

# MINE STOPPAGE MOURNS 111 DEAD

## Brewster Links Middle East Oil With War Move

By Joseph Hansen

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

In hearings March 28 and 29 before the Senate War Investigating Committee, Senator Owen Brewster (R., Maine) directly linked oil with Truman's recently-announced foreign policy. He declared that the effect of Truman's proposals would be to protect the fabulously-rich concessions of the giant American oil companies in the Near and Middle East.

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

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

### ANOTHER OIL SCANDAL

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

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

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

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

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

### GOT THE MONEY

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

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

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

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

### The Truman Doctrine



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

### Survey Shows People Oppose Truman Plan

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

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

"Virtually all the letter-writers want to help Greece, a few number Turkey. Direct military aid is strongly criticized."

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

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

### OIL OBJECTIVES

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

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

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

The workers protested the dismantling of plants and the requisitioning of houses. More than 40,000 people in Dusseldorf alone live in cellars because their homes were seized.

Indicating the well-founded fears of the German workers that the Allies will inflict unbearable "peace" terms on their country, the delegation declared that "the conditions now and those to be expected after the peace treaty were and would be worse than those prevailing after Versailles."

These workers likewise fear the Allies will foster the resurgence of fascism in Germany. "Nazis propaganda will grow," they said, and "adventurers, exploiting the present conditions, will increase the state of chaos."

## End The Mine Murders!

### An Editorial

111 more miners murdered for profit!

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

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

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

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

What must be done to stop these bloody sacrifices?

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

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

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

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

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

"If forces are needed," he said in the Senate, "let us put up the miners to share through the United

(Continued on Page 3)

## Government Failed To Enforce Safety Code At Centralia

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This mine blew up last Tuesday afternoon. The surviving miners and rescue squads from all over the state worked frantically till Saturday trying to reach the victims. Their rescue work was hampered by the (Continued on Page 2)



JAMES A. KRUG  
Secretary of Interior

Accused by John L. Lewis of responsibility for permitting conditions which snuffed out lives of 111 Centralia miners.

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

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

By George Lavan

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

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

### CROWD STANDS WAITING

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

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

Subdued conversations take place in the

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

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

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

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

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

### 13 MORE DEAD

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

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

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

By George Lavan

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

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

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

## TERRIBLE DANGER

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

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

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

## REPORTS ON FILE

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

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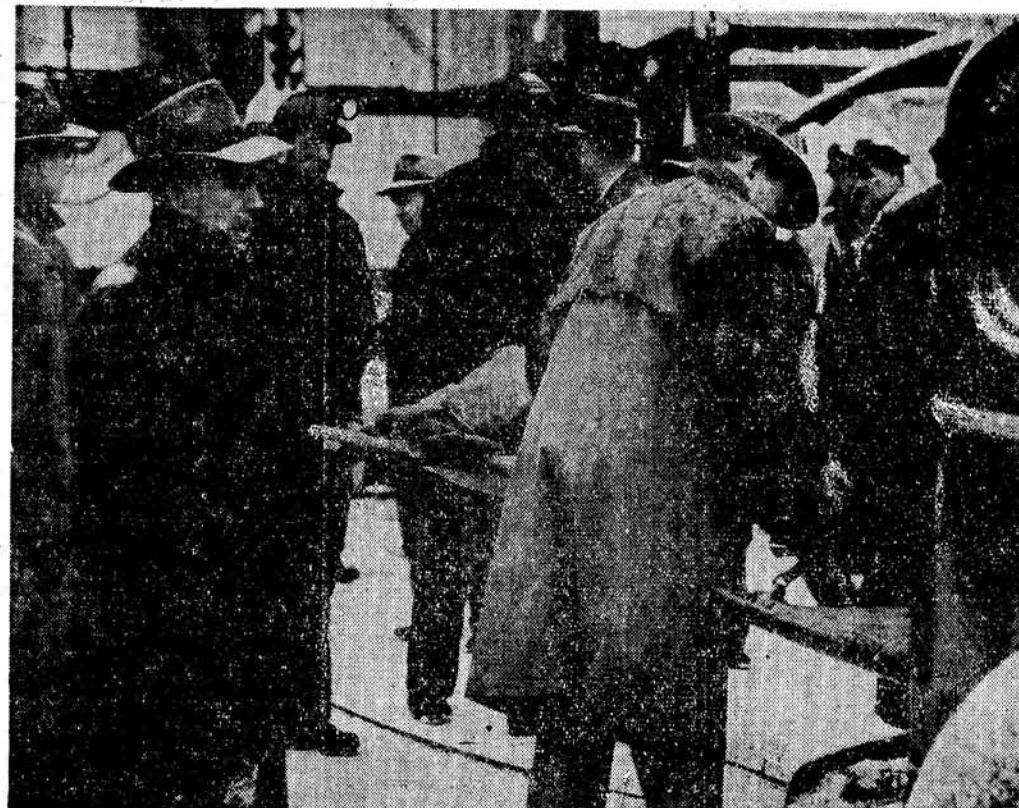
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### Body Of One Of The 111 Dead Miners



