

Washington Intervenes In Italian Elections

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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WASHINGTON WHIPS UP WAR HYSTERIA

The War Danger And Labor's Task

An Editorial

War hysteria is again running loose in the land. The American people in the past few days have been stunned by the frightful prospect of another war thrust on the nation by its political and military rulers.

The bi-partisan coalition in Washington is fanning the flames. Truman ominously addresses a special joint session of Congress. Marshall issues dire warnings while cynically telling the country to remain "calm." The State Department gives out inflammatory pronouncements. The generals rave and the bought press rants. The unleashed warmongers are out to stampede the people.

We have just been through one war for "democracy." The earth on the graves of the war dead is still fresh. Hungry, dispossessed war victims wander through Europe and Asia. The burned and blasted lands are without grass. Vast ruins stand as charred monuments to the last imperialist slaughter.

Yes, we have just been through a war for "democracy" — and more dictatorship, more rule by bayonet and club, exists today than in 1939.

In the United States the same trend of dictatorship is at work. There is not more, but less democracy here today than before we entered the Second World War. A Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law shackles the labor movement. An arrogant military caste spreads a creeping dictatorship over every phase of American life, reaching for control in government, industry, science, education and the press. Freedom of thought is terrorized by a witch-hunt directed from the White House itself.

The Danger of Totalitarianism

Does anybody really believe that the projected new war for "democracy" — the war to preserve "democratic free enterprise" and "eradicate Bolshevism" — can bring the American people anything but militarist totalitarianism? Can anyone possibly benefit from the war, even temporarily, except a handful of billionaire profiteers and their political and military agents?

We are sworn enemies of Stalin's bloody regime — its reactionary politics, its anti-working class repressions, its police terror. We Trotskyists number in the thousands our martyred fighters against Stalinist despotism. We have sought to arouse the whole labor movement against this deadly peril. We have fought for decades without compromise to destroy Stalinism. We shall continue that fight without let-up.

This does not gainsay the fact that in the present preparations for a new war, Wall Street imperialism is the initiator and aggressor. It is hurling the threats and challenges. It is establishing military bases on the Russian borders. It is waving the atom bomb. It is openly organizing hostile combinations against Russia. It seeks to bring the Kremlin to heel and make Russia subservient to the power of the dollar.

Greedy for World Empire

Why are the Wall Street billionaires, the Money Kings and monopolists, pushing so frenziedly toward war? First, they are greedy for world empire, for unchallenged rule over the earth and all its resources, for the profits they hope to drain from exploited peoples at home and abroad.

Furthermore, the disintegration of capitalism on a world scale fills them with fear for their very existence. They have poured billions into China, Western Europe, Greece. Still the system continues to fall apart. The very bankruptcy of capitalism goads the Wall Street plutocracy to attempt another war adventure.

If the American people do not halt these ruling class maniacs, they will put the world to the torch. They will wipe out civilization itself and most of humanity as well.

The one organized force able to stop Wall Street's insane drive toward war is the American labor movement. It alone can mobilize and lead the American people against this terrible threat of atomic catastrophe.

An Independent Labor Policy

But labor can lead this fight successfully only by adopting an independent policy and program of struggle against the imperialist war and warmakers. The labor movement must be freed of any and all entangling alliances with the capitalist class — its government, parties and political agents. It must declare war on the capitalist warmakers.

To be sure, the ranks of organized labor must be cleansed of the agents of the Kremlin, who have committed every crime of treachery and disloyalty to the working class. But even more dangerous today to American labor are the so-called "responsible" union leaders, those who are taking their orders from another outside agency — Wall Street's State Department.

The labor movement must break with the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine, with all the imperialist schemes and blue-prints to bolster world anti-labor reaction and prepare the coming war of world conquest.

To pursue its independent course, labor must free itself from the political machinery of the capitalist class by breaking with the two capitalist parties and launching its own independent labor party.

The working class can escape the horrors of World War II and militarist dictatorship only by an all-out struggle — through its own party and program — against the war drive and for a Workers and Farmers Government that will end the rule of Wall Street once and for all.

Miners Fight Sabotage of Welfare Fund; CIO Packing Workers Strike

Coal Strikers Charge Owners "Dishonor Pact"

The nation's 400,000 soft coal miners have again left the pits in what may prove a showdown struggle against the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law as well as the mine owners.

Under cover of the Taft-Hartley Act, the coal operators, in the words of United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis, have "dishonored" and "defaulted" the 1947 contract by blocking all benefit payments from the jointly-administered union health and welfare fund.

In a swiftly-spreading strike that began Mar. 15, the militant miners have declared they are "not willing and not able to work" so long as the coal operators continue to prevent use of the union's welfare fund for retirement pensions of \$100 a month to 60-year-old miners with 20 years or more service in the industry.

The contract was written to avoid anti-strike provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act and covers the miners only "during such time as such persons are able and willing to work."

Mine workers are bitter against the operators' dirty maneuvers to swindle them out of the benefits of the fund won in two national strikes. This fund now amounts to approximately \$30 million dollars and for the whole year is expected to reach 60 million dollars, on the basis of a 10-cent royalty on every ton of coal mined. Not one cent has been paid out to miners in eight months for any of the benefits, medical, hospital, disability, retirement and death, the fund is supposed to provide.

During 1947 alone, there were 64,165 accidents to miners, with 1,165 fatalities. The widows and orphans, the dependent families of sick and injured miners, have been deprived of just compensation and aid. Old-timers with decades of toilsome, dangerous labor in the mines are being laid off without recourse to any means of subsistence but public charity.

TIED OF WAITING

That is why the miners have acted so promptly in response to Lewis' denunciation of the operators' willful sabotage of the welfare fund's administration. No formal strike call was issued or needed. Lewis announced on Mar. 22 in a letter to the UMW locals that all money

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U. S. Intervention in Greek War



Surrounded by Greek officers, Major Sam Clark of Alva, Okla., (seated), follows the course of a government battle to drive the guerrilla forces from the area. He is the U. S. liaison officer with the 75th Greek Army brigade. Federated Pictures

Steady Progress Made In Dobbs-Carlson Drive

DETROIT, Mar. 15 — The Socialist Workers Party election campaign in Michigan got off to a flying start last Saturday with a mobilization that netted 1,500 signatures. The Michigan comrades are confident that an all-out effort will assure the necessary petitions by May 2 to qualify the SWP candidates for a place on the ballot.

Farrell Dobbs of New York and Grace Carlson of Minneapolis are the nominees of the SWP National Committee for President and Vice-President respectively. In addition, state and local candidates will be nominated at a state convention of

the Michigan SWP scheduled to be held in the near future.

MICHIGAN HIGH

Over 1,000 signatures were netted in Detroit on the first day of the campaign. The remainder were obtained in Saginaw, another important auto center. Main objectives of the drive in the coming week will be Flint and Bay City.

The canvassers in Saginaw reported that while the anti-radical drive has had some adverse effects, large numbers of workers are fed up with the two-party system and willing to help minority parties get a place on the ballot. Good results were obtained at the Unemployment Compensation office, where a steady stream of unemployed are going in and out.

Considerable interest in the program and activities of the SWP was expressed. It is felt that excellent prospects exist for the building of an SWP branch in this city in the course of the election campaign.

Active unionists are cooperating in the petition campaign. Readers of *The Militant* are also urged to lend a hand in this important undertaking. Petitions and additional information may be obtained from the SWP branches at 6108 Linwood Ave., Detroit, and 215 E. Ninth St., Flint.



JOHN L. LEWIS

New Trial Demanded for Doomed Widow and Sons

MARCH 17 — The fight to save Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons from the electric chair will be taken into court on March 20, when their attorneys will appear before Judge W. M. Harper in Americus, Georgia, to ask for a new trial.

Mrs. Ingram and the two boys were sentenced to death after a one-day "trial" by an all-white jury. In defending their mother against a vicious attack by a white neighbor near Ellaville, Ga., one of the boys had struck the white man a blow from which he died.

Lawyers for Mrs. Ingram, a sharecropper and the mother of 12 children, had no opportunity to properly prepare their defense. The "trial" ending in the conviction of the Ingrams was presided over by the same Judge Harper who is scheduled to hear their appeal this week.

Nation-wide indignation against this frame-up was reflected in a statement made by Harper last week. He complained bitterly about the attack made "up North" against this example of Southern justice:

"I refuse to be influenced by outside interference. I am being deluged with telegrams from many people outside this state. This definitely is an attack on the courts."

He also denounced the nation-wide protests as "anarchy."

What it really represents, of course, is the understanding that the Ingrams will be murdered unless enemies of the Jim Crow system throughout the country come to their defense. If Harper grants a new trial, despite his hostility to the Ingrams, it will be above all on account of these protests.

There were other signs last week that the fight to save the Ingrams is reaching mass proportions. The sheriff of the Albany, Ga., jail where the condemned three are being detained asked to have them transferred to another jail because the "vast number of telephone calls" from "Northern newspapers and magazines" was interfering with the performance of his duties. (Pittsburgh Courier, Mar. 13.)

