

Packinghouse Strikers Fight Injunctions

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MINERS DEFY FEDERAL STRIKEBREAKING

The Main Enemy Is at Home

An Editorial

Before American imperialism embarks on any atomic war of conquest abroad, it has a job to finish at home: Destroy the independence of the American labor movement and reduce the unions to mere tools of the government.

The framers of the Marshall Plan did not include this side of their program in the language of their "European aid" bill. But their actions make this so clear that only the stupid or blind can ignore these signals of danger.

In a moment of unrestrained rage against labor, the New York World Telegram, chief newspaper of the powerful Scripps-Howard chain, has blurred out this first objective — the No. 1 Task of American Big Business before it can get started on any world-conquering military adventures. The very headline of the March 30 editorial tells the story:

"No Showdown Abroad Till We Have One at Home"

The immediate target of the Scripps-Howard blast is the United Mine Workers and John L. Lewis. It calls for a "showdown" against the striking miners and concludes with the ominous words: "We cannot risk any showdown abroad till that one is finished."

Smash Labor First

What the World-Telegram openly proclaims and what Big Business and its government have as their guiding principle is: The main enemy — the American working class — is at home.

The prerequisite for conquest of peoples abroad is conquest of the labor movement at home. The Wall Street-Washington Axis is committed to war — and first of all against the American workers.

Before Congress passed the ERP, it passed the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law. Before Washington turns troops and bayonets in force against oppressed peoples overseas, it cracks the whip of government strikebreaking, open-shoppers and union-busting here at home.

While the Murrays, Greens, Reuthers and Dubinskys are yapping about the "red menace" and the "Bolshevik threat" to labor's independence in other lands, the main enemy of the American workers — the American capitalists and their political henchmen — are doing a job right now on American labor.

The Truman administration has already smashed the struggle of the AFL International Typographical Workers with a sweeping injunction. Another injunction has been hurled against the striking coal miners. The CIO Packinghouse Workers are next on the list.

What's going on is plain as a pikestaff. Wall Street-Washington are following a calculated, deliberate, ruthless course: Atomize labor at home, before the atom bombs are dropped abroad!

Bureaucrats Do Nothing

What are the "labor statesmen" who head the AFL and CIO doing about this? Nothing and worse than nothing. Instead of fighting tooth and nail to preserve the independence of the unions from the encroachments of a tyrannical State, they are cuddling up to these very same forces that are plotting the destruction of the labor movement. Instead of uniting their efforts for a campaign to smash the union-busting Taft-Hartley Law, the bureaucrats are uniting their efforts to sell the Marshall Plan and the virtues of the American "free enterprise" system to workers both at home and abroad.

The present sellout of the union bureaucrats is even more dangerous to the existence of labor than their "no-strike pledge" sellout during the war. And just as the union movement revived and regained strength on the basis of a militant fight to revoke the no-strike pledge, so at present the unions can regain their fighting abilities and effectiveness only by a militant fight to save the independence of the unions from the death embrace of the anti-labor capitalist State.

Stalinists in CIO Dealt Heavy Blow By Quill Defection

Another stiff jolt has been handed the Stalinists in the CIO with the defection from their forces of Michael J. Quill, CIO Transport Workers Union president, and his leap onto the bandwagon of the Murray machine.

His abandonment of his long-time political associates was announced in a wire to CIO President Philip Murray, where Quill stated he was resigning as president of the Stalinist-dominated Greater New York City CIO Council.

Quill succeeded National Maritime Union President Joseph Curran as head of the local CIO Council when the latter resigned in a similar break with the Stalinists.

Fearing a split in the CIO would isolate him together with the Stalinists from the main CIO body, Quill did not hesitate to give the pitch to his former colleagues. After doing dirty chores for them over the years, he now finds that "disagreements" are being "seized upon by a group of strange people," whom he now calls "communist crackpots," as a "cheap and underhand way of splitting the unity of the CIO."

FEARED RAIDS

Quill also feared raiding expeditions on his union if he did not come to terms with Murray. Reuther, head of the United Auto Workers had started raids on the TWU in Florida like those he is conducting against the Stalinist-controlled United Electrical Workers.

Reuther, with Murray's unofficial blessings, is making real headway in his UE raids. The UAW has filed for NLRB elections in three key Brooklyn plants now under UE contract, as well as plants in Cleveland, Detroit and elsewhere. The UE cannot get on the ballot because its leaders have refused to sign Taft-Hartley "yellow dog" affidavits.

CIO National Organization Director Allen Haywood wired the NLRB to take jurisdiction over the UAW-UE conflict.



MICHAEL QUILL

Civil Disobedience Threatened



President A. Philip Randolph (right) of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL), and Grant Reynolds, New York State correction commissioner, testify before the Senate Armed Services Committee. (See story below). Federated Pictures

Wall Street Strikers Extend Picket Lines to Brokerages

By Ray Moore

NEW YORK CITY. — Any day in the week at 7:00 o'clock in the morning, hundreds of "New York's Finest" policemen may be seen preparing their day's tactics before the New York Stock and Curb Exchanges.

Though no policemen can be found to stand by a number of public schools where children are regularly being hit by automobiles, the strike of the United Financial Employees has succeeded in gathering together these minions of the law, including a minimum of 20 police on horseback, paddy wagons, squad cars, motorcycle-men and plainclothes detectives.

The strike, now in its second week, was called by Local 205 of the UFE to gain a union shop and higher pay. The strike is being given magnificent support by the Seafarer's International Union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific (AFL). These unions have stopped daytime shipping and issued regular strike picket cards to the seamen.

The strike is run in a militant and disciplined manner. The pickets are sent out in squads, each squad under a picket captain, and a number of picket captains under an area commander. The buildings that are being struck are laid out in sections, each under the direct control of two area commanders.

Increasing support has come from other unions. Hundreds of members of the Painters Union, working in the area have given up their lunch time to walk the picket lines. Members of the Staff Officers Association, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, Office

workers, International Typographical Union and others have joined the picket lines.

The strike has been endorsed by AFL President William Green, and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has donated five thousand dollars to the strikers.

The union has warned the brokers of the Stock Exchange that if they do not settle, they are in for a general Wall Street strike. To prove this isn't hot air, the strike is being spread to various brokerage houses on or close to "The Street." Shields and Co., one of the brokerage firms now struck, was forced to give over their affairs to another company. The employees of E.F. Hutton and Co. and A. M. Kidder have also walked out in protest against starvation wages and lack of security.

The importance of this strike is that it is the first dramatic gesture to organize 20 million unorganized white collar workers in the United States, most of whom are working for below-standard wages and are in constant fear of losing their jobs to the bosses' wife's "cousin."

The exchanges are being worked in a partial and haphazard manner by members of the Exchange, including the president, Shramm, who is scabbing on the night watchmen. As a union leaflet aptly states, "They might do it for a while, but these lads are not used to any kind of work, especially the kind that dirties their manicles or makes their backs ache, and it won't be long before the bottle, sleeping pills and morning stimulants take their toll and these rats take to the sanitariums."

Newspaper Incited Mob Wrecks Home Of CP Organizer

On March 30 a hoodlum mob, incited by newspapers and encouraged by the police, smashed down the doors of the house of the local official of the Communist (Stalinist) Party in Columbus, Ohio and wrecked the interior.

This was the culmination of a steady newspaper and police campaign to drive "reds" out of Columbus. For days the newspapers, led by the Scripps-Howard Columbus Citizen, had, in effect, invited their readers to take vigilante action by printing pictures of the house, its occupants, giving the address and telephone number.

After several nights of threatening phone calls, visits from toughs who tried to beat him up, rocks and concrete being hurled through the windows, Frank Hashmall, Communist party official, after appealing vainly for police protection, fled with his wife and their 9-months old infant.

COMPLETE SHAMBLES

Then the vigilante attack came. A mob collected before the house and broke all the windows. The police arrived and soon left. The vigilante mob then battered down the doors and wrecked the interior of the home. Furniture was overturned and smashed, drawers were pulled out and their contents trampled on. Venetian blinds were torn apart, all electric light bulbs smashed. When the mob was finished the place was a complete shambles.

After the mob had finished the police arrived and ordered it to disperse. No arrests were made.

This outburst of violence was the culmination of two weeks of newspaper red-baiting. On March 29, Stalinists, attempting to distribute leaflets at the gates of the Timken Roller Bearing plant in Columbus, were forced to leave by the police. Hashmall in a public statement protested the interference with the leaflet distribution and identified himself in the Columbus newspapers as County Secretary of the Communist Party.

Another attempt to distribute leaflets at the Timken plant was broken up by an organized gang under the leadership of one Steve Ryan, a foreman and strikebreaker in past strikes at Timken.

