

HENRY WALLACE

AND THE WAR

By James P. Cannon

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THE MILITANT

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CIO WAGE CAMPAIGN FACES DISASTER
4th International Holds Congress

PARIS, April 26 — The Second World Congress of the Fourth International has just concluded its sessions in this city. Its work extended over a period of three weeks from the beginning of April.

Approximately 50 delegates, representing 22 organizations of the Fourth International coming from 19 different countries took part in the Congress. This was the most representative international gathering ever organized by the Trotskyist world movement.

Present at the Congress were representatives from most European countries, including countries under U.S. or Soviet occupation, from North America, Latin America, Africa, the Middle and Far East. There were also a considerable number of representatives from colonial and semi-colonial countries.

A number of political leaders of the world movement of the Fourth International participated in the Congress, including comrades J. Hoston, secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Great Britain; Colvin R. de Silva, leader of the Trotskyist group in the Ceylon Parliament; S. Santen, secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Holland; Pierre Frank, Favre-Bleibtreu, J. Privas, of the Political Bureau of the International Communist Party of France, etc.

During three weeks of hard work, the World Congress adopted important political resolutions, the principal ones being the following: Resolution on World Political Situation and Tasks of the Fourth International; Theses on USSR and Stalinism; Report on Activity of the International since the Outbreak of the Second Imperialist War; Resolution on Situation in the Colonial Countries and Tasks of the Fourth International; Statutes; political resolutions on Germany and Italy. The internal situation of certain sections of the International and other organizations claiming allegiance to the International were carefully studied, and resolutions were adopted in each case.

Furthermore, the Congress adopted a programmatic Manifesto addressed to the exploited of the whole world, summing up the chief political ideas elaborated by the Congress.

Commemorating the centenary of scientific socialism, the manifesto confirms, in the light of present-day events, the analysis of the functioning of capitalism made by Marx and Engels a century ago. Applying this analysis to the study of capitalism, it shows that in spite of the increasingly totalitarian form of its state and economy, monopoly capitalism is incapable of overcoming the chaos and the crises

resulting from its rule. The manifesto defines the nature and role of the USSR in the midst of declining capitalism, emphasizes the advance of U.S. imperialism towards world domination, and examines the problems of the communist revolution for Europe, the colonies, Latin America and the United States.

Warning the workers of all countries of the barbarous consequences of the new world war now under preparation, the manifesto clearly contrasts the communist program of working class emancipation, which can only be realized by the workers themselves—from the Stalinist practice of placing a bureaucratic straitjacket on the workers' movement. The manifesto outlines a program of transitional demands, enabling the working class to beat the offensive of the world capitalists against its standard of living and its freedoms, and to raise the struggle to a higher level for the socialist reorganization of society.

A new International Executive Committee, composed of 19 members, was elected. The new IEC, which held its first meeting immediately after the conclusion of the Congress, elected a new International Secretariat.

The Congress sent greetings and the expressions of its solidarity to Comrade Natalia Trotsky, to the imprisoned Trotskyist militants in Greece, China, India, China, India, Bolivia and other countries, to the Trotskyist militants of the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Germany and Austria, to the workers and colonial peoples of the whole world engaged in a fight for their social and national liberation.

[This was the second World Congress of the Trotskyist movement and its fourth international gathering. The founding congress of the Fourth International was held in September, 1938. An emergency conference was held after the beginning of World War II in May, 1940. Another international conference was held in April, 1946.]

Farrell Dobbs Speaks May 15 on NBC

Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party nominee for President, will speak for 15 minutes over the NBC national radio hookup on Saturday, May 15. His broadcast begins 5 P.M. Eastern Daylight Saving Time (4 P.M. Central Daylight); 2 P.M. Pacific Daylight). It is one of the series of presidential candidates provided as a public service by NBC.



Mountain Daylight; 2 P.M. Pacific Daylight). It is one of the series of presidential candidates provided as a public service by NBC.

Stench of Arabian Oil Deal Spreads Over Washington

Senate Group Reveals "Avaricious Steal"

The stench of oil imperialism and oil profits grows ever stronger in Washington these days.

Details of the conspiracy of Standard Oil and the U.S. government to grab the Saudi Arabian oil fields were made public on April 28 in a 55-page report by the Senate War Investigating Committee.

The committee, headed by Senator Brewster of Maine, revealed that Standard Oil's Arabian-American Oil Company (Aramco) had "induced" the late President Roosevelt to grant \$99,500,000 in "lend-lease" to King Ibn Saud in return for oil concessions to the American controlled company.

In 1941, Roosevelt agreed to the "lend-lease" deal on Aramco's promise to sell Arabian oil to the government for 40 cents a barrel. Thus, Aramco "overcharged" between 30 and 38 million dollars on sales made to the Navy.

"AVARICIOUS DESIRE" Aramco, says the report, was guided by an "avaricious desire for enormous profits." The government is charged only with a "lack of responsibility."

The oil companies "sought the cloak of U. S. protection and financial assistance to preserve their vast concessions," says the report.

The Navy, it reveals further, did not even demand cost figures before making the \$1.05-per-barrel contract. Navy officials sought to justify the higher-than-agreed on payment on the grounds that Ibn Saud had doubled his royalties from 21 cents to 42 cents a barrel.

This is a false statement, says the committee, and if the Navy made such a statement "then the Committee concludes that the Government was clearly defrauded."

Senator Brewster told the Senate that he is "sorry to report" that the Navy has signed a new contract to pay Aramco \$1.48 per barrel of oil.

These same oil interests have been paying no taxes on their vast foreign profits. Bahrain, a Standard Oil subsidiary, is a Canadian corporation that has accumulated profits and surplus of 91 million dollars on a capital stock of only \$100,000. It hasn't paid taxes even to Canada.

Union Hall Back in Business



Strikers of CIO United Packinghouse Workers are lining up for soup in their rebuilt headquarters recently wrecked by a brutal attack of Kansas City cops. Federated Pictures

IMPERIALIST SCHEME UPSET IN PALESTINE

By E. Burton

The last few weeks have brought an unexpected series of military setbacks to the Arab forces in Palestine. It began with the defeat of Fawzi el Kawujki's

"army of liberation," numbering several thousand, near Haifa, one of the Jewish strongholds in the Jezreel valley. The Arab attack failed completely and the attacking forces withdrew with great losses.

The Jews then took the initiative and occupied two villages which the Arabs were using as bases. They have since occupied the Arab part of Tiberias, meeting with almost no resistance. They attacked the Arab section of Haifa with superior forces and occupied it after a 36 hour battle. This was done with British acquiescence, as British troops were in the area and could have halted the Jewish attack.

These initial Jewish victories have been due to the ability of the Hagana to draw the Arab guerrillas into well-prepared pitched battles. The predominantly feudal level of social organization of the Arabs as well as the guerrilla character of their fighting forces makes them least fitted for this type of warfare.

The present relationship of forces could be decisively changed in one of two ways: If the Arab

ARAB LEAGUE

The reactionary chiefs, feudal lords and kings who rule the Arab world in absolutist fashion are joined together in the Arab League. It was organized in 1943 at the behest of Great Britain and never was in any sense a representative body of the Arab peoples. Since the First World War it has been the ambition of the various Arab rulers to unite the Arab countries — each ruler scheming to bring about Arab unity under his own leadership.

This conflict of the personal ambitions of the feudal lords is the Achilles' heel of the Arab League and makes difficult joint actions. The main conflict centers around the ambition of the Emir Abdullah to "unite" Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordan into a "Greater Syria." Ibn Saud, king of Arabia, as well as the king of Egypt oppose the creation of so powerful a force alongside their own countries. They

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Congressmen Plot To Steamroller 'Police State' Bill

By George Lavan

The witches' brew called the Mundt Bill—a straight dose of poison for American civil liberties — has been reported out and plans are underfoot to steamroller the measure through Congress. This bill, concocted by the House Un-American Committee, aims at driving the Communist (Stalinist) Party and its "front" organizations out of political life. In addition to that, under its broad language, persecution can be started of all working class, liberal and trade union organizations.

The Mundt Bill provides for \$10,000 fines and 10 year prison sentences as well as taking away the citizenship of both native and foreign born citizens.

The bill defines the Communist (Stalinist) movement as an international conspiracy in the service of a foreign (Russian) government to set up a totalitarian dictatorship in this country and lists punishments for all organizations coming under the bill. "Subversive" citizens, as defined by the bill, are forbidden to hold any federal job or even to apply for a passport. The Communist Party must register the names and addresses of all members with the Attorney General. All so-called communist front organizations must keep a full membership list in their offices for the inspection of the FBI at any time.

While the Stalinists are the immediate target of this "police state" legislation, the bill's wording is so vague and many of its sections so sweeping that it can become the legal starting point of the campaign to fasten a police totalitarian regime upon the people of the United States.

ENDANGERS UNIONS

Thus under the "disruption of trade and commerce" clause strikes could be outlawed and broken by the claim that Communists were secretly behind them. The struggle against Jim Crow could come under the clause covering the "inciting of economic, social and racial strife." Likewise, working class or even liberal agitation against government-by-union, the Taft-Hartleyite NLRB, or Wall Street domination of Washington would be vulnerable under the section dealing with "dissemination of propaganda calculated to undermine established government and institutions."

This bill, which is in glaring violation of all constitutional guarantees of political freedom, is being shamelessly pushed by the Big Business press. Both the New York Times and the N. Y. Herald Tribune have come out editorially in its support.

Pointing out that it "authorizes imprisonment for mere expression of opinion without overt acts," the American Civil Liberties Union attacked the Mundt Bill as an "unprecedented violation of the freedom of speech."

Henry Wallace assailed the bill as a threat against his third party movement.

William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party announced that his party will fight the bill and will refuse to comply with its provisions if it is passed.

The National Council of the CIO National Maritime Union unanimously denounced the "police state" measure as an attack on civil liberties and trade unionism.

So far no word has been uttered by the heads of the CIO or AFL against the Mundt Bill. The labor movement must wake up to the danger and become the leader of the struggle against the bosses' campaign to impose totalitarian dictatorship upon the American people.

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Union Heads Fail to Offer Program of Unified Action As Corporations Gang Up

By Art Preis

The flabbiness of the CIO top leaders and their lack of a program of unified action is heading the CIO's "third-round" wage drive toward disaster.

