

Randolph's Proposals And the War Question

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THE MILITANT

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KANSAS OUTRAGE--A WARNING TO LABOR!

Union - Busting Cops Told to 'Crack Skulls'

Forty-five union men and women were brutally clubbed to the ground and the union hall of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers in Kansas City, Kansas, was invaded and wrecked on April 23 by blood-crazed police under orders to "crack skulls."

This unprovoked assault on the Kansas City packinghouse strikers is the most savage outburst of police violence against labor since the 1937 Memorial Day Massacre against the Little Steel strikers.

The Kansas City police attack was premeditated. Prior to the assault more than 100 police massed near strike pickets at the Cudahy plant's main gate were called together by Police Captain Eli Dahlin, who commanded them:

"CRACK SKULLS"

"You are to crack skulls if they ask for it, no matter who they are. That means strike leaders and all, even a member of the city's legal staff if he interferes."

The latter reference was to James H. Barnes, Assistant City Attorney and also union legal representative, who had previously protested police violations of the rights of pickets.

Without warning, the police charged in a body on the defenseless pickets, mercilessly flailing them. In a few moments, 45 persons, streaming blood from scalp and face wounds, lay on the ground. More than a hundred strikers suffered blows. Ten were sent to the hospital. Even news photographers, attempting to take pictures of the attack, were beaten and one sent to the hospital.

As the sadistic cops belabored fallen workers with their clubs, they screamed: "Go back to work and get off the streets." Pickets ran toward the union hall, diagonally across from the Cudahy gate, with police in pursuit.

DEMOLISHED HALL

At the hall, the police broke in the door and began to smash up everything breakable, including the heads of workers. The latter, among them screaming women, jumped from windows to escape the murderous police clubs. The walls were soon spattered with blood, glass strewn all over, chairs reduced to kindling.

Police later claimed they found "six weapons" in the hall—a sawed-off billiard cue, a broom stick with a nail, an iron bolt, a mallet and a three-foot stick. Ralph M. Baker, UPWA district director, said that police claims about strikers' "resistance" and "weapons" were "absolutely false" and a "cover-up for acts that would make Hitler's Gestapo and Stalin's GPU look like Boy Scouts."

The legal pretext for the attack was a local ordinance against mass picketing. After the attack, the District Court issued an injunction against "illegal" picketing. Police cleared the streets of

MEAT BARONS USE VIOLENCE AGAINST STRIKERS

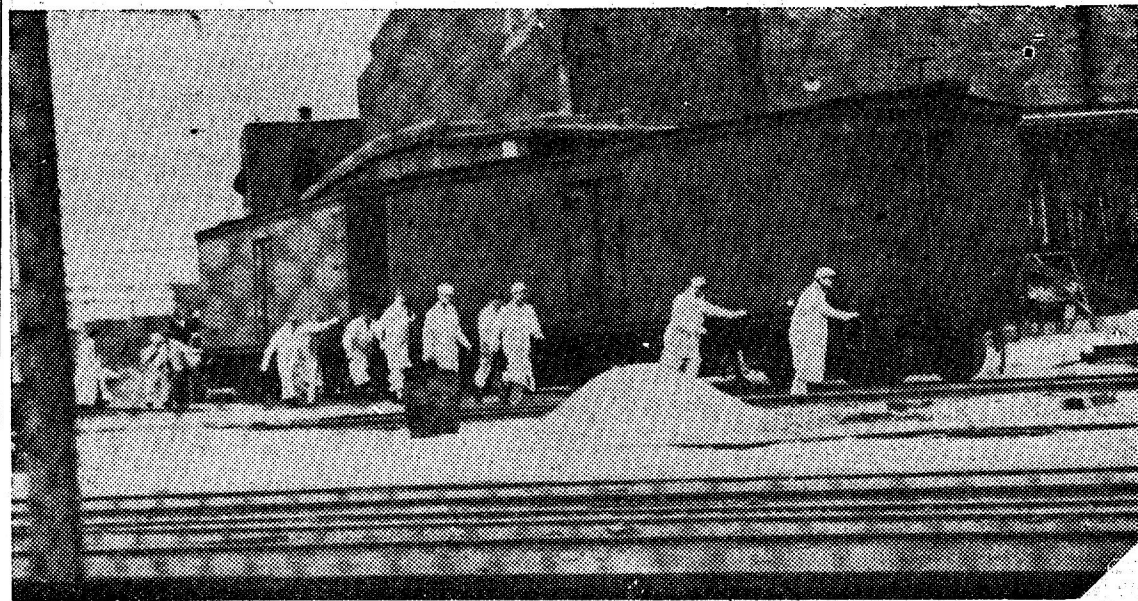
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persons for two blocks. Even business places were entered and all customers driven out.

The Kansas City outrage climaxes a growing wave of violence by police and company strike-breakers in the packinghouse centers. In Chicago last week, a striker was murdered by a strike-breaker who ran him down with an Armour truck. These assaults accompanied company moves to operate plants after Truman's "fact-finding" committee said meat trust offers of 9-cents an hour were "substantial."

Ralph Helstein, UPWA president, has appealed to Attorney General Clark for an investigation into the "brutal and wanton beating" of the Kansas City strikers and invasion of their hall. At this writing, four days after the outrage, the CIO national headquarters has not said a word.

Scab Squad



A Kansas City strike-breaking crew shoves meat-loaded freight cars across picket lines after railway terminal workers refused to do the job. The CIO United Packinghouse Workers report, however, that the packers' back-to-work movement has been a flop. Federated Pictures

Big Steel Leads Attack On CIO Wage Demands

By Art Preis

Acting on the basis of a unified strategy, America's most powerful corporations have almost simultaneously rejected the "third round" wage demands of the biggest CIO unions.

U.S. Steel Corporation sounded the general offensive of Big Business on April 22. Benjamin Fairless, head of the largest steel combine, announced that it would not grant any wage increases to the steel workers.

The leading corporations in the steel, auto, electrical equipment, meat packing and maritime industries have turned thumbs down on wage raises or withdrawn previous offers of small increases. The first indication of the Big Business plans to challenge the

CIO's wage demands came on March 3, when General Electric announced it would deny all wage requests of the CIO electrical workers.

At that time, The Militant sharply warned that this heralded a general "Get Tough" policy by the major corporations. We attacked the false and deceptive rumors emanating from CIO top circles, and particularly Murray's steel union headquarters, that the corporations were ready to make "concessions."

The wage situation in the major CIO-organized industries is as follows:

STEEL: U.S. Steel, generally considered the pace-setter in Big Business industrial policy on April 22 issued a public declaration in the

midst of recently-opened union negotiations, to the effect that wage raises are denied and price cuts amounting to 25 million dollars annually would begin May 1.

Since Fairless had admitted to a Senate committee in February that a price increase then put into effect by U.S. Steel would boost profits \$28,433,190, the new reductions still would not offset the previous price advance. Actually, a 25 million dollar price cut equals only 1.2% of the 1947 sales volume of 2.1 billion dollars.

This "picayune" price cut, as Murray termed it, was obviously advanced as a gesture to cover the wage turn-down. Increased volume, through war production, is expected to boost steel profits far beyond what the temporary price cut might cost.

Murray promptly called the top steel union officials together. They deplored the fact that U.S. Steel was not acting in "good faith" and pointed to the company's huge 1947 net profits of 153 million dollars.

ON THE CHIN

Their only answer, however, to the contemptuous action of the steel barons was to renew a pledge to "live up to the current two-year, no-strike contract," which expires next April, and to leave the wage issue up to "the forum of public opinion." That means, to leave the steel workers to take it on the chin for another year.

Promptly following the action of Big Steel, the key Little Steel companies, Bethlehem, Republic, Youngstown Sheet & Tube and Jones & Laughlin, proclaimed a similar no-wage-increase policy.

AUTO: Chrysler Corporation, which had previously met the demand of the CIO United Auto Workers for a 30-cent raise with a 6-cent counter-offer, withdrew even this insulting offer on the announcement of U.S. Steel's wage policy. General Motors, largest auto corporation, has refused to make the union any offer at all. To frighten its workers, GM announced one-week layoffs for 200,000 workers.

Chrysler officials had said that the auto workers did not need raises in view of recent tax reductions. It is estimated that Chrysler's rate of profit on investments would be 14 1/2% annually even after granting a 30-cent an hour wage increase.

STRIKE VOTE

A delegated conference of UAW Chrysler locals has voted for strike action if the company does not meet their demands. The UAW International executive board has sanctioned such action. The UAW national officers on April 23 declared: "We want to remind employers who might be tempted to take comfort from the steel negotiations that automobiles are not made by steel workers. They are made by auto workers and auto workers are

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Watchword for Unions Must Be: United Action

By The Editors

The labor movement is face to face with the greatest threat to its existence since the establishment of the CIO. This is the plain unvarnished truth and everyone should wake up to it.

The present offensive of Big Business, hand in hand with all the agencies and divisions of the government—the courts, the police, right up to the Chief Executive himself—threatens nothing less than a return to the "good old days," the pre-CIO dark ages of union-busting, strike-breaking and the open shop.

The Wall Street plutocracy has grown so bold and so swollen with arrogance, it dares use large scale violence against the unions for the first time since the Little Steel Strike of 1937.

This violence has gone to unheard-of lengths. The unions' very right to existence is challenged when Kansas City cops, under orders to "crack skulls," can get away with an armed invasion of the CIO Packinghouse Workers' headquarters.

