against the rights of labor.

In self defense, the entire New Jersey labor movement must give all-out support to the phone workers and achieve united action to block the State Legislature from enacting new and more restrictive anti-labor laws.

### Murder For Profit!



## Memorial For Dead Extends Into Battle For Safer Mines

APRIL 8—Continuing their dramatic protest over the Centralia disaster, 350,000 coal miners yesterday refused to enter pits which violate the Federal Mine Safety Code. Reports from the coal fields indicated that the men were resuming work only where new inspectors certified the mines as safe.

The same government agencies which broke the United Mine Workers strike through the courts last December and have been held responsible for the deaths of 111 miners at Centralia, are now considering various measures to get the men back into the unsafe mines.

Washington reported yesterday that the Department of Justice would ask Federal Judge Goldsborough of strike-injunction fame to crack down on the miners again. According to this report, he will be asked to raise the fine against the UMW, fixed by the Supreme Court at \$700,000, back to his original and unprecedented figure of three and one half million dollars.

On April 3, by closing 518 mines violating the Federal Safety Code, Krug's office virtually admitted its responsibility for the safety of the men in the mines, including those needlessly killed at Centralia. The Coal Mines Administrator, Captain Collisson, sent UMW President John L. Lewis a letter listing these mines. He asked Lewis "to submit for my consideration the names and locations of any other mine which the United Mine Workers of America considers to be so hazardous as to require closing." Lewis replied: "I suggest that you order closed forthwith all of the bituminous coal mines found to be in violation

### Steel Union Strike Possible In May

If U. S. Steel continues to stall on contract negotiations with the CIO United Steel Workers, Philip Murray may call for a meeting of the union's Wage Policy Committee to consider preparations for a nation-wide strike on May 1, the N. Y. Times reported from Pittsburgh on Apr. 8.

of the Federal Mine Safety Code by the Bureau of Mines."

In the whole nation only two mines, in Wyoming, were found by the Federal Bureau of Mines to be living up to this code. The government, though in possession of the mines for a year and though pledged by contract with the UMW to enforce this code, had never taken any steps to make the mines safe. "No coal mine is safe which is operating in violation of the code," Lewis pointed out in his letter.

Acting on Krug's orders, Collisson has refused to close those government-operated mines which violate the government's own safety code.

In a telegram to all UMW districts today, John L. Lewis confirmed "the policy of immediate resumption of production at each mine as fast as it is certified by federal mine inspectors as being in conformity with the federal mine safety code."

## Dollars For Greece Part Of "Oil Grab"

Senator Glen H. Taylor (D., Idaho) in a radio address April 4 declared that Truman's demand for authority to send American military supplies and dollars to Greece and Turkey is part of "an oil grab" in the Middle East. "It becomes unmistakably clear," declared the Senator, "that the objective is not so much food for the Greek people as oil for the American monopolies—the oil that lies in the great underground reservoirs in the lands just east of Greece and Turkey."

He added that Truman's "doctrine" involved "a new American imperialism" based on "dollars and atom bombs."

## Senate Foreign Committee Backs First Step Of Truman War Policy

By Joseph Hansen

The first step in carrying out Truman's newly announced doctrine of openly bolstering reaction throughout the world to safeguard Wall Street's economic, financial and political interests was unanimously approved by the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee on April 3. The Republicans and Democrats in this committee voted 13-to-0 in favor of handing the Greek monarchy and the Turkish dictatorship \$400,000,000 out of the U.S. public treasury and sending military missions to stream-line the Greek Army. Senator Taft, boss of the Republican steam-roller in the Senate, predicted swift passage of the bill.

By the same unanimous vote, the committee rejected the Pepper-Taylor substitute, which proposed restricting the measure to relief aid for Greece alone. And they likewise rejected proposals of Senator Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado to exclude Turkey and bar military intervention. Johnson's proposal to demand an end to the Greek monarchy met a like fate.

The 13 Senators agreed on including the Vandenberg amendment paying lip service to the United Nations. The amendment ostensibly permits the UN to over-see Washington's intervention in Greece and Turkey and end it if it sees fit.

### GILDING THE UN

This amendment was designed to allay the great resentment of the American people over the Truman "doctrine" which they fear will lead straight down the highway to an atomic war. After ballyhooing the UN as the only means of preventing a Third World War, the Administration's by-passing of this body shocked all those who had accepted the propaganda at its face value.

Besides Vandenberg's amendment, Washington has tried to re-gild the badly-tarnished UN

by a series of statements from leading Wall Street political representatives about Truman's doctrine really helping the UN.

But this sucker-bait is belied by the campaign touched off April 1 by Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia. This influential leader of the Democratic Party demanded the "Greek-Turkish problem" be tossed into the UN. If the Soviet delegation exercised their right of veto, then Byrd would call for a "showdown" even if this "means

a retirement of Russia from the United Nations."

"I say the time has come to be realistic and to reorganize the United Nations," said the Virginia Senator, "if such action is necessary . . ."

Eric Johnston, well known spokesman of Big Business, followed up the next day with the accusation that Russia is "sabotaging" the United Nations. The N. Y. Times on April 3 added its editorial voice to the chorus. (Continued on Page 3)

## Indo-Chinese Send Thanks For Help In Their Struggle

How the Indo-Chinese people look to the American workers for aid in their struggle for freedom from imperialist France is graphically revealed in a letter sent the Socialist Workers Party by the Viet-Nam Government.

The letter was sent to show that the picket line organized by the Socialist Workers Party, the Workers Party and the American Viet-Nam Friendship Association in front of the French Consulate in New York on January 25 had not gone unnoticed in Indo-China.

The placards of the 200 demonstrators in the picket line demanded "Hands off Indo-China" and "No U.S. Guns to France."

The Indo-Chinese people have long fought for their independence. During the war they resisted the Japanese conquerors while the former French authorities collaborated with the representatives of the Mikado.

With the fall of Japan, the Indo-Chinese set up their own government, the Viet-Nam Republic.

But the British sent troops to Indo-China to try to put down this government just as they

tried to put down the Indonesian Republic. Later the French took over, and have since been drenching the soil of their former colony with the blood of Indo-Chinese patriots.

Most of the French arms and munitions are supplied by the American government. The mark "Made In the U.S.A." is now a

familiar sight to the Indo-Chinese. Stamped on the weapons mowing them down, it has come to signify Wall Street's reactionary role in the Far East.

As can be seen from the letter, any signs of opposition by American workers to Wall Street's policy touches the deepest emotions of the Indo-Chinese people.

### PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM "Independence—Freedom—Happiness"

Dr. PHAM-NGOC-THACH,  
Under Secretary of State  
Near Hanoi, Feb. 15, 1947

Chairman, Socialist Workers Party  
New York

Dear Sir:

We were deeply moved by your big demonstration in New York in favor of the struggle for Viet-Nam's independence. On behalf of President HO-CHI-MINH and the Government of Viet-Nam's Republic, I convey to you and your organization our gratitude.

On the other hand the Viet-Nam's Labor Federation asks me to send you and your organization their warmest greetings and thanks.

It was the first time American people openly supported our present fight. We hope through your activities American progressive organizations would send us arms, ammunitions and medicines in order to help us wipe out the French imperialism.

Sincerely yours,  
(signed) P. N. THACH

## Shutdown Of 518 Mines Confirms Krug's Guilt

By George Lavan

APRIL 1 — Secretary of the Interior Krug's closing of 518 coal mines because of their unsafe condition was on open admission that the government had previously

neglected to care for the safety of the men in the seized mines. This belated action confirmed the charge by United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis that government officials must be held responsible for the death of 111 miners in the explosion at Centralia, Ill.

Krug's step was taken under pressure of the six-day stoppage ordered by the UMW in protest against the killing of the Centralia victims. By closing 518 mines, Krug evidently hoped to head off further action by the men who dig the nation's coal and to protect his department and the coal operators against the demands Lewis was raising before the House Labor Committee.

Carrying the attack to the labor-hating inquisitors, Lewis demanded the removal of Secretary of the Interior J. A. Krug for "criminal negligence." Lewis stated, in reference to the Centralia victims: "I say that by his inaction he permitted them to die."

Lewis' second demand was for federal legislation to make the Federal Safety Code compulsory for the mines even after they were returned to their private owners. The present safety code has no teeth in it for privately run mines. It is supposedly in force now at government-seized mines only by virtue of specific paragraphs in the contract signed by Krug and Lewis.

(Continued on Page 2)

## Accepting The Challenge Of The AT & T Empire

By B. Anders

APR. 7 — Finally united in action on a national scale, the 280,000 members of the National Federation of Telephone Workers today accepted the challenge of one of the largest and most arrogant monopolies in the country—the AT&T empire, which directly owns and controls all long-distance phones, 90% of controlling stock in the Bell subsidiaries and the manufacturing Western Electric units.

Strike was the only recourse left to the phone workers after AT&T's obstinate refusal to meet or arbitrate union demands. During two months of bargaining, in the words of Joseph Beirne, NFTW President:

"Not a single Bell Company has offered a penny of wage increases as a counter-proposal to our demand for a \$12 a week increase . . . In most of our bargaining sessions, company representatives have proposed that seniority provisions be discarded and that promotions, transfers and reassignments be left entirely in the hands of the company. They have proposed that the number of paid holidays be reduced. They want to reduce sick pay provisions, they

would make grievance procedure less effective."

Such has been the provocative position of the Bell Companies as well as the manufacturing subsidiaries of the AT&T trust, which stubbornly refuses to bargain on a national basis. AT&T has insisted on the legal fiction that each of the operating companies bargain independently with local and regional unions.

But the puppet-like unanimity of the company statements and the uniformity of their anti-labor advertisements in the press show clearly that the Bell Companies are being operated from a central switchboard — AT&T headquarters at 165 Broadway in New York.

The over-all attitude of AT&T compelled the telephone workers to take united strike action to force the monopoly to treat employees as human beings.

The justice of the telephone

workers' demand for a \$12 a week increase is fully supported by the figures released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, an agency that certainly is not biased in favor of labor. The Bureau's reports show that the telephone workers are among the lowest paid utility workers. On the average they receive \$8 a week less than workers in electric light and power; \$10 a week less than transportation workers; etc.

Other union demands of the phone workers consist of a union shop, shorter apprentice periods, narrowing of wage differentials, a better pension plan and improved holiday and vacation schedules. These measures are necessary to correct the onerous Bell practices.

The NFTW, organized in 1939, has been a loose and autonomous federation, whose full strength has never yet been felt. The "divide and conquer" tactics of AT&T have shown the crying necessity of a strong union organization. In last year's brief strike, the phone workers perceived the need for united action, and planned accordingly.

# Why The Truman "Doctrine" Will Come To Grief

By George Clarke

Extracts from a speech delivered at a mass meeting of the Socialist Workers Party in New York City, Apr. 2.

About four months before the proclamation of the Truman doctrine the Socialist Workers Party met in convention at Chicago and adopted its Theses on the American Revolution. In essence this too was a doctrine, a doctrine outlining the future course of the American proletariat and preparing for the struggle for power and socialism.

This doctrine was a milestone in the history of the American revolutionary movement. It stated that the United States was suffering from the same violent and incurable diseases which grip all of world capitalism and that American imperialism would not escape the shocks and convulsions arising from the death agony of capitalism.

### POWER OF AMERICAN WORKERS

Hence, America has definitely entered the orbit of the world socialist revolution. The prime generating force of this revolution maturing in America, as well as in the rest of the world, will come from 50 million American workers. Just as during the 1930's they leaped from non-organization to trade union consciousness and the creation of the greatest trade union movement in the world, so the American workers are preparing to jump from political backwardness to revolutionary consciousness. The Theses said that the workers' struggle for power in the United States was the realistic program of our epoch.

Four months have passed since the proclamation of this doctrine of ours, and the professional pessimists and doubters have begun to sneer at these Theses. At

first glance it would seem that there is some validity to their skepticism.

Does it not appear as though reaction is firmly in the saddle in America? Do we not see open incitement for war against the Soviet Union, accompanied by an orgy of red-baiting? Do we not see the furious anti-labor offensive unfolding in every department of the government up to the Supreme Court? And now the former Pennington wardheeler in the White House puffs out his chest and proclaims himself the new Caesar of the world. Where, then, the doubters ask, is the perspective for the American Socialist Revolution?

### NO REAL ANTAGONISTS

The reason for Truman's sudden transformation from a nonentity into a Nero lies not only in the power of American imperialism, but also in the kind of opposition Truman is meeting today. Analyze this opposition and you will conclude, as so often happens in the prize ring, that Truman is fighting set-ups, not real antagonists. The main antagonists with whom Truman is contending today are the spineless, treacherous and capitalist-minded misleaders of labor.

Consider, for example — Stalin. With all the power of the Soviet Union and the border states at his disposal, and with a great revolutionary reservoir in Europe and Asia, Stalin could think of no better means of solving the problems of the world than by looting the factories of Germany and Manchuria. By such means he sought to cope with the Caesar in the White House.

