**American Stalinism And Anti-Stalinism** By James P. Cannon - See Page 3 -

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Workers Of The World. Unite!

THE MILITANT

VOL. XI --- No. 15

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

PRICE: FIVE CENTS 401

# **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 reswitch-board plugs were re-placed with picket signs; N. J. Telephone transformed into songs of soli-darity; "the voice with a smile" Workers Defy "number please" became was saying "Ma Bell must give State Seizure

This is the first nation-wide phone strike, involving tens of workers and a total of 230,000 women, the greatest number ever participating in a single strike. 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 thers on a nation-wide scale. 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 striking Western Electric emthe country and the Western ployes not affected by the For months the phone trust had arrogantly refused to meet or the phone workers understand even arbitrate the union demands which include \$12 a week in the interests of the AT&T-Bell raise, union shop and other long-needed improvements. (See other story on this page.)

Underlying these demands is Driscoll's action is a clear exan attempt by AT&T to prevent pression of state strikebreaking the consolidation of the organ- - and it was so branded by ized phone workers unions. In striking phone workers, by a

# NEWARK, N. J., April 8 -

thousands of newly unionized Governor Driscoll yesterday invoked the State's Public Utility Act to seize the Yet not a single major instance phones, but 21,000 Bell union workers defied the Governor's edict, kept their picket lines intact and maintained complete solidarity with their union bro-This militant action of the

New Jersey phone workers, who are backed up by another 20,000 Electric manufacturing units. seizure, is of great political significance. It demonstrates that that state seizure is completely trust.

STATE STRIKEBREAKING **Dollars For Greece** 

Accepting The Challenge

**Of The AT & T Empire** 

less effective.'

**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 vesterday 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 Justice 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 dol-

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 submit for my consideration the own safety code.

## **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

On April 3, by closing 518 and though pledged by contract mines violating the Federal Safe- with the UMW to enforce this ty Code, Krug's office virtually 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 John L. Lewis a letter listing government - operated mines these mines. He asked Lewis "to which violate the government's

recent months the NFTW has statement of the State CIO been moving from a loosely-knit Council pledging full support to federation of autonomous un- the phone workers, and likewise ions to a strong centralized na- by a statement of the Socialist tional union. AT&T, which it- Workers Party.

self exemplifies concentration of Governor Driscoll, rebuffed by monopoly power in the camp of this magnificent demonstration Big Business, deeply fears na- of union strength, declared this tion-wide union solidarity of the morning that he would seek new phone workers. Its strategy has laws for compulsory arbitration been to refuse to negotiate, to and serious penalties for violatforce a strike and then try to ing state seizure. He thereby get the government to smash the gives further proof of how the strike and destroy this rising government stands on the side unification of the phone work- of Big Business against the rights ers' national union. of labor.

The phone workers accepted In self defense, the entire New this challenge. They are con- Jersey labor movement must scious of their great power to give all-out support to the phone paralyze the communication workers and achieve united acnerve center of the economy, tion to block the State Legis-Their determination to fight lature from enacting new and (Continued on Page 2) more restrictive anti-labor laws.

By B. Anders

largest and most arrogant -----

the AT&T empire, which

directly owns and controls all

subsidiaries and the manufac-

Strike was the only recourse

left to the phone workers after

turing Western Electric units.

**NFTW** President:

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

The letter was sent to show

the Workers Party and the Am-

The Indo-Chinese people have

By Joseph Hansen

The first step in carrying leading Wall Street political rep- United Nations." out Truman's newly - an- resentatives about Truman's docnounced doctrine of openly trine really helping the UN. bolstering reaction through- But this sucker-bait is belied United Nations," said the Virout the world to safeguard by the campaign touched off ginia Senator, "if such action is Wall Street's economic, financial and political inter- anticl landon of the This influ- Eric Johnston, well known ests was unanimously ap- Party demanded the "Greek- lowed up the next day with the proved by the powerful Senate Turkish problem" be tossed into accusation that Russia is "sab-Foreign Relations Committee on the UN. If the Soviet delega- otaging" the United Nations. April 3. The Republicans and tion exercised their right of veto, The N. Y. Times on April 3 addvoted 13-to-0 in favor of handing "showdown" even if this "means the Greek monarchy and the

Turkish dictatorship \$400,000,sions to stream-line the Greek Army. Senator Taft, boss of the Senate, predicted swift passage

of the bill.

By the same unanimous vote, posed restricting the measure to struggle for freedom from relief aid for Greece alone. And imperialist France is graphicalthey likewise rejected proposals ly revealed in a letter sent the of Senator Edwin C. Johnson of Socialist Workers Party by the Colorado to exclude Turkey and Viet-Nam Government. bar military intervention. Johnson's proposal to demand an end that the picket line organized

like fate. The 13 Senators agreed on erican Viet-Nam Friendship

ion shop, shorter apprentice tervention in Greece and Tur- monstrators in the picket line key and end it if it sees fit. ferentials, a better pension plan.

sures 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 "di-

vide and conquer" tactics of fers and reassignments be left compelled the telephone work- necessity of a strong union or- by-passing of this body shocked Indo-Chinese set up their own entirely in the hands of the ers to take united strike action ganization. In last year's brief all those who had accepted the government, the Viet-Nam Re-

ceived the need for united ac- ment, Washington has tried to Indo-China to try to put down

## ood out of the U.S. public trea-sury and sending military mis- Indo-Chinese Send Thanks Army. Senator Taft, boss of the Republican steam-roller in the Senate, predicted swift passage For Help In Their Struggle

(Continued on Page 3)

by a series of statements from a retirement of Russia from the

April 1 by Senator Harry F. necessary . . ."

How the Indo-Chinese tried to put down the Indonesian familiar sight to the Indo-Chinthe committee rejected the Pep- people look to the American Republic. Later the French took ese. Stamped on the weapons at Centralia, Ill. per-Taylor substitute, which pro- workers for aid in their over, and have since been mowing them down, it has come drenching the soil of their former to signify Wall Street's reactioncolony with the blood of Indo- ary role in the Far East. Chinese patriots. As can be seen from the letter,

Most of the French arms and any signs of opposition by Am- tralia victims. By closing 518 munitions are supplied by the erican workers to Wall Street's American government. The mark policy touches the deepest emo-"Made In the U.S.A." is now a tions 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

We were deeply moved by your big demonstration in New York in favor of the struggle for Viet-Nam's indepedence. 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

names and locations of any oth-In a telegram to all UMW diser mine which the United Mine tricts today, John L. Lewis con-Workers of America considers to firmed "the policy of immediate be so hazardous as to require resumption of production at each closing." Lewis replied: "I sug- mine as fast as it is certified by gest that you order closed forth- federal mine inspectors as being with all of the bituminous coal in conformity with the federal. mines found to be in violation mine safety code."

"I say the time has come to Shutdown Of 518 Mines be realistic and to reorganize the **Confirms Krug's Guilt** ential leader of the Democratic spokesman of Big Business, fol-

By George Lavan APRIL 1 — Secretary of the Interior Krug's closing Democrats in this committee then Byrd would call for a ed its editorial voice to the chor- 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

> Krug's step was taken under pressure of the six-day stoppage ordered by the UMW in protest

against the killing of the Cenmines. 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 Commit-

Carrying the attack to the labor-hating inquisitors, Lewis demanded the removal of Secretary of the Interior J. A. Krugfor "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 governmentseized mines only by virtue of specific paragraphs in the contract signed by Krug and Lewis. (Continued on Page 2)

APR. 7 — Finally united in action on a national scale, workers' demand for a \$12 a week increase is fully supported the 280,000 members of the National Federation of Tele- by the figures released by the Buphone Workers today accepted the challenge of one of the rea of Labor Statistics, an agency that certainly is not biased monopolies in the country-- would make grievance procedure in favor of labor. The Bureau's reports show that the telephone Such has been the provoca- workers are among the lowest long-distance phones, 90% of tive position of the Bell Compaid utility workers. On the avercontrolling stock in the Bell panies as well as the manufac- age they receive \$8 a week less turing subsidiaries of the AT&T than workers in electric light trust, which stubbornly refuses and power: \$10 a week less than

to bargain on a national basis. transportation workers: etc. AT&T has insisted on the legal Other union demands of the AT&T's obstinate refusal to meet fiction that each of the operatphone workers consist of a unor arbitrate union demands. Dur\_ ing companies bargain inde-

the words of Joseph Beirne, Not a single Bell Company of the company statements and cation schedules. These meahas offered a penny of wage in- the uniformity of their anti-lacreases as a counter-proposal to bor advertisements in the press our demand for a \$12 a week show clearly that the Bell increase . . . In most of our bar- Companies are being operated gaining sessions, company repre- from a central switchboard sentatives have proposed that AT&T headquarters at 165 seniority provisions be discard- Broadway in New York. ed and that promotions, trans- The over-all attitude of AT&T AT&T have shown the crying

that the number of paid holidays be reduced. They want to employes as human beings.

Carl M. M. M. S. S. S.

ing two months of bargaining, in pendently with local and region- periods, narrowing of wage difal unions. But the puppet-like unanimity and improved holiday and va-

to the Greek monarchy met a by the Socialist Workers Party,

including the Vandenberg am- Association in front of the endment paying lip service to French Consulate in New York the United Nations. The am- on January 25 had not gone unendment ostensibly permits the noticed in Indo-China. UN to over-see Washington's in-

GILDING THE UN This amendment was designed France."

to allay the great resentment of the American people over the long fought for their independ-Truman "doctrine" which they ence. During the war they refear will lead straight down the sisted the Japanese conquerors highway to an atomic war. Af- while the former French authorter ballyhooing the UN as the ities collaborated with the reonly means of preventing a Third presentatives of the Mikado. World War, the Administration's With the fall of Japan. the

propaganda at its face value. public. Besides Vandenberg's amend- But the British sent troops to

reduce sick pay provisions, they The justice of the telephone tion, and planned accordingly. re-gild the badly-tarnished UN this government just as they

Near Hanoi, Feb. 15, 1947 The placards of the 200 de-Chairman, Socialist Workers Party New York demanded "Hands off Indo-China" and "No U.S. Guns to Dear Sir:

#### PAGE TWO

## 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 Pendergast 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 prespective 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 capitalistminded 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 Supreme 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 Coll-

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 workingclass 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 doctrine and obstructing its realization. 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 tranform 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

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.

SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1947

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.

e.c.i

## **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.



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."



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 Cen-Federated Pictures tralia mine disaster.

## Closing Of 518 Mines **Confirms Krug's Guilt** (Continued from Page 1)

His third demand was that the [take that chance." \$710,000 in fines imposed by the Medill also berated Scanlan Supreme Court upon the UMW for the thoroughness of his reand himself for "striking against ports, saying that "those damned the government," be remitted to hunkies at the Centralia mine the union and used as a trust wouldn't know the conditions at fund for the widows of both the the mine if you didn't bring it Centralia and Straight Creek, to their attention in your re-Kentucky, mine disasters. ports." Although Lewis has centered William H. Brown, superinhis fire on the federal government's guilt, three official in**tories** From quiries just completed in Cen-Mine Fields tralia have served to underline See Page 5 the equal guilt of Illinois state officials. It was revealed that tendent of the Centralia mine, Robert M. Medill, recently re- told the Illinois investigating through to victory was given best time and looking for the signed head of the Illincis De- committee that the inspectors' partment of Mines, sold protec- recommendation for a sprinkling tion from the safety laws to opsystem to allay the excessive dust erators who contributed to the in the mine had not been fol-Republican Party's campaign lowed because it wasn't "econfund. omical." "You mean you didn't It was charged that this want to bear the expense?" askshake down was on "express ored the committee. "That's right," ders" from Governor Dwight H. Brown replied. Green. Medill directed the local Revelations of the corruption inspectors to get contributions in the Illinois Department of from the small operators while Mines bore out oft-repeated he personally approached the UMW charges that the state "big boys." The quota assigned mine departments were tools of the Department of Mines was the operators. As one UMW offi-\$25,000 for the mayoralty camcial stated. "State regulations is paign. politics from top to bottom. It's Driscoll A. Scanlan, local inpolitics what kind of a law you spector for the Centralia mine, get and it's politics who's apbegged Medill to take action on pointed to inspect the mines. the unsafe Centralia mine before And it's politics how they do a dust explosion occurred which their job.' would "sweep from one end of Hugh White, president of the mine to the other." But his UMW District 12, assailed the chief replied: "We'll just have to federal government, declaring, "Miners have been put in prison for striking, but the operators The Potentiality have only received letters when **O Physical Harm** their mines are unsafe." The Telephone Workers



1. Defend labor's standard of living!

- A sliding scale of wages -an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!
- Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!
- Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers' control!
- 2. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans! For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours

reduce the hours of work with no reduction



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.'

ferent from Krug?

interests have the friendship of the Republicans, as the scandalous situation in the Illinois Department of Mines and Minerals Democratic Party.

the enforcing power must be beyond the influence of the op-erators, 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 lust 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 But while the enforcing power or of a government subservient silenced in 42 states.

to them, then profits are put

To have safety in the mines, UMW.

the unions are "settling down for a long strike."

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 the miners would be enforced. 31,600,000 phones, because already both long-distance and is in the hands of the operators manual phones are completely

In the days prior to the strike Does Lewis think that this first and safety last. The rec- the government exerted heavy same government would replace ommendations of the experts pressure on the NFTW. Con-Krug with anyone basically dif- and the miners are filed in the gressman Hartley and other prowaste basket as the history of | fessional labor-hating politicians Nor would the replacement of Centralia and countless other tried to rush through a new bill a Democrat by a Republican alter mines shows. Conscientious state to permit government seizure. the situation. The powerful coal and federal inspectors are over-/ Simultaneously, Truman's "leruled, as Driscoll Scanlan was gal" experts advised him that

out as was Dr. R. R. Sayers of phony grounds that the war is proves, as well as that of the the Federal Bureau of Mines, de- not yet "officially" over. This episode constituted a

spite the vigorous protest of the warning that the Truman administration is waiting for the



**First Nation-wide Telephone Strike Ties Up Switchboards** 

#### (Continued from Page 1)

new impetus with the statement best way to come to the aid of of NFTW President Beirne that the AT&T magnates.

Furthermore, Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach and his ag-With the continuation of the ents kept pressuring the unions not to strike. Schwellenbach'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 proin Illinois, or they are kicked he could seize the phones on the viding 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 pick-

et 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 antilabor 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 strikebreaking. Along these lines, the phone strike can serve to lift the labor movement to a renewed level of struggle.

NEWARK MILITANT LABOR FORUM Fridays at 8:30 P.M. AMERICA'S SOCIALIST FUTURE BOOM AND BUST"-Rise and Decline of U. S. Capitalism APRIL 18 JOHN G. WRIGHT 423 Springfield Ave. or series 20c per lecture \$1 for series

> NEW HAVEN Sacial Apr. 19, 8:30 p.m. 855 Grand Ave. Third floor

NEW HAVEN LABOR SCHOOL Sunday, April 13, 8:30 p.m.

Union is not technically on

strike but is respecting picket

lines in New York. "Its Pres-

ident, 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 sub-

ject themselves to the poten-

tiality of physical harm. Be-

cause they had learned this

lesson well, Mr. Curtin said.

the maintenance men were

not running the risk of cross-

ing the picket lines set up by

the girl operators."-N. Y.

Times, Apr. 8

"The Differences between the Socialist Party, Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party." By L. Morris Sunday, April 27, 8:30 p.m. "The Coming American Revolution" By Alvin Royce 855 Grand Ave., 3rd floor

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

> 3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strikebreakina! No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!

No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!

Build an independent labor party!

5. Tax the rich, not the poor! Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes! No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

- An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!
- 7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities! End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!
- 8. For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!
- 9. A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war.

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

Abolish the officer caste system!

- Full democratic rights in the armed forces!
- Trade union wages for the armed forces!
- Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
- 10. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!

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

11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!



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

I would like:

To join the Socialist Workers Party

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

NAME	An internet of the second s	
STREET	(Ficase Frint)	พระสงที่เปราสุดสิ่งสารเสราต่าง การประเทศ
Сіту		
POSTAL ZONE	STATE	ç ild taratığır. Bo alatışmın diları

SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1947

THE MILITANT

## **American Stalinism And Anti-Stalinism**

**British Atrocities In Palestine** 

## Franco Makes Open Bid **For Deal With Monarchy**

Franco last week issued a decree proclaiming Spain as a monarchist state and establishing a Regency Coun- POUM continues to participate cil to take charge of the government and select its head in the ANFD (National Alliance if he dies or is incapacitated. The decree authorizes Franco to summon "the person of D-

government.

royal blood" best fitted in his opinion to be monarch. ed, this will have to be for a very Alarmed by the growth of un-could be solved by knowing what ish masses, Franco finds it neish masses, Franco finds it ne-cessary today to strengthen his to compromise to construct the and Greek Monarchy fascist regime against them. His decree is an attempt to ar- pression of this will." rive at a deal with the monarchist movement which, as a result of United Nations pressure, is growing rapidly in capitalist and Rudolfo Llopis declared: army circles: or, failing that, to split the monarchist movement and win over that wing of the

the Falange. Monarchist circles are highly in charge of constituting the new 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 already initiated discussions new monarch, etc. For despite with monarchist agents. their long collaboration with the compelled to dissociate them- in the following words: selves from it.

Their understanding with the avoiding a terrible civil war and ly." archy a "liberal" aspect. And ity accessible to all Spaniards they know they have no chance and able to unite in one united mass support inside Spain so of Spaniards.' long as they have any deals with Franco.

MAIN AIM

winning such mass support, readiness to collaborate with the cist Italy and Spain, Japan and New Dealers, and their Stalin-or at any rate tolerance, is the monarchists. main pre-occupation of the monarchists today; it is the only hope STALINIST SHIFTS the Spanish ruling class has for The Stalinists were the earlireplacing Franco with a "safe" est to raise the question of a deal hours those seized were deported. government and thus staving off with the monarchists, but then a revolutionary overturn by the changed their line for a time public trial'.'

In this dirty job, which will would be frozen out by the monemigre circles

ists and anti-Franco militarists specifically Republican."

Franco's downfall there will be not very happy about the pro- tion and who, with their gold

rent version of the Peoples Front which is involved in negotiations with the monarchists and mili-

to compromise to accept the ex-**A 'Difficult Client'** When he became premier of the exile government's new cab-**Declares Krock** inet formed at Barrio's behest,

Arthur Krock, Washington "I must now make every effort to incorporate in the govern- correspondent of the N. Y. ment all the political and social Times, has decided that "The opinions, particularly inside the share the power with Franco and country itself, of which the note Greek government is a diffiof the President of the Republic cult client." He bases this is speaking when he placed me conclusion on the report of an un-named but "trained"

tarists.

