

# Coal Miners Triumph After Defying 'Seizure'

## Win Big Gains As Truman Bows To Solid Strike

By Art Preis

Unflinching in their defiance of the government's all-Truman administration to terms and gained an historic out drive to break their strike, the 400,000 soft coal miners of the AFL United Mine Workers on May 29 forced the triumph.

The contract they wrested from the government, present controller of the mines, provides major concessions in line with the union's key demands for an operator-financed health and welfare fund, improved safety regulations and the right to organize supervisory employees.

In addition, the miners won wage increases totalling \$1.85 a day—the largest amount so far won by any union during the current strike wave.

Forced to concede the fact of a clear-cut victory by the miners, the Big Business press could only vent its rage by denunciation of the Truman administration for retreating before the miners after falling to crack their solid front through a terrifically savage strikebreaking campaign.

The bituminous miners struck on April 1, after the mine owners had arrogantly refused even to consider the mine workers' main demands. These included an operator-financed, union-controlled health and welfare fund, contractual agreement to meet federal and state mine boards' safety regulations and recommendations, and observance of the National Labor Relations Board decision recognizing the right of supervisory employees to collective bargaining through unions of their own choosing.

The agreement made by the (Continued on Page 8)

## Labor-Haters Push Bills To Crush Unions

By Ruth Johnson

The strikebreaking Truman administration with its Democratic Party supporters and the Republican anti-labor gang in Congress are vying with each other as to the "best" method for handcuffing labor, breaking strikes, and crushing the union movement by legislative measures.

Like thugs squabbling over whether to club or shoot their victim, they scream at each other "You're worse!" as both launch their assaults upon labor.

The Republicans denounce Truman and the Democratic administration. They opportunistically seek to make political capital out of labor's revolt against Truman because of his proposal to draft strikers. At the same time, Republicans joined with Democrats in the Senate and House last week to pass the Case Bill, which has as its aim the destruction of the right to strike and the legal persecution, financial bankruptcy and ultimate dismemberment of the labor movement.

**COMPULSORY ARBITRATION** This bill has as chief feature the establishment of a form of compulsory arbitration through a five-member Federal Mediation Board to be hand-picked by the President and Senate. The board would be empowered to intervene in threatened strike situations and to prohibit for 60 days any strike which it deemed would "tend to burden or obstruct commerce or the free flow of commerce." This could be interpreted to cover almost any strike.

It would permit, through a section subject to broad interpretation, the inflicting of 20 years imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine, or both, upon strike pickets.

(Continued on Page 2)

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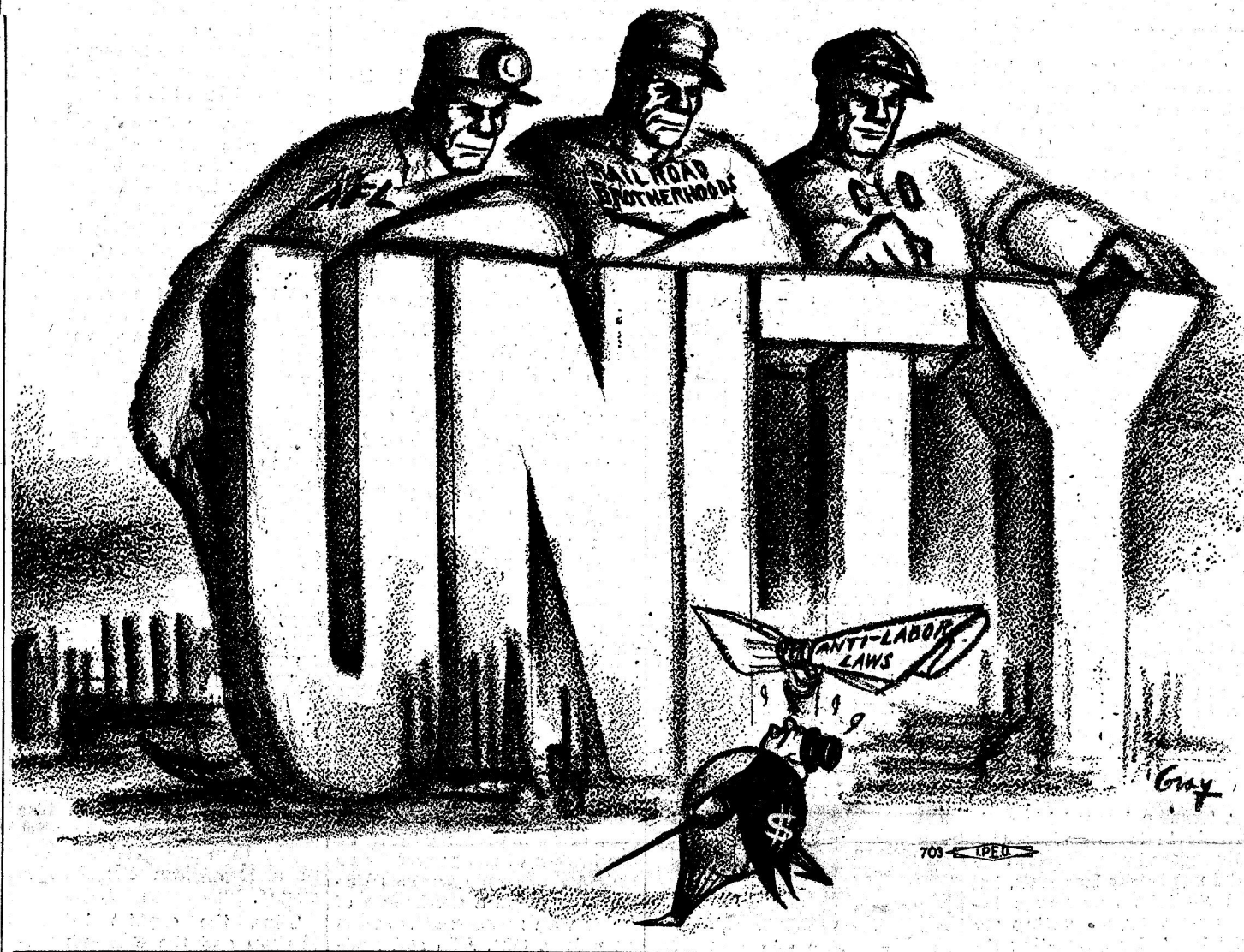
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# UNITED LABOR CONFERENCE URGED BY UAW OFFICERS

Only Answer To The Labor-Haters



## All Support To The UAW Call For United Labor Conference!

By The Editors

All labor has been aroused in the past two weeks to the deadly menace of the Big Business-government offensive against the unions. No one in his right senses can fail to see that the bills being pushed by Truman and Congress have as their ultimate aim the very destruction of the labor movement.

The realization of this mortal danger to organized labor is expressed by the top leaders of all the unions. They have denounced the proposed anti-labor bills in the most violent terms.

Despite their agreement on the seriousness of the threat which confronts all labor alike, the union leaders have failed as yet to take the first imperative and indispensable step toward effective resistance. The labor movement stands dangerously divided, when unity of action is the most crying need.

### Program For Action

The CIO United Automobile Workers members and officers have performed a great service to all labor by advancing a program to forge, in this hour of greatest peril, that unity of action labor desperately needs to beat back the savage attack that is being hurled against it.

The entire labor movement should respond immediately and whole-heartedly to the appeal of the UAW leaders for a National United Labor Conference of all unions, CIO, AFL and railroad brotherhoods, to formulate and carry through a program of united action against the labor-haters.

Such a conference based on the broadest representation from the ranks, is a prerequisite for the organization of any genuinely effective fight.

The union ranks—AFL, CIO and railroad brotherhoods—should embrace this proposal and demand in no uncertain terms that their leaders carry it out without delay.

In every union local, the membership should promptly pass resolutions insisting on the convening of the National United Labor Conference. At the same time, the local unions in every city and town should immediately organize local conferences to obtain united action on a local scale and provide the initiative and impulse for national action.

Those same events which have brought home to every unionist the urgent need for united labor action have also posed in sharpest form the crucial question of political action.

Only yesterday, the union leaders were representing

Truman as a great "friend of labor," just as they continue to this day to spread the same myth about Truman's predecessor, Roosevelt, the actual originator of Truman's scheme for drafting strikers into the Army and forcing them to work at bayonet-point.

Only yesterday, the union leaders were endorsing as "progressives" and "liberals" many of the very Representatives and Senators who applauded Truman's strikebreaking against the railroad workers and eagerly voted for his infamous "work-under-bayonets" bill.

At this very moment, the top union leaders are continuing with their attempts to delude the workers with the fiction that all that is required for labor's political salvation is to find some new, "more reliable" capitalist politicians from Wall Street's Republican and Democratic parties to fill the yawning gap left by the wholesale defection of yesterday's "friends of labor."

To continue with this bankrupt policy can only spell defeat and ruin for organized labor. The most recent events in Washington give irrefutable proof of this fact.

Almost 16,000,000 strong, the organized labor movement which has displayed such tremendous power on the economic arena of struggle has appeared as a puny midget on the political field. The entire capitalist government, the whole Congress and administration, heaps contemptuous and arrogant abuse upon labor. The political agents of a tiny handful of ruling monopolists feel free to assault labor with impunity, so long as the workers are tied to the political machines controlled by this same plutocracy.

### Millions Awaken

Reports from all over the country reveal however, that millions of workers, shocked by the political developments of the recent weeks, are awakening to the need for genuine independent labor political action through a party of their own, a labor party.

And each new blow of Truman and Congress against labor reinforces the conviction of wider and wider sections of the American working-class that "company-unionism" in politics must go—and go NOW!

A National United Labor Conference would be able to give a powerful impulsion to the movement for the building of an independent labor party. In urging and preparing the way for such a conference, the labor militants will take a step forward toward the launching of a labor party.

## Seek Joint Action Program To Fight Anti-Union Drive

By Joseph Keller

A proposal for a national united labor conference of all unions, AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods, to initiate joint action against enactment of anti-labor legislation by Congress and President Truman, was announced on May 27 in Detroit by CIO United Automobile Workers President Walter P. Reuther.