The Columbus papers then stepped up their "anti-red" hysteria. Authorities announced that Richard G. Morgan, for ten years the curator of the Ohio State Museum, had been fired because his stepson had rented Hashmall a house. The next day the authorities of Ohio State University started a witch hunt on the campus to ferret out "reds" in the student body and faculty and called in the FBI.

The keepers of "law and order" were parties to this conspiracy of violence. The Chief of Police declared publicly that "there will be no special police for this anti-religious group in this city," when Hashmall protested the attacks on his home and person. This was the go-ahead signal for all the hoodlums and reactionary elements in Columbus.

"PUBLIC MENACE"

After the wrecking of Hashmall's house Sheriff Ralph J. Paul stated that he would confer with the Prosecutor to see if Hashmall could be declared a "public menace" and forced to leave Columbus. He further stated that members of the mob might be in danger because "these Communies might bring in goon squads." Another pretext for declaring Hashmall a "public menace" was that a mob might set fire to his house thus endangering other houses in the neighborhood.

The Columbus papers also made a great to-do about the fact that copies of the writings of Marx, Lenin and Tolstoy were in Hashmall's home. The Chief of Police, after boarding up Hashmall's wrecked home, turned these books over to the FBI for "investigation."

Ignore Injunction Order; Lewis Threatened With Citation for "Contempt"

By Ar. Preis

APRIL 6 — True to their fighting traditions, the country's 400,000 soft coal miners have defied the government's Taft-Hartley injunction commanding them to "cease" their pension strike and "immediately" return to work.

Instead, thousands of hard coal miners have also walked out in support of their fellow members.

A compliant federal judge, Justice Matthew F. McGuire of the United States District Court in Washington, issued the strike-breaking order on April 3, within a few hours after Truman directed Attorney General Clark to seek and anti-strike restraining order under the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law.

The order not only bans the strike until April 13, when hearings on a permanent injunction will be completed, but demands that Lewis "instruct forthwith" the miners to go back to the pits.

STANDS FIRM

To date, Lewis has not complied. He has consistently maintained that he did not call the strike. He repeated this in a letter to the mine locals on the day the injunction was issued, stating further that "any action or decision which you may now care to take continues to be entirely of your own determination."

Even the Taft-Hartley Act specifically says that "nothing in this act shall be construed to require an individual employe to render labor or service without his consent . . . nor shall any court issue any process to compel performance by an individual employe of such labor or service without his consent."

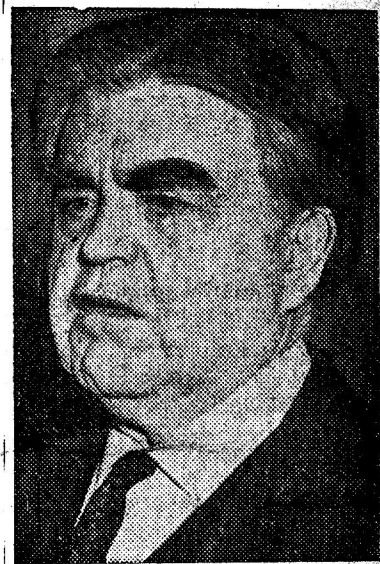
The government, however, has another ace — the same one it pulled from its sleeve in the 1946 injunction case — "contempt of court" action. In that former case, it was claimed that a union must obey a federal court injunction—even an illegal one—or be subject to "contempt" charges. The judge who issues the injunction, acting as his own prosecutor and jury, can rule the union and its officers in "contempt" and throw the book at them.

Attorney General Clark has already initiated "contempt" proceedings against the union and Lewis. The miners and their officers face the threat of harsh penalties, such as the \$5,000,000 fine ordered by Federal Judge Goldsborough in 1946, later reduced to \$710,000.

There is not a shred of evidence

that Lewis or the union have violated even the existing Slave Law or the contract in any meaningful way. The sole contention of Truman's "fact-finding" committee, which "found" against the miners, is that Lewis "induced" the miners to strike by the fact of writing them a letter which stated that the operators had "dishonored" the contract by sabotaging the use of the welfare fund.

It is, of course, true that the miners have a binding tradition,



JOHN L. LEWIS

"No contract, no work." For them a dishonored contract is no contract at all.

What infuriates the employers and their government stooges is the iron-clad solidarity of the miners, their unshakable discipline in action — a magnificent example for the whole labor movement. The government is bringing all its power to bear on the miners to destroy that solidarity.

Once again, and in the clearest fashion, the government has revealed its capitalist class nature. The courts are shown once more to be mere tools of the employing class. The entire course of the government and its agencies has been crudely biased in favor of the operators, at whose nod the federal strikebreaking machinery was set in motion.

But the miners' struggle now far transcends the immediate

(Continued on page 4)

MICH. SWP PASSES HALFWAY MARK IN PETITION CAMPAIGN

PHILADELPHIA, April 4 — The Pennsylvania signature drive closed with a bang Saturday night with 42% over the legally required number of signatures to put our candidates for President and Vice President of the United States on the ballot in Pennsylvania. The final count stood at 11,334 signatures.

The official filing will take place Wednesday, April 7, at Harrisburg, when Irene LeCompte, state campaign manager, personally presents the papers to the Secretary of the Commonwealth.

The signatures were obtained in the following Pennsylvania counties: Philadelphia, Erie, Allegheny, Fayette, Bucks, Lehigh, Berks, Montgomery, Lawrence, and Mercer.

The big task of gathering the signatures was made possible only through the gradually mounting enthusiasm of the members and friends of the SWP.

The Pennsylvania Campaign Committee takes this opportunity to thank the many people whose hard work and fine spirit brought about the success of this first stage of Pennsylvania's part in the national election drive.

DETROIT, April 5 — In spite of extremely inclement weather which hindered the work, the Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party is well past the half-way mark in the signature campaign to put candidates Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice President on the Michigan ballot.

A total of 3,000 signatures was gained in the past two weeks, 1,300 of these in Pontiac for Oakland County. The response in this General Motors town was very gratifying. People responded favorably to the word "socialist."

The request to "help put a party fighting for equal rights on the ballot" was met with enthusiastic support, as was the appeal for democratic rights for a workers' party. With three more weeks to put a minority party on the ballot, the campaign is going full speed ahead. Many friends who have been occupied in local union elections, will now be free to give more time to this important work.

For further information call SWP Campaign Headquarters, at 6108 Linwood, TY 7-6267.

Resist Jim-Crow Draft, Randolph Urges

By G. F. Eckstein

The threat of non-compliance with the draft was hurled in the face of American capitalism at a hearing of the Senate Armed Services Committee on Truman's Universal Military Training and draft proposals. A. Philip Randolph, president of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, declared:

"Today I should like to make clear to this committee and through you to Congress and the American people, that passage now of a Jim Crow draft may only result in a mass civil disobedience movement along the lines of the magnificent struggles of the people of India against British imperialism."

According to the N.Y. Times, committee members "indicated anxiety" at this stage, as well they might. The seething dissat-

isfaction of the Negro people with Jim Crow, as practiced by the federal government itself, had here found clear and dangerous expression.

A. Philip Randolph is one of the best known Negro leaders. After World War I he was a prominent socialist. He turned to the organization of the Sleeping Car Porters and successfully accomplished a job of union building which gave him a national reputation. He came into national prominence again in 1941 by leading the March-On-Washington movement, which assumed such mass proportions that President Roosevelt summoned Randolph to Washington and exerted unprecedented pressure to get him to call off the march. He also promised to promulgate the FEPC if Randolph gave in. Randolph yielded and was bitterly denounced by many militant Negroes and

left wingers. Randolph recently has been active in advocating a third party and a permanent FEPC. It is therefore little wonder that Randolph's declaration startled the Senate Committee. His defiant words are certain to go down in history: "I personally pledge myself to openly counsel, aid and abet youth, both white and Negro, to quarantine any Jim Crow conscription system, whether it bear the label of UMT or selective service. . . ."

"From coast to coast in my travels I shall call upon Negro veterans to join in this civil disobedience movement and to recruit their younger brothers in an organized refusal to register and be drafted. . . ."

"I shall appeal to the thousands of white youth in schools and colleges who are today vigorously

shedding the prejudices of their parents and professors. I shall urge them to demonstrate their solidarity with Negro youth by ignoring the entire registration and induction machinery. . . ."

"And finally I shall appeal to Negro parents to lend their moral support to their sons — to stand behind them as they march with heads high to federal prisons as a telling demonstration to the world that Negroes have reached the limit of human endurance."

The American capitalists recognized the revolutionary significance of the declaration and Senator Wayne Morse, Republican, replied immediately: "It may very well lead to indictments for treason and very serious repercussions."

This reputed liberal, at the first hint of the Negro people fighting seriously for their democratic rights, yelled "We'll jail you."

Randolph, obviously well prepared, stood his ground. He anticipated, he said, "country-wide" terrorism against Negroes, "but if that is the only way we can get democracy we will have to face it."

