

# Wallace, Trotsky And the 3rd World War

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# THE MILITANT

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# MASS UPRISING HALTS BOGOTA PARLEY

## Mine Strikers Win \$100 Pension Demand

### Await Outcome Of Trial Before Return to Work

By Art Preis

APRIL 8 — The country's 400,000 soft coal miners have scored another victory for themselves and all labor by winning their strike demand for a \$100 monthly old-age retirement pension payable from the operator-financed health and welfare fund.

But more than two-thirds of the strikers were still "sitting it out" this morning in defiance of a federal strikebreaking injunction. They intend to "wait and see" if John L. Lewis and the union are again subjected to harsh reprisals in the government's trial for "contempt" which opened yesterday.

The Truman Administration is vindictively pressing for conviction of Lewis and the union, with possible extortionate fines and imprisonment. Again the administration has secured the services of Federal Judge T. Allan Goldsborough, who acted as judge, prosecutor and jury 17 months ago in fining the UMW \$3,510,000 for a similar charge of "contempt" of an anti-strike injunction.

Judge Goldsborough has revealed himself as no less biased and prejudiced now than in November 1946, when he raved that the mine strike was "an evil, demonic, monstrous thing."

Yesterday, he overruled almost every one of the UMW attorney's objections to irrelevant proceedings and testimony.

How far Judge Goldsborough will dare go in "throwing the book" at the Miners' Union is still undecided. The one thing that may restrain him is fear that the miners will stay out of the pits to a man, particularly if Lewis personally is given a harsh sentence.

### "PENSIONS GRANTED"

Lewis on Monday, prior to the opening of Goldsborough's hearings, wired the UMW locals: "pensions granted, agreement is now honored" and advised that "your voluntary cessation of work should now be terminated."

The break in the deadlock over the pension issue came when Speaker of the House Joseph W. Martin Jr., a Republican, intervened to effect a quick settlement outside the machinery of the Taft-Hartley Act, which the Republicans put over last June with the miners as their immediate target.

It is reported that big steel and coal interests, linked with the Republican party, sought Martin's intervention when it became clear that the miners would not buckle under to government intimidation. By agreement with Lewis, Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire was named to fill the third-man vacancy on the welfare fund's Board of Trustees, which includes Lewis for the miners and Ezra Van Horn for the operators.

Within 48 hours, Lewis and Bridges agreed to a pension for all miners 62 years or over who have worked 20 years in the mines and retired after May 28, 1946, including members in Southern mines, whose owners have not signed the contract.

The operators threaten to challenge the decision as violating

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by George Breitman

the Taft-Hartley Law. They are insisting among other things that \$100 a month is too much for old men who have toiled away a third or more of their lives in the bowels of the earth. Lewis branded this greedy attitude of the operators when he pointed out that Benjamin Fairless, head of U.S. Steel which is the largest mine operator, "when he retires... will receive an annual pension of \$26,687 a year."

### CONGRESSMAN CALLS WAR SCARE "A CRIME AGAINST AMERICA"

After attending a secret meeting with other Congressmen and "highest level" military and administration figures, Rep. Howard H. Buffett (R. Neb.) denounced the current war scare as a "crime against America and all humanity."

Buffett indicated that forces in this country were trying to provoke war with Russia, one of the purposes being to militarize the nation.

Buffett suggested that the public "compare the present war hysteria with the idea that the Japanese militarists drilled into the Japanese people." This he explained by pointing out that the Japanese militarists worked on the theory that, "to make militarism supreme there must always be an immediate enemy. The people must be led to believe that this enemy may strike today."

Rep. Buffett is a conservative Republican from Nebraska. He must have been pretty shocked by what he heard at the secret conference.

## Witch Hunters Draft Savage Anti-Red Law

The House Un-American Committee has unanimously agreed on an omnibus witch-hunting bill to be introduced shortly in Congress.

The aim of this vicious legislation, as announced in the press, is "to jail Communists." To accomplish this end — expressly prohibited by the Constitution — the bill will have a lengthy preamble defining the Communist (Stalinist) Party as an illegal conspiracy.

While the exact details and wording of the bill have not been fully worked out by the Un-American Committee, it is understood that it will provide for ten year prison sentences. At the same time the penalty for contempt of Congress will be increased from the present one year imprisonment and \$1,000 fine to five years and \$5,000. Defendants in contempt of Congress



Paul G. Hoffman, president of the Studebaker Corp., slated as director of the Marshall Plan Program. Federated Pictures

proceedings have no rights of cross examination or jury trial.

### DRASTIC PROVISIONS

The present Smith "Gag" Act which makes it a crime to seek the "overthrow of the government by means of force and violence" will be amended to make it criminal to seek the "overthrow of the government by any means." As can be seen, the sweeping provision of the new legislation can be used against anyone advocating basic social changes or reforms.

In its definition of "illegal conspiracy" the committee includes disruption of "trade, commerce or government in the United States with intent to further the objectives of the world Communist movement." When asked by reporters if this "disrupting trade" clause included strikes, Congressman Nixon of the Un-American Committee replied that it could in strikes that were "primarily political." Considering how the coal stoppage was recently attacked as injuring U. S. foreign policy and how radical strikes are attacked as "political," it is obvious that this clause can be used against militant unionists as well as political dissenters.

Among the many other provisions of the proposed anti-red legislation is an annual registration of all aliens, forbidding of passports and denial of government jobs to all "reds."

While Congress continued pumping the bellows of anti-red hysteria, mob violence again broke out, this time in Rochester, N. Y. A vigilante mob, led by the Catholic War Veterans and VFW, broke up a Communist Party meeting, beat up the speakers and made a bonfire of the Stalinist books and pamphlets. As in the recent vigilante attack in Columbus, Ohio, the police — the guardians of "law and order" — stood benevolently by and made no arrests.

## PACKINGHOUSE LEADERS BATTLE INJUNCTION

By Barbara Bruce

SOUTH ST. PAUL, April 13 — Another member of CIO United Packinghouse Workers was arrested last Friday for attempting to discourage a scab from going through the picket line at the Swift plant. The picket, Louis Krupelnicki, is a member of the Swift Local 167. This makes a total of three UPW members arrested here in the last two weeks. The other two are Milton Siegel, UPW field representative, and William Nolan, president of Local 167.

Siegel and Nolan were arrested for contempt of court in refusing to allow police and office workers through the picket line after a temporary restraining order had been served on the union. Two other UPW members, Glen Chinander, also a field representative, and Harry Urban, picket captain at the Swift plant, have been ordered to appear in court to show cause why they should not be arrested on the same

charge. A jury trial is scheduled for April 19.

While hearings on the restraining order to prohibit mass picketing continue in Dakota county district court, token pickets lines are keeping the packing plants closed. A few scabs are reporting for work each day along with office workers and foremen, but meat production remains at a standstill. A strike-bound switch engine and several cars of meat were moved from railroad yards between Swift and Armour plants this week by supervisors on the Chicago Great Western line, although one of the supervisors suffered a broken nose in the process.

A few truckloads of livestock are entering the stockyards daily for transfer to other points. Pickets have been successful through talks with farmers and truck drivers in turning away most of the traffic. Support of the strike by the National Farmers Union, has aided greatly in keeping farmers away from the stockyards.

A resolution adopted by the

### Penna. SWP Files Nominating Papers

PHILADELPHIA, April 6 — The Socialist Workers Party today filed nomination papers for Farrell Dobbs of New York, for President of the United States, and for Dr. Grace Carlson of Minneapolis, for Vice President. Due to the state election laws, which prohibit the use of similar party names in state elections, the Socialist Workers Party will file in Pennsylvania under the ballot designation of Militant Workers Party.

Irene P. LeCompte, state campaign manager, announced that 11,334 registered voters in the state signed the nomination papers for Dobbs and Carlson. Signatures were obtained in the following counties: Philadelphia, Delaware, Allegheny, Lehigh, Bucks, Montgomery, Mercer, Lawrence, Berks, Fayette and Erie.

DETROIT, April 12 — In the past week 2,000 more signatures were obtained on the Socialist Workers Party petitions, making a total of 8,300. Petitions have been sent in from Ingram, Monroe, Oakland, and other outlying counties, as well as from Wayne County.

It is inspiring to find many workers sympathetic to the ideas of Socialism in spite of the terrific barrage of red-baiting from the capitalist press.

An interesting incident occurred when a Socialist Party member approached one of our people at work on a street corner, and expressed amazement at the energy, enthusiasm and numbers of SWP petition-gatherers. He stated it was his opinion that the SP would not be able to obtain enough signatures to appear on the ballot, because its members were just not willing to get out and do the necessary hard work.

The Detroit branch is running in high gear now, and all set to go over the top next weekend. By that time it is believed that the total number of signatures throughout the state will be 50% over the legal requirements.

This is the forerunner of the real political campaign, which will begin when the name of the Socialist Workers Party appears for the first time on the Michigan ballot.