Big Business is already gloating over the anticipated loss in influence the CIO will suffer as a result of failure to win its demands for "substantial" wage increases.

The CIO leadership's policy of depending on the corporations to "go soft" and toss the unions a few extra crumbs has paid off in exactly zero.

Leading corporations in steel, auto, electrical equipment, meat packing, maritime and other major industries have taken the offensive simultaneously against the CIO unions. In rapid-fire fashion, they have tossed the CIO's wage demands back in the faces of CIO negotiators.

CIO President Philip Murray, also head of the CIO Steelworkers, who is supposed to be leading the wage fight, is giving an exhibition of bumbling, fumbling and downright cowardice that is rare even for the traditionally craven union bureaucrats.

Last year Murray slipped over a two-year no-strike clause in the Steelworkers contract in return for meager wage increases. Apparently, he hoped to get similar concessions this year with the same appeasement policy.

Weeks ago, when he reopened wage negotiations with U.S. Steel, Murray assured the steel barons in advance that under no conditions would the union strike. At the same time, his office circulated rumors that a wage increase was "in the bag."

This was reflected in the April 2 Wage Earner, Detroit publication of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, with which Murray is reputed to be closely connected. Its headline read: "STEEL LABOR TO LEAD 'THIRD ROUND'." The story, from Pittsburgh, said:

"Inside reports here this week said U.S. Steel has a wage increase offer for the CIO's United Steelworkers of America. The company expects that its offer will prove to be the 'third round' pattern. There was no word as to how big the wage boost is, but guesses were 'somewhere near 15 cents'."

Whose guesses? Murray's. Certainly.



PHILIP MURRAY

tainly not the steel companies'. Benjamin Fairless, head of U.S. Steel, had publicly told a Senate committee back in March that his company was opposed to any wage boosts.

Murray strung along his membership. But Fairless wasn't kidding. Two weeks ago U.S. Steel signalled an anti-union offensive all along the Big Business line. It rejected out-of-hand the CIO Steelworkers wage demands under the pretext of a trifling price cut that will not infringe on U.S. Steel's monumental profits.

RETREAT AND SURRENDER

In the face of this Big Business offensive, Murray once again assured the steel companies that the steelworkers union would not strike. Murray was saying, in effect, that the CIO Steelworkers, the second largest union in the CIO, intends to leave the other CIO unions to fight it out alone. He was also saying, that he, as the elected head of the CIO, was for a continued policy of retreat and surrender.

On the same day Murray made his latest no-strike pronouncement, General Electric and Westinghouse turned the cold shoulder to the CIO electrical workers.

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SWP CALLS NATIONAL CONVENTION IN JULY

NEW YORK, May 4 — The first presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party will be formally launched at the party's 13th National Convention, which will be held in this city on July 1 to 5, it was announced today. Delegates will gather here from all parts of the country to take action on an agenda that will determine the party's policy in this year's election campaign.

The convention will also nominate the party's candidates for President and Vice-President. Last February Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson were nominated by the SWP National Committee to fill these positions in order to make possible the filing of petitions in states requiring their submission before July. The final decision will be made by the convention. If changes are made in the national ticket, substitutions can be made on the state ballots where petitions have already been filed.

Despite the enormous obstacles placed in the way of permitting minority parties to get on the ballot, it is already clear that the SWP will wage an active campaign bringing its revolutionary socialist message to the attention of millions of workers. This was demonstrated once again today when the Michigan Secretary of State announced that the SWP had qualified for a place on the ballot in that key industrial state.

The SWP is thus already on the ballot in three heavily populated states. Petitions were filed in New Jersey in March, in Pennsylvania in April (under the ballot name of Militant Workers Party), and in Michigan last week. Meanwhile preparations are being made to meet ballot requirements in all the other states where the SWP has members or sympathizers.

The total vote cast for the presidency in 1944 was 48 million votes. The combined vote in Pennsylvania, Michigan and New Jersey that year was close to 8 million. That means the SWP is now on the ballot in areas covering virtually one-sixth of the national voting population. As in the other states, the SWP in Michigan turned in a far greater number of signatures than was required by the law — more than 16,300, or approximately 72% over the legal minimum.

The SWP's main objective in this campaign will be to organize the working people for the struggle to establish a Workers and Farmers Government as the answer to imperialist war, militarism, inflation, Jim Crow, witch hunts and anti-labor legislation. All workers sympathetic to this great goal are urged to contact the nearest SWP branch and participate in the campaign.

"Whip" Planned for Labor in Next War

What fate does Wall Street imperialism plan for you in the coming world war? The April 24 *Business Week*, an authoritative Big Business magazine, bluntly answers:

"All the candy has been passed out now. This time there would be nothing left but the whip."

The whip — this symbol of slave-masters and tyrants — is not used as a mere literary extravagance. It expresses concretely the cold-seber conclusion of the editors of the McGraw-Hill company, largest business publication firm in America, on how the American people are going to be mobilized for World War III.

War mobilization will "add up to a police job," concludes the special report on "Economic Consequences of a Third World War" prepared by the editors of *Business Week*. It will be a "grim and miserable business" for which there will be "no compensations."

In a careful, factual analysis and with irrefutable logic, *Business Week* demonstrates that under the conditions of American capitalist economy today, the

preparations and conduct of the next war will mean a full-scale military totalitarianism.

"The inexorable logic of the situation would leave no substitute for naked compulsion."

American economy has begun the preparations for the next war under far less auspicious circumstances than existed in 1939, *Business Week* points out.

Today, production is near capacity. There is no great surplus of labor. There is no possibility for expanding production for war without immediately curtailing production for personal needs.

Even to get the war production of the last war — which *Business Week* shows was piecemeal compared to the production needs of the coming war — would immediately cut consumption of personal goods from the present three-fourths of national output to one half.

To increase production, even under these conditions, means that the workers will have to work harder and longer than ever before. But instead of more wages for this, *Business Week* states, they would have to take less.

"With the carrot gone, there is

nothing left but the goad."

Preparation and mobilization for war will proceed in three stages.

The first stage, which we are in now and which has neared the end, is where the armaments and military program is developed without too drastic interference with civilian production.

This year federal expenditures for arms and the ERP ("which is just as much a part of our military program as the appropriations for the Army or Air Force," admits *Business Week*) is 17 billion dollars. Next year it will be 22 billion dollars or more. At this point must come the second stage.

Military production will begin to bite deeper and deeper into civilian production. The government will be forced to impose rigid controls to give arms production right-of-way over consumer production and to prevent huge government spending "from plunging the country into chaotic inflation."

It is doubtful, *Business Week* warns, that such controls will be effective or come in time to prevent the addition of "the crippling

confusion of runaway inflation to the unavoidable pangs of mobilization."

With the third stage — the shooting war — the country will be turned into "one total, continuous-wide weapon. . . . Make no mistake about that."

Business Week pooh-poohs the talk "around the Pentagon" of a quick, simple war. Nobody believes it — it's just the "old military dream" of a one-blow war.

At present prices, even to achieve the degree of World War II mobilization the budget will take 120 to 130 billion dollars a year. But that will not allow for the infinitely more destructive character of the coming war and the raging inflation it will produce.

American productive capacity, resources and manpower will be strained to the uttermost point to feed the all-devouring war machine.

The war machine, driving the living standards of the workers down to intolerable levels while grinding the last ounce of energy out of them, will face as its primary and greatest task the control and disciplining of labor.

Henry Wallace and the Next War

By James P. Cannon

There is no longer any realism whatever in speculation as to the possibility or probability of another world war. The power-drunk leaders of American imperialism, in their insane drive for domination over the people of the entire planet, have deliberately put war in the center of their policy. There is no other way to read the consistent development of American foreign policy, from the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine to the fantastic appropriations for new armaments already made and projected. These decisions of the bi-partisan coalition at Washington, supported by all the agencies for the manufacture and control of public opinion, spell only one thing: The decision has been made in the highest councils; war has been put at the top of the agenda.

The formal outbreak of the war, that is to say, the extension of American economic and political aggression into direct military action, may be deferred for strategic and tactical reasons. Or, the shooting war may break out at any moment. But in either case, those who count on the salvation of the human race by the independent class action of the workers must take the war—tomorrow or a bit later—as the fundamental reality. The continuing struggle for socialism must be conducted within the framework of this reality.

This war, as is already clearly indicated, will be simultaneously directed against the workers of America and the rank and file of the people of all other countries. The defense of the interests of the American working class is inextricably bound up with the struggle against the war. All parties and all political people must be judged by their stand on this formulation of the question.

A Spurious Opposition

Given the advanced stage of war preparations and the weakness of the revolutionary labor movement in this country, it must be acknowledged that the prospect of staying the hands of the warmakers is very slim indeed. Public opinion has been bludgeoned into a fatalistic acceptance of the inevitable. The entire labor bureaucracy is in the war camp, not making even the customary token protest. The atom bomb fanatics who call themselves "Social Democrats" are the most hysterical warmongers of all. Outside the revolutionary party, whose voice for the time being is drowned out in the jingo clamor, the only sign of opposition to the war is that of Wallace and his new party. And this opposition has more sound than substance.

The completely bourgeois program of the Wallace party in the realm of domestic policy has been amply demonstrated by Marxist criticism, and this criticism has been sustained by the frank avowals of the head and front of the movement, the millionaire politician and businessman, Wallace himself.

To be sure, many workers support the Wallace party, believing that it represents the hope of something different and better than capitalist enslavement. Even some more advanced workers, who ought to know better, delude themselves with the idea that the bourgeois Wallace party in some mysterious way will or can be transformed into an anti-capitalist force. But Wallace himself, and others who speak for the party with authority, are doing all they can to correct this mistaken assumption. They insist on every occasion that they have no other design than to "make capitalism work," to secure "fair profits" for businessmen; to return to the program of Roosevelt, which was capitalism in excelsis. The most that Wallace promises—if one is satisfied with promises—is to embellish American capitalism with "democracy," fair treatment of the workers and removal of special discriminations against Negroes, etc.—all without touching the foundations of American capitalism.

But even those rigidly limited promises cannot be fulfilled by Wallace or anyone else. The very continuation of the capitalist social system in the period of its decay and death agency carries

with it an increasing abridgement of democratic rights and a continuing assault on the living standard of the American workers. Almost from day to day, facts are confirming theory in this respect. The process is already underway, accelerated by the feverish preparations for war. Democracy and living standards are losing ground right now in the richest country in the world.