The Kansas City outrage is no passing or isolated incident. It climaxes the premeditated, planned and growing nation-wide assault on the unions. It is part of the pattern of a merciless class war organized by capital to beat down and crush labor.

CORPORATIONS AND THEIR SERVANTS

This war, constantly increasing in ferocity and broadening in its scope, was conceived and organized by the billionaire corporations. It is being spearheaded by the federal government itself, which is bombarding the unions with the Taft-Hartley Law. It is aided and abetted by the courts which are handing out strike-breaking injunctions right and left. It is being enforced by the police who are out in full force "cracking skulls" and inviting scabs and strikebreakers to walk through the picket lines.

Small wonder that under these circumstances the profit-bloated corporations, led by U.S. Steel, General Motors, Chrysler, Westinghouse, General Electric, contemptuously toss the CIO's wage demands into the waste basket. Acting in open concert, they spit upon the biggest unions in the land.

This is a far cry from two years ago. Then the workers were on the picket lines millions strong. THEN THE CORPORATIONS HAD TO EAT HUMBLE PIE AND MAKE SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSIONS. Then the cops had to talk politely to pickets. Then Washington had to tread easily and mouth conciliatory phrases.

What has changed since then? Are the unions smaller, weaker, their ranks dismembered, their treasuries insolvent? Not at all. Has a feeble breed of union men and women replaced the fighters of two years ago? Nothing of the kind. The magnificent combative qualities of the American working class remains unimpaired, as shown by the miners, packinghouse workers, typographical workers, and even the Wall Street white collar strikers, who have spilled their blood on the very steps of the Stock Exchange.

RETREAT, APPEASEMENT, SURRENDER

The unrestrained and savagery of the present anti-labor offensive is the pay-off of the union leaders' policy of retreat, appeasement, and surrender. It is the price the workers are paying because their leaders have run to cover ever since Truman smashed the railroad strike and opened war on the miners in June 1946. These leaders gave up the wage fight in the spring of 1947 for a few crumbs.

SWP in Flint Surpasses Quota On Petitions

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, April 26—The Flint Socialist Workers Party terminated its petition campaign this week after successfully obtaining its quota of 5,000 signatures. Signed petitions were also mailed in from Genesee, Bay and Saginaw Counties.

Operating under many handicaps, the comrades surmounted them by turning on extra heat in the last few days. In the latter part of the campaign, police in Saginaw and Flint attempted to intimidate circulators of petitions. When questioned by Genora Dollinger, chairman of the Flint SWP, police and the city officials admitted there were no ordinances against obtaining of signatures. However, from time to time they placed handicaps in the SWP drive by picking up circulators and telling them to move from factory gates on grounds that they were "blocking traffic."

One radio broadcast falsely asserted that the SWP was obtaining signatures "under false pretenses." When police were questioned with regard to alleged complaints, the SWP representatives were informed that none had been lodged against the SWP. Obviously this was only a move to make it more difficult for a real workers' party to get on the ballot.

Although the SWP started late, it finished its campaign before the Wallaceites, and Communist, Socialist and Socialist Labor parties. Moreover, the SWP obtained several thousands more signatures than the other organizations.

Police Convert Reuther Case into Witch-Hunt

The Detroit police department, notoriously anti-union and anti-Negro, has converted its alleged search for the assassin of Walter Reuther, CIO Auto Workers president, into a witch-hunt against oppositionists inside the union, "reds" and Negro unionists.

IGNORE MANAGEMENT

So far, six Negro workers have been held and severely grilled, although an eye-witness saw three white men fleeing together from the crime-scene immediately after the attempted killing.

Not a single agent of the numerous fascist and anti-Negro groups in Detroit has been called in for questioning about the shot-gun ambush of Reuther.

The UAW leader is recuperating in Detroit's Grace Hospital from wounds in the right arm and chest suffered on the night of April 20. The would-be assassins escaped after firing at Reuther through a kitchen window in his home.

A statement by the UAW International Executive Board on April 21 pledged a \$100,000 reward for information leading to the arrest of the guilty criminals and promised to pursue the search relentlessly until justice is done.

NO INFORMATION

At the same time, the Board stated that it had "received no concrete information that would form the basis of charges and accusations." It said emphatically: "We discount the implications that this assault grew out of internal-union disputes." It added:

They actually sabotaged the fight while the Republican-Democratic coalition pushed through the Taft-Hartley Act. THEY HAVE SINCE GOTTEN DOWN ON THEIR KNEES AND GROVELLED BEFORE THIS SLAVE LABOR LAW. They kept a traitorous silence while Washington cracked down on the printers and miners.

And while the corporations and their spokesmen in Congress were sharpening up their "long knives to plunge into labor's heart, these same self-styled "labor statesmen" were pretending that everything was lovely and rosy, they continued supporting and whitewashing the anti-labor politicians, they continued making speeches extolling the wonders of "free enterprise" while selling the Marshall Plan to the workers both here in the United States and abroad.

It is this—and only this—that has given new courage to the labor-hating corporations and is responsible for their cockiness and high-handedness.

In view of this situation, the leading fighters in the major industrial unions must now assume the responsibility of sounding the alarm and demanding a program of action. The issues involved are far bigger than the question of wages, important as this is. At stake is nothing less than the effectiveness and very existence of the union movement.

We must all realize that the time is long past when even big national unions can singly meet the entrenched might of the corporations, who furthermore have the full power of the capitalist government behind them. This was proven in the protracted General Motors strike of 1945, when victory was won only after every major CIO union hit the picket lines. How much more do the unions need a unified wage program and unified strategy of action today, when the corporations are fortified by huge profits and armed with new and potent anti-labor laws!

UNIFIED PROGRAM AND ACTION

The hard-pressed packinghouse workers battling injunctions, restraining orders and police violence in Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha, and St. Paul must not be left to their own resources. The corporations must not be permitted to knock down the unions "one at a time." "UNITED ACTION" IS THE WATCHWORD WHICH MUST ECHO FROM ONE END OF THE UNION MOVEMENT TO THE OTHER.

The outrage against the Kansas unionists must become the signal for the rearming and remobilization of the labor movement. The CIO must call upon the AFL, miners and railroad workers to join with them in a mass march on Topeka, the state capital, to let the capitalist powers-that-be know that police violence and wrecking of union halls won't be taken lying down.

This unity of action must be duplicated in every locality by the convocation of immediate united action conferences to give practical backing to the packinghouse strikers, and prepare the ground, and put the heat on the top leaders to call an emergency national conference of the CIO, AFL, mine union and railroad brotherhoods. A UNITED POLICY, USING THE FULL POWERS OF THE MAJOR UNIONS IN AMERICA TO HALT POLICE TERRORISM, TO WIN THE WAGE FIGHT AND TO SMASH THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT—THIS IS THE ALL-IMPORTANT TASK THAT NOW FACES THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT.

"We want also, with the greatest emphasis, to caution all of our members against permitting themselves to be led into any kind of hasty and ill-advised action



WALTER REUTHER

against any individuals or groups within or without the union."

Nevertheless, the Police department has seized upon the Reuther case to intervene in the internal affairs of the UAW, deliberately shifting the search away from those outside, labor-hating elements which have always been linked to terrorist attacks on unions and their leaders.

OPPOSITIONISTS GRILLED

Dozens of UAW members, particularly those associated with the wide-spread opposition to Reuther at the last UAW conven-

tion, have been hauled in by the police.

The most scandalous treatment was accorded Nelson Davis, a prominent Negro unionist in the Ford Local 600 and an acknowledged follower of the Communist (Stalinist) Party. The 52-year-old Negro worker was held for questioning for two days on an alleged "hot tip" which the police claimed they had received from a mysterious "Mr. X" whom the police refused to produce. They claimed their unnamed "informant" had heard Davis say he knew who was behind the shooting. Davis was at work when the attack occurred. He was finally released, under \$2,000 bond, through a writ of habeas corpus.

"TOLEDO INFORMER"

Another Negro UAW member, Frank van Hook, was arrested and held for hours and his home was entered and searched on the police claim that he had been picked out of line-up by an unidentified "Toledo informer" as the man who allegedly said he would "shoot Reuther on sight" at the UAW convention. Van Hook, the records show, voted for Reuther. Shelton Tappes and Hodges Mason, leading UAW Negroes, have also been grilled.

Police Commissioner Harry S. Toy, who is leading the witch-hunt, was police commissioner in 1932 when police perpetrated the massacre of Ford workers. Recently Toy said that "communists" should be "either shot, deported or jailed" in a lynch-inciting anti-Semitic radio speech claiming Soviet agents were entering the country disguised as "Jewish rabbis."

Presidential Aspirants III

Harold Stassen—The Phony Liberal

By George Lavan

Of all the politicians on the make the prize eager beaver is Harold Stassen, former governor of Minnesota. There is no record whether Stassen had presidential aspirations in his cradle or not, but from the very beginning of his recorded activity he acted as a politician with his eye always on the main chance.

As a student at the University of Minnesota, Stassen was already a campus politician. He built a Republican group that later became the basis of the Stassen-controlled Young Republican League.

After college and law school Stassen opened a law office with E. J. Ryan, a successful Democratic politician in St. Paul. This practical arrangement gave the law firm an "in" with both capitalist parties.

POWERFUL MACHINE

He entered into politics and served two terms as County Attorney. By the end of his second term, he had already built up a powerful political machine. He was president of the County Attorneys Association and had organized the Young Republican League.