The same paper reported that Mrs. Ingram, stricken with grief by the imprisonment of the two boys and worry over the care of her other ten children, had suffered a heart attack last week.

In addition to protests, which should be directed to Gov. M. E. Thompson of Georgia and Judge W. H. Harper of Americus, Ga., money is needed to prepare the legal defense of the Ingrams and to care for the other ten children. Funds should be sent to the NAACP, whose lawyers are handling the case, at 20 West 40 St., New York 18, N. Y.

The "Big Four" Meat Profiteers Reject Arbitration

Some 100,000 CIO packing-house workers flung picket lines on March 17 around 140 plants of the "Big Four" meat trust and the large independent packers in a nation-wide battle for wage increases.

The strike was forced on the union by the refusal of the "Big Four"—Armour, Swift, Wilson and Cudahy—to offer more than an insubstantial 9 cents an hour increase and their rejection of a proposal for arbitration.

Truman, notorious for his strike-breaking actions in the coal, railroad and maritime strikes in 1946, promptly intervened in an attempt to halt the strike. Acting under the Taft-Hartley Law, he set up a "fact-finding" commission of three college professors to report back to him April 1. He could then instruct the Attorney General to seek an injunction to force the strikers back to work for 30 days.

A FARCE

The meat packers had turned the wage negotiations into a farce. They refused to seriously discuss the union demands and gave the union a take-it-or-leave-it offer of 9 cents, retroactive to Jan. 12. The union, a few days before the strike, indicated its willingness to consider reducing its original 29-cent demand to 19 cents.

A government proposal for arbitration was accepted by UPWA President Ralph Helstein, with the stipulation that the companies accept the proposal by March 15, that arbitration cover only the difference between the 9-cent offer and the 29-cent demand and that the 9-cent raise go into effect pending final settlement.

The "Big Four" rejected arbitration. Swift & Co. even withdrew its 9-cent offer. Armour & Co. did not even deign to make a formal reply.

One day before the strike, E. F. Wilson, president of Wilson & Co., reported to a stockholders meeting that 1947 net profits after taxes were the highest on record and nearly double those of 1946, \$15,448,823 as compared to \$8,311,560. The top one-third of packing-house workers now receive only \$1.10 an hour.

PHILADELPHIA, Mar. 15 — The first week of the Pennsylvania SWP election petition campaign ended yesterday with a score of 2,400 signatures collected in Philadelphia alone. Canvassers were also active during the week in Pittsburgh, New Castle, Lehigh County, Berks County and Bucks County but reports on their results have not yet been received here at state campaign headquarters.

The encouraging response in this city was made possible by the devotion of the canvassers, who had to contend with extremely unfavorable weather. Best results were obtained in front of movie houses and on busy street corners, but considerable house-to-house work was done as well.

The red-baiting drive does not appear to have hampered signature collection in these working class neighborhoods. Many people have volunteered to help in collecting petitions, and have shown interest in the SWP.

The petition drive will end on April 6. The SWP will appear on the ballot in this state as the Militant Workers Party. For further information, contact the SWP at 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia.

NEWARK, Mar. 17 — The Socialist Workers Party nominations for national and local office are virtually assured of a place on the New Jersey ballot in the November elections.

According to the state law, the final date for the filing of objections to petitions was March 13. No objection to the SWP petitions were entered.

Truman and Militarists Drive to Impose UMT And Peacetime Draft

By Art Preis

Washington is deliberately whipping up a war hysteria.

The events in Czechoslovakia have provided Truman, the State Department and the Big Brass with the pretext for a warmongering drive unparalleled in the peacetime history of the country.

Every major capitalist newspaper and all the radio stations have been screaming war incitements. Each new headline in the past three weeks has blazoned further provocative statements by the top government officials and militarists.

This campaign was climaxed on March 17 by Truman's speech to a special joint session of Congress—a speech that left no doubt that the Administration is definitely committed to war.

How soon the nation will be plunged into another imperialist blood-bath no one, of course, can say. But there can be no doubt whatsoever that American imperialism intends to go to war, that war is the end-object of its international strategy.

Wall Street's course, as Truman made plain in his address to Congress, is toward the speediest preparation of public opinion and the military machine for a world conflict of atomic annihilation.

TRUMAN'S DEMANDS

Truman attacked Russia in the most savage terms, accusing it of sole responsibility for endangering the peace. He called for universal compulsory military training, establishment of peacetime conscription and huge expansion of the armed forces. He demanded immediate passage of the so-called European Recovery Program as the direct implementation of the West European military alliance against Russia.

"Measures for economic rehabilitation alone are not enough," he said, hailing the Five-Power Military Pact signed that very day and pledging "full support" by the United States.

He bemoaned the "tragic death" of Czechoslovakia, which Roosevelt and Churchill themselves, at Yalta, had tossed into Stalin's "sphere of influence." The U. S. Army, on orders from the State Department, halted 50 miles from Prague in 1945 to permit occupation by the Russian army.

Truman's demonstrative action in calling the joint session followed a series of statements and actions by State Department and military officials designed to arouse public war fever and stampede Congress into



JAMES FORRESTAL

speedy passage of the demanded war measures.

Secretary of State Marshall issued an alarmist press statement terming the international situation "very, very serious." Secretary of National Defense Forrestal hastily called a secret conference of the General Staffs of all the armed services in Key West, Florida. "It's no secret," said the Scripps-Howard newspaper chair on March 13, "that Mr. Forrestal and joint chiefs of staff are worried sick at imminent threat of war" and are "thinking in terms of immediate mobilization."

USE ARMED FORCES

Former Secretary of State Byrnes, author of the get-tough-with-Russia policy, demanded that the United States "act" if the Communist Party wins the April 18 election in Italy and use U. S. armed forces to preserve the "status quo."

The whole sequence of events establishes pretty definitely that Truman and the militarists now in control of U. S. foreign policy are deliberately pushing toward war.

Prior to his Czechoslovakia coup, it has now leaked out, Stalin made a direct bid to Washington for another deal. Stalin's offer to meet with Truman was made "late in January" and was "turned down," the Mar. 5 U. S. News disclosed. Business Week of Mar. 8 revealed that "official Washington"—and that means the State Department and the military—has brushed

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Auto Union Local Elections Reveal Pro-Reuther Trend

On the basis of first returns in CIO United Auto Workers local union elections in progress for the past few weeks, it appears that the tide is still running in favor of the reactionary Reuther-ACTU machine that captured control of the international at the November 1947 convention.

The results in only a few of the important contests have been reported at this writing. They show no overwhelming sweep, but do indicate a continuation of the Reutherite trend. However, in most instances, the voting was close and the progressive opposition showed impressive strength.

At Detroit Steel Products Local 331, Paul Silvers, former outstanding leader of the local, was defeated by a narrow margin of 46 votes for president by incumbent Walter Hutz. Hutz, formerly Silver's right-hand man, took over the presidency after Silvers became assistant to former UAW President R. J. Thomas. Recently Hutz jumped on the Reutherite bandwagon.

In the Detroit Briggs Local 212 elections, a Reutherite slate headed by incumbent recording-secretary Ken Morris, who ran for president, defeated the anti-Reuther forces for all top posts. The defeat of President Tony Czerwinski, one of the most militant local union of-

ficers in the UAW, who deserved re-election on his record, is a blow to the local.

SLANDER CAMPAIGN

Czerwinski could not overcome the effects of a terrific red-baiting and slander campaign backed by the full weight of the national administration, including Emil Mazey, UAW Secretary-Treasurer and former Local 212 president. The militants, however, remain a real force, as indicated by Czerwinski's 4,000 votes to Morris's 4,911.

At Detroit East Side Tool and Die Local 155, the Stalinists reaped the final harvest of long years of misrule and bureaucratic abuses. John Anderson, president for 11 years, was defeated by Reutherite Russell Leach. Only one on the Stalinist slate, John Novak, managed to squeeze onto the local executive board. The Stalinist debacle began a year ago when half their machine was ousted from office.

Reutherite administration forces at both Dodge Local 3 and Chrysler Local 7 were returned to office. A Reutherite slate managed a narrow victory in the Detroit West Side Tool and Die Local 157, where Blaine Marrin defeated Dale Harris, incumbent anti-Reuther president, by a vote of 1,700 to 1,504. Packard Local 190 returned the anti-Reuther administration to office.

A heartening victory was scored by the progressives in De Soto Local 227, Detroit. Former UAW Vice President Richard T. Leonard, who was ousted from his international post at the last convention, was elected Local 227 president. This is a tribute to the fact that Leonard was the only one of the three leaders of the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus who went back into the ranks and took a job in a plant after the defeat of the last UAW convention.

Another significant victory for the militants was scored at Bell Aircraft Local 501, Buffalo. In the face of a hostile international administration, the slate of the incumbent militants won every post but one committee-man. Their consistent record of fighting for membership and their progressive program overcame the pressure and red-baiting of the Reutherites.