Or look at the man who seemed to be an even more formidable antagonist in America a short time ago, John L. Lewis. He rested the fate of the mine workers and the entire labor movement upon the Su-

preme Court for an impartial decision. Or Truman's "antagonist" in the American Federation of Labor, William Green, who still prates about the identity of interests between capital and labor. Or of a somewhat lesser foe, Eugene Dennis, Secretary of the Communist Party, who has compared himself to John Paul Jones, Woodrow Wilson, O. Henry and Mark Twain. The only one he left out was Langley Collyer.

Since the Stalinist Party is in the headlines today, let us spend a few moments on this antagonist. You will notice this significant fact about the Communist Party. Although many people defend its right to existence, nobody defends it for its works, or has a good word to say for it. It is increasingly recognized that the suppression of the Communist Party would weaken the rights of the labor movement as a whole. But the evil of the Communist Party is too strong today for anyone to speak of it as a force for progress, let alone a force for socialism or revolution.

### A PITIFUL CARICATURE

What a pitiful caricature of a working-class party! A few years ago it was the Roosevelt party! Then, like a man on a lost weekend, it shook itself up and decided to again become the Communist Party. No sooner did it proclaim this, than it revealed itself not as a Communist Party but as a Wallace party.

One of the injustices of this world, I would say, when you look at the so-called foes of Truman, is that the prize fighter, Rocky Graziano, should have been barred from the ring while these set-ups are permitted to fight.

The real picture of the relationship of forces was drawn after V-J Day. It was

drawn in the demonstrations of the GIs all the way from Paris to Okinawa — and do not forget that this uprising compelled American imperialism to revise its foreign policy, at least for a time. That picture was even more vividly drawn in the strikes in automobile, in steel, in maritime, in packinghouse, on the railroads and in the mines, which challenged the power of American capitalism. It looked then as though the mighty-American working class could permanently hamstring the aims of American imperialism.

### ROLE OF UNION LEADERSHIP

What then is the reason for the retreat of the labor movement today? Why so few strikes despite the great need for higher wages? Why is there such weak resistance to the anti-labor offensive?

The American workers learned in the recent struggles that they faced essentially political struggles without weapons, without program and without leadership. The spineless and stupid leadership of labor, the Greens, Murrays and Reuthers, sent the workers into struggle with the strategy of "one-at-a-time." They sent the workers into struggle, not for a sliding scale of wages which would have counteracted the rising cost of living, but for wage settlements which were quickly cancelled out by inflation. The workers faced the combined offensive of the capitalist parties and the capitalist government without a party of their own. The labor bureaucracy exerted every ounce of strength to prevent the crystallization of a labor party. It was imperative to organize a vast mobilization of the labor movement in defense of the rail and mine strikes. And yet the workers faced all these great problems without the necessary weapons, program and leadership.

Alan Goldsborough, the judge in Washington, correctly expressed the essence of the current class conflict when he rendered his decision against the miners. What was involved, he said, was the question of sovereignty. That is to say: "Who shall be master in the house — capital or labor?" And when Truman issued his doctrine he amended Goldsborough's statement. For the struggle in America not only revolves around the question of who will be master in the house here, but who will be master in the world.

These same social forces are still struggling for mastery in America and the decisive battles between them have not yet been fought. This fact is the chief block in the path of the Truman doctrine of world conquest. The capitalists, the Sixty Families, are hesitating today before their main

task in America. The bark of reaction in Washington is still worse than its bite. You see this in the hesitancy with which the Republican Party moves towards enacting anti-labor legislation. The desire is present in the Republicans, but they fear the consequences of their own steps. You see this in the question of outlawing the Communist Party. Although this party is of no great importance in the American struggle today, such a dramatic step as suppressing the Communist Party would signalize to the labor movement that capitalist reaction is well on its path toward destroying all the forces of the workers. The representatives of Big Business move with caution because they understand that the only form of government under capitalism which can resolve such a titanic class struggle is a military dictatorship, as a prelude to fascism. That alone can insure the fulfillment of the Truman program in America, and as a consequence, its fulfillment throughout the world.

### LABOR IS POWERFUL

But the time is not yet ripe for such a move. The vehicle, a fascist party, is still lacking. The Republican Party, despite its Wall Street backers and anti-labor program, remains — like the Democrats — a party of capitalist democracy and it cannot easily transform itself into the party of unrestrained reaction and fascism. The Republican and Democratic Parties face this dilemma every day and on every major issue precisely because the American capitalists are not yet in a position to decisively settle accounts with organized labor in the United States.

They are discovering that they have inflicted no crushing defeats upon the working class. True, there have been setbacks for labor. The railroad workers retreated and the miners retreated, but the labor movement is still intact and has tremendous recuperative powers. For proof you have but to look to the mine fields today where, with a fine of over 2 million dollars hanging over their heads, 400,000 miners are out on strike.

Somebody may say: But these organized American workers do not attack the Truman doctrine. That is true — so far. The miners do not directly attack the Truman doctrine. But they do attack the Truman government. The Truman doctrine expresses the program of Wall Street imperialism and heralds its drive toward war and world domination. Wherever and whenever the organized workers resist the aggressions of this capitalist class and challenge the power of the capitalist government they are undermining the very bases of the Truman

doctrine and obstructing its realization. The readiness of the workers to struggle, despite the sweep of reaction, is being demonstrated at this moment by the national protest of the miners against the murder of their Centralia brothers. This one incident sufficed to galvanize them into action against the entire capitalist apparatus. This demonstrates how quickly the alignment of class forces can be altered and how much the capitalists have to fear from this still undefeated giant of American labor. If an incident like the Centralia disaster can spur the miners into action, what will a colossal catastrophe like the coming depression do? The decisive struggles are clearly ahead of us.

James Burnham, a renegade who once belonged to our movement, but quickly parted company with us when we would not accept his advice to abandon Marxism, is now advising the American imperialists on how to conquer the world.

In his book, *The Struggle For The World*, he tells them their main antagonist is Stalin and his agencies. He urges immediate war to wipe out the Soviet Union. But victory for Wall Street will not be so simple as Burnham's analysis makes it out to be. For Burnham leaves out of account the most important factors in the present world situation — the intervention of the workers of the world.

### DECISIVE BATTLES TO COME

The decisive battles will be waged, not between U.S. imperialism and the transitory misleaders of labor in Russia, Europe or America. They will be fought between the working class and the colonial peoples of the world on one side, and American imperialism on the other. Burnham and those who think like him, cannot see the developing European revolution for the Stalinist bureaucracy. They cannot see the success of the colonial uprisings for the henchmen of Stalin in the colonies. They cannot see the rising power and growing revolutionary consciousness of the American workers because their eyes are riveted upon the Lewises, the Greens and the Murrays. But we are firmly convinced that it is these insurgent masses, and not their present leaders, who will prove themselves to be the decisive powers in the stormy struggles ahead.

The American workers today stand at the very center of historic events. They are indeed the children of destiny. The Truman doctrine will come to grief in the end precisely because it is in irreconcilable conflict with the doctrine of the coming American Revolution which these workers will lead.

## Three Demands Raised On Mine Safety Issue

By George Lavan

Only the most rabid labor haters can oppose the United Mine Workers' demands for an enforceable mine safety law, trust fund and the ouster of Secretary of the Interior Krug. The long history of mine disasters has shown that the state laws are insufficient and that the enforcing agencies are shot through with corruption and operator-favoritism.

The demand for a trust fund for the families of the Centralia and Straight Creek victims is modest enough; if anything, it is too modest. To divert the \$710,000 fine on the UMW to these families would not cost a cent for the guilty operators, who profit from the unsafe conditions their men work under. Nor would it cost the government anything, since this money is the hard-earned cash paid by thousands of miners as union dues.

No worker would shed a tear over the ouster of J. A. Krug. This high politician's main activities have been anti-labor and especially anti-UMW. Although the contract he signed designated him as "the exclusive agency charged with enforcement of this (mine safety) code," he never once took action to save the Centralia or any other miners' lives.

Yet the mere ouster of Krug and his replacement by another capitalist politician would not bring safe mines.

The heart of the mine safety question is who — capital or labor — is going to have the enforcing power. Lewis states, "The government has become a police patrol for the coal operators." And further: "The government is a muscle man for those coal operators who would like to destroy the union."

Does Lewis think that this same government would replace Krug with anyone basically different from Krug?

Nor would the replacement of a Democrat by a Republican alter the situation. The powerful coal interests have the friendship of the Republicans, as the scandalous situation in the Illinois Department of Mines and Minerals proves, as well as that of the Democratic Party. To have safety in the mines,

### Mine Owners Know "Little Or Nothing"

H. E. Bell, millionaire chief of the Bell and Zoller Coal Co. which owns the Centralia Coal Co. and the mine where 111 miners died last month, was found by reporters taking his ease in the sunlight of Pasadena, Calif. His answer to questions was that he "knew little about the operations of the mine."

H. H. McDonald, president of the Centralia Coal Co., when interviewed in his luxurious Chicago office, greeted reporters by saying: "Hell, I don't know anything about a coal mine."

the enforcing power must be beyond the influence of the operators, that is, it must be in the hands of the miners themselves. For this there must be nationalization of the mines under workers' control. Then the just for profits would not override the needs of safety. Then the miners could make the mines really safe.

Experts could be hired, and miners could pick from their own ranks members for special training in mine engineering. If the controlling power placed safety first, as it would under workers control, then the directives of the safety experts and the miners would be enforced.

But while the enforcing power is in the hands of the operators or of a government subservient to them, then profits are put first and safety last. The recommendations of the experts and the miners are filed in the waste basket as the history of Centralia and countless other mines shows. Conscientious state and federal inspectors are overruled, as Driscoll Scanlan was in Illinois, or they are kicked out as was Dr. R. R. Sayers of the Federal Bureau of Mines, despite the vigorous protest of the UMW.

## Accuses Mine Owners And State



Illinois State mine inspector Driscoll A. Scanlan told reporters that negligence, corruption and incompetence by company and state officials were responsible for the Centralia mine disaster. Federated Pictures

## First Nation-wide Telephone Strike Ties Up Switchboards

(Continued from Page 1)

through to victory was given new impetus with the statement of NFTW President Beirne that the unions are "settling down for a long strike."

With the continuation of the strike it is only a matter of time before automatic dial phones will go out of order by mechanical failures. This will mean an absolute silence of the nation's 31,600,000 phones, because already both long-distance and manual phones are completely silenced in 42 states.

In the days prior to the strike the government exerted heavy pressure on the NFTW. Congressman Hartley and other professional labor-hating politicians tried to rush through a new bill to permit government seizure. Simultaneously, Truman's "legal" experts advised him that he could seize the phones on the phony grounds that the war is not yet "officially" over.

This episode constituted a warning that the Truman administration is waiting for the

best time and looking for the best way to come to the aid of the AT&T magnates.

Furthermore, Secretary of Labor Schwelmbach and his agents kept pressuring the unions not to strike. Schwelmbach's men tried to make it appear that the union and the monopoly were equally responsible for the breakdown in negotiations. Actually the union all along has agreed to accept full arbitration, while the monopoly persistently refused.

Incensed by AT&T's contemptuous attitude and undeterred by the government agencies' war of nerves, the phone workers surged forward in complete solidarity. The only break in the strike front occurred in Virginia and Indiana, where the workers were intimidated by state laws providing for fines and jail sentences following state seizure.

However, in New Jersey, where Governor Driscoll promptly invoked a state law to seize the phones, the unions scorned the state action and kept their picket lines intact.

This was a significant expression of the workers' determination to maintain nationwide solidarity and of their understanding that unified action represents a greater power than government edicts.

Herein lies the key to victory for the phone workers: their ability to maintain complete solidarity in the face of inevitable reprisals by the government and Big Business.

This splendid demonstration of power by the phone workers, coming simultaneously with the miners' stoppage, points the way for the whole labor movement to beat back the growing anti-labor offensive. It is up to the CIO and AFL to rally to the support of the phone workers, to defend their right to strike, and to prevent government strike-breaking. Along these lines, the phone strike can serve to lift the labor movement to a renewed level of struggle.

## Closing Of 518 Mines Confirms Krug's Guilt

(Continued from Page 1)

His third demand was that the \$710,000 in fines imposed by the Supreme Court upon the UMW and himself for "striking against the government," be remitted to the union and used as a trust fund for the widows of both the Centralia and Straight Creek, Kentucky, mine disasters.

Although Lewis has centered his fire on the federal government's guilt, three official inquiries just completed in Centralia have served to underline the equal guilt of Illinois state officials. It was revealed that Robert M. Medill, recently resigned head of the Illinois Department of Mines, sold protection from the safety laws to operators who contributed to the Republican Party's campaign fund.