That clearly establishes the observer in Greece. This oborientation of the exile governserver. Krock declared in ment, which is reported to have his March 31 column, "would not be quoted in this space had The Socialist Party's press he not impressively established fascist regime, they are now states its reasons for going along his reliability, disinterestedness "It is the case, more or less, of and capacity to report objective-

British government requires that to see if Spain is or is not a The announcement "that the they attempt to give the mon- geographical and national real- United States is going to bail out Greece" was "the signal." of securing any semblance of aspiration the divergent interests says the observer, "for a new campaign of repression." The The Anarchists, who control Ministry is following "the secret shadowed in this "doctrine." ton correspondent of the Christhe CNT (National Confedera- police technique made familiar tion of Labor), have already is-

5 o'clock a.m., and within 24 to 'a lonely island without a

because they were afraid they 600 ARRESTED

landlords in powe even if Fran- are again advocating the deal. United States said it would as- man, head of the power that co goes, the monarchists can to- Dolores Ibarruri (La Pasion- sume political responsibility, the fostered the UN and the princiinside Spain and the Spanish the monarchists." The Daily etc. — and sent them away, say, torpedoes the UN. Worker here quoted her speech frankly declaring there was no The "republican" leaders and at a Spanish CP plenum in Paris longer any need to exercise re-

The "republican" leaders and on Mar. 29, in which she called straint. There is no doubt that hole in their political fence with labor bureaucrats do not openly on and every argument that for the restoration of the for "the formation of a great the loudest shouters in support any and every argument that call for the restoration of the coalition of all Republican forces of the United States are Athens' appears the least bit plausible. Department seriously consider run for cover, is actually strengthening the moral collaboration with the monarch-with anti-Francoists who are not 3,000 wealthiest citizens whom What lengths they will go to is the UN as the only instrument ists and anti-Franco militarists specificanty republicant. and express the hope that after The centrist party, POUM, is protect against any direct taxa-began peddling around April how could they overlook it?

Handcuffed together, and with legs shackled, these two

Jews are brought to a Britsh 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 campaign. The Association of Catholic Trade

tian Science Monitor as the in-Washington office, likewise declared that "the State Depart-George of Georgia called it a 'tactical mistake."

They claim a "stitch-in-time" could have prevented this poli- do their best to supply the "ideology" for the tical damage to Truman; namely, "such a simple procedure as informing Mr. Trygve Lie of what the United States was pro-

posing to do." The question naturally arises: how was it possible for the State Department and President Truman to put a "younger officer" vocate?

## **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 servitors. 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."

Sinister Role of ACTU

Almost the whole of the non-Stalinist trade union bureaucracy has taken its place in the Unionists, a sinister, priest-ridden outfit which menaces the unions with a split along religious lines, is very active and aggressive in the pogrom side dope. The staid Arthur against the "Commiss." Drawing encourage-Krock, head of the N. Y. Times ment from the governmental campaign and the general reactionary trend in the country, the ACTU grows ever bolder and more brazen in ment must be charged with the its attempts to switch the allegience of the promajor blame." And Senator gressive 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

> 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 in charge of the UN "point of campaign, while it is undoubtedly weakening view"? Isn't the UN important some of the organizational positions of the Stalenough to deserve a weightier ad- inists and dislodging them from some strategic posts in the trade union movement, and furnish-

position of the Communist Party. The ranks of the sympathetic radical workers

and party members are being solidified by the And now we come to the most crude reactionary ballyhoo, and the support of

iginated 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

PAGE THREE

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 ear-

lier 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.

## Pioneer Communists in U.S.

Due to the inexperience of the leadership, numerous mistakes were made; but the early C.P. was an honest working-class party, carrying on an uncompromising struggle against capitalism and defending the interests of the workers as best it could. In the early and middle twenties the party attracted to itself the best, most idealistic and self-sacrificing of the advanced workers and soon became the recognized organizing center of American labor radicalism; while the Socialist Party fell into innocuous

# War that is clearly fore-9-

The most articulate opposition, Winning such mass support, readinger to collaborate with the cist Italy and Sprin Yars in Mazi Germany, Fashowever, comes from the liber-Soviet Russia. Arrests of citizens ist tail. Their great grievance is were made between midnight and Truman's by-passing the United Nations. And they have been making political capital out of this issue.

Their main argument is that the UN charter expressly forbids member nations from act-"In one three-day period," the ing unilaterally in matters afkeep the Spanish capitalists and archists. Today, however, they report continues, "after the fecting other nations. Yet Tru-

day count on the support of vir-ara) declared last month that Greek government arrested about ples set forth in its charter, is tually all the wings of the "re- it was "logical that there are in- 600 persons in Athens, mostly the first to violate those prinpublican" and labor movements terviews and negotiations with professionals — doctors, lawyers, ciples. Truman's action, they The Trumanites, consequent-

the government continues to shown by the explanation they that can prevent another war,



a plebiscite to determine what posed deal, but tries to suggest the masses think.

dent of the Spanish Republican paper writes: their views most clearly when he monarchists is realized (and we most as traitorous as the Left speaks of "rapprochement with must not forget that they will because it doesn't make humble the sentiments of Spanish opin- be the first to occupy the level obeisance to the government." ion which, even though not with- of power), in what situation will in the framework of republican the anti-fascist forces find them. is that much as he detests "Cominstitutions, coincides with us in selves? The most elementary munists," he would "go to the the necessity to liquidate the logic suggests that in spite of mountains" if he were a Greek.

the compromises sought for, the Franco regime. "This rapprochement could resistance organizes itself for piece of Wall Street like the Department, this "younger ofcreate a climate which could the possibility of the fall of the N. Y. Times would publish such ficer" was by-passed. Therefore, perhaps show the Spanish army monarchy as well as showing its damning extracts shows how au- the "point of view" of the burthe moral obligation it has to- strength at any time." ward the country.

Now on Sale

Fourth

International

CONTENTS FOR APRIL

By Pierre Frank

By Leon Trotsky

By R. Dassac

By R. Henry

By T. Cliff

By Ernest Germain

**Review of the Month** 

The Kremlin's Reaction

Truman Doctrine Means War

France Under the Fourth Republic

Jewish Question Since World War II

Some Features of Colonial Economy

An Open Letter to the Leninbund

25¢ a copy • yearly subscription \$2

Order from Business Manager

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

From the Arsenal of Marxism:

The Conflict in Indo-China

Atomic Energy

pounds, hardly realize there is a radical outcome for it. The any inflation. And the Rightists Diego Martinez Barrio, presi- Spanish correspondent of its and extremists, encouraged by

The conclusion of this observer

Despite this radical talk, the the un-named correspondent.

the President's speech, now

cils. When Truman's speech was The mere fact that a mouth- being ghost-written by the State thentic are the observations of eau interested in the UN was not included in the finished

It is this fascist-minded re- draft! gime in Greece that the White This "explanation" was not House now proposes to bolster cooked up by Truman's enemies. with \$250,000,000 taken from the It was conscientiously reported pockets of the American workers. by Joseph C. Harsch, Washing-

**International Notes** 

American products will be ex- 3,254,000 the Cooperative annual ported this year. conference in Wales turned down

The British Labor Government a motion condemning the govtory last week, when its peace- "a possible drift to war and impatient with the UN folderol time conscription bill passed a economic chaos." The next Labor and prefer to implement foreign second reading in the House of Party conference in May, will policy with naked power. Commons. A motion to reject the see some real fireworks around bill was defeated by 386 to 85, both foreign policy and domeswith 72 Laborite MP's voting tic issues.

against the government and an additional 50 either abstaining or not appearing for the vote. The Labor opposition thus ac- the Center region of Belgium, to subjugate the world. counted for over one-third of the has joined the Belgian Trotsky-Labor Party's strength. The Tor- ist party.

ies voted with the Labor government on this issue. Two days later the government reduced demonstrated against Chinese

Chen Yi and his officials holed break." And on April 4 the Brit- paves the way for peace. The people of Madagascar are in up in barricaded buildings in ish delegate to the UN, Sir Alrevolt against French imperial- Taihoku and other cities," re- exander Cadogan accused Rusism too. French paratroops ports the American journalist, sig of using the veto so arrantly from the U.S. are putting down Weekly Review. Chiang Kai- structed, sterile and impotent." and arresting their leaders.

Labor government's foreign pol- murdered in this way.

Fool's day. According to this explanation, astonishing item of all - hang new groups of workers is being drawn to the

der." It appears that the UN Di- take notice of the UN in his Consequently his voice carries an urgent one requiring immelittle weight in inner circle coun-

> to extend help of the kind that is required." In brief. Truman and the State,

revolutionary opponent of the big money sharks Government-in-Exile, expresses "If the agreement with the trumpet that the Center is alhas a new head. And he, having "We have considered how the For example, the C.P., according to the Daily been a "younger officer" up to United Nations might assist in Worker, raised a "defense fund" of \$250,000 in now, has yet "to win his spurs." this crisis. But the situation is less than 20 days. This important sum could properly be posted in the financial report of the diate action, and the United party treasurer as a free donation from the as-Nations . . . (is) not in a position sociated Red-baiters.

## How We Fight Stalinism

We Trotskyists, as everybody knows, are also against Stalinism and have fought it unceas-Department after due consideration deliberately and coldingly and consistently for a very long time. But bloodedly by-passed the UN! we have no place in the present "all-inclusive" The truth of the matter is united front against American Stalinism. The that Wall Street has set itself reason for this is that we are anti-capitalist. the goal of world domination and Consequently, we can find no point of agreeis preparing for the war it sees ment with the campaign conducted by the poas necessary to win this goal. litical representatives of American capitalism in The UN can aid in the prepara- Washington, with the support of its agents in tions by deluding the masses, the labor movement and its lackies in the litbut Wall Street itself has no il- erary and academic world. We fight Stalinism lusions whatsoever about the from a different standpoint.