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

St. Louis Star-Times Photo

## Mine Stoppage Mourns 111 Dead At Centralia

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

**PASSING THE BUCK** In contrast to the state and federal authorities' lack of interest in the appeals of the now dead miners, there are now six official investigations being launched. But let no one think this means a real interest in punishing the guilty and protecting miners still in danger in other unsafe mines. The case has now become a political football. The Democratic politician are trying to pin the blame on the Republicans, and vice versa.

The Federal authorities are claiming that they weren't supposed to close unsafe mines they had seized. The officials of the State of Illinois try to cover up their guilt by asking how they could have closed a mine being operated by the Federal Government.

In truth, the operators who swell their profits on the blood of their miners, the state government that conspires with the operators to violate the primary laws of safety and the Federal Government which seizes the mines to break the miners' strikes are all equally guilty.

They have murdered 111 workingmen. They have widowed 99 women, who have the bleakest of futures now before them. They have left at least 78 children fatherless.

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

The governor had no time for

these miners nor any interest in their safety. Now after the catastrophe, for which he shares the guilt, he announced a personal visit to the mine. William E. Rowekamp sent him the following telegram on behalf of the surviving union members of UMW Local 52:

"Gov. Green: We were told that you were coming to Centralia last Tuesday by plane to make a personal investigation of the disaster which has snuffed out the lives of almost all the men who were in the mine. Now you say you are still coming to Centralia. Well, Governor, there are not many of us left now, but we who are wish to tell you in our own language that it is too late. Our officials pleaded with you a year ago to come to our rescue. Today their bodies lie in the morgue. No, Governor, it's too late."

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

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

At the home of Mrs. Gutzler on S. Cherry St., the toll is six men dead out of seven in the family. Harry, the seventh, barely escaped and then worked

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

As the sun rises here in Centralia this morning it starts a black day that will never be forgotten nor forgiven by the coal miners and their neighbors. The whole town is sick with sorrow for men needlessly murdered.

Murdered by greedy operators. Murdered by corrupt state officials. Murdered by federal authorities, so blinded by their hate of organized labor that they could not find the time nor the interest to enforce the most elementary safety laws.

The dingy wash-house where the despairing wives had waited during the days of rescue operations is now deserted. From the ceiling hang the clothes the dead men left when they made their last descent into the mine. Hidden in a corner is the bulletin board with the unenforced inspection notice listing some of the dangerous conditions of the mine.

The women now sit in their little homes staring at the faces of their children and the hopeless future. They go through the ritual of the funerals and try to comfort one another. The funerals started Wednesday; today will see the greatest number. ONE BARELY ESCAPED.

The demonstration was organized under the auspices of the Veterans Housing Committee composed of local chapters of the American Veterans Committee, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars and Amvets.

This combination is significant

since the state officers of the

American Legion, VFW, and

War Veterans conducted a campaign to discourage their locals from participating on the grounds that the action was "communist inspired."

A number of unions endorsed both the action and the purposes of the Housing Committee.

The caravans rolled into the state capital Sunday for a mass meeting. Here the veterans went

on record for a 100 million dollar

appropriation for a revolving

fund to aid communities in setting

up low-cost housing projects;

a 35 million dollar emergency

housing fund; the main-

tenance of state rent control;

and a state ruling forbidding re-

strictive covenants.

Committees were appointed to visit the governor and houses of legislature with these demands.

Sections of the caravans rema-

ined overnight in the fair

grounds.

The reception of the veterans

was cordial but perfunctory.

Governor Warren termed the

proposals "a drop in the bucket"

and indicated that they would

not even scratch the surface of

California's housing needs.

He indicated that his hopes for

meeting the acute shortage rest

on "private enterprise."

"We have to do something," he admitted, but added that the "something" would probably end up in some form of subsidy to builders.

None of the "plans" now under

consideration by the state

legislature can answer the hous-

ing crisis. There are approxi-

mately a quarter of a million

veterans in the state without

adequate housing.

But the legislature is consid-

ering only the question of aid

to builders in the construc-

tion of individual homes. All es-

timates put the minimum cost of

such homes at \$6,500 a piece.

Even the authors of the bill ad-

mit that this is beyond the means

of the average veteran.

covenants which cover 82% of

the city.

White supremacists forces were

thus able to gang up on Williams

and give Brenner a total city-

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In the Santa Monica election,

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ninth and missing seventh place

on the council, by 468 votes.

