

First Grim Signs Of Coming Depression
By John G. Wright

—See Page 5—

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Workers Of The World. Unite!

THE MILITANT

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SENATE SPEEDS UNION-BUSTING BILL

Militarists Draft Secret Blueprint For A New War

By William F. Warde

The militarists and "merchants of death" are pursuing their deadly work on a larger scale than ever in Washington these days.

They are preparing the blueprints for World War III before the peace treaties of World War II have been drafted.

Startling revelations have been published in the April 30 Wall Street Journal and May 2 N. Y. Times regarding Wall Street's conspiracy to drag the American people into a new world slaughter. U. S. military agencies and Big Business representatives have just completed a master plan for gearing the whole of American industry into the war machine and are already carrying out the first steps in this vast "emergency" industrial mobilization program.

This program not only arms the President with far-reaching dictatorial powers and outlines what specific actions industry must take with the Army and Navy, as soon as a "state of emergency" is proclaimed. It also includes drastic provisions for regimentation and control of the workers by the government, draft boards, and the bosses.

PLAN HAS FOUR PARTS

There are four major divisions in this industrial mobilization plan for World War III:

1. **Industrial Controls.** This section specifies how the government, armed forces, and Big Business will collaborate in case of war. It gives directives on the construction and location of plants for war industry. It sets up a system for allocating materials and man-power on the basis of priority permits which enabled the corporations to amass such great power and profits in the last war. This part of the plan contains the provisions for shackling the workers to the war-machine.

2. **Stockpiling.** The government has tabbed 2 billion dol-

lars for purchasing and storing strategic raw materials, metals, minerals and fibers essential for war-production.

3. **Coordination and Standardization.** The plan provides for coordinating equipment purchases by the Army and Navy and standardizing weapons and supplies for the two branches of the military forces. Joint buying of food and lumber has already been practiced and this system will soon be extended to textiles, clothing, footwear and oil products.

4. **Checkup on Foreign Economic Operations.** The government's import and export policies are to be carefully scrutinized and supervised to ensure that supplies useful for war go to friendly nations and are kept from potential enemy powers, that is, those associated with the Soviet Union.

THE WAR PLANNERS

This master manual for World War III has been drawn up and is being carried out by the Army-Navy Munitions Board. This little-known agency, which has been exceedingly active since the war began, has been stepped up, is headed by Richard R. Deupree, who divides his time between that post and his presidency of the soap monopoly, Procter and Gamble Co. Other Board members are Undersecretary of War Kenneth C. Royall and Assistant Secretary of the Navy John Kenney.

Deupree is chief liaison man between the top military staff and the directors of Big Business who are working closely together on this industrial mobilization scheme. He presented the highlights of the A.N.M.B. war plan before an unreported session of 2,500 members of the U. S.

(Continued on Page 4)

Telephone Strikers Stand Firm Despite AT&T's Split Tactics

By Alan Kohlman

MAY 6—The overwhelming majority of the National Federation of Telephone Workers stood firm in the fifth week of their strike, despite defections of non-affiliated unions in New York and two NFTW locals in Chicago.

In New York this morning, local operators wept openly as they walked through picket lines on orders of their unions which had voted to accept a \$4 week company offer. Bitterness against this breaking of the strike front was further expressed by two executive committee members of the New York maintenance men who denounced the return and brought a \$1,000 collection to the NFTW unions on strike.

George Myerscough, chairman of the New York central strike committee, commented as follows on the defections: "This is not the work of the rank and file of those four unions, and also is not the work of all the leaders."

In Washington, the 49 man NFTW policy committee ordered all NFTW unions to stand firm. Reports from various sections of the country indicate that the dent in the strike front has only further incensed the bulk of the strikers and renewed their determination not to buckle.

AT&T has cunningly engaged in splitting tactics by making different offers ranging from \$1.3 to \$2.4 in various sections of the country. The government mediators who sold the New York locals the \$4 settlement demonstrated how government agencies function to break the strike front and whittle down the unions' demands.

The long-lines sections of the NFTW agreed to accept a government offer of \$5.14 per week, but AT&T, obviously encouraged by its chiseling successes in New

York and Chicago, rejected the offer.

In Chicago, the acceptance by two NFTW affiliates of \$4 a week brought heavy fire from the NFTW leadership and the statement by President Joseph Beirne that he would recommend expulsion of their presidents when the NFTW convention opens in June. Beirne added that this crossing of the picket lines "does not dent the solidarity of the NFTW."

In New Jersey, the 11,000 members of the Traffic Telephone Workers who have stood in the front ranks of the fight against both company and state strike-breaking, renewed their pledge to stay out until they won a \$6 raise.

The 30-day stand of the phone workers against the mighty AT&T trust has inspired the entire labor movement. The defections of these few locals after a month of hard fighting only emphasizes how sturdily the bulk of the workers have resisted the efforts of AT&T, backed up by government assistance, to cripple the phone unions.

Up to now the NFTW policy committee has insisted on a \$6 wage increase and has refused to be bludgeoned by the company or pressured by government "mediators" to accept lower offers. It has reinforced the original NFTW strategy of centralized strike direction and review of all settlements, and urged the phone workers to maintain nation-wide solidarity until their demands are met.

Detroit's Gigantic Rally Against Labor-Haters



More than 275,000 of the half million Detroit workers who downed tools on April 24, mobilized in Cadillac Square to denounce the Taft-Hartley slave labor bills and the efforts of Congress to crush organized labor. General Motors later fired 14 men and suspended 23 for participating in this rally. Federated Pictures

AFL-CIO Unity Discussed At Washington Conference

By William F. Warde

The joint committees of the AFL and CIO ended their two-day conference on unification in Washington May 2 with a statement that their ten members agree unanimously on the need for

organic unity and will hold other meetings in the near future to consider this and "other mutual problems." At these first sessions, however, each organization rejected the other's proposals for unification.

The CIO plan had four provisions:

1. The creation of joint emergency legislative committees to coordinate the fight of the two organizations against anti-labor bills.

2. An agreement against jurisdictional raids and disputes, effective at once.

3. That in the meantime the joint committees of the two organizations should collaborate in adjusting details and making "recommendations on all matters of recurring importance."

In a statement issued at the end of the two day session last week, it was indicated that the joint committees would meet again before the October convention of the AFL, with the CIO unions having full rights to participate at the convention.

4. Meetings between committees of AFL and CIO unions in the same field to explore possibilities of joint action in carrying out the above program in their own fields.

The AFL committee would not accept these proposals, presenting instead the following positions:

1. The CIO unions, "as they

are now organized with their full membership," should affiliate to the AFL, in the same way that the United Mine Workers did last year.

2. That such affiliation should take place before the October convention of the AFL, with the CIO unions having full rights to participate at the convention.

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4. Meetings between

Notebook Of An Agitator

The Lynching Of "Monsieur Verdoux"

About a year ago I made a firm resolution to boycott all movies unless the picture has a horse for the hero. And I have stuck to it much better than to some other firm resolutions I have made. My heart was in this one; Hollywood double-crossed me once too often. I am no student or critic of cinematic art, but I know what I don't like—and that is the unappraising and indigestible compound of tripe and treacle which the movie moguls and bankers dish up to the defenseless, the amusement-hungry people in the name of art. And I like still less to come out of a theater, after a three-hour bout with a double-feature, with that letdown, sticky feeling of having been played for sucker once more.

Dominated by this mood, I was fully prepared to remain indifferent even to the announcement of a new movie by Chaplin until I noticed the hatchet job most of the critics of the big press were doing on the picture. With almost one voice they denounced Chaplin for introducing social criticism—and deadly serious social criticism at that—into a medium which has become almost universally dedicated to the prettification and falsification of life, and maintained that he wasn't even funny any more. The vicious overzealousness with which Chaplin and his new film were being attacked, with the obvious design to "kill" the picture before the mass of the people had yet had an opportunity to see it and judge for themselves, aroused suspicions that there might be some ulterior purpose behind the lynching campaign; that the movie critics might be giving a false report of the picture, as most Hollywood pictures give a false report of life.

Word of mouth testimony from some friends who had crossed the critics' picket line to examine the picture for themselves gave support to my suspicions, with the result that after more than six months' total abstinence, this reformed movie addict fell off the wagon and went to see *Monsieur Verdoux*. And I thanked my lucky stars for one of the most enjoyable and satisfactory Saturday afternoons I have had in many a day. The critics are definitely misleading the public in their reviews of this picture.