It was charged that this shake down was on "express orders" from Governor Dwight H. Green. Medill directed the local inspectors to get contributions from the small operators while he personally approached the "big boys." The quota assigned the Department of Mines was \$25,000 for the majority campaign.

Driscoll A. Scanlan, local inspector for the Centralia mine, begged Medill to take action on the unsafe Centralia mine before a dust explosion occurred which would "sweep from one end of the mine to the other." But his chief replied: "We'll just have to

take that chance."

Medill also berated Scanlan for the thoroughness of his reports, saying that "those damned hunkies at the Centralia mine wouldn't know the conditions at the mine if you didn't bring it to their attention in your reports."

William H. Brown, superintendent of the Centralia mine, told the Illinois investigating committee that the inspectors' recommendation for a sprinkling system to allay the excessive dust in the mine had not been followed because it wasn't "economical." "You mean you didn't want to bear the expense?" asked the committee. "That's right," Brown replied.

Revelations of the corruption in the Illinois Department of Mines bore out oft-repeated UMW charges that the state mine departments were tools of the operators. As one UMW official stated, "State regulations is politics from top to bottom. It's politics what kind of a law you get and it's politics who's appointed to inspect the mines. And it's politics how they do their job."

Hugh White, president of UMW District 12, assailed the federal government, declaring, "Miners have been put in prison for striking, but the operators have only received letters when their mines are unsafe."

### The Potentiality Of Physical Harm

The Telephone Workers Union is not technically on strike but is respecting picket lines in New York. "Its President, John J. Curtin, who is 6 feet 3 inches tall and weighs 250 pounds, said his members had been instructed by the company never to subject themselves to the potentiality of physical harm. Because they had learned this lesson well, Mr. Curtin said, the maintenance men were not running the risk of crossing the picket lines set up by the girl operators." — N. Y. Times, Apr. 8.

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## Our Program:

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

## Join the Socialist Workers Party!

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
116 University Place  
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- To join the Socialist Workers Party.
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# American Stalinism And Anti-Stalinism

## Franco Makes Open Bid For Deal With Monarchy

Franco last week issued a decree proclaiming Spain as a monarchist state and establishing a Regency Council to take charge of the government and select its head if he dies or is incapacitated. The decree authorizes Franco to summon "the person of royal blood" best fitted in his opinion to be monarch.

Alarmed by the growth of unrest and strikes among the Spanish masses, Franco finds it necessary today to strengthen his fascist regime against them. His decree is an attempt to arrive at a deal with the monarchist movement which, as a result of United Nations pressure, is growing rapidly in capitalist and army circles; or, failing that, to split the monarchist movement and win over that wing of the monarchists which is willing to share the power with Franco and the Falange.

Monarchist circles are highly embarrassed by Franco's open bid, and they are trying to hide this embarrassment by loudly denouncing Franco for having the audacity to try to pick the new monarch, etc. For despite their long collaboration with the fascist regime, they are now compelled to dissociate themselves from it.

Their understanding with the British government requires that they attempt to give the monarchy a "liberal" aspect. And they know they have no chance of securing any semblance of mass support inside Spain so long as they have any deals with Franco.

### MAIN AIM

Winning such mass support, or at any rate tolerance, is the main pre-occupation of the monarchists today; it is the only hope the Spanish ruling class has for replacing Franco with a "safe" government and thus staving off a revolutionary overturn by the masses.

In this dirty job, which will keep the Spanish capitalists and landlords in power even if Franco goes, the monarchists can today count on the support of virtually all the wings of the "republican" and labor movements inside Spain and the Spanish emigre circles.

The "republican" leaders and labor bureaucrats do not openly call for the restoration of the monarchy. Instead, they call for collaboration with the monarchists and anti-Franco militarists and express the hope that after Franco's downfall there will be a plebiscite to determine what the masses think.

Diego Martinez Barrio, president of the Spanish Republican Government-in-Exile, expresses his views most clearly when he speaks of " rapprochement with the sentiments of Spanish opinion which, even though not within the framework of republican institutions, coincides with us in the necessity to liquidate the Franco regime."

"This rapprochement could create a climate which could perhaps show the Spanish army the moral obligation it has toward the country.

"If a military Junta is created, this will have to be for a very short stage. Later, the problem could be solved by knowing what the political will of the country is. It would be necessary for all to compromise to accept the expression of this will."

When he became premier of the exile government's new cabinet formed at Barrio's behest, Rudolfo Llopis declared:

"I must now make every effort to incorporate in the government all the political and social opinions, particularly inside the country itself, of which the note of the President of the Republic is speaking when he placed me in charge of constituting the new government."

That clearly establishes the orientation of the exile government, which is reported to have already initiated discussions with monarchist agents.

The Socialist Party's press states its reasons for going along in the following words:

"It is the case, more or less, of avoiding a terrible civil war and to see if Spain is or is not a geographical and national reality accessible to all Spaniards and able to unite in one united aspiration the divergent interests of Spaniards."

The Anarchists, who control the CNT (National Confederation of Labor), have already issued a formal declaration of readiness to collaborate with the monarchists.

### STALINIST SHIFTS

The Stalinists were the earliest to raise the question of a deal with the monarchists, but then changed their line for a time because they were afraid they would be frozen out by the monarchists. Today, however, they are again advocating the deal.

Dolores Ibaruri (La Pasionara) declared last month that it was "logical that there are interviews and negotiations with the monarchists." The Daily Worker here quoted her speech at a Spanish CP plenum in Paris on Mar. 29, in which she called for "the formation of a great coalition of all Republican forces with anti-Francoists who are not specifically Republican."

The centrist party, POUM, is not very happy about the proposed deal, but tries to suggest a radical outcome for it. The Spanish correspondent of its paper writes:

"If the agreement with the monarchists is realized (and we must not forget that they will be the first to occupy the level of power), in what situation will the anti-fascist forces find themselves? The most elementary logic suggests that in spite of the compromises sought for, the resistance organizes itself for the possibility of the fall of the monarchy as well as showing its strength at any time."

Despite this radical talk, the

POUM continues to participate in the ANFD (National Alliance of Democratic Forces), the current version of the Peoples Front which is involved in negotiations with the monarchists and militarists.

## Greek Monarchy A 'Difficult Client' Declares Krock

Arthur Krock, Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Times, has decided that "The Greek government is a difficult client." He bases this conclusion on the report of an un-named but "trained" observer in Greece. This observer, Krock declared in his March 31 column, "would not be quoted in this space had he not impressively established his reliability, disinterestedness and capacity to report objectively."

The announcement "that the United States is going to bail out Greece" was "the signal," says the observer, "for a new campaign of repression." The Ministry is following "the secret police technique made familiar for years in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Spain, Japan and Soviet Russia. Arrests of citizens were made between midnight and 5 o'clock a.m., and within 24 hours those seized were deported to a 'lonely island without a public trial.'"

"In one three-day period," the report continues, "after the United States said it would assume political responsibility, the Greek government arrested about 600 persons in Athens, mostly professionals—doctors, lawyers, etc.—and sent them away, frankly declaring there was no longer any need to exercise restraint. There is no doubt that the loudest shouters in support of the United States are Athens' 3,000 wealthiest citizens whom the government continues to protect against any direct taxation and who, with their gold pounds, hardly realize there is any inflation. And the Rightists and extremists, encouraged by the President's speech, now trumpet that the Center is almost as traitorous as the Left because it doesn't make humble obeisance to the government."

The conclusion of this observer is that much as he detests "Communists" he would "go to the mountains" if he were a Greek. The mere fact that a mouth-piece of Wall Street like the N. Y. Times would publish such damning extracts shows how authentic are the observations of the un-named correspondent.

It is this fascist-minded regime in Greece that the White House now proposes to bolster with \$250,000,000 taken from the pockets of the American workers.

This "explanation" was not cooked up by Truman's enemies. It was conscientiously reported by Joseph C. Harsch, Washington

correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor as the inside dope. The staid Arthur Krock, head of the N. Y. Times Washington office, likewise declared that "the State Department must be charged with the major blame." And Senator George of Georgia called it a "tactical mistake."

Their main argument is that the UN charter expressly forbids member nations from acting unilaterally in matters affecting other nations. Yet Truman, head of the power that fostered the UN and the principles set forth in its charter, is the first to violate those principles. Truman's action, they say, torpedoes the UN.

The Trumanites, consequently, have tried to cover up this hole in their political fence with any and every argument that appears the least bit plausible. What lengths they will go to is shown by the explanation they began peddling around April Fool's day.

According to this explanation, "it was all a rather silly blunder." It appears that the UN Division of the State Department has a new head. And he, having been a "younger officer" up to now, has yet "to win his spurs." Consequently his voice carries little weight in inner circle councils.

When Truman's speech was being ghost-written by the State Department, this "younger officer" was by-passed. Therefore, the "point of view" of the bureau interested in the UN was not included in the finished draft!

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## British Atrocities In Palestine



Handcuffed together, and with legs shackled, these two Jews are brought to a British military court in Jerusalem for trial. Armed officers and tanks appear in the background. Federated Pictures

## Washington "Explains" United Nations By-Pass

By Joseph Hansen

The opposition to Truman's announcement of a new foreign policy is growing in volume. The masses do not want to start down the dark road to the Third World War that is clearly foreshadowed in this "doctrine."

The most articulate opposition, however, comes from the liberals, the Wallace-Pepper brand of New Dealers, and their Stalinist tail. Their great grievance is Truman's by-passing the United Nations. And they have been making political capital out of this issue.

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## 2. Communist Party And The Red-Baiters

By James P. Cannon

(Ed. Note: This is the second of a series of articles on Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism. The third article will appear next week.)

The Communist Party, which served American capitalism well during the war, and in return basked in its favor, is getting into trouble again. The American Stalinists' support of the Kremlin, in the current diplomatic conflicts, is provoking retaliatory measures from the owners of America and their servants. American Stalinism is under heavy attack along a wide front in the United States these days, and this time it is a real attack which takes on more and more the color of persecution. Red-baiting is the order of the day.

The Stalinists, as a matter of routine, denounce every criticism, from any source or from any standpoint, as "Red-baiting." But this campaign is the real thing. The Big Money is behind it.

The powerhouse behind the assault on the Communist Party and its trade union positions and peripheral organizations is the National Association of Manufacturers. On the political field it is led, of course, by the Republican-Democratic coalition in Washington, as part of the propagandistic build-up to put the home front in shape for a war against the Soviet Union, which is being deliberately planned and prepared. Under this formidable leadership a broad supporting movement has been mobilized in the population generally, as well as in the labor movement. The capitalist press, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church and the American Legion—the three most reactionary influences in American life—speak with one voice in support of the new holy crusade for "democracy against totalitarianism."

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### Sinister Role of ACTU

Almost the whole of the non-Stalinist trade union bureaucracy has taken its place in the campaign. The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, a sinister, priest-ridden outfit which menaces the unions with a split along religious lines, is very active and aggressive in the pogrom against the "Commies." Drawing encouragement from the governmental campaign and the general reactionary trend in the country, the ACTU grows ever bolder and more brazen in its attempts to switch the allegiance of the progressive trade unions from Moscow to Rome. The rear of the anti-Stalinist united front is brought up by a vociferous assortment of New York Social Democrats and ex-radical intellectuals who do their best to supply the "ideology" for the frenzied campaign.

The current drive against the Stalinists is labelled "anti-communist" and every attempt is made to identify the two terms—Stalinism and Communism—in the popular mind. This is the result of ignorance on the part of some and of deliberate deception on the part of others who know better, but in any case it is completely false. And that is the reason why the whole campaign, while it is undoubtedly weakening some of the organizational positions of the Stalinists and dislodging them from some strategic posts in the trade union movement, and furnishing not a few Stalinist careerists an excuse to run for cover, is actually strengthening the moral position of the Communist Party.

The ranks of the sympathetic radical workers and party members are being solidified by the crude reactionary ballyhoo, and the support of new groups of workers is being drawn to the party which is made to appear as the persecuted revolutionary opponent of the big money sharks and their anti-labor plus atomic war program. For example, the C.P., according to the Daily Worker, raised a "defense fund" of \$250,000 in less than 20 days. This important sum could properly be posted in the financial report of the party treasurer as a free donation from the associated Red-baiters.

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ignated as an honest revolutionary organization designed to serve the interests of the working class. By degrees, over a period of years, and from causes which are known and can be explained, this same party was transformed into an agency of imperialism in the labor movement—from communist to anti-communist. That is the truth of the matter, and that is what is really wrong with the Communist Party, as we shall undertake to demonstrate in this series of articles. In doing so we hope to convince the militant workers that they must think and discriminate in taking their position on Stalinism and anti-Stalinism. It is a fatal error to think that rapacious American capitalism can be effectively fought under the banner of Stalinism. It is a no less fatal error for them to allow their hatred of the disruptive and treacherous methods of the Stalinists to push them into the camp of capitalist reaction.