Other Senators as well as Morse warned of treason. Randolph said that there would be no overt acts. He was urging non-resistance, non-cooperation. Morse insisted that many overt acts, in other words open violence, would result.

Supporting Randolph "shoulder-to-shoulder" was Grant Reynolds, national chairman of the Committee against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, and New York State Commissioner of Correction.

The day after Randolph made his sensational statement before the Senate, Representative A.

(Continued on page 4)

St. Paul Packing Strikers Resist Picketing Ban

SOUTH ST. PAUL, April 7. — Two leaders of striking CIO packinghouse workers in South St. Paul have been arrested and two others cited for contempt of court. Milton Siegel, union field representative, was the first to be taken into custody. He was arrested for refusing to let police and office workers through picket lines, at the Swift plant after a temporary restraining order had been issued. He was released on \$1,000 bail.

Meanwhile, union representatives are appearing in Dakota County district court to show cause why an injunction should not be granted to Swift and Armour to prevent mass picketing at plant gates. Obtained under the Stassen-inspired Minnesota Slave Labor Act, the injunction proceedings represent a test of this law. The union is basing the legal part of its case against the injunction on the fact that the Big Four packers (Armour, Swift, Cudahy and Wilson) did not bargain in good faith and therefore are not entitled to the benefits of the Minnesota law.

Ralph Helstein, international president of UPWA, appeared in court yesterday and today to testify to the packers' refusal to negotiate before the nationwide strike began on March 16. He showed how the union's proposal for a 29 cent hourly wage increase was based on a family budget survey prepared by the U. S. Department of Labor. The packers, however, termed the wage demands "fantastic and preposterous."

He related that no counterproposal to the union's demand was made at original negotiating

sessions, but that about three weeks later, the company proposed 9 cents. This was offered as an ultimatum and had to be accepted with a time limitation, Helstein said.

Numerous attempts have been made during the past week by both Armour and Swift to start a back-to-work movement, but all of them failed.

While the hearing on the packers' attempts to stop mass picketing continues, picket lines have been reduced to a minimum by decision of the union locals at Swift and Armour. Offers by the union to allow office workers through the picket line with the guarantee that they would not be required to live in the plants as the foremen did for three weeks, and on the condition that the foremen would "come out like men" each night, were refused by Swift and Armour. However, agreement has been reached by Local 55 with the Cudahy plant to pass office workers through the picket lines on the union's terms.

Support of the strike has been statewide. Appeals from Walter J. Smith, president of the Minnesota State CIO Council, and from Otto J. Simon, Jr., president of the Greater St. Paul CIO Council over the UPWA's nightly radio program, "On the Picket Line" and by letter to affiliated unions, have brought wide response. Both bodies voted full support to the packinghouse workers.



A "Freedom Caravan," organized by St. Paul CIO unions, carrying hundreds of cases of canned goods and other food contributed by CIO members, will parade through St. Paul on Saturday and down the river-road to strike kitchens in South St. Paul.

Thousands of dollars are being contributed by CIO unions throughout the state. Hormel workers at Austin, Minnesota, are sending in \$15,000 each week, raised through an assessment of three hours' pay each week on its membership.

Frank Schultz, president of the Austin local, announced last weekend that "there is a possibility of the union's being called out if the strike becomes more serious and prolonged. Our members ought to be out with the rest of the packinghouse workers who are on strike."

Pickets at Armour's in South St. Paul

Presidential Aspirants II

Douglas MacArthur - 'Hero' of Anacostia Flats

By George Lavan

Since MacArthur may be the next occupant of the White House, it is worth while inquiring about his past.

MacArthur entered upon a military career under the best of auspices. His father, Arthur MacArthur, was a General, prominent in seizing the Philippines from Spain and then in putting down the natives led by Aguinaldo. The present MacArthur graduated from West Point in 1903 and became a Brigadier General during the First World War. After returning from Europe, he served in many army posts. In 1930 Herbert Hoover appointed him Chief of Staff with the rank of full General.

In his rise to the top army position MacArthur enjoyed definite advantages. He was closely associated with Newton D. Baker, Wilson's Secretary of War and a J. P. Morgan man. He was also married to Louise Cromwell Brooks, who was highly placed in the social and financial hierarchy of American's ruling families. She was the step-daughter of Edward R. Stotesbury, prominent J. P. Morgan partner.

MacArthur's tenure as Chief of Staff was memorable chiefly for the burning out of the Bonus Marchers. The Bonus March of 1932 was the most important action of the unemployed during the depression. Unemployed veterans converged on Washington in great masses demanding that Congress pay out at once the adjusted service payments. They built shacks to live in and started putting the heat on the politicians. They declared they would camp in Washington until Congress passed the bonus bill. The capitalist class was terrified.

MacArthur felt the moment had come to show the country that a man on horseback had arrived who could put down the "rabble." He appointed himself chief of the "expedition" against the bonus marchers. He planned and led the whole operation. Troops were selected and all veterans combed out lest they prove reluctant in bayoneting their

fellow vets. In addition to infantry, cavalry and tanks were used.

A small encampment on Third Avenue was attacked first. Using rifle butts, bayonets and tear gas, the veterans were driven out of their shacks. Then the torch was applied to the miserable dwellings of those who had fought "to make the world safe for democracy."

The troops proceeded under MacArthur's leadership to Anacostia Flats where the main body of the Bonus Army was encamped. Here about 20,000 veterans were living. 400 of them had their wives and children. Armed troops drove out the defenseless veterans and their families. Then their shacks were burned.

FASCIST MOVEMENT

The American capitalists were scared to death during the depression of a mass revolutionary movement emerging. Leading Wall Street circles were studying with deep interest the fascist movements in Europe, and considering MacArthur for the role of "fuehrer." In 1934 Major General Smedley D. Butler of the Marines testified before the McCormick-Dickstein Congressional Committee that a group of Wall Street financiers had offered him three million dollars to start a fascist movement.

Butler named names and dates: Important Wall Street figures had approached him. Butler repeated the conversation of Robert Sterling Clark, a Wall Street financier, reputedly worth 50 million dollars, as follows: "... The Morgan interests say that you (Butler) cannot be trusted, that you are too radical, and so forth, that you are too much on the side of the little fellow; you cannot be trusted. They are for Douglas MacArthur as the head of it. Douglas MacArthur's term (as Chief of Staff) expires in November, and if he is not re-appointed he will be disappointed and sore and they are for getting him to head it. ... You know as well as I do that MacArthur is Stotesbury's son-in-law in Philadelphia—Morgan's representative

in Philadelphia. There is no accurate data on just what MacArthur's wealth is. Many believe he has considerable holdings in the Philippines. Drew Pearson printed reports that MacArthur had heavy financial interests there and that he was associated with Courtney Whitney and Andreas Soriano. "The wealthiest man in the Philippines,"



GENERAL MAC ARTHUR

in mining ventures. It is interesting to note that MacArthur commissioned Whitney, a Manila lawyer, as a General during the war and put him in charge of the Philippine Section of General Headquarters. MacArthur made Soriano a Colonel on his staff. This same Soriano was the honorary consul of Spanish Dictator Franco in Manila. He had raised large sums of money for the Spanish fascists during the Civil War and had been decorated by Franco.

When the Philippines were retaken MacArthur ruthlessly suppressed the native guerrilla forces that had been fighting the Japanese Army. The leaders of the Hukbalahap movement were arrested; at the same time the Philippine business men and plantation owners who had collaborated with the Japanese were whitewashed and put back in power.

DEMOCRACY IN JAPAN

Some people attribute the democratization in Japan to MacArthur. This is false. The tremendous revolutionary wave sweeping Japan and the mighty industrial unions it has built are alone responsible for whatever democratization has occurred. The whole weight of American occupation has been used against the labor movement, against strikes, against the democratic processes. In August, 1946, MacArthur prohibited "strikes, walkouts or other work stoppages which are inimical to the objectives of the military occupation." At the same time he banned "noisy, disorderly demonstrations" and threatened to put them down with American troops. When a general strike was threatened MacArthur staged great military maneuvers the preceding day. The fact that the workers went right ahead and won a victory shows who is bringing about the democratization of that country.

The forces behind MacArthur's present bid for the presidential nomination are those of blackest reaction. The Hearst press is the banner bearer. The McCormick-Patterson press is similarly all out for the General. Phillip LaFollette, who not so long ago tried to start a nationalist movement complete with oath and emblem, now heads the General's Wisconsin campaign. In addition there are supporters like Gerald L. K. Smith.

Events on the International Scene

By Paul G. Stevens

"AID" TO GREECE

"Beware of Greeks bearing gifts," is a maxim we remember from our school days. It was part of ancient history when the rich men of Athens and Sparta ruled the civilized world. It has come down to us unchanged through the ages, but has completely lost its meaning. To understand it today, we would have to translate it as follows: "Beware of Wall Street Bearing Gifts." And with tragic irony, the present-day Greeks are among those who have the greatest cause to be wary of these modern gift-bearers.