### 'Friends of Joe Hill' Defend His Memory

Michael Straight, owner of the New Republic, will give space in his magazine to the "Friends of Joe Hill" for "an adequate answer" to an article by Wallace Stegner published Jan. 5. The article defamed the memory of the famous labor organizer and songwriter, who was framed on a murder charge in Utah.

### Scab Salute



Kansas City cops drive a scab through the picketline of the CIO Packinghouse workers as strikers jeer and shake their fists. Federated Pictures

## War Program Put No. 1 On Agenda of Congress

War preparations have been placed No. 1 on the Congressional agenda, it was announced April 12 by leaders of the Congressional bi-partisan coalition.

Speaker of the House, Republican Joseph W. Martin Jr., said all other matters, such as federal workers pay raise, minimum wage and civil rights bills, are to be shunted aside indefinitely to give right of way to the war program.

As Washington extends and intensifies its "cold war" on the international arena, it is lining up the home front for military regimentation and industrial mobilization.

Pressured by the Big Brass and Wall Street blue-printers, Congress has been steamed up to enact even more drastic legislation than the White House, State Department and National Military Establishment proposed originally.

Hearings are to begin this week on a House bill to draft into the armed forces 1,644,000 youth between 19 and 25 years of age. This is 210,000 more than Secretary of Defense Forrestal demanded.

World War II veterans with less than a year's service would be subject to the draft unless they joined the National Guard or some reserve unit.

The bill would establish a 70-group combat air force instead of the 55-group one proposed by

would regiment labor, subject it to military command, freeze wages and jobs and outlaw strikes.

The Munitions Board, joint agency of the military departments, has completed blue-prints for military and industrial coordination. The National Security Resources Board has already set its mobilization plans in motion.

The War Assets Administration has been ordered to hold up further sales of war plants. Machine tools have been ordered out of storage. Business executives and military officers are undergoing intensive training in an Economic Mobilization Course of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces.

## WALLACITES TO HOLD CONVENTION JULY 24

The National Wallace for President Committee closed a two-day conference in Chicago on April 12 after issuing a call for

a national founding and nominating convention of the Wallace movement to be held at Philadelphia Convention Hall on July 24 and 25.

Representation at the Philadelphia convention, according to the conference, will be limited to state parties supporting the candidacy of Wallace and Taylor (like the American Labor Party in New York and the Independent Progressive Party in California) and to state Wallace for President committees. All other organizations — such as international unions — will be permitted to attend only as observers.

This undemocratic procedure, sharply curtailing the possibility of the labor movement taking control of the movement away from the handpicked leadership, is reinforced by another, apportioning the amount of votes to be cast at the founding convention.

Each state party or state committee may send up to four delegates for each presidential elector, and one alternate for each elector, with the total vote of each state delegation not to exceed twice the number of its electors. The representation of each state organization, therefore, will be based not on the actual number of members adhering to the movement but on the population of the state — the same reactionary practice followed by the Democrats and Republicans.

The Chicago conference was attended by about 400 delegates and observers from 42 states. The

### Marshall Calls Popular Revolt "Kremlin Plot"

By Arthur Burch

The Pan-American conference at Bogota came to an unceremonious halt on

April 9, when Secretary of State Marshall together with the other assembled dignitaries from 21 American countries, ran for their lives from insurgent Colombian masses. The political assassination of Jorge Gaitan, Liberal Party leader, supplied the spark that set off the spontaneous uprising of the workers and peasants of Colombia. With a sure instinct the Bogota populace marched toward the Capitolio where the conference was in session, wrecked the structure, destroyed the records and equipment and stopped for the time being the plotting and schemings of the American statesmen whom they have learned to distrust and hate.

Shouting "death to Laureano Gomez," Conservative Party leader who, on Marshall's nomination, became the chairman of the inter-American conference, the demonstrators attempted to settle accounts with this pal of Spanish dictator Franco. But Gomez succeeded in fleeing the wrath of the people.

### POLICE AND ARMY

The insurgent masses gave vent to their anger against their native oppressors by hanging in the Plaza Bolivar facing the Capitolio Leon Valencia, Conservative leader, and stabbing to death Jose Montalvo, minister of the Interior. Two hostile policemen were also hanged. From the news accounts it is clear, however, that a single section of the police force and army sided with the people. Thus far over 300 rebellious policemen and soldiers have been reported killed.

Members of the Mexican delegation were able to leave the conference building unmolested by merely holding out the Mexican flag in front of them as they walked. This was not true either of the American delegation or the American correspondents. The former barricaded themselves in the American embassy buildings which were several times set on fire. After being without food or sleep for 24 hours they were finally evacuated with the help of armored cars. Many American correspondents had to hide in the Astor Hotel. They did not dare venture out with the American flag which has become to the South American masses the symbol of imperialism and oppression.

The uprising assumed such serious proportions that Liberal Party leaders, panicked by the mass violence, rushed into a bloc with their rivals of the Conservative Party and formed a coalition government of six Conservatives and seven Liberals.

### GENERAL STRIKE

This hastily reconstituted government then appealed to the masses to stop the revolt. At the same time martial law was proclaimed and a tight censorship clamped on the press. After a day of assurances that tranquility had been restored, news leaked out that a general strike was in progress throughout Colombia.

Meanwhile Marshall and his elaborate Pan-American Conference were left dangling in mid-air. Finally in order to save face, Marshall got the frightened delegates to agree to go through the motions of continuing the conference at Bogota.

Colombia is one of the few South American countries that has been relatively free from popular uprisings. This is one reason why Bogota was selected as the meeting place. For years Colombia officials have been elected without incident.

Prior to 1930 the Conservative Party, representing the wealthy landowners and the Catholic hierarchy, remained unchallenged in the saddle. But in 1930 the Liberal Party, on an anti-clerical platform and employing anti-imperialist demagoguery, won control for the first time. They remained

(Continued on page 4)

# Wallace, Trotsky and the Third World War Drive

By E. R. Frank

Henry Wallace has brought the name of Trotsky into his presidential campaign. On a number of occasions he referred to Trotsky and his program of the world revolution in contrast to Stalin and his program of national socialism. He did so in his recent speech at Duluth, Minnesota. He repeated the argumentation in a statement printed in the March 20 Colliers magazine. Obviously Wallace attaches extraordinary importance to this question, which constitutes in reality the cornerstone of his so-called "Peace Program." Here is Wallace's argument as printed in Colliers:

"There are those who insist that Communism and capitalism cannot exist in the same world. This is the view of the extreme rightists in this country who fear the mere idea of Socialism and thus reveal distrust of the democratic free flow of ideas. It is also the view of some Marxists who have insisted that it is impossible to build a Socialist country that can stand by itself. This was the fight between Stalin, who thought he could conduct a successful experiment with Socialism in Russia, and the exiled Trotsky, who insisted that world revolution was necessary. I don't like to see American reactionaries lend support to the Trotsky position of world revolution by constant threats against the Russians."

As we see, Wallace lines up solidly with Stalin on the theoretical front. Both believe in the theory of "Socialism in one country" and that capitalism and the Soviet Union can live peacefully side by side for an indefinite period of time.

On the factual side, it is indeed true that not only Trotsky but Lenin and the whole Bolshevik leadership took for granted that the Soviet Union could not indefinitely survive surrounded by capitalism. In other words, the alternatives were: Either the working class revolution would be extended to other parts of the world and in time triumph on a world scale, or the Soviet Union would sooner or later succumb to capitalist restoration, either by conquest from without, or counter-revolution from within, or a combination of both.

As a matter of fact up until 1924 when he promulgated his theory that it was possible to construct "Socialism in one country," Stalin himself adhered to this Leninist conception of the incompatibility of the two social systems. Only in 1924, when the new bureaucracy began to consolidate its position under Stalin, did he abruptly break with the Bolshevik viewpoint and declare that Socialism could be built within the confines of Russia and that the two systems could indefinitely live one alongside the other.

Now Marxist theory is not something spun out of thin air based upon abstract quotations or scriptures. Marxist theory is generalization based upon experience. Let us apply the experiences of the past 30 years to the problem at hand and see whether they lend support to the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky—or of Stalin and Wallace.

## Capitalists Showed Their Opposition

In 1918 the imperialists of the Allied camp, England, France, Japan, the U. S. as soon as their hands were freed by the German surrender, launched a series of armed invasions against the young Soviet Republic. The U. S. and Japan occupied the eastern portion of Siberia. The French fleet entered the Black Sea. The British took over the Baku region. Later the imperialists subsidized with money, arms, staff officers, every counter-revolutionary, whiteguardist gang that was willing to wage warfare on the Soviets. In other words, the capitalists demonstrated that, so far as they were concerned, the Soviet Republic represented a deadly menace to their existence and that the two social systems were not compatible.