### Independent Road for Workers

The aim of our exposition is to show the necessity for the workers to take an independent position; to fight their own fight against the ruling Sixty Families and their stooges on the one side, and the Stalinist disrupters and traitors on the other.

The Communist Party of the United States is not a newcomer on the labor scene; it is already 28 years old, and in that time has gone through a curious evolution. It was originally constituted by the revolutionary left-wing section of the Socialist Party whose struggle for a revolutionary program, which had been carried on as a faction of the S.P. for a number of years, finally culminated in a split at the September convention in 1919. The new party quickly enlisted many of the most militant representatives of the IWW and other radical formations of the earlier day, and was in fact the legitimate successor and continuator of pre-war revolutionary radicalism in the United States. The party unfurled the banner of the Russian Revolution, which was the veritable banner of authentic communism; affiliated itself to the newly created Communist International founded by Lenin and Trotsky; and declared war on American capitalism.

The party from its very beginning encountered the fiercest persecution on the part of the "democratic" government at Washington. Those were the days of the notorious "Palmer raids." The members suffered wholesale arrests and imprisonments even before the new party had had an opportunity to properly constitute itself. In the fierce persecution of that period the party was driven underground and was compelled to conduct its activities illegally for several years. Under the fierce onslaught of reaction and persecution many fell by the wayside, but the main cadres of the new party stood firm, held fiercely to their revolutionary convictions and gradually fought their way back into the open as a legal party.

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# THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. XI. — No. 15 Saturday, April 12, 1947

Published Weekly by THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-9330 FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

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

Subscriptions: \$1.00 per year; 50¢ for 6 months. Foreign: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Single copies: 5 cents per copy for 5 copies or more in the United States; 4 cents per copy for 5 copies or more in all foreign countries.

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



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

Leon Trotsky

## Build A Labor Party!

The continued mine stoppage and plane strike, involving close to three-quarters of a million workers, is a stirring demonstration of labor's mighty power.

These men and women were badgered and pushed around by arrogant and heartless employers until the breaking point was reached. Then they showed that industry depends on their services and cannot move without them. They are demanding what every human being is entitled to, safe and decent working conditions and a level of pay sufficient to meet the rise in the cost of living that followed the most flagrant profit-gouging in modern times.

But the capitalists are now getting ready their counterattack on the political field, where they hold an iron-tight monopoly. Their political representatives occupy every seat in Congress. Their man rules in the White House. Their agents sit as judges in all the courts.

Wall Street is moving this powerful army of office-holders against labor. Already it has been announced that the government will ask Judge Goldsborough to levy the full \$3,500,000 fine against the miners because they refuse to risk their lives in mines violating safety regulations.

Already the Senate and House Labor Committees have announced their intention to rush legislation through Congress designed to cripple the unions, leaving them helpless to resist Big Business.

This danger to labor is real. It cannot be met by relying solely on the strike weapon. The unions can defend themselves against this political assault only by forging their own political weapon — that is, an Independent Labor Party.

The working class must put its own representatives in Congress. It must fight to end Wall Street's domination in Washington and put a Workers' and Farmers' Government in power.

Once labor takes the road to political action, it will prove invincible. But if the workers permit the capitalists to continue their monopoly of politics, then the unions can be cut to ribbons and lose everything they have gained on the economic field in decades of bitter struggle.

## The Real Power

While the former Allies haggle at Moscow over the loot of World War II and push each other around in preparation for World War III, two events in the news gave notice that the final decision about the fate of humanity does not rest with the high and mighty diplomats but with the great toiling masses.

The first event was the decision of the United Mine Workers to shut down the soft coal industry as a memorial to their 111 murdered comrades at Centralia and to call public attention to the dangerous conditions under which they have been forced to labor. The second event was the decision of the German coal miners and factory workers in the Ruhr area to stage mass protest demonstrations against the hunger they suffer under the rule of the Allied military governments.

On each side of the Atlantic, one of the most essential links in industry—the production of coal—was held up by these dramatic actions of workers speaking different languages but suffering the same general evils of the capitalist system.

At Moscow, the diplomats are presumably engaged—two years after the close of the war—with the business of drawing up a "peace." They are drawing new frontier lines on the maps before them, squabbling about reparations and spheres of influence, and off the record they are undoubtedly cooking up new secret protocols, too dirty and shameful to stand the light of day.

If peace depended on these agents of the Anglo-American imperialists and the Kremlin bureaucracy, it could be said with certainty that the doom of civilization is sealed. Atomic war is clearly foreshadowed by this conference.

But these evil men represent only a tiny minority. The real power remains with the vast masses who work for a living. When they begin moving, the tiny minority who now dictate our fate will be left dangling in mid-air. They will prove incapable of keeping the masses chained to an outmoded economic

system. Let them remember what happened to the lords and kings of medieval Europe who tried to keep the masses chained to feudalism when it was ready to be overthrown.

That the miners in Germany and America took action the same week was a coincidence. But the causes that forced them into this action were not coincidental. They are rooted in the sharpening of the class struggle that is destined to sweep away the utterly decayed capitalist system.

When the workers begin to see this basic fact clearly, then they will more and more support each other's struggles and seek common action against the common international foe. The new socialist economic system of enduring peace, plenty and the brotherhood of man will then not be long in appearing.

The memorial of the coal miners in America and the stoppages of the coal miners in Germany are harbingers of that day.

## Stalinists And Rome

A mere listing of the crimes of Stalinism against the working class would fill a volume. The items range from shaking the hand of J. P. Morgan and Mayor Hague during the war to sinking a pick-axe into the brain of Leon Trotsky, greatest thinker of our times. To this long and blood-stained record, the leaders of the Italian Communist (Stalinist) Party have now added another foul page.

On April 1 they voted in the Italian Assembly to continue the chief provisions of a treaty negotiated by Mussolini with the Vatican.

The Vatican, as is well-known among class-conscious workers, is a powerhouse of world reaction. One of its typical acts was the blessing it gave General Franco for slaughtering the flower of the Spanish working class and setting up a fascist dictatorship in Spain.

Mussolini found the services of the Pope and the hierarchy under him so valuable that he accorded the Vatican extraordinary privileges. These privileges, embodied in the Lateran Treaty of February 11, 1929, included recognition of "The City of the Vatican" as a sovereign state within Italy, and the payment of 750,000,000 lire in cash and 1,000,000,000 lire in Italian State bonds bearing 5% interest. In addition, Mussolini and the Pope agreed to make Catholic education compulsory in the public schools.

With the downfall of Mussolini's regime, the "Roman question" again arose. On April 1, 1947, the Italian Assembly settled it by voting 350 to 149 to approve continuation of the main Lateran Treaty provisions by including them in the country's new constitution. "The Roman Catholic apostolic religion is the only religion of the State," declares the constitution, and under it the Italian people will have to pay the salaries of Catholic clergy indoctrinating their children in the public schools.

Premier Alcide de Gasperi and his Christian Democrats voted for this reactionary provision. The Socialist Party voted against it.

The Stalinists, holding the decisive bloc of votes, could have defeated the measure by joining with the Socialist Party in the vote. But they chose instead to join with de Gasperi, thus supporting the Catholic hierarchy.

## Get Out Of China!

Five more American Marines were killed in China and 16 wounded on April 5. These fresh casualties, according to the dispatches, fell when "Communists" raided a dump at Tangku, near Tientsin, where huge quantities of American munition supplies and abandoned Japanese ammunition are stored. Six of the raiders were killed and some 100 wounded.

The responsibility for these deaths lies squarely on Wall Street. So long as American troops remain in China, incidents like this will inevitably occur as dictator Chiang continues his drive to repress the Chinese masses. The American troops guard munition dumps that supply Chiang's forces. The people seeking to end Chiang's dictatorial regime, thus have two powerful motives for raiding these dumps: (1) to replenish their arms and ammunition; (2) to destroy Chiang's sources of supply.

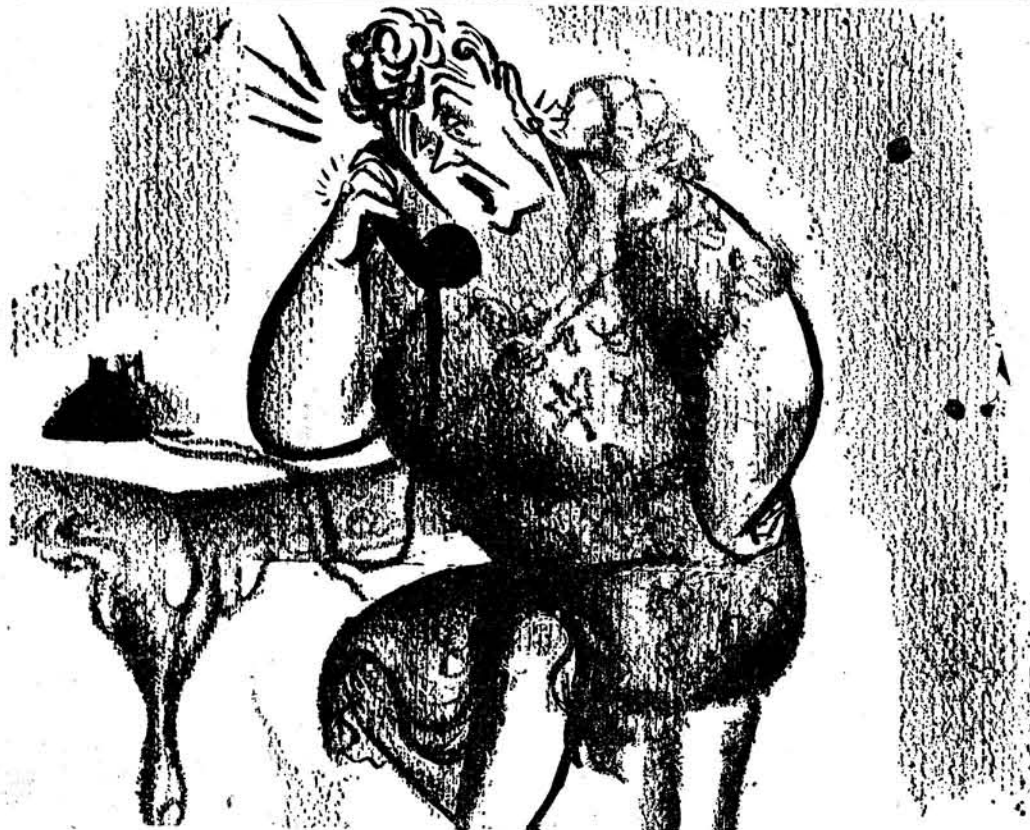
Last July four Marines were killed and 11 wounded in a similar attack on a truck convoy. Last October at this same dump an American Marine was wounded.

Because of incidents such as this and because they see no reason for policing Chinese territories, American GIs have many times indicated their desire to come home. In addition, public sentiment in the USA has opposed mixing in the Chinese civil war on the side of Chiang, who is known as the "butcher of the Chinese masses."

In the teeth of this sentiment, Wall Street has done its utmost to strengthen the Chiang regime. At the end of the war American dollars, American arms and American military missions were poured into China. Chiang's armies were freshly constituted, re-equipped and trained by American officers. Not until Chiang appeared strong enough to carry his bloody drive to a successful conclusion, did Washington with great fanfare announce its intention of "withdrawing" American troops from China.

This new incident must now give rise to a grave suspicion in the mind of every class-conscious worker. Is Washington deliberately delaying the withdrawal? Is Washington deliberately leaving American boys in dangerous areas where the civil war launched by Chiang Kai-shek is raging? Does Washington want "incidents" to help put over the Truman doctrine of intervening in behalf of reaction on a global scale?

Why are the troops still in China almost two years after V-J Day? Class-conscious workers should insist on getting American troops out of China at once. Enough American lives have already been lost defending the brutal dictatorship of a reactionary clique in China!



"But of course you'll have to postpone your strike, operator—I'm expecting a very important call from my dressmaker!"

## Workers' BOOKSHELF

### A STAR POINTED NORTH,

by Edmund Fuller, Harper & Brothers, 361 pp., 1946, \$2.75. This novelized biography of Frederick Douglass presents the life of the great Negro leader in a popular form. It follows the progress of a slave boy in his struggle first for personal liberation, and then later, for the liberation of his race from bondage. The author presents the climax of this struggle in a visit of Douglass to the White House, where he presented his case to President Lincoln.

But if the reader wants to know the full story of the struggles and the ideas of Frederick Douglass, to be able to evaluate the man and his work, then he will have to look elsewhere for his material. Entirely too much space is occupied here with the early period of his life, his personal struggle to obtain an education and his freedom.

The real meaning of the dispute between Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison, the differences between the school of political action and the proponents of moral suasion, are never clearly drawn. Garrison and Douglass were far from being identical reflections of the abolitionist movement. Garrison fought as an evangelist and abstained from politics; Douglass fought as a revolutionist and hence as a moulder of political opinion. Their conflicting views led to a split, and the establishment by Douglass of his own press. These basic differences are never made clear in this novel.