UN. When its war policy calls We fight Stalinism not because it is another for by-passing the UN, it by- name for communism, but precisely because of passes the UN, as demonstrated its betrayal of communism and of the interests to the hilt in the proposal to in- of the workers in the class struggle. Our expo-About eight billion dollars of icy. By a vote of 3,412,000 to tervene in Greece and Turkey. sition of the question is made from a commun-In the final analysis, Pepper ist point of view, and our appeal is directed not and Wallace agree with Wall to the exploiters of labor and their various re-Street's aim, but they don't want actionary agencies of oppression and deception, to scuttle the UN at this stage but to the workers, who have a vital interest in was faced with the biggest rank- ernment's anti-Soviet collabora-of the game. The military clique, the struggle against the capitalist exploiters as and-file M.P. revolt in its his- tion with the U.S. as leading to however, headed by Marshall are well as against perfidious Stalinism.

The problem of the advanced and progressive workers is to learn how to fight Stalinism without inadvertently falling into the camp of cap-This brass hat clique now italist reaction and thus hurting only themselves. dominates the State Department. For this it is necessary, first of all, for them to From their viewpoint, by-pass- understand the question and to get a clear picing the UN was not at all a ture of the Communist Party, of what it used Adolphe Legrand, well known "silly blunder" but simply a logi- to be and how it came to be the hideous thing

The Communist Party of the United States or- Party Degenerated.

and the trade union bureaucracy became more "it was all a rather silly blun- on to your seats! - Truman did party which is made to appear as the persecuted and more subservient to the capitalist exploiters and their governmental agencies.

But toward the end of the twenties, while the "prosperity" boom was still riding high, the picture began to change. This party, which began with such bright promise, whose founding members had been inspired by such honesty, courage and idealism, eventually fell victim to the innumerable pressures of its hostile environment, as had happened with other workers' parties many times in the history of the international labor movement. Degeneration set in. and the party began to lose its revolutionary character. From an irreconcilable enemy of capitalism, the party was changed, by degrees and over a long period of time, into a treacherous and servile tool of capitalism.

This was shown most glaringly during the recent war, when the Stalinists became the worst jingoes and strikebreakers in the labor movement, and when Browder, then the official chief of the party by grace of Stalin, even went so far as to offer to shake hands with J. P. Morgan. The Communist Party became anti-communist. the most perfidious enemy of authentic communism.

That is what really happened. But the course of degeneration did not go unchallenged. The genuine Communists, the Trotskyists, revolted against the degeneration and the betrayal as soon as it was first discerned; organized a determined fight against it; were expelled from the party in 1928 and organized a new movement on the old program, which is today known as the Socialist Workers Party. Thus the banner of communism, which the official Communist Party renounced, was not lost or surrendered to the class enemy. It was taken up and carried forward by the Trotskyist minority who believed then, as they believe now, that it is not the program of communism which has been discredited and refuted but only those who have deserted and betrayed it.

Next week: Why and How the Communist

## The people of Formosa, who Senate Committee Backs Truman War Moves

the conscription period from 18 police brutality on Feb. 28. "had (Continued from Page 1) Various public figures, includ-furnish such modern weapons as aid and assistance other nations to 12 months in an effort to win secured control of virtually the us demanding a "showdown" ing Truman, have issued state- may be found necessary and ap- who also have a fear of Russian entire island, with Governor even "at the risk of a complete ments saying the "doctrine" propriate in each case." expansion."

#### **OBVIOUS FACTS**

Senator George, second-rank-Most outspoken of all was ing Democrat on the Foreign Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker, labor-Relations Committee, "deliber- hating favorite of the Wall

How they expect the public to ately" supported the bill in "the Street moguls. He declared an armed with weapons obtained John W. Powell, in the China that the UN is "completely ob- swallow such statements in the belief that it is vital to us to "internal revolution" whether face of the obvious facts is dif- check Russian expansion now." "passive or bloody" must occur the fighters for independence shek's governor "stalled for time This counter-attack was ob- ficult to see. Even Dean Ache- And trying to whip up the war in the Soviet Union. By "revoand radioed Nanking for troops"; viously designed to take the heat son, Acting Secretary of State, fever, he continued, "If un- lution" Rickenbacker meant the he promised to end martial law, off Washington for the ruthless answering 111 questions submit- checked, Russia will inevitably restoration of capitalism in the The Cooperative Party, which to compensate for families of way Truman by-passed the UN. ted by Senators on intervention overrun Europe, extend herself workers' state. Otherwise said is an integral part of the Bri- killed and wounded and to widen Similar tactics have been fol- in Greece and Turkey, was forced into Asia and perhaps South the captain, World War III tish Labor Party, last week de- the government. Instead, when lowed in meeting the only too to admit, despite all his ultra- America . . ." "must absolutely come to pass."

feated by a very close margin a troops arrived, "the blood bath well-founded apprehensions of caution, that in building up the He called the action in Greece And by that he meant Wall resolution sharply critical of the was on." At least 10,000 were the American people that Tru- military power of Greece and and Turkey only "the first step." Street must smash the Soviet man's "doctrine" means war. Turkey, "the United States will He hoped it would "bring to our Union with the atomic bomb,

leader of the militant miners in cal step in Wall Street's drive it is today.

back some of the rebels.

**PAGE FOUR** 

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

Leon Trotsky

## **Build A Labor Party!**

The continued mine stoppage and phone 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 THE MILITANT



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



A STAR POINTED NORTH, draws the political lessons from the South's loudest prophetby Edmund Fuller, Harper & this important phase of the life preacher, but changed religions

Brothers, 361 pp., 1946, \$2.75. of Douglass. Furthermore, he This novelized biography of uses all too sparingly the best ticism, hating anything "comwritings and speeches of Dou-Frederick Douglass presents the life of the great Negro leader glass. in a popular form. It follows the

The weakness of the book in 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 after the Civil War, his trade union activities and sympathies

are all left to the imagination know the full story of the strugfails to deal with them. Fredgles and the ideas of Frederick erick Douglass, whose whole life the downtrodden and oppressed of both races, deserves a far better memorial than this.

ferences between the school of political action and the proponents of moral suasion, are of himself.)

Eugene desires not to escape themes, varying them until each never clearly drawn, Garrison and Douglass were far from being from life, but into it. He explores is exhausted. identical reflections of the abolia world of Harvard students, Although the most poetic of tionist movement. Garrison snobs and esthetes; "art" circles Wolfe's books, this is the least fought as an evangelist and ab- filled with feeble talents; tour- socially conscious. Along with stained from politics; Douglass ists and eccentric characters. But scenes of police brutality and fought as a revolutionist and it is also a world of New England upper-class snobbery, there are hence as a moulder of political beauty, human affection, great distorted views of Negroes, Jews opinion. Their conflicting views books, exploration of his own and Irish. Yet while describing led to a split, and the estab- mind, and a vast sweep of life. these people vilely, he treats them lishment by Douglass of his own The time is in the 1920's-of sympathetically when he underpress. These basic differences are "unlimited prosperity" under stands their suffering. The bignever made clear in this novel. Harding. Eugene, at Harvard, is otry in his youth evidently Yet they led Douglass to sup- studying desperately to be a sprang from his unstable emoport John Brown up until Har- playwright. There the esthetic tions. Uncertain of himself, he pers Ferry, while the Garrison- Francis Starwick becomes his saw hostility in others. ians remained in the emotional friend. Eugene is especially im-This is mainly the story of and semi-religious realm. pressed by Starwick's ability to being lost, of a man who had to The political orientation of give grandeur to everything. be lost many times before he Douglass led him in turn to sup- In Bacchus Pentland, Eugene's found himself. At the time of

often. He retreats into romanmon," including women and the working people.

His father's death calls Eugene presenting a rounded portrait south. W. O. Gant had been too of Douglass arises from its omis- dominant a personality to his sions rather than from deliberate children. Helen, his sister, is undistortion. The struggle of prepared to face life, and Eugene Douglass for the rights of women is full of indecision. Finally, he in the 1850's, his struggle against leaves home forever, to give his Jim Crow in the North, his life talents to the world.

After teaching English literature at Harvard, he wanders, "a stranger and alone." He visits of the reader since the author England, then France. In Paris he works on a novel until Starwick appears. With him and two was devoted to the struggles of Boston girls, Eugene explores the gilt edges of life. Then, realizing they are living in a vacuum of decay, and that life must be departs on his own. In a small

> Europe loses its meaning for ship going home, he meets Esther. This is Wolfe at his most lyrical. He uses many beautiful

SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1947

## **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 intrenchment 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 airfleet 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.



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

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 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.

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 root-

ed in the sharpening of the class struggle

that is destined to sweep away the utterly de-

fact clearly, then they will more and more

support each other's struggles and seek com-

mon action against the common internation-

al foe. The new socialist economic system of

enduring peace, plenty and the brotherhood

The memorial of the coal miners in America

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)

On April 1 they voted in the Italian Assem-

The Vatican, as is well-known among class-

conscious workers, is a powerhouse of world

reaction. One of its typical acts was the bless-

ing it gave General Franco for slaughtering

the flower of the Spanish working class and

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

setting up a fascist dictatorship in Spain.

public schools.

bly to continue the chief provisions of a treaty

Party have now added another foul page.

negotiated by Mussolini with the Vatican.

and the stoppages of the coal miners in Ger-

**Stalinists And Rome** 

many are harbingers of that day.

of man will then not be long in appearing.

When the workers begin to see this basic

cayed capitalist system.

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!

President Lincoln. But if the reader wants to

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 edu-

cation and his freedom. The real meaning of the dispute between Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison, the dif-

by Thomas Wolfe, Sun Dial

Press, 912 pp., \$1.49. in Eugene Gant's search for truth. (Gant is Wolfe's picture

-John Fredericks built on work and creation, he OF TIME AND THE RIVER, French town he writes continuously, passionately. This is the story of five years Eugene and he leaves. On the

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 shanleful 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

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 classconscious 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 twoyears after V-J Day?