That they failed in their attempts was not due to their lack of

trying. It was the magnificent solidarity of the working masses of Western Europe which finally put a stop to the intervention attempts and saved the young Soviet republic from extinction at its very birth.

But isn't it possible that the imperialist leaders of 1918—Churchill, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Woodrow Wilson—weren't possible that they were mistaken in their ideas? Isn't it possible that new light has been thrown on this subject? Doesn't the continued existence of the Soviet Union for 30 years encircled by a capitalist world prove that Lenin and Trotsky were wrong—and that Stalin and Wallace are right?

Let us see. Undoubtedly the unredeemed degeneration of the Soviet Union coupled with its counter-revolutionary policy throughout the world served for a period to attenuate the conflict between these two social systems.

First, the conversion of the Soviet Union into a police state with a political regime similar to Hitler's has lessened its attractive power for the exploited and downtrodden of the capitalist world. Secondly, the Communist parties have degenerated and become transformed from Marxist parties into conscienceless agencies of the Kremlin ruling oligarchy. These parties have long since abandoned the struggle for a socialist revolution and only want to gain influence over the workers movements so they can pressure the capitalist rulers to adopt a conciliatory policy toward the Kremlin.

These two factors have been responsible in lessening for a time the tension between the two social systems. In other words, Russia's degeneration plus the systematic sellout of one revolutionary struggle after another made the "Russian Question" less acute for the capitalist world.

## Temporary Truce at Best

But even in the halcyon days of the Thirties, the relationship between these antipathetic social systems never added up to more than a temporary truce; not a peace. This was made clear again and again by England's and America's refusal to grant long-term credits to Russia, by their covert support of Hitler, by the anti-Russian campaigns launched time and again in the leading imperialist countries, by the continued animosity and fear even after the granting of recognition to Russia.

Then with the world economic crisis and the disruption of the existing capitalist equilibrium by the expansionist policies of Germany, Italy, Japan—the "have-not" imperialists—began a new period of heightened tensions and repeated incitations for war against the Soviet Union, culminating in the Nazi invasion of 1941. Today, scarcely more than two years after the conclusion of the most devastating of all wars, American imperialism, armed to the teeth, is preparing for a new, and this time they hope the decisive assault upon the Russian state.

In other words, the capitalist statesmen of today, far from thinking that Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Woodrow Wilson and Churchill were wrong in 1918, believe that they were not only right, but the time has come for their vindication.

Why? Can it be that the rulers who determine the destinies of a planet are bent upon plunging into the terrifying unknown of a new world war simply because of a mistaken notion? Can it be that in such a big question they don't understand their own interests, and that Wallace is unable to straighten them out?

Hardly. World history knows of no accidental wars, much less so where wars of a major character are involved. Diplomacy, history teaches, may hasten or postpone an armed conflict between rival powers or systems, but it is powerless to avert it. Events greater than men intervene in these cases to shape the destinies of nations

and peoples. And the "irrepressible conflict" between U. S. imperialism and Russia is the least accidental of any in history.

Why is this conflict irrepressible and inevitable? What is it that is goading the American plutocracy to make this fateful decision for war?

If we examine the causes of the Second World War, we find that England, France and the U. S. took the bit in their teeth to declare war because Germany was expanding and destroying the old relationship of forces. The Allied powers feared—and with good reason—that Germany, unless stopped, would grow strong enough to menace their imperialist interests and empires, and would then attempt to conquer them if they did not move quickly while they still had the strength.

But, in contrast to Hitler's Germany of 1938, Russia is not expanding now, the tons of war propaganda notwithstanding. The anti-Soviet barrage has obscured the fact that the important Russian expansion all took place in 1944 and 1945. What the Kremlin has done since then in the main is to consolidate the "sphere of influence" allotted to the Russians by the Anglo-American diplomats at Yalta.

## Stalin Seeks A Deal

Moreover, as all informed students are aware, the talk about the United States being "menaced" and in danger of attack is just bait for suckers. Not only is Russia woefully, pathetically unprepared to make war upon the American colossus; not only do its rulers stand petrified at the prospect; but its whole diplomacy is designed for the one and sole purpose of avoiding war; of pressuring, cajoling, threatening and coaxing U. S. imperialism into making a new deal.

American imperialism's beating of the war drums thus cannot be explained either by "Russian expansionism," or commercial rivalry, or "Russian aggression," or the danger that Stalin may start war. Why then the war scare, and more important, the unmistakable war preparations?

All their statements and actions show that even the cocky ignoramus of the Wall Street counting houses are not light-minded about this question of war. Even they know that it is a plunge into the vast unknown and that the results are incalculable and unforeseeable. Why can't they turn back, then, from this yawning abyss and adopt the more reasonable and less dangerous solution proposed by Wallace? Because they don't believe in it. Because they don't think it squares with reality. And what is the reality that they see? The disintegration of capitalism on a world scale in a manner and at a pace hitherto never thought possible, and that this process of disintegration must be halted, or capitalism will perish. The Washington-Wall Street banker-statesmen now are gripped

## Bus Drivers Walk



Bus drivers of New York's Local 100, CIO Transport Workers Union are walking outside the garages. To defend their present contract rights, 300 TWU men went out on strike April 6.

# Can the Workers Take Power?

By George Breitman

In contrast to the working class and its struggle for socialism, the capitalist class possessed many relative advantages in its struggle to overthrow feudalism and establish its own system. Even so, it took the capitalists several centuries before they won power. Understanding that enables us to see how the renegades from Marxism (like Jean Vannier in the March Partisan Review) are deliberately stacking the cards against the working class when they conclude that it lacks the "political capacity" to take power because it did not do so in the first 100 years after the Communist Manifesto.

One of the easiest ways to distort history and muddle up its lessons is by isolating events and trends, that is, approaching them without reference to comparable phenomena that provide us with the basis for making valid comparisons. That is what Vannier does. He "neglects" to discuss the political capacity of the workers during the first century of their existence in relation to the political capacity of the capitalists during an analogous stage of development. Instead, he discusses the workers' political capacity in an idealistically abstract form, showing that it does not measure up to some perfect "norm" of political capacity. (And this is what he calls "a rational and methodical scrutiny of the lessons of the past.")

But by using an all-sided approach to the history of the last 100 years, we are justified in drawing diametrically opposite

conclusions from Vannier's. Here are a few that are pertinent:

The workers' struggle for power does not proceed in a straight line, ever onward and upward, without defeats and retreats and detours and lulls any more than the capitalist struggle for power did. The working class is not invested with some "ideal" political wisdom, enabling it to skip over all preparatory and intermediate stages—any more than the capitalists were. Like all previous classes contending for power, the workers are bound to grope for solutions from their own experience, to make mistakes and to learn from them, to test their leaders in action before discarding them and selecting new ones.

## A BOLSHIEVIST PARTY

To illustrate this point, we should bear in mind that while Marx and Engels outlined the broad socialist goal in the middle of the 19th century, it wasn't until the 1900's—in Lenin's time—that light was first shed on the kind of party needed for the conquest of power and on the way to build it. A conscious understanding of the nature of the revolutionary party was not grasped, therefore, even by the vanguard forces, until less than 50 years ago.

In short, the lessons of the last century are the lessons of a new class making its first entrance into the political arena. They prove the difficulties in the way of making a working class revolution, not the impossibility of it. Vannier's contrary conclusion has no basis in historical analysis; it is pure prejudice, arbitrarily imposed on the facts in order to

justify his own flight from the camp of working class revolution.

Political capacity, like "maturity," is a relative factor; it is least of all a fixed and final category. When Vannier sneers that the "political capacity" of the working classes has revealed itself as a never-ending capacity for being "betrayed," then we are forced to recall that the capitalist class too displayed "political incapacity" for a long time and that it too was often betrayed by its leaders. But that didn't stop it from learning lessons, choosing new leaders and making a revolution later on. Why should the capitalist class be judged by one historical standard and the working class by another?

Vannier's attempt to forever disqualify the working class from taking power is so weak that he tries to strengthen it by repeating one of the standard slanders of the renegades. Stalinism, he declares, "is as much an effect as a cause" of the workers' incapacity. If this means anything at all, it means that the working class is to blame for Stalinism and Social Democracy because it continues to "tolerate" their leadership.

Like every other big lie, there is a tiny grain of truth hidden in this one. The working class can be held "responsible" for the Stalinists and Social Democrats in the sense that it hasn't yet awakened to the enormity of their crimes, repudiated them and destroyed their influence. But if that is the criterion to be used, then it could be just as easily claimed that the working class is also "responsible" for capitalism and fascism and imperialism in the sense that it hasn't yet used its invincible potential power to finish off these evils too. Vannier does not carry his ridiculous argument to this extreme, but that's his inconsistency, not ours.

What is the real relationship between the workers and their bankrupt leaders? We must know the answer to that question before we can decide if the workers' continued adherence to these leaders is proof of their incapacity to take power.