What, then, is to be expected when the war itself comes, with its iron necessity for a complete military regimentation of the country, its insatiable demand for uncounted billions, its disruption and subordination of the economy to military requirements? It would be most unbecoming for thinking workers to entertain any illusions whatever as to the possibility of balancing these loaded scales with the feather-weight promises of political demagogues out of office, promises which cost nothing under the circumstances.

Capitalism with democracy and prosperity is rapidly becoming obsolete. And capitalism without war is impossible. Those who support capitalism must accept its consequences whether they will or no. Nevertheless, there are people, and they number millions, who believe in miracles, who nourish the hope, better to say the illusion, that these consequences may in some way be avoided, that peace may be maintained and war avoided, without destroying the social system which breeds it. This mass illusion is the great driving force behind the Wallace movement.

The real struggle against war, which is inseparable from the struggle against capitalism, requires a merciless exposure of this illusion and those who cultivate it. Far from being a serious anti-war movement, as demagogues proclaim and millions believe, the Wallace party is in fact a part of the mechanism preparing the people for war. By seizing hold of the mass sentiment against war, and diverting it from the struggle against the basic cause of war, the Wallace party sterilizes the anti-war movement and prepares it for collapse when the first shot is fired or the first bomb is dropped.

When we said this at the inception of the Wallace movement, and branded his anti-war ballyhoo as a cruel deception of the masses, we were not inspired by factional prejudice and narrow-minded dogmatism, as some people thought. Our position flowed from an analysis of his social program. Theory and experience with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois anti-war movements of the past guided us in our characterization of the Wallace movement. We did not have to wait long for proof of the accuracy of this characterization. It finds complete confirmation now in the outspoken declarations of Wallace himself.

Promises to Support War

Wallace has made it clear that all the warmakers have to do to dispose of his opposition is to start the war. He said that in so many words to Fern Kimball of the North American Newspaper Alliance, who reports an interview with Wallace in the New York Times of Sunday, April 25.

"If the United States should go to war I, of course, would withdraw," Wallace told his interviewer.

The reporter pressed the question a little harder: "If there were a war, would you support the United States' war efforts regardless of your opinion on the present United States foreign policy?"

Mr. Wallace answered: "Certainly."

This unambiguous declaration of fundamental loyalty to American imperialism under conditions of war may shock and surprise some people who have taken his anti-war fulminations for good coin and thought him worthy of support on that ground. But that's only the result of a misunderstanding on their part. This latest clarifying statement of Wallace's flows logically from his basic program. All the inconsistency is on the side of those who permitted themselves to expect that a party, pledged by its program to the

support of American capitalism, could jump over its own head and withhold its support at the most critical moment, when the very existence of the regime will be staked on the issue of a war.

Experience teaches us that a bourgeois pacifist opposition to governmental policy in time of peace, regardless of subjective intentions, is just as much a means of mobilizing the people for support of the war as the agitation of the most rabid jingo, and is even more dangerous, for it deceives and disarms the people. What is involved between the jingoes and the pacifists is not a fundamental conflict, but a division of labor. The specific task of bourgeois pacifism has always been to corral the anti-war sentiments of the masses by shouting against war in time of peace only in order to paralyze the movement and deliver it to the warmakers the moment war breaks out.

We have had striking illustrations of this procedure already in the two world wars in which America has participated. That experience ought to be sufficient warning against falling into the same trap in connection with the Third World War, in which the American imperialist government is the initiator and aggressor. By opposing the war before it starts, the leaders of the pacifist opposition gain the confidence of the masses, and then use the authority they have gained by their anti-war propaganda to lead the movement into the war camp when the shooting starts.

This game was worked to perfection in the preparation of the American people for the First World War. Wilson was re-elected to the presidency in 1916 in a campaign of pacifism conducted under the slogan: "He Kept Us Out of War." A tremendous unofficial anti-war movement was led by William Jennings Bryan who resigned from Wilson's cabinet in order to fill this role. Great hopes were raised that the anti-war sentiment, thus mobilized and registered, would be sufficient to preserve the neutrality of the United States. These hopes, however, did not reckon with the harsh realities and necessities of American imperialism, and the character of the leadership to which the anti-war movement had been entrusted.

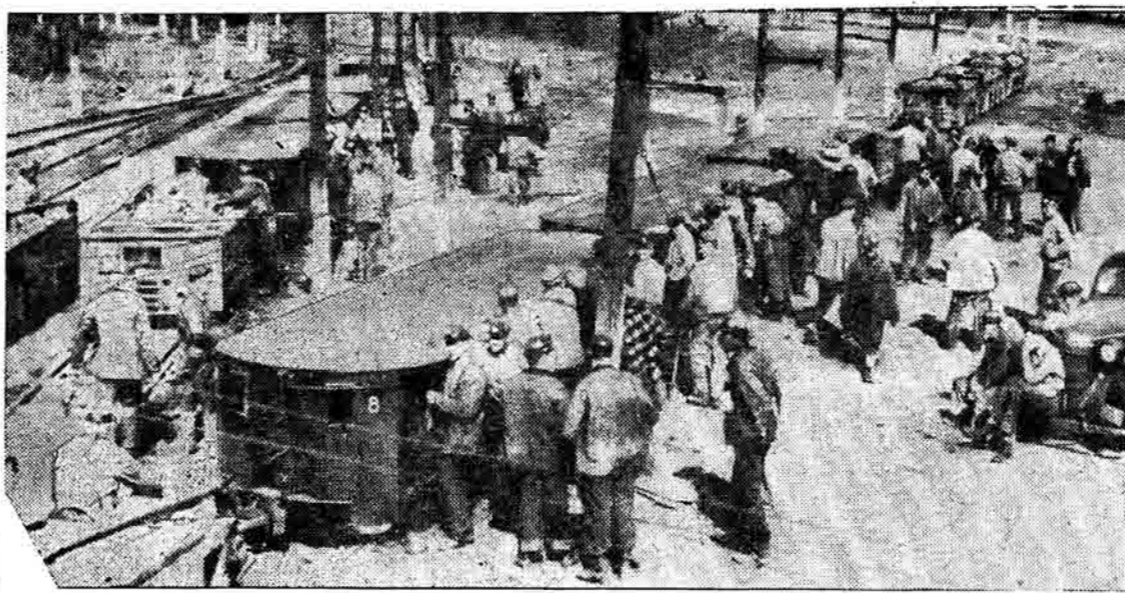
Wilson was no sooner re-elected on his anti-war appeal than he found the necessary pretext to plunge the American people into the slaughter. No sooner was the decision made than Bryan, the trusted leader of the anti-war mass movement, reminded himself of his fundamental loyalties and used his great influence and authority to disorient the people and lead them into the war.

The same thing happened with the supposed opposition to our entry into the Second World War, which at one time had formidable proportions and highly influential politicians and statesmen at its head. Senator Wheeler was one of them. But the very day the shooting started Senator Wheeler and other leaders of the great "peace movement" (including Norman Thomas) called on their followers to cease all opposition and give 100% support to the "war effort" of the government.

In the face of this record of bourgeois pacifism in two world wars, what ground is there to think that Wallace, who is not even a pacifist, who was a bitter-end jingo in the Second World War, who just a few weeks ago advocated before the Senate Committee, a standing army of a million men; and whose opposition is confined to diplomatic tactics and procedures—what ground is there to think that Wallace's anti-war fulminations will serve a different purpose in the Third World War? There is no ground whatever.

Wallace himself has now made that crystal clear by his frank declaration, quoted above, that "if the United States should go to war" he would withdraw his candidacy and support the "war efforts" of the Wall Street-Brass Hat combination. Those who mistakenly support the Wallace movement under a contrary impression will contribute, whatever their intentions may be, to the deception and betrayal of the people.

Miners Return to Work



Heeding the call of John L. Lewis most of the nation's soft coal miners returned to the pits. Here Pittsburgh workers step into the covered cars that will take them to their jobs—six miles underground.

which in turn generate new opportunities for the Marxists to win the support of the working class and for the working class to take an "unknown quantity"—and not only the American working class.) One might think that if Vannier realizes he is dealing with an unknown quantity he would have the sense or the decency not to talk about it, or to reserve judgment on its chances of taking power. But that would be a vain expectation, for Vannier immediately adds that it wouldn't be "very sensible" to expect the American workers to do what their European brothers have not yet done.

We do not have the space here to treat at length with the contradictions of American capitalism, the remarkable transformation of the American working class in recent years, the tremendous power lodged in that class—all of which point convincingly to victory for the socialist revolution in this country. (Readers are referred to documents on these questions which Vannier and his fellow renegades have never tried seriously to refute—the Theses on the American Revolution adopted by the 1946 convention of the Socialist Workers Party and the speech delivered at that convention by James P. Cannon, both reprinted in the Pioneer Publishers pamphlet, *The Coming American Revolution*.) At this time we can call attention to one vital aspect of the total problem which Vannier tries hard to gloss over: the relation of the American to the European revolution.

Capitalism is a world system and, as recent UN figures graphically revealed, the U.S. is its only strong prop. The fate of the European revolution depends not only on the class struggle waged on that continent, but also on the class struggle here. For that is what will determine whether or not American capitalism will be able to extend effective counter-revolutionary aid to its European satellites, who are doomed to rapid extinction without such aid.

The nature of the relationship can be stated even more positively: Establish socialism in the U.S., and the rest of the world, including Europe, will quickly and inevitably follow suit. The question of the revolution in Europe cannot be regarded as definitively settled, therefore, even if one began by assuming that the European revolution will be retarded or defeated in the coming period. For the American working class is destined, by the very preponderance of American productive capacity, to play the decisive role in the world revolution.

COLONIAL UPSURGE

Vannier tries to isolate the political capacity of the European workers ("impotent") from that of the American workers ("unknown quantity"). In just the same way his survey of world conditions during the last third of a century completely omits mention of one of the most revolutionary developments of all—the anti-imperialist eruption of the colonial world, embracing a majority of the globe's population. Vannier prefers to cover up this point, because the colonial upsurge deals deadly blows not only to the power of European and world capitalism, but also to Vannier's analysis of the prospects for revolution in this period. His thesis about the workers' incapacity to take power can evidently be "sustained" only by evasions, distortions and omissions.

(To be concluded next week.)