Yet they led Douglass to support John Brown up until Harpers Ferry, while the Garrisonians remained in the emotional and semi-religious realm. The political orientation of Douglass led him in turn to support the then revolutionary Republican Party, while the bourgeois abolitionists abstained from political action. The author never

draws the political lessons from this important phase of the life of Douglass. Furthermore, he uses all too sparingly the best writings and speeches of Douglass.

The weakness of the book in presenting a rounded portrait of Douglass arises from its omissions rather than from deliberate distortion. The struggle of Douglass for the rights of women in the 1850's, his struggle against Jim Crow in the North, his life after the Civil War, his trade union activities and sympathies are all left to the imagination of the reader since the author fails to deal with them. Frederick Douglass, whose whole life was devoted to the struggles of the downtrodden and oppressed of both races, deserves a far better memorial than this.

—John Fredericks

### OF TIME AND THE RIVER,

by Thomas Wolfe, Sun Dial Press, 912 pp., \$1.49. This is the story of five years in Eugene Gant's search for truth. (Gant is Wolfe's picture of himself.)

Eugene desires not to escape from life, but into it. He explores a world of Harvard students, snobs and esthetes; "art" circles filled with feeble talents; tourists and eccentric characters. But it is also a world of New England beauty, human affection, great books, and a vast sweep of life. The time is in the 1920's—of "unlimited prosperity" under Harding. Eugene, at Harvard, is studying desperately to be a playwright. There the esthetic Francis Starbuck becomes his friend. Eugene is especially impressed by Starbuck's ability to give grandeur to everything.

In Bacchus Pentland, Eugene's uncle, we see another revealing character development. Born in Southern poverty, Bacchus turned to religion. He became

the South's loudest prophet-preacher, but changed religions often. He retreats into romanticism, hating anything "common," including women and the working people.

His father's death calls Eugene south. W. O. Gant had been too dominant a personality to his children. Helen, his sister, is unprepared to face life, and Eugene is full of indecision. Finally, he leaves home forever, to give his talents to the world.

After teaching English literature at Harvard, he wanders, "a stranger and alone." He visits England, then France. In Paris he works on a novel until Starbuck appears. With him and two Boston girls, Eugene explores the gilt edges of life. Then, realizing they are living in a vacuum of decay, and that life must be built on work and creation, he departs on his own. In a small French town he writes continuously, passionately.

Europe loses its meaning for Eugene and he leaves. On the ship going home, he meets Esther. This is Wolfe at his most lyrical. He uses many beautiful themes, varying them until each is exhausted.

Although the most poetic of Wolfe's books, this is the least socially conscious. Along with scenes of police brutality and upper-class snobbery, there are distorted views of Negroes, Jews and Irish. Yet while describing these people vilely, he treats them sympathetically when he understands their suffering. The bigotry in his youth evidently sprang from his unstable emotions. Uncertain of himself, he saw hostility in others.

This is mainly the story of being lost, of a man who had to be lost many times before he found himself. At the time of the writing of this book, Wolfe was still on his way to an unknown destination.

—Robert Bates

### Congressmen At Work

## A Congresswoman Buys Groceries

A friend of ours, whom we talked into reading a few issues of the Congressional Record, returned them with the ungrateful comment that it was worse than crossing the Sahara on foot. We tried a feeble comeback about oases; but he had evidently thought the question through to the end. "Slap-happy," he said, "from the fine print."

Maybe so, but the Record is still favorite reading with us. In our opinion the oases more than make up for the stretches where the oratory fills your eyes with sand. Take page 2,108 of issue No. 48, for instance, where Rep. Helen Douglas (D., Calif.) raises hell about how little she got when she went shopping with \$15.

In June 1946, which was apparently the last time she went shopping, she got 10 pounds of flour for 78 cents. On March 12 it cost her 87 cents. Butter had jumped from 65 cents to 82 cents.

Since Wall Street's political representatives apparently do little shopping, the Congresswoman waved the sales slips to convince anyone inclined to doubt her appalling experience. Milk had shot up from 25 cents for two quarts to 34 cents. One dozen eggs from 53 cents to 69 cents. Prunes, of which Mrs. Douglas is apparently fond, had gone from 32 cents for two pounds to 54 cents. Ground round steak likewise had soared from \$1.35 to \$2.07 for three pounds; and two pounds of pork chops from 76 cents to \$1.46.

Bacon, said the Congresswoman is "not a poor man's meat, but he likes to get a piece once



in a while." How can he do it when the price has sky-rocketed from 42 cents to 79 cents? Three pounds of Crisco cost 68 cents last June; now it cost \$1.27, while Wesson oil jumped from 58 cents a quart to 90 cents. Two pounds of Maxwell House coffee, 66 cents in June is now 98 cents. "And, remember," warned Rep. Douglas, "you cannot separate an American from his coffee."

The Congresswoman really went in for some heavy shopping. She picked up sausage, stew beef, string beans, canned peas and soda crackers. Every item had zoomed in price. Even margarine, which she explained to the House is "called the poor man's butter," went from 18 cents to 43 cents.

In brief, from the bills in her hand, Rep. Douglas proved to Congress that what cost \$10.08 last June now costs \$15.02.

You would think the Congressmen would rise up in arms at this sensational, eye-witness evidence about the rise in the cost of living. But not a peep. They cour-

teously granted Mrs. Douglas "permission to revise and extend her remarks" and then got down to a subject they consider a lot more fascinating: "How a notorious international communist duped our State Department."

Painfully enough, in view of our enthusiasm for the Congressional Record, we've got to admit that not even the most diligent search in its gray pages will disclose the real reason for the singular lack of enthusiasm over the remarks of Mrs. Douglas.

However, a clue can be found in the current Economic Outlook, published by the CIO. There we learn that 1946 was a record year for industrial profits. Most companies shook down returns on their investments "eight to ten times greater" than in 1936-39. The raising of prices to "fantastic heights" resulted in profits reaching "an all-time high."

Charts in the Economic Outlook give the range of return on investment for 1946 for the big companies in four industries as: Meats, 6.1% to 16%; textiles, 8.8% to 38.4%; foods, 13.3% to 24% and iron and steel 5.4% to 12.7%.

Too bad the CIO doesn't have a single representative who could present facts like these on the floor of Congress and fight for legislation to back the union struggle for wage rises to meet the rise in the cost of living. It would make the Congressional Record a lot more popular reading.

## Bigger Army Sought To Enforce Truman Plan

Wall Street's government in Washington knows that it cannot carry out its new foreign policies, enunciated in the Truman-Marshall doctrine, without proceeding to Prussianize this country as swiftly as possible. Military intervention abroad has invariably signified the intrinsechment of militarism at home. This aspect of the new foreign policy was carefully slurred over by Truman in his March 12 speech to Congress.

But he hastened to make good his omission in his "unofficial" April 5 speech, delivered on the occasion of the Jefferson Day Dinner. This country, he said, cannot meet its new "responsibilities" unless it is "strong." Nor did he mince any words in defining just what "strength" means in this connection:

"A strong United States means," he pointed out, "a country that maintains a military power commensurate with its responsibilities."

And then he added: "No matter how great our military potential may be, military potential alone is not enough. It is necessary that we maintain sufficient military strength to convince the world that we intend to meet our responsibilities."

No other government in history has ever had so huge a "peacetime" military budget as the Truman administration. Last year it amounted to more than 15 billion dollars; the current military appropriations are close to 12 billion dollars. But that is not enough. To believe Truman, this represents only "potential" strength.

The U. S. standing army is the largest ever maintained by this country in "peacetime." The navy and the air fleet are the largest in the world, greater than those of all other countries combined. But that is not enough.

There is the monopoly of the atomic bombs, which are being turned out night and day. But that is not enough, either.

Truman is backed up in his demands for "commensurate" military might by such authoritative spokesmen for the American monopolists as the editors of the N. Y. Times. Citing Truman's remarks approvingly, the Times editors lament "our precipitate demobilization after the end of hostilities." This, they say, "has already delayed and compromised the peace." The present military state of the country is characterized by them as "unilateral disarmament."

If these words mean anything at all, they mean that the decisive section of the American ruling class will not be satisfied with anything short of this country's return to a war-footing at the earliest possible moment.

As a matter of fact, that is precisely what the Truman-Marshall doctrine means in its military aspects at home. It means an unprecedented militarization of American life which the power-drunk capitalist rulers intend to carry through at an unprecedented tempo. Failing this, they cannot even hope to realize their plans to subjugate the world.

## Easter Sales Flop Alarms Retail Trade

With the passing of the Easter season—the lush sales season in the retail trade—the merchants are surveying the scene with dire forebodings. J. I. Straus, president of R. H. Macy & Co., bought full page ads in New York newspapers, pleading for an over-all reduction in prices.

Mr. Straus expressed the fear that "unless prices are lowered, we believe that a business recession is probable." The merchants in Atlanta were even more emphatic, being convinced that "continued rises in prices were certain to result in economic disaster." (N. Y. Times, April 7.)

Post-Easter sales featuring "drastic cuts" have been announced by the largest department stores in New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago and Atlanta.

This alarm in the retail field does not exactly arise from far-sightedness. Since January, and especially during the Easter season, the sales have been very disappointing. Although the dollar volume has remained at, or slightly above, last year's levels, the bulk of these sales came from items in which artificial scarcities still persist. Moreover, the dollar volume has been maintained solely because of the much higher prices. The stores have been selling less and less goods.

The most serious lag has been felt in the "soft goods," especially textiles, which ordinarily account for a large part of the sales. In its April 4 survey, the Wall Street Journal reported: "Wearing apparel normally accounts for 56 per cent of the stores' Easter business; this year it's contributing far less." This leaves the stores with huge inventories.

The same newspaper sheds some additional light on the condition of these inventories. According to its report, a large mail order house finds a sharply reduced demand (and sales) on such items as: cotton and rayon dresses, silk hose, sweaters, beach clothing, costume jewelry, soft-type woollens, shirts, men's sportswear, bedspreads, curtains and upholstered furniture. To this list other retailers add: handkerchiefs, toilet goods, luggage, furs, umbrellas, electric irons and table model radios.

While their merchandise is not moving at the rate they expected, the retailers find themselves with the largest inventories on record. The February total of retail inventories amounted to 9½ billion dollars, of which the slow moving and over-priced items constitute a major part.

In a moment of rare candor, C. F. Hughes, merchandising expert of the N. Y. Times, April 6, concedes that the "turning point" in the retail trade has already come. He writes: "After the flashing increases of the war years and the immediate post-war period, holiday trade was a distinct disappointment, and so labeled by the leading merchants here. In short, the soft goods crisis is here."

What will happen when the existing market for the "hard goods" (or consumer durables) likewise dries up? Once the "hard goods" crisis sets in, the country's economy will go into a tailspin. All the scarcities of yesterday will be converted into a glut on the morrow. Such is the "panorama of prosperity" to which President Truman pointed so proudly in his Jefferson Day Dinner speech.

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# 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.

## Opposes Cutting Down Population

**Editor:**  
In the Workers' Forum last week, Ross W. Gilbert held that planned economy is impossible unless the population in the United States is cut down to 100,000,000.

In my opinion, unless we get a planned economy and get it soon, the population will be cut down alright. It will be cut down not only to 100,000,000 but may be to 60,000,000 and according to some scientists down to zero. Hasn't Gilbert heard about the atomic bomb, radioactive gases and germ warfare?

The trouble with America is not too many people. The greater the labor power, the greater the potential wealth of the country. Our trouble is capitalism which dumps oranges in the sea, milk in the sewers, plows under cotton and corn, kills little pigs, closes down factories and mills that could produce enough to give every one of us all we need; and when this isn't enough, plunges the whole world into frightful wars that destroy centuries of accumulated wealth.

In the last depression, millions went hungry while food was stacked to the roofs in the warehouses and rotting in the fields. Gilbert can't remember this fantastic experience, let him stick around and get an education in the depression now coming up.

Meanwhile, let's get the ball rolling for a planned economy in America before the power-mad rulers carry out Gilbert's program of cutting down the population. T. N. New York

## Why I Decided To Join the SWP

**Editor:**  
The Militant, I thought, was just another "Communist paper" when the subscription-getter first came to the door with our paper. I had run into a copy of the Call and the Daily Worker before and found nothing inspiring there.

But Militant sales workers are convincing; and when we sat down to read the paper we soon found that we had something the whole family could read. "The Negro Struggle" column was the main feature of attraction to me, with Kovalesky next; but after awhile I began reading the other political articles. The Militant presents the facts dramatically, with explanations, which is what we need.

When the Militant renewer came around and was indignant because I did not find the time to come down to meetings, I realized what I had to do. If I had my way, I'd tell all the Negroes to join the SWP.