Monsieur Verdoux the supreme master of the screen discards the familiar role of the little tramp with the baggy pants and flopping shoes to play the part of a suavely mannered, impeccably dressed sophisticate. *Monsieur Verdoux* had been a bank clerk for twenty-five years or so, and was ruthlessly dismissed from his position when the depression came. He had to make a living somehow, so he went into business for himself—the business of marrying women for their money and then disposing of them. He does it all to

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The Crucial Issues At Stake In AFL-CIO Unity Proposals

By George Breitman

A united labor movement would have a potentially greater striking power than the AFL and CIO have separately. It would make it easier to attract and unionize millions of hitherto unorganized workers—as in the South; it would tend to eliminate conflicts among the workers and thus strengthen them in their struggles against the employers; it could serve to consolidate their political power in resisting the fierce attacks being directed against organized labor in the national and state capitals.

That is why every American worker instinctively agrees with the joint AFL-CIO committee in Washington last week, that unification of these two great

organizations would be desirable. (See Page 1 for report on Washington Conference.)

But as the discussions in Washington showed, mere agreement on the need for organic unity does not solve the problems facing American labor. In fact, unity proposals can be used to cloak dangerous moves against the interests of the organized workers.

The greatest of these dangers was illustrated at the Washington conference when the AFL representatives refused to accept the CIO proposal that in any new organizational structure the united organization must recognize the principle of industrial unionism and agree to respect the autonomous rights of existing international unions.

Refusal to make such a pledge means that the AFL leaders re-

main what they have been—enemies of industrial unionism. Without such a pledge and safeguards to back it up, the AFL Executive Council—which would dominate any unified organization based on the present relationship of forces between the CIO and AFL—would be in a position to try to cut the industrial unions to pieces for the benefit of the powerful craft union bureaucrats.

It must never be forgotten that the present AFL leadership consists essentially of the same die-hard craft unionists who expelled the unions that launched the industrial organization drive through the CIO a little over 10 years ago. That the workers had to break away from the AFL Council's domination in order to be able to organize the great mass industries. That they had to fight not only the big corporations but also the AFL bureaucrats before they could build their unions in auto, steel, rubber, electrical and other basic industries.

No trust whatever can be placed in these AFL bureaucrats, who are still motivated by hostility to the inherently more democratic and militant form of industrial unionism. Unless the proper safeguards are installed in advance, there is every danger that, following a unification on the basis of last week's AFL proposals, they would unleash merciless jurisdictional warfare against the industrial unions. What else does their rejection of the CIO proposal mean?

WHY NO JOINT ACTION

Unity to strengthen the labor movement is necessary and desirable. But far better to have no unity at all for the time being than to imperil the very existence of the progressive form of labor organization, the industrial unions! The CIO leaders were 100% correct in insisting on guarantees for the preservation of the industrial unions before agreeing to a merger.

The AFL leaders have claimed that they want unity in order to be able to beat down the anti-labor offensive. But they have consistently turned down the CIO's offer, which was repeated at last week's conference, for joint action against the anti-labor bills. Why? Doesn't this like the AFL rejection of guar-

antees for preservation of industrial unionism—and remain on guard against assaults upon the autonomy of existing internationals and upon the democratic rights of the rank and file?

What the AFL leaders are primarily concerned about in the anti-labor drive is its menace to their privileged positions, and not the welfare of the rank and file. They hope to dodge this menace not by mobilizing the workers for struggle but by making appeasement concessions to the employers and capitalist politicians. They are fiercely opposed to any form of militant activity in the unified organization.

This was flatly rejected by the AFL negotiators. The CIO representatives at least recognized the fact that labor's rights and standards are being cut down through political attacks by its enemies and that they can be protected only by labor political action.

LABOR POLITICAL ACTION

At the Washington conference the CIO leaders asked for provision of political action machinery in the unified organization. This was flatly rejected by the AFL negotiators. The CIO representatives at least recognized the fact that labor's rights and standards are being cut down through political attacks by its enemies and that they can be protected only by labor political action.

AFL LEADERS' PLAN

To put over their program of conciliation with the employers, they are seeking the kind of unification which will place the entire labor movement under the domination of a coalition of conservative AFL and CIO leaders.

Under this arrangement, strikes would be discouraged, militancy

would be punished, democracy would be limited and red-baiting would be intensified. In other words, the AFL leaders hope to do voluntarily what the capitalist politicians are seeking to achieve by legislative means. This hope is buttressed by the fact that many top CIO leaders have become increasingly conservative and bureaucratic in recent years.

If the CIO leaders will not go along with this plan, the AFL bureaucrats can then charge them with responsibility for the continued division of the labor movement, and use this situation as a pretext for launching a new wave of jurisdictional attacks against the CIO unions.

That is why the members of both CIO and AFL unions must back up the demands of the CIO leaders for safeguards on in-

action.

Our Program:

1. Defend labor's standard of living!

A sliding scale of wages—an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!
Organize mass consumer committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!
Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers' control!

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

For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours—reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!
Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control! Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!

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

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

4. Build an independent labor party!

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

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

7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!
End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!

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

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

Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!
Against capitalist conscription!
Abolish the officer caste system!
Full democratic rights in the armed forces!
Trade union wages for the armed forces!
Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!

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

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

11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

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Is The Communist Party A Workers' Organization?

By James P. Cannon

(Ed. Note: This is the sixth of a series of articles on American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism.)

Stalinism, like every other force obstructing the emancipation struggle of the workers, thrives on confusion and assiduously disseminates it in the labor movement. The Stalinists also profit not a little by the confusion in the heads of some of their bitterest and most conscientious opponents. Their misunderstanding of the question arises in part from an emotional approach to the question. Hatred is permitted to obscure reason, and no good ever came from that.

Nothing is better calculated to lead the opponents of Stalinism in the United States astray than the simple description of this monstrosity as the agency of a foreign power, and in turn, the designation of this foreign power as an exploiting class, imperialistic to boot, which dominates more than one-sixth of the earth and is reaching out for the rest of it.

This conception, which would put the Communist Party in the same category as the unlamented German-American Bund, clashes with reality at every step and leads to tactics in the struggle against Stalinism which are futile and self-defeating every time. It bars a tactical approach to the masses of workers under the control and influence of the Communist Party, and thus inadvertently aids the Stalinist bureaucrats in consolidating and retaining this control and influence.

Such a theory would be absolutely fatal in western Europe where the Stalinists dominate virtually the whole working class movement. And it certainly is of no help even in the United States. Stalinism is relatively weak here, and for numerous and weighty reasons can scarcely be expected ever to play the dominating role it plays in Europe. Nevertheless, it is a serious obstacle to the development of a genuinely revolutionary movement, and consequently to the mobilization of the masses for resolute action in the class struggle which would lead objectively to the socialist goal. For that reason we should fight it. But in order to achieve success we must fight Stalinism with a correct understanding of its nature and role.

Workers Must Fight Stalinism

If the Communist Party were merely a "Fifth Column" and terrorist gang operating in America as the agency of a foreign "imperialist" government, then the problem would be considerably simpler and easier for the working class movement. And it would be no problem at all to the government at Washington, which is indeed imperialist and has the means to cope with foreign agents and spies. This was shown in the case of the German-American Bund. Fritz Kuhn's sorry "Bund" — equipped with "storm troopers" and all — was easily isolated and could gain no serious influence in the American trade unions. The FBI and other governmental agencies had no difficulty in liquidating this fantastic Hitlerite agency when they got ready to do so. And it never once occurred to any working class tendency, faction or party to come to the defense of the "Bund."

The same prescription does not work, however, and will not work in the case of American Stalinism. Fascism and Stalinism, although much similar in their methods and practices, have entirely different social foundations on their home grounds where they wield state power, and this applies to their foreign extensions too. The rather wide-spread conception that the Communist Party is a formation similar to Hitler's "Fifth Column" and can be treated accordingly, is profoundly false. The Stalinists make the labor movement the main base of their operations, and it is there that they must be fought, and fought, moreover, with working class means.