Class-conscious workers should insist on getting American troops out of China at once. Enoughe American lives have already been lost defending the brutal dictatorship of a reactionary clique in China!

port the then revolutionary Re- uncle, we see another revealing the writing of this book, Wolfe publican Party, while the bour- character development. Born in geois abolitionists abstained from Southern

#### Congressmen At Work

poverty, Bacchus known destination. political action. The author never turned to religion. He became

## 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 cases more than make up for the stretches where

the oratory fills your eyes with in a while." How can he do it sand. Take page 2,108 of issue when the price has sky-rocketed No. 48, for instance, where Rep. from 42 cents to 79 cents? Helen Douglas (D., Calif.) raises Three pounds of Crisco cost hell about how little she got 68 cents last June; now it cost when she went shopping with \$1.27, while Wesson oil jumped \$15.

In June 1946, which was apparently the last time she went coffee, 66 cents in June is now shopping, she got 10 pounds of 98 cents. "And, remember," flour for 78 cents. On March 12 warned Rep. Douglas, "you canit cost her 87 cents. Butter had not separate an American from jumped from 65 cents to 82 cents. his coffee.'

The Congresswoman really Since Wall Street's political representatives apparently do went in for some heavy shop- look give the range of return little shopping, the Congresswo- ping. She picked up sausage, on investment for 1946 for the man waved the sales slips to con- stew beef, string beans, canned big companies in four industries vince anyone inclined to doubt peas and soda crackers. Every as: Meats, 6.1% to 16%; texher appalling experience. Milk item had zoomed in price. Even tiles, 8.8% to 38.4%; foods, 13.3% had shot up from 25 cents for margarine, which she explained to 24% and iron and steel 5.4% two quarts to 34 cents. One dozen to the House is "called the poor to 12.7%. eggs from 53 cents to 69 cents. "man's butter," went from 18 Prunes, of which Mrs. Douglas cents to 43 cents. is apparently fond, had gone In brief, from the bills in her from 32 cents for two pounds to hand, Rep. Douglas proved to present facts like these on the 54 cents. Ground round steak Congress that what cost \$10.08 floor of Congress and fight for likewise had soared from \$1.35 last June now costs \$15.02. to \$2.07 for three pounds; and two pounds of pork chops from men would rise up in arms at this the rise in the cost of living. It 76 cents to \$1.46. sensational, eye-witness evidence Bacon, said the Congresswo- about the rise in the cost of liv-

man is "not a poor man's meat, ing. But not a peep. They courbut he likes to get a piece once



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."

was still on his way to an un-

-Robert Bates

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. Doug-

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. from 58 cents a quart to 90 cents. Most companies shook down re-Two pounds of Maxwell House turns 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 Out-

Too bad the CIO doesn't have a single representative who could legislation to back the union You would think the Congress- struggle for wage rises to meet would make the Congressional Record a lot more popular read-

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 woolens, 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 91/2 billion dollars, of which the slow moving and overpriced 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 postwar 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.



### SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1947

### THE MILITANT

CLOTHING

FEB. 1947

132.7

PAGE FIVE



The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant". Letters 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 Editor: 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 maybe 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 the labor power, the greater the potential wealth of the country. Army?" Our trouble is capitalism which dumps oranges in the sea, milk in the sewers, plows under cotcloses down factories and mills give every one of us all we need; and when this isn't enough. plunges the whole world into turies of accumulated wealth. In the last depression, mil-

lions went hungry while food was houses and rotting in the fields. Gilbert can't remember this fantastic experience, let him tion in the depression now coming up.

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

## Why I Decided To Join the SWP

Edtior:

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 every step. Our color bars us Explains Why Robeson of the Call and the Daily Worker and everything we do is thrown before and found nothing inspiring there.

the whole family could read.

the other political articles. The their ignorance the management pay. Militant presents the facts dra- was even so rude as to suggest When the South, which hates Mrs. Ingie Cole, his wife,

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

on what they give you under The other day at lunch-time, the GI bill, you don't need to a couple of us in the shop heard go to college," Frank said bit-

a U. S. Army recruiting adver- terly. He should know. He tried tisement over the radio. At first it for two months and had to we chuckled over 't, but then give it up. after we thought a little while, "Still," somebody said, "lots of kids are enlisting now."

we were burning mad. You hear this young boy's voice "It's nothing like on the radio saying eagerly: "Say, dad, now though," Emmy answered. "My that I'm 17, what would you kid brother got out of high think if I got a job that would school, pounded the pavements John P. Morgan, president of teach me a skilled trade, pay for six weeks and still couldn't the United Mine Workers local my room and board and \$60 a get a decent job. He couldn't here, told us: month besides, send me to col- see hanging around the house

The old man, of course, says they could do." it's great and inside of two minutes he's signed enlistment given the kid a few pointers on | fought all through the Italian that could produce enough to how much everyone over the globe respects the U.S. uniform. Then the announcer's voice cuts in and tells you where you working people, hated us so much frightful wars that destroy cen- can enlist and to hurry up about you could see it on their faces.

The vets in the shop got their they never even looked at the licks in first. Joe, who was prob- GI, they were so busy giving stacked to the roofs in the ware- ably the mildest sergeant in dinners and showing their casthe Army, said: "Well, aside tles to the big brass. Besides, this from the fact that waiting on is supposed to be peacetime, officers' mess isn't really a skill- isn't it? Why are they whoopstick around and get an 'educa- ed trade, and that the \$60 is ing it up so much for the Army?" minus allotments and insurance and that the rooms aren't always when the bell rang. We put out rooms - the guy wasn't really our cigarettes and went back lying.'

into the shop. "And aside from the fact that if you're smart enough to live white children were ended, the lieve, as you have got to do out

all my life! We who are colored know we to achieve our goal but it is bet-

their skin is the color of the get nothing for it. capitalist's skin. That is why it is easier to sell The Militant to the man who meets reality at

back at us. As an employe of a national Editor: But Militant sales workers are retail chain for many years I In reply to D. M. Steelquist convincing; and when we sat was told that I could easily make of San Diego. down to read the paper we soon out as a store manager, if not Dear friend and comrade, Nefound that we had something for my color. Today I wouldn't groes are inherently loyal. When accept the job, knowing that in you come to know them better

# Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant". Letters Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant". Letters

TOODS

DEC. 1941

90.5

#### 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, DEC. 1941

"Those politicians in Washnot too many people. The greater lege afterwards, etc., etc.-How so finally he signed up for the ington are lining up today beabout it, dad, can I join the Air Force. The folks cried and cause their records have been velled, but there was nothing exposed before the American people. The people of this coun-"And as for that stuff about try are behind the miners, and people loving the American uni-

those Congressmen are ashamed ton and corn, kills little pigs, papers, told the neighbors and form," said Leo, the vet who and are anxious to cover up." Asked if safety conditions have campaign; "when we'd put those improved under government cial clothes and working equip- Lewis' proposal to turn the ownership of the mines, he re- ment." Mrs. Cole interrupted to \$710,000 fine on the miners infascists back in office, most of those Italians, the ordinary plied: "NO TELLING"

The others, the rich, fancy ones, tively good because we have a good working union safety com-We were all chewing this over guard to protect the safety of the men.

"The mechanization of the mines has greatly increased the Ruth Goldman danger of working underground. New York The noise caused by the machinery doesn't warn a miner of

Al Johnson

**Supports Stalinism** 

kids whom I had played with of sensibility, act accordingly. I slips in the roof, or of wet-pots is ruthless." know it is going to be hard work that drop out." Mr. Morgan introduced us to

are oppressed while many white ter than under the present sys- Steve Panetsky, a miner and the workers have illusions because tem in which you work hard and constable of Lawrence, who conthe added dangers of mechan-Wisconsin ized mining. Mr. Panetsky told us that he had five sons, and not one of them would go to

work in the mines. 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 "The Negro Struggle" column the army Negroes who gained you'll agree with me. Just do were previously. When Lewis but after awhile I began reading and-file to hold their jobs. In debt to you that no money can jack, he hit the nail on the head."

"commissioning" me to scout up an educated Negro, refused to added: "The government took



highest number of new readers obtained monthly by the comrades since September. subs from Charles Carlson for Six of the branches reached the Buffalo. subscription goals they set for

March-Connecticut State, Pittsburgh, Flint, Boston, Milwaukee, Philadelphia.

to Golden Gate News Agency to Connecticut State has held 15 copies. She reports that they first place on the scoreboard for have "sold every one of the 10 This chart shows how much higher prices are today than the last four months. And not a copies they have been receiving. week goes by without a good I brought them an additional 5 Federated Pictures batch of subs from the comrades of the issue which carried the there. Fourteen were sent in scoop on the Budenz book. They this week by James White, Lit- sold all but one."

erature Agent, who promises The same mail brought in 19 that he "will send more subs subs from San Francisco. "This brings our total number of Mill-\* \* \*

tant subs for March to 37." save Local campaigns initiated by Comrade Chester. "It seems that we painfully add a few more subs creased number of subs during 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

In today's mail we received 14

Anne Chester of San Francisco

requests that we increase the

weekly bundle of Militants going

-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, strive for.'