Greece was voted a huge sum of dollar-aid by Congress last year. Naturally, its sponsors swore that the main purpose was to feed the starving women and children in that country. Only incidentally was it supposed to help the blood-stained army of the monarchy.

But the way this help to women and children has worked out is a different story. Here are some items, culled at random, as reported in the newspapers by on-the-spot correspondents:

"A Greek Lines ship left Pier 1 at Hoboken, carrying 3,000 tons of equipment for U.S. Army personnel in Greece." (Times, March 28). "Greek commanders will operate from plans that nearly 100 U.S. Army officers have helped draft." (Times, April 4). From the same dispatch: "In Salonika 73 persons charged with being communist spies went on trial before a military court. There were 12 women among the defendants." The outcome of the trial is not reported, but it is usually summary death.

There are literally hundreds of such items that could be cited in recent weeks.

But very special "gifts" have been reserved for the working class of Greece and its trade union organizations. Last Dec. 8 a law was passed by the Washington-run Greek government abolishing the right to strike and carrying the death penalty for strike leaders.

Now all these "gifts" of democracy have been wholeheartedly approved by our AFL and CIO top leaders. But the death penalty for strikers was a bit too raw even for them. Our "labor statesmen," after some vain attempts to get Washington to have the law repealed, fell upon another scheme. They would show the world that the Greek strikers were not the real labor movement of that country. The real thing was the "democratic" Greek "Trade Union Federation" operating by permission of the monarchy.

The "Trade union Congress" duly convoked its sessions at the end of March in Athens. 1,338 delegates attended. But the democratic processes have become somewhat snaggled. It seems a "faction fight" broke out. 500 delegates led by John Patsantzis, described as the "politically moderate" Secretary General of the "unions" walked out. Another 289 delegates led by Aristides Dimitratos, formerly Minister of Labor under the Fascist dictatorship of General Metaxas also walked out. The remaining 558 delegates are led by Fotios Makris, a prominent leader of the "Populist" or Monarchist party.

According to the last reports, "D. A. Strachan, ex-socialist long associated with Walter Reuther in the auto union, labor adviser to the American Mission for Aid to Greece, and ... Irving Brown, of the American Federation of Labor (Associated with Jay Lovestone and David Dubinsky) were still seeking to conciliate the factions" (Times, April 5).

American "labor statesmen" and ex-radicals to boot—conciliating between the fascist and Monarchist factions of the Greek "Trade Unions"! A veritable spectacle for the Gods, as the old Athenians used to say. Perhaps the ranks of the CIO and the AFL, who are asked to support and put up the money for this show, ought to look into this.

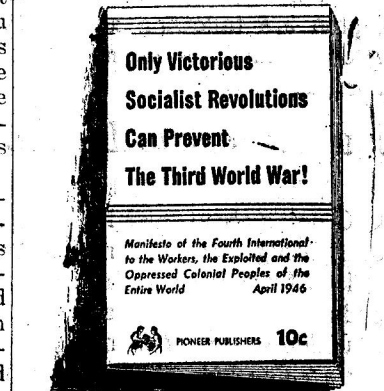
FRENCH TROTSKYISTS EXPEL ALBERT DEMAZIERES

The following resolution was recently adopted by the Political Bureau of the PCI.

"At a meeting organized by the Revolutionary Democratic Rally on March 12, (Albert) Demazieres (former secretary of the party) made a speech calling for adherence to this organization. This step was taken not only independently of any party decision but in flagrant violation of the decisions of the Central Committee on March 8, which condemned the position put forward by Demazieres as a complete abandonment of the Trotskyist program. ... The Political Bureau therefore finds that Demazieres has placed himself outside the party and that henceforth the PCI bears no responsibility whatsoever for Demazieres' actions and words."

The new neo-reformist character of the Revolutionary Democratic Rally was described in this column three weeks ago. Demazieres had long been at the head of a right wing group which sought to water down the revolutionary program of the PCI and pursued a line of adaptation to the Stalinist policy dominant in the French mass movement. Peculiarly enough, the rabidly

Stalinophobe Labor Action of Shachtman's Workers Party hails the Revolutionary Democratic Rally and embraces Demazieres. A Marxist would consider such an alliance as unprincipled. A Marxist would point out that Demazieres program represents a conciliatory attitude toward Stalinism whereas the Shachtmanites adapt themselves to Trumanism. How then, can Labor Action embrace Demazieres, whose faction has displayed pro-Stalinist tendencies? Anti-Trotskyism obviously makes for strange bedfellows.



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Latin American Notes

THE HENRY WALLACE OF CHILE

The present Chilean government is headed by the petty bourgeois radical Gonzales Videla, the Chilean counterpart of Henry Wallace. It is worthwhile recalling that he came to power with the blessings of the local Stalinists. As a matter of fact, it was they who practically elected him as spokesman for the "common man."

This same Chilean government was not only among the first in Latin America to break off diplomatic relations with Russia and some of its puppets, but recently acted as Wall Street's Charley McCarthy in the United Nations in proposing to investigate the Stalinist seizure in Czechoslovakia.

The Chilean government which gets very heated about democracy in Czechoslovakia is less interested in the subject at home in Chile. No sooner did Gonzales Videla assume power than his government began acting in the most reactionary and undemocratic manner.

Strikes are being suppressed in the most brutal fashion under the pretense that they are "communist-led." Under the rule of Chilean "democracy," there is not only a daily screaming against "communism," but every militant

fighter of the super-exploited laboring masses is put into concentration camp.

Videla's erstwhile allies, the Stalinists, are themselves the main victims of this persecution. In addition, a considerable number of socialist militants and Trotskyists are also filling the concentration camps of Gonzales Videla. This alone demonstrates that the capitalist attack on Stalinism is aimed at squelching every manifestation of working class struggle.

This crusade against "Communism," and the offensive against the Chilean working masses and the powerful Stalinist Party is an expression both of weakness and strength on the part of the Chilean ruling class.

PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE

Wall Street will try to utilize the ninth Pan-American Conference which started its sessions in Bogota, Colombia, April 30, for the military preparations for the Third World War, just as the Eighth Pan-American Conference, held in 1938 in Lima, Peru, was utilized to prepare for the Second. "Pan-Americanism," "continental solidarity," "good neighbor policy," etc., etc., have only one meaning and objective to American imperialism: to build link by link its chain of economic and political domination over the vast Latin American continent, which is rich in raw materials and constitutes an important market for its manufactured products.

But a lot of water has run under the bridge of "pan-americanism." The first Pan-American Conference, which took place in Washington in 1898, under the chairmanship of Secretary Blaine was designed to prepare the ground for the economic penetration of the newly emerged American imperialism into Latin America. Since then, American imperialism has succeeded in eliminating practically all of its imperialist rivals from the continent. The native ruling classes, composed of weak capitalist groups and decaying semi-feudal landowners, lost most of their bargaining power which they enjoyed before the Second World War. They now find it impossible to play off one imperialist power against another.

The "good neighbor" of the North is taking full advantage of this changed situation. It has the South American countries by the throat, and there is very little they can do about it. This is the reason why Wall Street isn't limiting itself any longer to merely economic and political

control; but now wants their manpower, as well as their raw materials and political solidarity. This doesn't mean that economic questions will be ignored at this Conference. Of course, Washington would like not to be bothered with this at all; but the economic position of its Latin American puppets is so desperate, that the latter are insisting that Wall Street throw them a thirty dollar silver piece for their services.

It goes without saying that these so-called representatives of the Latin American peoples are not lacking in ambition to become bigger partners in the general system of exploitation, to exploit in more intense fashion the laboring masses of their respective countries. This can only be done by the increased industrialization of their respective countries. But, such a program runs "contrary to the United States desire for more trade and lower tariff barriers," as it is correctly stated in an Associated Press dispatch from Bogota of March 27.

The leading force for "industrialization" and economic "independence" at the Conference will be Argentina, which because of its particular economic and geographic advantages, is in the best position to buck Wall Street.

George Clarke speaking on: The Political Crisis In the United States

Schedule of Clarke Tour

Milwaukee	Tuesday	Apr. 13
Twin Cities	Friday	Apr. 16
Flint	Tuesday	Apr. 20
Detroit	Thursday	Apr. 22
Youngstown	Friday	Apr. 23
Buffalo	Saturday	Apr. 24

THE MILITANT ARMY

Seattle Branch Presses Militant Sales

Seattle Branch of the Socialist Workers Party is selling nearly all of its regular bundle of 100 Militants every week, reports Joyce Hesser, literature agent. "In an unusually good week we sold 93 copies; about 50 at union meetings, 25 in neighborhood sales and 15 on three newsstands. "We cover six unions regularly. Sales have been as high as 35 papers and 8 or 9 pamphlets sold by a single comrade at one union meeting. Sales of 25 to 30 are not unusual. "Five comrades are assigned to sell 10 Militants weekly in neighborhoods and have sold about 25 a week. One sells 12 in half an hour. We also sell pamphlets on newsstands. Stalinists on the waterfront was a particularly good seller. "I have always felt that the sale of The Militant is one of the most basic tasks of any branch. I am happy to report Seattle is doing so well. As we enter the presidential campaign we will be able to extend the work from this base we have established."