The analogy which can best aid our thinking on this question is provided by the experiences of the Russian Bolsheviks and the early Comintern in the struggle against the Social Democrats. The German Social Democracy betrayed the proletariat in the First World War; and following that, after they came into control of the government, they employed the police and the army to slaughter tens of thousands of workers in suppressing the proletarian revolution. Besides that the noble Social Democrats were accountable for a substantial number of "unofficial" murders of revolutionary leaders, such as the murders of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

Despite these crimes, the Social Democrats retained a strong organization and influence in the labor movement, as the present-day Stalinists — despite their crimes. A strong tendency arose among the revolutionary workers to regard the Social Democratic party as no longer a workers' organization, and to reject any kind of a tactical approach to its members. This characterization proved to be one-sided, too simple, and therefore false and harmful to the further development of the workers' revolutionary movement. This attitude had to be radically changed before the young Communist Party of Germany could make any real headway in the struggle against the Social Democratic traitors.

Differ In Degree, Not Principle

By their program and their policies the Social Democratic parties then, as now, were petty-bourgeois and not proletarian parties. But by their tradition and composition, by the fact that they made their main base of operation the working class movement, and by the fact that the workers considered them to be workers' organizations — they had to be designated as such: more precisely, as an organized tendency within the labor movement which the revolutionary party had to combat by tactical means as well as by frontal principled struggle. The Leninist policy of the united front followed inexorably from this basic

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analysis. This opened the path of the revolutionary party to the Social Democratic workers.

There are many differences between Social Democracy and Stalinism, especially in the domain of methods, but in our view they are differences of degree and not of principle. The Social Democrats substituted the program of class collaboration and reform for the program of class struggle and the proletarian revolution. The Stalinists do the same thing, on a far greater scale. The Social Democrats lied and slandered, murdered and betrayed. The Stalinists do the same thing, also on a far greater scale. Both confuse, disorient and demoralize the advanced workers and disrupt their struggle against capitalism. And they are able to do so precisely because they work inside the labor movement and demoralize it from within.

Traditional Social Democracy doesn't amount to much in the United States. Its place and its essential function is taken over by the official trade union bureaucracy. This bureaucracy also represents a tendency, although an alien tendency, within the labor movement, which also serves a foreign power — the government of the capitalists — and it is more firmly rooted, more influential, more powerful, and therefore a more formidable enemy, at the present time at least, than the Stalinists.

Our method of fighting this formidable bureaucracy in the American labor movement is and must be the method worked out by the Russian Bolsheviks to combat the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries, and later taught by them to the young Communist Parties of the early Comintern. We oppose the reactionary bureaucrats in principle, and the main burden of our irreconcilable struggle against them must be devoted to denunciation and exposure of their perfidious role. Subordinate to that, but inseparably connected, goes the tactical approach to the vast masses of workers under their influence and domination.

Leninist Tactic Of United Front

This is the Leninist tactic of the united front. We demand of the bureaucrats that they break their alliance with the capitalist political parties and follow an independent class policy on the political field. We give critical support to the bureaucrats in all cases where they find themselves obliged to lead the struggles of the workers for the improvement of their conditions or the defense for their rights. We defend the unions and the individual labor leaders against any attack or infringement from the side of the government. The workers learn more from experience than from propaganda. It is only by participating in the struggles of the workers along these lines that we will win them over to an aggressive class-struggle policy and eventually to a socialist consciousness.

On the ground that the Communist Party is not a working class organization and not a tendency in the labor movement, a contention is advanced that we can have a different attitude toward the Communist Party, or to those trade unions or other workers' organizations under its control, when they find themselves in clashes with the capitalist class or its governmental agencies. To think so requires an absurd, subjectively-motivated denial of reality. Such a mistake can only lead its proponents, if they follow out the logic of their analysis, into the bourgeois camp. Unfortunately, that is precisely what has happened to the great majority of American anti-Stalinists.

Stalinism is a new phenomenon of the last quarter of a century, and is unique in many ways. But this does not change the essential fact that it is a tendency in the labor movement. It is rooted in the trade unions and yields influence over a section of the progressive workers. That is precisely the reason that it is such a great problem and such a great obstacle to the emancipation struggle of the workers. In our opinion, it is impossible to wage an effective struggle against Stalinism without proceeding from this premise. Stalinism is an internal problem of the labor movement which, like every other internal problem, only the workers can solve.

The gist of the matter, let us repeat, consists in the fact that the mis-named Communist Party makes its main field of activity the trade union movement; yields a certain influence there; and by a combination of demagogic machination, bureaucratic repression and gangster violence — aided no little by the stupidities of its opponents — has gained the controlled position in numerous unions and represents an influential force in others. And these unions, just like the unions under the control of the anti-Stalinist conservatives, by the logic of the class struggle frequently come into conflict with the employers and even with the government and find themselves involved in strikes.

Class Analysis Determines Tactic

Shall these strikes be supported on the general principle of class solidarity, or should support be withheld because of the circumstance that the official leaders are Stalinists? And should these leaders, in case they are arrested in the course of strike activities, be defended — also on the general principle of class solidarity against the class enemy? And should the legal rights of the Communist Party be defended against the red-baiters?

Those who say no, end the debate so far as we are concerned. By that fact they take their place in the camp of the class enemy. Those who say yes, thereby recognize implicitly the falsity of the contention that Stalinism is not a tendency in the labor movement, to be contended with as such. There is no getting around this question. It must be squarely faced and answered.

This question arose very acutely in last year's strikes of the Stalinized "UE" against Westinghouse and General Electric. And again in the long drawn-out strike of the auto workers at Allis Chalmers, which was indubitably dominated by a Stalinist leadership. And again in the recent strike of the National Maritime Union, which had been completely under Stalinist domination for years, and was still partly so. And it is sharply posed right now by the movement to pass legislation outlawing the Communist Party.

A clear understanding and recognition of the class nature of the Communist Party as a workers' organization — as a tendency in the labor movement — determines the tactical approach of the revolutionary workers to the problem. Stalinism cannot be disposed of by reliance on police measures of the bourgeois state — the very idea is ludicrous — nor by anathema and excommunication from the labor movement, when the power to enforce it is lacking. Nothing will do but an uncompromising principled fight, combined with a tactical approach which will enable the revolutionary party to win the workers away from its perfidious influence. From the revolutionary point of view, that is the heart of the problem of fighting Stalinism in a way that will lead to its elimination from the working class movement, not in fancy but in fact.

(Next week: The Prospects of American Stalinism.)

Oust Stalinist Ministers In France As Ramadier Bids For Truman Aid

By Joseph Hansen

Paul Ramadier, "Socialist" Premier of France, has booted the five Communist (Stalinist) Ministers out of the coalition government without even waiting for approval from the National Council of the Socialist Party. Regardless of the attitude taken by the SP Council, this important political action by the Premier marks a new stage in the unfolding of the class struggle in France.

When Ramadier asked his fellow party member, Vincent Auriol, President of France, to transfer three Ministerial posts provisionally on May 4, he launched a policy the French "Socialists" have not dared to follow since the close of the war. Up to now they have refused to assume the damaging responsibility of conducting the government for the French capitalists unless the Stalinists likewise participated. What is the source of this sudden courage on the part of these "Socialist" Ministers and Deputies?

The source is Washington. When Truman announced his new "doctrine," every foul reactionary in the world took it as a go ahead signal. In France, de Gaulle, the candidate for a new dictatorial Bonaparte, came out of retirement. He had visions of unlimited funds flowing into his coffers from Wall Street as well as military supplies and government loans from Washington.

In the light of the Truman "doctrine," the French "Socialists" likewise feel stronger. Support from Washington, they calculate, will more than make up for any losses entailed by a rightward shift. They are, consequently, competing with de Gaulle to

strike in the key Renault auto works as a danger signal. The workers are beginning to break away from Stalinist leadership and to lift up a new, militant leadership from the ranks. The workers want decisive action to solve the acute problems that have plagued them since the end of the war.

The French Stalinists fear this growing domestic opposition which can undermine them in short order. But they would continue their past course of open betrayal of the workers despite this fear if they were so ordered by the Kremlin. Therefore, it is clear they have been given an OK from Moscow to make a shift.

The French Stalinist leaders have found it increasingly embarrassing to officially participate in a government engaged in putting down colonial rebellions. The popularity of the Indo-Chinese cause among French workers, for instance, caused the Stalinists great uneasiness, since their Ministers voted for arms to shoot down the Indo-Chinese. Until after the Moscow Conference, however, the French Stalinists continued to pursue their embarrassing dual policy of having their Ministers vote for the policy of suppressing the Indo-Chinese while the Stalinist deputies tried to maintain the party's popularity by abstaining.