\* \* \*

'	Below are listed	the subscrip-		
	tions sent in by during March.	each b	ranch	
~		Subs	% of Goal	

found that everyone remembered	8	ubs	Goal
The Militant and some were glad	Connecticut State	78	312
that we called and gave them	Pittsburgh	25	250
the opportunity to renew.	Flint		206
"The high cost of living is	Boston		152
really putting the squeeze on the	Milwaukee	54	150
worker's budget. Quite a few of	Philadelphia		100
our readers just couldn't afford	St. Louis		81
the money for renewal. Despite	Newark	40	90
this fact we are sure that through	San Francisco	37	
this campaign we will be able	Los Angeles Local	36	72
to substantially increase the	Buffalo		14
number of regular Militant read-	St. Paul	16	64
ers in New Jersey.	Minneapolis	13	33
the million beisey.	Seattle	10	25
Wildo Wohden and	Youngstown	9	23
Hilda Webster reports on	Toledo		20

campaign. "This week San Diego .....



the government is running the their reaction to the Centralia It's very well to set aside a week March. Newark, for instance, is mine. Safety conditions in our disaster, and one of the women, of mourning and prayer for the in the second week of what mine, Montour No. 4, are rela- who asked that her name be souls of the dead miners, but promises to be a bang-up camwithheld, told us this story: "My husband was a miner for children's stomachs?" mittee and they are on their 45 years, as a matter of fact he Family after family, miner subs: died in the mine. Although tech- after miner, repeated to us the

In addition, we have to buy spe-

BUILDING

MATERIALS

174.8

they were in 1941. And they continue to rise.

DEC.1941

107.8

marked by a one-day strike in

1303 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor; 19th & Market Sts., S.E. corner; 15th & Market Sts., N.E. corner; Broad St. Station; Broad & Arch Sts.; 13th & Filbert. Sts.; 11th & Walnut Sts.

Kauffman's Dept. Store, Book Dept 2279 Centre Ave., Hill District. M. Rose, 1332 Fifth Ave. P & A, 220 Federal St.

Haefstetter's, Highland bet. Centre

Rich's cor. S.W. Washington and

Ray's Smoke Shop, 1174 Sutter

St.: MacDonald's Book Store, 867

Mission St.; Golden Gate News

Joe's Smoke Shop, 1798 Geary.

San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., 4th Fl.

Militant Pub. Assn. Rm. 214, 1008 S. Pacific Ave.

Eckert's corner, Washington and 1st Ave.; Bishop Drug Store, 507 Jackson St.; Rayner's Book Store, 905 3rd Ave.; SWP, 1919½ Second Ave.

Hirsch Newsstand, 319 St. Clair St.

ground, and he can take it out. " to look into a mine."



CALIFORNIA, Pa., April 1 — For the first time since was the main feature of attrac- officer's promotions had to be them a kindness and they feel said the government was stand- Pearl Harbor, coal miners this year resumed their militant to substantially increased tion to me, with Kovalesky next; doubly hard on the Negro rank- that they've incurred a life-long ing over the miners with a black observance of John Mitchell Day. Celebrated as the anni-

versary of their victorious struggle for an 8-hour day in the mines, and named for the demonstruction provident when the mines are named for the demonstruction the mines are named for the mines are named for the demonstruction the mines are named for the mines are named f

Asked how they felt about point out: "It costs over \$1 to- to a trust fund for the widows next week." and orphans of the disaster, the

DEC. 1941

94.7

"I am, and I'm sure all work- the branches account for the inwho is going to put food in their paign. The following report by

Dotty Lessing accompanied 23 "This is the result of the secnically he died of a cerebral same story of the selfish greed ond week of our renewal camhemorrage, the real cause was of the coal operators and their paign to visit all The Militant the hurry-hurry pace. With irresponsible attitudes towards subscribers whose subs have the mechanization of the mines, their employes. The family tra- lapsed. The branch has been the pressure of the mine bosses dition of sons following their divided into 5 teams. The winon the workers to fill the cars fathers into the mines is being ning team will be treated to a shattered by the strong feeling dinner by the losing team. Team each. But it's something to Her neighbor added: "My hus- of the young men against work- No. 4 (Captain, D. Martin) is band has been a miner for many ing in an industry as dangerous leading by a few points. Team

many years, but none of my three as mining. As one miner put it: No. 5 (R. Blaine, Captain) is sons will work there. Our boys "The time won't be far off when not very far behind. We have firmed his statements regarding say: 'God put the coal in the they'll have to pay the men just already visited about 150 Mili-

tant subscribers; many of these subs lapsed months ago but we found that everyone rem The Militant and some w that we called and ga

the opportunity to renew "The high cost of really putting the squeez worker's budget. Quite a our readers just couldn' the money for renewal. this fact we are sure that this campaign we will number of regular Milita ers in New Jersey.

vnn's si

day to fill a lunch bucket." "Except for a weather-beaten We stopped to talk to two wo- first woman replied: American flag at the tipple, men engaged in a neighborly there is no way of telling that over-the-fence chat, to obtain ing people support that proposal.

with explanations. which is what we need.

to come down to meetings, I lay? realized what I had to do. If I Before I met the SWP, it do you see the reason for the ing people."

groes to join the SWP.

bookstore.

8 p.m.

Tennessee gave me notice that hard when I first joined. You days when I could play with learn in the SWP, and if you be-

some nice, courteous, diplomatic admit Robeson's children to over the mines for one reason When the Militant renewer colored girls for clerks if the their colleges, he worked long — so that the men wouldn't led that fight, April 1 is considcame around and was indignant help shortage worsened. I asked and hard and got them into strike. I don't think it's a fair ered by the miners to be their because I did not find the time them what was causing the de- Russian universities where they policy. By that method, they are own labor holiday. The Mitchell

had my way, I'd tell all the Ne- was worse to know something Robeson-Stalin tie-in? was wrong and not know what to Blind loyalty! The same that When I reached the age of do about it. Now I begin to un- saw Negro against Negro even elve, the white people down derstand questions which were in the Civil War. E. J. Carmona New York

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

Cirard Ave., 2nd floor. Open AKRON-2nd floor, 8 S. How-Room 11. Discussion every daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m ard St. Open Mon. through Tuesday 7:30 p.m.; open Sat-Phone Stevenson 5820. Friday, 4 to 6 p.m.; Saturdays urdays 1-5 p.m. MILWAUKEE - Militant Book- PITTSBURGH-1418 Fifth Ave., 2 to 4 p.m. 2nd floor. Office hours: Wed. BAYONNE-62 W. 23rd St. Open shop, 608 S. 5 St., open 7:30 7 to 9:30 p.m.: Sat. and Sun. house 2nd and 4th Saturdays. to 9:30 p.m. 3 to 9 p.m. Open forums Sun. BOSTON-30 Stuart St. Open MINNEAPOLIS-10 South 4th 3 p.m. Tel. Court 6060. Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; St., open 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily PORTLAND, Ore. - Write to Tuesdays and Fridays, 7:30 except Sunday. Tel. Main 7781 Socialist Workers Party, c/o C. to 9:30 p.m. Library, bookstore. M. Hesser, P.O. Box 3711. BUFFALO - Militant Forum, Sunday Forums, 3:30 p.m. SAN DIEGO-Headquarters 623 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone NEW HAVEN-Labor School, 855 MAdison 3960. Open every Sixth Ave., open 7 to 9 p.m. Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open Monday through Friday. afternoon except Sunday. 100 Years of Marxism 1847-1st and 3rd Monday, 7:30-SAN FRANCISCO - School of 9:30 p.m. Sunday forums, 2nd 1947. Thursday nights, 8 p.m. Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., and 4th of month, 8 p.m. Open house and current cor. of Grant and Sutter. 4th events discussion every Satur-Fridays, 8:15 p.m.; 1st and floor open from 12 noon to day, 8:30 p.m. Admission free. 3rd each month, open forum. 4:30 p.m., daily except Sun-2nd and 4th, round table dis-CHICAGO-777 W. Adams (corday. Phone EXbrook 1926. ner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to cussion. SEATTLE-19191/2 Second Ave. 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. NEWARK-423 Springfield Ave. Open Monday through Satur-Phone BIgelow 3-2574. Library Tel. Dearborn 4767. Library, days, noon to 6 p.m. Tel. SEand reading room open week 0543 Library, bookstore. nights, 7-10 p.m. Friday forum-8 p.m. CLEVELAND - Militant Forum Friday night forum, 8:30. T. LOUIS - 1023 N. Grand every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Blvd., Room 312, open Mon-Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. NEW YORK-CITY HQ., 116 day, Wednesday, Friday, 7:30 (off Wade Park Ave.). University Place, GR. 5-8149. to 9 p.m. Forums Thursday. DETROIT-6108 Linwood Ave., HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St. phone TY. 7-6267. Open Mon-8:30 p.m. Phone Jefferson Rm. 23. MO. 2-1866. 3642. day through Saturday, 12 to Every Thursday Open Dis-ST. PAUL-540 Cedar St., St. 5 p.m. Current events forum cussion, 8 p.m. Paul 2, Phone Garfield 1137. and open house, Saturday from BRONX: 1034 Prospect Ave. Open daily 2:30-9:30. 1st floor, phone TI 2-0101. FLINT-215 E. Ninth St., Flint TACOMA, Wash. - Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Discussion on the SWP Pro-3. Mich. Open Monday through Oddfellows Hall, 6th and Fawgram every Wed. 8 p.m. Friday, 5 to 9 p.m. cett. Discussions on current LOS ANGELES-Militant Pub-BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St., topics. For information, write lishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Phone ST. 3-7433. P.O. Box 1079. Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to CHELSEA: 130 W. 23 St., TOLEDO-108 Summit St., To-5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644. phone CH 2-9434. ledo 4, O. Open daily, Phone Friday, 8 p.m. - Militant OAKLAND, Cal.-Meetings Wed-MAin 8919. Workers Forum, 466 E. Vernon. nesday, Odd Fellows Temple, YOUNGSTOWN - 351/2 South SAN PEDRO, Militant Publish-Ave., Youngstown 3, O. Open 410 - 11th St. For information ing Assn., - 1008 S. Pacific, write to P.O. Box 1351. 12-5 p.m., Monday through Room 214. LYNN, Mass., 44 Central Square, PHILADELPHIA - 1303-05 W. Saturday. Phone 3-1355.

know no Jim Crow. Now, friend, not dealing fairly with the work- Day celebration is traditionally

difficulty miners have in mak- ers' union. ing ends meet.