In the Los Angeles campaign

the greatest degree of unity of

the Negro community ever ach-

ieved behind a councilmanic

candidate has developed for Dr.

Caston. All four leading Negro

weeklies for the first time sup-

port the same candidate. Caston

can be elected by getting out the

vote in the East Side and the

labor vote in the white neigh-

borhoods on the West Side of the

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# The Correct Way To Fight Stalinism

## Full Text Of Statement Sent By Ruth Fischer

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

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

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

### Facts About Eisler

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

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

### Linked to Trotsky Murder

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

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

### Danger for Refugees

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

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

BY JAMES P. CANNON

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



### Must Expose GPU

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

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

### Use Every Forum

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

### How To Fight Stalin

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

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

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

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

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

### First And Main Duty

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

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

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

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

### Looking To Socialism

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

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

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

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

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

### The Same Basic Error

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

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

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

If Stalinism were merely a totalitarian police state in the USSR and a terrorist apparatus in the labor movement of the capitalist countries, then the struggle against the terrorists by publicity, exposure and any other means at our disposal would be the main, if not the only, task. But the problem doesn't end there; it only begins. The real fight against Stalinism, the main fight, takes place on the political field. That is the way Trotsky explained the question and conducted his struggle. And that is why the Stalinists think that violence can accomplish anything, and this fallacy will eventually facilitate their downfall. Many of their opponents likewise imagine that violence and terror are omnipotent, able to repeal the historical laws explained by Marx.

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

The revolutionary socialist movement in Germany during and following the First World War had to reconstitute itself in mortal struggle against those traitor socialists who had led the German workers into the imperialist slaughter—the "Kaiser's socialists," as they were derisively called.

The best hope today for the German workers—and not only for the German workers but for all the workers everywhere, all over the world—is that they will succeed by their own efforts and their own strength in cleansing the labor movement of the influence of both the Stalin "communists" and the Truman "socialists." That is the way to victory and socialism. There is no other way.

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

### Mass Influence In Europe

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

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

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

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

What, then, can be the real situation within the Soviet Union itself, after all the bitter, bloody years? Can the masses still believe in Stalinism? Are there any illusions left? The known reaction of the masses in the occupied territories should give us the answer. The very fact that the terror, instead of mitigating, grows worse from year to year, with the police apparatus swelling to even more monstrous proportions—all this testifies not to the strength of the Stalinist regime within the country, but to its weakness, to its isolation and lack of mass support.

The Stalinist regime in the USSR, isolated from the masses and ruling by terror alone, is weakest at the moment when it appears to be most secure. The strongest assaults of the Nazi military machine proved unable to bring about the downfall of the regime in the USSR from within. And that is convincing evidence, we think, that the Russian masses don't want liberation from accursed and hated Stalinism in the shape of capitalist restoration and the colonial dismemberment of the country. But one strong revolutionary demonstration from the outside can bring the whole regime, with all its apparatus of repression and terror, crashing down in ruins.

### Task Of The Workers

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

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

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

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#### The End Of The Comintern

By James P. Cannon

with

#### Manifesto Of The Fourth International On The Dissolution Of The Comintern

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Leon Trotsky

## The "Loyalty" Decree

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Defend Civil Liberties

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Two More Crimes

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Truman And The UN

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

Most shocking to the liberals was Truman's brazen disregard of the UN. This action was no blunder committed in haste, but a calculated step. It underscored the determination of the decisive section of the American capitalist class to force a showdown with the Soviet Union. It was timed to bring maximum pressure on the Kremlin at the Moscow Conference for concessions to Wall Street. It told other governments, including UN members, that those who do not line up with Wall Street will get short shrift.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

## Workers' BOOKSHELF

### THE GREAT PRISONERS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—Winifred Nelson

### THE BEST OF ART YOUNG

Vanguard Press, 1936, 181 pp., \$4.

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

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

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

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

—Al Lynn

### Congressmen At Work

## Righting A Great Injustice

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rep. Halleck (R., Ind.) reported how Hoover had borne up during the terrible years when people called the famous structure "Hoover Dam." "He does not seek revenge upon those who vilified him. He does not seek glory, public acclaim, or monetary reward. He does not ask that this dam be made possible be named after him. With that same quiet dignity that he retired from public office, he seeks only to serve the country he loves."

Rankin thought that Congress shouldn't "wait until Mr. Hoover dies to pay him this compliment." And Rep. Bender (R., Ohio) quoted a moving poem about telling people now if you like what they're doing and not waiting "Till the priest makes his oration and he lies with snowy lilies on his brow." "For no matter how you shout it, he'll not know about it, For he cannot read his tombstone When he's dead."