This proposal, Reuther stated, is backed by the top officers of the UAW-CIO.

This is the most positive answer that has yet come from any American union leaders in response to the urgent demand from labor's ranks for effective united action to beat back the increasingly violent anti-labor offensive of Big Business and its government. This offensive has been climaxed by Truman's call (Continued on Page 2)

## PAC Endorses Support Truman Slave Labor Act

By Jeff Thorne

Policies of the CIO-Political Action Committee met their most crucial test Saturday, May 25, and demonstrated their bankruptcy. When CIO-endorsed President Truman demanded a law to enslave American labor, most of the CIO-endorsed Congressmen voted for it. The House of Representatives, whose election in 1944 the CIO-PAC hailed as a "great progressive victory," rushed the "work - under - bayonets" bill through in 40 minutes with a vote of 306-13. And of the 13, only 7 were CIO-supported.

Out of the 90 CIO-endorsed Representatives, 50 cast their ballots for this "most drastic anti-labor legislation ever presented to the Congress," while 33 were prudently absent.

Two of "labor's Congressmen" not only voted with reaction but felt they had to take the floor to fight actively for the Truman bill. These were John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, majority leader, and Jerry Voorhis of California. McCormack engineered the gag rule limiting debate to 20 minutes on each side and preventing amendments to the bill.

## What Roosevelt Said On The Labor Draft

Union leaders, Stalinists and assorted liberals who are now screaming that Truman has "betrayed Roosevelt's program" by proposing a draft-strikers law, should be compelled to recite over public address systems in every public square in the country, the following section of Roosevelt's statement to Congress on June 25, 1943:

"I recommend that the Selective Service Act be amended so that persons may be inducted into non-combat military service up to the age of 65 years. This will enable us to induct into military service all persons who engage in strikes or stoppages or other interruptions of work in plants in the possession of the United States."

## AKRON UNION ADVOCATES SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES

A strongly-worded call for American labor to "demand in all its contracts with the corporations a provision which would specify that wages shall automatically increase as the cost of living increases," is featured in the May issue of Air Bag, official publication of Goodrich Local 5, largest CIO United Rubber Workers affiliate in Akron, Ohio.

This significant proposal for the sliding scale of wages to meet price rises as the most effective means of combatting inflation coincides with growing demands from other unions for further wage increases, in addition to those recently won.

A movement is developing in the CIO United Auto Workers for additional wage rises. This movement was evidenced last week in a resolution adopted by the large Chrysler Local 7, Detroit, which declared that price increases have "evaporated" the 18 1/2 cents an hour increase secured in the contract last January.

This resolution called on the UAW Chrysler Department Director, Norman Matthews, to begin new wage negotiations immediately.

### CANNOT DEPEND ON OPA

In projecting its program for the sliding scale of wages, the Goodrich Local 5 Air Bag declares that "certainly we cannot depend upon a broken down OPA to do the job" of combatting price rises. On the contrary, the union paper claims, "the OPA which all during the war was supposed to have frozen prices was a fraud."

"Open and hidden increases in price of basic commodities mounted while wages were frozen," says the article. "Now even the ineffectual OPA is being torn to shreds by a reactionary Congress in order to create super-profits for big business."

Only last week OPA gave further confirmation of the Goodrich Local's charges against it, by hiking prices on dairy products, shoes and other essentials. Milk is raised a cent a quart, butter 11 cents a pound, while the Agricultural Department ordered a 10 per cent cut in the weight of bread and rolls without corresponding price reductions.

These actions were admitted by the N. Y. Times, June 2, as (Continued on Page 2)

### ON THE INSIDE

Labor Party Needed .....2  
French Elections .....3  
COs Still In Prison .....4  
Moscow Trial .....7  
Rochester Strike .....8  
On The Railroads .....8

### COLUMNS AND FEATURES

Trade Union Notes .....2  
Veterans Problems .....4  
Workers Forum .....5  
Shoptalks on Socialism .....6  
The Negro Struggle .....7  
Diary of Steelworker .....8  
Notes of A Seaman .....8

## Indonesian League Protests U. S. Deportation Round-ups

By Evelyn Atwood

NEW YORK, May 30—At an emergency meeting held tonight at its headquarters, 18 Allen Street, the Indonesian League of America protested against brutal mass round-ups by the U. S. government of Indonesian residents of the United States. They are being incarcerated on Ellis Island in preparation for immediate deportation.

Many of the Indonesians arrested or in danger of apprehension are married men with families, some with American wives, who have lived and worked here for many years.

These deportation roundups follow the six-month imprisonment on Ellis Island of 178 Indonesian seamen, who last October struck Dutch ships in New York harbor. They refused to man these ships loaded with arms and ammunition destined for use against Indonesian fighters for independence. These Indonesian seamen and others have now been ordered to leave Ellis Island for San Francisco, where on June 11 they are scheduled to be herded aboard ship and deported.

Fearing that the arrested Indonesians will be put aboard a Dutch vessel which will take them to concentration camps in Borneo and New Guinea, the Indonesian League is demanding that the U. S. government guarantee their safe conduct to Indonesia. In telegrams sent tonight to President Truman, Attorney General Tom Clark, Secretary of State Byrnes and the immigration authorities, the League urged that the deportees be put on an American vessel with the guarantee that their

destination will be Indonesia.

The League also demanded that deportation action be suspended against all married men with families in this country. A bill sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union and now pending in Congress would enable these resident Indonesians to have their cases reviewed to prevent undue hardships and suffering.

John Andu, president of the Indonesian League, told this reporter that the League plans to organize a defense committee to protect the rights and guarantee the safety of all these Indonesian victims of political persecution by the U. S. government. He stated that the ACLU is cooperating with the League in this work.

This fight in defense of the Indonesian residents here and the 178 seamen merits whole-hearted support from the labor movement and all progressive groups and individuals.

These workers are being persecuted and deprived of their democratic rights solely because of the solidarity they have shown with the heroic struggle of the Indonesian people to set up a government of their own. The U. S. government actions against them can only be interpreted as aid by American imperialism to the Dutch oppressors of the Indonesian people.

# GOVERNMENT'S ANTI-LABOR OFFENSIVE UNDERLINES NEED FOR A LABOR PARTY

By George Clarke

Every worker must be troubled by a paradox which stares him in the face today. He sees the trade unions at the peak of their strength, numerically stronger and more powerful in action than they have ever been, and yet, at the same time, these unions appear practically helpless before the offensive of Wall Street's President and Wall Street's Congress.

One after another, the biggest monopolies in the countries were paralyzed by great strikes and then forced to concede substantial wage increases. Neither propaganda nor threats could weaken the strike front. For the first time in American labor history, scabs and strikebreakers played a negligible role against the solid array of strength built by the unions.

Yet this unprecedented power appears practically impotent today before the offensive of the capitalist government. After a series of effective and successful strikes that began last winter, the situation has been turned upside down in the one short week that followed the end of the railroad tie-up. Spearheaded by President Truman, Congress is driving through the most reactionary, labor-crippling laws seen in this country since the open shop days that followed the first world war.

The entire labor movement is alert to their terrifying effects. From every union, from every shop a great outcry is heard for resistance and action against the offensive Big Business has launched from the White House and Capitol Hill. But to date this swelling shout appears to be a voice crying in the wilderness. 14,000,000 organized workers, invincible yesterday on the picket lines, today give the impression of trying to stop an onrushing tank with shouts of protest.

## Labor Is Unprepared

The simple truth is this: the labor movement is unprepared and unarmed. During this critical phase of its war against the profit-greedy billionaires, organized labor finds itself without political weapons. For as long as the memory can recall, the labor leaders have beguiled the workers with the fiction that the government was the impartial umpire between the classes, that the umpire was even inclined to stretch this impartiality to the point of friendliness with the labor movement. When the blindfold began to slip a little during the war under the pounding of Roosevelt's regimenting decrees, the Hillmans, Murrys and Greens quickly pulled it back into place again. They assured everyone that the great friend of labor in the White House had been misled by bad advisors, and in any case that these were only emergency measures that would die with the termination of hostilities. As uneasiness began to grow in the ranks and opposition to their surrender policies mounted, the political program of the trade union leaders became restricted to one plank: no independent political action of the unions, no labor party.

Thus in a series of tragic but inevitable steps the criminal, cowardly leaders of labor led the workers into the gigantic trap openly prepared by the monopolies. At the rim of the trap, waiting for the blindfolded workers, was Truman, "the friend of labor," armed with the big anti-labor stick prepared by his predecessor Roosevelt, also "a friend of labor." The great pains suffered by the workers came not so much from the injuries themselves as from the fact that they were inflicted by a "friend of labor." Every-

where workers are asking: Why are we so strong on the picket line and so weak before Wall Street's puppets in Washington? What next?

The clear, unavoidable answer is that labor must have its own party, a labor party based upon and controlled by the trade unions. Unless such a party is built, and built rapidly, unless such a party takes control of the government, the Wall Street gang will use the present repressive legislation as the first iron hoops of a military dictatorship. The danger is grave. Let no one mistake it.

The time is rotten ripe for the organization of a labor party. The trade union movement is prepared for it. What then blocks the road? The very same trade union bureaucrats and the very same Stalinist bureaucrats who have blocked the road up to now and led the workers into their present peril. They are like the Bourbons of old: they learn nothing.

They have no program of action, no solution to the crisis, no plan for organizing the formidable power of 14,000,000 organized workers and their families in the political arena. Instead they bemoan "the accident" of Truman's accession to office; they call for a return to Roosevelt's policy. Truman has "betrayed" Roosevelt. By thus conjuring up the ghost of Roosevelt the bureaucrats are trying to keep the labor movement wandering in the graveyard of capitalist politics, continuing to support capitalist "friends of labor."

Did Truman betray Roosevelt's policy? This is not only a lie, it is a stupid lie. There was in reality no such thing as a "Roosevelt policy." There was only a Wall Street policy to which Roosevelt like Truman faithfully adhered. It is true that Roosevelt was wiser and more skillful than Truman in applying this policy. But then Roosevelt did not face national strikes in auto, steel, packing, coal mining and railroad in quick succession. Nothing that has been done by Truman is original—practically every link in his anti-labor chain was forged under the Roosevelt administration.