With the failure of the Moscow Conference, Stalin decided to permit the French Stalinists to make a turn. As an opposition party out of the government, their hands are freer to oppose the pressure of Washington in France. Naturally, this opposition is aimed solely to serve the foreign interests of the Kremlin.

At the same time, the French Stalinists undoubtedly hope to polish up their damaged reputations, recoup their political losses, picking up what the "Socialists" lose, and with a gain in membership increase their bargaining power. In this game, the Kremlin considers the French working class nothing but a pawn.

(This is the first in a series of articles on the Palestine Question by a Belgian Trotskyist. The second will appear next week.)

British Troops Search Refugee



Removed from a refugee ship that tried to land in Haifa harbor, this Jewish immigrant is guarded by one British soldier as another searches his accordin for possible weapons. The execution of four members of the underground has set off another wave of violence.

Federated Pictures

British Terror In Palestine Recalls Scenes Under Hitler

By H. Vullin

Once more the bridges and viaducts in Palestine are being blown up. Bombs are exploding in the British officers' clubs. In retaliation the English army of occupation decrees martial law; curfew is imposed. And in Tel-Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem are repeated the scenes which the workers of Europe remember so well from the days of Hitlerite occupation: passers-by leaped up against a wall to be searched for "weapons," military police detachments raiding homes, men hunts to capture members and leaders of the terrorist organizations, "Irgun Zwei Leumi" and "Stern" which are challenging the power and prestige of imperialist occupation.

Both the Jewish Agency, which is a sort of bourgeois government of the Jewish community in Palestine, and the Zionist Congress which recently met at Basle, have come out violently against terrorist methods. But this difference concerns solely the METHODS of their struggle and not the ends pursued.

It goes without saying that all class conscious workers must condemn without reservation the repressions which the British are directing for the moment against the Jewish population of Palestine and which will set the stage for beating down all the more savagely the Arab population at the first signs of revolt. When the apologists of imperialism allege that it is the terrorists who are "attacking" while imperialism is only "defending itself," each class conscious worker must reply:

"But why do the British troops remain in the country? Let England immediately withdraw its army from Palestine, and there will be no more reason for it to 'defend itself' against the Palestinian population!"

It is this fear which drives the Jewish population of Palestine to demand an unlimited Jewish immigration because each new Jewish immigrant is one more soldier and imperceptibly tends to change the relationship of forces between Arabs and Jews to the advantage of the latter. It is likewise with an eye to the future military showdown between the Arabs and Jews, considered inevitable by the Zionists, that they have created a powerful army, the Hagana, in which practically every adult Jew in the country is enrolled.

The Hagana was armed during the war, in great measure with the aid of British imperialism, in case Rommel attacked Palestine and as a safeguard against an Arab uprising. It was the Hagana that first used terrorists for bold military raids behind the German-Italian lines during the war, as strikebreakers against the Arabs, etc.

But their true, reactionary and anti-labor character appears more clearly when one examines the declarations of the leaders to the effect that they are not in favor of free elections . . . until "the Hebrew people who are in foreign lands will have had the opportunity to re-enter their fatherland." These strange "liberators" and "democrats" in reality wish to impose the dictatorship of a minority of the population (at present the Jews constitute only 25% of the Palestinian population) and to deprive the Arab population of its political sovereignty, just as British imperialism does.

UTILIZES ANTAGONISMS British imperialism knows well how to UTILIZE for its own benefit antagonisms between the Jews and Arabs, and how to EXPLOIT FOR ITS OWN PROFIT the Zionist movement against Arab liberation movements. But it has no interest

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THE MILITANT

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



"The historical task of our epoch consists in replacing the uncontrolled play of the market by reasonable planning, in disciplining the forces of production, compelling them to work together in harmony and obediently serve the needs of mankind."

Leon Trotsky

Rising Fear Of War

Two recent polls indicate how apprehensive the American people are over Wall Street's drive toward another war. George Gallup, Director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, reported April 28 that more than seven out of 10 voters are convinced World War III will break within 25 years. Five out of 10 believe it will come within 10 years.

The poll showed a decided shift in public opinion since March 1945. At that time only 38% thought another war would occur within 25 years, while 45% thought it impossible and 17% had no opinion. By March 1946 the percentages were 69% yes, 19% no and 12% had no opinion. Today the percentages are 73% yes, 18% no and 9% no opinion.

The other poll, reported by the May 2 PM, is even more significant, since it indicates the general awareness among the people of who is responsible for the course toward war. More than 15,000 people from all over the United States responded to a debate on America's Town Meeting of the Air — "Does Our New Foreign Policy Lead to Peace or War?" Max Lerner of PM and Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho held that it does. Opposing them were Alf Landon, former Republican candidate for President, and James Burnham, professor at New York University and renegade from the Marxist movement.

Out of the 15,000 replies, 75% were convinced that the Truman Doctrine is leading toward war!

These two polls give an excellent indication of the widespread fear of war and opposition to the Truman Doctrine. They confirm the timeliness of the proposal made by the Socialist Workers Party that the war-making powers be taken away from Congress and the decision on plunging into war or remaining at peace be vested in the people. This proposal is summed up in the slogan, "Let The People Decide For Themselves The Question of Peace or War!"

This demand should be vigorously pushed by every one who opposes imperialist war. If the war-making powers are left with Wall Street's political representatives in the White House and Congress, they will disregard public opposition and take America into World War III just as they disregarded public opposition and took America into World War I and World War II.

They Are All Guilty

The United States has just indicted 24 executives of the huge I. G. Farbenindustrie for "fomenting and waging aggressive war, for mass murder and plunder, and for generous financial assistance" to enable Hitler to come to power. These top German industrialists are surely guilty of the crimes enumerated. They are no less guilty than Hitler, Goebbels and Goering who served as their hired agents. The German workers would long since have hanged these industrial pirates and their Nazi accomplices, had they not been prevented by the American Military Occupation.

The German Farbenindustrie was only one link in a chain of international cartels which were fomenting war and aided the rise of Hitler and Mussolini to power. The Militant has continuously exposed the crimes of the American co-conspirators with the I. G. Farbenindustrie against the American people and the peoples of the world. Dow Chemical, Standard Oil of New Jersey and the Aluminum Company of America specifically mentioned in the indictment are only some of the American firms that worked as partners of the accused German industrialists. If the facts were fully uncovered, every member of America's Sixty Richest Families would share in the guilt.

These indictment include these American industrial gangsters as co-defendants? Not at all. It explicitly states that the American industrialists entered into cartel arrangements with their Nazi bloodbrothers which directly led to "mass murder and spoliation." But it resorts to trickery by claiming that these innocent American lambs were hoodwinked into making these agreements. The indictment, of course, fails to mention the enormous sums the monopolists received for their part of the deals, as it remains silent

about the financial assistance they gave to Hitler and his storm troopers.

This crude and clumsy attempt to shield and whitewash the American industrial brigands should be exposed. The American labor movement should call upon the government also to indict the officials of all the corporations in this country which entered into cartels with I. G. Farbenindustrie and other German concerns and are equally guilty of the crimes attributed to their German partners.

Let all the capitalist conspirators be haled before an American tribunal and made to pay for their crimes. Let the people of this country learn the whole truth about these high-placed murderers for profit.

Vote--For Whom?

At the huge demonstration against anti-labor legislation in Detroit's Cadillac Square on April 24, UAW vice-president Richard T. Leonard said:

"Had the multitude that I am facing today gathered in such numbers at the voting booths last Nov. 5 there would be no necessity for today's rally."

This statement was partly true and partly false.

It is true that by political action last year the American workers could have changed the situation in Congress today. Instead of being on the defensive against Big Business and its political agents, the labor movement could now have been in position at Washington not only to defend but to advance its own interests, living standards and rights.

But not merely by going to the voting booths in great numbers. Not by doing what Leonard and the other union bureaucrats advised them to do last November—to support Democrats against Republicans. The proof of this is in the vote on the Hartley bill in the House of Representatives where a majority of the Democrats, just like a majority of the Republicans, voted to cripple the labor movement.

Only by sending scores of labor's own representatives to Congress last November could the workers have been able to impede the present anti-labor legislative drive. For that it was necessary to create a labor party, which Leonard and the other top union officials stubbornly opposed and fought against.