A favorable situation existed at this time, 1938, in the Republican Party in Minnesota. Farmer-Labor Governor Benson was a prisoner of the Stalinists whose wretched policies had brought the Farmer-Labor Party into disrepute. Stassen entered the Republican primary for Governor. He put on an aggressive campaign and persuaded the great financial interests of the state to support him. The people who needed convincing were J. P. Morgan's U.S. Steel, which owns the great iron mines of the Mesabi range and the flour milling corporations.

Stassen's selling point was that the unrest then prevalent among farmers and workers—as shown by the activities of the Trotskyist-led teamsters union in Minneapolis and the militancy of the farmers—demanded a new type of politician. The old time party hack, a bit stupid and slow on his feet, could no longer cope with the situation. A bright, energetic politician was needed—namely Stassen. Stassen won the primary and the governorship. U.S. Steel was rewarded by a cut in the state tax on iron ore. During his administrations the iron ore tax was reduced from an average of 18.4 cents in 1937 to an average of 9.6 cents a ton in 1943. Following up his widely publicized campaign against "loan sharks" he capped the legal interest rate on small loans from 8% to 36%. His old age pension law forced old people accepting

state relief to turn over all property including homes to the state.

ANTI-LABOR POLICIES

Stassen's big accomplishment as governor, which established him as a "statesman" in the opinion of the ruling class and its newspapers, was his successful campaign against the labor movement. Stassen can honestly lay claim to being father of the Taft-Hartley Act. The law Stassen guided through the legislature immediately after his election was officially entitled the Minnesota Labor Peace Law. The trade unions unanimously dubbed it the Stassen Slave Act. As in the Taft-Hartley Act there were provisions for "cooling-off periods," state "conciliators," intervention in union affairs, and all the rest of the familiar machinery for harassing unions and breaking strikes.

In 1941 when Tobin enlisted the aid of Roosevelt to smash the militant teamsters union in Minneapolis, the union as one man voted to affiliate with the CIO. Stassen and his labor board brazenly intervened against the union, prevented elections to determine union representation and helped deliver the teamsters to the corrupt Tobin machine.

Before certain audiences Stassen claims to be a liberal and a friend of the Negro people. His actions belie his words. In 1941 Stassen staged a witch hunt in the Minnesota Board of Education. Typical of this investigation were questions asked Dr. John G. Rockwell—whether he had ever invited Negroes to his home. Later that year a Negro delegation asked Governor Stassen to abandon the exclusion of Negroes from the Minnesota Home Guard. Stassen refused, offering only to set up a Jim Crow regiment, which the delegation promptly rejected.



HAROLD E. STASSEN

Stassen is spending enormous sums of money in his attempt to capture the Republican presidential nomination. He travels around the country in a chartered DC-3 plane. His numerous campaign offices are well set up and well staffed. Where does all this money come from? An examination of the list of men financing the Stassen campaign may well supply the answer.

In April 1943 after his second re-election Stassen resigned to join the Navy, and became aide and flag secretary to Admiral Halsey, then commander of the South Pacific Force. Whether his volunteering was due to great patriotism or to the belief that after the war there would be a great veterans' movement playing a big role in politics is a matter of conjecture. At any rate it gave Stassen the status of the only veteran of World War II besides MacArthur in the Republican presidential race.

Stassen was discharged in November 1945 and immediately set to work for the Republican nomination of 1948.

What exactly is Stassen's platform? It isn't very precise but certain elements can be made out. He has some minor criticisms of the Taft-Hartley Act but on the whole the Act is "the foundation for a fair, just and well-balanced labor policy in America."

He is for "tax reform" by lowering taxes in the upper brackets in order to "encourage investment." He is for housing in words but strongly warns against the government becoming the "nation's No. 1 landlord." He is for outlawing the Communist Party. In his Wisconsin campaign he attacked New York as a "hotbed of communism" and likened communism and socialism to two peas from the same pod.

In foreign affairs he demands that Marshall Plan aid be refused to any nation which plans any nationalization of industry.

ENORMOUS SUMS

Stassen is spending enormous sums of money in his attempt to capture the Republican presidential nomination. He travels around the country in a chartered DC-3 plane. His numerous campaign offices are well set up and well staffed. Where does all this money come from? An examination of the list of men financing the Stassen campaign may well supply the answer.

Here is a partial list of contributors and money raisers for Stassen: H. E. Atwood, president of the First National Bank of Minneapolis; J. E. Baird, president of the First National Bank of St. Paul; Harry A. Bullis, chairman of the board of General Mills, Inc.; Donald D. Davis, president of the Minnesota and Ontario Paper Co.; J. C. Hormel of the meat packing company; J. S. Pillsbury of the flour milling company; W. L. McKnight, president of the Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co. Stassen thus emerges very clearly as a phony liberal, an unscrupulous politician on the make, a pliant and reliable agent of the big money interests.

Funeral Service for Gaitan



Holding the hand of her 11-year-old daughter, Mrs. Jorge Gaitan, widow of the slain Colombian Liberal Party leader, leaves the funeral service at the national park in Bogota. Federated Pictures

Labor Party Discussed At Detroit UAW Forum

DETROIT, April 18 — Approximately 300 people attended an important symposium held here in the hall of Local 157 of the CIO auto union, on the subject "Which Road for Labor in '48—Truman, Wallace or Labor Party?"

August Scholle, head of Michigan CIO spoke "For the CIO-PAC Policy." Mort Furay, state director of the United Public Workers, spoke for Wallace. Jack Palmer, former president of Chevrolet Local 659 in Flint spoke for a Labor Party.

Scholle advocated entering the Democratic Party in order to take it over and purge it of the admitted reactionaries and "skunks." We must work within a mass party with a liberal tradition, which has the support and confidence of millions of people, he declared. The CIO policy is to oppose every Congressman who voted for the Taft-Hartley Law, whether in the Democratic or Republican Party. The Michigan Commonwealth Federation experience, where its candidates received only 2% of the vote, showed, according to Scholle, that starting a new party at this time will result in a farce. As for Wallace, he is a self-starter. He never consulted anyone in the CIO before he launched his party.

The next speaker, Furay, saw Wallace as the man of the hour because he is the direct inheritor of the Roosevelt liberal policies. He stands for peace with Russia and the world. At home he is the champion of civil liberties, sixty million jobs, a higher standard of living, against the Taft-Hartley Law, etc. Furay quoted Philip Murray's eloquent praise of Henry Wallace in 1944 and asked why

he had become so violently opposed to Wallace now. Furay pointed out that the Democratic Party had such men as Rankin and Eastland in its ranks, that it stood for Universal Military Training, etc.

Jack Palmer, who spoke last, declared that both the Democratic and Republican Parties were Wall Street owned and controlled. The majorities of both parties voted for the Taft-Hartley Law. These parties were interested in furthering the policies and interests of the National Association of Manufacturers and whoever told working people to support either of them was betraying the working class.

Palmer tore into Wallace and his phony liberalism. The Wallace movement is not a legitimate expression of the organized labor movement, Palmer said. It can be turned on or off at Wallace's whim.

Palmer called for a mass conference of political action committees to set up a bona fide Labor Party, which will democratically elect its candidates for all offices, and which will espouse a program to benefit the workers, farmers, and small businessmen. Palmer stirred the audience when he stated, "If we are strong enough to take over the Democratic Party, we are strong enough to build our own party."

Approximately 25 auto union locals contributed finances and publicity for the meeting. Ernie Maze, chairman of the PAC committee of Briggs Local 212, which initiated the symposium, presided at the meeting.

There were many comments on the orderly fairness of the arrangements and the running of the symposium.

Strike Settled at NY Curb Exchange

NEW YORK — One of the most significant struggles of America's white collar workers is drawing to a climax. This is the strike of the AFL United Financial Employees, Local 502, against the Curb and Stock Exchanges.

Half this strike has already been successfully concluded. The Curb Exchange, after a bitter three week battle, finally signed a contract which includes maintenance of membership, voluntary checkoff, a 10 per cent across the board wage increase, plus a bonus on shares run through the Curb Exchange. The workers returned as they had walked out, in a united group.

The AFL Seafarer's International Union and the Sailor's Union of the Pacific have continued to give unstinting aid to this strike. Their conduct furnishes a model for other unions. Men, money, union hall facilities, food, and organizational help have all been turned over to the UFE. At present reading, 8 SIU men are being held for trial under \$500 bail along with one UFE worker.

Police violence of the rawest sort is still continuing. Last week, four seamen were beaten unmercifully with clubs as they walked peacefully down Wall Street toward the picket lines. Three others, caught in the melee, barely escaped from the police clubs. Five pickets were hauled away in the paddy wagon for merely closing their lines when a scab attempted to crash through.

Since the incident in the second day of the strike where a plain-clothes detective was beaten to the ground by uniformed police, these undercover police have worn brass pins or pearl stickpins in their lapels for identification. They were forced to discontinue this practice as scores of well dressed pickets with pearl and brass stickpins in their lapels showed up on the picket lines. Again, hundreds of whistles were brought to the picket lines to drive the police into a state of frenzy.

Sandwiches and coffee are served on the line as the men and women keep moving. Leaflets telling of the latest status of the strike are distributed daily to the lines and the Wall Street crowds. Mass picket lines of several thousand are maintained. A doctor is in daily attendance at the union hall.