## Forged By Roosevelt

The seizure of struck plants and industries was inaugurated by Roosevelt during the war-time mine strikes.

The run-around, and kick-around of the railroad workers' demands began under Roosevelt in 1943.

The "cooling off" provisions of the Case Bill are borrowed from the "cooling off" provisions of the Smith-Connally Bill to which Roosevelt objected only on the ground that it would be ineffective for preventing strikes.

Truman borrowed his labor draft directly from Roosevelt who wrote to Congress on June 25, 1943: "I recommend that the Selective Service Act be amended so that persons may be inducted into non-combat service up to the age of 65. This will enable us to induct into military service all persons who engage in stoppages or other interruptions of work in plants in possession of the United States."

The record is clear, Truman learned his anti-labor political arithmetic in Roosevelt's school, Truman was personally chosen by Roosevelt as his successor. Truman did not betray Roosevelt, but the trade union and Stalinist bureaucrats betrayed the labor movement by supporting the capitalist "friends of labor." By advocating the same policy today, they continue this betrayal under far more dangerous conditions.

# Auto Union Leaders Urge National Labor Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

for a draft-strikers law and Congressional passage of the infamous Case Union-Busting Bill.

Forseeing the tremendous struggle impending at the very start of the Big Business-government drive against labor after V-J Day, The Militant last September 15, 1945, first urged: "Right now one of the most reactionary Congresses in American history is debating problems affecting the destinies of scores of millions. These millions have no genuine voice in the legislative halls and no means of bringing direct immediate and concentrated pressure to bear. The obvious and crying need is for the mobilization of organized labor's power in Washington through a National Labor Congress representing every union local and labor body in the United States."

On September 15, 1945, the UAW General Motors delegates conference in Detroit adopted a resolution urging the International Union to initiate a Congress of Labor. This proposal

was not seriously pressed at the time. Events of the past few weeks in connection with the breaking of the railroad strike and action on the Truman and Case bills have brought the question forward with greater force than ever.

In his statement last week, Reuther said: "The top officers of the UAW-CIO today decided to ask President Philip Murray of the CIO to take immediate steps to bring about joint action by all organized labor to prevent passage in the Senate of restrictive labor legislation proposed Saturday to Congress by President Harry S. Truman.

"Vice President Richard T. Leonard and R. J. Thomas agreed with me to ask President Murray to confer immediately with officers of the American Federation of Labor and the railroad brotherhoods to plan the calling at the earliest possible date of a national united labor conference for the specific purpose of combating President Truman's proposals and all other restrictive legislation aimed at labor now

pending in the Congress."

Prior to Reuther's announcement, a resolution had been adopted on May 23 by Detroit Briggs Local 212, which embodied proposals made by Emil Masey, former Local 212 president and newly-elected member of the UAW International Executive Board. Masey, a leading UAW militant who spoke against the no-strike pledge and for a labor party at the 1943 UAW convention, was attending his first general membership meeting since his return from Army duty in the Philippines and Okinawa.

The militant hails the UAW's proposal for united labor action and urges all unionists to call upon their leaders to take immediate steps for the convening of a National United Conference of Labor. United labor action is the most imperative need today in the face of the concerted attacks of Big Business and its government upon the fundamental rights of the working people.

## Army Protects Scabs



U. S. Army troops, including armored unit, sent to the Pond River Colliery in Kentucky coal fields to give "protection" to any scabs who might want to work during the soft coal strike.

This is a preview of what could happen in any strike if President Truman's anti-labor proposals become law.

# 35,000 N. Y. Workers Hit Truman's Attack On Labor

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

NEW YORK, May 29—A demonstration of some 35,000 workers in Madison Square Park today heard A. F. Whitney, President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and leaders of the CIO and AFL in this state, bitterly

assail the union-busting drive of the Truman administration and Congress. The demonstration was called on 24 hours notice by the New York State and Greater New York City CIO councils.

Quoting directly from stenographic records, Whitney exposed how Truman through a series of double-dealing maneuvers tried to "break the back" of the railroad strike. Just prior to the strike, Whitney said, "the President told Steelman not to mediate any further with the workers. In other words, crush them and make them like it."

The workers at first enthusiastically applauded every attack on Truman and Congress. But in the course of the three-hour meeting they began to grow increasingly silent and restless when the speakers, including several well-known Stalinist union leaders, failed to propose any program of real labor action to beat back the union-busting offensive.

The only effective answer on what program of action labor should pursue was given the demonstrators by the Socialist Workers Party, which issued a special leaflet calling on the workers to support the demonstration and advocating support of "the proposal made by the leaders of the powerful CIO United Automobile Workers Union to summon a Conference of Labor with representatives from all unions, CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods."

The leaflet urged all unionists to work to place their unions on record for the Congress of United Labor to draft a program of action to defeat the union-busting campaign. It closed with a call for the building of an independent labor party.

# Another Briggs Militant Victim Of Thug-Assault

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

DETROIT, June 1—After a respite since last October when Genora Dollinger, leading Local 212 militant, was severely clubbed in her home as she lay asleep, another Briggs Local 212 militant and popular leader has become the victim of a hoodlum attack.

On Friday, May 31, Ken Morris, Recording Secretary of Local 212, was brutally attacked just as he left his automobile after parking it in the rear of his home.

This attack occurred shortly after 7 p.m. while it was still daylight. Morris was slugged first on the head by a club or instrument and viciously beaten on the arms, legs and face. He lies in Saratoga Hospital at the present time in serious condition.

This beating marks the fifth attack upon Local 212 militants in the last 15 months.

Arthur Vega, leader of Local 212's Flying Squadron, was the first victim. In March 1945 he was attacked by two thugs and suffered a fractured arm and other injuries. Roy Snowden, Sergeant-At-Arms of Local 212 and a widely-known militant was the victim of the next two attacks. On two different occasions he was brutally clubbed. He continues to suffer from the after effects of the beatings.

Last October, Genora Dollinger, active Local 212 militant and a leading member of the committee established by Local 212 to seek out those responsible for the earlier beatings, was attacked as she lay asleep in her home. She was clubbed on the head, face, arms and legs and was in a critical condition for many weeks.

In an effort to track down those guilty of the earlier attacks, rewards totaling \$2,600

# Labor-Haters Push Bills To Crush Unions

(Continued from Page 1)

ets who could be charged with "robbery" and "extortion" connected with activity which "in any way or degree obstructs, delays, or affects commerce."

This bill would further permit the employers to harass and bankrupt the unions, with the aid of the capitalist courts, by making the unions subject to "damage" suits for any alleged "violation of contract."

While supporting the Case Bill, the Republicans are trying to masquerade as "friends of labor" by attacking Truman's savage bill to draft strikers, which originated in Roosevelt's 1943 labor conscription demand. Thus, they led the attack in the Senate, which on May 29 voted down the draft-strikers feature of Truman's bill by 72 to 13.

However, on June 1, a 61 to 20 majority in the Senate passed an amended version of Truman's bill giving the President powers to proclaim a "national emergency" in labor disputes involving government-seized plants, fix a return-to-work deadline, subject violators of the deadline to loss of rights under the Wagner Act and make union strike leaders liable to \$5,000 fine and a year's imprisonment. The bill also virtually nullifies the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act, by authorizing the Attorney General to secure from District Federal Courts injunctions to enforce government orders for work resumption.

Senator Taft of Ohio, the leading Republican opponent of Truman's original bill, explained his chief objection as being that "this bill makes the President a complete dictator." He does not object in principle to drafting strikers, but thinks "we ought not to have legislation of this kind until an emergency arises."

He is quite willing to "provide the machinery" right away, but would place the power to utilize it in the hands of Congress, rather than the President—until a Republican President is elected.

Thus, the conflict between Truman and the Congress majority is not over the issue of government strikebreaking and the destruction of labor's rights. It is principally a feud over the extent of presidential versus congressional powers, plus maneuvering for political advantage between groupings within the two Big Business parties.

# Akron Unions Begin Labor Unity Drive

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

AKRON, O., May 31—Burning with resentment at the vicious government attack upon labor, unionists in Akron have begun a movement to unite all union organizations here for common political action in their defense.

The Akron CIO Council, meeting 48 hours after the House passed Truman's Slave-Labor Bill, voiced bitter resentment not only against the Administration but also against the horde of PAC-endorsed "friends of labor," including Democratic Representative Huber of this area, who voted for the bill. The Council voted to instruct the Ohio PAC to reconsider all endorsements.

Not a single delegate defended Truman or any member of Congress who voted for the anti-labor legislation. Speakers advocated formation of a Labor Party to defend labor's rights.

The Railroad Brotherhoods this week opened their meeting to representatives of all unions and to the public. CIO unions accepted the invitation to send delegates. Since AFL unions were not reached in time, the Brotherhoods have announced another meeting next week to which AFL delegates will be invited.

Observers at the Brotherhoods' meeting this week believe that out of it may grow a city-wide committee representing all unions, to defend labor's rights. Such a committee existed in Akron 10 years ago during the early CIO strikes.

## UNITY IS KEYNOTE

The keynote of the meeting was the need for unity. Twelve speakers from the CIO addressed the meeting, in addition to officers and members of both operating and non-operating Railroad Brotherhoods. A motion was unanimously passed to set up a committee representing the CIO, AFL, and Brotherhoods for joint action in the political field. Four railroad workers were selected to serve on the committee.

I. H. Watson, President of CIO Rubber Workers Firestone Local 7, received the most enthusiastic reception when he predicted that the workers would soon have to organize a labor party in this country.

One railroad worker explained the divisions in the rail unions and expressed the desire to see one big union formed out of the 20 existing craft unions. Resentment of the workers

# Buffalo Unions Aroused By Truman's Moves

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

BUFFALO, N. Y., June 1—The entire union movement in this area is up in arms over the Big-Business-inspired attack of Congress and President Truman upon the labor movement. With unprecedented unity the AFL, CIO, and the two Railway Brotherhoods whose strike was crushed by Truman, together placed ads in the local press denouncing the passage of the Case Bill and Truman's demand for dictatorial powers over labor.