Here is a chance for a devoted

reader to provide a Militant subscription to an Italian revolutionist. We have just received the following letter from Rome: "I have read some copies of your paper, from which I have learned that in the United States there is also a group of true socialists who are acting for the working people. "I would like to follow your activities through your paper. Therefore I would be grateful if you could advise me how to subscribe to your paper from Italy. "Accept my best wishes for a coming victory in your country. The battle you are fighting is the battle of all the workers in the world. We will fight it together. "My best greetings."

It may not be possible for this reader to send payment for a subscription. All Militant subscriptions now going to Italy are paid for by or through friends in this country. The price is \$2 a year. Anyone wishing to enter a subscription for this Italian revolutionist may send the price to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y. Any extra payments will be applied on other similar subscriptions.

Two Important New Publications from India

Rise and Fall of the Comintern

by K. TILAK
A concise study of the growth and degeneration of the Third International, and the rise of the Fourth International. The author is a leading member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India.

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THE MILITANT

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Vol. XII — No. 15

Monday, April 12, 1948

Effects of War Preparations On Economic Conditions in U. S.

By John C. Wright

By its war drive Wall Street is drastically changing conditions of economic life at home as well as abroad.

Thus, the grave threat of an imminent collision between expanded peacetime production and the constricting home market, which still confronts American capitalism, tends to fall away with the switching of production over into war channels.

"SOLVES" PROBLEMS

Peacetime relations of capitalist markets drastically alter not only in wartime but during the preparatory stages when a war economy is introduced.

In place of existing or developing surpluses, there tend to appear universal shortages in practically every nook and cranny of economic activity.

This is not to say that the shift from peacetime to war economy has already taken place. But the preparatory steps have already been made.

A "CUSHION"

Authoritative capitalist experts, like the editors of the Journal of Commerce, incline to the view that the economic measures already adopted will serve merely as a cushion against any serious business decline.

Such an optimistic outlook is not justified. It centers attention only on those economic sectors — like inventories, sagging branches of industry, outlets for capital investment, etc. — to which the highly inflationary measures do indeed provide a "shut in the arm."

To begin with, there is this country's fiscal and credit system. The additional expenditures already projected, amounting to 4 billion dollars, were not provided for in the original federal budget.

DANGER OF INFLATION

As an inflationary force, such a development can easily overshadow all the other inflationary factors. Separate and apart from all other considerations, deficit government spending on any large scale brings with it the danger of runaway inflation, whose effects can be mitigated only through the imposition of rigid price controls, rationing and other regulatory measures.

The inflationary conflagration is now being fed from still another source, namely, the billions stolen in the tax grab. The bulk of this 5 billion dollar tax cut represents not added consumer purchasing power, but additional capital, hungry for profits and eager for speculation.

The behavior of the stock market since Truman's March 17 speech to Congress is a good illustration of the incipient flight of money into war speculation. This process will be speeded up as the tempo of war preparation is stepped up.

Even with the imposition of regulations and controls — which is by no means assured this year — Wall Street's war drive is thus rushing headlong toward grave inflationary convulsions of this country's fiscal and credit system, along with similar convulsions in the price structure.

"New York's Finest" In Action



Clubs flying, these New York City cops rush into a picket line in Wall Street where the AFL United Financial Employees are on strike. Twelve pickets were injured and more than 40 arrested as the police cleared a path for scabs. Federated Pictures

Wall Street's Aims At Bogota Parley

By Arthur Burch

As the ninth inter-American conference convened in Bogota, Colombia on March 30, the threefold aim of American imperialism became apparent.

There are no important differences among the delegates on the first two points. The South American capitalists are only too willing to follow the lead of Washington in its crusade against the working classes and against the Soviet Union.

WAR ALLIANCE

The South-American dictators stand ready to help in the preparation for the coming war against the Soviet Union and in the waging of that war. Thus there should be no difficulty in implementing the war alliance with Wall Street by the standardization of arms.

Since a part of the Far East and perhaps most of Europe will be unavailable to the American imperialists in any new world war, the U. S. may find this additional manpower and raw materials all the more essential.

The probable cause of friction in Bogota will center around opposition to the third part of Wall Street's program — to intensify its exploitation of Latin America.

Mass protest has saved the Ingrams from the electric chair. Mass action must now be organized to free Mrs. Ingram and her two children from the Georgia prisons.

But they are doomed to disappointment. American imperialism has no desire to see South America industrialized. The Wall Street banks frown on government financing of South American industry, they want to do the financing themselves and on their own terms.

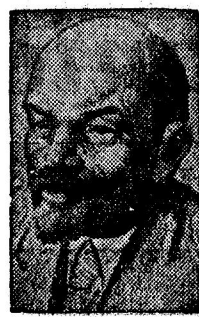
PRIVATE INVESTMENT

Thus, the National Association of Manufacturers proposed the following to the conference: "Increased emphasis on the economic desirability of both domestic and foreign private investment, and less emphasis on loans and investments by governments."



TROTSKY

"On Feb. 10 [1940], President Roosevelt warned the American Youth Congress against radicalism, advising it to improve the existing institutions, little by little, year by year.



LENIN

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

The Vigilante Menace

The witch hunt hysteria is mounting steadily. Not a day passes without the trampling underfoot of civil rights in one part of the country or another.

The right to speak of even former high government officials is publicly challenged. In Evansville, Indiana, a mob forms outside a Henry Wallace meeting, forces the audience to run the gauntlet, busts into the hall and beats up Wallace's national campaign manager, C. B. Baldwin, and two other aides.

A vigilante gang wrecks the home of a Communist Party organizer in Columbus, Ohio. (See story on Page 1.)

A Supreme Court ruling prohibits interference with the distribution of political literature, but a Birmingham judge sentences a Stalinist to six months in jail and a \$100 fine for daring to distribute pamphlets.

Concentration camps in America are advocated by one of the nation's top brass hats as General Jacob Devers tells a press conference in the Pentagon that all young men considered communists by the UMT-draft authorities are to be isolated in camps "where they can be watched."

The police commissioner of Detroit, Harry S. Toy, publicly urges that communists be "either shot, deported or jailed." He spreads anti-Semitism along with his lynch incitations by delivering a radio speech charging that Soviet agents are entering the country disguised as "Jewish rabbis."

As can be seen, the promoters of this new vigilantism are not obscure reactionaries. The conspiracy to gag and terrorize all dissenters and political opponents is being whipped up by the forces of capitalist "law and order" — Congressmen, state and local officials, police authorities, newspaper editors.

In this menacing situation the labor movement has failed completely to do its duty. Occasionally union leaders voice a mild protest against these outrages — after they have been committed — but nowhere have they taken a real step to prevent them.

The labor movement must wake up to the danger! Vigilante violence in the past has always been used against the unions as well as against political dissenters. The present anti-red campaign will prove no exception if the mobs are permitted free rein.

Eisenhower--the New Messiah

Several weeks ago the pro-Democratic union leaders were down in the dumps. Their man Truman was washed up. He didn't have a chance to win re-election in November.

Now, they have a possible candidate — a "great leader" — if only they can persuade him to run.

Coincidentally with the launching of a "Draft Eisenhower" campaign, inspired rumors emanate from CIO quarters that Philip Murray is seeking a conference with General Eisenhower. Walter Reuther, in an April 4 Detroit Free Press interview, complains "Truman is hopelessly inadequate" and hopes "some competent man like Eisenhower will be nominated by the Democrats."

Probably Eisenhower is competent — but in what way? He's a top-ranking member of the officer caste, steeped in the militarist tradition and reactionary point of view.

But is he competent to defend labor and oppressed minorities like the Negro people? Or is he simply more "competent" to win votes than Truman and more "efficient" than Truman himself in carrying out the Truman Doctrine and the Taft-Hartley Law?

The day before Reuther's interview, Eisenhower appeared before hearings of the Senate Armed Services Committee, where a day earlier CIO and AFL representatives had spoken against universal military training and the

proposed peacetime draft. But Eisenhower spoke bluntly and vehemently in favor of UMT and conscription, in favor of militarism and military regimentation of the people.

He went further in revealing himself a typical spokesman of the Big Brass and a reactionary. He whitewashed the Army's infamous system of Jim-Crow segregation and discrimination against Negroes. He repeated such typical Jim-Crow arguments as that about the Negroes being too uneducated to gain advancement in association with white troops, and it's being for their own good that they are treated as second-class citizens.