## LEADERS AND CLASSES

Vannier plainly holds the concept that the leadership "reflects" or "represents" the class, directly and simply. If this is not so, he asks by implication, then why do the workers "tolerate" such leaders? Green and Murray would no doubt agree with Vannier that they represent or reflect the American workers, and Vannier may accept Togliatti's claim to represent the Italian workers. But the Marxists dissent violently.

The truth is, as Trotsky more than once pointed out, the workers don't select their leaders the

way they pick out a pair of shoes in a well-stocked shoe store. The actual process is far more complex, the leadership being a product both of the struggle between the classes and of the clash between conflicting and often antagonistic layers within the working class itself.

It is a great mistake in this connection to think of the working class as a single political entity. Actually it is composed of different strata—official labor leaders, privileged skilled workers, unskilled laborers, the most intensively exploited workers who are often not even unionized, etc. A struggle goes on among these different strata—some of whom are reactionary, some passive, some revolutionary, with the relationship of forces within the working class changing under different conditions.

The leadership of the class is the product of the ascendancy of one or more strata over the others at the time of its selection. The emergence of a conservative or reactionary leadership is the result of the defeat of the revolutionary elements. It is not and cannot be a permanent and lasting defeat because the struggle continues after the leadership is selected, paving the way for a reversal of the situation at a later stage.

Once established, the leadership may succeed in holding its position for a much longer time than the relationship of forces which produced it, not only because of the inertia of the class but also because of the power of compulsion wielded by the leadership. It is highly misleading, therefore, to conclude that a leadership elected but a few months ago necessarily reflects accurately the mood of the class today.

Moreover, the leadership, once it is established, tends to rise above the class and thus becomes subject to the pressure and influence of enemy classes. Trotsky pointed out correctly that the American trade union leadership, for example, "reflects" not so much the workers as the capitalists.

The working class is slow to change its leaders—a source of its strength in some ways, a source of its weakness in others. It tends to "tolerate" a degenerate leadership until the contradiction between this leadership and the interests of the class is revealed by the shock of great events. And even then it tends to caution in elevating a new leadership until convinced that it is genuinely superior to the old.

## THE CONTRADICTION

But this slowness, this caution, does not at all eliminate or remove what Trotsky called "the profound contradiction between the organic, deep-going, insurmountable urge of the toiling

masses to tear themselves free from the bloody capitalist chaos, and the conservative, patriotic, utterly bourgeois character of the outlived labor leadership." Superficial observers, looking only at the surface, do not see this contradiction and that is why they identify the leadership with the class. But this contradiction remains, and continues, along with the internal contradictions of capitalism, to affect the struggle for leadership within the class, generating opportunities for the revolutionary forces to challenge the reactionary leaders who reflect capitalist pressure.

The fact that conservatives head the workers' movement far more often than the revolutionists testifies not to the historical law that even a progressive class is able to challenge the enormous pressures and violence of the ruling class only on special occasions, and that such extraordinary exertions of strength can be maintained only for short periods. The importance of the revolutionary party is that it alone can lead the class in taking advantage of these exceptional situations to make the revolution and take power.

Up to now, we have examined the arguments about the workers' capacity to take power without reference to the most instructive experience of all, the Russian revolution of 1917, which will be taken up in our next article.

## Important Lecture

BLOOD AND OIL:  
IMPERIALISM IN  
THE NEAR EAST  
Speaker: Charles Carsten  
Wednesday Evening  
April 21 - 8 P. M.  
Marxist Labor School  
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE  
(corner 13th St.)  
NEW YORK CITY

# WORKERS FORUM

## Military Training Under Union Control

Editor:

I hate cowards as leaders of a people's revolution. I would have them shot.

An honest revolutionist would hit the forefront demanding universal military training of our youth to qualify them as the people's militia to defend and protect the people against tyranny—yes, against possible fascism here.

A trained well-salaried small army will always be capitalism's agency to suppress the people and workers. Only a free youth militia not subject to draft for military service can be relied upon to fight for the people against the capitalist wolves, the police and the regular army itself, in case of a people's crisis.

I am opposed to the present youth draft bill before Congress because the financial-political wolves ruling over us provide authority to the President and Congress to declare national emergency requiring conscription of our youth trainees into army service, including the shooting down of we common people at the command of Wall Street or the White House.

Demand the immediate passage instead of a non-conscription, non-draft, non-military service free military training bill, offering free military training to all our high school youth in government camps during school vacations as a part of the nation's compulsory training, providing in the bill that under no circum-

stances of emergency shall the students undergoing this military and athletic training be subjected to draft into army service for any form of military service, and this youth corps shall not be deemed a part of the army for any purpose.

If Trotsky lived in your midst, he was enough of a revolutionist that he would have taken my position. You do it! Get all left groups to demand it. You will hasten Socialism in America if you heed me.

S. S. Shapira  
Los Angeles

Ed. Note: The Militant knows full well that in a world dominated by militarism and war, the workers need military training to protect their interests. But we have no confidence whatsoever in the capitalist rulers and Big Brass who direct our military establishment. That is why The Militant opposes all proposals of capitalist conscription, such as the proposal for Universal Military Training or the Truman Draft. The Militant—and in this it is following the ideas of Leon Trotsky—favors a military training program under the control of the unions; in other words, under the control of the existing mass labor organizations.

Federal housing can't take care of us because of laws. The Veterans' Administration has nothing for us and the American Red Cross doesn't have any facilities to help out in housing.

Marlin asked to send photographs of proof. I will take a photograph of my wife and I sleeping on benches and send it to my mother.

The next war can be won without me and the following one without my son.

Carl Leppanen  
Cleveland, Ohio

(Reprinted from the Cleveland Press, April 5.)

## Veteran's Privileges In Good Old U.S.A.

With a hope of peace and a cynical outlook of reality of war, I thought over Joseph Martin's (speaker of the House of Representatives) speech.

The gist of Martin's speech, I believe, was to write to our relatives in Europe about the wonderful privileges in this country. It so happens that my mother is in Finland, a real hobnob at this time, and I am a veteran of six years in the last war, three years being spent overseas. The privileges I could write about to my mother would be about the home I have.

I have two children who are boarded out because no one will rent us an apartment with them. The price we pay for having the two children boarded out doesn't leave enough for my wife and I. So thanks to a good-hearted employer, we can sleep on benches in his place of business, instead of in the park.

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## THE MILITANT ARMY

### March Militant Subs Total 328

48 Militant readers co-operated by renewing their own subscriptions directly during March, thus saving 48 or more personal visits. A total of 179 renewals were obtained in March out of a total of 328 subs.

Oakland, Calif.—"We have been having good sales of The Militant at UAW meetings and at the AFL Labor Temple here. Also at a recent meeting when the Negro historian, DuBois, spoke, we sold 55 pamphlets all we had with us—including The Struggle for Negro Equality, Negroes in the Post-War World and Build a Labor Party Now."—Beverly Wise.

March Subscriptions	
New York	92
Los Angeles	32
Minneapolis	19

Morgantown, W. Va.	12
Cincinnati	11
Cleveland	11
Chicago	10
Reading	10
St. Louis	10
Flint	9
Lynn	9
San Francisco	9
Philadelphia	8
Toledo	8
Boston	7
St. Paul	7
Youngstown	7
Newark	5
Allentown	5
Detroit	3
Milwaukee	3
Connecticut	3
Pittsburgh	3
Buffalo	2
Portland	2
Seattle	2
Akron	1
San Diego	1
General	29
TOTAL	328

Subscriptions: \$1 per year; \$50 for 6 months. Foreign: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. "Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879."

## THE MILITANT

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Monday, April 19, 1948



TROTSKY

"It would be a great mistake to think the socialist revolution in Europe or America will be accomplished after the pattern of backward Russia. The fundamental tendencies will, of course, be similar. But the forms, methods, the 'temperature' of the struggle, all this has, in each case, a national character. By anticipation it is possible to establish the following law: The more countries in which the capitalist system is broken, the weaker will be the resistance offered by the ruling classes in other countries. . . the sooner the society will be reborn on the basis of a new, more full, more perfect and humane democracy. In any case, no revolution can infringe on the Bill of Rights as much as imperialist war and the fascism which it will engender."

—Leon Trotsky, Interview with St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 1940



LENIN

## Hands Off Italy!

So long as the capitalists can retain unchallenged power through the parliamentary system — general suffrage and elections, representative legislatures, legal opposition parties — they prefer this democratic method of concealed rule.

But wherever the masses reach out to seriously challenge capitalist control, the owning classes discard the democratic pretense. The rule of naked force appears.

Events in Italy illustrate this on a grand scale. Behind the still continuing smoke screen of a parliamentary election, near civil war conditions exist. The two decisive classes — the capitalists and workers — are mobilizing for a show-down struggle in which the elections themselves will be but a passing phase, a mere preliminary and apparently inconclusive test of strength. The great issue — what class shall rule Italy — will finally be decided in the streets.