Among the disgraceful actions during this period was the answer of the New York AFL Central Trades and Labor Council to a request for men and money for the strikers. The Council granted the UFE the "constitutional grant"—ten dollars.

According to the latest leaflet, only one issue remains to be ironed out in the strike — the amount of the wage increase.

The whole labor movement may well be proud of the men and women who have held out against the very citadel of capitalism for four tugged weeks.

Events on the International Scene

By Paul G. Stevens

NOTES FROM INDIA

The Constituent Assembly of newly created India is soon to adopt a constitution. As was to be expected, the drafting committee dominated by the capitalist Congress Party is proposing a document which indicates its reactionary trend since it assumed power in August 1947.

In the March 6 issue of New Spark, fortnightly organ of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India, Section of the Fourth International, K. Tilak briefly analyzes the Draft Constitution. Outstanding among its reactionary features, according to Tilak, are the following:

It proposes to constitute India as a "Sovereign Democratic Republic." In the Resolution adopted by the Assembly in January 1947 (that is, before Britain's withdrawal), these words were preceded by the word "Independent" — which is now dropped.

This indicates, says the Spark writer, the intention of the capitalists to remain as a Dominion within the British Empire, renege on its whole traditional campaign for independence.

The Draft calls for the appointment of Governors of Provinces instead of their election, as originally provided by the Assembly.

"It is in relation to the Native States, however, that the Draft Constitution becomes openly anti-democratic and reactionary," the writer concludes, "for it gives sanction to the autocratic regimes prevailing in these states." The Draft Constitution makes no provision for elections there, so that "we can be certain that in all cases the Maharajahs will nominate at least 50% of these representatives."

The Constitution thus gives formal "evidence of the open alliance that now exists of all vested interests in India (bourgeoisie, landlord-feudal interests, British imperialism) against the masses."

As if to underline further this drift toward a police state — an Indian counter-part of the Chiang Kai-Shek regime in China, — repressive decrees are constantly being passed by the Congress government. The latest affects "liberty of expression," to which the Draft Constitution gives lip-service. Bonds of 1,000 rupees and more are required to be posted by labor papers, if they are to continue publication.

Thus, the Indian Laborer, organ of the Madras Labor Union, the

oldest existing registered trade union paper, has been forced to discontinue publication by this decree. In Calcutta, the CP's journal Swadhinata has had to suspend publication for the same reason. Finally, the Trotskyist organ Poratam, in the Tamil dialect, was refused the right of publication by the Chief Presidency Magistrate in Madras, when the BLP could not post the required bond. It is notable that the press laws on which the decree is based hail from the imperialist British administration of 1931.

The Socialist Party, running independent candidates for the first time against those of the Congress to which it has been affiliated, scored a great success in the recent municipal contests in Bombay. 26 SP representatives were elected to 48 of the Congress and 5 Stalinists. In the working class areas the SP swept the field.

New Spark comments as follows on the results: "The political level of the Bombay workers is perhaps the highest in India. It is only natural therefore that they should be among the first to be disillusioned in the bourgeois Congress. Turning away from Congress, they were not prepared to go to the CP, justifiably prejudiced as they are against the Stalinists for their role of treachery in the August (1942) struggle. The Bombay workers have therefore naturally turned to the other large party that has appeared before them as an alternative. . . the elections becoming virtually a duel between the Congress and the SP."

The Trotskyists contested only one of the seats and received 641 votes to 3,136 for the SP. Reformist in character, the SP leadership is breaking with the bourgeoisie Congress only under the pressure of the class struggle. The workers flock to it because they are attracted to socialism. "Should it fail to lead them forward," the Spark concluded, "the workers will abandon the SP even as they have abandoned the Congress."

Amarnath, Trotskyist leader of the B and C Mills workers, arrested and held in prison since the great Madras textile strike last year, has been freed after a campaign on his behalf by the Madras Labor Union.

GENERAL STRIKE IN BURMA

A general strike gripped Rangoon, Burma early this month, according to the London Economist. It was directed mainly against British-owned companies, and was accompanied by demonstrations against the government of Thakin Nu, "dedicated in principle to national independence and socialism," which demanded the expropriation of all foreign interests.

Although Britain has pulled out from Burma just as it has from India, its capitalists still own many of its rich national resources of rice, oil and tin. As in the larger country, a native government pledging lip-service to the people has taken over the reigns from the imperialists, while playing their game. But here, too, the masses are in action to force their leaders to act on their

words. Socialism has become the watchword of the people of Asia fighting for their independence. Just as their native capitalists do in a negative sense, they very positively demonstrate in action Trotsky's great theory of the "Permanent Revolution."

FRANCE

JOINT YOUTH CONFERENCE

On March 29, a National Conference was held in Paris representing Socialist Youth and International Communist (Trotskyist) Youth, to found the Revolutionary Youth Movement (MRJ). One of the immediate tasks decided upon was the construction of youth defense guards against de Gaulist and other reactionary attacks upon labor organizations.

Labor's Capacity and the Russian Revolution

By George Breitman

Do the workers have the political capacity to overthrow capitalism? From the very beginning the Marxists answered in the affirmative. Since 1917, however, it is no longer necessary to rely on theoretical arguments alone, for the Russian revolution conclusively demonstrated that the workers can take power under certain favorable conditions prepared by capitalism itself.

Why was the revolution successful in Russia and not in Germany a year later? Those who restricted their approach to this problem to an examination of the respective "political capacity" of the working classes in these countries would have had a hard time explaining. Russia was a far more backward country than Germany; its working class was relatively much smaller; and its workers did not have the benefit of the long political and organizational experience and traditions that the German workers had. In all these respects the German workers were at least as well prepared to take power as their Russian brothers.

THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY

But Russia had one advantage that served to more than compensate for these shortcomings. It had a party, the Bolsheviks, representing the revolutionary vanguard elements in the working class. This vanguard, a tiny minority of its class, had been isolated from the workers during the long years of reaction preceding 1917. But during this difficult period, when the Bolsheviks were deserted by many weaklings and waverers, they stood firm in their principles, they swam against the stream, they based their calculations on (1) the workers' capacity to take power in a revolutionary situation and on (2) their own ability to defeat the influence of the reformist and reactionary currents among the workers and win the leadership of the class.

The political capacity of the German workers as a class was not inferior to that of the Russian workers. They were defeated where the Russian workers were victorious primarily because the German revolutionary vanguard took a longer time than the Bolsheviks to realize the need for an independent party to combat the treachery of the Social Democrats. As a consequence the German vanguard elements were not prepared to take full advantage of the first revolutionary outbreak at the end of the war in 1918 and were beheaded before the appearance of the second big opportunity in 1923.

The lesson to be drawn from this is that it is the duty of the revolutionary vanguard to prepare

itself in time, especially in periods of reaction, for the role it must play in leading the workers to the fulfillment of their great historic mission in periods of revolution. Those who try to obscure this lesson by talk about the workers' congenital incapacity demonstrate thereby only their own incapacity to be of any use to the working class at a time when the future of the revolution depends on the vanguard's tenacity and ability to resist capitalist pressure.

A SOURCE OF OPTIMISM

The Russian revolution, constituting the most important event in political history, has naturally been a source of revolutionary optimism to the workers of all countries, because "if they could do it in backward Russia, we can do it anywhere else." For the same reason, it has been a source of deep embarrassment to the back-sliders and refugees from Marxism of all varieties.

Now the peddlers of skepticism about the possibility of socialism can no longer hawk their shoddy wares (patented by Big Business) under the slogan—the workers can't make a revolution. They have to make a slight amendment, as Jean Vannier does in the March Partisan Review, and say—the workers can't "seize and hold power."

The very manner in which Vannier is forced to pose the question is a tacit admission that the workers can make the revolution. He never admits it explicitly but he cannot logically deny it on the basis of his own formulation—which, incidentally, immediately negates three-quarters of his article. Once that is recognized, the question of whether the workers can hold power after winning it becomes a legitimate one for discussion.

We should begin by noting that Vannier's sweeping conclusion about the workers' incapacity to hold power is based on a mighty skimpy foundation. The workers have been successful in taking political power only once, and they have lost it only once. Vannier's hard and fast law, based on a single test and supposedly good for all time, is hardly in keeping with the "rational and methodical scrutiny" which he professes to advocate. Such a method would certainly not pass muster in any reputable scientific laboratory.

A WORTHLESS METHOD

This method is even more worthless in the field of history, to which we must look for the trends enabling us to understand contemporary developments. The history of the rising capitalist class, for instance, illustrates how hard it is for a revolutionary class to take power and keep it uninterrupted. And it furnishes us with many examples of the capitalists being forced to give

up political power for a period after they had won it in bitter struggle.

The one that comes most quickly to mind is the "great rebellion" of the 1640's, when the British capitalist class, led by Cromwell, overthrew the feudal regime of Charles I. In 1660 the Stuart monarchy was restored in the person of Charles II. The counter-revolution was unsuccessful in its attempt to undo everything the revolution had done, but it did succeed in wiping out the political rule of the capitalists. It wasn't until the "glorious revolution" of 1688 that the British capitalist class put an end to the absolutism of the monarchy.

And in our own country the capitalist class had the power, in alliance with the Southern planters, after the revolution against Britain, only to see it fall into the hands of the slaveholders. It took another span of many decades, and a hard-fought civil war, before the capitalists regained national political rule.

"One strike—you're out!" Any umpire who made such a ruling would surely be booed, pelted with pop bottles and denounced as a dirty robber, if he could get away that easily. Vannier's one-strike decision against the working class is just as raw and merits even stronger condemnation.