CIO United Auto Workers Local 501 demanded that the national executive board of the CIO "immediately call for a conference of the AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and CIO" to meet the "grave threat to the very existence of the union movement." The statement concluded by pointing to the necessity for the labor movement to "take prompt action to set up a national labor party so as to protect labor's rights now under vicious attack in Washington by a solid front of the corporations, Congress and the Administration."

Among the ads placed in newspapers by the unions was one calling for the defeat of the "Truman slave labor bill" and urging workers to wire their senators in Washington to vote against these proposals. In addition, many locals and union officials issued statements of protest.

# Entire Labor Movement Flays Truman's Anti-Union Program

Organized labor last week unanimously voiced angry protest against Truman's savage strikebreaking assault on the railroad workers, his demands for draft-labor legislation and Congress' passage of the union-busting Case Bill.

Charging that the sole aim of Truman's measure is "the destruction of the labor movement," CIO President Philip Murray called it a "beachhead for those sinister forces which seek to use the military power as a means of crushing labor."

AFL President William Green likened the labor-draft to "slave labor under fascism" and pledged that the AFL "will resist such punitive, restrictive and un-American legislation as the Case Bill and the Government Seizure (Truman) Bill to its last breath."

## CALLS FOR ACTION

From many sections of the labor movement came calls for united action against the labor haters' legislative onslaught. CIO United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther called for a joint conference of all organized labor to fight the union-busting offensive.

In New York City on May 28, resolutions denouncing Truman and urging the AFL, CIO and Railway Brotherhoods to "initiate immediate steps" toward "negotiations for unification of the forces of organized labor," were adopted by 3,000 members of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers.

Sidney Hillman, national chairman of the Political Action Committee, which supported Truman's election as Vice-President, condemned the anti-strike legislation as "deliberately provoked by the reactionary forces of Big Business" and a scheme for "the most extreme and autocratic controls over the liberties and democratic rights of American workers ever seriously proposed in the history of our nation."

H. F. Sites, general chairman of the Pennsylvania Railroad Division of the Brotherhood of Trainmen, told the rail workers that there were "a lot of despicable people in the Pennsylvania Railroad who committed a lot of despicable acts, but the greatest despicable act was committed

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423 Springfield 8:30 p.m.

# Pantelis Pouliopoulos, Revolutionary Martyr

In losing Pantelis Pouliopoulos, who was shot in June, 1943, at Nezero by the Italian imperialists occupying Greece jointly with the Germans at that time, the Greek revolutionary workers' movement lost its greatest figure.

The name of Pantelis Pouliopoulos is linked to the entire development of the Communist movement in Greece which had its beginnings soon after the victory of the Russian revolution of 1917.

Pouliopoulos began his revolutionary career in the ranks of the Greek army which fought in the war against the Turks in Asia Minor between 1920 and 1922. Influenced by the ideas of the Russian revolution, he denounced the imperialist character of this war, agitated for fraternization with the Turkish soldiers and organized the first Communist groups in the army.

**ORGANIZED VETERANS**  
He became a leading member of the young Greek Communist Party organized in 1920, was elected to its Central Committee and Political Bureau. After the defeat of the Greek army in 1922, he organized the movement of the war veterans upon which he left the imprint of revolutionary orientation.

Pouliopoulos represented the Greek Communist Party at the Fifth Congress of the Communist International.

In 1925 he became General Secretary of the Communist Party and remained in this post until 1927. In 1927 the crisis broke out in the Russian Bolshevik Party between the Stalinist faction and the Left Opposition led by Trotsky. The crisis shook the whole Communist International. In Greece, Pouliopoulos resolutely took his position in favor of the platform of the Left Opposition, which led to his expulsion from the Communist Party.

He founded an organ, "Spartakos," which was the only organ to publish the fundamental documents of the Left Opposition in Greek and continued the struggle with several hundred workers, former members of the Communist Party who had remained faithful to the Leninist line.

Pouliopoulos considered himself in complete ideological agreement with Trotsky during his entire political life. The one exception was the position taken by the International Left Opposition in 1930, recognizing the Archeo-Marxist organization as the official section in Greece. Pouliopoulos regarded this organization as centrist and opportunist, and asked for supplementary political guarantees before the International Left Opposition recognized it.

**FOR FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**  
Pouliopoulos and his group unreservedly joined the movement for the formation of the Fourth International. His organization was represented at the Founding Congress of the Fourth International in 1938, accepting all of its decisions, including those relating to the means of unifying the Trotskyist movement in Greece.

In 1936 there was established in Greece the most terrible dictatorship, General Metaxas, the agent of King George II, abolished the parliamentary regime and unleashed a war to the death against the revolutionary move-



ment of the Greek working class.

All the revolutionary organizations went completely underground. Pouliopoulos was the political and organizational inspirer of the movement. Beginning with August, 1936, the police carried on intensive search for him and the Government published advertisements in all the newspapers offering substantial rewards for information leading to his arrest. Changing residence frequently, Pouliopoulos succeeded in escaping the traps set by the police, until 1939. In that year he was arrested and incarcerated in the prison on the island of Aigina.

The war came, the years passed, and Pouliopoulos, whose health was declining rapidly in the jails of Greek capitalism, thought only of the ideological rearmament of our movement for the problems posed by the imperialist war.

Transported along with other comrades in 1940 to the medieval fortress of Acronauplie, he organized a thorough discussion on our tactics in the imperialist war. Many Trotskyists confined in this fortress took part in the discussion. Pouliopoulos brilliantly defended there the Trotskyist position on the USSR. Comrades who have survived those terrible years, and later had occasion to read Trotsky's book, "In Defense of Marxism," were struck by the similarity of Marxist argumentation used by both, each in complete isolation from the other.

**APPEALS TO FIRING SQUAD**  
In 1943 Pouliopoulos, already very ill (he had contracted tuberculosis in prison), left the fortress to enter a hospital in the city of Pireus. Comrades prepared plans for his escape, but they did not materialize. In May of that year great partisans dynamited the great Bralos bridge near the town of Lamia. In reprisal the German and Italian military authorities ordered the shooting of hundreds of hostages among the political prisoners.

Pouliopoulos, probably selected by the Greek police, was among those chosen along with three other Trotskyist leaders: Comrades J. Makris, J. Xypolytos and Costas Yannakos.

He maintained his calm, his dignity, his revolutionary courage to the end, giving by his death an example which inspired the activity of young revolutionary militants. Led before the firing squad composed of Italian soldiers, he addressed to them a fiery speech in Italian, an appeal not to commit the crime of killing class brothers and of thus serving bestial imperialism.

**THE SOLDIERS RESPOND-**

**ED TO THE REVOLUTIONARY APPEAL OF POULIPOULOS AND REFUSED TO FIRE ON THE HUNDRED POLITICAL HOSTAGES.**

A struggle ensued between the soldiers and the officers commanding them. Witnesses of the scene say that Pouliopoulos was finally felled by officers.

These facts are today universally known in Greece. The heroic death of Pouliopoulos is venerated by the whole revolutionary vanguard of the country.

**AUTHOR AND TRANSLATOR**

But Pouliopoulos was not merely a great revolutionary militant, he did not confine his service in the workers' movement merely to political activity. Possessed of a vast general and Marxist culture, speaking fluently several languages—among them German, French, English and Italian—he translated into Greek many of the fundamental works of Marxism: Capital, the Critique of Political Economy, Anti-Duehring, etc.

Several works by L. D. Trotsky were also translated by him. Among them, *Revolution Betrayed*, published only recently by our Greek comrades. Moreover, Pouliopoulos was the author of numerous articles, pamphlets and books dealing with general questions of Marxist theory as well as with current political problems in Greece. Among his writings an important place is occupied by his masterful reply to the opportunist People's Front theses of the Greek Communist Party in 1935, which replaced the revolutionary socialist perspective in Greece with that of a "Popular Democracy."

This work bears the title: *Royalty, Republic, Communism*, and constitutes the theoretical platform which distinguishes our movement in Greece as a revolutionary proletarian movement from the party of the "petty-bourgeois democracy" into which the Greek Communist Party had degenerated under the influence of Stalinism.

**GLORIOUS EXAMPLE**  
In the course of his revolutionary career, Pouliopoulos was arrested, sentenced and imprisoned many times. His whole life is an example of a great revolutionary who placed his whole ardor, his practical activity, all of his intellectual capacities at the service of the emancipating movement of the Greek and international proletariat.

Every June the Fourth International pays homage to the glorious memory of this great fighter of the world socialist revolution.

# French Trotskyists Conduct Energetic Election Campaign

## French Invade Siam In Drive To Win Empire

**By Mike Cort**  
Siam has appealed to the United Nations for assistance in the face of aggression from French imperialism. On May 24 France threw troops into Siamese territory while pursuing 20,000 Annamese guerrilla soldiers who have been fighting

## "Daily Worker" Silent On Plea Of Siam For Help

The Communist (Stalinist) Party is pursuing its usual perfidious policy in response to the plea of Siam for help against the attack of French imperialism. First reports of the attack appeared May 25. For five days the Daily Worker remained silent. Then on May 31 it carried part of a United Press dispatch from Paris quoting the official denial of the French imperialist government that any aggression had taken place!

This lying communique slandered the heroic Annamese fighters for independence as "gangs" of "raiders" and "rebels." The American Stalinists thus support French imperialism against the Indo-Chinese people because they do not wish to embarrass the French Stalinists who hold leading posts in the capitalist government that is trying to re-establish France's despotic prewar colonial rule.

for the independence of Indo-China. Supported by planes, tanks and artillery, French troops invaded Siam and looted the Mekong River village of Noug Kai.

Last March 6 the French signed an agreement with the Indo-Chinese which offered them some limited and unspecified form of

## Annamese Battlers For Freedom



The fate of these heroic warriors against French imperialism is unknown. They were captured at the beginning of the undeclared war upon the people of Indo-China. The French militarists customarily line up guerrilla fighters such as these against a wall and execute them.

self-government while conceding to French occupation and exploitation. The guerrilla fighters of the Viet Nam Republic rejected this pact and took to the hills to prepare last ditch struggles for full independence. It is against these heroic fighters that the French have been continuing their undeclared war for the past three months.