The Italian capitalists and their allies, the Catholic clergy, the former Fascists, the big landowners, the ex-nobility, have unleashed a scarcely-concealed campaign of terrorism and violence against the masses.

The Catholic hierarchy threatens them with ex-communication if they vote against the capitalist parties. The De Gasperi regime parades tens of thousands of troops bristling with American-made arms. Fascist gangs swarm the streets, attacking workers' meetings with knives, clubs, guns and grenades. Labor leaders are kidnapped and assassinated.

This formidable array of capitalist force is based on far more than the internal resources of Italian capitalism which is utterly decayed, bankrupt and discredited. The funds, the arms, the material means of power come from a foreign source — the United States.

By every means at its command Washington is intervening in the Italian elections. It threatens the Italian people with starvation if they don't vote right. It pours gold into the treasuries of the capitalist parties. It ships arms for the police, troops and fascist gangs of Italian reaction. American warships cast their sinister shadows over Italian ports. Battle-equipped American troops go through

martial maneuvers on Italy's border in Trieste.

Wall Street's intervention has a two-fold purpose. It plans to convert Italy into another U. S.-controlled base for war against the Soviet Union and, at the same time, to crush the Italian working class.

For the Italian masses, against seemingly insuperable odds and despite repeated setbacks, have risen in one great struggle after another in a desperate striving for working class power and socialism.

Their struggle has been repeatedly betrayed by the parties and leaders they still misguidedly follow, the Stalinists and Social Democrats. These parties continue to bluster and threaten—to be taken back into the capitalist coalition government.

But the workers mean business. They want to sweep out, once and for all, the whole stinking capitalist mess. They are pressing harder and harder for the revolutionary solution.

It is a propaganda trick of the American imperialists and Italian reactionaries to represent the working class struggle in Italy as merely a "conspiracy" of the Stalinists. The counter-revolutionary gang of American imperialists are interested, in actuality, not only in defeating the Kremlin agents, but in crushing the incipient Italian revolution.

In Italy we are witnessing — Stalinist duplicity and betrayals notwithstanding — the developing crisis of an irreconcilable class conflict between the predatory minority and the exploited majority. Wall Street imperialism is intervening there, as everywhere else in the world, on the side of the rich against the poor, of the parasites against the toilers, of capitalist reaction against the socialist future.

Our duty—the duty of every American worker, of every honest believer in the democratic rights of labor, of every opponent of imperialism and reaction—is to come to the defense of the Italian masses. Our voices must be raised, our protest must resound in Washington: Halt U. S. Intervention in Italy! Let the Italian People Determine Their Own Fate!

A U. S. tribunal in Nuremberg on April 5 gave a clean bill of health to 12 directors of the Krupp munitions trust, leading Nazi arms manufacturers. The defendants, including Alfred Krupp, head of the armaments dynasty, were "acquitted" of conspiring with Hitler to "wage aggressive war."

The Krupps, along with other big capitalists, financed Hitler's rise to power. They were the

## The CIO Wage Fight

Six months ago both the CIO and AFL leaders announced that their members needed higher wages to meet inflated prices. For half a year they have been shadow-boxing with this issue. Meanwhile prices have hit new peaks and are now expected to go higher because of the renewed war preparations.

The CIO leaders officially opened their campaign for "substantial" wage increases in early January. Nothing they have done so far lends the slightest hope that the CIO workers will get more than a few crumbs.

CIO President Philip Murray, who also heads the steel union, opened wage negotiations two weeks ago. His union is supposed to be the leader in the wage fight. Its officials have not even announced specific demands. Moreover, the "leader" of the wage fight started off, by demonstratively announcing that under no conditions would his union strike.

Since the United Auto Workers adopted its program for a 30-cent an hour increase on Jan. 16, Walter Reuther's chief public activities have been barn-storming for the Marshall Plan. The wage negotiations at GM and Chrysler are bogged down and the union negotiators act as if they had all the time in the world.

The Stalinists, who have been using a lot of leftist phrases in recent months, have nothing better to show in the unions they control. The Stalinist leaders of the CIO Electrical Union have just taken a flat "No" to their wage demands in GE and Westinghouse without even the gesture of a struggle.

gle. They are confining themselves to talking a great fight. They have made no recommendations for action and apparently, like Reuther, are marking time to see what Murray does. Who Murray is waiting for is not clear.

Only one CIO international union, the Packinghouse Workers, is putting up a real battle on the picket lines. But it is having rough going what with federal government intervention, a flock of local injunctions and the use of strike-breakers by the meat trust. The top CIO leadership is permitting the packinghouse workers to stand isolated in this desperate struggle. It is permitting the profit-bloated corporations to pick off the unions "one at a time."

It's become pretty clear that the whole wage campaign of the CIO will become a shambles if the rank and file doesn't intervene forcefully and quickly against the do-nothing-but-talk policies of their national leaders. These leaders are wonderful at putting out statistics showing how big profits are and how much prices are going up and how take-home pay has shrunk. But statistics just bounce off the hard-shelled corporation owners.

The need of the hour is a unified wage strategy, and unified and militant action. The corporations look tough right now because they are united while the unions are divided. Let the CIO mobilize its forces for a consolidated fight and the corporations won't be talking out of the sides of their mouths very long.

By G. F. Eckstein

The Randolph-Reynolds defiance of Jim Crow in the Army is producing wide repercussions.

Since his testimony to the Senate Armed Services Committee, where he stated he would urge civil disobedience in the draft, the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, of which Randolph and Reynolds are officers, has announced that "Don't Join a Jim Crow Army" buttons will be distributed throughout the country.

The declarations of the Committee have already driven a wedge among the Negro leaders. Most of the Negro newspapers refuse to support Randolph. The same position has been taken by many of the big names among the Negro leaders, Walter White, Dr. Channing Tobias, (who served on the President's Civil Rights Committee) and Lester Granger of the Urban League. But the Randolph Committee is prepared for this.

One of its members, in an interview with the Negro press, said that the Committee did not expect 100% support from either the Negro press or "top-flight Negro leaders." It was looking instead to smaller groups and the "so-called average man in the street." In plain words, Randolph was looking to the masses of the Negroes and not to the big-name leaders who control the Negro organizations.

The civil disobedience proposals of the Randolph Committee are already making things hot for many of the Negro politicians. This is shown in connection with Eisenhower's testimony on segregation in the Army before the Senate Armed Services Committee. Eisenhower came out flatly for segregation "at the platoon level," giving as one of his reasons the educational inferiority of Negroes.

The General's testimony exploded in the Negro community and in the face of many Negro politicians, above all, in the face of Walter White, national secretary of the NAACP. White is one of the most notorious of the Negro leaders who act as intermediary between the Negro masses and the New Deal wing of the Democratic Party.

### PRaised EISENHOWER

For years his function has been, behind a smoke-screen of Supreme Court cases and "stern" criticism, to line up the Negro vote for the Democratic Party and generally keep Negro wrath within safe bounds. The liberals, today, recognizing that the workers will not vote for Truman are whooping it up for Eisenhower. White fell in line and wrote a syndicated column for the Negro press praising Eisenhower's attitude towards Negroes and on the segregation issue. White reported that on the basis of personal conversations he could testify that the General would fight bravely against Jim Crow.

Two days before the column appeared Eisenhower gave his brutal testimony. It was too late, it seems, to stop the column. White was caught red-handed. He hastily made a statement denouncing Eisenhower and claiming that he had been naive in trusting the General's words. Eisenhower's testimony, according to the Amsterdam News of April 17, has driven off potential Negro supporters.

White and his type have gotten away with this sort of thing for years. Now the position of the Walter Whites is made more dif-

## Police Brutality



Stretched on the ground unconscious, this picket was one of many injured when New York police attacked the AFL Financial Employees picket brigade in Wall Street.

As a price for keeping the Negroes quiet and those who demand action. If Randolph and Reynolds stand firm, then the position of White, Lester Granger, Channing Tobias and the others will become increasingly difficult.

In 1941 when the mass movement similarly threatened the Negro stooges, White and Randolph joined together and headed the March on Washington Movement at the behest of Roosevelt. Today the Negro's fight for equality has risen to a higher level. The Randolph declaration is a symptom of this increasingly militant temper of the Negro masses. Regardless of the subsequent actions of Randolph or any other individual, these masses are now determined more than ever before, to embark on a policy of struggle and to find a leadership that will lead them in struggle.

## Cable Strike Lost Due To Taft Act, Stalinists

The Taft-Hartley Act and Stalinist misleadership have combined to defeat the three-month wage strike of the CIO American Communications Association against the international cable companies.

After fighting grimly for 13 weeks, the 2,200 employees of three International Telephone & Telegraph subsidiaries — Commercial Cable, Mackay Radio and All American Cables & Radio — were forced to end their strike not only without any gains, but without a contract.

The 350 workers of Western Union's cable department managed to get renewal of their contract, but with the single slight gain of a change in the method of figuring pensions.