Certainly the two million Negro unionists don't think Eisenhower is the "great leader" for them!

No candidate who runs on the boss party tickets — no matter how much the union bureaucrats dress him up — can serve labor's interests. Every political experience has shown that only a party of, by and for the working people and poor farmers can defend their interests.

Eisenhower or any other capitalist party candidate is "competent" only to lead us into a new war, to economic breakdown, to destruction of organized labor. Labor has had enough of such "great leaders." It needs its own political leaders, and its own party with its own program.

Congress "Blunders" on Fascist Spain

The House of Representatives, in twice voting overwhelmingly to make Fascist Spain eligible for ERP "aid," smashed through the "democratic" facade of the Marshall Plan like a V-2 rocket.

It took all the ingenuity and energies of emergency crews dispatched from the White House, State Department and Senate to repair some of the damage. They finally prevailed on the reluctant Congressmen to take their word for it, that while undoubtedly Franco should get "aid," it's just not politically expedient to make it official. Not yet anyway.

So they passed off the House's action on Fascist Spain as just another "mistake" and "blunder." They explained slyly to the still unconvinced Representatives that this wouldn't eliminate Spain from the ERP picture, but only shift the responsibility to the 16 ERP nations to decide when Franco is to be inducted into the "democratic" camp.

Of course, there was nothing so odd or illogical about the House's actions. After all, if monarchist Greece and semi-fascist Turkey and fascist Portugal are considered worthy U. S. allies in the fight against "communist totalitarianism," why not Spain?

The Congressmen who voted for aid to Butcher Franco were merely following their natural inclinations. Can you show anyone

else in Europe who has done a better job in wiping out "communism" and the labor movement? Besides, many of them are beginning to get jittery about all this talk of "democracy." Keep that up, and people are going to start taking it seriously. These Congressmen don't want anyone to lose sight of the real aims of the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan—and you can't deny Franco fits right in.

The trouble with Spain, so far as the Marshall Plan apologists are concerned, is that no amount of propaganda whitewash can conceal its fascist hues. Dictator Franco, who murdered over two million Spanish workers and peasants with the aid of Mussolini and Hitler, doesn't take the whitewash treatment effectively. Besides, the United Nations itself barred Spain from membership on the grounds that it is an avowed fascist dictatorship.

The fact that Congress "saved face" for the ERP by reversing the House's stand on Franco will undoubtedly relieve the union leaders of some embarrassment. Just the same they'll have a hard time explaining how it happens that the vast majority of the largest and "most representative" of the two Houses of Congress is eager to cut Franco into an ERP bill to bolster "democracy."

Rationalizations Of the Renegades

By George Breiman

The 100th anniversary of the Communist Manifesto was utilized as the occasion for a concerted attack on Marxism by virtually the whole capitalist press. Not to be outdone by its bigger and less cultured brothers was Partisan Review, whose March issue featured an article, "A Century's Balance Sheet." Its author, Jean Vannier, is introduced by the editors as a French political writer for many years close to the Trotskyite movement.

Vannier has actually had nothing to do with the Trotskyists for a couple of years. However, he held up the announcement of his own public recantation until he found the appropriate time and place. What better time than the anniversary when all the hacks of capitalism were sniping at Marxism, and what better place than Partisan Review?

This, in case you're not acquainted with it, is a magazine whose editors for a short period in the Thirties suffered from the delusion that they were fellow-travelers of Marxism, but who managed to shake off that embarrassing notion in time to support the recent imperialist war. As for its politics today, it is sufficient to note that its advisory board is graced by such lapdogs of capitalism as James Burnham and Sidney Hook.

Vannier gives his article a certain revival-meeting touch by opening it with a quotation from Sulerman: "We must grow in guilt if we are to grow at all." But if this arouses the expectation that the author is going to confess his own misdemeanors, it is misleading. The only sin Vannier acknowledges is having once accepted Marxism. His exhortation is addressed not to himself but to those hardened sinners who still have confidence that the workers will reconstruct society and who continue to work toward that goal.

Stripped of its shoddy "theoretical" trappings, Vannier's rationalization for deserting the camp of socialist revolution emerges as follows:

The Marxists expected the working class to take over society and build socialism. Although the workers have had 100 years since the publication of the Communist Manifesto to do this job, they haven't done it. The reason they haven't done it is that they don't have the political capacity to do it. The proof that they don't have the political capacity is that they haven't done it yet. The fact that they haven't done it yet is reason enough to conclude that they can't and won't do it in the future. Since the capacity of the workers to take power is the keystone of the whole Marxist system, this means Marxism has failed. Therefore now is the time for all good men to get together, sit down and discuss what is to be done about socialism in this lamentable (if not hopeless) situation.

"Doomed" by the Vannier Law

To support this argument, Vannier promises to "examine the social situation and political history of the working class." But instead of an all-sided historical survey of the workers' past struggles, including defeats, he constructs a picture that seeks to explain everything, at all stages of capitalist history and under all conditions of the class struggle, by certain inherent and apparently unalterable qualities of the working class.

In the interest of establishing his "objectivity," Vannier concedes that the working class has proved itself capable of heroism, self-sacrifice, demonstrations of great power, the ability to overcome long-held prejudices, audacity, BUT:

"But by and by, whatever the consequences of its action, whether victory or defeat, it is finally caught up in the sluggish, quotidian flow of things. The fetid backwaters of the past seep back; the proletariat sinks into indolence and cynicism. And even in its triumphant moments, it exhibits a want of consciousness in the choice of its leaders. The 'instinctive sense of reality' attributed to it by Auguste Comte, which it so readily reflects in many a circumstance, abandons it at such moments. Its courage and self-sacrifice are not enough to give it what, precisely, is needed in order to act out the role assigned to it by Marx: political capacity. What the proletariat is incapable of achieving is a leadership which will be faithful to its interests, will understand and defend them boldly, imaginatively, and tenaciously."

Some workers—even those entirely free from idealized conceptions about the working class—may resent such sweeping charges of laziness, cynicism and stupidity. But Vannier wouldn't want them to think he is indulging in mere name-calling. For while he rejects Marx's view that the conditions of capitalist production and decay inevitably prepare and drive the workers toward socialism, he does not at all reject all concepts of historical "inevitability." A careful reading of the above quotation, and in fact of the whole article, will show that he is here presenting us with a veritable law, operating everywhere that capitalism exists. No matter what happens in the class struggle, whether the workers win, lose or draw, under the Vannier Law they are inexorably doomed to sink back, deprived of the fruits of their struggle. So don't take it personally, workers! What must be, must be.

It's not clear if this is another manifestation of the notorious shortcoming in "human nature" which the propagandists of Big Business point to as the basis of the permanence of capitalism, or if it is a characteristic only of people who work for a living. But what seems clear, once you accept this idea, is that there's not much the workers can do about it, one way or another.

The Landlord and His Mortgage

Anyhow, like the hard-hearted landlord in the Victorian melodrama, Vannier now wants to foreclose the mortgage. But the Marxists never signed any mortgage putting a 100-year limit on their struggle and prediction that the workers would achieve their historic role. What the Marxists promised was that as long as capitalism endures, the working class struggle for socialism will endure too, and that the outcome of this struggle will be either socialism—or the destruction of society.

Reminding us that Marx and Engels compared the future triumph of the workers over capitalism to the earlier triumph of the capitalists over feudalism, Vannier insists that "the differences rather than the similarities must be emphasized." (Of course the Marxists have always recognized the differences as well as the similarities, even if they reached conclusions directly opposite to Vannier's.) And he proceeds to emphasize the differences to show what relative advantages the capitalists had when they fought for power, laying particular stress on the argument that the capitalists, unlike the workers, "as a whole . . . understood very well how to take hold of society."

That brings us right to the question of Vannier's time limit. If the capitalists were in a better position to take power than the workers are today, then why did it take them so long? As is well known, they did not complete their revolutionary tasks within a 100-year period such as Vannier now seeks to saddle onto the workers. On the contrary, the capitalists' rise to power took a much longer time than the life span of the modern industrial working class. Their struggle had its ups and downs too, its partial victories and sometimes staggering defeats, and in most countries it took two or three centuries before they won their full victory. Should they have given the whole thing up as a bad job at the end of the first 100 years?

The bourgeois revolutionists of the 18th and 19th centuries would not have shown much patience with the Vanniers of their day who came around—on the eve of decisive battles—to inform them that since they hadn't succeeded in winning power during the first 100 years of their struggle, they had thereby demonstrated their "political incapacity" and had better retire to the sidelines to "grow in guilt" while thinking the whole thing over. Nor will the 20th century revolutionary workers be diverted from the prosecution of their life-and-death struggle to save humanity by the sermons of the modern skeptics, cravens and renegades.

(Next Week: The Workers and their Leaders.)

Protests Save Mrs. Ingram's Life

Mass protests against the death sentences for Mrs. Rosa Ingram, Negro mother of 12, and her two sons, Sammy, 14, and Wallace 16, have won a first victory.