When I reached the age of twelve, the white people down Tennessee gave me notice that the days when I could play with

## How The Workers In My Shop Reacted To Recruiting Blurb

**Editor:**  
The other day at lunch-time, a couple of us in the shop heard a U. S. Army recruiting advertisement over the radio. At first we chuckled over it, but then after we thought a little while, we were burning mad.

You hear this young boy's voice saying eagerly: "Say, dad, now that I'm 17, what would you think if I got a job that would teach me a skilled trade, pay my room and board and \$60 a month besides, send me to college afterwards, etc., etc.—How about it, dad, can I join the Army?"

The old man, of course, says it's great and inside of two minutes he's signed enlistment papers, told the neighbors and given the kid a few pointers on how much everyone over the globe respects the U. S. uniform. Then the announcer's voice cuts in and tells you where you can enlist and to hurry up about it.

The vets in the shop got their Hicks in first. Joe, who was probably the mildest sergeant in the Army, said: "Well, aside from the fact that waiting on officers' mess isn't really a skilled trade, and that the \$60 minus allotments and insurance and that the rooms aren't always rooms — the guy wasn't really lying."

"And aside from the fact that if you're smart enough to live

on what they give you under the GI bill, you don't need to go to college," Frank said bitterly. He should know. He tried it for two months and had to give it up.

"Still," somebody said, "lots of kids are enlisting now." "It's nothing like on the radio though," Emmy answered. "My kid brother got out of high school, pounded the pavements for six weeks and still couldn't get a decent job. He couldn't see hanging around the house so finally he signed up for the Air Force. The folks cried and yelled, but there was nothing they could do."

"And as for that stuff about people loving the American uniform," said Leo, the vet who fought all through the Italian campaign; "when we'd put those fascists back in office, most of those Italians, the ordinary working people, hated us so much you could see it on their faces. The others, the rich, fancy ones, they never even looked at the GI, they were so busy giving dinners and showing their castles to the big brass. Besides, this is supposed to be peacetime, isn't it? Why are they whooping it up so much for the Army?" We were all chewing this over when the bell rang. We put out our cigarettes and went back into the shop.

Ruth Goldman  
New York

white children were ended, the kids whom I had played with all my life!

We who are colored know we are oppressed while many white workers have illusions because their skin is the color of the capitalist's skin. That is why it is easier to sell The Militant to the man who meets reality at every step. Our color bars us and everything we do is thrown back at us.

As an employee of a national retail chain for many years I was told that I could easily make out as a store manager, if not for my color. Today I wouldn't accept the job, knowing that in the army Negroes who gained officer's promotions had to be doubly hard on the Negro rank-and-file to hold their jobs. In their ignorance the management was even so rude as to suggest "commissioning" me to scout up some nice, courteous, diplomatic colored girls for clerks if the help shortage worsened. I asked them what was causing the delay?

Before I met the SWP, it was worse to know something was wrong and not know what to do about it. Now I begin to understand questions which were hard when I first joined. You learn in the SWP, and if you be-

lieve, as you have got to do out of sensibility, act accordingly. I know it is going to be hard work to achieve our goal but it is better than under the present system in which you work hard and get nothing for it.

Al Johnson  
Wisconsin

## Explains Why Robeson Supports Stalinism

**Editor:**  
In reply to D. M. Steelquist of San Diego.

Dear friend and comrade, Negroes are inherently loyal. When you come to know them better you'll agree with me. Just do them a kindness and they feel that they've incurred a life-long debt to you that no money can pay.

When the South, which hates an educated Negro, refused to admit Robeson's children to their colleges, he worked long and hard and got them into Russian universities where they know no Jim Crow. Now, friend, do you see the reason for the Robeson-Stalin tie-in?

Blind loyalty! The same that saw Negro against Negro even in the Civil War.

E. J. Carmona  
New York

# Government To Blame For Mine Dangers, Lawrence Miners Tell 'Militant' Reporters

By Eloise Gordon and Justine Lang

LAWRENCE, Pa., April 6—

The people in this mining community know from their own experience the truth of John L. Lewis' charge that "the coal of America was saturated with the blood of miners." They also know who is responsible for such tragedies as the Centralia disaster, and they have no hesitation in placing the blame where it belongs.

Referring to the spectacle of Congressmen jumping on the band-wagon and shedding "crocodile tears" for the miners, John P. Morgan, president of the United Mine Workers local here, told us:

"Those politicians in Washington are lining up today because their records have been exposed before the American people. The people of this country are behind the miners, and those Congressmen are ashamed and are anxious to cover up."

Asked if safety conditions have improved under government ownership of the mines, he replied:

"NO TELLING!"  
"Except for a weather-beaten American flag at the tippie, there is no way of telling that the government is running the mine. Safety conditions in our mine, Montour No. 4, are relatively good because we have a good working union safety committee and they are on their guard to protect the safety of the men.

"The mechanization of the mines has greatly increased the danger of working underground. The noise caused by the machinery doesn't warn a miner of slips in the roof, or of wet-pots that drop out."

Mr. Morgan introduced us to Steve Panetsky, a miner and the constable of Lawrence, who confirmed his statements regarding the added dangers of mechanized mining. Mr. Panetsky told us that he had five sons, and not one of them would go to work in the mines.

Nathan Cole, a former member of the union safety committee, and a miner for almost 30 years, further corroborated the sham of government control:

"Conditions in the mines today are no different than they were previously. When Lewis said the government was standing over the miners with a black jack, he hit the nail on the head."

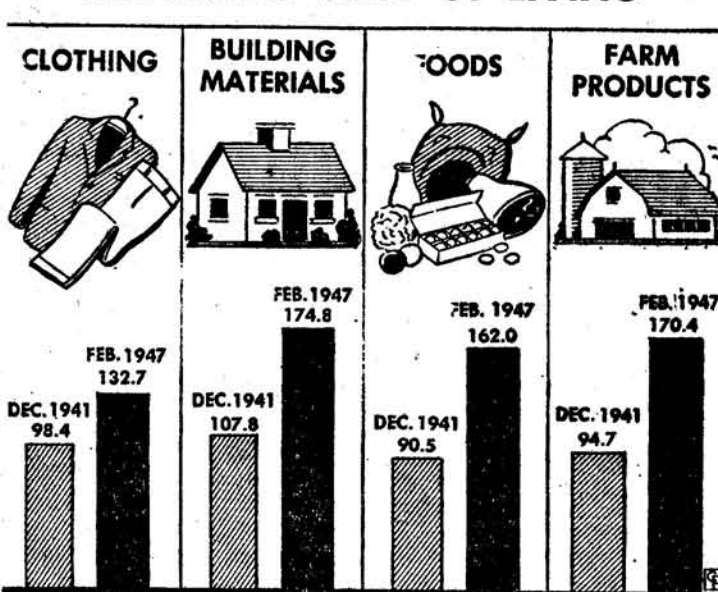
Mrs. Ingle Cole, his wife, added: "The government took over the mines for one reason — so that the men wouldn't strike. I don't think it's a fair policy. By that method, they are not dealing fairly with the working people."

Both Mr. and Mrs. Cole were anxious to impress us with the difficulty miners have in making ends meet.

## WHAT FOOD COSTS

"You hear a lot of talk about high wages miners are supposed to earn, but very little thought is given to the additional expenses miners have. In order to work we have to eat much more than most workers, and you know what food costs today, especially at the company store.

## THE RISING COST OF LIVING



This chart shows how much higher prices are today than they were in 1941. And they continue to rise. Federated Pictures

In addition, we have to buy special clothes and working equipment." Mrs. Cole interrupted to point out: "It costs over \$1 today to fill a lunch bucket."

We stopped to talk to two women engaged in a neighborly over-the-fence chat, to obtain their reaction to the Centralia disaster, and one of the women, who asked that her name be withheld, told us this story:

"My husband was a miner for 45 years, as a matter of fact he died in the mine. Although technically he died of a cerebral hemorrhage, the real cause was the hurry-hurry pace. With the mechanization of the mines, the pressure of the mine bosses on the workers to fill the cars is ruthless."

Her neighbor added: "My husband has been a miner for many years, but none of my three sons will work there. Our boys say: 'God put the coal in the ground, and he can take it out.'"

Asked how they felt about Lewis' proposal to turn the \$710,000 fine on the miners into a trust fund for the widows and orphans of the disaster, the first woman replied:

"I am, and I'm sure all working people support that proposal. It's very well to set aside a week of mourning and prayer for the souls of the dead miners, but who is going to put food in their children's stomachs?"

Family after family, miner after miner, repeated to us the same story of the selfish greed of the coal operators and their irresponsible attitudes towards their employees. The family tradition of sons following their fathers into the mines is being shattered by the strong feeling of the young men against working in an industry as dangerous as mining. As one miner put it: "The time won't be far off when they'll have to pay the men just to look into a mine."

## How Miners Turn Out For John Mitchell Day

By Eloise Gordon

CALIFORNIA, Pa., April 1 — For the first time since Pearl Harbor, coal miners this year resumed their militant observance of John Mitchell Day. Celebrated as the anniversary of their victorious struggle for an 8-hour day in the mines, and named for the dynamic union president who led that fight, April 1 is considered by the miners to be their own labor holiday. The Mitchell Day celebration is traditionally marked by a one-day strike in the mines and a demonstration of the might of the mine workers' union.

This little mining center has been the scene of one such demonstration. 20,000 workers, coal miners and their families from neighboring towns in Fayette and Washington counties flooded into California this morning to take part in the rally. Schools in the area were closed down, for the miners' children too observe this occasion.

Ordinarily in a holiday mood on Mitchell Day, the mining people here today were sobered by the tragic deaths in the Centralia mine explosion.

The program opened with a union parade. Men who left the pits at midnight last night to begin a week of mourning for the victims of the Centralia disaster, marched local by local through the main streets of the town in a solemn parade.

This was not the kind of a parade seen on ordinary festive holidays. Neither festooned floats nor leg shows were a part of this march of workers. Here was a solemn chain of men from the pits parading under their union banners to the music of high school bands composed of children from the mining towns.

This was a march of working men proud of their union and burning with indignation against the coal interests whose greed for profit brings death to the men in the mines. Placards carried by one of the marching locals expressed the feelings of thousands on the sidelines who read the slogan:

"We demand that those responsible for the deaths of our union brothers in Centralia, Ill. be tried as murderers."

In the speeches of the union leaders who addressed a crowd of thousands later, the political enemies of organized labor were roundly blasted. References to the Centralia tragedy highlighted their speeches, but the deepest indignation was directed toward the use of government bodies to protect the bloody profits of the coal operators at the expense of the miners' lives.

"This and similar rallies in other mining areas today indicates that the miners are determined to preserve their union. They are beginning to understand that the whole political machine in Washington operates in the interest of the industrialists. When these and other workers forge a political weapon to defend their interests against the attacks of big business, their power will be unconquerable."

**HARLEM**  
Presents:  
A Metropolitan Opera Star Dancers "Jean and Frank" Vocal Duets  
The Dance: Gloria Wall  
Saturday, April 12, 9 p.m.  
103 West 110 St.

## THE MILITANT ARMY

### March Sub Total Highest Since September



Branches of the Socialist Workers Party boosted Militant subscriptions to a grand total of 821 for March. This is the highest number of new readers obtained monthly by the comrades since September.

Six of the branches reached the subscription goals they set for March—Connecticut State, Pittsburgh, Flint, Boston, Milwaukee, Philadelphia.

Connecticut State has held first place on the scoreboard for the last four months. And not a week goes by without a good batch of subs from the comrades there. Fourteen were sent in this week by James White, Literature Agent, who promises that he "will send more subs next week."

Local campaigns initiated by the branches account for the increased number of subs during March. Newark, for instance, is in the second week of what promises to be a bang-up campaign. The following report by Dotty Lessing accompanied 23 subs:

"This is the result of the second week of our renewal campaign to visit all The Militant subscribers whose subs have lapsed. The branch has been divided into 5 teams. The winning team will be treated to a dinner by the losing team. Team No. 4 (Captain, D. Martin) is leading by a few points. Team No. 5 (R. Blaine, Captain) is not very far behind. We have already visited about 150 Militant subscribers; many of these subs lapsed months ago but we found that everyone remembered The Militant and some were glad that we called and gave them the opportunity to renew.

"The high cost of living is really putting the squeeze on the worker's budget. Quite a few of our readers just couldn't afford the money for renewal. Despite this fact we are sure that through this campaign we will be able to substantially increase the number of regular Militant readers in New Jersey."

Hilda Webster reports on Lynn's sub campaign. "This week the comrades got 7 subs. Lynn has decided to extend the sub drive until its quota is reached. Due to the reactionary period and the red-baiting campaign going on through the radio and press, comrades find it harder to sell subscriptions right now than six months ago. But we are determined to go on until our goal is reached."