The continuation of the Reutherite trend is due largely to the fact that nothing decisive has occurred since the red-baiters victory at the November convention to change Reuther's strength and expose his policies. The wage fight is still in an undeveloped stage. Reuther is still able to coast on the wave of war reaction and anti-communism and is getting a big hand from the boss press.

Lobbyists Attempt To Loot Nation's Oil Reserves

Campaign On to Remove Valuable Tidelands From Federal Domain in Name of States' Rights

A terrific drive, spearheaded by 20 U. S. Senators and backed by one of the most powerful lobbies ever operated in Washington, is trying to engineer a grab of the government-owned coastal tidelands, containing the largest oil reserves in the world.

The land shelves extending under water to the three-mile limit around the California, Texas and Louisiana coastlines, have an estimated 100 billion barrels of accessible petroleum. This is five times more than all proved reserves in the continental United States.

Last year, in a case involving claims of the state of California, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that these oil-rich tidelands belong to the federal government and not the various states. This decision invalidated existing leases given out by the state governments.

The federal court's decision was an upset for the oil corporations. Through their control over state governments they had been able to finagle oil exploitation rights worth fabulous sums. In California alone, the oil moguls had grabbed off tideland oil reserves worth more than three billion dollars.

The state political machines which turned over these rich oilfields to private interests were greased with royalties from the sale of each barrel of oil extracted.

Johnson, who is on both the Nebraska and the NAAG payrolls, has opened a big suite of offices in Washington. He has been spending full time lining up the big parade of Governors, state officials, federal politicians and oil company "experts" who have been urging passage of the Moore bill before hearings of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee.

The chairman of the Senate hearings, by some strange coincidence, is none other than Senator Moore himself.

SWINGING INTO ACTION

Under the old war-cries of "violation of states' rights" and "threats to free enterprise," a large bloc of state governments and the multi-billion dollar oil lobby have swung into action to get Congress to restore the tidelands to state ownership.

While the Supreme Court decision does not exclude federal leasing of the tidelands to oil companies, the latter find it easier and more profitable to deal with the state governments which can be bought for a cheaper price and are manipulated more easily.

Senator E. H. Moore, an Oklahoma oil producer and spokesman for the private oil interests, has authored a bill to "confirm and establish" the titles claimed by the states to the submerged coastal lands. A bloc of 20 Senators introduced this bill in the Senate.

The Truman Administration is attempting to appease the oil corporations and quiet their fears by pushing another bill which, while retaining federal title to the tidelands, would continue the private-profit exploitation of their oil re-

serves. The bill would simply have the federal government take over state leases and would even give the states a 37½% cut of government royalties.

But this doesn't satisfy the oil companies. The bill also provides for a three-man commission with power to investigate existing leases for any illegal or "inequitable" provisions. Since the terms of these leases were drafted largely by oil corporation lawyers, in connivance with corrupt state politicians, any honest investigation of them would undoubtedly uncover "irregularities" and might lead to possible revision or termination of the leases.

A little publicized but very potent lobby is pushing the Moore bill. It includes not only the highly-paid agents and mouthpieces of the oil companies but the National Association of Attorneys General. This group, functioning since 1907 as a claimed clearing house for federal and state bills, is actually a lobby for special interests in the states.

The NAAG's campaign for the Moore bill is being run by Walter R. Johnson, Attorney General of Nebraska, an agent of the mining interests who likewise want all government-owned lands, both in inland and coastal waters, turned over to the states.

SATURATED WITH OIL

The Truman Administration itself is saturated with oil politics. Truman's latest move on behalf of the oil and natural gas interests has been his nomination of Burton N. Behling as a member of the Federal Power Commission.

Behling's confirmation would assure an FPC majority connected with the oil and power trusts. His nomination was pushed by Edward Paulley, Truman's intimate, and California oil mogul involved in several government scandals; former Oklahoma Governor Robert S. Kerr, of Kerr-McGee Oil Industries, Inc.; and former Michigan Senator Prentiss M. Brown, head of the Detroit Light and Power Company.

Although the period of the 20's is often considered a golden age of capitalist prosperity, in reality strong class currents were flowing. The war boom had increased the exploitation of American economy and further reduced the role of the small businessman. The witchhunt and open-shop drive had stopped labor organization and was threatening those unions which survived. Farm prices were low, and dissatisfied farmers were stirring once more as they had in Populist days.

The ferment among farmers, and here and there among workers, was shown by the springing up of a whole rash of local and state wide farmer, farmer-labor and labor groups.

Senator Robert M. LaFollette stepped in and took the leadership of this insurgent movement. LaFollette was a Republican politician of national stature. After serving as Governor of Wisconsin he spent 25

years in Congress, where he achieved prominence as a liberal leader, because of his vigorous fight for the regulation of monopoly, government reform, and the passage of the LaFollette Seamen's Act and other labor bills.

LaFollette was in actuality the spokesman for the small businessman, the country banker, the farmer and the small manufacturer. Thus, he wanted to force the monopolies to "play the game fairly," according to the rules of competition, and to stop forcing the small capitalists out of the game.

REFORM MEASURES

He built a powerful machine in Wisconsin. His state reform measures were widely advertised as the "Wisconsin Plan." LaFollette, himself, explained the Wisconsin Plan as follows: "The Wisconsin Plan is not to parasitize but to foster legitimate business. . . . Wisconsin has outlawed the Cautin Kidds of business; but she has laid the hands of encouragement and protection upon the honest investor."

This is the classic position of American middle class reformers of capitalism down to and including Henry Wallace.

LaFollette's new party was launched in 1924 by amalgamating all the local farmer and labor move-

Labor Advisory Body at White House



After hearing President Truman express confidence in their ability to settle labor-management problems, his 12-man labor advisory committee leaves the White House. Left to right (front): Pres. James Black of Pacific Gas and Electric, AFL President William Green, Federal Mediation Director Cyrus Ching, CIO President Philip Murray, CIO Vice President Allen S. Haywood. In the rear (l. to r.) are President Lewis Lapham of Hawaiian Steamship Co., President Charles E. Wilson of General Electric, Federal Conciliator Howard Colvin, AFL Organization Director John J. Murphy, President Harvey Brown of International Association of Machinists (unaffiliated), President George Humphrey of M. A. Hanna Co., and John Stephens of U. S. Steel Corp.

Akron Witch Hunt Bars Negro Poet from Hall

AKRON, March 14—Free-

dom of speech took a beating in Akron last week when red-baiting and Jim Crow elements prevented Langston Hughes, noted Negro poet, from lecturing here. Hughes was scheduled to read from his poetry at the YWCA under the auspices of the Akron Council on Race Relations, a local anti-discrimination body made up of labor, Negro, and ministerial figures. The poet had also been invited to address a student assembly at South High School.

On March 7, three days before Hughes' arrival, the most vicious anti-labor preachers were denouncing Hughes from the pulpit, working up a frenzy of race hate and red hysteria among their followers. The Akron Beacon Journal provided space to Clair Trunkin, local attorney and Kiwanis "expert" on communism, to air his "expose" of Hughes' alleged "communistic activities."

These developments produced the following results: School Superintendent Otis Hutton barred Hughes from speaking to the South High School students, and later denied him the use of any school auditorium.

The YWCA auditorium was closed to Hughes on the grounds that unnamed persons had threatened to picket the Hughes lecture and that consequently there was danger of property damage to the YWCA building.

The Race Relations Council, sponsors of the Hughes lecture, applied

to the Mount Olive Baptist Church for permission to use its premises. It is reported that threats of violence from unknown persons were directed at the officers of this Negro church which resulted in their refusal of the church facilities for the meeting.

Meanwhile a large Akron department store which had prominently displayed a volume of Langston Hughes' poetry on the shelves of its book department, removed all copies of the book from its stock and sent them back to the publisher.

When it became known late Wednesday, the day scheduled for Hughes' appearance, that no public auditorium or church was available for the poet's lecture due to the organized campaign of intimidation, President George R. Bass of Goodrich Local 5, of the CIO rubber workers, stepped into the fight. He offered the use of the Local 5 hall for the following night. Bass dramatically demonstrated by his action how the labor movement should respond to reactionary attacks.

REVERSE POSITION

However, hysteria in Akron had been whipped up to such a high pitch during the week that a reactionary preacher like Dallas Billington of the Akron Baptist Temple could reach deep into the vitals of the Akron labor movement and overthrow the courageous position taken by George Bass and other militant leaders. The Executive Board of Local 5 was polled Wednesday night and reversed Bass' offer by a close vote.

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Murray Forces Capture Cleveland CIO Council

CLEVELAND, March 13—

Highlighted by an ultimatum from the chairman that the body dare not reject and must vote "yes on CIO policy," the Murray-Reuther-ACTU bloc in a packed tumultuous meeting of the Cleveland CIO Industrial Union Council on March 10, succeeded in giving the Stalinist faction its first major defeat in ten years. Over 400 delegates were present, the largest CIUC meeting in years.