But why did the Russian workers lose power after winning it, and what conclusions is it valid to draw from that fact? Trotsky wrote many books analyzing this question, and the Trotskyist explanation was concisely summarized as follows in James P. Cannon's pamphlet, American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism (whose last chapter definitively answers the croakings of the renegades on the very question we are discussing here):

THE REAL REASONS

"Russia was the most backward of the big capitalist countries. The proletariat, although highly concentrated, was numerically weak in relation to the population as a whole. Its industrial development and technique lagged far behind. On top of all that, the vicious workers' revolution inherited from Czarism and the destruction of war and civil war, a devastated, ruined, poverty-stricken country and a frightful scarcity of the most elementary necessities. The disrupted productive apparatus taken over by the revolution was incapable of turning out a volume of goods sufficient to overcome the scarcity in a short period of time.

"The Russian Revolution was not an end of itself and could not build 'socialism' by itself, in one backward country. It was only a beginning, which required the supplementary support of revolution in more advanced Europe and a union of the European productive apparatus and tech-

nology with the vast natural resources of Russia. The delay of the European revolution isolated the Soviet Union, and on the basis of the universal scarcity a privileged bureaucracy arose which eventually usurped power in the state and destroyed the workers' organizations — Soviets, trade unions and even the revolutionary party which had organized and led the revolution. A horrible degeneration has taken place, but for all that, the great revolution has not yet been destroyed, and its ultimate fate has not yet been decided."

In other words, the workers lost political power to the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy because of the temporary defeat of the European revolution combined with several factors peculiar to Russia alone. If the European workers had taken power after the First World War, Russian productive levels would have been raised considerably, the population's fear about a capitalist war of intervention would have been eased, and the conditions for the rise of counter-revolutionary Stalinism would never have existed. Without those conditions, it obviously wouldn't have required much additional "capacity" for the Russian workers who had won power by a successful revolution to hang onto it.

THE DECISIVE ISSUE

The decisive issue then was not the capacity of the Russian workers, isolated in a hostile capitalist world, to hold the power—Lenin, Trotsky and the other Bolsheviks never thought they could. The issue was really the capacity of the European workers to take power in the years following the Russian revolution. A concrete examination of the Russian development therefore brings us back to the fundamental question—can the worker take power—and here Vannier has already been compelled to admit tacitly that they can.

Properly analyzed, therefore, the Russian experience proves not the congenital incapacity of the workers to hold power, but that the workers cannot for long hold power in a single country and that the socialist revolution is by its very nature an international revolution.

To this it need only be added here that the extension of the revolution to other countries—even now, 25 years after the beginning of the Soviet state's degeneration—would lead quickly to the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the restoration of the Russian workers' political rule. Stalin, another disbeliever in the workers' political capacities, understands this fact so well that he has shown himself ready to go to any extreme to strangle the workers' revolution in any part of the world where it arises.

(Next week: The Prospects for Revolution.)

THE MILITANT ARMY

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THE MILITANT Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

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Monday, May 3, 1948

Logical Conclusion of Randolph's Program to Resist Jim Crow Draft

By G. F. Eckstein

In the long-continued battle for Negro rights, A. Philip Randolph and Grant Reynolds have selected one vital issue, Jim Crow in the Army, the injustice of which cries to heaven. They say, "Right this shameful crime against the Negro people and the Negroes will be citizens as loyal, as devoted, as patriotic as any other citizen."

merely find themselves telling the Negro people to keep quiet, adding their little squeak to the authoritative voices of the worst enemies of the rights of labor and the Negro people that this country has seen for generations.

Is the war that is being prepared to be fought for everybody's rights? Is it a just war, a war for democracy? Is it merely by accident or through forgetfulness, or inertia, or spite, that Negro rights continue to be trampled upon?

Marxism has demonstrated that imperialist war is a product of the capitalist system, a product of an economic system based upon the exploitation of the working class.

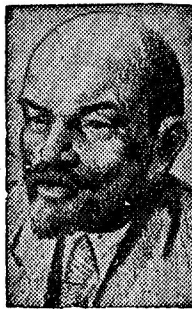
What Randolph and Reynolds have done is to launch a slogan and call for action which has within it the possibilities of rallying a tremendous mass support.



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."

—Leon Trotsky, Copenhagen Speech, 1932.



LENIN

A Fascist Conspiracy

The most repressive bill in the history of our country was unanimously endorsed by the House Un-American Committee on April 28, and is headed for action by the House of Representatives this coming week.

This measure, numbered as HR 5852 and entitled a "bill to protect the United States against un-American and subversive activities," is ostensibly aimed against the Communist Party, but in practice it could and would be used to throttle all opponents of the bi-partisan war and anti-labor program.

Following are a few of the provisions of this sweeping thought-control measure: It outlaws any act which can be designated as having the purpose of establishing a totalitarian dictatorship; the commission of such acts or the exercise of leadership to induce them is punishable by up to ten years imprisonment and \$10,000 fines.

of any of these provisions would be subject to loss of citizenship, even if they had been born here.

The sinister character of the bill is illustrated by some of the sections defining the alleged methods of subversives: "Disruption of trade and commerce. Inciting economic, social and racial strife and conflict. Dissemination of propaganda calculated to undermine established government and institutions."

Consider what a weapon that would be in the hands of labor's enemies: Trade union struggles could be construed as "disrupting" trade and commerce. The struggle against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism could be attacked for "inciting racial strife."

The leaders of the labor movement have been criminally remiss in regard to the growing assaults on civil liberties, and at times have even stooped to collaborate in it with some red-baiting of their own.

Consequences of A New World War

By John G. Wright

Apart from the universal horrors and devastation it must bring in its wake, Wall Street's war program is bound to deal savage blows to the living standards of the American workers and the mass of the people as a whole.

They will be compelled to bear the main brunt of all the war expenditures under conditions where the whole world, together with the American economy, has not had the time to recover from the terrible wounds of the last world slaughter.

This means that before the actual outbreak of hostilities, universal scarcities of foodstuffs and raw materials will multiply as more and more of American production is siphoned off into war channels.

The internal drain on the country's economy will be much more severe than during the last war. Prices for everything have more than doubled since pre-World War II days.

NO CONTROLS Furthermore, the United States is the first major power in modern times to project a huge rearmament program without first instituting controls (rationing, price regulations, credit restrictions, etc.).

TO COMBAT INFLATION From the standpoint of their immediate economic interests, the American workers are therefore most urgently in need of an effective program to safeguard themselves against this terrible danger.

The actual imposition of controls will provide scanty safeguards to the American workers, as their entire experience in the last war testifies.

during the war years. This time all prices are highly inflated even before "war-scarcities" have begun to assert themselves.

There are many other factors that act to further aggravate the situation. Last time American economy disposed of several advantages that no longer exist.

In the beginning there was no major diversion from peacetime to wartime production in the United States, as a large section of the productive plant still lay dormant due to the preceding depression, and a similar situation existed in agriculture.

This time just the contrary is true. Western Europe represents not a cushion for, but a drain on American economy. The full impact of Wall Street's projected war must be borne from its very inception by this country.

Declining civilian production will tend to push up all prices still higher. This coupled with deficit government spending plus a growing national debt plus a constant expansion of currency carries the threat of runaway inflation.

Organized labor passed through the last war without this indispensable safeguard and found itself later compelled to engage in a whole series of strikes merely to maintain previous living levels.

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Not a syllable is needed to describe what John Maranich and Moe Tulak, Pittsburgh members of United Mine Workers Union think of the fine levied against their union for contempt of court.

Who Decides CIO-PAC Policy?

The boom for Eisenhower being pushed in labor circles by CIO President Philip Murray gives the lie to Murray's claim that the members of the CIO have a voice in the determination of CIO political policy.

Murray has taken punitive action against a number of CIO officials and state and local industrial union councils on the ground that their opposition to the two-party system and/or advocacy of the Wallace third party candidacy was counter to the will of the CIO membership.

Leave aside the fact that the members of the CIO never had an opportunity to express their views on the third party. Leave aside the fact that the CIO Political Action Committee denunciation of a third party in 1948 represented the opinion of only 11 men.

Who gave Murray the authority to dispatch his man Friday, CIO Secretary James Carey, to the recent gathering of the Amer-

icans for Democratic Action where he made a stump speech for Eisenhower? When did the CIO Political Action Committee ever authorize any such action?

Who gave Murray the authority to circulate so-called spontaneous Eisenhower-for-President resolutions in the locals of the United Steel Workers, in preparation for the coming national convention of that union? When did the CIO Political Action Committee ever authorize any such action?

Who gave Murray the authority to run PAC Director Jack Kroll as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention? When did the CIO Political Action Committee ever authorize any such action?

Why are members of local councils penalized and purged for taking political steps not authorized by the CIO Political Action Committee, while top bureaucrats go unpunished for doing the same and for even taking steps which commit the CIO as a whole to a suicidal political policy?

It is time to put a stop to unbridled bureaucratism, revolting hypocrisy and reactionary political maneuvers in the national CIO office. The members of the CIO have the right and the duty to make their wishes known and felt. The only effective way they can do that is by putting on the heat to secure the speedy convocation of a national PAC convention representing all sections of the CIO to democratically work out a political program for the 1948 elections.