The Prospects for Socialist Revolution

By George Breitman

Any discussion of the workers' political capacity to establish socialism must necessarily include an examination of the period from 1914 to the present day. But Jean Vannier's survey of modern conditions and prospects for revolution (*March Partisan Review*) is just as biased and misleading as his treatment of historical trends, which we have discussed in previous articles.

According to Vannier, Marx's fundamental hypothesis—that the workers can and must take power—seemed legitimate in the 19th century. But now, he insists, it must be discarded because "the course of the proletariat has, for more than a third of a century, been increasingly erratic." No one can deny that since 1914 the workers have suffered a number of cruel defeats and repressions at the hands of their capitalist enemies. But is that the whole story?

A REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH

On the contrary, the last third of a century has also been the period when for the first time the workers as an independent force engaged in large-scale attempts at revolution; it has been the most revolutionary epoch of all history, unequalled either in scope or intensity or length. This was the period that saw the workers toppling capitalism in Russia and storming the revolutionary heights in a dozen other key countries, despite the inadequacy or outright treachery of their leaders. Never before have the capitalists had so little confidence in the permanence of their system—and with good reason.

Vannier may be able to kid some of the Partisan Review readers into thinking that the workers are incapable of taking power because they do not march in a straight line from one victory to another. But serious people studying the events of this epoch know better. They recognize the last third of a century as essentially a period of test and experiment for a young revolutionary class; and they perceive in these events the irresistible striving of the workers for socialism, despite all the mistakes they make and the defeats they undergo.

WRONG ANSWER

Vannier recalls that in 1850 Marx told the European workers: "You will have to go through fifteen, twenty, fifty years of civil wars and international conflicts, not only in order to trans-

form your circumstances but to transform yourselves and make yourselves fit for political power." And then Vannier asks: "Is this process of political education still going on today? . . . The answer is no." That's a flat answer, but not a true one.

It has taken the workers longer to gain power than Marx foresaw, but the civil wars and international conflicts in which the workers have the opportunity to learn great political lessons have neither ceased nor diminished. In fact they have become bigger and bigger, involving ever more of the world's population. This provides the workers with greater, large-scale opportunities to learn. The workers have still not attained an ideal state of "political capacity," but they have learned from two world wars, for instance, that capitalism has nothing to offer them but mass misery. That is why in virtually every country of Europe today it is impossible for the openly capitalist parties to win the support of more than a small fraction of the working class.

What is the significance of the fact that since World War II the overwhelming majority of the European workers have rallied around parties—Stalinist and Social Democratic—which promise to institute socialism? It is a sign that the workers want socialism and are trying to bring such parties to power. What is this if not part of the process of political education? It may be objected that the Stalinists and Social Democrats betray their vows; they surely do.

But just as the Russian workers learned the truth about their treacherous leaders and substituted revolutionary leaders in the midst of the great explosions of 1917, so the workers will have further opportunities in the coming civil wars and international conflicts to draw correct conclusions about the treachery of their present leaders—if the revolutionary vanguard fulfills its mission of providing an alternative leadership to the class in periods of revolutionary crisis.

PHONY PROFUNDITY

After thus arbitrarily ruling out the possibility of further political education for the European workers, Vannier spices up his article with a "profound" economic argument: "Marx's fundamental hypothesis would only remain a measure of reality if some notable development in Europe's productive forces made

the proletariat once more a cohesive body with a capacity for struggle and with faith in the future. . . . But such a possibility is extremely chimerical: European economy will not emerge from its quagmire for a long time to come."

Of course it won't, despite all the money Wall Street pumps into it. But since when does the possibility of revolution depend directly and automatically on a "notable" rise in capitalist productive forces? The Russian revolution took place in the midst of a ruinous war that had broken down production in a country that never had a very high productive level. The German revolution occurred in 1918 in a defeated nation, with production going down and not up. The Spanish civil war of 1936 found the workers fighting valiantly to establish socialism while they were in combat with the fascists, without any "notable" rise in the country's productive capacity. Why then must the European workers now give up the hope of socialism until the miraculous advent of a capitalist renaissance?

In fact, the bankruptcy of capitalism, which is increasingly evident to the workers, is a vital factor in any consideration of revolutionary prospects. Vannier admits: "The bankruptcy of the European ruling classes is as complete as one could have imagined a hundred years ago. But if this fact is a necessary condition to the seizure of power by the proletariat, it is by no means a sufficient condition. The question is not merely one of relative strength." Naturally it's not the only factor, but that is no reason to minimize it.

RELATIVE STRENGTH

Relative strength plays an important part in any struggle. In judging the possibility of revolutionary success, it is necessary to weigh the political capacity of the workers, limited as it is, not against an ideal norm of capacity but against the political capacity of the ruling class, which itself suffers from limitations, the tendency to make mistakes, and growing debilitation. This point cannot be stressed too strongly because after all, one of the means by which the capitalists retain their rule is the propaganda they spread about the omnipotence of their system.

Furthermore, this too bears repetition, the bankruptcy of capitalism creates conditions of permanent crisis and ferment,

THE AMERICAN WORKERS

Having disposed of the European revolution, Vannier still has to deal with the rest of the world. How about America, for example? Ah yes, says Vannier, "the American proletariat, the most powerful in the world . . . has not yet given an accounting of itself. That is true enough. We do have an unknown quantity here." (For the benefit of those

Events on the International Scene

By Paul G. Stevens

MARTIAL LAW IN JAPAN

Martial law was proclaimed in the port cities of Kobe and Osaka in Japan last week after tens of thousands of Koreans demonstrated in the streets against an order making their schools subject to Japanese education laws. The American military commander, General Eichelberger, flew to Kobe from Tokyo to take personal charge. Over 1,600 persons were arrested in the two cities and more than a thousand continue to be held.

Naturally, in view of the recent proclamation of a "Democratic People's Republic" in Soviet-occupied Northern Korea and the impending elections in U.S.-held Southern Korea, the demonstrations in Japan are ascribed to a "Communist" plot. "Most of Japan's 600,000 Koreans—are strongly Communist," a dispatch to the New York Times asserts.

But what these people, long held in subjection as a persecuted minority by Japanese imperialism, apparently wanted was schools at last free of the domination of their former oppressors.

ALGERIAN INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE

The "Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties," led by Messali Hadj, is conducting a fierce struggle for "total independence" and the election of a sovereign constituent assembly in Algiers against French imperialism. This movement, originally the People's Party of Algiers, was suppressed by the Daladier government before the war, by Petain during the years of Nazi domination and is only semi-legal today. But it enjoys the allegiance of the overwhelming majority of Algerians, as proven by the elections held by the "French Union" (the post-war name of the French Empire).

Recently the Federation of this movement in France held a mass meeting in Paris. Tunisians, Moroccans, North Africans of every country, Egyptians, Palestine Arabs as well as Viet Namese were represented on the platform. French working class organizations were also invited to send representatives to support the struggle of the Algerians. The Stalinists, who had supported

They made the mistake of thinking this could be realized with the coming of the American "liberators." The Japanese authorities, backed by MacArthur's HQ, quickly disillusioned them.

One of the most grievous crimes of the Korean schools, it appears, is the prominence given to the teaching of socialism. The Koreans are discovering that their present star-spangled rulers are just as ruthless against socialism and their aspirations for national freedom as were their former oppressors of the rising sun.

More than anything else, the new overlords of Japan fear that the Japanese masses may become infected by the Koreans' spirit of militant struggle. Strikes in Japan, although on an unprecedented mass scale, have been peaceful thus far and the workers have submitted to military bans without any serious resistance. The demonstrations of the Koreans can furnish a dangerous example to the Japanese. That is why Eichelberger and his troops have clamped down so violently on Kobe and Osaka.

French imperialism's refusal of Algerian independence ever since they entered the de Gaulle government after the war, attended along with other organizations' representatives. The Stalinists tried to place all the blame for imperialist outrages in Algeria upon the present Schumann government, in line with their recent "left" turn. They were very mealy-mouthed and vague about their support of the movement, which they had previously denounced as fascist.

When Jacques Privas, secretary of the Trotskyist-PCI mounted the platform, they tried to stop him from speaking and then attempted to stage a walkout. But the North Africans present knew of the unflinching solidarity of the Trotskyists with their struggle for independence. Led by the chairman of the meeting, the colonial workers of Paris quickly put an end to the Stalinist maneuver. Privas' revolutionary message and exposure of Stalinism was interrupted by constant rounds of enthusiastic applause.

SP-TROTSKYIST DEBATE IN BELGIUM

Hundreds of miners and metal workers turned out on March 12 to the Gilly People's House in Charleroi, Belgium, to listen to George Vereeken, veteran Trotskyist leader, debate Max Buset, president of the Belgian Socialist Party, on the Marshall Plan.

Buset described the Plan merely as an effort to overcome American over-production and aid Europe to become a good U.S. customer. Only the "scandal"

press" in the U.S. calls for war against Russia, he said. No one else there wants it. Vereeken pointed to the examples of Greece, Turkey, Iran and China to show what Wall Street "aid" really meant and what the Marshall Plan would mean for all of Europe. Continued applause greeted his exposures and his conclusion that only the international struggle of the workers against the bosses could assure peace and plenty.

TEACHERS CONVENTION IN FRANCE

The recent convention of the National Teachers Union was a most important one. The convention had before it three proposals relating to the recent split in the French trade union movement. 1) To remain in the Stalinist-dominated CGT Federation; 2) To join the new reformist "Force Ouvriere" (Workers Strength) Federation headed by Leon Jouhaux; 3) To go autonomous but work for the reunification of the trade union movement. The

third position received an overwhelming majority. As a result, the reformist and Stalinist wings of the union have decided not to form separate organizations but to remain in the autonomous union. This is one of the few unions which has remained intact in spite of the split in the trade union movement as a whole. The Teachers Union leaders are affiliated with the new "Trade Union Unity" tendency, supported by the PCI.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Flint Sets Goal Of 400 Subs

The date that appears beside your name and address on every *Militant* is the date your subscription will expire. By renewing well in advance, you can avoid missing any issues.

Two expiration notices are normally sent, one giving about six weeks notice and the last two weeks notice. But these may be lost or overlooked. The date with the address always tells the story. If you miss copies of the paper, look at old issues to see if your sub didn't expire.