The debate, lasting for more than two hours and marked by booing and name calling from both sides, was over a motion calling for full support of the Marshall Plan and opposition to the third party. This motion brought the pro-Marshall Plan forces and the Stalinist forces into head-on collision, with the Murrayites using the totalitarian methods they were supposedly fighting.

The pro-Marshall Plan wing made full use of anti-Soviet, anti-communist jingoism coupled with red-baiting, and called for unquestioning support of Murray's policy. Chairman James C. Quinn, Murray's administrator of the CIUC, in answer to a question from the floor as to whether the council could or could not reject the CIO National Executive Board policy, stated that the council could not reject the Board's policy. A further question as to what was the use of voting if we could only vote "yes" was answered by a banging of the gavel and a statement by Quinn that "you have to vote yes on CIO policy."

The Stalinists, discredited by their past record, could not mobilize enough support to oppose the crude steam-roller methods of the Murray-Reuther bloc. No one at any time during the debate called for a Labor Party.

STALINIST WHIP

Speaking against the motion and calling for support of Wallace, Leo Fenster, Stalinist whip of United Auto Workers Local 45, stated that he "never did believe in taking the

loss of two evils." He further stated that "some people may say now is not the time for a third party" and that "they will be saying that in 1960." These remarks won no support as many delegates remembered that Fenster in the past, in opposing resolutions for a Labor Party, fought them by stating "we must take the lesser of two evils" and that "now is not the time for a new party."

The defeat of the Stalinist places A. E. Stevenson, executive secretary of the council, in a vulnerable position. Stevenson, a leader of the Stalinist faction, abstained from voting on the issue in the CIUC executive board. He tried again to refrain from taking a position on the floor of the council by stating that the CIO convention had not gone on record to support the Marshall Plan as such, but did go on record to aid recovery of Europe.

He further stated that it didn't matter who was President and that the main issue confronting labor was how to change the complexion of Congress. This despicable squirming and wiggling in an effort to hold on to his strategic post did not go over well with the delegates and was not left unchallenged by the Murrayites.

William Lavelle, secretary of the

Ohio CIO, in answering Stevenson, quoted from the resolution adopted by the CIO National Executive Board: "We of the CIO are for full implementation of the Marshall Plan aid to Europe." Lavelle further stated that he always thought that in order to have a third party it should be composed of labor, farmers and progressive citizens. He added that the Wallace Party had none of these things and that now wasn't the time for a third party anyway.

NO REAL PROGRAM

It is expected that the pro-Marshall Plan wing will follow up their victory by attempting to remove Stevenson in the coming CIUC elections which are as yet unscheduled.

At no time, in the long drawn-out faction fight between the Murrayites and Stalinists, did either side take up the problems facing the CIO membership. Neither side has offered a program to combat inflation. Neither side has offered a program against the injunctions which are being effectively used against striking workers in Cleveland. Both factions are ignoring the needs of the workers whom they are supposed to represent.

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Monday, March 22, 1948



TROTSKY

"The state-ization of economic life, against which capitalist liberalism used to protest so much, has become an accomplished fact. There is no turning back from this fact—it is impossible to return not only to free competition but even to the domination of the trusts, syndicates and other economic octopuses. Today the one and only issue is: Who shall henceforth be the bearer of state-ized production—the imperialist state or the state of the victorious proletariat?"

—Leon Trotsky, 1919 Manifesto of the Communist International



LENIN

The CIO Faction Fight

It is obvious that Philip Murray and his associates in the leadership of the CIO have decided to press their campaign to smash the influence of the Stalinists, even at the peril of a split in the CIO itself.

The latest and most provocative incident in this campaign is the letter sent to all state and city CIO councils on March 8 by Murray's lieutenant, John Brophy. It laid down the line that the CIO's official policy "is one of express opposition to any third party in 1948 and one of positive support for the Marshall Plan" — although the members of the CIO have never had the opportunity to express their opinions one way or the other on either of these issues.

But Brophy's letter did more than set down the line — it also attempted to dictate to elected CIO bodies what they shall do and what they shall not do: "Rejecting, tabling, or ignoring communications and statements from or by CIO officers, CIO-PAC, or the CIO Executive Board on these matters, or the adoption of compromise or conflicting positions constitutes a rejection of the CIO communications and statements and is action in conflict with CIO policy."

In other words, no matter what the elected members of CIO think and no matter what the workers who elected them think, they are ordered to OK the policies set forth by a small body of men in the national CIO office. If they don't, they are faced with the threat of receivership depriving them of the right to conduct their own affairs. The mossbacks in the AFL Council are old hands at bureaucratic interference with the rights of the membership, but one would have to search for a long time among even their edicts to find an example of bureaucratic

procedure as highhanded as the one being put into effect in the CIO today.

The result is that splits have already taken place in the Los Angeles and Newark Councils, and a similar situation faces the councils in New York City and elsewhere. On a national scale the CIO-PAC has in effect been split by the resignation of the officials of the United Electrical Workers.

The Stalinists are of course raising a big howl about democratic rights, but they are responsible for Murray's having far-reaching dictatorial powers under the CIO constitution. The Stalinists all supported at the 1946 CIO convention the motion to amend the rules concerning the local councils and giving Murray greatly increased powers to interfere with their activities.

Today the CIO is torn by the fight between two rotten factions — one led by Murray and the so-called responsible labor officials — one led by and guided by the arch-reactionary policies of the State Department, the other led by the Stalinists and guided by the arch-reactionary policies of the Kremlin. Neither has a program to meet the burning needs of the day. Neither has taken a step to let the members of the CIO decide the disputed questions.

Of course, all true militants will oppose the bureaucratic pretensions and encroachments of Murray and his stooges. But what is needed above all in the CIO today is a real left wing to consolidate the rank and file around a militant program that will lead them out of the swamp of confusion and subservience to capitalism. Such a left wing will only emerge and grow strong in struggle against the program and methods of both the Murray and the Stalinist bureaucracies.

Witch Hunt in Detroit and Akron

The witch hunt, which has been systematically organized by the Wall Street warmongers and their government in Washington, scored two sinister successes in Detroit and Akron last week.

In the auto center three workers in the Briggs plant were driven out of the plant and their jobs by a self-constituted goon squad, which accused them of being "communists." In the rubber city, Langston Hughes, the well-known Negro poet, was denied a hall for a lecture and a reading of his poetry, on the grounds that he was a "red." Intimidated by a frenzied campaign in the press and from the pulpit, all other hall owners in the city also barred Hughes.

In both cases the local labor movement failed to take a stand against the anti-red hysteria and to alert the ranks against the terrible threat implied in it to the very existence of the unions themselves.

The officers of the Briggs local refused to take steps against the vigilante ousters, and thereby in effect sanctioned their undemocratic, anti-union action. And while in Akron, George Bass, president of Goodrich Local 5 of the United Rubber Workers, offered the union hall for the Hughes lecture, he was over-ruled by the local's executive board.

"Taft-Hartley Unionism"

As we have frequently reported in our columns, the Murray leadership in the CIO is now aggressively pushing to isolate the Stalinists and drive them out of positions of leadership.

In addition to the broad fight led by Murray, on the basis of the big national "principles"—against a third party, for the Marshall Plan—the Social Democratic grouping in the Murray faction has undertaken a murderous flank attack organizationally against the Stalinist unions.

Thus the recent shipbuilders convention accepted into membership a group of several thousand workers who had seceded from the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. Now, under Reuther's inspiration, the auto union has organized a big raiding campaign against the main Stalinist-led CIO unions: the Electrical; Farm Equipment; Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. For instance in Cleve-

land, the UAW is trying to snatch the Harris-Seybold-Potter local from the UE. In Illinois, it is trying to squeeze out the FE from the Caterpillar Tractor Plant. In New York City, it is taking in dissident members from the UE, etc.

The right wing leaders seek to utilize in this connection the Taft-Hartley Law (which the Stalinist leaders have refused to sign) for factional advantage. They can call for NLRB elections at the plants and since the Stalinist-led unions cannot appear on the ballot, they face almost certain defeat.

This raiding campaign undoubtedly strikes many of the CIO bureaucrats as devilishly clever. But in reality it helps bring chaos into the labor movement, disgusts workers with unionism because of the jurisdictional squabbles, furthers the insidious red-baiting campaign, builds up and legitimizes the Taft-Hartley Slave Law—and seriously undermines the whole union movement.

Washington Intervenes in Italy To Swing Election for deGasperi

Another Hat in the Ring



Chairman J. Howard McGrath of the Democratic National Committee and Executive Director Gael Sullivan of the White House after telling newsmen that President Truman will be a candidate for the presidency.

The strong possibility that the Stalinists and their Socialist Party allies will emerge as the biggest single party group in the coming Italian elections has deeply alarmed Wall Street. Washington fears that a big Stalinist victory might make it impossible to keep Togliatti, Nenni and their friends out of the cabinet any longer.