The Italian Elections

The article on the Italian elections in last week's Militant contained one incorrect figure which we copied from the daily press. It stated that the Italian Stalinists and Socialist parties, running separately in 1946, polled 31.7% of the vote. The facts are these: In 1946 the Stalinists received 18.9% of the popular vote; the Socialists received 20.7%. Thus their combined vote was 39.6%.

But the comparison with 1948 is complicated by the fact that a year ago, the right wing, under Saragat, split from the Socialist Party, formed an independent party and entered the de Gasperi cabinet. Running independently in the 1948 elections the Saragat party polled 7.1% of the vote.

The Stalinist-Socialist vote in 1948 was 8,025,000. In round figures this is an increase of 775,000 votes over 1946 (again adjusted for the Saragat vote). On a percentage basis, however, it represents 30.7% of the total vote, or a slight decrease of 1.8%.

The political conclusions of the article in the April 26 Militant are not affected by these more accurate figures. The outstanding facts remain that the Christian Democratic Party, representing the capitalist forces, was able to poll 48.7% of the popular vote in 1948 as against 35.2% in 1946.

WORKERS FORUM

Believes Lavan Is Overzealous

For the sake of accuracy, I would like to correct an impression left by George Lavan in his article on MacArthur. Lavan states: "MacArthur felt the moment had come to show the country that a man on horseback had arrived who could put down the 'rabble'."

According to Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen in their book "More Merry-Go-Round," the reason for national troops being called was that General Glassford, Chief of District of Columbia Police, had wrangled with Vice President Curtis because he (Curtis) had called out the Marines to oust the marchers.

The Marines were withdrawn, and Glassford was given responsibility for the State of order in Washington. During an altercation between some recalcitrant veterans who refused to obey their own leader (W.W. Waters) to evacuate abandoned buildings along Pennsylvania Avenue, brick bats were thrown, and in the ensuing encounter a jittery policeman fired his pistol point blank, killing one man and wounding another who later died.

Declining civilian production will tend to push up all prices still higher. This coupled with deficit government spending plus a growing national debt plus a constant expansion of currency carries the threat of runaway inflation.

Organized labor passed through the last war without this indispensable safeguard and found itself later compelled to engage in a whole series of strikes merely to maintain previous living levels.

Lavan Replies

At the time of the Bonus March MacArthur was Chief of Staff. The Chief of Staff advises the Secretary of War, heads the War Department General Staff, plans and supervises the government's military program.

Had the normal procedure been followed, MacArthur, upon receiving Hurley's order to evict the Bonus Marchers, would have passed the order down through the army chain of command to the Corps Area which includes Washington. Then either a divisional or even a regimental commander would have planned and carried out the actual operation.

That MacArthur personally decided to command the eviction of the Bonus Army is attested by all the semi-official eulogies that parade as "biographies" of

MacArthur. These biographies give different reasons for MacArthur's action. One states that the General wanted to be sure that the veterans would be evicted as mercifully as possible and for that reason refused to allow any other officer to lead the operation. Others state that MacArthur realized the unpopularity that command of the eviction would bring and nobly refused to permit any other officer's career to be blighted. This is the gist of Robert Considine's explanation in his widely sold MacArthur the Magnificent: "MacArthur could have in turn passed it (command of the eviction) on to any of countless officers beneath him. Instead he accepted the odious task."

It still seems to me that MacArthur misjudged the effect of the eviction on public opinion. He "appointed himself commander" because he thought the figure of a strong man on horseback (he rode a white horse) who could disperse the "rabble" would recommend him highly to the financiers and industrialists who were then considering the creation of a fascist movement in the U.S.

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- BOSTON—20 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p.m., Tues., 7:30-9:30 p.m.
- BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 822 Main St., 2nd fl., Phone Madison 3900. Every afternoon except Sun.
- CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Phone DEArborn 4707. Daily except Sun., 11 a.m.-6 p.m. Library, Bookstore.
- CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p.m., Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.), Phone Richmond 4644. Daily, 12-5 p.m.
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- LYNN, (Mass.)—44 Central Sq., Rm. 11, Sat., 1-5 p.m. Discussion, Tues., 7:30 p.m.
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- MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.-8 p.m. Library, Bookstore.
- NEW BRITAIN, Conn.—Militant Discussion Group every Fri., 7:30 p.m. Militant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).
- NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8:10-30 p.m.
- NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bielow 3-2574. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p.m.
- NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR 6-3149.
- EAST SIDE—201 E. Houston St. 1st fl. Phone LU 9-0101.
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- TACOMA (Wash.)—Write P. O. Box 1079. Meeting, Wed., 8 p.m., Odd Fellow Hall, 6th & Fawcett.
- TOLEDO—113 St. Clair St., 2nd fl. Open daily.
- YOUNGSTOWN—115 E. Federal St., Rm. 302. Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

Norman Johnstone Westville, N.J.

The ERP Program

By Art Preis

With all the millions of words written and spoken in favor of the European Recovery Program, with the months of Congressional study of the ERP bill and the voluminous text itself, it seems almost incredible that such a slip-up could take place. Yet it is a fact that the bill as passed suffered the omission, in explicit phrases, of its very heart and soul, its core, its fundamental purpose.

You are no doubt surprised to hear this. But it is a demonstrable fact which you will readily accept once certain information is brought to your attention.

We know that leading figures in the labor movement have repeatedly assured us that the bill is designed to "aid the hungry" and so alleviate their suffering as to deprive "communism" of any allure. We have not waded through the huge text of the ERP bill, but we presume it is effectively studded with similar expressions of humanitarian purposes and aims.

But now we have it on sound authority, no less a person than Dwight P. Griswold, head of the American Mission in Greece, that one of the primary purposes of ERP has not even been mentioned in the text of the bill itself, let alone in all the glorification of the bill from radio, press and pulpit.

Your local paper very likely did not carry this vital and illuminating statement by Griswold. It appeared in a special dispatch, datelined Athens, April 13, in the New York Times. We quote:

"Dwight P. Griswold, head of the United States

mission to Greece, warned a group of Greek industrialists and labor unionists today that wage increases now would create an inflationary spiral that would 'bring in communism'. . . He made it clear that such demands contravened the purpose of the European Recovery Program."

There you have it. Many things are promised by the ERP, but one thing it doesn't propose is to raise European workers' wages. That would be carrying "aid to the hungry" too far. Indeed, paying starving Greek workers a little more in inflated currency "contravenes" the very purpose of ERP.

By a strange coincidence, the American workers are being confronted by a similar program, only it's not labeled ERP. It is frankly the program of the American corporations. They are telling the steel, auto, electrical, meat packing, maritime and other workers here that wage increases would be bad, "inflationary" and no doubt lead to "communism" as well.

Now Philip Murray and other top CIO leaders are wailing to high heaven because the corporations have not acted in "good faith" and are refusing to raise wages in the face of the high cost of living.

Philip Murray is an expert in "good faith." Like when he and his lieutenants "forgot" to tell the American, Greek, Italian, French and other workers that the ERP bill is not only designed to "contain" communism, but to "contain" the hungry workers from getting higher wages.

The Negro Struggle

After Randolph's "Bomb"

By Albert Parker

The civil disobedience proposal of A. Philip Randolph and Grant Reynolds has already had some noteworthy results. For one thing, it has stirred up the thinking of millions of people over the problem of the next steps to be taken in the fight against Jim Crow. For another, it is separating the sheep from the goats among those who pretend to be friends of the Negro people. For a third, it is putting real pressure on the Negro leaders, forcing them to take a stronger stand than ever before.

Everyone knows now how Eisenhower was provoked by Randolph's testimony into blurring out his own Jim Crow position on segregation in the army — which was all to the good because it cleared up many illusions that were being spread about this militarist. Not so well known, but just as significant, has been the behavior of the liberal Republican, Senator Wayne Morse.

Morse is the man who threatened Randolph with prosecution for treason. He is also a member (like Randolph) of the national board of directors of the NAACP. He threatened to resign from the board if the NAACP did not dissociate itself from Randolph's proposal. Secretary Walter White assured him that the NAACP had not endorsed Randolph's position, but reminded him that the Negro people are fed up with the way they are being treated, and thoroughly disgusted with the way both parties in Congress are playing politics with the civil rights program. White com-

plained, for example, about the Republican Party's decision to bury anti-poll tax and FEPC bills.

In reply, Morse rushed to the defense of the Republican Party, saying that everything had been going well with the civil rights program in Congress "until the proposal for a civil disobedience program was dropped into our midst as a bomb." To show what a ridiculous alibi this is, we need only point out that the Republicans had control of Congress for 15 months before Randolph's proposal. What stopped them from passing the bills during that time? In other words, Morse is a stooge for the capitalist parties, and we have Randolph's proposal to thank for exposing how foolish it is to place any hope at all in such people, even when they disguise themselves as liberals.

And last week we witnessed still another effect resulting from Randolph's "bomb." Fifteen conservative Negro leaders had been summoned to Washington by Secretary of Defense Forrestal, who expected to persuade them to again act as "front men" for continued Jim Crow practices, as most of them had done in the past. But the whole thing blew up in Forrestal's face, because even these conservative Negro leaders feel the pressure of the Negro masses so sharply that they had to make an about-face and issue the following statement after the conference: "The group agreed that no one wanted to continue in an advisory capacity on the basis of continued segregation in the armed services."

All these are heartening developments, signifying that the struggle against Jim Crow is rising to a new and higher level of militancy.