Judge William M. Harper of Americus, Georgia, who sentenced the Ingrams to the electric chair for the self defense slaying of a white farmer, has been forced to commute the sentences to life imprisonment.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, it is believed, will appeal the case to higher courts in the battle to free the Ingrams.

Mrs. Ingram, a sharecropper, was attacked by a white neighbor when her pigs wandered into his fields. Armed with a rifle, he threatened to shoot her and when she grabbed the rifle he beat her severely. At this point her two teenage sons ran to the aid of their bleeding mother. A blow on the head resulted in the death of the white farmer.

The Ingrams were immediately hauled off to jail, denied legal rights and found guilty by a lily-white jury. The landlord confiscated the livestock and tools of the Ingram family. The remaining Ingram children, the youngest of whom is 17 months, have been living in a tiny shack since the imprisonment of their widowed mother.

Mass protest has saved the Ingrams from the electric chair. Mass action must now be organized to free Mrs. Ingram and her two children from the Georgia prisons.

Brooklyn Forum On Truman War Plan

The Truman proposal for universal military training and the re-enactment of the draft will be the topic of a forum conducted by the downtown Brooklyn Branch of the Socialist Workers Party on Sunday afternoon, April 18, at 3 p.m. The speaker is Harry Ring, Brooklyn Branch organizer. Dinner will be served at the conclusion of the forum. The address of the Brooklyn Branch is 635 Fulton St.

READ

Fourth International

A Conversation

By Theodore Kovalesky

The big guy looked very satisfied, triumphant, as he stood talking at the street corner. The little guy seemed ill at ease, in disagreement, but afraid to assert himself strongly.

"Oh, yes," the big guy was booming, "the government done the right thing, all right. They ought to get rid of all of them guys. Serve 'em good and right!"

"But what did he do?" the little guy asked. "What'd he do!" the big guy glared. "Why he's been going around talking against the government. Making soap box speeches. Causing trouble. Any guy," he added angrily, "talks against the government's got rocks in his head."

"The way I feel about it," the little fellow said, "if a guy thinks something, well, he's got a right to. That is, a guy ought to have freedom of thought."

"Sure," bellowed the big guy. "He can think like he wants to. Nobody's gonna stop him."

"Well, the way I feel about it, he ought to have freedom of speech, too, don't you think?"

"Sure! Everybody's got freedom of speech, but that don't mean a guy can go around making soap box speeches against the government."

"Well . . . but, just a speech, that is, just talking . . ."

"Just talking?" the big fellow interrupted. "Let me tell you," he went on solemnly, "the government's the best friend you got. I work for the government, and I know. And this guy's running around making in-flam-ma-tory speeches, trying to overthrow it!"

The little guy hurried by the street, turned a corner, and was gone. The little guy shook his head and scowled. "Well," he muttered to nobody in particular, "the way I feel about it, any government that crucifies a man for his ideas is no good and ought to be changed!"

The big guy hurried by the street, turned a corner, and was gone. The little guy shook his head and scowled. "Well," he muttered to nobody in particular, "the way I feel about it, any government that crucifies a man for his ideas is no good and ought to be changed!"

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The little guy was obviously not rich. His clothing was inexpensive and beginning to show signs of wear. He looked at his feet and murmured, "Well, he's for the poor people, isn't he?"

The big guy laughed loudly. "That's what all them reds say."

"But he's poor . . . a carpenter, isn't he?"

"My friend, he's just a tramp. Begging and putting on a big show. What you've got to understand is he's a red! An out-of-town Jewish agitator!"

"Well, just because he's Jewish . . ."

"Now, understand, friend," the big guy intoned profoundly, "some of my best friends are Jews. There's some fine people among the Jews; but then, there's an element . . . you know, aggressive, radical . . ."

The little guy sighed, "Well . . ."

"These are critical times," the big guy reminded him ponderously. "You can't have no subversive elements trying to weaken the government in times like these."

"Well," he said briskly, "I got to be running along. I'm going to beat it up to Calvary and take in the show. Why don't you come on along and see him get what's coming to him?"

"Oh no," the little guy said. "I certainly don't agree with Jesus, but, well, I wouldn't want to go up there and see it."

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Labor Slates Run by California Unions in 3 Municipal Elections

By J. Blake

LOS ANGELES, April 3. — Labor's first co-ordinated campaign to elect councilmen in five sixth class city elections in Southern California has become the high point of independent political action by the unions in this area.

This campaign is drawing the line between those who see in this local development a means of giving the Democratic Party a coat of liberal paint, and those who see it as a step toward standing labor on its own political feet.

ATTEMPTED LINK — The first tendency attempted to link the labor slate to the Democratic Party two weeks ago by publishing the endorsement of the candidates by the "Southeast Democratic Committee," an unofficial "labor Democrat" front organization.

The Southeast Committee for Labor Candidates reacted to this pressure by passing a motion to bar political party labels and endorsements from its publicity and literature.

The "labor Democrats" then induced two of the candidates, steel and auto worker union representatives, to run for State Assembly and County Central Committee in the Democratic primary election.

A motion was immediately passed in the Southeast Committee reaffirming its independence of the Democratic, Republican and Independent Progressive Parties and stating that the Committee is endorsing candidates only in the non-partisan municipal elections.

Representatives of the Stalinist tendency participated in the first meetings of the Southeast Committee to push their people's front line against an independent labor slate, but they soon drew back to boycott and then sabotage the movement.

This was in part a reflection of the situation in the Los Angeles CIO, which is now split in two, with the Stalinists retaining control of the old CIO Council and the right wing forming the Los Angeles Committee for National CIO Policy.

Although the Southeast Committee has from the first included persons from unions affiliated to both groups, the right wing body has endorsed the full slate of the Southeast Committee while the old CIO Council has endorsed only one candidate on the slate.

In one city, Maywood, the Stalinists threw up a slate backed by the "Committee for Progressive Government" to oppose the candidates of the united labor slate. This scabby action has gained them particular condemnation because the Southeast Committee not only invited their participation but even attempted to make

the full slate has the endorsement of the following labor bodies: California National CIO-PAC; District Auto and Aircraft Council No. 5; Firestone Rubber Local 100, URW; General Motors Local 216, Ford Local 406, North American Local 887, Alcoa Local 808 and L.A. Young Local 809, UAW, CIO United Steelworkers Locals 2058, 2018 and 1981. In addition the Lynwood slate has the endorsement of the AFL Allied Printing Trades Council.

This campaign has already proven the falseness of the arguments of those opposed to independent labor political action. Good candidates were found in the ranks of the unions. AFL, CIO, IAM and Railroad Brotherhoods unionists have furthermore united to elect their own slate free of Democratic, Republican and Independent Progressive Party control.

Rent Control Bill Full of Loopholes

Appropriately enough, the new joker "rent control" law went into effect on April 1. This new Housing and Rent act will expire March 31, 1949. Under it tenants have less protection and landlords have many more loopholes for rent gouging.

Landlords will be permitted to continue extorting 15% "voluntary" increases. Area rent officers can make "individual adjustments" upwards in cases where landlords claim the rental figure is too low. Blanket increases in rents are permitted when the Housing Expediter approves the recommendations of the landlord-packed local rent advisory boards.

TWO CHANCES — If the Housing Expediter does not agree to the recommendation of a local advisory board for a blanket rent increase, the recommendation then goes to the Emergency Court of Appeals, a judicial body set up in 1942 to hear appeals from OPA decisions. Thus the real estate dominated local advisory boards have two chances of getting a blanket increase approved.

Controls are removed from new construction completed between Feb. 1, 1945 and Feb. 1, 1947 and unrented from the time of their completion to June 30, 1947. This is a direct reward to those landlords who kept new construction "unfinished" or unrented in expectation of evading rent controls.

Controls are also removed from categories of furnished rooms.

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Coal Miners Defy Federal Injunction

(Continued from page 1)

issues involved. They are spearheading the fight of the whole labor movement against the deadly menace of the Taft-Hartley Law and government by injunction. They are battling for the most precious right of labor — the right to strike.

Everyone—that is, everyone but the narrow-minded top leaders of the CIO and AFL—understands that the miners are engaged in a struggle whose outcome will have far-reaching implications for every union and every worker.

Yet, because of their organizational conflicts with Lewis, the CIO and AFL leaders haven't said one word against this infamous government strikebreaking. They have not uttered one protest while the government sharpens the Taft-Hartley knife on the miners to make it keener for the throat of the whole labor movement.

It was shameful that the CIO and AFL leadership offered nothing more than token protests when the AFL International Typographical Union was clubbed by the Taft-Hartley Law and a federal injunction. In the face of the further and even more venomous attack on the miners, their silence and inaction is downright criminal.