The need for political action—Independent political action against the capitalist parties and politicians—is the most pressing problem before American labor. The union militants will have to take the lead in promoting this labor party movement. Only under irresistible pressure from the ranks will the bureaucrats be compelled to break labor's captivity to the bosses-controlled Democratic and Republican Parties.

Centralia Whitewash

After the Centralia mine disaster claimed the lives of 111 coal miners, Governor Green of Illinois appointed a hand-picked committee to investigate the causes of the tragedy. This Republican politician had turned a deaf ear to the plea sent by these miners a year before "to please save our lives" by enforcing the state mine safety laws.

Green's committee prohibited testimony that the Illinois Department of Mines had shaken down mine operators for campaign contributions to the Republican Party in return for the privilege of disregarding safety regulations.

This was so raw that four Democratic members on the committee walked out. The five remaining Republican wheelhorses have now brought in their report.

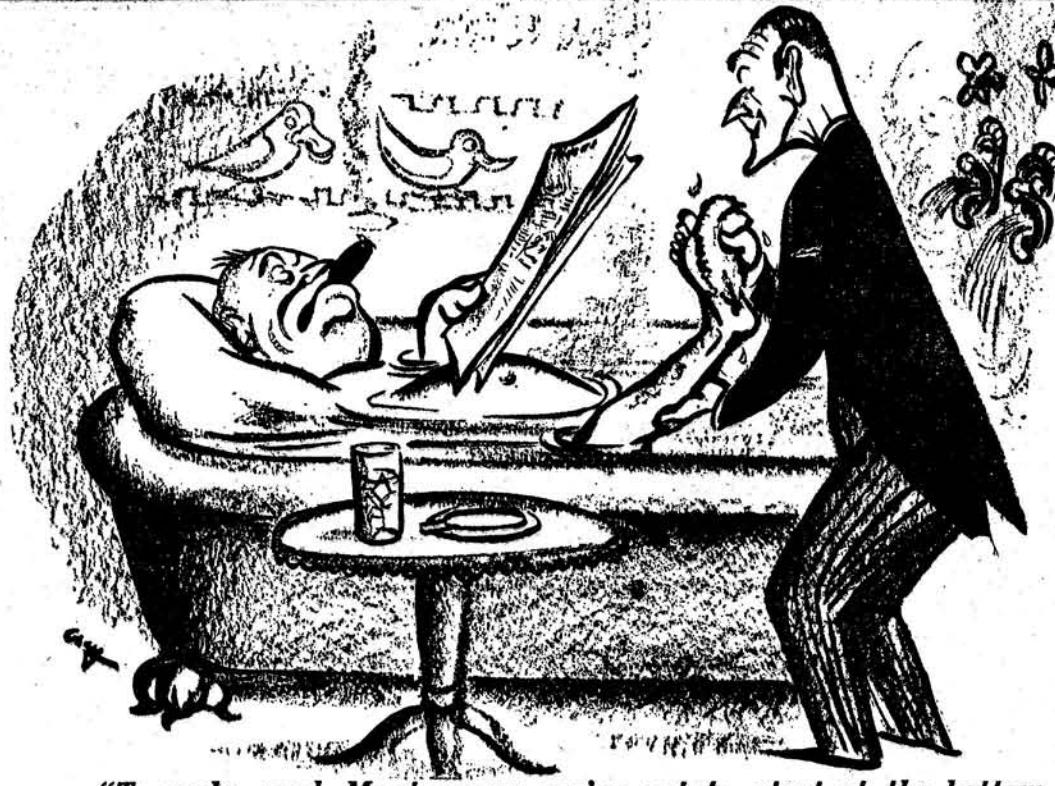
This report whitewashes all those in high places whose criminal negligence contributed to the murders. It piously mentions the equal "responsibility" of the coal operators and the State Department of Mines. But the only person referred to by name is Driscoll O. Scanlan, the local mine inspector. It happens that Scanlan, who has been singled out to "take the rap," is the one official in whom Centralia miners placed any confidence. He is the only inspector who displayed any sympathy for the men of Local 52 in their year-long fight to ward off the anticipated explosion.

The report keeps silent about Robert M. Medill who resigned as Mine Inspection chief after the disaster. Under Governor Green's orders, Medill sided with the operators against the miners and converted the mine inspecting force into a bunch of "boodle boys." Medill blasted Scanlan for his warnings about the dangers at Centralia, saying "those damned hunkies at the Centralia mine wouldn't know the conditions at the mine if you didn't bring it to their attention in your reports."

Nor does this corrupt committee hold any one in the management responsible. Yet the dead men tried to get the mining certificates of the superintendent and other officials revoked because they refused to observe the safety laws.

In like fashion the Federal authorities, including Interior Secretary J. A. Krug, have been given a clean bill of health. The contract Krug signed with the UMW specified: "The Coal Mines Administrator is the exclusive agency charged with enforcement of this (safety) code and the correction of violations thereof." Nevertheless, the Federal government, which "seized" the mines to break the strike, took no steps to enforce the Federal Mine Safety Code at Centralia or elsewhere.

The Centralia tragedy shocked the American people. 400,000 soft coal miners stopped work for a week to protest the murder of their comrades. Despite these outcries, a shameless and contemptible whitewash of these crimes has been staged by the Illinois politicians. The widows and orphans of the dead men, the miners and the entire American working class will not be silent until an honest inquiry throws full light on these massacres for profit and the guilty are brought to justice.



"To make good, Montgomery, you've got to start at the bottom and work your way up."

Workers BOOKSHELF

THE PURPLE TESTAMENT

edited by Don M. Wolfe, Doubleday & Co., 1946, 361 pp., \$2.50.

This book was written by 53 disabled veterans of World War II when they were taking a course in English composition at a university where they were training to become counsellors to other disabled veterans. It does not pretend to be a finely-contrived literary work; it is more than that; it is an honest record of important moments in the lives of young Americans before, during and after the war, and what they thought about them.

Most of the chapters in the book are very short—two or three pages on an average. It therefore gives a wide coverage to a diversity of experiences. The following are a few which stood out for one reader.

The 16-year old lad who left his unhappy home at the beginning of the depression and wandered around lonely and unloved until he joined the Army; the reluctance of a rookie to get out of his cot on a cold morning; the sensation of a paratrooper-trainee on the occasion of his first jump.

This short account only touches the highlights; there are many more. The book deserves a very wide distribution for that reason; and also because all profits on the book are to be divided among the 53 authors.

—H. L. BENTLEY

THE LAST TIME I SAW PARIS

by Elliot Paul, Bantam Books, 1946, 416 pp., 25 cents.

This book destroys a myth about pre-war France. It was supposed to be a gay, happy, carefree country, given up to wine, women, and song. Even the song about this book perpetuates this myth—"The last time I saw Paris, her heart was young and gay; I heard the laughter of her heart in every street cafe." The song actually distorts the book, which is a tragic and heart-rending account of the miseries and disappointments suffered by the French people after World

War I.

The author, Elliot Paul, lived on a lower middle-class Paris street for twenty years. Unlike many foreign correspondents, he spoke French, made close friends with his neighbors, and knew their lives intimately. He tells his story from the point of view of these friends of his on the street—a clerk, a government worker, a laborer, a politician.

There was a terrible decline in their living standards in the 1920's and 1930's. In 1936 a tremendous wave of strikes shook the country. A "Popular Front" government was formed by the Socialist Party and Communist Party, in alliance with liberal capitalist politicians.

The disillusionment was swift and terrible. The Socialist and Communist parties kept on capitulating to the capitalist government. The profit system with its unemployment and misery remained. The people on Elliot Paul's street clenched their fists in their bitter anger, but could do nothing about it. Their leadership—the Socialist and Communist parties—had betrayed them.

After the collapse of the Popular Front government nothing remained but hopelessness. When the Germans marched in, they found opposing them a completely demoralized people who had no faith in their treacherous leadership, or in the corrupt, inefficient government. That is the true history of events leading to the German occupation in 1940. This book provides an understanding of these events despite a certain sentimentalism and lack of political analysis on the part of the author.

—JULES KRAMER

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—H. L. BENTLEY

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.

Telephone Striker Writes from Chicago

Editor:

As a participant in the telephone workers strike in Chicago, I made some observations while on the picket lines and at the strikers' mass meetings.