**REIGN OF TERROR**  
Viet Nam headquarters have charged, according to the May 27 Christian Science Monitor, that the French are conducting a reign of terror, massacring and machine-gunning civilians from the air, pillaging and burning defenseless villages.

The territory now in question originally belonged to Siam. It was seized by the French imperialists, but during the war Siam regained it from the Vichy government.

Siamese hospitality to retreating Viet Nam troops is based upon the recognition that the

two colonial peoples have a common stake in the struggle against imperialism. Siamese Prime Minister Pridi Phanomjong, according to the May 28 Christian Science Monitor, declared early this month:

"France today is trying to return to her colonial glory. She is convinced she can do it, and she is certainly trying hard enough. She wants the immediate return of four provinces we got back in 1941. We are still talking about the whole thing in Saigon, through a preparatory peace mission which we sent to Indo-China early in April. Apparently the French prefer bullets to words. They talk louder."

The French capitalists have received a green light from Wall Street in their drive to re-establish their empire. Early this year the U. S. State Department announced that it would refuse to recognize Siamese sovereignty over territory recovered during the war.

## Brazilian Stalinist "Knight Of Hope" Offers Aid To Reactionary Regime

**By Charles Carsten**  
Where is the Stalinist party leading the Brazilian masses?

Luis Carlos Prestes, touted as the "genius" leader of the Brazilian Stalinist party and glorified by the Stalinists as the "Knight of Hope," was released last fall after 10 years of imprisonment by the Getulio Vargas dictatorship. His first political act upon being released was a declaration of support for the reactionary regime that had banned the Communist Party and clubbed the union movement to its knees.

Because of the economic crisis and intolerable conditions in Brazil, workers flocked into the Stalinist party expecting it in view of its connection with the Soviet Union to lead them in the



PRESTES

struggle for socialism. Membership of the party grew from 3,000 in May 1945 to about 120,000 at the present time. But the Stalinists are far stronger than even these figures indicate.

The party's presidential candidate polled 568,000 votes in last December's election. The Stalinists received about ten per cent of the country's vote, becoming Brazil's fourth largest party. Prestes was elected Senator and 14 Stalinist Deputies won posts.

The growing power of the Stalinists is illustrated by the success of a series of rallies held last month. Some 200,000 attended in the Rio de Janeiro, 300,000 in Sao Paulo and 250,000 in Recife. The size and vigor of these meetings indicate the readiness of the masses to establish a workers' government.

But what does the Brazilian "Knight of Hope" expect to do with this tremendous mass following? In an interview with Joseph Newman, correspondent for the N. Y. Herald Tribune, Prestes said he hoped that President Eurico Gaspar Dutra, who follows the same dictatorial policies as his predecessor Vargas, will some day appeal to him for support, as Vargas did.

"Dutra knows, as does Vargas, that the biggest political demonstrations in Brazil have been staged by the Communists," Prestes said. "If Dutra wants the big mass demonstrations and the support which we formerly gave Vargas, he will have to come to the Communist party."

Dutra contemptuously rejected Prestes offer and began chopping

**SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT**  
PARIS, France, May 25—The election campaign of the International Communist Party (PCI), French section of the Fourth International, is now in full swing. The French Trotskyists have plastered the city with posters. Every evening one or two rallies are held in each constituency. So far attendance has not been high, but the discussions have gained a number of recruits for the party.

One of the interesting developments is the changed attitude of rank and file members of the Communist (Stalinist) Party toward Trotskyism. Formerly they repeated the slanders of their leaders. But now, perturbed by the class-collaborationist policy of their party, they are discussing political issues with the Trotskyists. Stalinist functionaries attended one PCI meeting, for instance, and joined in the discussion in an honest manner.

**STALINISTS ALARMED**  
The alarmed leadership of the French Communist (Stalinist) Party is now organizing an all-out drive against PCI candidates. The May 22 semi-fascist rag L'Epoque reports Florimond Boule, Stalinist Political Bureau member, as saying: "Rather ten seats less for the Communists than a single Trotskyist in the Assembly."

In a number of areas, Stalinist mayors have refused the PCI permission to hold election meetings in the schools. This is unprecedented.

Today's Continental edition of the London Daily Mail reports: "Another left clash is threatened over the number of Trotskyist (Fourth International) candidates who have announced their intention of standing in the elections."

"Some Socialists," continues the Daily Mail, "are stated to have shown willingness to give indirect support to Trotskyists, so that they can at least be represented in the Assembly. They would, according to some Socialists, cause considerable embarrassment to the Communists by sitting to the left of them in the Assembly, and, in debate, reveal to what extent the French Communist Party obeys the orders of Stalin."

(Paul Scott Mowrer, European editor of the N. Y. Post, reported from Paris, May 29: "The only new development is the decision of the Trotskyists to enter the lists against the Communists who they claim have betrayed the

Revolution and are now practically a bourgeois party. Anti-Communist politicians are calculating happily that the development may cost the Communists some thousands of votes.")

**EXPOSE COALITION**  
These observations indicate that the PCI election campaign is having important repercussions.



THOREZ

sions. The campaign will help expose the thoroughly reactionary nature of the coalition of the "socialist" leaders with the capitalists and their peculiar love for de Gaulle.

A striking feature of the national election is the cowardly type of campaign the Stalinists have thus far conducted. The capitalist Popular Republican Movement (MRP) has organized a furious assault. But the fear of being placed in power prevents the Stalinists from responding in kind. The consequence of the Stalinist and "socialist" policies is apathy, or rather lack of enthusiasm, among the workers and poor peasants. It is certain that a militant program and campaign waged against the capitalists would place both parties in power with an undisputed majority.

## AMERICAN MILITARISTS DEVISE FRIGHTFUL "GERM" WEAPONS

(Continued from Page 1)

that can fly high enough while doing it to be reasonably safe from ground fire. It is quick and certain death. You would not have to drop a germ on every person in a city. One operation would be sufficient, for the effects would spread rapidly."

**PLAGUE OR POLIO?**  
Another development, this committee member stated, would make it possible for planes to fly over the Dakotas, for example, and destroy the entire wheat crop with a single operation, even the seeds in the ground.

In this country the new germ spray is believed by some to contain the virus of bubonic plague, for there was recent official disclosure that one of the diseases which the imperialist war-makers are planning to use, and which the Navy has been experimenting with, is "centuries old and one of the greatest killers."

The London Daily Express, on the other hand, reported on May 29 that the new weapon was "a powder believed to be the virus that causes infantile paralysis." One-billionth of an ounce of the powder would be sufficient to infect a man, the British paper said, and "complete paralysis of the nervous system would come within a few days." Quoting British scientists in close touch with the U. S. Chemical Warfare Service, the paper reported that the germ powder was first developed at Camp Detrick, Maryland, and is now in mass production in Indiana.

**POISON WATER, FOOD**

The weapon for destroying crops and herds, according to the N. Y. Herald-Tribune of May 31, consists of "virulent strains of plant and animal diseases, and of poisons noxious to plants." This weapon was developed before the end of the recent war, and, says the paper, "would have been used against Japan, in its poison form, if the surrender had not come so soon. A single, small tablet of the poison was considered sufficient to kill all the rice in an average rice field. It was intended to confront the Japanese with the specter of starvation by threatening

to kill their rice crop by dropping these tablets from B-29's."

Another weapon in the same general category, the Herald-Tribune reported, consists of "poisons sufficiently concentrated for anti-personnel use on a massive scale. Presumably they would have been dropped into the water supply of enemy cities." Still another is presumed by the same source to be "the poison normally generated by the germ which causes botulism (food poisoning)."

The capitalist press, with a cold maniacal gleam, describes the wonderful advantages of biological warfare over such weapons as the atomic bomb. Thus a N. Y. Times dispatch from Washington on May 27 declared: "Biological war differs in two important ways from atomic war. Through it, aerial attackers or saboteurs could silently set forces at work which would kill men, women and infants in their homes. Secondly, after a certain period the conqueror could enter the depopulated areas, and find the buildings, factories and resources of the country ready for his use." No ruins, no rubble. Just as neat as that!

On May 30, while the macabre possibilities of these fiendish instrumentalities of wholesale death were being canvassed in the capitalist press, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, in which the American imperialists have the dominant voice, summoned the world to "a war against microbes."

**TORTURE AND DECEIMATION**

The British delegate, Phillip Noel-Baker, a cabinet minister in the Attlee government, pretending, like all the others, a blithe unawareness of the deadly germ warfare which is being prepared for the torture and decimation of mankind, even suggested an amendment to the Bible, proposing an Eleventh Commandment, "Thou shalt not harbor germs."

It is under the cover of such seemingly idealistic prattlings that the imperialist criminals are preparing, not a "war on germs," but a war of germs.

# ITALY BEFORE THE JUNE ELECTIONS

**By Rosa Di Bartolomeo**  
(Special to The Militant)

ROME, Italy—Italian political life today rests on the plane of municipal elections. These elections precede, and in a certain way, prepare for the coming political elections. All the parties—from the "left" to the extreme right—are engaged in a battle whose outcome is still in doubt.

What is already clear is that the bloc—"archia governativa"—will be broken by these first elections, shifting the struggle to an arena in which the battle positions will be held by the Socialist-Communist bloc and the Democratic-Christian.

There have been many oscillations. First came a puff of "wind from the right." Later there was a shift to the left. In the large industrial cities like Milan and Turin, the municipal elections have not yet been held. The parties of the "left" are confident of a clear victory in these overwhelmingly proletarian centers.

On the eve of the political elections which will decide whether the House of Savoy will remain or give way to the democratic republic, one finds the Democratic-Christian Party still wavering on this question. It is characteristic that in the slates for municipal elections this party ran its candidates jointly with suspicious elements, rabid monarchists and adventurers of the neo-fascist movement, Uomo Qualunque.

The liberals, likewise divided

dustrialists now utilizing the Liberal Party, all these and other forces of the bourgeoisie are biding their time.