### WILL FIRE 25%

Since the end of the strike two weeks ago, the IT&T subsidiaries have announced they intend to fire up to 25% of the workers on the pretext they are "overstaffed." They have also set up "preferential seniority for layoff purposes" — that is, favoring those who scabbed during the strike.

The chief weakness of the strike was the inability of the Stalinist leadership to mobilize sufficient forces to keep the cable companies

## Events on the International Scene

By Paul G. Stevens

### THE FRENCH LABOR MOVEMENT

Last month appeared the first issue of Unite Syndicale (Trade Union Unity), central organ of the new organization which is working in both the Stalinist-dominated CGT (General Federation of Labor) and in the reformist "Force Ouvriere" (Workers' Strength) Federation for the unification of the union movement in France. The issue contains the Manifesto of the Conference for Trade Union Unity, which declares that the essential cause for the split was the policy of class collaboration pursued in the post-war governments by both the Stalinists and reformists. The rebuilding of trade union unity, it concludes, is tied up with the

adoption of a program of genuine class struggle. Active groups of militants are working for this program in a number of unions. The PCI, French Section of the Fourth International, sent an appeal to various working class parties and other organizations for a united front struggle on minimum economic and political demands relating to wages and the de Gaulle danger. The Socialist Youth and the Revolutionary Socialist Action group have expressed themselves in favor. In several factories of the Paris region, Communists (Stalinists) Party cells are also discussing these proposals, and Trotskyist spokesmen have been invited to present the case of the PCI.

### JAPANESE STRIKES AND MacARTHUR "DEMOCRACY"

Japan's new constitution, as is well known, was modeled on the one in force in the U.S. But that is not the only benefit of American democracy to be bestowed upon the "poor benighted heathens" under the pro-consulship of General MacArthur. A year ago last January, when a General Strike threatened to sweep the islands, the Star-Spangled Mikado issued an order which banned a general labor walkout. A "deadly social weapon." The strike "plague" subsided considerably thereafter. But recently it has broken out again and the General's staff has got busy once more with the application of our democratic processes.

According to press reports, some 400,000 Government employees — communications workers, school teachers, municipal servants and even tax collectors — staged 24-hour "vacation strikes" toward the end of March. They paralyzed the public services over large sections of Japan, and the tax collectors' strike hit the government particularly. The main demand was for an increase above the present monthly average wage of 2,900 yen, which just doesn't meet inflated prices — the story of wage actions everywhere nowadays.

But that is not all. In spite of all the encouragement given by the American pro-consul to the native Zaibatsu or capitalists, hundreds of plants continued under "workers control of production, in which a union seizes a plant and operates it," as the April 11, N. Y. Times, informs us.

"The unions," its Tokyo correspondent says, "seized 144 factories. This was held illegal, but many remained under workers' management because the owners hesitated to assert their rights lest they be charged with being reactionary. Among the concerns under workers' control are Asahi and Manichi, the country's largest newspapers, Yamato Steel Company and Japan Typewriter Company."

The new wave of strikes has thus caused great panic in Japanese capitalist circles and Mac-

Arthur's H. Q. has had to intervene again. On March 28 his order of January 1, 1947 was declared by his Labor Division Chief to apply as a ban against 24-hour partial strikes as well. This despite the fact that, according to law, Government employees are entitled to 24-hour sick leaves or "vacations," which the unions duly utilized. Heartened by this new move from the Military Occupation, the government of Premier Hitoshi Ashida has announced that it was "considering legislation similar to the United States Taft-Hartley Act to control insurgent trade unions and to win the confidence of the Allied powers, which are expected to provide credits for Japanese industrial rehabilitation." Furthermore, "Commerce Minister Kozaburo Mizutani said . . . the government would refuse to allocate rationed materials to any plant where (workers') production control was in force" as a "death blow" to this method of factory seizures in Japan (Times, April 10).

What is behind the Japanese Government's moves as well as those of Mac's H.Q.? This is made clear in the same dispatch by an awkward public denial by Premier Ashida of "rumors that the U.S. was willing to grant wide concessions to the former enemy nation to enlist Japan in a war against the Soviet Union."

"The Japanese Government," Ashida is quoted, "has never told the American Representatives that it will offer Japan as a 'bulwark against communism.' Nor is the Government contemplating converting Japan into a munitions factory of the Far East."

Can anything make plainer the connection between such "domestic matters" as the Taft-Hartley Act and the not-so-"cold-war" preparations?

And, incidentally, should not American workers be interested in stopping the "export" of the Taft-Hartley Act as well as in obtaining its repeal at home? An even better idea might be to look into the "import" possibilities of workers' control of production.

### Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the

## SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

AKRON — 1 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 — 20 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p. m. Tues., 7:30-9:30 p. m.  
BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3060. Every afternoon except Sun.  
CHICAGO — 77 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 — 4108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6967. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. FLINT — 215 E. Ninth St. Daily 7-9 p. m. Mon. house, Sat. eve. Forum, Sun., 7-9 p. m.  
LOS ANGELES — Militant Publ. Assn., 310 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Phone Richmond 4644. Daily, 12-5 p. m.  
SAN PEDRO — Militant, 1908 S. Pacific Room 214.  
WATTS — Militant, 1720 E. 97th St.  
LYNN — (Mass.) — 44 Central Sq. Rm. 11. Sat., 1-5 p. m. Discussion, Tues., 7-9 p. m.  
MILWAUKEE — Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone HAWkeye 9645.  
MINNEAPOLIS — 10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m.-6 p. m. Library, bookstore.  
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, 835 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8-10:30 p. m.  
NEWARK — 423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p. m.  
NEW YORK CITY (Hq.) — 116 University Pl. Phone GR 5-5149.  
EAST SIDE — 251 E. Houston St. 1st fl. HARLEM — 103 W. 110 St. Rm. 22 Phone 310. 2-1866. Open discussion. Thurs., 8 p. m.  
BRONX — 1024 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LU 9-0401.  
BROOKLYN — 635 Fulton St. Phone ST. 5-7433.  
CHICAGO — 130 W. 23rd St. Phone CH. 2-9434.  
OAKLAND (Cal.) — Write P. O. Box 1251, Oakland 4.  
PHILADELPHIA — 1362-65 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-3820. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.  
PITTSBURGH — 1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Open meetings, 1st & 3rd Sun., 8:30 p. m. Marxist Study Class, Thurs., 7-9 p. m.  
SAN DIEGO (Cal.) — For information write P. O. Box 837.  
SAN FRANCISCO — 4739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI. 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m.  
SEATTLE — Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., South & Washington. Phone Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.  
ST. LOUIS — 1621 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Forum, Thurs., 7:30-10 p. m.  
ST. PAUL — 540 Cedar St. Phone Garfield 1127. Open daily. Bookstore, Forum, 2nd Sun. of each month, 3:30 p. m.  
TACOMA (Wash.) — Write P. O. Box 1078. Meeting, Wed., 8 p. m., Odd Fellow Hall, 6th & Fawcett.  
TOLEDO — 112 St. Clair St., 2nd fl. Open daily.  
YOUNGSTOWN — 115 E. Federal St. Rm. 302. Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p. m.



### THE TREASURE OF SIERRA MADRE

This excellent movie comes as a pleasant shock after the interminable series of boy-meets-girl, musicals and whodunits that the Hollywood sausage machine grinds out. Simply as an adventure film it will keep you on the edge of your seat from beginning to end. But it is more than an adventure film. It is a realistic picture of the degenerating effect that gold has on men.

The story starts off with Dobbs "on the beach" in Tampico, Mexico. Flat broke, he washes in the public fountain, bums Americans for handouts. Finally he lands a job as a construction worker for an oil field rigger. This rigger works his crew to death and then skips without paying them.

Tired of bumbling around Tampico, Dobbs and a fellow construction worker seize upon a stroke of fortune to go on a

prospecting trip with an old prospector they have met in the flophouse. This old man is not only a sly old gold hunter but a man with a mature philosophy of life. He maps out a trip to the remotest mountain districts. The three partners face the dangers of bandits and, after they have made a strike, the inquisitiveness of a wandering prospector.

But the core of the story is the change wrought in the characters of the partners after they have found gold and thereby become men of property. Originally three down-and-outers, they had no fears of being robbed and murdered. Nor did they fear one another. But as the gold dust mounts, so does the mutual distrust until it drives Dobbs to murder and insanity. The gold, instead of serving the prospectors, becomes their master.

Credit must be given to John Huston for a superb directing job. The film is an honest screen

play of B. Traven's book from which it was made. Walter Huston, as the old prospector, gives the greatest performance of his career and dominates the film. The old prospector shows that man can face the temptations of greed, rise above them and maintain his integrity. This is the counter balance to the degeneration of Dobbs, played by Humphrey Bogart. All the other actors give an A-1 performance. The movie was made in Mexico and the scenery is not only magnificent but authentic.