At the end of the third week of our strike, the morale of the pickets is still high and they are determined to stick to the end. Instead of becoming demoralized, the strikers are getting angrier at the company and the strike.

These workers, quite inexperienced in the class struggle, are learning some important lessons in the course of the strike. For example, they are learning that the interests of capital and labor cannot be reconciled, and they are seeing the true role of the police.

When scabs threw water on the heads of the pickets in front of one telephone exchange, the general comment was: "If we did anything like that, the cops would arrest us immediately."

Very few telephone subscribers have crossed picket lines in order to pay their telephone bills at the various business offices. There have been many who expressed their sympathy with our strike.

First-hand experience is convincing these workers that behind the AT&T's attempts to smash the independent telephone unions is Wall Street's scheme to break all unions and atomize the labor movement. Hence the growing sentiment among the strikers in favor of affiliation with one of the main bodies of labor—the CIO or AFL. There is no doubt that telephone unionists will come out of this struggle wiser and stronger.

E. P.
Chicago, Ill.

Complaint From A Small Landlord

Editor:

Some one has been sending me The Militant and I want to say I might have been influenced by it, if it wasn't for the ghastly unfairness you present.

In every issue you advocate higher wages, decent living conditions which I, as a fair-minded American grant is the right of every human being. But on the same page you shout in large print: "Fight 15% rent raise."

It seems that what's fair for one group isn't fair for another. If the worker is entitled to a raise, why isn't he fair-minded enough to grant the landlord the same right to liberty and justice?

To me it's pretty one-sided and where labor can beat down, they are worse than capital. Do you want to prevent thousands of small landlords like us from having even a raise that might partially cover the ever-increasing operating costs?

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PHILADELPHIA—1308-05 W.

Postwar Prosperity Begins To Fade Away As First Grim Signs Of Depression Appear

By John G. Wright

Business weeklies are now talking more directly about the depression. *Business Week*, April 26, sees it as already here. *United States News*, May 2, features an article entitled, "First Signs of Setback" and talks of 4 million unemployed by 1948, a 20% slash in production, falling profits and a sharply reduced farmers' income. The stock market remains in the doldrums, with half of its shares below last year's lows and the other half hovering slightly above. Why all this pessimism?

Approximately six months ago it became apparent that grave disproportions were piling up beneath the surface of the postwar boom, pressaging its liquidation. Production, rising rapidly to heights unparalleled in peacetime, tended even more rapidly to outstrip national income, although the latter likewise rose spectacularly to more than double the 1929 figure, a previous peacetime record.

GAP GROWS WIDER

Despite this greatly expanded national income, despite the scarcities that had piled up in every sphere in wartime, despite the universal need for replacements, re-equipment, retooling, and so on, the gap between production and the absorbing capacity of the internal market kept growing wider and wider. Thus in the first quarter of this year, production rose to an estimated annual rate of 225 billion dollars, while the national income had expanded to around 180 billion dollars.

It is obvious that even if every dollar of national income had been spent on the goods produced (which, of course, is far from being the case), there would still have remained a surplus piling up at an annual rate of 40 billion odd dollars. As a matter of fact, there is a surplus quite close to this figure already piled up in the warehouses of manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers.

Such huge inventories might conceivably have been maintained for a prolonged period of time without disastrously affecting the economy, provided the market continued to absorb more or less the same volume of goods as in the preceding period. This slim possibility, however, was cancelled almost automatically by precipitate price rises precisely in the period when the gap between production and consumption grew to menacing proportions.

Conservative Wall Street statists estimate that inflated prices have already sliced as much as 8 billion dollars from the purchasing power of the masses. I could go on for pages, but I hope you'll take it from here, M.E.C. I think it was Emile Zola who once said: "The lie travels twice around the world before the truth even gets started." For the truth, keep reading *The Militant* and also the great writings of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky.

Subscribers

Madison, Wisc.

Editor:

Would you please allow me to use your columns to make a request of our American comrades? I am very interested in learning more about the everyday life of the workers of the South, and would be very pleased to receive letters from comrades living in this region, or well acquainted with life there. I am preparing a thesis on the life of the Southern States as portrayed in American novels, and so would be especially grateful if any readers with a knowledge of the literature of the South could help me. But any help in answering the many questions that arise would be most welcome. And any discussion and exchange of views on the problems that face the workers of Britain and the USA, and those of the rest of the world, would doubtless be of great value to all concerned.

Socialist greetings to the readers of *The Militant*.

(Miss) L. Gwendeth King

64 Chester Road

Forest Gate

London, E. 7

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Retail Prices Hit All-Time High

Despite all the ballyhoo about Big Business voluntarily lowering prices following President Truman's admission that a depression is advancing on American economy, prices have shot still higher. They now hover at all-time highs according to figures released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In the 30 days between February 15 and March 15 retail prices for living essentials, food, clothing and shelter jumped another 2%. This makes the official cost of living 58½% higher than in August, 1939, and 20% higher than a year ago.

It can be stated that by thus monstrously aggravating the existing disproportion between production and consumption, the profit-mad monopolists succeeded within the brief space of six months in blotting out most of the factors giving rise to the postwar prosperity. It will hardly take more than a few months to liquidate the rest.

In the meantime, however, the way has already been paved for the next stage of the downward swing, to wit: spreading stagnation, accompanied by curtailed production, temporary leveling off in this or that branch of industry at lower levels, followed by more and more precipitate declines.

DOLLARS BUY LESS

In the preceding period, the contraction of the internal market found its expression in the dwindling physical volume of retail sales, while the dollar volume remained at, or slightly above, former levels. Beginning with April, this contraction finds the dollar volume also sagging below 1946 averages. Not only do workers' dollars buy less than before, but simultaneously the workers have less and less money with which to buy necessities.

With living costs remaining at levels close to all-time highs, this situation is altered neither by the recent miserly wage boosts nor by the highly publicized but inconsequential post-Easter price cuts by department stores, which left the bulk of consumer goods at highly inflated prices, inaccessible to workers, wholesalers and retailers. Such huge inventories might conceivably have been maintained for a prolonged period of time without disastrously affecting the economy, provided the market continued to absorb more or less the same volume of goods as in the preceding period. This slim possibility, however, was cancelled almost automatically by precipitate price rises precisely in the period when the gap between production and consumption grew to menacing proportions.

Conservation in the first quarter of this year sank below the 1946 average; the construction awards for the current quarter have dropped even lower; many corporations have either scaled down or cancelled altogether previously contemplated capital construction. This makes the condition of this industry.

There will, therefore, be no reversal in the decline of retail sales, but on the contrary, notwithstanding some sporadic spurts, this trend will become more marked in the next period.

OVER-PRODUCTION

This means that all the channels of distribution, which with a few exceptions are already filled, will become clogged to the bursting point. The pressure on inventories, and therefore on production, is mounting at a rate that no one could have predicted. One sector, the textiles, especially the soft-woolens group and women's and children's clothing, has already cracked under the strain. In this respect, the current development parallels the 1920 crisis, after World War I, which likewise began with the collapse of the textile industry.

Six months ago, this industry had huge back-logs of orders.

Phil. ACEWR Nets \$250 At Benefit Dinner

PHILADELPHIA, May 1—Speaking at a May Day meeting sponsored by the Minneapolis Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, Vincent R. Dunne, the party's candidate for Mayor, commended the telephone strikers tonight "for carrying out the true spirit of May Day by fighting for their rights."

An audience of Minneapolis workers who filled the SWP hall applauded the speaker again and again as he attacked Democratic Mayor Humphrey's role in the telephone strike. Dunne pointed out that one of the basic planks in the SWP election platform calls for "an end to government strikebreaking."

Dunne condemned the "sham fight" which is going on in the campaign over the issue of "a closed vs. an open city."

"I stand for a real open city," Dunne said, "and by that I mean a city which does not discriminate against Negro, Jewish or foreign

Career Of A Clerk
By Theodore Kovalsky

"Oh, why did Eve have to give Adam that apple?" wailed the big guy.
"Why?" I asked cautiously.

Trouble and worry and work! Seems like I been working as far back as I can remember. I'd like to just lay in the sand in Palm Beach or somewhere, just lay there and lay there . . .

"But if you were rich," I grinned, "think of the worries you'd have then."

"I suppose they got worries," he mused.

"Look," I told him, "They hire guys to worry for them."