This would signify a serious setback for Wall Street's Marshall Planners, who by means of great pressure and lavish use of money, forced the Stalinists out of the cabinet a year ago and converted the present de Gasperi government into a reliable puppet of Washington. It would constitute a victory for Russia in the "cold war."

American imperialism is not letting the democratic process simply unfold in the coming Italian elections. Washington and its allies are utilizing every possible bit of pressure to intimidate and pressure the Italian voters to back capitalism. The barrage is now reaching proportions of a major artillery duel.

First, there is the Pope and his ward machine of priests in 37,000 parishes who are out in the front rank pitching for Wall Street. "The Vatican," says the N. Y. Times correspondent, Cortesi, is "throwing the full weight of its authority on the anti-communist side . . . the Pope himself . . . laid down the main lines that . . . sermons should follow."

This is the most open and brazen political intervention in the modern history of the Catholic Church. "Bishops have gone even further and instructed the clergy to deny absolution to professed Communists." In a country overwhelmingly Catholic, that should have served to turn the tide. But it has not had the effect desired by the Holy See.

Next, the Wall Street gang is not only working up a red hysteria inside the U. S. over the Italian elections but is using every trick in the bag to cajole and threaten the Italian masses into supporting Washington's stooges in the elections—de Gasperi and his Christian Democrats.

A spokesman for the State Department announced that in case of a Stalinist victory "there would be no further question of assistance from the United States." This statement rips the mask off the Marshall Plan propaganda about "relief to hungry women and children and rebuilding war-ravaged Europe." It is also the most brutal warning to date to the European peoples that they can starve if they vote against the dictates of Wall Street.

Another form of pressure was tried last week when the Justice Department declared that "Italians who join the Communist Party never will be permitted to immigrate to the United States." In a country which traditionally suffers from "over-population," which has contributed millions of immigrants to the U. S. in the past, and where numerous Italian families have relatives in this country, such a threat constitutes a real form of underhanded pressure. Still, no one believes that the Justice Department's "exclusion" order can turn the tide any more than the Vatican's "excommunication" bull.

The capitalist press correspondents themselves explain why. "Many Italian workers have no love for the

Communist (Stalinists), but . . . distrust all other parties which they regard as capitalists," says the Mar. 14 N. Y. Times. The "Socialist" Party of Saragat, which is in the de Gasperi government, has lost out badly because of its collaboration with the capitalists, the writer points out. The Italian workers are sick and tired of capitalism and want a new socialist order.

The peasants want land, and the Stalinists have been lavish with promises to break up the big estates, some of which are held by high church dignitaries and the Vatican itself.

Finally the article states: "The Communists have somehow succeeded in convincing the working classes that 'Wall Street' is determined to make war on Russia at all costs."

The Italians, like the European masses, have just gone through the hell of a world war and don't want to act as cannon fodder for Washington in a new war.

The fact that the Stalinists are expected to make a strong showing in the coming Italian elections shows how bankrupt European capitalism is and how ineffective have been Wall Street's efforts to prop it up.

Washington has gone to great lengths to build a "strong regime" of capitalism in Italy. It has made numerous concessions to this "defeated" country. It has sent ships, loans and gifts to Italy. It has promised further help through the Marshall Plan. And along with the carrot it has brandished the club. A great naval armada has been concentrated around Italy's coastal waters, numerous naval "games" have been held in the Mediterranean and American naval planes have repeatedly flown over Milan, Turin and other major industrial cities of Italy.

But Italy's economic crisis has worsened and the lot of its working people has deteriorated. The expected big support to the parties the Italian masses consider as anti-capitalist is testimony to their determination to destroy the system that has brought them starvation, insecurity and war.

In the case of Italy, the American imperialists cannot claim that the people are being coerced to support the Stalinists. As a matter of

fact, all of the threats are emanating from the side of the U. S. imperialists and their Italian agents. If the Stalinists register an electoral victory, it will be in complete accordance with the rules of capitalist democracy.

Actually, it is the fatal bankruptcy of Italian capitalism and the arch-reactionary program of American imperialism that permits the Stalinists to still maintain their hold over the Italian working masses, and betray their revolutionary aspirations time and again. It is to be hoped that the new ferment in the Italian masses, and the new political regroupings taking place among the most advanced revolutionary elements, will serve to break the Italian masses from the grip of the two reactionary principles of the "cold war"—U. S. imperialism and the Kremlin—and propel the Italian masses towards an independent struggle for the socialist revolution.

Packers Reap Huge Profits; Workers Go Without Meat

Armour, Swift, Wilson and Cudahy — the "Big Four" of the meat packing trust that controls meat supply—made a grand total of 88 million dollars profits in 1947, or nearly double their 1946 take.

In the 15-month period after Truman decontrolled meat prices in Sept. 1946, packers' prices rose 100%. At the same time, labor costs rose only 27% and this could account for only an 11% increase in packers' total costs.

The terrific rates of profit being squeezed out of the packinghouse workers can be judged by the figures for Armour & Co. in the "lean" year of 1946. Its profits before taxes equalled 30% of its net worth.

During the war, the meat packers ran their profits up to almost 400 percent above their peacetime take-off. Since the end of the war, meat has topped the list of food price rises. The average packinghouse worker can afford meat only two or three times a week.

The 5-Power Military Pact —A Preparation for War

By Arthur Burch

Even before the Marshall Plan has been enacted into law, American imperialism has pushed through its plan for a military entente of Western Europe. With its blessing and at its insistence, England, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg formed a West-European alliance directed against the Soviet Union.

That was the outcome of the recent meeting of the five powers at Brussels who expect to formally underwrite their agreement in the next few days. A common war strategy including the standardization of training and equipment has been formulated. The door is also left open for inclusion of Germany and other powers in Europe for the constitution of an all-embracing military bloc under Washington's domination.

CRACKED THE WHIP

This union was broached for the first time on Jan. 22 by British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin. Normally it takes many months and even years for five sovereign nations to come to final terms on an alliance of such vast scope, where the elements of conflict are so numerous and far-reaching.

But these are not normal times, and the European powers have grown increasingly dependent on the American colossus. The ease with which Russia gained complete control over the destinies of Czechoslovakia has alarmed Washington and its European satellites, and now

the uneasy situation in both Italy and France has led the U. S. government to crack the whip over the 16 "Marshall-Plan" nations forcing them to subordinate their differences and join in a Western military bloc.

Simultaneously with the Brussels conference, another meeting of the same five powers was taking place in London for the purpose of integrating Western Germany into the war alliance. This was a far more complicated problem since the objections of France to a rehabilitated Germany had to be surmounted. After the Second World War France had hoped to replace Germany as the workshop of Europe and had refused to integrate her zone in Germany with the American and British zones unless her wishes were granted. But the indications are that France has been forced to capitulate under the pressure of all-powerful American imperialism.

The fact that such an alliance would be contrary to the age-old tradition of neutrality of many of the smaller European countries will not shake the determination of the State Department to achieve it.

NO CHOICE

Although the Ruhr has been internationalized in principle, it is conceded that Germany and not France will remain, and in the past, the core of European industry. The five Western powers will be obliged to co-ordinate their economies within the framework prescribed by Washington. Their choice is indeed limited. For without the aid of the U. S., their economies are doomed to immediate disintegration.

Following the London agreement, General Clay, Washington's German Administrator, issued an order ending the decentralization and decon-

centration of German industry. Thus the big German monopolies will be preserved intact to be taken over by Wall Street, and readied for the war preparations that are now assuming a feverish character.

But American imperialism does not intend to stop here. It has urged France to enter into a customs union with Italy in order to draw her into the Western Pact. Another conference of the 16 Marshall-aid nations opened in Paris on March 15. There, attempts will be made to arrange for the stabilization of currencies and a more inclusive customs union. The extension of the present five-power war alliance to include the remaining European nations outside the Russian sphere will also be broached.

Pursuing the same technique that it employed in connection with the Marshall Plan, Washington is playing coy on the military bloc. It is pretending to "consider supporting" the Brussels alliance. Actually it is investigating and brain-trusted the alliance. That it was formed in opposition to the will of the European masses is made clear by the capitalist apologist Herbert L. Matthews who wrote in the March 7 N. Y. Times that the American people

"are underestimating the real desire, particularly in Britain, France, and Italy, to come to terms with the . . . the decartelization and decon-

Events on the International Scene

By Paul G. Stevens

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN FRANCE

We noted in last week's column that negotiations were under way for the creation of a new party in France. We enumerated five organizations involved in these steps.

The coming social crisis in France, foreshadowed this week by a new wave of strikes in Northern France, is bound to heighten interest in this new movement. It is worthwhile to examine its component parts and their policies.

1. The best known of the five organizations is the Trotskyist Parti Communiste International (PCI), French section of the Fourth International. The party made a name for itself during the war by its heroic fight against the Nazi occupation and for working-class internationalism. Its work in organizing revolutionary cells in Hitler's army aroused admiration in the resistance movement.