Boston's campaign brought in 16 subs for the week. "Ordinarily we have been more successful in our campaigns," explains Rena Breshi, "but with all this red-baiting going on in the papers and over the radio, people are a little hesitant. This means that we will have to plug a bit harder and perhaps stay out a little bit longer than we have been doing. Seven people bought individual copies of the paper. . . . Sid Crabbe got 7 subs today which beats the record so far in our sub campaign."

Militant Director El Snyder sent in 8 subs obtained by the Flint Branch. She states: "Due to the terrible snowstorm here in Michigan last week, our sub-getting was curtailed. Several of the comrades took it upon themselves to brave the bad weather. They obtained these 8 subs."

June Carey, Literature Agent for the Allentown Branch, is back on the job again. The following note accompanied 17 subscriptions: "Things have been somewhat unorganized as I was busy having a baby."

Sadie Hackley mailed in 6 subs obtained by the Toledo comrades during the week.

Thirteen subscriptions were received this week from Los Angeles Local.

Pauline Ryder sent in 7 subs for the Philadelphia Branch.

In today's mail we received 14 subs from Charles Carlson for Buffalo.

Anne Chester of San Francisco requests that we increase the weekly bundle of Militants going to Golden Gate News Agency to 15 copies. She reports that they have "sold every one of the 10 copies they have been receiving. I brought them an additional 5 of the issue which carried the scoop on the Budenz book. They sold all but one."

The same mail brought in 19 subs from San Francisco. "This brings our total number of Militant subs for March to 37," says Comrade Chester. "It seems that we painfully add a few more subs each month, but eventually we will reach our quota of 50, and then we will be able to strive to go over it. Our high scorer is E. Held with 5 subs to his credit, but close behind him is Steve Spencer with four, and four other comrades with three each — Tom Delong, Toni Price, Bob Chester, and myself. None of us, however, have been able to catch up to the record set in February by Bob and Edith Lambeth, who came through with 7 subs each. But it's something to strive for."

Below are listed the subscriptions sent in by each branch during March.

Branch	Subs	% of Goal
Connecticut State	78	312
Pittsburgh	25	250
Flint	72	206
Boston	61	152
Milwaukee	54	150
Philadelphia	60	'00
St. Louis	13	81
Newark	40	90
San Francisco	37	74
Los Angeles Local	36	72
Buffalo	32	14
St. Paul	16	64
Minneapolis	13	33
Seattle	10	25
Youngstown	9	23
Toledo	10	20
San Diego	5	17
Cleveland	12	16
Akron	3	12
Portland	1	7
Oakland	0	0
No Goal Set		
New York Local	72	"
Detroit	38	"
Lynn	36	"
Allentown	29	"
Chicago	24	"
Reading	5	"
Calumet	3	"
Rochester	3	"
Bayonne	2	"
General	22	"
TOTAL	821	

## Youth Activities

AKRON. — Socialist Youth Club meets Fridays, 7 p.m. Followed by refreshments, dancing, 8 South Howard St., 2nd floor.

CHICAGO. — Youth meeting 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, 316 1/2 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.

## NEW YORK MARXIST LABOR SCHOOL THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION FRIDAYS — at 8 p.m.

- 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.

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

AKRON—2nd floor, 8 S. Howard St. Open Mon. through Friday, 4 to 6 p.m.; Saturdays 2 to 4 p.m.

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.

Room 11. Discussion every Tuesday 7:30 p.m.; open Saturdays 1-5 p.m.

MILWAUKEE — Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5th 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.

Cunday Forums, 3:30 p.m.

NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open 1st and 3rd Monday, 7:30-9:30 p.m. Sunday forums, 2nd and 4th of month, 8 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. 2-1866.

Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.

BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433.

CHELSEA: 130 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.

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—1919 1/2 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 2919.

YOUNGSTOWN — 35 1/2 South Ave., Youngstown 3, O. Open 12-5 p.m., Monday through Saturday, Phone 3-1355.

## Where You Can Buy 'Fourth International'

- AKRON — Militant Bookshop, 8 So. Howard St.
- BERKELEY, CALIF. — Sather Gate Book Shop, 2335 Telegraph Ave.; Whittier's corner Bancroft and Telegraph Ave.
- BUFFALO — Delawara & Chippewa, S.E. corner.
- CHICAGO — 777 W. Adams; University of Chicago Book Store.
- CLEVELAND — G & M News, 9th & Superior; Wade Drug Store, Mayfield & Euclid.
- DETROIT — Family Theater Newsstand, opposite theater; Carl's Book Store, 9109 Woodward Ave.; Militant Bookshop, 6108 Linwood; Michigan & Lafayette Newsstand.
- LOS ANGELES — NE Corner, 5th and Main; 326 W. 5th Street; Consolidated Bldg. 6th and Hill; 210 1/2 Bklyn. Ave.; 1660 N. California and Hollywood Blvd.; 1085 N. Los Palms and Hollywood Blvd.; 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd.
- MILWAUKEE — Newsstand, N. E. Corner Plankton-2nd Wisconsin
- MINNEAPOLIS — Labor Book Store, 10 South 4 Street; Shindlers Newsstand, 8th & Hennepin.
- NEW HAVEN — Yale Co-op, 300 York Ave.
- NEW YORK — Newsstands on 14th Street, between 2nd and 6th Aves.; 416 2d St., between 5th & 6th, 116 University Place.
- NEWARK — Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave.
- PHILADELPHIA — 12th & Market Sts., N.W. corner.
- 1303 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor; 19th & Market Sts., S.E. corner; 1314 & Market Sts., N.E. corner; Broad St. Station; Broad & Arch Sts.; 13th & Filbert Sts.; 11th & Walnut Sts.
- PITTSBURGH — Kaufman's Dept. Store, Book Dept 2279 Centre Ave., Hill District; M. Rose, 1332 Fifth Ave.; P. & A. 230 Federal St.; Hachtetter's, Highland bet. Centre & Penn.
- PORTLAND, ORE. — Rich's cor. S.W. Washington and 6th Ave.
- SAN DIEGO — SWP, 623 Sixth Ave.
- SAN FRANCISCO — Ray's Smoke Shop, 1174 Sutter St.; Macdonald's Book Store, 867 Mission St.; Golden Gate News Agency, 81-3rd St.; Joe's Smoke Shop, 1798 Geary; San Francisco School of Social Science,

# A Great Many Centralias

By Theodore Kovalesky

What is there to say?

We've read it all in the newspapers, just as we've read it before. This time it was 111 men in Centralia, Illinois. This time the names are different, and the faces were different, and the widows and orphans of these men were still alive and perhaps happy, when we read of the last one.

There's very little to say about the testimony of the mine inspector who tried in vain to have the mine closed for repairs two years ago. That's happened before, too.

There's not much to add about the dangers the miners have to face. We've known about that . . . every month while the mine owners draw their profits, 85 miners die somewhere in the black pits underground. There's nothing different here, except that the percentage went up this month.

It is an old picture in mining areas, a picture seen time and time again, the clustered crowd at the pit opening filled with desperate hope, filled with despair, waiting, waiting hours on end for the broken, burned bodies to be carried to the surface of the earth, hoping with a great and futile hope that there might be life left underground, that the husband, or the father, the brother, or the son might yet live and walk and speak . . . It has happened so many, many times. What new can be said?

Still, it's not only mining.

There are men killed and maimed in mills and foundries, in steel plants and machine shops. Modern industry takes its toll, I heard of a man once, who worked in a grain elevator. He fell into a bin of wheat and was drowned in it . . . if you can call it drowning when a man flounders to his death in a stream of tiny granules.

And how many sailors have been swept overboard by a high sea and drowned? How many

stevadores have been crushed when sling loads have slipped?

And for that matter, how many of us carry scars on our faces and bodies where hot metal has splattered, where sharp edges or flying particles have ripped, where fire or acid has eaten into the flesh? How many old machinists' hands are incomplete, with stumps of fingers that have been left in lathes, mills, or grinders?

Remember the women in the watch factory, whose bones rotted away from the phosphorus? And think of all the bent and twisted bodies, the bodies with an arm or a leg missing . . . and even the bodies that are merely worn out, worked into uselessness and early age.

Who could count the beautiful and useful things that come from today's factories?—the soft, bright clothes for women, the gleaming, streamlined automobiles, glassware, leather goods that have been beautifully tanned and cleverly tooled, refrigerators and radios and all the million other things?

It's funny, isn't it, that all these things are only by-products, accidents of production! For there is only one product that the capitalists are interested in producing, and that product is PROFIT. All the rest is merely a means of getting profit.

And there are other by-products as well. The sweat of the workers, the blood and agony of the workers, these are also by-products in the manufacture of profit. The broken lives of the workers and of their widows and orphaned kids, the wasted, ground-out lives of our people, these are parts of the manufacturing process that brings riches and luxury to a handful of parasites.

This is the shape of things as they are today, and this is how they will remain until we band together and throw out the bloody pack of profiteers that oppresses us and erases from the earth every last diseased shred of this system of toil and sweat, and blood, heartbreak and death.

## The Negro Struggle

### The Aim Of The Red-Baiters

By William E. Bohannon

Governor Kim Sigler of Michigan listed 17 groups which he called "communist front organizations" when he testified before the House Un-American Affairs Committee last month.



One of the groups on this list as the "Association for the Advancement of Colored People," which everyone took to mean the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

The NAACP naturally protested very angrily against this charge, and Sigler's State Police Commissioner tried to cover up for his boss by saying he had meant some other organization.

But Sigler showed that he had really meant the NAACP when he told a press conference last week that he was ordering a double-check on his charges, since he didn't want to do any organization an injustice, etc.

It doesn't matter very much just what Sigler meant to say. Everybody knows how false his charge is anyhow. The NAACP is not and never has been a Stalinist-front organization. It is and it always has been controlled by a group of liberal and conservative elements who support the Democratic and Republican parties.

The significant thing about Sigler's charges, therefore, is not what he said, but the lesson it teaches about the consequences of red-baiting. Class-conscious Negroes who have had some

experience with the Communist Party know how treacherous it is; how ready it is to "change the line" and to justify collaboration with the worst enemies of labor and the Negro people, if such a course will serve the interests of Stalin's foreign policy.

This is why thousands of Negroes have turned away in revulsion from the Communist Party. But that justifiable contempt and hatred of the Stalinists must not be permitted to blind us to the fact that the red-baiting drive is not aimed at the Communist Party alone. The red-baiters just use the Stalinists as a pretext because they have so discredited themselves among the workers.

What they really aim to do is to bind and gag and terrorize every single organization that is trying to change things for the better. This includes the trade unions, and it also includes the organizations like the NAACP which are trying to do something about Jim Crowism.

The NAACP answered Sigler's charge by emphatically denying that it was a CP-front organization. But that is not enough. It is also necessary to actively join the struggle against the government's whole red-baiting campaign. Unless we do that and do it successfully, the fight for the second emancipation of the Negro people will face more and more difficulties and obstacles. We will not be able to win full recognition of our own democratic rights so long as the democratic rights of others are threatened.

## The New Clare Luce

By Grace Carlson

On the front page on the April 15 issue of Look magazine is a large portrait of ex-Congresswoman, Clare Luce. Inside, a seven-page feature article proclaims to the world that this is "The New Clare Luce."



What is "new" about "The New Clare Luce"? According to Look's Greta, Palmer, this glamorous society woman, politician and playwright has now turned "to the quiet of serious religious thought."

Converted to Catholicism in 1946 by Monsignor Fulton Sheen, who also numbers Louis Budenz and Henry Ford II among his converts, Clare Luce is now writing a book of Catholic apologetics.

But the ordinary non-journalistic observer would be hard put to it to find anything "new" about this Clare Luce! The cover picture on "Look" shows her richly attired in a green broad-gown, a necklace of pearl and jade around her neck, and heavy gold earrings, rings and a bracelet to round out the elegant portrait.

The wife of Henry Luce, the editor and publisher of Time, Life and Fortune, Clare Luce

lives a life of sumptuous luxury. Besides their rich Washington and New York City apartments, the Luces have "a modernistic home with three guest houses on two, huge historic plantations in South Carolina." The Look article is illustrated with a dozen pictures of the Luce estate, showing Clare, "on an early hunt through her game preserves," "taking a buggy ride around her plantation—a complete circuit takes four hours," lunching with the Bishop of Charleston, "who comes to serve mass in the Luce chapel."

One wonders if in her religious studies, Clare has ever come across the Biblical advice to the Rich Young Man: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell what thou hast and give to the poor and thou shalt have treasure in heaven and come follow me."

If she read this passage, she probably thought that it could not possibly be meant for her. For neither the "new" Clare Luce nor the old Clare Luce ever had anything to do with the poor. Because, regardless of her religious affiliation or her professed devotion to "spiritual things," Clare Luce's material interests ally her with the rich and powerful rulers of the land.

"For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."

## Notes From The News

Art Preis, labor editor of The Militant, is recuperating from a serious illness in New York. His many friends throughout the country may write him care of this paper.



Leland Stowe, writer and war correspondent, has signed a 52-week contract for a weekly commentary on the Mutual Network, with the UE-CIO as sponsor.