Class-conscious workers who see this film will be surprised to hear, if they listen closely at the beginning, a very brief Marxist explanation that the value of gold stems from the labor necessary to its production.

B. Traven's book, *The Treasure of Sierra Madre*, has just appeared in a twenty-five cent pocket edition. Its interest is in no way diminished by first seeing the movie. —George Lavan

# Protocol M and Project X

By Art Preis

An important commodity on the international market has suffered a recent slump—forgeries. Time was when the intelligence services of the big powers could pick up first-class, detection-proof political forgeries for a song. Then shady operators, eager for quick killings in this profitable trade, began to flood the market with cheap, shoddy products. Not only has the saturation of the market tended to depress prices, but the crude quality of the goods has undermined public confidence.

A case in point is "Protocol M." That is the document, you may recall, which the British several months ago alleged was a copy of the Cominform's blueprint for launching large-scale sabotage, strikes and revolts in the Ruhr. The British intelligence service, by sheer coincidence, released this document to the public press at precisely the moment when the Ruhr workers were striking because of starvation rations.

Now it is revealed that the British intelligence service—generally reputed to be shrewd and sharp traders—were "hoodwinked" when they laid out good British sterling for "Protocol M." They have "discovered" that it actually had been prepared by an anti-Communist German, reports C. L. Sulzberger in the April 11 N. Y. Times. "Moreover, a few days ago," reports Sulzberger, "the French Ministry of the Interior was duped by a document purporting to give inside information on the future activities of the French Communist Party." As a consequence, observes Sulzberger, "it is likely this bonanza for fake documents will end."

## The Negro Struggle

### Randolph and the Press

By Albert Parker

I have before me the editorials of about 20 Negro newspapers on A. Philip Randolph's proposal to launch a "civil disobedience" campaign if Jim Crow is not abolished in the armed forces, and the great majority of them make pretty sickening reading. Instead of pointing out the weak aspects of Randolph's position, they attack it for the most part because it is "extreme," they wave the flag, beat their breasts patriotically, and assure the Jim Crow ruling class that they can be depended on not to do anything "extreme" themselves.

The Pittsburgh Courier's editorial was typical in this respect: "We counsel at all times complete co-operation with the adopted policies of the government. . . . We should battle the issue to the point of decision, and then, if defeated, gracefully accept the decision and cooperate in its implementation." Translated into plain English, that means: "We are against Jim Crow and will keep on writing articles to that effect. But if you insist on maintaining Jim Crow, we will be good sports and will even 'graciously' help you in your dirty work of Jim Crowing us."

The man who wrote that editorial wipes his feet on the real tradition of Negro struggle against oppression in this country; he dishonors the memory of the heroic Negro and white abolitionists who won immortal glory by defying the government's fugitive slave law almost 100 years ago (instead of gracefully cooperating with it). That editorial would have made Uncle Tom blush in shame. And it undoubtedly brought hearty chuckles from Rankin, Eastland and the other Southern demagogues who know that the Jim Crow structure won't even be dented as long as the Negro people listen to such servile advice.

These people denounce Randolph for being "extreme," but how else can you end a brutal

Fortunately this does not affect reliable brokers for the Allied imperialists like the Social Democratic labor leaders, ex-Gestapo agents, etc. Washington already has an international WPA project ready to take care of these worthy persons. It is called "Project X" and is in the nature of a supplement to the European "Recovery" Program. In fact, it's Wall Street's "Protocol M"—and no forgery either.

"Project X," we are informed by a March 25 United Press dispatch from Washington "is a mysterious, multi-million dollar" program "to finance anti-Communist underground forces behind the iron curtain" and similar groups in the Western Bloc countries. A bill before Congress would provide 30 million dollars as a starter to finance anything from newspapers to arms for pro-capitalist and anti-Soviet agents.

"Project X," even without benefit of official Congressional sanction—has already been spreading its beneficence. In Italy, Sulzberger reports, in the current election campaign "the United States and the Catholic Church have been helping out with funds." He says "it is also known that United States agents are trying to break the hammerlock of Communist control over French dock workers."

With Washington tossing big money around in Europe, ready to buy up anything from "good" forged documents to political parties, it is rumored that certain American labor leaders are thinking of emigrating back to the Old Country. Why should foreigners lap up the gravy, while 100% American union leaders do the State Department's dirty chores for nothing?

system like Jim Crow except by being extreme? When was tyranny ever ended by promising to be "loyal" to it?

When it comes to cooperating or not cooperating with the Jim Crow forces, the Negro people will instinctively side with Randolph, and they will be a thousand times right. But unfortunately, the problem is not settled by merely deciding not to cooperate. You are still faced with the questions of what to do, and how to do it, and when.

The first and most obvious weakness in Randolph's position is that it places its main emphasis on action by the Negroes after the UMT or draft bills become law. From the viewpoint of tactics, that would be an error. The time to begin fighting most energetically on this question is right now, not after Congress acts. The labor movement's experience with the Taft-Hartley Act proves that it is much harder to repeal reactionary legislation than it is to prevent its passage.

The second serious shortcoming in Randolph's proposal is the kind of struggle it advocates. A mere refusal to register and serve in the armed forces will get the Negroes nowhere but in jail—which will remove the most active and courageous elements from the struggle where they are needed, and will leave untouched the power of the ruling class to maintain Jim Crow in full force. What is really needed is a program of positive struggle—mass meetings, demonstrations, a march on Washington, protest work stoppages, collaboration with the labor movement to end Jim Crow through independent political action.

Randolph's proposal may lead to seriously embarrassing the ruling class. But a mass movement of relentless struggle, determined to return blow for blow instead of turning the other cheek, could and would lead to the complete destruction of Jim Crow.

## Slow Death in the Mines

By Grace Carlson

Any lingering doubts as to the extreme danger in which the country's coal miners live and work were dispelled by the Centralia mine disaster which took 111 lives last year. But the Centralia tragedy did not tell the whole story. Mine accidents kill over 100 men and injure another 4,000 men every month of every year!

Outside of mining circles very little is known about the slow death of silicosis, a lung disease which afflicts well over half of the miners who have worked in the mines 25 to 30 years. As defined by a special committee of the American Public Health Association, silicosis is "a disease due to breathing air containing silica (SiO<sub>2</sub>), characterized anatomically by generalized fibrotic changes and clinically by shortness of breath, decreased chest expansion, lessened capacity for work, increased susceptibility to tuberculosis and by characteristic X-ray findings."

Silicosis and anthracosis-silicosis (a modified form of silicosis due to silica mixed with large amounts of carbon dust) are the chief occupational diseases of coal miners. These diseases may occur during the mining and processing of either anthracite or bituminous coal. Underground

workers are the chief victims of anthracosis-silicosis because there is generally very poor ventilation in the mines and the workers are constantly assailed by heavy clouds of dust bearing silica particles.

Death certificates of miners very often give as the cause of death the broad classification, "pulmonary disease," this suits the purposes of the mine owners, who instruct the company doctors to play-down the silicosis rate so that they will not be required to pay for dust removal in their mines.

But honest medical men tell a different story about the rate of silicosis in mining areas. Here is a portion of a report by Drs. S. Cummins and A. Shadden of South Wales:

"From a not inconsiderable experience of post-mortem examinations on coal miners, we draw the conclusion that out of the general classification, 'pulmonary diseases' given as the cause of death in coal miners, a very important proportion consists essentially of anthracosis-silicosis, complicated often with bronchitis, not seldom with tuberculosis, and frequently terminating in pneumonia."

Small wonder that the coal miners, who have seen the truth of these scientific observations in the fatal sickness of a relative or a union brother want a Health and Welfare Fund—and that they want their union to control it.

over more than a third of Britain's total imports and enable it to draw British dominions into its economic orbit. News of this development has been withheld from the British press for fear of arousing a reaction against the ERP.

**VIGILANTISM IN CANADA**—Spurred by inflammatory articles in the Windsor Star, a mob of 500, armed with rubber hose and baseball bats, smashed up the headquarters of the local Communist Party. Windsor police stated that they planned no inquiry into the armed attack.

**DEMOCRACY AT WORK**—From a clipping of the San Francisco Chronicle, April 5: "Post-war note: During the fighting on Okinawa, the life of a San Franciscan named Dick Roberts was saved by a fellow GI who tossed a grenade that wiped out a Japanese machine gun just in time. . . . 'If you're ever in San Francisco,' Roberts said later to his savior, 'look me up. Maybe I can buy you a drink, at least.' . . . Saturday, they finally had their reunion after three years. Happily, they walked into a certain Market St. bar—but they didn't get their drink. . . . Service was refused the Negro who had saved Dick Roberts' life."

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# CIO Proves Case for Pay Rise Out of "Extortionate" Profits

## Mass Uprising Halts Wall Street's Bogota Conference

(Continued from page 1) in office until 1946 when a left-wing split in the Liberal Party led by Gaitan, enabled the Conservatives to slip back into power. Right wing Liberals collaborated with the Conservative president and participated in his cabinet.