After the "liberation" its vote in the election of 1945 and 1946 attracted international attention. Facing the Communist (Stalinist) Party at the height of its power, the PCI polled 60,000 votes in the contest for the National Assembly, while presenting only a list of candidates out of a possible 80. Political commentators estimated on this basis that the Trotskyists had a voting strength of 250,000 in the country.

In April, 1947, members of the PCI were among the leaders of the great strike in the Renault automobile plant, which brought on the government crisis that forced the Stalinists out of the cabinet and precipitated the strike wave of last November-December.

"We declare ourselves prepared," writes LaVerite, weekly paper of the PCI, "to participate in all discussions (with the other organizations involved) aiming at the elaboration of a general platform and a program of action for the coming revolutionary party. We propose that a discussion conference be organized among the various groups."

2. The Jeunesse Socialiste, or Socialist Youth, numbering several thousand revolutionary young men and women, broke away from the Socialist Party of Leon Blum shortly after the Renault strike. Climaxing a long struggle against the reformist leadership, it refused to accept the discipline of Blum and Ramadier, the "socialist" head of the government at that time.

After preliminary discussions with the Trotskyists, the National Committee of the Socialist Youth adopted a resolution last January which declared: "The fundamental programmatic agreement existing between the JS and the PCI makes possible the fusion within a unified revolutionary party of these two organizations."

3. The Action Socialiste Revolutionnaire (ASR), or Revolutionary Action Group, split away from the Socialist Party of Blum at a national conference last December, in the course of the strike wave of that month. They opposed the strike-breaking conduct of the "socialist" ministers, and the splitting of the trade unions, as well as violations of convention decisions. The ASR, which included many industrial workers, made common cause with the Socialist Youth. Both have been collaborating on a joint weekly, the Drapeau Rouge (Red Flag).

The ASR held the same views as

the Socialist Youth regarding unity with the PCI.

4. The Bataille Socialiste (Socialist Battle) group was expelled from Blum's party last month for continuing its long campaign for a united front with the CP in its weekly paper which gives it its name. This group has long been headed by a pro-Stalinist leadership, but its rank and file has been attracted to the ASR and the JS rather than to the bureaucratic CP. Since the expulsion, its leaders have replied cautiously to proposals for unification, but have conducted a violent campaign that smacks of GPU inspiration against Trotskyism. "We refuse," they wrote in a recent issue, "all discussions with the Trotskyists. Our disagreements with them go back to the period of the (Nazi) occupation. At that time, we added the resistance, while they called for fraternization with the Nazi hordes as if it was possible to fraternize with them."

5. Last of the five is the Regroupement Revolutionnaire Democratique, or Revolutionary Democratic Rally, formed last month by a group of socialist deputies, ex-Trotskyists, the existentialist philosopher, Jean Paul Sartre, and intellectuals, most of whom had been connected with the Paris daily France-Trotsky. This paper, since its foundation, during the resistance, has been close to the Stalinists, but recently aroused Stalinist ire by advocating a united front against de Gaulle between the CP and the SP. Its founding manifesto declared: "In view of the rottenness of capitalist democracy, the weaknesses and faults of a certain type of social democracy, and the limitation of communism to its Stalinist form, we believe that a rally of freemen can give new life to the principles of liberty and human dignity by binding them to the struggle for social revolution."

The last two developments have caused a temporary halt in the previous trend toward unification of the PCI, the JS and the ASR. At recent meetings of the leading bodies of these last two organizations, resolutions were adopted calling for the immediate unification of the three groups that have left the SP, leaving aside for the time being the question of the others. Strong minorities, however, favored continuing negotiations with the Trotskyists. The Socialist Youth of the Paris region has voted to form a joint organization with the youth organization of the PCI.

No matter what organizational steps are finally taken, it is evident that the question of program will have to occupy a leading place in the discussions. The attack of the pro-Stalinists on the PCI already poses in sharpest form the burning question whether the new party will stand for working class internationalism or for chauvinism.

NEW YORK

Dance and Jam Session featuring that all-star band, the famous: **ALBERT NICHOLAS QUARTET** with "CHIPPY" HILL singing the blues! Friday, March 26, 9 p. m. CARAYAN HALL, 110 E. 59th St. Admission \$1.20 (including tax). The ASR held the same views as

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 7 to 9 p. m.; Branch meeting Sun. 8 p. m.; Socialist Youth Club meeting Sun. 3 p. m.
BOSTON—30 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p. m. Tues., 7:30-9:30 p. m.
BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3960. Every afternoon except Sun.
CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Phone DEARBORN 4767. Daily except Sun., 11 a.m.-5 p. m. Library, bookstore.
CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m.; Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).
DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-5627. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. FIANT—215 E. Ninth St. Daily 7-9 p. m. Open house, Sat. eve. Forum, Sun. eve.
LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd., 12-5 p. m. Militant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).
NEW BRITAIN—(Conn.)—Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p. m. Militant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).
NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl. Tues. 8:10-10 p. m.
NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone BRIDGE 3-2874. Reading room, week nights, 7-10 p. m.
NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR 5-3149.
EAST SIDE—251 E. Houston St. 1st fl.
HARLEM—103 W. 110 St. Rm. 2d. Phone MO. 2-1866. Open discussion, Thurs., 8 p. m.
BROOKLYN—1034 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LU. 9-0101.
BROOKLYN—635 Fulton St. Phone ST. 3-7433.
CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone OX. 2-9424.
OAKLAND (Cal.)—Write P. O. Box 1351, Oakland 4.
PHILADELPHIA—1503-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-6229. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.
PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave. 2nd fl. Open meetings, 1st & 3rd Sun. 8:00 p. m. Marxist Study Class, Thurs., 7-9 p. m. SAN DIEGO (Cal.)—For information write P. O. Box 857.
SAN FRANCISCO—1789 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI. 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12:45-3 p. m.
SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. South & Washington. Phone MA. 9-2816. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.
ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Phone MU. 7-30-10 p. m.
ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St. Phone GARFIELD 1137. Open daily. Bookstore, Forum, 3rd Sun. of each month, 3:30 p. m.
TACOMA (Wash.)—Write P. O. Box 1979. Meeting, Wed. 8 p. m. Ode Fuller Hall, 6th & Fawcett.
TOLEDO—113 St. Clair St., 2nd fl. Open daily.
YOUNGSTOWN—115 E. Federal St. Rm. 302. Phone 5-1855. Mon. through Sat., 11 a.m.-4:30 p. m.

Moses Levy, M. D.

By Theodore Kovalsky

There had never been such a funeral before in the steel town, and there never has been since. Those with a taste for such things talked about it for years afterward, and the rest of us thought of it too: the little rat hole of an office that was his bedroom as well, the cheap black suit that had come from god knows where, the crowds that sifted slowly and reverently through the room, lined the sidewalk, and flocked to the cemetery...

His name was Moses Levy, and his face was as Jewish as his name, the sort of face you might see on the cover of a fascist pamphlet, the sort of face that typifies all Jews to people who know few of them.

Who was Moses Levy? I don't know. I've never met anybody that did know. That is, we all knew him a little, but he was a mystery to us. One day somebody must have seen him, and then somebody else and somebody else, until finally a lot of us had seen him. And those who saw him first probably forgot about him and went on their way. One day, out of some other place and some other life, he came to us and stayed. That's all. Nobody knew, and nobody cared, until he hung out the faded black and gold sign that read, "Moses Levy, M.D."

At first nobody went to him. Jews weren't very common in our part of town, and he wasn't trusted. He'd probably charge too much and sue you if you didn't pay, people thought. But young Francis O'Leary changed all that. Francis O'Leary, poor devil that he was, was born into a family of nine other O'Learys. His father was a man named Mike O'Leary, a laborer in the open hearth. Little Francis must have had some idea of what awaited him, for he tried very

hard not to come into the world. It was four o'clock in the morning when a terrified Mike O'Leary rushed from his scrambling, moaning wife and pounded a few minutes later on Dr. Levy's door.

The doctor looked at the broken-down furniture, at the frightened, shabby kids in the corner of the shack near the steel plant. He looked at the woman, pale, sleeping quietly at last under his morphine, at grateful Mike, and at poor, raw little Francis. He shook his head and walked out into the cool morning air.

From that time Dr. Levy's practice grew. No one was ever turned away from his untidy little office, and no one was ever asked to pay when he couldn't afford it. There was a magic about Moses Levy, a magic in his mind and hands that time after time robbed god and the devil and the grave. He was a great doctor, we all said, a great man.

But there were ghosts in his eyes and a sadness that never faded even in the night time when he prowled the streets drunk. He never told his secret, even at the bar, even when one or another of us half-carried him to the little rat hole of an office where he slept. Some believed a woman had broken his heart. A few of us, more radical than the others, thought he was disgusted with the mercenary profession of "upper class" doctor and came to us to do the work that was so terribly necessary, work that paid more in gratitude than in money. But nobody knew. And none of us knew why he drank so much.

Then one day came when someone knocked on his door, and for the first time there was no answer. When we forced the door later, we found him dead on the couch.