Henry Wallace, now on his way to Europe for a series of speeches, kicked in with \$100 for the Jackson Day Dinner last week. The money will be used for Truman's next election campaign.

Henry Ford once boasted that there would never be a union in his plants. When he died this week, UAW Ford Local 600 was the largest union local in the world.

There are approximately 1 1/2 million Negro workers in the CIO and AFL unions, according to Clarence Mitchell, labor secretary of the NAACP, in the April issue of The Crisis.

Drew Pearson revealed last week that officials of the steel corporations were preparing a secret conference at the Waldorf Astoria in New York

to discuss "a united front against the CIO."

The Chamber of Commerce has issued a pamphlet entitled "Communists Within The Labor Movement," advising employers on how to cripple union militancy by red-baiting.

The N. Y. Times last week apologized for a headline which said "Paris Takes Steps to Quit Colonies." This, said the Times, was a typographical error: The word "quit" should have been "quiet."

UAW Ford Local 600 last week announced election results which showed a crushing defeat for the ACTU-Reutherite faction and re-election of the Adde-Thomas-Stalinist slate.

Governor Dewey has signed the Archinal bill which is aimed against the Communist Party and opens the way for a witch-hunt against it whenever the state attorney general declares their members are bound by a secret oath.

"Liberals who favor further advances along the Roosevelt path to 'make capitalism work' won't get us here," writes George Morris, labor editor of the Daily Worker in his Apr. 4 column. "On the contrary, they have and will continue, to find us among the most vigorous supporters of every such step." Earl Browder, please note.

# THE MILITANT

## SWP Candidate In L.A. Gets 4 Per Cent Of Vote

### Monopolists Fear Victory Of Labor In Flint Election

By Sol Dollinger

FLINT, Mich., April 6 —

The Labor Party campaign to elect three Chevrolet workers to the office of Board of Education picked up momentum this past week. With only a few days to go, the Labor Party Committee distributed thousands of leaflets to all four GM plants in Flint. They called upon the workers to vote down the property tax increase and to cast a vote for independent political action by supporting Jack Palmer, Vice-President of Chevrolet Local 659, Lawrence Jones, Chevrolet Chairman of the Labor Party Committee and Carl Johnson, auto worker.

Apparently the GM representatives, Chamber of Commerce and the city politicians, had hoped to squeeze the tax proposal through with a campaign of silence and a small vote. Early in the week it was predicted that 10,000 would go to the polls. With the Labor Party campaign, the latest prediction doubled the number expected to vote.

Jitters at prospects of a possible victory for the Labor Party candidates, the Big Business interests, a day before elections, drew up a slate headed by a representative of General Motors, NEED BIG VOTE.

In last year's election only 25,000 people voted. With flood waters raging through this city and the deliberate attempt of Big Business to cover the issues with silence, a small vote will be to the detriment of the labor candidates.

The Socialist Workers Party has endorsed the three Labor Party candidates. Their position on the property tax is similar to the one advocated by the Flint SWP for several years. Election of the Labor Party candidates will spur forward the whole movement towards independent political action in this area.

This campaign marks the end of Big Business monopoly control over politics in Flint. The Chamber of Commerce boys now recognize that the Labor Party is a real and growing threat to their political domination.

### Telephone Girls Vote Strike!



New York City telephone operators, of the National Federation of Telephone Workers (independent), expressing their approval of a walkout, which began April 7, after the Bell Telephone monopoly refused to settle with the union. Federated Pictures

LOS ANGELES, April 6 — Steady growth in support of the Socialist Workers Party here was demonstrated in the Los Angeles municipal election returns this week, when

Louis Kisner, Trotskyist candidate for city council from the Fifteenth District (San Pedro and Watts), received 738 votes, 4% of those cast for the post. This is the largest vote received by an SWP candidate in the three elections in which the party has participated here since 1945.

Strong support for independent political action by labor and minority groups was also demonstrated by the election returns, although none of the independent candidates was elected and only one, Dr. H. Claude Hudson, Negro candidate for Board of Education, will be in the May 27 runoff.

Independent labor candidates Russell L. McKnight and Harry C. Brown each placed second in their respective councilmanic districts, and Walter J. Turner, with 50,910 votes, according to semi-official returns, placed sec-

ond for Board of Education Office No. 5.

Dr. Jonathan L. Caston, independent candidate of the Negro community in the Seventh Councilmanic District, missed second place and a chance in the runoff by 189 votes. This underlined the error of the Workers Party, whose candidate in that district, Harold Draper, received 286 votes, and of Vince M. Townsend Jr., Negro attorney who received 908 votes after refusing to withdraw in support of Caston. A cross-section of the organizations of the Negro community had endorsed Caston, at a meeting called by the Los Angeles branch of the NAACP.

The Stalinists, who vigorously fought all labor party sentiment in the CIO and elsewhere, ran two candidates of their own, Elsie Monjar, Communist Party candidate for city council in the Eighth District, received 1338 votes, placing fourth in a field of four. LaRue McCormick, CP candidate for Board of Education Office No. 1, received 21,683 votes, placing fourth in a field of five.

Fifteen councilmanic positions, four Board of Education offices and five municipal judgeships were involved in the city election. Of 15 charter amendments presented to the voters, three were defeated. One of the defeated propositions would have extended the term of office of city councilmen from two to four years, and another would have increased the amount to be paid by candidates for municipal office at the time they state their intention to run.

### WORK OF SWP

"Consistent work by the Socialist Workers Party before and after as well as during election campaigns is beginning to show real results in San Pedro," Cynthia Rogalin, campaign manager for Louis Kisner, pointed out. "In one precinct in the Harbor Area, a war workers housing project, Kisner received 41% of the vote cast. His vote was greater than that of the Stalinist candidate for Board of Education and each of the three capitalist candidates for City Council in that precinct."

Los Angeles SWP Organizer Myra Tanner Weiss commented on the city election:

"The fine showing by independent labor and minority candidates in their first election, without a political machine and with active opposition by the Stalinists and other labor bureaucrats to the building of an independent labor political apparatus, demonstrates the widespread desire in the working class for direct representation and a change from class collaborationist politics."

## NMU Verdict On Stack Deals Blow To Stalinism

By C. Thomas

The Communist Party was placed on trial last week before the New York membership of the CIO National Maritime Union and was found guilty of conduct injurious to the welfare of the seamen.

This was the real meaning of the action taken by a special meeting which found Stalinist vice-president Joseph Stack guilty of conduct unbecoming a union official. Stack was removed from office on charges brought by NMU president Joseph Curran. The vote was 906 in favor of removing Stack from office for a period of five years to 684 against.

The charges, dating back over a period of 10 years, constituted an indictment of the Stalinist leadership of the union. The NMU was established in 1937. Since 1939 the Stalinists have exercised complete machine control.

The extent of this control was disclosed by Curran who revealed that even today 107 of the 150 officials in office are Stalinists of one variety or another. Until the recent conflict devel-

oped in the NMU probably no other union in the country was so completely dominated by the C.P. machine. Here was an unparalleled opportunity for the Stalinists to demonstrate what their leadership meant to the workers in the maritime industry.

Instead of building the union, the Stalinists converted it into a front for their opportunist zig-zags. Conditions on the ships deteriorated. The Stalinists organized one defeat after another. Rival unions grew at the expense of the NMU which, prior to the war, controlled the great bulk of the organized ships on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts.

During the war, the Stalinists abandoned any pretense of fighting for the union. Every surrender of union conditions was justified in the name of furthering the alliance between the Kremlin and Anglo-American imperialism. Any opposition to their surrender policy was ruthlessly crushed.

It was this record of bureaucratic disruption and systematic sabotage of the union that was a decisive factor in the judgment rendered by the membership alliance between thebership against Stack who sym-

bolized Stalinism in the NMU. This was made clear in a letter distributed to the NMU membership by Joseph Curran prior to the special meeting which ousted Stack. In this letter Curran declared: "This meeting must not only settle the Stack case once and for all! It must mark the beginning of the end to the wrecking activities of the Communist Party members, who are riding roughshod over your rights and decisions . . ."

### POLITICAL GANGSTERS

An interesting sidelight on the technique employed by the Stalinists in labeling all opponents as "red-baiters" is provided by the Daily Worker which pounced on the Curran letter. "Curran," asserts the Daily Worker, "coupled his plea with the most blatant red-baiting he has yet issued referring to his union opponents as 'political gangsters' and a 'Communist Party clique.'"

According to this logic, it is "red-baiting" to characterize the Stalinists for what they are: A bureaucratic clique of political gangsters who for ten years have terrorized their union opponents, stifled internal union democracy and hidden roughshod over the rights and interests of the union membership.

When the union militants recognize that the Stalinists are a reactionary current in the labor movement and fight them on that basis, the real red-baiters will derive little comfort from such a struggle.

## Oakland Workers Rally Against Anti-Labor Bills

By Ed Davis

OAKLAND, Calif., April 3—Over 8,000 workers filled the Oakland Municipal Arena tonight in a protest rally against anti-labor legislation. The meeting was called by the newly organized Alameda County Joint Committee to Fight Anti-Labor Legislation.

The crowd gave a thunderous ovation every time joint labor activity was mentioned, and especially so when Chairman Swan, of the Railroad Clerks, declared: "Here there is no CIO, no AFL, no independents. In Alameda County there is just Labor."

One of the highlights of the rally took place when the audience rose in tribute to the 111 miners killed at Centralia. The meeting was dedicated to their memory and pledged to carry on the fight for better conditions. An all-out denunciation of the government's responsibility for this tragedy was voiced by the chairman.

Senator Taylor of Idaho spoke from Washington by special leased wire. Both he and the liberal State Senator Carter laid the blame for the present wave of anti-labor legislation on the workers. They called for support of the Democratic Party in 1948. But these appeals for a repetition of the old "New Deal" met little enthusiasm.

The Joint Committee was set up at the initiative of the Railroad Brotherhoods, the Central Labor Council, the Building Trades Council and the CIO County Council all gave their support. There was a bitter fight in the AFL Council over joint activity with the CIO.

Charles Real, State President of the AFL and head of the local Teamsters, continued his scabby role. The Teamster officials is-

## Labor's Rights Involved In N. J. Constitution Revision

By Alan Kohlman

NEWARK, N. J., Apr. 8 —

Now that the voters of New Jersey have the opportunity to vote on revising the State Constitution and to elect delegates to a convention, the Socialist Workers Party seeks to utilize this occasion as another arena of struggle in defense of labor's rights.

Today, when the workers' hard-won rights are being attacked on all sides, the SWP and its candidates for the constitutional convention raise the following demands:

Constitutional provisions for full and unrestricted recognition of the workers' rights to organize, including the closed shop; to strike, including sympathy strikes and boycotts; to picket without restriction and without fear of injunction; to exercise full freedom of assembly, press and speech (no interference with literature distribution or sound trucks).

Through such provisions we want to make it illegal for the state to intervene against the workers in any form; to use state troops against labor; to impose compulsory arbitration; or to "seize" industries in order to break strikes (as in the current phone dispute).

A Constitution which does not contain such elementary recognitions of labor's historic rights (won since the 1844 Constitution was written) will be a mockery of democratic rights for the working-class majority. But, as every worker well knows, neither the Republican nor Democratic party shows the slightest inclination to write such provisions into the new Constitution.

### VICIOUS ATTACK

Indeed, as every worker also knows, both the Republicans and Democrats in Washington as well as Trenton, are combined in a vicious attack to destroy labor's rights. The Wall Street-Truman drive toward war, far from bringing "democracy" to Greece or Turkey, carries with it the destruction of labor's democratic rights. That is the meaning of the long list of anti-labor bills in Congress and the various state legislatures. That is the meaning of Governor Driscoll's threat to break the strike of the phone workers by state seizure.

Labor must fight this vicious attack with every means at its disposal, including its political strength, because these are political struggles above all. This means labor must insist on legislation to protect and promote its hard-won rights. And the

struggle around the revision of the State Constitution offers labor both an opportunity and a challenge.

To be sure, such legal and constitutional measures are subordinate to, and in a sense are reflections of, the basic struggle between labor and Big Business. Time and again, it is necessary to explain that labor only gets what it is strong enough to win; that labor can only keep what it is strong enough to defend. In other words, anti-labor laws are not the work of some "bad" capitalists; nor are pro-labor laws the "gift" of some "good" capitalist politician like Roosevelt. No, in both cases it is a question of the strength and power of the labor movement.

Those rights which labor won in struggle on the picket line ten and twelve years ago (Warner Act, etc.) are being threatened today. If labor does not fight to keep them it will lose them. The strikes of the last year showed that labor can resist these attacks successfully only if it fights on the political as well as the economic field.

As part of this political struggle in New Jersey, the workers must intervene in the constitutional fight and force recognition and extension of the democratic rights which it requires for the solution of its problems.