WHAT FOOD COSTS

AKRON

BUFFALO

CHICAGO

clid.

DETROIT

LOS ANGELES

MILWAUKEE

MINNEAPOLIS

Street.

nepin.

NEWARK

PHILADELPHIA

NEW HAVEN

NEW YORK

ton, 2nd Wiscons

CLEVELAND

BERKELEY, CALIF.

Militant Bookshop, 8 So. Howard St.

Sather Gate Book Shop, 2335 Tele-graph Ave.; Whitey's corner Ben-crost and Telegraph Ave.

Deleware & Chippewa, S.E. corner

777 W. Adams; University of Chi-cago Book Store.

G & M News, 9th & Superior Wade Drug Store, Mayfield & Eu-

Family Theater Newsstand, oppo-

site theater; Carls Book Store, 9109

Woodward Ave. Militant Bookshop, 6108 Linwood. Michigan & Lafayette Newsstand.

NE Corner, 5th and Main; 326 W. 5th Street; Consolidated Bldg. 6th and Hill; 2210½ Bklyn. Ave.; 1660 N. Cahuenga and Hollywood Blvd., 1065 N. Los Palmos and Hollywood Blvd., 316½ W. Pico Blvd.

Labor Book Store, 10 South

Yale Co-op, 300 York Ave.

Shinders Newsstand, 6th & Hen-

Newsstands on 14th Street, between 2nd and 6th Aves.; 42nd St, be-tween 5th & 6th. 116 University Place.

Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave.

N. E. Corner Planking

anxious to impress us with the of the might of the mine workbeen the scene of one such de-

"You hear a lot of talk about monstration. 20,000 workers, coal high wages miners are supposed miners and their families from to earn, but very little thought neighboring towns in Fayette nor leg shows were a part of is given to the additional ex- and Washington counties floodpenses miners have. In order to ed into California this morning a solemn chain of men from the work we have to eat much more to take part in the rally. Schools pits parading under their union Breshi, "but with all this than most workers, and you in the area were closed down, banners to the music of high know what food costs today, es- for the miners' children too ob-

PITTSBURGH

& Penn.

6th Ave.

SAN DIEGO

SAN PEDRO

SEATTLE

ST. LOUIS

ST. PAUL

TOLEDO

13th & Market Sts., N.W. corner; SWP Headquarters, 351/2 South Ave.

YOUNGSTOWN

4th & Locust St.

9th & Washington St.

SWP. 540 Cedar St.

SWP, 108 Summit St.

SAN FRANCISCO

PORTLAND, ORE.

SWP, 623 Sixth Ave.

Agency, 81-3rd St.,

pecially at the company store. serve this occasion.

Where You Can Buy

'Fourth International'

dynamic union president who by the tragic deaths in the tralia mine explosion.

has decided to extend th The program opened with a drive until its quota is rea union parade. Men who left the Due to the reactionary pits at midnight last night to and the red-baiting cam begin a week of mourning for going on through the radi Both Mr. and Mrs. Cole were the mines and a demonstration the victims of the Centralia dis-press, comrades find it h aster, marched local by local to sell subscriptions right through the main streets of the than six months ago. But y determined to go on unti

This little mining center has town in a solemn parade. This was not the kind of a goal is reached." parade seen on ordinary festive

holidays. Neither festooned floats Boston's campaign broug 16 subs for the week. "Ordi this march of workers. Here was we have been more success our campaigns," explains baiting going on in the p school bands composed of childand over the radio, peopl ren from the mining towns.

a little hesitant. This means that This was a march of working we will have to plug a bit harder men proud of their union and and perhaps stay out a little bit burning with indignation against longer than we have been doing. the coal interests whose greed Seven people bought individual for profit brings death to the copies of the paper . . . Sid men in the mines. Placards car- Crabbe got 7 subs today which ried by one of the marching lo- beats the record so far in our cals expressed the feelings of sub campaign." thousands on the sidelines who

read the slogan: Militant Director El Snyder "We demand that those resent in 8 subs obtained by the sponsible for the deaths of our Flint Branch. She states: "Due union brothers in Centralia, Ill. to the terrible snowstorm here be tried as murderers." in Michigan last week, our sub-In the speeches of the union getting was curtailed. Several of leaders who addressed a crowd of the comrades took it upon themthousands later, the political enselves to brave the bad weather. emies of organized labor were They obtained these 8 subs." roundly blasted. References to the Centralia tragedy highlighted June Carey, Literature Agent 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. busy having a baby." This and similar rallies in other mining areas today indicates that the miners are deter-

mined to preserve their union. during the week. 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 Sciturday, April 12, 9 p.m. 103 West 110 St.

the commendant met 7 when Town	Dan Diego		T
the comrades got 7 subs. Lynn	Cleveland	12	1
has decided to extend the sub	Akron		15
drive until its quota is reached.	Portland		î
Due to the reactionary period	Oakland	ō	
and the red-baiting campaign	Carland		
going on through the radio and		NO	Goa
press, comrades find it harder			Set
press, comrades find it harder	New York Local	72	
to sell subscriptions right now	Detroit	38	99
than six months ago. But we are	Lynn	36	99
determined to go on until our	Allentown		
goal is reached."	Chicago	04	
* * *	Chicago	44	
B	Reading	5	15.75
Boston's campaign brought in	Calumet	3	99
16 subs for the week. "Ordinarily	Rochester		
we have been more successful in	Bayonne		
our campaigns," explains Rena	General	22	28
Breshi, "but with all this red-	1		
baiting going on in the papers	TOTAL	21	
and over the radio, people are	-		
a little bositant This means that	provide state of the state of t		

17

## 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, 3161/2 W. Pico Blvd. Educationals after every meeting. Refreshments served.

tion on the Trotskyist Youth Group sena name and address to 116 University Place, N. Y. 3. Saturday Nite 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



for the Allentown Branch, is back on the job again. The following note accompanied 17 subscriptions: "Things have been somewhat unorganized as I was Sadie Hackley mailed in 6 subs obtained by the Toledo comrades

NEW YORK. - For informa-

noon to 6 p.m.



## What is there to say? \* stevedores hav We've read it all in the newspapers, just as have slipped?

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 death.

stevedores have been crushed when sling loads

And for that matter, how many of us carry scars on our faces and bodies where hot metal has spattered, 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 erase from the earth every last diseased shred of this system of toil and sweat, and blood, heartbreak and

## **Monopolists Fear Victory Of Labor In Flint Election**

PAGE SIX

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

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.

Jittery at prospects of a possible victory for the Labor Party drew up a slate headed by a re- the welfare of the seamen. presentative of General Motors.

candidates.

The Socialist Workers Party was 906 in favor of removing has endorsed the three Labor Stack from office for a period STALINIST SHIFTS Party candidates. Their position of five years to 684 against. on the property tax is similar to political action in this area.

## This campaign marks the end trol.

## THE MILITANT

NEW YORK, N. Y.

SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1947

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

**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

## and the city politicians, had hoped to squeeze the tax propos-al through with a campaign of NMU Verdict On Stack **Deals Blow To Stalinism**

#### By C. Thomas

The Communist Party was placed on trial last week candidates, the Big Business in- before the New York membership of the CIO National Mariterests, a day before elections, time Union and was found guilty of conduct injurious to

This was the real mean-9-

In last year's election only ing of the action taken by a oped in the NMU probably no other union in the country was 25,000 people voted. With flood waters raging through this city Stalinist vice-president Jos- so completely dominated by the C.P. machine. Here was an unand the deliberate attempt of eph Stack guilty of conduct un- paralleled opportunity for the Big Business to cover the issues becoming a union official. Stack Stalinists to demonstrate what with silence, a small vote will be was removed from office on their leadership meant to the to the detriment of the labor charges brought by NMU presi- workers in the maritime indusdent Joseph Curran. The vote try.

Instead of building the union, the Stalinists converted it into The charges, dating back over the one advocated by the Flint a period of 10 years, constituted a front for their opportunist SWP for several years. Election an indictment of the Stalinist zig-zags. Conditions on the ships of the Labor Party candidates leadership of the union. The deteriorated. The Stalinists orwill spur forward the whole NMU was established in 1937. ganized one defeat after another. movement towards independent Since 1939 the Stalinists have Rival unions grew at the expense exercised complete machine con- of the NMU which, prior to the

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 ond for Board of Education Ofcandidate for city council fice No. 5.

from the Fifteenth District Dr. Jonathan L. Caston, in-(San Pedro and Watts), received dependent candidate of the Ne-728 votes, 4% of those cast for the next This is the largest vote the post. This is the largest vote the post. This is the largest vote received by an SWP candidate the runoff by 189/votes. This in the three elections in which the party has participated here underlined the error of the Workers Party, whose candidate since 1945. in that district, Harold Draper, Strong support for independ-

received 286 votes, and of Vince ent political action by labor and M. Townsend Jr., Negro attorminority groups was also demonney who received 908 votes after strated by the election returns, refusing to withdraw in support although none of, the independof Caston. A cross-section of the ent candidates was elected and organizations of the Negro comonly one, Dr. H. Claude Hudson, munity had endorsed Caston at Negro candidate for Board of a meeting called by the Los An-Education, will be in the May geles branch of the NAACP. 27 runoff. The Stalinists, who vigorously

Independent labor candidates fought all labor party sentiment Russell L. McKnight and Harry in the CIO and elsewhere, ran C. Brown each placed second two candidates of their own. in their respective councilmanic Elsie Monjar, Communist Party districts, and Walter J. Turner, candidate for city council in the with 50,910 votes, according to Eighth District, received 1338 semi-official returns, placed secvotes, placing fourth in a field of four. LaRue McCormick, CP

bolized Stalinism in the NMU.

distributed to the NMU member-

decisions . . .

candidate for Board of Education Office No. 1, received 21,683 votes, placing fourth in a field of five.