Nobody came to claim the body, so in a way we all claimed it. We all mourned him and followed him to his grave, and then life went on in the steel town as it had been before he came.

The Negro Struggle

A Very Important Book

By Albert Parker

A very important book was published a few weeks ago—*Caste, Class and Race* by Oliver Cromwell Cox, professor of sociology and economics at Tuskegee Institute (Doubleday and Co.). It is a long book, covering a number of vital and complex problems, and some of the points Dr. Cox tries to make are not acceptable to Marxists. In this column, however, we intend to leave aside such disputed questions and to concentrate on the third and largest section of the book, dealing with the field of race relations.

The price of the book is high (\$7.50) and that, unfortunately, will limit its circulation. But it is well worth it and it fully merits study by every opponent of the Jim Crow system, as we shall try to show here by referring to one chapter: *Race Relations—Its Meaning, Beginning and Progress*.

What is the origin of race prejudice? Dr. Cox's hypothesis is that racial exploitation and race prejudice developed among Europeans with the rise of capitalism and nationalism, and that because of the world-wide ramifications of capitalism, all racial antagonisms can be traced to the policies and attitudes of the leading capitalist people, the white people of Europe and North America. And he does a brilliant job in supporting this hypothesis.

First he goes back to the history of the early empires, touching on the Greek and Roman especially, to show that race prejudice was unknown then, even though colored peoples were among those subjugated. Similarly with such later developments as the Crusades.

In the 15th century the Portuguese, seeking a route to the trade in the Near East, began to invade Africa and enslave the natives. But "there was as yet no belief in any cultural incapacity of these colored peoples. Their conversion to Christianity was sought

with enthusiasm, and this transformation was supposed to make the Africans the human equals of all other Christians." When converted, the Africans could be and were assimilated.

In other words, it was not until about the time America was discovered and capitalism first began to develop that racial antagonism appeared.

"The slave trade was simply a way of recruiting labor for the purpose of exploiting the great natural resources of America. This trade did not develop because Indians and Negroes were red and black, or because their cranial capacity averaged a certain number of cubic centimeters; but simply because they were the best workers to be found for the heavy labor in the mines and plantations across the Atlantic. If white workers were available in sufficient numbers they would have been substituted."

The forerunners of the present capitalist class needed a new ideology or theory to "justify" the degradation produced by the profitable slave trade and slavery, so they invented one—the theory of "white superiority." But that was not until the middle of the 16th century. The argument that race prejudice is "inherent" in mankind is thoroughly disproved by all the facts of history. It was invented and developed during the last 400 years in order to make profits for the ruling class. As Dr. Cox puts it:

"It is probable that without capitalism...the world might never have experienced race prejudice. Indeed, we should expect that under another form of economic organization, say socialism, the relationship between whites and peoples of color would be significantly modified."

The above summary gives only the faintest hint of the riches to be found in this book. We shall return again and again to a discussion of it. Our necessarily brief remarks here are intended only to call the attention of our readers to a work that deserves the widest possible circulation.

Education vs. Armaments

By Grace Carlson

Readin', Ritin' and 'Rithmetic are the much-talked-about and much-sung-about three R's. To hear American politicians talk—especially in election years—one would be led to believe that every American child had an equal opportunity to master not only the three R's but also any other subject in which he was interested. The facts, of course, are quite the opposite.

In their recent study, "Unfinished Business in American Education," Professors John Norton and Eugene Lawler point out that:

1. Three million adults living in the United States have never attended any kind of school.
2. Ten million adult Americans have had so little real schooling that they are actually illiterate.
3. Half of the brightest and most talented youth in the country leave school prematurely—before they have had the kind and amount of schooling which would train them to make full use of their talents.
4. Two million children, aged 6 to 15, were not in any kind of school in 1940 and this number was substantially increased during and after the war.
5. Underpaid, overworked teachers are unable to provide decent schooling to other millions of American children because they are handicapped by inadequate instructional supplies, ancient textbooks and crowded classrooms.

These tragic conditions exist because the capitalist

politicians are not willing to spend enough money for the education of the country's children. Only three billion dollars a year is appropriated by all public agencies—state, federal and city—for the operation of the schools in 1948. But 23 billion dollars will be spent for militarism in the United States this year (over 62% of the total budget).

And the proposal is now being made that another 3 to 5 billion be added to the military budget each year in order to finance Universal Military Training! In the January issue of *Economic Outlook*, the CIO Educational Department tells working class parents just what this 3 billion could buy for the school children of the United States. It would be possible to:

1. Construct a 10-room modern school building in every county in the United States each year.
2. Construct a \$50,000 library in every county in the United States each year.
3. Employ 10 doctors and 10 nurses full-time for schools in each county.
4. Purchase 10 new school buses in each county in the United States every year.
5. Erect a \$750,000 trade and technical school in each congressional district each year.
6. Provide free education for the 3 million children now under 18 who are not now attending school.
7. Bring all schools of the country up to a reasonable standard of efficiency.

And there would still be millions left over!

New York Printing Bosses Seek To Wipe Out Union Conditions

Workers Driven from Jobs at Briggs Plant

DETROIT, Mar. 16—The red-baiting drive of the employers and their agents within the labor movement has reached the hysteria stage in Detroit.

Hard on the heels of a featured series appearing on the front pages of the *Detroit News*, headed "Communist Plot Exposed," Harry Tye, newly appointed Police Commissioner, announced the revival of the notorious "red squad" in the police department.

The News series, authorized by James Swenheart, is a rehash of all the old garbage thrown at the socialist movement. Lies, slanders, and distortions feature every line. The bureaucrats in the Kremlin and the Trotskyist opponents of Stalinism are tarred with the same brush.

NEW DANGERS

The revival of Toy's "red squad" or "subversive activities squad" brings new dangers to the Detroit labor movement. This squad will try to smear and intimidate any labor leader or active unionist who takes a militant stand in defense of labor's rights. Toy indicated his program of action when he said: "All Communists should be shot, jailed or deported."

This stepped-up red hysteria immediately found an echo in the plants. Backward workers, under the influence of the red-baiting campaign, removed three workers from their jobs at the Briggs Vernor plant. The incident began with the posting of a notice on the department bulletin board ordering three workers, alleged to be Communists, to leave the plant by noon or be thrown out. Lacking confidence in the Reutherite Shop Committee, which had been conducting an active red-baiting campaign, the three workers left the plant.

That afternoon, in a special departmental meeting, Ken Morris, president of the Briggs Local of the auto union, instructed the men to return to work and requested the department to refrain from further actions against the three men.

Morris had just been elected to the local presidency against Tony Czerwinski, in a campaign which was a mixture of red-baiting and slanderous attacks upon the expenditure of local union funds. The Morris program, as presented by his less polished followers, was "Throw the Communists out of the local union."

Apparently, the workers in the Vernor plant, who had given Morris strong support in the balloting, interpreted his victory as the go ahead sign for their own purge.

In a meeting of the Briggs Local Executive Board that same day, Morris spoke against a proposal that the local prepare a strong statement of the union position on the Vernor affair for gate distribution. The Reutherite majority on the board defeated this proposition. In the face of screaming headlines and red-baiting smear attacks appearing in the local press.

At the same time, Morris issued statements to the daily press which inferred that possibly the action of the Vernor workers in refusing to work with the men in question might be proper if it could be proven that they were Communists. His statements also left the impression that the outlawing of the Communist party by legislation was a desirable thing.

It is reported that many messages from other local unions have been received at the Briggs Local union office urging the local officers to take a firm position on the dem-

ocratic rights of the victimized workers and to halt the terrorism in the Briggs plants. Because of the pussyfooting on this issue, reactionary elements in other Detroit plants have been encouraged to become bolder.

The Briggs incident reached a climax on Friday when, despite Morris' presence in the department, the department was shut down, and soon thereafter the Briggs management closed the plant. In a plant meeting that afternoon, the men agreed to return to work on Monday, with the understanding that if they so desired, charges of "conduct unbecoming union members" could be placed against the three suspected Stalinists.

On Monday, two of the three men reported to work and put in the day without further incident. It is reported that the third union member involved was visited at his home by five men in a car and told to leave town if he did not want further trouble.

One of the worst aspects of this whole affair is the failure of any officer of the International Union to issue any statement. This contrasts sharply with the vigorous stand taken by the International Union during the war years against the hate strikes directed against the Negro workers and during the "race riot" of 1943.

Progressive unionists in all locals are sounding the alarm and preparing to wage an all-out fight against this union busting danger. The very danger to the life of the union, exposed by the incident at the Vernor plant, will serve to generate the forces necessary to restore the traditional militancy and democracy of the auto workers union.

Youngstown To Show Robeson Movie

NATIVE LAND, a full length film on civil liberties in the U. S., featuring Paul Robeson, will be shown under the auspices of the Youngstown Militant Labor Forum, on Saturday night, April 3, at 8 p.m. The movie will be seen in the Wood St. School Auditorium, (corner of Wood and Walnut Sts.). Youngstown Militant readers are urged to come.