Cancer--the No. 2 Killer

By Grace Carlson

Every three minutes someone in the United States dies of cancer. In the past 25 years, cancer has moved from the seventh to second cause of death in this country. Exceeded only by heart disease, cancer took over 175,000 American lives last year. It is true that the increasing number of deaths from cancer is due to the increasing average age of the population. Still half of all cancer deaths occur below the age of 65. But cancer is curable in a large percentage of cases if it is diagnosed early and treated adequately. Physicians estimate that one-third to one-half of those who now die of cancer could be saved on the basis of present medical knowledge.

Cancer is not a disease caused by a germ or infection coming from outside the body. It is a disease, which, for some reason, as yet unknown, develops within the body as a result of uncontrolled cell growth. When a group of "outlaw" cells in the body begin to multiply abnormally, push aside neighboring tissues, rob them of their food and cause their death, the result is called cancer. The present campaign of the American Cancer Society aims to acquaint people with cancer's early danger signals. Any individual with one or more

of the following symptoms is urged to see a doctor:

1. Any sore that does not heal, particularly about the tongue, mouth or lips.
2. A painless lump or thickening, especially in the breast, lip or tongue.
3. Progressive change in the color or size of a wart, mole or birthmark.
4. Persistent indigestion.
5. Persistent hoarseness, unexplained cough or difficulty in swallowing.
6. Bloody discharge from the nipple or irregular bleeding from one of the natural body openings.
7. Any change in the normal bowel habits.

Discovered in time, cancer cells can be destroyed by the action of X-ray and radium or they can be removed surgically. If cancer appears in another part of the body after an operation or irradiation treatment, it means that the cancer cells had already begun to develop in that territory before the treatment.

New weapons against the deadly cancer are now being forged in the country's medical research laboratories. But the money allotted to cancer research is pitifully small. For every death from cancer last year, only three dollars was spent for research. What a contrast to the billions of dollars spent on Atom Bomb research!

Notes from the News

COURT FIGHT — The U. S. Supreme Court will review on April 26 the decision of the U. S. District Court in Washington which held that the section of the Taft-Hartley Act which bans union spending in connection with federal primaries or elections is unconstitutional.

CIO FACTION SCORE — Michael Quill, president of the CIO Transport Workers, resigned from the American Labor Party following his recent resignation as president of the N. Y. CIO Council. At the same time, CIO-PAC Director Jack Kroll stripped the N. Y. CIO of its authority in the political field, after taking the same action against the Los Angeles CIO.

FREEDOM OF PRESS — Frontpage, the N. Y. CIO Newspaper Guild Paper, reports the following teletype order was sent by William Randolph Hearst to his chain of newspapers: "Chief instructs all his editors to print page one daily until further notice a photo of General MacArthur in association with important news display." Note that the editors are free to print MacArthur's picture ANY PLACE they want to — so long as it's on page one.

VULTURES MOVE IN — The CIO Farm

Equipment Union, Stalinist-dominated and a non-signer of the Taft-Hartley affidavits, has called a strike at the big Caterpillar Tractor plant in Peoria, Ill., for higher wages and union recognition. Four unions moved in claiming jurisdiction: the International Association of Machinists, the AFL Boilermakers, the CIO auto union, and the AFL auto union. Here is a sample of the UAW-AFL "union" propaganda: "The Russians have perfected bacterial warfare. They can vaccinate their stooges in our plants then these people can turn loose these deadly germs among the workers, thereby paralyzing our industry. . ."

TELEPHONE DRIVE — The CIO Telephone Workers Organizing Committee announced that 18 organizers will arrive in Detroit to push the campaign to bring Michigan telephone workers into the CIO fold.

UNION RADIO STATION — The Federal Communications Commission is holding hearings in Detroit on the application of the CIO auto union to operate a 50,000-watt day and night station.

FREE MURDERER — A lily-white grand jury in Mobile, Alabama, refused to indict a white man who beat to death a Negro when he started talking to him about the President's Civil Rights report.

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THE MILITANT

CIO Packinghouse Workers Resist Meat Trust Strikebreaking Moves

By Barbara Bruce

April 27 — Throughout the country, the meat barons are resorting to violence in an attempt to open strike-bound packing plants. Despite all reports of increasing meat production,

packing houses are still not operating. Failing in their efforts to get workers back in the struck plants by threats and promises, the packers are trying to break the CIO strike, now in its seventh week, by police violence. But the strike remains solid.

Forty five strikers in Kansas City, Kansas, were beaten by club-swinging police in a bloody attack on UPW members last Friday.

Today CIO president Philip Murray called for a federal investigation of the beatings. Ralph M. Baker, district CIO director, condemned the attack as a "most senseless, unreasoning and vicious exhibition of common brutality."

"BEAT THEM ALL" Brazenly defending the assault by the Kansas City police force, Detective Captain Eli Dahlin declared, "We'll beat them all on the head if necessary."

Ralph Helstein, UPW president, protested to U.S. Attorney General Clark the "brutal and wanton" beating of pickets in Kansas City. Helstein stated the action "deprives residents of their civil rights" and called on Clark for immediate action. Workers at eight packing plants, previously unaffected by the national strike, have been called out in the Kansas City area.

In Chicago, a funeral procession of 5,000 packinghouse workers followed a hearse bearing the body of Santos Cicardo, killed last week on an Armour picket line. Representatives of all CIO unions met with Police Commissioner John Prendergast to protest police violence in the strike and demand the ouster of a police captain. Union men were aroused over the death of Santos who was crushed under the wheels of a truck entering the struck Armour plant. Union leaders accused the police captain of instructing the truck driver to drive through the picket line.

Chicago ministers, protesting violence against the packinghouse strike, joined the picket lines at the Armour plant.

Two strike breakers who admitted carrying guns in an attempt to force their way through a picket line at the strike-bound Armour plant in Omaha, Nebraska, were sentenced to two years each in the state penitentiary. They pleaded guilty to charges of carrying concealed weapons.

A woman picket, Mrs. Marie Browder, mother of an 11-year-old boy, was hospitalized in Atlanta, Georgia, after she was struck down by a truck attempting to enter the Armour plant. Nine members of Local 37 in

Faribault, Minnesota, were arrested on contempt charges and released on \$500 bail.

At West Fargo, N. D., an injunction was granted to Armour, which drastically limited picketing. A strike of union stockyard workers at West Fargo was postponed temporarily but may be called "at a later date." Stock handlers have been negotiating with the stockyards company for a wage increase.

For the first time since the packinghouse strike began, pickets turned back 150 office and supervisory workers at the Swift plant in Sioux City, Iowa. Union representatives said the action was a reprisal against the company's attempt to bring in four cars of cattle.

Local 50 in Milwaukee reached an agreement with police officials to limit police to only four or five on picket lines at Plankinton and Armour meat packing plants. Union officials will be responsible for maintaining order.

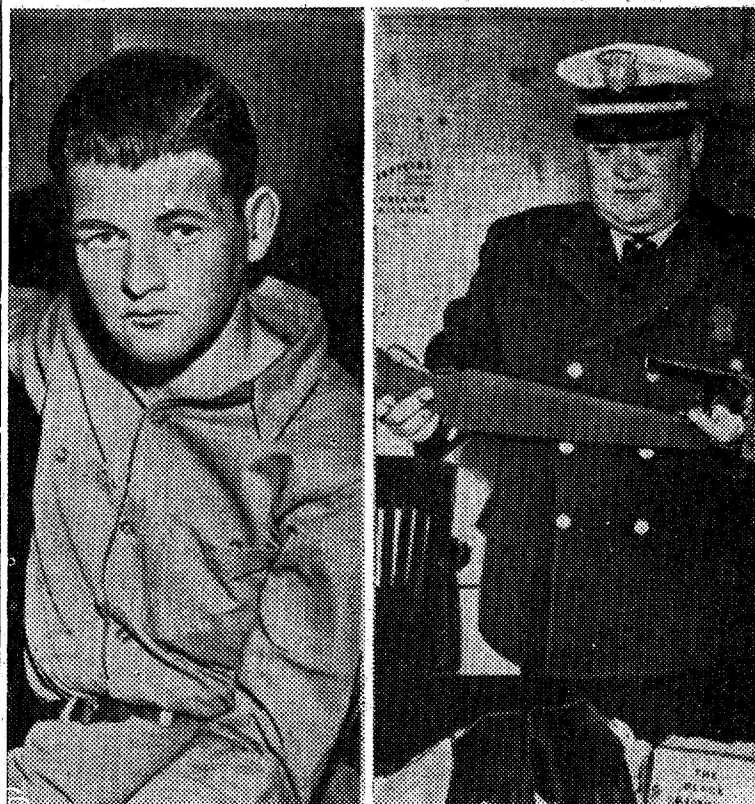
In Willmar, Minnesota, Einar Kuivinen, president of the Minnesota Farmers Union, charged the "arrogant refusal of the Big Four packers" to arbitrate differences with the packinghouse workers has cost the farmers "tremendous losses." The Union has offered repeatedly to settle the strike by arbitration, but has been turned down cold by the packers on every occasion.

Strikers in the South St. Paul area have been marking time as injunctive hearings on restraining orders issued to Armour and Swift companies came to a conclusion in Dakota county district court this week. A decision will be handed down on or before May 4. Hearings on a restraining order granted to Cudahy have been postponed to June 1.