Fifteen councilmanic po four Board of Education office and five municipal judgeships were involved in the city election. Of 15 charter amendments This was made clear in a letter presented to the voters, three were defeated. One of the deship by Joseph Curran prior to feated propositions would have the special meeting which ousted extended the term of office of Stack. In this letter Curran de- city councilmen from two to four clared: "This meeting must not years, and another would have only settle the Stack case once increased the amount to be paid and for all! It must mark the be- by candidates for municipal cfginning of the end to the wreck- fice at the time they state their ing activities of the Communist intention to run.

Party members, who are riding WORK OF SWP

precinct.'

roughshod over your rights and "Consistent work by the Socialist Workers Party before and POLITICAL GANGSTERS after as well as during election An interesting sidelight on the campaigns is beginning to show real results in San Pedro," Cyntechnique employed by the Stalinists in labeling all opponents thia Rogalin, campaign manager as "red-baiters" is provided by for Louis Kisner, pointed out. the Daily Worker which pounced "In one precinct in the Harbor Area, a war workers housing proon the Curran letter. "Curran," asserts the Daily Worker, ject, Kisner received 41% of the "coupled his plea with the most vote cast. His vote was greater blatant red-baiting he has yet than that of the Stalinist candiwar, controlled the great bulk of issued referring to his union op- date for Board of Education and ponents as 'political gangsters' each of the three capitalist can-

By William E. Bohannon-Governor Kim Sigler of Michigan listed 17 experience with the Communist Party know how groups which he called "communist front organizations" when he testified before the House Un-American Affairs Committee

for the Advancement of Colored

The Negro Struggle The Aim Of The Red-Baiters



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

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, last month. One of the groups if such a course will serve the interests of Stalin's foreign policy. on this list as the "Association This is why thousands of Negroes have turned for the Advancement of Colored away in revulsion from the Communist Party. People," which everyone took to mean the National Association

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 is 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



New Clare Luce." What is "new" about "The New Clare Luce"? According to Look's Gretta 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 brocaded 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 heart be also."

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

over politics in Flint. The Cham- disclosed by Curran who reveal- tic and Gulf coasts. ber of Commerce boys now re- ed that even today 107 of the cognize that the Labor Party is 150 officials in office are Stal- abandoned any pretense of "red-baiting" to characterize a real and growing threat to inists of one variety or another. fighting for the union. Every sur- the Stalinists for what they are: their political domination.



## By Ed Davis

OAKLAND, Calif., April 3-Over 8,000 workers filled against anti-labor legislation. The meeting was called bership against Stack who sym- such a struggle.

by the newly organized Ala-meda County Joint Commit-of the AFL to break off its joint of the withdrawal of the Team-

The crowd gave a thunderous sters from the Central Labor Unovation every time joint labor ion. The rest of the AFL refused activity was mentioned, and es- to be intimidated and the Teampecially so when Chairman sters have withdrawn.

Swan, of the Railroad Clerks, The need for joint action was declared: "Here there is no CIO, made crystal clear by the still no AFL, no independents. In continuing strike of the retail no AFL, no independents. In continuing strike of the retail Alameda County there is just clerks. This is the strike that Now that the voters of New (won since the 1844 Constitu- challenge. Labor."

One of the highlights of the Dec. 5. The present city ad- to vote on revising the State ery of democratic rights for the stitutional measures are suborrally took place when the audi- ministration at that time inter- Constitution and to elect working-class majority. But, as dinate to, and in a sense are reence rose in tribute to the 111 vened directly in the strike on delegates to a convention, every worker well knows, neither flections of, the basic struggle miners killed at Centralia. The the side of the Downtown Mer- the Socialist Workers Party the Republican nor Democratic between labor and Big Business. meeting was dedicated to their chants Association. It was Real, seeks to utilize this occasion party shows the slightest inclin- Time and again, it is necessary memory and pledged to carry together with Tobin and Beck, as another arena of struggle ation to write such provisions in-to explain that labor only gets to the new Constitution. tions. An all-out denunciation general strike being called off in defense of labor's rights. of the government's responsibil- without the strike being settled. ity for this tragedy was voiced Since that time the city ad- hard-won rights are being atby the chairman.

from Washington by special titude. leased wire. Both he and the The Joint Committee has en- following demands: liberal State Senator Carter laid dorsed a reform slate of candi- . Constitutional provisions for labor's rights. The Wall Street- No, in both cases it is a questhe blame for the present wave dates of the Oakland Voter's full and unrestricted recognition Truman drive toward war, far tion of the strength and power of anti-labor legislation on the League for the city election this of the workers' rights to organ- from bringing "democracy" to of the labor movement. workers. They called for sup-month. The slate is composed ize, including the closed shop; to Greece or Turkey, carries with port of the Democratic Party in of the traditional "friend of la- strike, including sympathy strikes it the destruction of labor's de- in struggle on the picket line f 1948. But these appeals for a bor" candidates pledged to im- and boycotts; to picket without mocratic rights. That is the and twelve years ago (Wagne repetition of the old "New Deal" partiality in labor disputes. Ac- restriction and without fear of meaning of the long list of anti- Act, etc.) are being threatened met little enthusiasm.

up at the initiative of the Rail- Committee. road Brotherhoods. The Central If ever a city needed reform, literature distribution or sound Driscoll's threat to break the that labor can resist these at Labor Council, the Building Oakland is that city. For over trucks). Trades Council and the CIO 25 years the city has been in . Through such provisions we state seizure.

joint activity with the CIO.

role. The Teamster officials is- people of Oakland.

of Big Business monopoly control The extent of this control was the organized ships on the Atlanand a 'Communist Party clique'." didates for City Council in that

> During the war, the Stalinists According to this logic, it is Until the recent conflict devel- render of union conditions was A bureaucratic clique of politijustified in the name of further- cal gangsters who for ten years ing the alliance between the have terrorized their union op- pendent labor and minority can-Kremlin and Anglo-American ponents, stifled internal union didates in their first election, imperialism. Any opposition to democracy and ridden roughshod without a political machine and their surrender policy was over the rights and interests of with active opposition by t

ruthlessly crushed. the union membership. It was this record of bureau- When the union militants re- eaucrats to the building of an cratic disruption and systema- cognize that the Stalinists are independent labor political aptic sabotage of the union that a reactionary current in the la- paratus, demonstrates the wide-

was a decisive factor in the bo. movement and fight them on spread desire in the working judgment rendered by the mem- that basis, the real red-baiters class for direct representation the Oakland Municipal Arena tonight in a protest rally ing the alliance between the will derive little comfort from and a change from class collaborationist politics."

Stalinists and other labor bu

Los Angeles SWP Organizer

"The fine showing by inde-

Myra Tanner Weiss commented

on the city election:

## islation. of the withdrawal of the Team-**N. J. Constitution Revision**

NEWARK, N. J., Apr. 8 led to the general strike of last Jersey have the opportunity tion was written) will be a mock- To be sure, such legal and con-

Today, when the workers' VICIOUS ATTACK

151.91 M.

1122.1

County Council all gave their the grip of a ruling group that want to make it illegal for the Labor must fight this vicious the economic field. rent phone dispute).

By Alan Kohlman A Constitution which does not struggle around the revision of contain such elementary recog- the State Constitution offers la-

that labor can only keep what it is strong enough to defend. In Indeed, as every worker also other words, anti-labor laws are ministration has become even tacked on all sides, the SWP knows. both the Republicans not the work of some "bad" cap-Senator Taylor of Idaho spoke more bold in its anti-labor at- and its candidates for the con- and Democrats in Washington italists; nor are pro-labor laws stitutional convention raise the as well as Trenton, are combined the "gift" of some "good" capiin a vicious attack to destroy talist politician like Roosevelt.

Those rights which labor won tive support and financial aid injunction; to exercise full free- labor bills in Congress and the today. If labor does not fight to The Joint Committee was set have been promised by the Joint dom of assembly, press and various state legislatures. That keep them it will lose them. The speech (no interference with is the meaning of Governor strikes of the last year showed strike of the phone workers by tacks successfully only if fights on the political as well as

support. There was a bitter makes no pretense of being rep- state to intervene against the attack with every means at its As part of this political strugfight in the AFL Council over resentative of the people. Spe- workers in any form; to use disposal, including its political gle in New Jersey, the workers cial tax rates, discrimination on state troops against labor; to strength, because these are poli- must intervene in the constitu-Charles Real, State President jobs, intervention in labor dis- impose compulsory arbitration; tical struggles above all. This tional fight and force recognition of the AFL and head of the local putes, improper handling of bond or to "seize" industries in order means labor must insist on leg- and extension of the democratic Teamsters, continued his scabby money are well known to the to break strikes (as in the cur- islation to protect and promote rights which it requires for the its hard-won rights. And the solution of its problems.

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. ha high in good and a second

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 11/2 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 every such step." Earl Browder, please note.

\* \*

UAW Ford Local 600 last week announced elections results which showed a crushing defeat for the ACTU-Reutherite faction and re-election of the Addes-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 sore," 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

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."

1 . . . . .