Every local union should immediately adopt resolutions of support for the miners. The union ranks everywhere should vigorously demand that their national leaders call an immediate conference of the CIO, AFL and mine unions to map out a joint program of action to stop government by injunction and smash the Slave Labor Law.

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Randolph Urges Draft Defiance

(Continued from page 1)

Clayton Powell, of Harlem told the Committee: "I want to assure you that the testimony given you by Mr. Randolph did most emphatically state the mood of the vast majority of the 15 million Negroes in America. He did not overstate it."

Randolph did not call for a struggle against imperialism as such. He spoke for the democratic right of the Negroes. But he took a principled stand, and he called on whites to rally to the Negro cause. In its own way, it is a notable call for the revolutionary action and a defiance of imperialist reaction here in the United States.

Negro oppression and the hypocrisy of American imperialism have been highlighted. If what Randolph proposes should get mass response and firm organizational expression, then a series of vital problems will be posed for every labor organization in the country. While the Negro press and the Negro people are alive with responses to the declaration, the capitalist press is trying to pretend that nothing very important has happened. But already there are signs that great masses of Negro people will echo and re-echo the protest until it is heard throughout the nation and the world.

L. A. Local Plans May Day Program

LOS ANGELES, April 1—The May Day Committee of the Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party Local today announced that complete preparations for its May Day meeting had been worked out, and that tickets were now available through any of the Militant offices in the area. (See listings under branches of the SWP.)

The main speaker will be Murry Weiss, a member of the National Committee of the SWP. The North Hall of the Embassy, 837 S. Grand has been rented for the meeting and a committee on decorations has been set up.

The following day, Sunday, May 2, has been set aside for a picnic at Picnic Grounds Number 3 of Elysian Park. The picnic committee has arranged a menu with roast chicken. Games and other entertainment are being worked out.

Mail Men Deliver



On a recent show, Fred Allen asked his friends on Allen's Alley whether they favored increased salaries for postal workers. All questioned answered yes. To thank him for backing their drive for \$1,000 yearly wage boosts, President Ephraim Handman (left) of the New York Federation of Post Office Clerks (AFL), Mike Dolan and Patrick J. Fitzgerald bring him a mammoth postcard from hundreds of fellow employees. Federated Pictures

Anti-Reutherites Show Strength in Elections

DETROIT — Plans of Walter Reuther to destroy the opposition inside the auto union have failed utterly. While Reuther was able to eliminate opposition control of a number of important locals in the current union elections, his own supporters have likewise met with reverses.

Furthermore, a comparison of the rank and file vote in the local elections with the vote for convention delegates six months ago shows a definite decline in the strength of the Reutherites.

Major gains for Reuther were scored in powerful Briggs Local 212 where the Reuther-Emil Mazey ticket headed by Ken Morris won a close victory in a record breaking vote over the incumbent administration led by Tony Czerwinski, one of the best fighters for progressive unionism in the battles of the past year.

Reuther also attained his objective in ousting Stalinist John Anderson from the presidency of Tool and Die Local 155. Here again the victory was a narrow one with an unusually large vote. Opposition leadership of Chevrolet Transmission Local 735 and West Side Local 157 also suffered defeats in close votes.

On the other hand, in spite of the all-out efforts of the Reuther machine and the terrific anti-red hysteria, Reuther-supported administrations were defeated in a number of instances. In the Chevrolet Gear and Axle Local 235, incumbent John Oneka was defeated by Rudy Pale. In GM Diesel Local 163 the incumbent Reuther administration has already lost a number of important posts and faces a rout in the runoff election. Dick Leonard began his march on the comeback trail by ousting the Reuther-supported president of DeSoto Local 227. Ray Travnick, whose leanings are as yet not too clear, defeated the Reuther incumbent in Dodge Truck Local 140. Schmidt former president of Budd Local 306, went on Reuther's payroll and was replaced by Pete Horvath, who is reported to be in opposition to the Reuther leadership. Briggs Local 742 dumped Reutherite Harold "Smokey" Woods and elected an opposition ticket. In the Ford Highland Park Local 400 the Reuther-Bannon supported ticket was defeated and a slate headed by Musilli, which tends in an opposition direction, was elected.

Opposition forces in Hudson Local 154 performed a double operation with complete success. A split in the left wing caucus shortly before the election resulted in a three way race. The bulk of the Reuther ticket did not even make the runoff election, where Claude Bland and virtually his entire slate ousted the incumbent Chatwin by decisive margins. The left wing split occurred as a result of growing dissatisfaction with Chatwin's inefficiency in office and the weak

position he had taken in recent negotiations with the Hudson Motor Car Company. The Hudson Local with a membership of more than 15,000 and a progressive leadership, may well play a leading role in the struggles of the next period.

Ralph Urban was re-elected to his post and carried virtually his entire slate in Packard Local 190. On the west side of Detroit, Fleetwood Local 15, Cadillac Local 22 and GM Diesel Local 163 arranged their elections for the same date to make it more difficult for the Reuther staff men to interfere in their elections. Dave Miller, president of Cadillac Local 22 and his entire slate were re-elected by a comfortable margin. John W. Anderson, incumbent president of Fleetwood Local also defeated his Reutherite opponent.

In Motor Products Local 203, Reuther's attempt to unseat Don Cenna was unsuccessful. In Plymouth Local 51 the attempts of the Reuther forces to unseat the Stalinist administration, led by Frank Danowski, also failed. In Amalgamated Local 205, the incumbent Ned Coleman met the Reuther forces head on, including a straight-out fight against the "loyalty affidavits" of the Taft-Hartley Act, and won both fights by overwhelming margins.

Lloyd Jones who has led a "floating kidney" existence in the UAW defeated two opposing candidates, one of whom had the active support of the Reuther staff, by a margin of 2 to 1. As was to be expected the Reuther forces retained leadership of Local 174 without serious opposition. In Chrysler Local 7, Joe Hatfield, incumbent Reutherite, won a slate victory by a 3 to 2 margin.

In Dodge Local 3, Mike Nowak, incumbent president, was re-elected by a margin of 400 votes out of 10,000 cast. In Lincoln Local 900, Reuther gained some ground with the victory of Valenti over the incumbent opposition president, Frank Davis.

A number of elections remain to be completed including the election in Ford Local 600, which is being held at the present time. These local union elections witnessed the most active intervention on the part of the International Union in the whole history of the UAW. The international staff members had full time assignments in the election campaigns and interfered in every possible manner.

In a number of locals the Reuther wage policy became a campaign issue. The local election results demonstrate that despite Reuther's use of the whole union machinery and power of patronage, to flatten out his opposition, the anti-Reuther forces have maintained their strength and have even made headway since the November 1947 UAW Convention.

The Negro Struggle

Randolph's Testimony

By Albert Parker

A. Philip Randolph's testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee is a sign that the Negro struggle against Jim Crow is on the verge of passing from the stage of protest and indignation to the stage of mass action. The Senate members were angered and frightened by Randolph's promise to call a mass "civil disobedience" movement if military Jim Crow is not abolished. But what disturbed them even more was the knowledge that he was only expressing the mood of millions of Negroes.

The present spirit of Negro rebellion can be compared in some ways to the one that prevailed shortly before the U. S. entered World War II. Then, too, there was growing unrest, centering around the determination of the Negro masses to secure for themselves the democratic rights that they were told the war was being fought to secure for everyone else. Then, too, Randolph gave expression to their sentiments by launching the March on Washington Movement, aimed at abolishing Jim Crow in employment and the armed forces.

The march on Washington never came off because its leaders buckled under Roosevelt's pressure and cancelled the protest demonstration in return for the establishment of the war-time Fair Employment Practices Committee. That of course didn't stop the Negro struggle, which continued in the form of resistance to Jim Crow attacks all through the war. Nevertheless, many Negroes at the same time suffered from the illusion that if

they went along with the war, maybe things would improve afterward. The experience since the end of the war has dashed all such hopes to the ground. The lesson of the last seven years is clear and unmistakable: The Negro people don't get a thing without fighting for it.

That is why the present situation, while it has some points of comparison with 1940-1941, is an expression of the fact that the Negro struggle stands on a higher plane than it did in the days of the March on Washington Movement. This time Randolph threatens not only mass action and opposition to the Jim Crow laws and regulations — as he did in 1941 — this time he also advocates outright defiance of those laws.

The new stage which the Negro struggle is entering will impose great responsibilities on both the Negro and white workers. Now is the time for a thorough discussion of these problems. Among Negroes of course the question is no longer: Should the Negro people fight against Jim Crow and all its defenders? That question has already been decided. The questions to be discussed now are: What is the best way to conduct this fight? What kind of leadership is needed to guide this fight to victory? How can the active support of the labor movement be won for this fight?

This discussion is already under way wherever Negroes meet. Coming issues of The Militant will report on the discussion as it is reflected in the Negro press and organizations, and will present the viewpoint of this paper. Readers are invited to send in their opinions.

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