The trouble with six-month subscriptions is that they expire so quickly. In this fast-moving era, six months seem to pass in a flash. Even a full year subscription ends surprisingly soon. Many readers who have received 54 or 55 issues of *The Militant* feel it was only a few weeks ago it started coming, until they check back over their copies or look up the date when they subscribed. It pays to subscribe for a full year, and avoid having to renew so soon.

Flint Branch decided to do more than hold a meeting in celebration of May Day. "We are observing May Day with our tra-

ditional meeting. In addition, this year, we are opening a 6-week Militant sub campaign with a big mobilization. The branch is divided into 2 teams for this work. Our goal is a minimum of 400 subs! We have just completed one successful campaign to put the SWP on the ballot in the state of Michigan and are all tuned up. Now watch our smoke! As proof of our intentions, here are 6 half-year subs and 3 one-year subs."

From a New York reader — "Enclosed you will find \$20. Please renew my sub to *The Militant*, the rest is for the Militant fund." Many thanks to this reader.

Milwaukee comrades have been on the job and with fine results. This time they sent in 21 subs making a total of 51 subs in two weeks. Good work, comrades.

Chelsea Branch of local New York announced a membership and sub drive last week. These comrades allowed no "grass to grow under their feet." As proof of their seriousness, they came in with 17 subs this week; two of them are combination subs. Socialist competition, we are informed, will be the keynote.

Comrade Dick is well in the lead with 10 one-year subscriptions to his credit.

Subscriptions: \$1 per year; 50c 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.

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TROTSKY

"The human race has a right to be proud of its Aristotle, Shakespeare, Darwin, Beethoven, Goethe, Marx, Edison and Lenin. But why are they so rare? Above all, because almost without exception, they came out of the upper and middle classes. Apart from rare exceptions, the sparks of genius in the suppressed depths of the people are choked before they can burst into flame. But also because the processes of creating, developing and educating a human being have been and remain essentially a matter of chance, not illuminated by theory and practice, not subjected to consciousness and will. . . . Socialism will mean a leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom in this sense also, that the man of today, with all his contradictions and lack of harmony, will open the road for a new and happier race."

—Leon Trotsky, Copenhagen Speech, 1932.



LENIN

The Second Congress Of the Fourth International

The Militant hails the Second Congress of the Fourth International, which successfully concluded its work in Paris last month. We proudly declare our solidarity with the main decisions of this representative gathering of the world Trotskyist movement.

The Fourth International is still a small and persecuted organization, although the Second Congress showed that it now represents more members in more countries than at any time since its foundation ten years ago. Its deliberations are either ignored or vilely slandered in the columns of the capitalist, Stalinist and Social Democratic press. Nevertheless, history will hold them to be a hundred times more important than the vile maneuvers and hypocritical pronouncements emanating from such international bodies as the United Nations. The UN represents the system of capitalism, which has brought the world to the brink of disaster and barbarism. The Fourth International, in contrast, represents the future society of socialism and with its success is bound up the fate of the human race.

The crisis of our times is the crisis of working class leadership. The masses of Europe have demonstrated repeatedly that they want a socialist change in society. They have been frustrated in their desires by the treachery and cowardice of the Stalinists and Social Democrats. But the very conditions resulting from the bankruptcy of

capitalism drive them to renew their struggles and continue their search for an adequate leadership.

The Fourth International offers the leadership for which the masses are groping. It withstood the blows of wartime repressions, resisted the pressure of both capitalist and Stalinist reaction and managed to solidify its small but growing forces into firm cadres for the mass revolutionary parties of the future.

Its growth and rise to the leadership of the masses are foreshadowed not only by its tenacity and devotion to principle but by such post-war developments as the Renault strike in France and the leftward movements among the Socialist youth in France and Italy, the first important breaks in the Stalinist and Social Democratic structures.

The First International projected for the first time the world organization of the working class and furnished it with the scientific program of socialism. The Second International mobilized millions and set up mass parties in the most advanced countries of Europe. The Third International, through its core of Russian Bolsheviks, showed how to conquer working class power and launched the revolutionary onslaught against capitalism on a world scale. The Fourth International is destined to organize the victory and establish working class states throughout the world.

The Wall Street Strike

The AFL United Financial Employees 31-day strike against the New York Stock Exchange has ended in defeat. On April 29, the union voted to return to work at once on the terms of the Exchange bosses.

This included raises of \$3 to \$5 per week, as offered by the Stock Exchange officials before the strike, instead of the \$9 to \$15 originally demanded by the union. Its key demand for a union shop was denied. And 100 of the 850 strikers are being fired.

The strikers are to be commended for putting up a valiant battle. And the splendid solidarity of the AFL seamen, who gave militant support to the picket lines, sets a worthy example for all labor.

But with the forces these white collar workers could muster, they could not hold out against the power of the Wall Street moguls and the brutal attacks of Mayor O'Dwyer's police.

A significant factor in the strike was the open interference of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

A number of the strike leaders, who are

under the influence of the Catholic Church, suffered from the illusion that the blessings of the Church and the cover of religion would lend them "respectability."

The ACTU flooded the picket lines with leaflets announcing, "Catholic Organizations Back Wall Street Strikers." These leaflets explained that the ACTU "has been blessed by Pope Pius XII."

The strike leaders also declaimed long and loud on their "anti-Communism" and "100% Americanism."

But this didn't prevent that eminent Catholic citizen and 100% American Mayor O'Dwyer from sending his cops out to beat up the pickets and escort strikebreakers.

The lesson is plain. When you're out fighting the bosses on the picket line the black robes of the priests and the American flag are no protection.

To win, the strikers needed the moral and physical backing of the hundreds of thousands of New York's unionists, not the disorienting interference of the Catholic hierarchy with its red-baiting poison of "anti-Communism."

Let the People Decide!

All it takes right now to plunge this country into war is the command of just one person, the President of the United States.

Contrary to what most people have been led to believe, Truman doesn't even need the authorization of Congress.

He can just sign a piece of paper—an order for the dispatch of American armed forces to any spot on the globe—and commit this country to war.

This fact, with all its sinister implications, has just been publicly stressed — indeed, insisted on — by Truman himself. He asserted this authority on April 22, in a statement on his power, by mere decree, to send troops to Palestine.

He recalled that previous Presidents, in their capacity as Commanders-in-Chief, had sent troops into battle in Haiti, Nicaragua and Mexico.

Warren R. Austin, chief U. S. delegate to the UN, backed up Truman's claim. "We have done it always without an act of Congress," Austin said. "More than 100 times the Chief Executive has sent Marines and other detachments on a special mission where persons or property of persons of the U.S.A. or the honor of the U.S.A. was at stake."

That's all it takes to send American boys off to fight and die. A tool of the bankers and oil trust like Truman is directed by his capitalist bosses to "protect" their property and profits somewhere. He claims "our honor" has been violated. By a stroke of his pen, U. S. troops, ships, planes, can be off on their "special mission" of conquest, which can soon turn into a world-wide holocaust.

Of course, Congress has the sole constitutional authority to "declare" war. But that is becoming a mere formality. Wall Street's rubber-stamp Congress is allowed to put its OK on war—the pretense that the war represents the "will of the people"—after the fighting has begun.

This power of the President, aided and abetted by Congress, to thrust this country into war is the most dangerous threat to the American people.

Only those who do the suffering and dying in war should have the power to decide the question of war or peace. Let this most crucial of all questions be decided by the people themselves, through a democratic referendum!

Take the war-making powers out of the hands of Truman and the Congress. Let the people decide!

Churchill's Moscow Trials Claim Proves Him a Common Slanderer

By John C. Wright

The issue of the Moscow Frame-up Trials together with the accompanying blood purges has been revived once again. This time by none other than Winston Churchill in his "history" of World War II and the events leading up to it. The text of Churchill's memoirs has been appearing serially in the New York Times and in Life magazine.

Churchill raises this issue in passing. (It would have been embarrassing for any historian to have omitted all reference to these events which played so important a role in preparing the stage for the second imperialist world slaughter.)

But although his treatment is sketchy, Churchill nevertheless lends his voice to corroborating the Stalinist lie that the victims of the Kremlin's frameups and blood purge — the entire generation of Lenin's co-workers plus the outstanding Soviet military leaders — had plotted with Hitler to overthrow Stalin and to install a capitalist regime in Russia, favorable to the Nazis and the Mikado.

Churchill asserts this not on the basis of any information he possesses himself, nor on the basis of any historical research or documents, but solely on the basis of a private conversation with Premier Benes of Czechoslovakia, which reportedly took place in January 1944.

According to Churchill, Benes told him that in the autumn of 1936, "he (Benes) became aware that communications were passing through the Soviet Embassy in Prague between important persons in Russia and the German Government."

Without specifying anything further — neither the content of these alleged "communications," nor the identity of these "important (Soviet) persons" nor any other key data which a conscientious historian is duty-bound to produce in such a situation — Churchill then goes on to say coolly:

"This was a part of the so-called military and Old-Guard Communist conspiracy to overthrow Stalin, and introduce a new regime based on a pro-German policy. President Benes lost no time in communicating all he could find out to Stalin. Thereafter followed the merciless, but perhaps not needless, military and political purge in Soviet Russia, and the series of trials in January 1937, in which Vyshinsky, the Public Prosecutor, played

so masterful a part." (N.Y. Times April 26.)

Churchill, it will be observed, not only dates the events connected with the Moscow Frame-ups back to the "autumn of 1936," on the alleged say-so of Benes — but also declares on his own authority that the trials themselves began only in "January 1937."

This is an outright falsehood. It was not the first but the second trial, that of Pyatakov-Radek and others, that took place in January 1937. The actual series started in August 1936, when the Zinoviev-Kamenev juridical farce was staged.

In other words, by the "autumn of 1936" when Premier Benes allegedly became cognizant of mysterious communications in Prague the press of the whole world had been trumpeting for weeks the sensational news of the Zinoviev-Kamenev Trial, and of Prosecutor Vyshinsky's "masterful part" in the proceedings.

The indictment of the Zinoviev-Kamenev Trial contains not a single word concerning any agreements between the defendants and any foreign powers. The only ones in this trial who "confessed" to even connections with German fascist agents were three obscure figures (Olberg, M. Lurye and N. Lurye) who likewise breathed not a syllable about "agreements."

At the trials not a single document, not a single verifiable fact was adduced to substantiate any of the key charges of the prosecution, let alone agreements with foreign powers. This was confirmed by the Dewey Commission which investigated the Moscow Trials and branded them in its verdict as frameups.