When Washington started lining up the South American republics behind its "stop-Russia" program, it served notice on Latin American rulers that anti-imperialist demagoguery would no longer be tolerated. This was interpreted by Perez, President of Colombia, as an ideal opportunity to get rid of all opposition.

He inaugurated a wave of assassinations against the Liberals, especially in the provinces. This induced the Liberals to reunite under the leadership of Gaitan, whom they designated as their 1950 presidential candidate. On March 22 all the Liberal ministers resigned from the cabinet.

The murder of Gaitan, the outstanding popular leader, therefore came as a last straw for the masses smarting under the reactionary rule of Perez and driven to desperation by the frenzied inflation, the blame for which they placed not unjustifiably on the Perez regime and the Wall Street exploiters.

The Bogota uprising by its very extent and intensity was obviously both spontaneous and popular. Even the original censored American dispatches acknowledged this and relegated to the background the role of the Communist Party which has only about 8,000 members in Colombia.

Since then deliberate attempts to malign the Bogota uprising as a Kremlin-inspired plot have been made. Marshall has designated it as "communist inspired." The reconstituted Colombian government is apparently under Washington's pressure to break diplomatic relations with Moscow, but as we go to press there has been no official confirmation of this as yet.

Meanwhile the entire American press is echoing Marshall's fraudulent charges.

They want to fool the American people. They can hardly fool the Colombian people or those in Latin America who have long ago learned that the label of Communism is invariably invoked against all who challenge reaction at home or speak up against the sordid plots of Wall Street.

The Bogota uprising has exposed the internal weakness and dealt a damaging blow to the prestige of American imperialism. The intervention of the masses in a small country sufficed to force all these dignitaries, including the Big Brass, to scurry for cover and to start yelping in panic. It is symbolic of the days to come when the masses of Latin America, desperate from the rule of reaction at home and the oppressive policies of American imperialism, will rise to liberate themselves and to establish the Socialist United States of South and North America.

## St. Louis Offers Forum on Wallace

"IS WALLACE A WORKERS' CANDIDATE — CAN HE PREVENT WORLD WAR III" will be the topic of the Militant Open Forum to be held on Thursday evening, April 29, at 8 p.m. by the St. Louis Branch of the Socialist Workers Party. Militant readers in St. Louis are urged to attend and participate in the discussion. The forum will be held in Room 312, Olivia Bldg., 1023 N. Grand Blvd.

**Hear George Clarke** (organizer of New York Local Socialist Workers Party) speaking on: **The Political Crisis in the United States**

**Flint**  
Tuesday, April 20  
**Detroit**  
Thursday, April 22  
**Youngstown**  
Friday, April 23  
**Buffalo**  
Saturday, April 24

# THE MILITANT

## No Contract, No Work



Mike Jeffer of the United Mine Workers reads John L. Lewis' letter advising the miners to "work if you want." With his fishing line dangling in this Pittsburgh pond, he has obviously made up his mind. The nation's 400,000 soft coal workers made a similar choice. Federated Pictures

## Capitalism in Europe Faces Greater Inflation

By John G. Wright

What effect will Wall Street's war program have upon the economies of the rest of the capitalist world and especially the countries of Western Europe? American economy, with all its vast resources and power, is still only a part of something bigger. And as part of the world capitalist system, it not only influences developments abroad but is, in turn, influenced by them.

The billions earmarked under the European "aid" program are supposed to assure Western Europe a recovery and a measure of economic stability which have thus far proved beyond reach. In one European country after another, the living levels remain not only below pre-war standards but below those prevailing in wartime.

This crisis of European capitalism is expressed most strikingly in the raging inflation, the disrupted monetary systems and chronic deficit government budgets, which still further feed the inflation.

The precondition for European

recovery is a halt to inflation, a restoration of stable currency, a return to balanced budgets. This, in turn, requires at least a partial restoration of prewar living standards. However, the most optimistic promoters of the Marshall Plan acknowledge that this is excluded. Let us cite, for example, the opinion of the weekly U. S. News and World Report, April 16.

So far as Britain is concerned, the editors of this weekly conclude as follows:

"Initial benefits from the Marshall Plan will not be enough to cover all British needs. Dwindling reserves of gold and dollars will have to be drawn on further, until the end of this year. An end to British austerity is not in sight."

If anything this is an understatement. Far from an early "end to austerity," the British masses are now confronted with a still further degradation of their living conditions, because the country is teetering on the edge of bankruptcy.

The British fiscal system, already inflated to the breaking point, faces the threat of losing

The standard of living of American workers has taken a terrific beating in the past year and they must have a substantial wage increase right now. American corporations can pay these increases without reducing profits below their wartime peak or raising prices.

These are the chief conclusions of two factual studies published by the CIO Economic Outlook for February and March.

In "CIO's 1948 Wage Case," the CIO researchers prove that "families have had to spend their hard-earned savings, go into debt, and reduce purchases of basic necessities" while, as the result of soaring prices, "profits have reached extortionate levels."

Basing their findings on National City Bank data, the CIO economists show that in 1947 the average net profit for all manufacturing corporations equaled 16.4% of their net worth or total capital investment. Their total profits after taxes were over 17 billion dollars as compared to the war peak of 10.4 billion dollars in 1943, or the 1939 take of 5 billion dollars.

For all manufacturing industries, the percentage of return on net worth was DOUBLED in 1947 over the lush year of 1945. The Food Products industry made 19.8% profit in 1947; Chemicals, Drugs, etc. made 17%; Iron and

Steel, 11%; Electrical equipment, 17.7%; Autos and Equipment, 20%.

These CIO figures, published in February, now appear conservative. A subsequent report of the National City Bank on April 2 reveals that average manufacturing net profits in 1947 were 17% of net worth, compared to 12.1% in 1946. Their total profits leaped 54% in just one year.

If these profits were reduced by wage increases to the highest pre-war level—8.4 billion dollars in the "golden year" of 1929—all wages could be increased 20% without a penny being added to prices. If profits were reduced to the 1939 level, wages could be boosted 35 to 40%.

Since 1945, corporate profits have gone up 89.9%, while farm income rose 35.6% and wages and salaries only 27.9%, according to the Economic Outlook. The same source shows that the corporations made \$1 in profit for every \$7 paid out in wages and salaries in 1945. By 1947, they were making \$1 for every \$4 in wages and salaries.

## FANTASTIC INCREASE

These same corporations now hold 92 billion dollars in undistributed profits—double what they held in 1939. In the same time their assets rose from 55 billion to 108 billion dollars. Their holdings of government securities alone rose 650%, to 13 billion dollars.

The rise in profits corresponded to the rate of price rises; 42% in 18 months for food; 22% for clothing.

From January 1945 to January 1948, average weekly money wages rose a little over 10%, from \$45 to \$50. But real wages—the actual worth of wages in terms of prices—declined 15%. A \$52.51 money wage is actually able to buy only \$38.29 worth of goods in terms of 1945 prices—and much less in terms of 1939 prices.

In consequence of this, the workers have been forced to cash in their war bonds and spend their other small savings. By June 1947, over half of all Series E lower denomination bonds were redeemed. Consumer credit buying—going into debt—mounted to the all-time peak of 13 billion dollars.

In "The BLS Family Budget Study," the March Economic Outlook shows how far below the minimum decency level average incomes of American workers have fallen. The Bureau of Labor Statistics study, made in June 1947, showed that the average family of husband, wife and two small children needed an average of \$3,250 a year to maintain minimum decency standards, without allowances for savings, serious illness, or higher education.

## WORKERS' NEEDS

By January 1948, the CIO shows, the amount needed rose to \$3,450 due to price rises in six months. For each additional child, \$500 a year more is needed. Thus, a family with three kids needs \$3,900.

To meet this minimum budget, a worker must earn \$1.75 for 50 weeks of 40 hours work weekly. Since 14 million workers suffered unemployment at some time during the past year, and millions more worked less than 40 hours a week, they would have had to earn even higher rates to meet the budget.

But only a very thin layer of the most specialized and skilled workers earn anywhere near \$1.75 an hour. Average manufacturing wages in January were only \$1.18 an hour.

Just by cutting 1947 profits from 17 billion dollars to the war peak of 10 billion dollars, 14 million workers families each could get \$500 more per year.

let alone lowering, their respective domestic price structures, will fall away altogether. National bankruptcy and runaway inflation will be brought that much closer.

As a long range perspective, Wall Street's war program thus carries with it the tendency to multiply by leaps and bounds all of the existing grave dislocations in the world market, and add new ones. This will, at a later stage, rebound with shattering force on American economy itself.

The short range perspective for the masses in Western Europe, as well as those throughout the world, is not an amelioration but a general worsening of their living conditions as the result of this accelerated world inflationary process.

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