For their part, the Socialist and Communist parties, embracing the working masses who still do not see clearly nor understand the new and old betrayals, have encouraged and strengthened the bourgeoisie. They have done this by collaborating in the government, by their policy of concessions and trade union compromises, by their slogans of "progressive democracy" and "democratic republic" which they have substituted for the tactics, strategy and the very ideas of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism.

What is evident is that the working class still remains superior to the bourgeoisie in the relationship of forces. Also clear is the fact that, historically, the proletariat finds itself on the plane of the struggle for the conquest of power in Europe and winning national independence and emancipation of the colonial and backward countries.

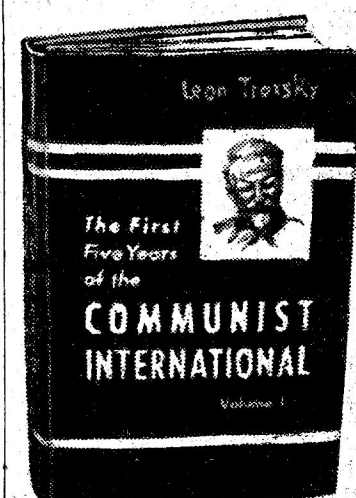
In the given historical situation, the proletariat cannot smash the national bourgeoisie without a revolutionary theory capable of uniting all the victims of capitalism—the workers, the peasants and middle classes. The proletariat cannot crush the bourgeoisie without sweeping away the old parties

of the Second and Third Internationals who continue to betray and deceive the workers.

There can be no middle road in the present economic and political conditions. The alternative is not democracy or fascism, but socialism or capitalism.

The task is to restore revolutionary Marxism in order to build, with the aid of past experience, a party which can act as the real leader of the working class. This party must have a policy capable of welding together all the broken links of the chain; it must have a tactical-strategical plan and revolutionary positions capable of unmasking the reformist and collaborationist policy of the parties of the Second and Third Internationals; it must place clearly before the workers of the whole world and especially of Europe the correct solutions demanded by the exigencies of the movement. All this is necessary because without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement, and without a class party, the victory of the proletarian revolution cannot be guaranteed.

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# THE MILITANT

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Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy.

—Leon Trotsky

## Labor's Answer To Rising Prices

What is the most effective immediate program for combating the consequences of the price inflation being fostered by Big Business to rob the workers of their recent wage gains? That is a question on the mind of every worker, every low-income earner in the United States.

Each action of the Truman administration and Congress on the issue of "price control" adds greater urgency to this question. The very "price control" agency, OPA, is itself approving price increase on price increase.

Less than six months after winning an 18 1/2-cent an hour wage raise, an important section of the CIO United Auto Workers, the Chrysler workers, is clamoring for new wage increases to offset the soaring cost-of-living. And this is but one sign of the rapidly growing movement for renewed struggle for additional wage gains.

The immediate answer which workers tend to give to the problem of price inflation is MORE WAGES. And that answer is in general, correct.

But that does not exhaust the question. It is just the beginning. The problem is how to keep wages abreast of a CONTINUOUSLY MOUNTING cost of living.

The rubber workers of Akron have put forward the best and most realistic answer to this question. As this issue of The Militant reports on Page 1, the large Goodrich Local 5 is strongly advocating the inclusion of a sliding scale of wages clause in all union contracts.

That means a contractual agreement by the employers which provides that whenever the cost of living rises there shall be an immediate corresponding rise in the wages of the workers.

As Air Bag, the organ of Goodrich Local 5, shows, under the system of big monopolies which control the production and distribution of commodities, the capitalists are in position, particularly during periods of scarcity, to arbitrarily raise prices. By that means they reduce the purchasing power, the real wages, of the workers. Price increases become greater profits for the monopoly corporations.

But if the corporations are forced by union action to agree that every rise in the cost of living will automatically require a similar increase in wages, the profiteers will then be far less anxious to resort to the hidden wage cuts of price inflation.

Since 1938, The Militant and the Socialist Workers Party have advanced the program of the sliding scale of wages in anticipation of this very period of inflation we face today. That the Akron rubber workers and other militant sections of the labor movement are now urging this program is one evidence that it provides a real answer to labor's needs in the fight against inflation.

## End The War!

It will soon be a year since V-J Day. Yet Congress has not seen fit to declare an official end to the Second World War. So far as the law is concerned the United States is still engaged in hostilities.

Why does Big Business refuse to give its lawmakers the green light on declaring the war at an end?

First of all, the capitalist class wants to retain wartime conscription as long as possible. Wall Street's military plans call for the largest peacetime armed force in American history. By refusing to declare an end to the war, Congress hopes to jam through legislation that will make imperialist militarism a permanent feature of American life.

Secondly, the capitalist class wants to retain the vicious wartime anti-labor laws as long as possible. Such legislation as the Smith-Connally strikebreaking law was enacted to prevent the workers from bettering wages and working conditions during the war. An official termination of the war would likewise terminate these wartime shackles on labor.

Congress has tossed into the ash-can virtually all wartime controls that might interfere with unprecedented price rises and continuation of the unheard-of profits reaped from the battlefields. But Congress wants to keep

and even tighten the chains on the working class.

These are the principal reasons for the reluctance of Congress to officially end the war. For these very same reasons the organized labor movement should demand an immediate Congressional declaration officially terminating the war.

## Withdraw All Troops!

Since the defeat of Japan, the Japanese working class has demonstrated its great power and its tendency to take the road to socialism. The Japanese workers have fought skyrocketing prices with a series of strikes that have brought them wage gains as high as 300 per cent.

What has made these strikes extraordinarily effective has been utilization of one of the most powerful weapons in the arsenal of labor—workers' control of production. Through their unions or through committees organized on the job, the Japanese workers set up controls on the management that extend from checks on the amount of profit permitted to the stockholders to outright ousting of stubborn, recalcitrant employers.

Establishment of workers' control of production constitutes a long step toward complete socialization of industry. It has appeared in Japan as part of the great world-wide post-war upsurge of the working class.

The capitalists in Japan are now organizing an attack against the Japanese workers. The first phase of this attack is the projected setting up of a Ministry of Labor whose task, as defined in a May 28 dispatch, would be keeping "control of industry" in the "hands of the owners."

The Japanese capitalists are backed by the American Military Government. In fact General MacArthur's principal task is to bolster up the tottering capitalist regime and keep the working class from taking power. MacArthur's policy is clearly indicated by the fact that he has shrouded in secrecy the plans for the projected new anti-labor Ministry. "No word of the Government's proposed action has yet been made public here," declares the May 28 Tokyo dispatch, "since it is obvious that there would be an immediate outcry from the Leftist parties, which have found this 'workers' control' one of their best weapons."

It is thus obvious that Wall Street wants continued occupation of Japan in order to save decrepit Japanese capitalism from overthrow. Were American troops withdrawn, the mighty power of the Japanese working class could quickly sweep from the scene the last remnants of reactionary, semi-feudalistic rule and establish the planned economy of socialism.

The American workers can aid their class brothers in Japan in their struggle against capitalism by demanding the immediate withdrawal of all troops. This demand not only helps the Japanese workers, thus expressing the international solidarity of the working class. It helps at the same time the American soldiers held overseas, who have long been demanding to come back home. Finally, it strikes a blow against Wall Street whose plans of world domination required the suppression of the labor movement both at home and abroad.

## Unbridled Militarism

On May 6 President Truman urged Congress to enact legislation that would permit "standardization of fighting equipment." On May 28 General Eisenhower and Admiral Nimitz appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Committee in support of Truman's proposal. Secretary of State Byrnes followed up the General and the Admiral on May 29.

Behind this concerted campaign of top-ranking Washington officials is one of the most ambitious militaristic plans in all history. It is a plan to convert the entire Western Hemisphere into one huge military camp under the centralized control of Wall Street. "Standardization of fighting equipment" means that all the nations south of the Rio Grande would junk their present arms. To replace this armament, Washington would supply equipment from American factories.

The equipment would include not only small arms, but artillery, warships, planes, bombs, ammunition, etc. Once this scheme went into effect all these Latin American countries would be at the complete mercy of Wall Street, for they would be dependent upon American factories for supplies and replacements. Any country that bucked Wall Street would be extremely vulnerable to reprisals.

This grandiose scheme likewise envisages military training for all the armed forces of Latin America under officers selected by Washington. This would include, naturally, indoctrination by Wall Street's reactionary military caste. The purpose is to build up a gigantic military machine that could be launched at the Soviet Union when the Third World War planned by Wall Street breaks out.

So far Canada has been mentioned by these rabid militarists only in passing. "Anyone who looks at a globe," declared Eisenhower, "can observe that the shortest air route to the United States from Asia or Europe is over the North Pole." Clearly, the "standardization" of Canada's "fighting equipment" is likewise specified on the blueprints of World War III. But the inclusion of Canada would mean extension of the plan to the rest of the British Empire, particularly Australia, New Zealand, and possibly England. As for the other Allied countries, Wall Street has already begun their "standardization" of their arms. Chiang Kai-shek's principal strength for instance, is derived from armaments made in the U. S. A.

Thus Wall Street's military plans for Latin America are seen to be simply one phase of a drive toward world conquest. Beside Wall Street's power-drunk scheme, even the unbridled militarism of Hitler and the Mikado is placed in the shade.



"And of course you'll use the atomic bomb on the strikers, too?"

## Workers' BOOKSHELF

The Militant has just received the first issue of NEUER SPARTAKUS (New Spartacus), the German Trotskyist paper, dated March 1946. The publication of this German paper, after years of totalitarian Nazi rule and war, after dismemberment and Allied occupation, is one more demonstration of the great power and vitality lodged in the Trotskyist parties of the Fourth International throughout the world.

Reprinted below are extracts from the lead article, which states that the policy of New Spartacus is based on the "revolutionary tradition of the German and international working class movement. Our theory is the theory of scientific socialism of Marx and Engels; our models are Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht; our method is the Bolshevik method of Lenin and Trotsky."