Churchill boasts time and again about the full documentation and objectivity of his history, yet in this connection he blandly ignores all the key documents, testimony and facts that were brought out in the work and verdict of this Commission of Inquiry (see, "The Case of Leon Trotsky," and "Not Guilty," Harper & Bros., 1937 and 1938).

Churchill ignores just as deliberately the damning fact that in the Nuremberg Trials, where the chief figures of Nazism were on trial for months, not a single piece of evidence, let alone documentary proof, was produced to show that there was any such conspiracy as Churchill now affirms there was. There was not even a reference to it, although Trotsky's widow, Natalia Sedov Trotsky, and many public figures in England and in the U.S. repeatedly demanded at the time

that they be permitted to question the Nazi leaders on this issue.

Moreover, among all the German documents and secret files seized by the victorious Allies, not a shred of evidence has ever been produced in all these years.

How could any conscientious historian have ignored all this?

The chief defendants at the Moscow Trials, as well as the central figures in the alleged conspiracy, were not military men or any of the accused themselves but Leon Trotsky and his son Leon Sedov. Churchill is well aware of this. Nor is he ignorant of the fact that before the Moscow Trials, Trotsky was accused by the Kremlin of being the "agent of Churchill." Furthermore, England herself was "implicated" in the Bukharin-Radek Trial, the last in the series of the Moscow Trials. And finally, in the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, Trotsky and the Trotskyists were once again accused of serving not as agents of Hitler or the Mikado, but of Britain and of Wall Street. Churchill disregards all this, although it has a direct bearing on the whole matter.

The political essence of the Moscow frameups and the aims of all these fantastic and self-contradictory charges were one and the same, namely, to serve the Kremlin's foreign policy at the given time and to discredit Trotsky and Trotskyism, and to provide a political cover for the physical annihilation by Stalin of political opponents inside and outside the Soviet Union. For reasons best known to himself, Churchill omits all reference to Trotsky but nevertheless finds it expedient to help the Kremlin cast a cloud over Trotsky and Trotskyism, the most consistent and irreconcilable political opponents of Stalinism.

Let it be recalled that Churchill was a prominent member of the English government when a similar attempt was made, through the notorious Sisson documents, to discredit Lenin and the Bolsheviks, including Trotsky, as

the agents of the Kaiser in the early days of the Russian Revolution, English diplomacy, with Churchill's undoubted knowledge, played at the time a prominent part in concocting this particular frame-up.

It is also an historical fact that the most prominent English Tories, including Churchill, voiced their strongest approval of Stalin's fight against Trotsky from its very inception in 1923, and called upon Stalin to place Trotsky before the firing squad, many years before the Moscow courts condemned him to death in absentia.

The political motives which dictated Churchill's past conduct in relation to Lenin and Trotsky are the very ones which motivate

Churchill is no more averse to it than Stalin and the "masterful" Vyshinsky.

This is precisely what Churchill did by cynically disregarding all the proven facts in connection with the Moscow Trials and the purges, and by deliberately attempting to fit the "information" of Benes (which incidentally Churchill himself admits in a footnote might very well have been planted by the GPU) into the sequence of events connected with the Moscow Trials.

This is highly embarrassing, especially to those who like the editors of the Social Democratic New Leader specialize in sermons on morality, and who are now beating the drums for another war of "democracy against totalitarianism" in the preparation of which Churchill (and his latest volume of memoirs) play by no means a minor role.

These gentlemen, who have prided themselves up till now, on denouncing in strongest terms all apologists of the Moscow frameups (when obvious flunkies of the Kremlin were involved), are singularly restrained on this occasion. They reprint Churchill's comments; they correctly point out that "not one fact has ever been adduced to prove" the very same contention that Churchill suddenly supports and they politely conclude: "If Churchill has any facts, he should cite them, instead of seemingly (!) justifying the purge" (The New Leader, May 1).

To demand the facts is, of course, eminently proper. But why stop there? While there are no facts or documents to prove the charges made at the Moscow trials, there is no lack of facts and documents that disprove them. Disregard by any historian of such authenticated material suffices to disqualify him.

Instead of being in a position to accuse anybody else, Churchill must first answer accusations that are justifiably leveled against him.



WINSTON CHURCHILL

him today in his role as "historian." This rabid enemy of the working class and the socialist revolution remains true to himself and to his class. He is consistent in the political aims he pursues. He is always ready to use any means or weapons no matter how foul in order to deal blows to revolutionary leaders and their movement. If Stalin's crimes can be used to this evil end, so much the better. If his story must be falsified, then

Latin American Notes

By J. Gomez

THE BOGOTA CONFERENCE

The just-concluded ninth "Pan-American" Conference met under the clouds of acute economic and political crisis facing all of Latin America. In view of the frightful economic conditions, these representatives hoped to impress the American spokesmen with the necessity of starting some kind of "Marshall Plan" for Latin America, for the simple reason that their weak, anemic shoulders can no longer carry the Shylock burden of the Wall Street banks.

But the Wall Street representatives fear that even the strong shoulders of U.S. capitalism may break under the constantly increasing weight of their burdens. Their answer was therefore a curt: Nothing doing.

They told the Latin-Americans in effect, that the crisis would have to be "solved" politically through the medium of a "holy war" against "communism." As

LATIN AMERICAN LABOR FEDERATION

At the end of March, the Stalinist-dominated Latin American Federation of Labor (CTAL), convoked its third congress in Mexico City.

The once powerful federation has been reduced in the last two years mainly to the trade unions under direct Stalinist control.

The Mexican Labor Federation (CTM) from which Lombardo Toledano was expelled, after his decision to launch a "Wallace People's Front" in Mexico under the name of the "Popular Party," didn't take part in the Continental Congress. In Cuba, the Stalinists lost about half their forces to the followers of Grau San Martin.

In Chile, the "socialist" Ibanez split away, and is now the General Secretary of the Inter-American Federation of Labor, which is backed by the AFL and Washington.

The same general trend is observable in most of the Latin-American countries. Thus, the Latin-American Labor Federation is declining daily and its future is problematical.

The former growth and present decline of the CTAL is explained by its method of operation. It wasn't built as a trade union center of the Latin-American workers based on their daily needs. It registered growth during the period of Stalinist collaboration with so-called democratic capitalism and imperialism. In this period, the Stalinists worked in close combination not only with different representatives of bourgeois ideology in the labor ranks but also with a number of Latin-American gov-

ernments. Now as a direct result of the Soviet-U.S. conflict, the Latin-American governments are cracking down on the Stalinists, and the lackeys of these same governments in the labor movement are deserting the Stalinists.

capitalist Liberal Party, merited the confidence of the popular masses, it is indisputable that this uprising expressed not only their feelings toward Wall Street and their native ruling class, but their determination to fight against them given the opportunity.

This isn't the first time that the masses engaged in violent struggles in Colombia. Still fresh in our minds is the militant strike in 1928 when more than 30,000 banana workers fought against the United Fruit Co., a strike in which more than a thousand workers were massacred and over 3,000 were wounded.

The Bogota uprising is not simply a Colombian phenomenon. It reflects, rather, the prevailing situation in all Latin-America. We see the same desperation and determination to struggle in the strikes and political demonstrations of the Chilean workers, the exploited Bolivian miners, in the sporadic uprisings of the starved and land-hungry peasants, in the numerous strikes of the Mexican workers and peasants; the Peruvian workers, etc. And it is only the beginning! More are bound to come on a much bigger scale, because decaying capitalism cannot solve a single one of their burning problems of daily existence.

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.
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TACOMA (Wash.)—Write P. O. Box 1167. Meeting, Wed., 8 p.m. Odd Fellow Hall, 6th & Fawcett.
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YOUNGSTOWN—115 E. Federal St., Rm. 302. Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

The Men in White

By Morgan West

Just for fun I brought up the subject of socialized medicine. I wasn't going to preach about the present inadequacy of medical care in America. And I don't intend to extol the virtues of socialized medicine. But something about the way the doctor looked down his nose when I mentioned socialized medicine, the way he went on to ignore my mention of it, egged me on.

In his waiting room I had been shocked to find a book entitled, *Know Your Doctor*. I had picked it up in lieu of more edifying literature. It was a beautifully bound picture book of dramatic photographs and portraits of the Men in White, with many idealizations for captions. I noticed that it was put out by the Reynolds Tobacco Co. After that it wasn't hard to put two and two together and realize how the good doctor happened to have such low-level propaganda on his waiting-room table.

So when he looked down his nose, I pushed the point a little.

"There's not a doctor in town who would support socialized medicine," he declared.

"Well," I replied, "do they have any new arguments or do they just hash over what the AMA Journal says?"

Already we were on bad terms. He became patronizing. "When I first began to practice medicine, I was doctor for a mine down in Charleston." (He didn't say what he was paid, but I know a young fellow who started his medical career in the coal fields at \$1,200 a month.) "Those people didn't have to pay for their medical care; they just had it checked off their pay every two weeks." (In most places the check-off amounts to four dollars a month for every miner.) "And they would come into my office even when they

were sick because they didn't have to pay for it. That's socialized medicine for you." Experience had taught me that my doctor was rather poor at logic, so I didn't try to explain to him that when something is checked off your pay, you've paid for it—and then some.

"I think," and I suppressed a smile, "that there is a distinction between socialized medicine and the company doctor system."

Then he tried another tack. "If socialized medicine were instituted, there's not a good doctor in town who wouldn't quit practicing."

I laughed at this crude bluff. "Do you really think so? What would they do then? Go into the insurance business? And what about the humanitarian ones like those in the picture book outside? Wouldn't they take a few thousand dollar cut in their salary if they could have the satisfaction of curing people who were really sick instead of just those who could pay a doctor to be their father confessor? Wouldn't they welcome state intervention and support if they wouldn't have to rely on charity—Red Cross Drives, Cancer Drives, Heart Trouble Drives, T.B. Drives—to stamp out the enemies of all mankind?"

He began to sputter. "Humanitarianism is all right in its place. . . when medicine is socialized, it's like anything else that's socialized. . . you've got to have competition. . . free enterprise."

I felt like telling him to go home and read that AMA Journal until he had it straight. Instead I picked up my baby and started for the door. "Free enterprise had its points, doctor, but I'm afraid I've discovered another ugly monopoly. The AMA has a monopoly on the thinking apparatus of the medical profession. By the way, doctor, do you really smoke Camels?"