"Yeah," he said, and then as the thought caught on, he added, "You know, a lot of times, the less they pay them the more they worry."

I had forgotten all about Harry Judson. It's funny how a chance remark will bring up memories, isn't it? Because when the big guy mentioned the little people who worry their heads off for a little check each week I remembered Jud just as clearly as though he were standing right there.

Jud was a worried, irritable little man who stood just over five feet. He was thin and small, but on his narrow shoulders rested all the responsibility for a million dollar corporation. He was a key man.

An executive? No, Jud was a schedule clerk, making about \$30 a week in those days. That wasn't too bad. Fairly skilled labor didn't pay much more, and common labor was a few dollars less.

When I knew Jud, he had been with the company a little over ten years and wore a pin on his lapel that his employers had gratefully presented him in honor of a decade of faithful service. He also took large white pills at meal time, likewise a result of his ten years of faithful service.

When I got to the plant each morning Jud was there. When I left in the afternoon he was still there. Some time between one day and the next I guess he went home for a while to sleep, but I'm not sure.

But to get back to the subject of trouble and worry . . . that was Jud's job. If the machines needed stock, Jud scurried around the factory

pleading with the department foremen and bullying the younger clerks until he got it. If there was a mistake on the inventory (which Jud and a few others used to take one Sunday a month without any extra pay), he rushed around until he found it.

I remember once his boss, a large man named Al, who had a gift of gab and very little else, laid his hand on Jud's shoulder and said, "Look, old man, I've got to have a complete report of operations for the last three months for this department. It's got to be in the front office tomorrow afternoon."

"Jeez, Al," Jud protested, "I got to line up the machines and get out next week's man-hour schedule."

"I know, Jud," Al answered sadly, "but I got to have it."

Jud really knocked himself out that day. He'd been telling us about a smoker he was planning to go to that night, but he stayed in the plant until after eleven, and then it was too late to go. Besides he was too tired.

The next day he worked like a little maniac and took an extra white pill at lunch time. But at three o'clock the report was on Al's desk. Al picked it up and said, "Thanks, Jud. Say, you'd better get rolling on that man-hour schedule. You're way behind. And check up on the 4722 stock. I think you got it all balled up."

One year he wanted a certain week in July for his vacation in the worst way, but Al told him, "Jeez, Jud, we just can't let you go that week. You've got an important job."

But another time when his wife was expecting a baby and he asked for a raise, Al said, "I know how it is, old man, and I'd like to be able to help you out, but the company just can't pay any more for that job. They could 'use' this place, you know," he smiled ironically, "without you and me."

Jud never quit, and somehow he never got bitter. I guess he was too busy. I'll always remember him at his desk chewing his pencils, grabbing at his hair, and sweating; or running from one department to another with a bunch of papers in his hand.

He's dead now. He died at the age of 35 after an operation for ulcers. But the company didn't forget him. They sent a beautiful wreath to the funeral.

The Negro Struggle

Two Sides Of The Same Coin

By William E. Bohannon

Hundreds of millions to prop up the reactionary and dictatorial Greek monarchy — but not one cent to enable the Negro republic of Haiti to free itself from the Wall Street bankers and build necessary public improvements. Here are opposite sides of the same coin, the brassy coin of American imperialism.

Truman declares that his policy is one of support of "free peoples." As applied to Greece this is a lie, because he is bolstering up a dictatorial regime that suppresses the people. As applied to Haiti it is also a lie, because his refusal to grant a loan of 20 million dollars asked by that government is intended to keep the Haitians in subjection.

In 1920-22 the U.S. sent the Marines to Haiti for bloody reprisals against those seeking independence. At that time a loan of 40 millions was negotiated through the National City Bank, one of the two largest Wall Street banks. Here we get a vivid glimpse of American Imperialism in action. Only 23 millions of this loan ever reached Haiti. In the 25 years since then, Haiti has repaid 38 millions — that is 15 millions interest has been fed to the Wall Street sharks. But she still "serves" 6½ millions.

Moreover, the terms of this loan brought the customs duty of the Negro Republic, as well as all financial outlays of its government, under American control.

This is how Washington and Wall Street have preserved a stranglehold on Haiti. This is a clear proof of imperialism, of the inter-locking of the government with finance capital, of the export of capital at high interest levels and exploitation in the colonies.

It is by such methods that American imperialism has built its own colonial empire which now seeks to extend on a world scale. Its re-

actionary policy in the colonies is further demonstrated by other developments in Haiti. When 5 million dollars was allotted for the building of roads and bridges, the big American firm of J. G. White and Co. was brought in; high salaries were paid out to American engineers and technicians. Haitian engineers and technicians received much lower salaries, while the Haitian laborers were paid — 30 cents per day! That is how super-profits have been coined from the colonies.

Further, under the "good neighbor" Roosevelt there occurred a still worse example of imperialist plundering of Haiti. In order to furnish the U.S. war machine with much-needed rubber, there was formed the Haiti-American Society for the Development of Agriculture (SHADA). Instead of developing agriculture the SHADA drove 30,000 farmers off the land plowed under sugar, bananas and coffee, disrupted the agricultural economy — and began to produce rubber for tanks and bombing planes. Now that the war is over, and the experiment in rubber not so successful, this shady deal disappears into the shadows, leaving starvation among homeless farmers in its wake.

Now the Haitian government has requested a loan of 20 millions, to pay off the National City blood-shark and utilize the balance for sorely-needed agricultural and industrial improvements. Truman says, No. Wall Street does not permit this colony to escape from its clutch or to take even the slightest step toward improvement of the Negro-Haitian conditions.

Keep its existing colonial empire in subjection by refusing loans — hand out millions to back up reactionary regimes in Europe and extend American imperialism throughout the globe: this is the real and fully reactionary meaning of the Truman Doctrine. And that is why Negroes in the United States, like Negroes in Haiti and other parts of the world, are justified in opposing it.

Notes From The News

William Nickel, who confessed to embezzling \$900,000 from the Mergenthaler Linotype Company, stated: "I am a man of quiet habits who loves peace. We'd been having strikes around the plant — all for money. I, too, wanted more money, but I didn't want to join the strikers. Strikes are the ruination of this country."

The cost of running the U.S. Congress has risen more than 100%. Appropriations for the fiscal year starting July will be \$52,000,000 with the possibility they will go even higher. Pre-war cost was \$22,000,000.

District 3, N. Y. upstate council of the CIO-United Electrical Workers called upon Phillip Murray for a one-day national protest stoppage against the anti-labor drive.

James E. Harris, Negro union official in Washington, D. C., was found beaten to death in his home. Harris was business agent for AFL-CIO's Local 471 and was engaged in leading a strike.

The United Labor Unions of Fulton County, New York, a joint organization of AFL, CIO and independent unions, went on record for a one-day national stoppage to protest the Hartley and Taft anti-labor bills.

The AFL radio campaign against anti-labor legislation started this week with the 15 minute broadcast, "Pursuit of Happiness." Fredric March and other stars have donated their services.

Iowa has become the thirteenth state to ban the closed shop.

The United States Steel Corporation announced this week that profits for the first three months of 1947 were almost four times as high as for the same period last year.

Powerful forces in the Senate have introduced

a bill to allow unlimited financial contributions in presidential campaigns, as long as these contributions are not made by trade unions or corporations. Individual capitalists, however, could become "angels" of candidates. Contributions for Senatorial campaigns would be permitted to rise 400%.

CIO Textile Workers Local 202 of Covington, Virginia has called upon all Virginia labor to join in a two-week general strike to protest against federal and state anti-labor legislation.

The Supreme Court this week upheld the action of the FBI in searching an arrested man's home without a search warrant. The decision was five to four. The dissenting justices denounced the new ruling as "resurrecting the odious general warrant or writ of assistance, presumably outlawed forever from our society by the Fourth Amendment."

State Senator Jack B. Tenney, California's local Martin Dies, has introduced eight "thought control" bills aimed at the school system.

Andrew J. May, former Congressman involved in the Garson war fraud trial, has threatened to spill the beans if the Government pries too deeply into his financial affairs. May's lawyer said checks "were turned over to the Democratic National Committee. If the government pursues them further I'll have Andrew J. May disclose the entire transaction and it involves high party figures even members of Congress."

Dancing instructors employed by Arthur Murray have joined the CIO United Office and Professional Workers Union. Main demands are not only wages but protection from arbitrary punishment and dismissals.