"Twelve years ago," continue the editors, "the German labor movement was destroyed by the fascists. For the German workers this defeat meant the loss of all freedom and subjugation by a totalitarian dictatorship, preparing for war. This calamity also weakened the international labor movement and facilitated the organization of the second world slaughter by world capitalism."

### PLACE RESPONSIBILITY

"Long years of experience have strengthened our conviction that the responsibility for the tremendous bloodletting falls upon the proletarian leadership which proved incapable of solving the tremendous tasks presented to it by the crisis of capitalism, specifically—the revolutionary seizure of power. . . . The inability of the proletariat to seize power . . . lies in the fact that the workers had no revolutionary leadership."

"More precisely it lies in the fact that the Comintern has become transformed from a revolutionary leadership into an organizer of defeats. . . . The Comintern and together with it the Communist Party of Germany (CPG) were created under the inspiration of the October revolution. So long as the revolutionary parties of the world followed the example and the methods of the Russian Bolsheviks, this influence could only be favorable."

"However, no second revolution came to the aid of the first workers state. Thus a degeneration set in. The power fell into the hands of the bureaucracy. . . . The Comintern was sacrificed by them. From a fighting organization of the world proletariat, it was turned into a bargaining agent for the Russian state interests. . . . CP REJECTED LENINISM

"Carrying out the bureaucratic commands of the Russian government, the Comintern led the proletariat from one catastrophe to another. After the defeat of the Chinese revolution, came Germany's turn. The CPG refused to use the Leninist method of the united front and therefore prevented the proletarian mass action against the fascists—the only possible road to victory. . . . After the victory of fascism in Germany, Stalin's policy of collaborating with the 'democratic' imperialists forced the Comintern to the position of Social Democracy—to a policy of class collaboration. . . . It resulted in the defeat of the Spanish Civil War and the fiasco of the French strike movement. These were the milestones on

the way to World War II. . . . "With the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Comintern changed camps and supported with equal enthusiasm the imperialist demands of Germany. The entry of Russia into the war changed the Stalinists again into the defenders of bourgeois democracy and its imperialist program. . . . In the process of this most reactionary nationalism, the Comintern was forced to proclaim its dissolution and thereby the betrayal of the world working class. The task of the proletariat thus became to create a new world organization.

"Basing itself on the premise that the crises of capitalism placed the socialist revolution on the order of the day, and that the old organizations by becoming the tools of the imperialists are incapable of solving this task, New Spartacus seeks to revive the class politics of the proletariat. It wants to awaken the class consciousness which the capitalist agents are killing. It wants to prepare the proletariat for the creation of organizations which will serve their own interests and not those of the capitalist class. It calls upon the workers to create and to unite groups which will tackle the task of building a new revolutionary Communist party. This is the spirit of the old Spartakus-Bund.

"New Spartacus fights together with all sections of the Fourth International, with the workers of all lands. The liberation of the proletariat is an international task. To fight against imperialist subjugation we advocate fraternization with the soldiers of the occupation forces, and we fight against every tendency of German nationalism and union with the German bourgeoisie."

## Congressmen At Work

Like courtiers around a Byzantine throne, Wall Street's Congressmen have a tough boss to please. The royal prig of former days demanded lies in perfect verse to commemorate his greatness and cover up his foul deeds. Wall Street demands hand-tooled, gold-stamped arguments to make the dirtiest political hatchet-work look logical, necessary and in the public interest. It's a slimy job, but few Congressmen fail to make the grade.

Representative Gwinn of New York, for instance, who is scarcely known at all, recently gave an excellent performance when Wall Street decided it was time to junk the last price controls standing in the way of unlimited profits. "I want very briefly to give you a little sketch of 4,000 years of uninterrupted failure of OPA," began this smooth-tongued manipulator of sophistry.

Gwinn went right back to the "Laws of Hammurabi, King of Babylon—2285-2242 B. C.—" to demonstrate how you can't "tamper with prices and production." Then he touched on the "Hitite Code—1350 B.C.—which was discovered in Baghaz Kol in Asia Minor" to prove how "even in ancient times rulers met with deep-seated resentment against their attempts to block the activities and trade of their citizens."

Gwinn pointed an oratorical finger likewise at "the Roman Emperor Diocletian, who, in A.D. 301, issued an imperial edict fixing the prices of commodities for the whole Roman Empire." This slick sophist underlined the fact that "the list of commodities which the Emperor asked his Chester Bowles of that day,



took place, and on July 23, 1794, Robespierre, Saint-Just, and Couthon were guillotined as enemies of the people." That ought to sober up anyone who wants prices controlled!

Whipping swiftly through the disastrous experiences of the English kings "like Henry III and George II" with OPA, Gwinn came down the home-stretch. It seems that the American Revolutionary War was going to pot because of price control. But the Founding Fathers managed in the nick of time to discover the secret of the British overlords' strength: And so "The Continental Congress very quickly realized that it had to reverse its policy in order to avert sure economic doom."

Gwinn considered this reversal a stroke of genius—something the present Congress could well emulate: "It is to the undying glory of the men and women of the Revolutionary period that a whole year before Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, all the States had already repealed their price control laws."

As sky-rocketing prices slash the family income, let the workers draw comfort from Representative Gwinn's moral: If Hammurabi and the Hitite kings found it profitable to junk price controls, what do you expect from Wall Street?

"When the leftists of that day, the Jacobins, decided to destroy French culture and French enterprise, they made use of the old tyrannical medium of a violent price control." But the Jacobins had to pay for their price control, according to Gwinn: "The battle became so violent that a counter-revolution

NEW HAVEN "The Strike Wave's Lessons for Labor" SUNDAY, JUNE 9 Rakorta Club, 170 Dixwell 2nd Floor 7:30 p.m.

## PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

The desperately critical housing situation faced by ex-servicemen in New York City is typical of that throughout the country. According to conservative figures released a short time ago by the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Housing, 211,000 housing units will be needed by New York City veterans by the end of December 1946.

Declaring this figure extremely low, the N. Y. City Housing authority stated recently that 264,500 units were needed last December. The number mounts week by week. About 87 per cent of the poorly housed and homeless were veterans.

Where are homes for the veterans coming from? What are government officials doing to rectify the scandalous situation? During his first five months in office, Mayor O'Dwyer's program has been identical with that of the real estate interests. Since private enterprise is interested in a high return on its investment, nothing has been done to provide low cost or low rent housing for veterans.

After reviewing what has been proposed to provide homes for ex-GIs, the conservative N. Y. State Committee on Housing, declared that steps are being taken but those projected will not begin to care for the housing requirements of the veterans. Not only will too few housing units be constructed but the minimum rent of \$82 for three rooms allowed by OPA cannot be paid by more than one in 25 veterans.

In summing up the situation, the Committee on Housing said that "barely any of the housing provided by unaided private operations at current rentals would be available to veterans of the city." Figures on housing "glaringly point up the fact that even if materials begin flowing, the needs of only a negligible fraction of veterans will be met." They emphasize that the approach of the Federal government and of Congress to the solution of the veterans' housing problem "would have little application to and would afford little relief to the veteran in the New York area."

### Tenements and Slums

Mayor O'Dwyer's policy has been to fill up the old slum tenements. He has made no plans for new construction nor has he asked for Federal and State funds for the construction of new housing. He has accepted a few Quonset huts and military barracks for "temporary" housing. That is all he has done in the way of constructing new housing and he has made no provisions to replace these so-called temporary units.

O'Dwyer's administration asked for a law enabling modification of slum dwellings and one or two family houses. Republicans and Democrats in the state legislature obligingly passed a bill granting the request and providing reimbursement to the landlords for the cost of modifying slum buildings. They may deduct the entire cost from their taxes.

Many of the slum tenements, in which New York veterans are forced to live, were condemned as far back as 1901. Now, 45 years later, they are the only "homes" available to thousands of ex-servicemen. This is the "better world" of propaganda fame!

But, Mayor O'Dwyer has finally taken notice of the deplorable housing situation. Seeing that the slums have been filled without any improvements, he announced a "new program" on June 2, in which he said the city would now oppose improving the slum tenements.

O'Dwyer and other city, federal and state officials will take no measures to correct the scandalous housing situation until the veterans raise their voices in a mighty wave of mass protests. Veterans of New York, and other parts of the country, must demand that the government immediately initiate an emergency housing program 1) to provide ample housing within the rental means of the veterans; 2) to convert decent standard structures into housing for veterans and take over the unoccupied mansions; and 3) to replace all slum dwellings with modern apartment houses.

## 3,000 COs Still Held In Concentration Camps

Ten months after the end of hostilities in the second imperialist world war, 3,000 conscientious objectors are still held in prisons and concentration camps throughout the United States. They are subjected to the vilest treatment, forced to perform hard labor for long hours, fed terrible and insufficient food.

So unbearable are their conditions that conscientious objectors are on strike at "work camps" in Glendora, California and Big Flats, New York, while at Sandstone federal prison in Minnesota, five men have resorted to the extreme protest of hunger strikes.

### Refuse Food For 12th Day

At Sandstone, on May 22, five conscientious objectors refused food for the twelfth day, demanding full presidential pardon and protesting the death of Sean McCaughey. (McCaughey, Irish Republican Army leader jailed by British imperialism, died in a Dublin prison on May 10 after a 23-day hunger strike for recognition as a political prisoner.)

Although Warden George W. Humphrey of Sandstone penitentiary sneeringly referred to the men as "publicity seekers," he admitted that they are regarded as heroes by their fellow-prisoners. The five men continue to sit in the cell block dining room while other prisoners eat. Fearful of the repercussions that their death by starvation would bring, Humphrey indicated that he might resort to the torturous device of forced feeding to keep alive these victims of Wall Street's war program.

One of the leaders of the Sandstone strikers, 29-year-old Richard Alan Zumwinkle, is serving a three-year term after refusing to report to a conscientious objectors work camp.

### Atrocities Of U. S. Imperialism

These work camps are in reality concentration camps with a refinement that only "dollar democracy" could concoct: men who elect to go to such camps rather than to prison, must pay out of their own pockets \$35 monthly for "board!" They are compelled to work 51 hours a week without compensation, may be forced to do additional work in their "spare time," and are permitted to leave the camps only with the permission of camp commanders.