CIO international representatives and full time officials of CIO locals met this afternoon in South St. Paul to mobilize 60,000 CIO members in Minnesota behind the packinghouse strikers. A campaign to raise \$100,000 was launched and funds were contributed to help finance the daily broadcast, "On the Picket Line," sponsored by UPW locals in South St. Paul.

MILWAUKEE
MAY DAY CELEBRATION
Movie:
"Czar to Lenin"
608 SO. FIFTH STREET
Sat., May 8 8 p. m.

Klan Flogs War Veteran



Victim of a savage flogging by the Ku Klux Klan, ex-GI Joseph Berry (1) was found bent against a tree, bleeding severely from a mass of welts across his back. Three admitted members of the Ku Klux Klan have been arrested by Georgia police and charged with the brutal assault. Police Chief Neal Ellis examines the 2-foot leather strap used for the beating. Federated Pictures

Big Steel Leads Attack on Wages

(Continued from page 1)

free to exercise their economic strength if management's shortsightedness and stubbornness force them to do so."

However, the UAW officials have advanced no unified strategy of action for a serious wage fight. They still seem to be contemplating a suicidal, "one-at-a-time" policy, this time centered on Chrysler.

ELECTRICAL:

Officials of the CIO United Electrical Workers "indefinitely recessed" wage negotiations with the two largest corporations in the industry, General Electric and Westinghouse.

PRICE-CUT PRETEXT

Westinghouse, which previously had intimated it might grant some slight increases, announced the day after U.S. Steel's move that it would give no pay increases. Its pretext is a claimed price-cut of \$3,125,000 a year—a

fraction of a per cent of its total sales. General Electric also announced a 5% price cut on a small category of electrical power equipment.

GE profits in the first three months of 1948 were over 25 million dollars—a 42% increase over the same quarter in 1947. Westinghouse's 14 million dollar profits in this year's first quarter are 27% higher than last year's.

UE leaders, following the policy of Murray, have announced no specific wage demands and proposed no program of action. Although the Stalinist leaders of UE are in bitter conflict with the Murray machine over political policies, they are obviously trying to take their cue from Murray on wage matters and follow the lead of the steel union.

MEAT PACKING:

100,000 CIO packinghouse workers, employed by the "Big Four" of the meat trust, Armour, Wilson, Swift and Cudahy, are con-

tinuing their bitter six week strike for cost-of-living wage increases.

They are resisting a head-on attempt of the companies to smash their strike by violence and a flank attack by the government in the form of a "fact-finding" report supporting the companies' miserable offer of a 9-cent increase. The union demanded 29 cents.

A flock of local injunctions have been issued by compliant judges in the various packing centers against the union. Behind this legal cover, police and company strikebreakers are trying to smash picket lines with armed violence.

Efforts of the government to intervene and effect a settlement through mediation appear headed on the rocks. A government-sponsored meeting between the union and Armour representatives was abruptly recessed on April 27, when Armour refused to yield an inch. The packers take the position that with local and

federal government aid they can break the strike.

MARITIME:

Representatives of the chief Atlantic and Gulf Coast shipping lines have countered CIO National Maritime Union demands for wage increases and improved conditions with their own complete revision of the present contract.

This revision provides no wage increases and would destroy the foundation of the union's security, the union hiring hall. Basing themselves on the Taft-Hartley Act, the companies demand that hiring through the union hiring hall be abandoned and that the discriminatory hiring practices which prevailed in the days before unionism be restored.

The employers have offered similar loaded contracts to engineers and radio officers of the CIO Marine Engineers Beneficial Association.

The Growing Militarization of America

By Paul Schapiro

THE MILITARIZATION OF AMERICA, A Report Issued by Albert Einstein, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Reuben Gustavson, William J. Miller, S. J. Arthur Morgan, Ray Lyman Wilbur and Fifteen Others, National Council Against Conscription, 1013 18th St., Washington 6, D. C., 1948, 32pp., 10c.

This report was presented recently by a group of distinguished educators, scientists, ministers and assorted liberals, who were alarmed by the increasing control of the military over American life. Ample documented, it gives an excellent picture of how the Brass Hats are militarizing the government, science, education and industry.

In all sections of the government, the report shows, military men have stepped into important positions, and scores of junior brass hats have got lesser posts. Especially is the State Department dominated by the military. This was acknowledged by the Army and Navy Bulletin of January 18, 1947, which stated: "Today the Army has virtual control of foreign affairs, commencing on the home front with General Marshall as Secretary and his Assistant Secretary of State (for occupied areas) Maj. Gen. John H. Hillditch, who directs the military commanders controlling our foreign policy in occupied Europe and Asia." Since then, General Hillditch has resigned—to be replaced by General Charles Saltzman, Vice-President and Secretary of the New York Stock Exchange.

Science too, as a result of the huge amount of money the Army and Navy are spending on financing research in universities, is to-

day almost completely under the thumb of the military. The bulk of the scientists are now under contract to work on projects under military sponsorship, and the general direction of most scientific research is toward military purposes.

Army and Navy money pays not only for professors and equipment but for the training of thousands of students, who are obligated to accept military commissions. The amount of money the Army and Navy pour into the universities of course insures that the universities will think twice about refusing any of their requests. The educational institutions work closely with the military in propagandizing students to join the Reserve Officer Training Corps units on the campuses and permit ROTC military pageantry to dominate the proceedings at graduation exercises.

Present plans of the Army call for the expansion of the already swollen college ROTC enrollment to five times its present size. And "if compulsory military training were to be passed," this section of the report concludes, "under the proposed plan almost every college would be forced to accept ROTC, thus making complete the Army's penetration of the college campus."

The militarization of science and education which the brass hats have effected and which they plan to extend is only the prelude to their plan to militarize the lives of the workers in the factories with the aid and cooperation of the bosses. "The New York Times of May 29, 1947, in reporting speeches by General Brehon Somervell and General Leslie Groves at a dinner of the National Industrial Conference Board, stated that Somervell with Groves' full backing had said, 'Industry must be kept from year to year in the same state of semi-

mobilization as our armed forces.' He urged business and industrial leaders to nominate their best men to advisory committees to work with the Army and Navy Munitions Board and other military councils." Army instructors are now touring the country, giving reserve officers and "industrial leaders" courses in vital aspects of industrial mobilization.

WORKERS CONSCRIPTION

The first part of the plan is already being put into effect with the organization of company-sponsored military units among workers in railroads, trucking companies, hospitals, chemical concerns and aircraft and automotive industries, which, when activated, will receive standard military training under the command of a regular reserve officer, if possible from the business itself. "In case of war the Army could call on these organizations for men who could be put into the field as functioning units without long training." The next part of the plan would not "begin with war but with the approach of an emergency." It would, however, chain labor down even more than was done in the last war. Workers would be conscripted for military service or for factory labor, without being allowed to choose the industry or geographical area they would work in. All strikes would be prohibited. Wages would be controlled and a drastic rationing system, reducing the "requirements of the domestic civilian economy to a minimum," would be instituted.

The report concludes by stating that the same pattern of militarism which characterized Nazi Germany and pre-war Japan now exists in large measure in the United States. Here lies the report's basic weakness. During the

war, we were told that we had to crush German and Japanese militarism. Once we had done this, we would have perpetual peace. As for our own generals, they were said to be servants of the people, who just wanted to get the war over with and were not concerned about their own power. Now, a few short years after the war, many of the same liberals who were its best propagandists are frightened by these same generals, who are muscling in everywhere. How did this come to be? The report does not give a word of explanation.

THERE IS NO PEACE

The truth is that capitalism has entered a period of permanent militarization. "There is no peace," proclaimed the Militant on V-J Day in the midst of the hosannas for peace. Events have demonstrated the correctness of this assertion. United States imperialism, the citadel of world capitalism surrounded by working-class and colonial unrest, must arm to the teeth to suppress revolution and to crack open the Soviet Union for the world market in order to maintain itself. Arming for war, it must enlarge the power of those who run the war machine.

It is the lack of understanding of this process by the authors of the report which causes them to omit an important item in their description of the militarization of America: the ties between the Brass Hats and Big Business. The members of the military caste have, of course, always been faithful servitors of capitalism, but the war caused them to work more closely with the representatives of big business than ever before. Today the generals are allied with the executives of heavy industry in carrying through their huge armaments program. The key man

in this alliance is Secretary of Defense Forrestal, former president of the great Wall Street banking firm Dillon-Read. The alliance was formed during the war under the aegis of Forrestal and his opposite number in the War Department, Under-Secretary of War Patterson, another Wall Street man. In the very midst of the war, Charles E. Wilson, President of General Electric and Vice-Chairman of Roosevelt's War Production Board, looking ahead, advocated a permanent war economy in the post-war period for the United States domination of the world, with the brass hats and the silk hats working together.

At a meeting of the Army Ordnance Association on January 19, 1944, he said: "The experience of two years has shown conclusively that industry, cooperating with the Army and Navy makes for a very effective combination, a combination that should be extended into the post-war period to the end that we might maintain at all times leadership in the technical and operations superiority of the implements of war. . . The burden is on all of us to integrate our respective activities — political, military, and industrial, because we are in world politics to stay, whether we like it or not."

WORLD DOMINATION

"We are in world politics to stay, whether we like it or not!" — this is Wilson's way of saying that American finance capital must seek to dominate the world. To do so, it must, as he makes clear, "integrate" its "political, military and industrial" forces. The struggle against the militarization of America, therefore, is a struggle against Wall Street, and it can be brought to a victorious conclusion only by a revolutionary working class.