Harlem NAACP Fights N. Y. Police Brutality

NEW YORK, Mar. 11—"A campaign of vigorous action will be launched by the New York Branch of the NAACP to put an end to the reign of police brutality against the colored people of Harlem," according to the announcement made today by Herbert Hill, chairman of the newly created Committee for Action Against Police Brutality of the New York NAACP.

The committee was organized at the February meeting of the NAACP which was one of the largest and liveliest in the recent history of the New York Branch. The mother of Clyde Armstrong, who was murdered by a cop, and several other victims of police atrocities presented their cases to the membership. Representatives of the police department and a member of the Mayor's Committee on Unity, who attended the meeting, attempted unsuccessfully to appease and quash the general resentment and indignation.

"The bulk of the cases that come to the NAACP legal redress committee," the statement points out, "are police brutality cases. We know

Relief for the Greedy



Testifying before the Senate finance committee, President Emil Schram of the New York Stock Exchange endorsed the Knutson tax bill that would help the rich very much and the low-wage earner very little. For good measure he asked additional tax changes to cut federal taxes on business. Here he chats with Senator Eugene Millikin (R., Colo.) and Senator Burnet Maybank (D., S. C.), committee members.

Federated Pictures

By Fred Newman

NEW YORK—At a special meeting attended by over 5,000 printers at Manhattan Center on March 13, the membership of Local 6 of the International Typographical Union, passed by an overwhelming vote of 4,001 to 49, the motion to request the Executive Council to recognize as a lockout the provocative move of the New York printing bosses in posting new conditions of employment in New York's book and job shops.

The new conditions of employment arbitrarily increase the work week from 36½ to 40 hours at the same hourly pay scale; the boss is permitted to hire as many apprentices as he wishes, regardless of proportion to journeymen; the men must perform any work brought into the plant, even "struck work"; the men cannot refuse to work overtime; all hiring and firing is to be done directly through the office instead of by the foreman, who is a member of the union.

This union-busting move on the part of the employers is part and parcel of the national campaign to break the ITU by means of the Taft-Hartley Law. As in Chicago, Philadelphia and other large centers, the N. Y. employers have refused for four and a half months to discuss any economic issues until the union promises to sign a one-year contract.

CLOSED SHOP VITAL

The union policy is either to sign a contract containing a clause permitting either side to terminate the contract in 60 days if the other side is not living up to the agreement, or to post its own conditions of employment under which its members will work. If the unions were to sign the kind of contract the bosses want, it would surrender the closed shop conditions so vital to the continued existence of the ITU. The March 13 meeting was addressed by International President Randolph and Vice President Brown. Randolph pointed to the success of ITU policy in obtaining 651 new scales since Taft-Hartley Day. He described how, in Chicago, the application of the Taft-Hartley Law was undermining working conditions in those shops where the bosses are getting tough. The full application of this law, he warned, would lead to the piecemeal disintegration of the union.

Hitherto conservative printers shouted indignantly, "They're liars!" when Randolph cited instances of distortions printed by the daily press controlled by the publishers. Again, when the vote was taken on the lockout motion and Local 6 President L. H. Victory pointed out that the men in the job shops would have to return to work on Monday, a tremendous "NO!" thundered out.

The ITU union rules require sanction of a lockout by the International Executive Council, and then only after it has attempted to negotiate a settlement. But the men were reluctant to go back under these conditions. They went back only because they felt certain that regular procedure will mean only a delay of a few days, and that the lockout will be declared in time for the regular meeting scheduled for Sunday, March 21, if a settlement is not reached by that time.

BOSSSES PREPARING

At the same time, New York's major newspaper publishers are preparing to lock out their union printers when present contracts expire March 31. Elaborate preparations are under way for printing scab papers. Vari-type machines, now being used in the newspaper strike in Chicago, have been bought by all the leading papers. Strikebreakers are being trained in the use of these machines and ads for scabs have appeared in the N. Y. newspapers.

This is the New York aspect of a nation-wide attempt on the part of the publishers to smash the hundred-year-old, hitherto well established ITU.

Fronting for the publishers is the anti-labor National Labor Relations Board which is fighting in the courts to secure a national injunction against the typographical union, in order to thwart its fight against the enslaving Taft-Hartley Law.

Philadelphia Forum For Militant Readers

THE COMING THIRD AMERICAN REVOLUTION will be the topic of the open forum to be held by the Philadelphia Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, on Friday, March 26, at 8 p.m. Included in the material to be covered in the discussion are such subjects as the 1946 strike wave, the Taft-Hartley slave law, American storm troopers, the world crisis of the atomic age, and the inevitable solution to this crisis. The address of the SWP is 1303 W. Girard.

MAYOR O'DWYER'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE NICKEL FARE

By George Clarke

After a year of political juggling, the 5-cent fare football has landed back where it started—in the arms of Mayor O'Dwyer. Now as then, the Mayor swears on a stack of Bibles that there will be no increase in the fare as long as he remains in office.

There is an important difference, however, between the situation today and the one that existed in Feb., 1947. The people of New York are today completely at the mercy of O'Dwyer's promises, whereas one year ago the law specifically prevented O'Dwyer from acting on the fare before submitting the question to a popular referendum.

Although the Republican majority in Albany killed the referendum law, it must now be clear that O'Dwyer and the Democratic Party have a lion's share in depriving the people of this democratic right.

It was O'Dwyer who first demanded last November that the referendum be abolished and the fare be raised. But to save his political hide, he wrapped up the higher fare with demands for increased appropriations from Albany to improve hospitals and other city services.

We predicted then that, in the absence of a mass protest movement which would threaten to boot the O'Dwyer gang out of office, the Democrats would discard most of the "package" when faced with a showdown with the Republican majority in Albany.

Only one factor explains the failure of the Democrats to make this compromise: the Isaacson victory in the Bronx. It was the spectre of defeat at the polls that made the Democrats vote against the anti-referendum part of O'Dwyer's package. The same fear made O'Dwyer pledge that he would not use the

power granted him and his Board of Transportation.

The Daily Worker hailed O'Dwyer's new promise as a "partial victory" for the fight to keep the nickel fare. Yet the truth is just the opposite. The victory goes to O'Dwyer and his scheme to raise the fare. As an experienced politician, O'Dwyer knew from the start that the fare could not be raised at one blow without committing "political suicide." A series of maneuvers were necessary.

O'Dwyer succeeded in dragging the Social Democratic and Stalinist trade union leaders together with the ALP and Liberal Party leaders behind him in each maneuver. They applauded and cheered O'Dwyer's grandstanding last February. The 5-cent fare, to believe them, was safe so long as O'Dwyer remained in office.

In this way, the nickel fare issue

was kept off the ballot last November to permit the referendum abolishing Proportional Representation to pass and thus eliminate the threat of reprisal at the polls. No sooner was the election over than O'Dwyer announced his changed position on the fare. But by this time he had won the support of Mike Quill, who had misled the CIO Transport Workers membership in their wages was tied to an increase in fare.

One of the most shameful leaflets in the history of the trade union movement, separating the interests of the transport workers from the rest of the working class, was issued by the TWU officials calling upon their membership to "Get Into the Fight" for the higher fare.

The Stalinist leaders of the CIO Council refused to change their position on the nickel fare as Quill

had done. But the opposition to O'Dwyer—on the part of Stalinist CIO, ALP and CP leaders—was of the paper variety. They did not demand a referendum; no demonstrations were organized; the opposition was confined to newspaper statements.

In addition, the Stalinist and Social Democratic stand on city financing was indistinguishable from O'Dwyer's. It still is. Thus they are succumbing to his third and final maneuver. Together with O'Dwyer, their only program of city financing was to "put the heat on Governor Dewey." Now that this has failed, what next?

It is now almost inevitable that O'Dwyer will refuse wage increases to the transport workers and lay off personnel in other departments on the grounds that the city is broke. When the opposition to this program becomes strong enough, O'Dwyer

will probably use his new powers to raise the fare.

The 5-cent fare can be saved, but it must be saved now! If the labor movement rests on its haunches until the November elections, it might as well be kissed goodbye. No politician will think of raising the fare before November. But it will be another matter after the returns are in. The time to act is now—behind a realistic program of action:

1. A petition campaign must be launched by the labor movement to place on the ballot next November a referendum to restore the right of the people of New York to vote on the fare.
2. A mass movement must be set on foot to compel the legislature to grant New York the right to tax Wall Street securities, as a means of financing the city's transportation system and other services with-

out placing an additional tax on the poor.

3. The city must expropriate the subways. It must stop paying the robber baron's ransom of over \$7 million dollars annually to the bankers in interest charges to sustain the crooked deal whereby the city bought back from private interests railroads built and operated primarily with tax-payers money.

4. The transportation workers must be freed of the dictatorship of the banker-real estate dominated Board of Transportation. The transport workers run the subways, buses and streetcars. Let them control its operation and determine working conditions.

This program can save the nickel fare. The labor movement has the strength to organize the forces to defeat the banker-real estate crowd.