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

The

opposition to this battery of gracious Congressional angels was feeble to say the least. Rep. Murdoch (D., Ariz.) said he could not "enthuse over this measure." However, "I want to honor ex-President Hoover today."

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

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

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

The

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

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

## MacArthur Prepares More Anti-Labor Edicts

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

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

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

# WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant". Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

## Holds Gov't Violates Clayton Anti-Trust Act

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

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

D. M. Steelquist  
San Diego, Calif.

## Thinks Lenin Would Like 'Militant' Edit

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

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

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

Genora Dollinger  
Flint, Mich.

## Campus Red-Baiting Impression Corrected

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

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

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

## Holds Over-Population Is Cause Of Misery

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ross W. Gilbert  
Oakland, Calif.

## Rain Fails To Stop Phila. Distribution

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

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

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

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

R. Oliver  
Philadelphia

## Salutes "Militant" For Courage, Honesty

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

George R. Stryker  
Bayport, N. Y.

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

## The Socialist Workers Party

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

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

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

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

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone MADISON 3960. Open every afternoon except Sunday. 100 Years of Marxism 1847-1947, Thursday nights, 8 p.m.

Open house and current events discussion every Saturday, 8:30 p.m. Admission free.

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

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

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

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

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.

Friday, 8 p.m. Militant Workers Forum, 466 E. Vernon. SAN PEDRO, Militant Publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 W.

Room 214. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Steve 5820.

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

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

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

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

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

SEATTLE—19½ Second Ave. Open Monday through Saturday, noon to 6 p.m. Tel. SE-0543 Library, bookstore.

FRIDAY forum—8 p.m.

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

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

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

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

CHELSEA: 138 W. 23 St. phone CH 2-9434.

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

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

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

By Joseph Hansen

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

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

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

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

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

Atmospheric conditions were so bad that the participants were afraid to even make them public. Yet the Stalinists try to make it appear that the American people are bound by them!

WHY DID THE ALLIED BANDITS RESORT TO SECRET DIPLOMACY DURING WORLD WAR II? THE MOTIVE IS

THE GERMAN WORKERS, half of it to go to the Kremlin. It calls for "bulk removal" of loot from Germany such as "equipment, machine tools, ships, rolling stock, German investments abroad, shares of industrial, transport, navigation and other enterprises." It specifies "annual deliveries of goods from current production after the end of the war."

WORST CRIME

Worst crime of all is the agreement for the "use of German labor," that is, the use of slave labor. Time and again the capitalist press in America has hypocritically denounced other powers who have used slave labor since the war's end. Now it is on public record that Roosevelt himself put an OK on slave labor. This explains why Washington turned more than a million war prisoners over to France to be used as slaves, why Britain still uses 400,000 and the Kremlin between one and five million. Nearly one-third of all productive labor in Europe is now done by slave labor.

The International Labor Relations Department of the AFL denounced this result of the war as a "sad relapse into chattel slavery and the Dark Ages." But the AFL officials who express alarm today over the effect of this slave labor on American wage standards, were among the most enthusiastic supporters of Roosevelt, signer of the secret pact approving it.

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

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

SECRET CLAUSES

One of the first secret understandings that came to light was the institution of veto powers in the projected United Nations. Another secret clause that came to light was the deal handing Moscow the Kurile Islands and

THE RISE OF AMERICAN LABOR—Unions in the Epoch of Capitalist Decay

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Role of the Socialist Workers Party

April 18

6—AMERICA'S SOCIALIST FUTURE—What Socialism Will Mean for the American Workers

April 25

Speaker: Joseph Hansen

## The Dream They Gave Us

By Theodore Kovalesky

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

That was the dream they gave us.

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

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

## The Threat Of Germ Warfare

By Grace Carlson

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

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

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

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

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

Instead of new cars and refrigerators we have old debts.

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

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

Instead of peace and freedom we see:

Palestine, where the jailers of the Jews salute the Union Jack instead of the Swastika;

China, where Wall Street helps Chiang Kai-shek murder those who oppose his bloody dictatorship;

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

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

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

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

This is what they gave us!

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

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

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

Help us make this dream come true!

PAGE SIX

## THE MILITANT

NEW YORK, N. Y.

SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 1947

## Weak FEPC Legislation Introduced In Congress

By William E. Bohannon

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## CAPITALIST TRICKERY

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

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

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

## NEED POLITICAL ACTION

That is what comes of having to depend on capitalist party friends trying to give the new FEPC bill as many "teeth" as possible. This is how their bill would work:

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

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

2. Refusal to make available to the union campaign, the corporations made further concessions.

3. Refusal to hire because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry is "a civil right of all the people of the United States." It defines the following as "unlawful employment practices":

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