The Steelworkers Union has suspended Local 1407 at Glassport, Pennsylvania for an unauthorized strike against the Copperweld Steel Company.

Powerful forces in the Senate have introduced

THE MILITANT

NEW YORK, N. Y.

SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1947

General Motors Fires 14 In Reprisal For Rally



Meeting Protests Arrests In India

Editor:

The following resolution was unanimously passed at the May Day meeting of the Socialist Workers Party held at Beethoven Hall, New York

We, 350 New York workers, in mass meeting assembled, do hereby vigorously protest the arrest of Antony Pillai, President of the Madras Labor Union and member of the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress; Colvin R. De Silva; Mutiah; Manickam and other leaders and members of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India in Madras, India and demand their immediate release along with the release of all unionists arrested in connection with the strike of 14,500 workers in the Buckingham and Carnatic Textile Mills.

Be it resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to the Embassy of the Indian Government in Washington, D. C., to Jawaharlal Nehru, head of the Interim Government of India, to the Congress Party Premier of Madras and to the press.

DETROIT, May 3 — Lashing out in savage reprisal against the shutdown of its plants for the Cadillac Square demonstration on April 24, General Motors Corporation fired 14 top officers of Fleetwood Local 15, Cadillac Local 22, and Transmission Local 2.

These corporation reprisals were no surprise to the union. Prior to the demonstration, the management of all GM plants called in the bargaining committees and warned that disciplinary measures would follow if the plants were shut down at 2 o'clock. The UAW International Executive Board instructed the local union GM officers to go ahead with the shutdown and said that they would take full responsibility. Nevertheless, when the firings and "layoffs" came through, these top officers began ducking.

It has now come out that Reuther and his supporters on the Executive Board were opposed to the 2 o'clock shutdown; that it was mainly the Thomas-Addes Executive Board members who voted to back the Cadillac Square demonstration and the 2 o'clock shutdown of the plants.

So far Reuther and his supporters have pursued a hands-off policy on these firings, nonchalantly advising the discharged officers and members to take it through the formal procedure. This means depending on the mercies of the umpire.

Ades wants to take factual advantage of his rivals points to this do-nothing policy of Reuther. But he himself is proposing no different action than taking the case through the formal grievance procedure.

General Motors Corporation has dared to take this drastic move against the union here in Detroit only because of the cowardly policy of retreat on the part of the whole top leadership, including both the Reuther and Thomas-Addes Executive Board members.

Repeatedly the Corporation has fired workers and given disciplinary layoffs to dozens of others with impunity. Repeatedly union-busting actions have met with no union resistance.

A wave of indignation is sweeping the city because of the criminal neglect of the situation displayed by the top union officers. This was climaxized yesterday when the officers of Briggs Local 212 published copies of a letter they had sent Reuther, denouncing the corporation's provocation and the International Executive Board's failure to act vigorously.

The Briggs letter ended by demanding the immediate calling of a special meeting of all local officers in the Detroit area not later than Monday of next week so that joint direct action can be organized to defeat the plans of the Corporation to seriously weaken the UAW in their plants.

Oakland Labor Organizes To Win In City Election

By R. Chester

OAKLAND, Calif., Apr. 30 — A smashing victory in the April 15 primary elections by the slate of the Oakland Voters League has opened a new phase in the long drawn-out battle between the unions and employers here. For the first time in decades the incumbent administration, under the control of the Warren-Knowland machine, faces defeat in the elections of May 13.

Jubilation has been evident in the shops and union halls since the day the returns came in. Workers and union officials have termed it a "labor victory" since the backbone of the Voters League is the Joint Labor Committee to Combat Anti-Labor Legislation. This committee is supported by the majority of the Oakland labor movement, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods.

Each candidate of the Voters League topped his opponent in the heavy voting, which brought out 40% of the registered voters. In spite of this the Oakland Tribune, owned by Knowland, attributed the machine's setback to "apathy."

The present administration incurred the hatred of workers when it sanctioned police protection for an attempt by professional strikebreakers to smash the Kahns and Hastings department store strike. This incident touched off the general strike of last December. Both the unions and employers see this strike, which still continues, as a show-down test. Because of this there has been unusual solidarity in the ranks of the unions.

The five Voters League candidates are Joseph Smith, Vernon Lantz, Raymond E. Pease, Ben Goldfarb and Scott Weakley. Four of the five are union members. Their six point program includes: "no strikebreaking; honest taxation; cooperation with surrounding towns to break traffic bottlenecks; cooperation with veterans and labor for a housing program; and modernization of the present horse-and-buggy city charter."

Victory for the slate would give them a majority of five on the nine-man city council. The new party, based on the unions and responsible to the working people, must be built up into a permanent organization which can elect labor men to city governments, state legislatures and to Congress. It must become the champion of all labor.

The present administration is conducting a campaign of violent red-baiting. His Tribune carries stories and editorials highlighting the point that the candidates have the support of "left-wingers." They cynically warn the voters to beware of putting themselves under the control of "special interests," namely the labor movement. However, they find it impossible to cover up their record of soaking the poor for the benefit of Big Business.

Meanwhile the unions are throwing themselves into a vigorous campaign to assure the victory of the Voters League slate. Unions are donating full time workers and funds. Precinct workers are being recruited from the ranks. The campaign will end with a huge torchlight parade in which each union will have its float. The parade will wind throughout the city and end in a mass meeting. Under discussion is a proposal from the Alameda CIO Council for a one day work stoppage on election day to protest the national anti-labor drive.

The Bay Area Local of the Socialist Workers Party has endorsed the Voters League slate and is throwing its full support behind its election. At the same time, however, it has raised a number of serious criticisms of the Voters League candidates and their program.

It is necessary, for example, to sharply question the candidates when they speak of "impartiality" in labor-business relations, says the SWP in a statement endorsing the slate: "It is not possible to be 'impartial' in the Kahns and Hastings strike; it is only possible to be for or against the justified demands of the unions. Only by a vigorous

campaign in labor's defense can the candidates solidify the ranks of the workers behind them."

LABOR PARTY NEEDED

The SWP also poses the need for the labor movement to build a permanent political instrument for struggle against the capitalist candidates:

"Full activity of all unions and union members is necessary to assure victory. The Oakland Voters League must be built into the political arm of the Oakland labor movement. It must be built from the bottom up — through the precincts and locals — into an election apparatus which will become the basis of a new political party."

"The new political party must come out in clear opposition to the boss-dominated Republican and Democratic parties. The new party, based on the unions and responsible to the working people, must be built up into a permanent organization which can elect labor men to city governments, state legislatures and to Congress. It must become the champion of all labor."

"Let's finish the job! Elect the candidates of the Oakland Voters League! Build the independent Labor Party!"

RED-BAITING DRIVE

In desperation Knowland is conducting a campaign of violent red-baiting. His Tribune carries stories and editorials highlighting the point that the candidates have the support of "left-wingers." They cynically warn the voters to beware of putting themselves under the control of "special interests," namely the labor movement.

For full and complete economic, social and political equality for the Negro people and all other racial and national minorities. Establishment of a genuine state FEPC, composed of union, Negro and other minority representatives, with full power to outlaw discrimination in all spheres.

A revised Constitution that does not contain such provisions — and the means to enforce them — would be an exhibition of contemptuous disregard for the democratic rights of the Negro people. The SWP fight for such a provision centers around the present disregard and abuse of these rights.

Flagrant discrimination exists in New Jersey. The existing state FEPC law is weak and full of loopholes; no real attempt is made to enforce it. Thousands of Negroes still face job discrimination in the shops; worse yet, are the starvation wages and brutal living conditions imposed on migratory workers in the Jim Crow in New Jersey.

The best-formulated laws and Constitution will not end discrimination so long as the government remains in the hands of the Republican and Democratic agents of Big Business; that is, in the hands of those responsible for Jim Crow. Consequently the fight for Constitutional provisions against discrimination must not be viewed as an end in itself, but as an auxiliary of the broader fight of the united labor and Negro movement to put an end to Jim Crow, and to build an independent Labor Party.

If anyone still has doubts on this question, he has only to go back no further than September, 1946 when the NAACP asked pointed questions of Governor Driscoll and other candidates. Driscoll and all the other Republican and Democratic candidates gave written answers and promises to end Jim Crow in all cities and towns.