The Negro Struggle

Court OK's Covenants

By Albert Parker

If you look only at the newspaper headlines about the Supreme Court decision on restrictive housing covenants, you would have a hard time finding out what it really means.

"Supreme Court Removes Realty Bars Against Jews, Negroes," said PM. "Highest Court Rejects Jim Crow Realty Ban," said the N. Y. Daily News. "Supreme Court Avoids Restrictive Covenants," said the Daily Worker. All these statements are false.

Instead of voiding restrictive covenants, the Supreme Court specifically approved them. That is the most important aspect of the decision, and nobody should be permitted to cover up that fact by exaggerating minor aspects. The Supreme Court remains what it was before—a judicial stooge for the enemies of Negroes and other minorities.

Here is an example of what the Supreme Court decision means: Let us take a certain neighborhood, where 100 real estate owners have gotten together and signed a covenant not to permit the sale or rental of any homes or stores in the neighborhood to Negroes, Chinese, Indians, Jews, etc. The Supreme Court says that is perfectly legal.

Now let us suppose that one of the real estate owners in the neighborhood decides that he can make more money by renting his property to a Negro, and he does that, even though he had signed a covenant promising not to. In that case, the Supreme Court ruled, the other signers of the covenant cannot use the courts in order to stop him. And that is all there is to this so-called historic decision. The other 99 property owners

can go on discriminating against minority groups and they can even go on exerting pressure against the lone owner who wants to rent his property to minorities, but they can't stop him through the courts.

If you look carefully at the decisions of the Supreme Court, you can observe a certain sinister pattern to most of them. Every time they seem to be granting a minor concession to the Negro people with one hand, their other hand is engaged in actually tightening the chains of Jim Crow. They rule that it's illegal to give inferior accommodations to Negroes in inter-state transportation facilities; but in the very same breath they say it's legal to segregate Negroes in transportation. They say it's against the law to deny Negroes the right to a college education; but in the same ruling they put their stamp of approval on educational Jim Crow laws in the South. And now in the same decision saying courts can't be used to uphold restrictive covenants, they extend their blessings on those same restrictive covenants.

Every time the Supreme Court hands down one of these double-edged decisions, some people go rushing into print praising this body and hailing its decisions as proof of what a wonderfully democratic government we are living under. Such people don't know better, or else they are trying to kid the public. The decision upholding covenants actually proves that the Supreme Court is as much an enemy of the Negro people as the other sections of the capitalist government. It knows how to throw a crumb to the oppressed to maintain the fiction of its impartiality and disinterestedness, but it defends and upholds the status quo.

Atomic Energy

By Louis T. Gordon

When the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima in 1945, the world suddenly became conscious that for the first time the very destruction of civilization was not just an imaginative flight of novelists of the H. G. Wells variety, but a frightful possibility.

At the same time nobody could fail to realize that atomic energy opened up possibilities of undreamed of material progress for mankind. In the atom lay, then, simultaneously, the most fearful possibilities of destruction and the most magnificent promise for the human race.

The capitalist apologists have tried to dazzle us by enumerating the many peacetime applications possible from the newly-acquired knowledge of the atom. We are being told—so that we may forget that the billions of dollars currently spent on atomic research are devoted first and foremost to the improvement of destructive weapons—that we will be able to obtain cheap power, not dependent upon natural resources, with the obvious benefits for the peoples who inhabit the less favored areas of the globe.

One spokesman put it this way: "Cheap power in unlimited quantity means abundance of cheap products, and the reduction of working hours." And a well known atomic scientist stated in 1945, shortly after the Hiroshima explosion, that "it is quite feasible that a city the size of Seattle should be completely heated from an atomic source in less than five years." And this was only the beginning. We were also promised revolutionary improvements in agriculture, new remedies against illnesses, better television and so on and so forth.

These things are quite possible. In fact, many more. But not now. Let us recall what Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, director of the Los Alamos atomic bomb project since its inception until he

resigned in 1945, said:

"The atomic bomb was not a step on the road to the production of controlled atomic energy. The bomb itself was the end result, the solution of a military problem that had been given to us. In coping with that problem we learned how to create and control atomic energy a year and a half before Hiroshima. But we had to pass that point. We had to find ways to make that energy explode. The production of atomic energy was merely a step on the way to that goal."

The present purpose of atomic research is shown by the results thus far obtained. None of the wonders promised have thus far materialized. We can be pretty sure that for some time to come every city "the size of Seattle" will be heated just the way it is now. And no tendency towards reducing the working hours is noticeable. The chief new products we hear about are new atomic weapons, like the one recently tested at Eniwetok in the Pacific.

It is true that simultaneously with the announcement of the last atomic test, the Atomic Energy Commission revealed that irradiated cobalt, "a virtually costless metal," can be used in place of radium for the treatment of cancer. But this is one of those accidental by-products which shows what progress could really be scored were the dead hand of the capitalist rulers removed.

In one of their early memorandums, the scientists who helped develop the bomb said: "By using more bombs, larger bombs and more efficient bombs, it will be possible in the near future completely destroy the bulk of the population, industry and military strength of any nation within a few days." More bombs, larger bombs, more efficient bombs—this is what the Atomic Energy Commission is really after; not the cure for cancer.

Notes from the News

HAND GRENADE RATTLES? — Major General Hugh Knerr informed a Miami audience that the UMT program should begin in the kindergarten "with sticks and toys." Even Mussolini's child military corps waited until the kids were in the second grade before giving them UMT.

"HERO" — William Randolph Hearst, greatest single corrupter of the country's press, has been awarded the Navy's highest decoration for civilians — the Distinguished Public Service Award.

DOBBS-CARLSON CAMPAIGN — The National Campaign Committee of the Socialist Workers Party announced this week that Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, revolutionary anti-war fight-

ers who served prison sentences for their opposition to the second imperialist war, have already been put officially on the ballot by petition in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Michigan as candidates for President and Vice President, respectively. The petition campaign in other states is going ahead in high gear.

SUPPORT THOMAS CANDIDACY — An appeal to the Socialist Party to again nominate Norman Thomas, who supported American imperialism in the Second World War, as its candidate for President was made public last week by 17 prominent people. Among the signers of the statement were James T. Farrell, author of "Studs Lonigan" and many other novels, and Harold Isaacs, author of "No Peace For Asia" and an earlier volume, "The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution," which carried an introduction by Leon Trotsky.

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THE MILITANT

Boeing Strikers Get Official IAM Authorization; Dig in for Hard Fight

Imperialist Scheme Upset in Palestine

(Continued from page 1)

want either to continue the status quo or "unite" the countries under their own aegis.

The defeat of the Arab guerilla forces finds the Arabian rulers squabbling in conference rooms over the spoils of a war which they have not yet entered. Most of the Arab countries do not have modern armies. They are also forced to use, whatever regular armies they have, to maintain peace in their own countries. (The recent police strike in Egypt brought the Egyptian army into play; one million Kurds in northern Iraq are at present threatening rebellion.) Only Abdulla of Transjordan can throw a modern fighting force against the Jews.

It appears that the Arab League has for the moment set aside its fears of Abdulla's ambitions and made him the pivot of its struggle to prevent the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. This does not exclude the possibility of an agreement between the Zionists and Abdulla — who might be willing to sell out the Palestinian Arabs to extend his own kingdom.

Within the framework of their general agreement on imperial policy in the Middle East, the United States and Great Britain are constantly jockeying for a greater share of the oil booty and control of the Middle East. Each have their local puppets. Transjordan is a British protectorate. Britain furnishes a number of key officers as well as the commanding general for Emir Abdulla's army, and also pays the maintenance cost. The United States pays to Ibn Saud of Arabia royalties amounting to millions of dollars a year. Since the imperialists use the bought-and-paid-for-royal-lackeys as instruments of their own policy, it appears that Britain, basing herself upon Abdulla's army, has the upper hand for the moment.

The UN special assembly which was convened at the request of the U.S. to reconsider the partition resolution remains in a state of suspended animation. The State Department, which miscal-

culated its ability to push through the partition proposal last November, called this session to bring its former resolution into line with its new understanding of the facts. But since these facts themselves are changing, with the unforeseen Jewish victories, while the assembly is in session, American policy is vacillating and marking time.

The latest U.S. resolution proposed a maintenance of the status quo, as well as an increase in Jewish immigration and other concessions to the Jews. Since the Jews have conquered an area approximating the UN partition borders, the status quo means a step in the direction of the partition resolution, without the granting of official recognition.

The defeats of the Arabs in Palestine have not altered the basic relationships between the two communities. Even consolidation of a Jewish-held territory and the establishment of a Jewish state would not eliminate the conflict. Several hundred thousand Arabs live in Jewish-held territory. The Zionists have not indicated that they intend to rescind their policy of building a closed Jewish economy. They have given no sign that they intend to end the boycott of products of the Palestinian Arab economy.

Thus the Jews will remain in an antagonistic relationship to the immediately surrounding Palestinian Arab population. Furthermore the Jewish territory will be an island in a hostile Arab sea. In the face of constant danger from surrounding Arab states, the Jews will have no recourse but to rely upon an imperialist power for "protection." It is this which determines the reactionary character of a Jewish state in Palestine.

The fundamental solution of this tangled and snarled problem remains the same as before: The Arab and Jewish masses must join hands in a struggle against the imperialists. Clear all imperialist troops from the Near East! Convoke a Constituent Assembly based on universal suffrage to set up the Palestinian state!

Briggs Union Paper Says Shooting of Reuther Reminiscent of Briggs Beatings

"A sawed-off shotgun blast through the kitchen window of the home of Walter P. Reuther, UAW-CIO president, narrowly missed taking his life as the lead struck the youthful UAW President about the chest and concentrated in his arm. . .

The unknown assailant had evidently followed Reuther home from a late UAW Executive Board meeting of the union. Reuther had just arrived home, as his wife was preparing a late snack, when the blast from the shotgun struck him. He was immediately rushed to the Grace Hospital.

As the radio reports circulated, and phone calls were made to confirm rumors, many unionists journeyed to the Grace Hospital to find out exactly what the famous UAW leader's condition was.

The attack on Reuther was reminiscent of the physical attacks made on Local 212 members in the past two years. Ken Morris, Local 212 president, was brutally beaten in an attack near his home in May of 1946, resulting in a three week stay in the hospital. Art Vega, prominent member of Local 212, was attacked by two assailants as he returned home one evening. Genora Dollinger, an active unionist during the war at Briggs, had assailants enter her home and administer a severe beating as she slept. Roy Snowden, another prominent member of Local 212, and a former officer, was beaten on two occasions by assailants.

None of these attacks were ever solved by the Police Department.

Let us hope the Police Department does better in finding the assassin who narrowly missed murdering Walter Reuther! (Reprinted from Voice of Local 212, paper of the Briggs auto local.)

Oil Shortage Deliberately Planned, Probe Discloses

By Winifred Nelson

ST. PAUL, April 30—Minnesota's Governor Luther W. Youngdahl yesterday urged the oil industry to build up reserves to prevent another fuel shortage next winter. In the face of the Senate Small Business Committee's recent report which showed how the oil shortage was "arranged" by a "buttoned-up monopoly," Governor Youngdahl had the nerve to publicly thank the oil industry for "an outstanding job" in helping meet shortages last winter!

The facts behind the fuel shortage, as revealed by Paul Hadlick, attorney for the Senate Small Business Committee, in testimony before the Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia, are these:

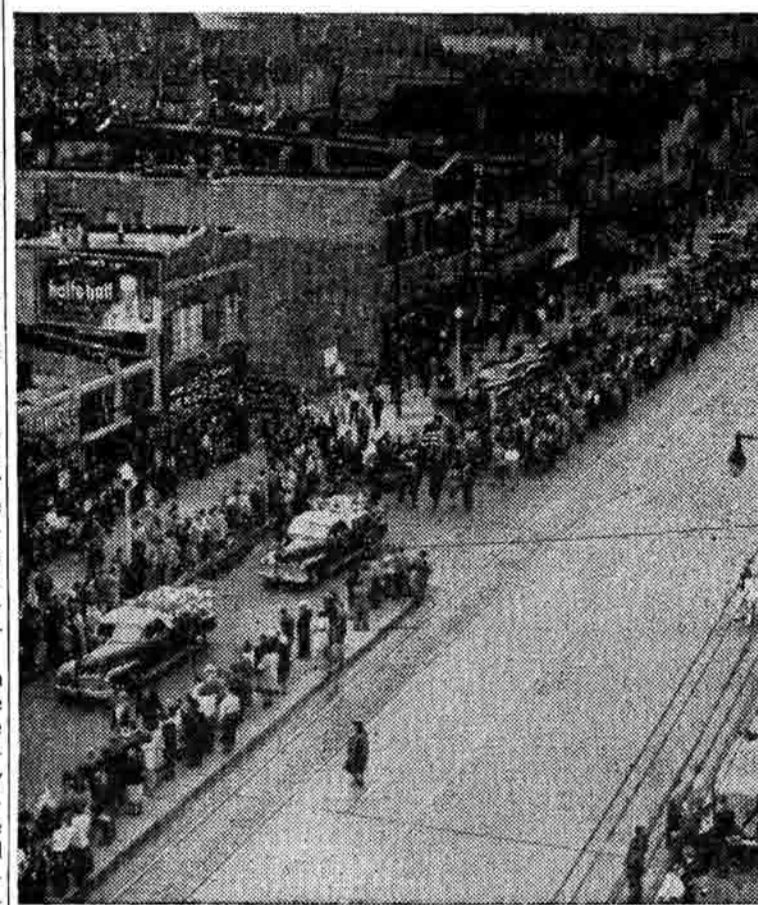
Oil wells, which would produce as much as 5,000 barrels of oil a day if they were not choked, have

been producing only 200 barrels a day. To maintain their monopoly and profits, major oil companies squeezed out independent distributors and refiners of oil. In addition to record-breaking profits, the oil industry has doubled and trebled the dollar value of their oil lands and leases.

Major oil companies now own or control at least 82% of all the proved oil resources in the U. S. Hadlick's testimony also showed how the State and federal government's "oil conservation" laws choked the production of crude oil by making illegal the transportation of oil produced in violation of restrictive regulations.

Secretary of the Interior Julius A. Krug's recently appointed "advisory committee on oil" met in closed session, but reports from the meeting were that "not a fact was produced to refute Hadlick's charges."

A Labor Martyr



Honoring Santo Cicardo, CIO United Packinghouse Workers picket, who was killed by a truck outside the Armour plant in Chicago, this long funeral procession moves slowly to the cemetery. 5,000 workers attended a memorial meeting for Cicardo.

CIO WAGE CAMPAIGN HEADS FOR DISASTER

(Continued from Page 1)

General Motors disdained even to make a counter-offer to the CIO auto workers, while Chrysler drew its original six-cent offer. The East Coast and Gulf ship owners turned down the CIO National Maritime Union's wage demands and called for the elimination of the union hiring hall.

The big meat packing companies, headed by Armour, have been emboldened to launch a violent strikebreaking attack against the seven-week walkout of the CIO packinghouse workers, the one major CIO union which is putting up a real fight for higher wages.

The policy of making each CIO union carry on its wage fight individually against the combined might of the corporations and government has already cost the CIO dearly.

SERIOUS SETBACKS

The American Communications Association suffered a complete defeat against the cable companies—the first serious defeat of any CIO union since the Little Steel strike of 1937. After an eight-month strike the CIO Textile Workers at Huntsville, Alabama, have been unable to gain renewal of a contract. And Murray's own union sustained a serious blow when the Steelworkers local at the Nashville Corp., in Nashville, Tenn., ended a 26-week strike without gaining the union recognition it fought for.

The CIO wage campaign is in a completely chaotic condition. Every union is going its own sweet way, without even a hint of coordinated strategy and mutual aid in the face of the united offensive of the corporations.

The Stalinist leaders of UE, who oppose Murray politically but follow his wage policy, have answered the turn-down of General Electric and Westinghouse with mere bluster. They have asked the local unions to take action on a local scale.

The CIO United Auto Workers has scheduled a strike of 75,000 Chrysler workers to begin May 12. It appears that the UAW leadership is again committing the union to the inadequate "one-at-a-time" strategy which resulted in the long-drawn-out GM strike two years ago.

The National Maritime Union is to hold a strike referendum of its membership during this month. Other CIO unions are expected to take similar votes.

But isolated, uncoordinated strikes in scattered industries or sections of industries are not enough. Against the unified front of the corporations, single strikes even of an entire national union often cannot prevail, or lead to minor gains after long and costly struggle.

It is clear that the CIO workers cannot depend on Murray and his lieutenants for real leadership. Just this past week he spoke on the steel situation over a national radio hook-up. With millions of CIO workers listening for some guidance, Murray offered only complaints about the actions of the steel companies.

At the start of the CIO wage drive, The Militant pointed the way to victory. We warned in the March 15 issue: "The half-hearted, spineless manner in which the CIO leaders are proceeding in the wage drive inspires no confidence whatsoever. If there is no drastic revision in the CIO leaders' wage policies, the CIO workers are going to end up with mere crumbs and less than that."

"A successful wage drive depends on the CIO unions being swiftly consolidated into a single, effective fighting front with a unified strategy."

This program holds good today and can turn threatening disaster into victory. It is up to the union ranks to compel their leaders to call an emergency conference of all CIO unions to work out and put into practice a program of united militant action on the wage front.

By Irene James

SEATTLE, May 2 — The Grand Lodge of the International Association of Machinists has finally sanctioned the strike of the 15,000 Boeing Aircraft workers. This action, coming a week after the strike began on April 22, will entitle the Boeing workers to strike benefits from the International. The belated strike authorization was granted "on the basis of the conduct and action of the company subsequent to the beginning of the strike."

The company offered to meet with officials of the Grand Lodge WITHOUT President Gibson and other local officials of Lodge 751. The company did not wish to discuss the issues of the strike, but only the question of damages to be paid by the International Union, for company losses due to "an illegal strike." The Grand Lodge representatives refused to attend such a meeting, saying that Local 751 must be included, and that no benefit could come of a meeting unless the issues which caused the strike were discussed. The company also refused to meet with federal conciliators.

The Boeing Airplane Company is out to break the union. It has announced that Lodge 751 is no longer a bargaining agent. In an "ad" in the daily papers, the company called the strike "illegal" and not sanctioned by the membership. It stated that the contract between the company and the union is no longer in existence, and that all employees have been terminated. Final paychecks, due on April 30, will be paid May 5.

TURN IN BUTTONS

Employees must turn in their buttons to receive these checks, which will include accumulated vacation time, but will be short about \$200,000 which workers have out on loan from the Credit Union. This organization, which calls itself an employee group, is obviously working with the company to bring this additional hardship on the strikers. Termination by the company, however, makes the strikers eligible for unemployed benefits and thousands are lined up in the USES office to file claims.

The company is organizing a back-to-work movement and has sent a three-page letter to "Former employees not on strike" urging them to "build a relationship between the company and its employees of which we can all be proud." The Seattle Times of May 2, carries an "ad," signed by "Your Return to Work Committee," claiming to represent 3,800 workers, urging a return to work Monday, May 3.

An "impartial" investigating committee, generally an integral part of a back-to-work movement, has been set up by Mayor Devin. This impartial group consists of a minister, an attorney, and a financier.

NOT MATERIALIZED

So far, the back-to-work movement has not materialized. About 2,000 non-union employees cross the picket lines daily. These are principally engineers, office workers, and non-union supervision. Supervisors Local 1750 voted support of the strike and about 500 foremen are on the picket lines with the production workers.

The major airplane manufacturers of southern California are undoubtedly supporting the Boeing company in its attempt to break the union. As the Seattle Times expressed it, "an uneasy peace prevails between management and labor at Consolidated Vultee, Lockheed, North American and Douglas and labor unions are conducting intensive membership drives." If the Boeing workers are successful, their fight will spearhead the struggle of all aircraft workers for a higher wage scale.

Strike sanction has strengthened the position of the union. The men are determined not to return to the open-shop conditions of the Thirties. As the strike nears the end of the second week, the Boeing workers are holding firm and the spirit of the picket lines is high.

St. Louis Runs Forum On Russia

"WHAT IS RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY? — IS IT A POLICY FOR THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD?" will be the topic of the Militant Open Forum to be held on Thursday evening, May 13, at 8 p.m. by the St. Louis Branch of the Socialist Workers Party. The forum will be held in Room 312, Olivia Bldg., 1023 N. Grand Blvd.

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