The atrocities committed against conscientious objectors, which are driving men to suicide, are part of a calculated program of American imperialism. Wall Street is determined to terrorize and subjugate all who for any reason whatever oppose its plans for war and world domination.

# WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant". Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

## Wholesaler Cheats On Meat Weight

**Editor:**  
A friend of mine recently told me one way that meat wholesalers gyp the consumers. When her uncle visited a wholesaler, two workers were doing what seemed to be the spraying of meat.

The wholesaler brazenly explained that the men were pumping water into the veins of the beef, to prevent it from drying out when it is corned. This is supposed to be perfectly legal, and allowed by the government. The government, however, does not limit the amount of water used. And the wholesaler was free to use as much as he wanted.

Thus his meat weighs more because it's flooded with excess water. The customer pays extra for the water, which incidentally makes the corned beef tasteless.  
R. F.  
Newark, N. J.

## Housewife Describes Shopping Problems Faced By Millions

**Editor:**  
Do most people know what it is to go shopping these days? These are some of my experiences; millions of other housewives go through them daily.

At first when I began buying groceries and other articles, I used to ask for such things as butter, oleo, hose, etc., but I never got any results, always the curt reply, "I'm sorry we don't have any. We can't get it."

After shopping a few times I learned to approach the situation more intelligently, first by purchasing several articles and then asking for the "scarce" items. If the clerk saw you had bought several dollars worth of other things, he reached under the counter and produced the sacred item.

Many times I've had to stand in line being shoved and squeezed, and then when my turn came, was told "all out." Often a few hours later the same stores would have another line up for the same article.

One must really know how to pinch pennies to make the weekly paycheck do from one week until the next. It is almost impossible to put any way for future use, and with the steady increase in prices we will have to do without a lot more in order to pay the necessary bills, and keep the rent paid.  
Ross Riggs  
Detroit, Mich.

## Philadelphia Vets Can't Find Jobs

**Editor:**  
According to the Philadelphia director of the United States Employment Service, over one-third, or 38 per cent of the ex-servicemen who have returned to the city and workers who lost their jobs when defense plants closed on V-J Day, have yet to find new jobs.

Of the 300,000 workers and ex-servicemen thrown on the labor market since V-J Day, 115,000 are still unemployed and have little prospect of being hired on jobs paying more than \$22-\$28. Added to this are 50,000 veterans unemployed but not yet on the labor market. Rather than face the difficult task of finding employment, they are completing and extending their education and training under the GI bill.  
C. Blake  
Philadelphia

## BROTHERS

This moment yearning and thoughtful sitting alone, It seems to me there are other men in other lands yearning and thoughtful, It seems to me I can look over and behold them in Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Or far, far away, in China, or in Russia or Japan, talking other dialects, And it seems to me if I could know these men I should become attached to them as I do to men in my own lands. O, I know we should be brothers and lovers, I know I should be happy with them.

Walt Whitman

## Louisiana Sawmill Workers Picketing In Company Town

**Editor:**  
Down here in this God-forsaken backwoods section of Louisiana, peopled by unlettered farmers who don't even read a weekly newspaper, who have always thought union organizers were red agitators who should be shot at dawn, a strange and wonderful thing has come to pass. Men have been walking a picket line for five weeks in the tiny sawmill town of Long Leaf!

All during the war these men, who have worked at this same sawmill for the past 20 years or more, worked long cruel hours, for 45c an hour! On this 45c they supported families, and Louisiana families are not small. But there's more to the story than that.

Long Leaf is owned lock, stock and barrel by a man named Crowell (he and his partners also practically own at least one more small Louisiana town in the same manner.) He owns the houses in Long Leaf, and the workers at his mill, working for 45c an hour, pay rent to him.

He owns the only store, the commissary, and exorbitant prices are taken from these workers making 45c an hour, to pay still more profit to Mr. Crowell, who built himself an elaborate (workers say it cost a half-million dollars) house, set in a bizarre grandeur in these Louisiana swamps, close by the huts the company built for the workers.

And now that his slaves have dared to ask for a few more pennies of the profits they make for this Crowell, he announces he is going to close the mill and go to Florida.

Sure, Mr. Crowell can go to Florida. Can any of the workers he has starved for years go anywhere to get away from it all—except to the poor house?

## Newspapers Use Children In Attempt To Break Strike

**Editor:**  
The three largest capitalist dailies in Philadelphia—the Evening Bulletin, the Inquirer, and the self-proclaimed "pro-labor" Record, are using thousands of children, most of them no older than eleven and many not more than five, in an attempt to break the strike of the Newspaper Truckdrivers Union, AFL.

Forestalled in their first attempt to break the strike by the refusal of newsstand vendors to handle the struck papers, the millionaire-owned newspapers resorted to the children. Offering the inducement that they would be allowed to sell the 3-cent newspapers for 5 and 10 cents or more, the newspapers soon had the youngsters of many of the poorer working people

coming in droves. Thin, undernourished kids from the Negro and white slum areas who should have been home in bed, at 10 o'clock in the evening line up at the newspaper offices to get their batch of late editions which they sell at street-corners until 1 a.m. or later. Incidentally, not only do the unscrupulous papers use the kids as strikebreakers, but they don't even give them the usual discount for newsdealers, making them pay the retail price.

The police department is cooperating in the "education" of strikebreakers. Ordinarily, the cops take it upon themselves to chase shoeing boys off the streets, especially the colored boys, but now they ignore young children on the streets at late hours. Truancy at schools is also being ignored.

Not all youngsters are willing to be used as scabs. I witnessed several cases when shoe-shine boys taunted by their mates for not peddling papers, retorted that they were not scabs. There have been street fights too over the scabbing. Perhaps not unintentionally, the groundwork for an anti-Negro campaign is being laid by the newspapers, because of the predominance of Negro kids.  
R.O.  
Philadelphia



30,000 turn out in New York's Madison Square Park to hear A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, denounce Truman's strikebreaking role in the two-day rail strike last month. Union leaders of all affiliations spoke at demonstration called by New York state and city CIO councils.

## Workers Condemn Truman's Assault On Railroad Strikers

**Editor:**  
Bitter resentment seethes throughout the labor movement at Truman's intervention on the side of the rail barons. In his radio speech he said "I am a friend of labor," but it was obvious that his attacks were directed at the labor movement. Not once in the entire speech did he condemn the rail owners. The attempt to incite a rank and file revolt against its leadership was met with a barrage of telegrams from practically every local in the country supporting the stand of the union leaders and expressing determination to hold out until their demands were won.

The most miserable aspect of the situation was the ratty attitude of the labor fakers who misrepresented the 18 other rail unions, and accepted Truman's 18 1/2 cents an hour. They acted in complete disregard of the membership, whose bitterness at the recent wage award of the arbitration board, showed their willingness to fight.

Truman utilized the division in the leadership of the rail unions by heaping praise upon the first to yield—those spineless, servile, slimy bureaucrats who stretch the nostrils of every decent worker.

Political lessons of great significance are to be learned from the struggle of the rail workers. All workers will constantly be faced with political intervention on the side of the bosses as long as capitalist "friends of labor" are elected. Organized labor must break away from the "friend of labor" myth by forming its own political party, an independent labor party.  
John Russo  
Reading, Pa.

## Akron Rail Worker Tells His Story

**Editor:**  
My neighbor, a member of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, had this to say about the strike:  
"The people don't know our side of the story. When I tell people that we don't get overtime, that we sometimes have to work 56 hours, 7 days, and only get straight time, they're surprised. Those communists just write what those Big Money bankers sitting in New York tell them to write. H. V. Kaltenborn, he's against labor, and Drew Pearson took a crack at us today."  
"We're going to stay out until we win—and we're going to win. During the war we were 'patriotic' and worked for nothing. Those Big Money bankers made profits on every improvement. They made money out of automatic coupling, they made money out of air brakes."  
"In the rubber shops if the men want a raise they just walk out. Out in Goodyear in 1936 they were out 3 months in the freezing cold. It took us two years to get to where we are



now (because of the Railway Labor Act), and if we go back without anything it'll take us two more years to get up to this again. We're staying out."  
M. Carter  
Akron, O.

## Cleveland Workers Supported Rail Strike

**Editor:**  
As a local union officer (United Auto Workers-CIO) I walked into the strike headquarters of the Engineers and Trainmen Thursday evening, May 23, offering our support and solidarity. Our offer was warmly received and appreciated.  
Our community (Collinswood) has the large New York Central car shops, freight yards and roundhouse. It is heavily populated with railroaders.  
The strike was supported by all crafts in the yards, most of them walking out with the engineers and trainmen. The morale was high. Everywhere one heard expressions of support for the strikers. AFL and CIO and MESA unions in the neighborhood sent or came in offering messages of solidarity.  
On Saturday, expecting something to break in the strike, I again visited the strike headquarters. Again I was warmly received. In marked contrast, a reporter from the Cleveland Plain Dealer who tried to come in a few minutes later, got the bum's rush in a hurry.  
For several hours I discussed various aspects of the strike with the men. All were surprised at the support they were getting from all quarters. Some old timers who had participated in previous strikes commented upon the advances that the workers have made in their social thinking.  
To President Truman must go the credit for exposing the role of the government as a partner of Big Business against the workers. The railroaders are certainly aware of this tie-up.  
As we sat in the hall listening to Truman addressing Congress, the solidarity of the workers was a sight to behold. There was not a break in the hall as the unofficial report came over the radio that the strike was over. "Not until we get word from our leaders," was the men's answer.  
Among the strikers I have spoken to, there is no feeling of defeat. Rather it is a feeling that they must organize themselves better and on a higher plane so that it will enable them to take on not only the boss but also his stooges, Uncle Sam.  
Ted Black  
Cleveland, O.

## Youth Group Activities

**NEW YORK**—For information on the Trotskyist Youth Group send name and address to 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.  
Open Forum: Every Friday, 8 p.m., at 116 University Place, Dancing and refreshments follow.  
Brooklyn: Class on "Struggle for Negro Equality." Instructor: Harry Robinson. Every Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. at Brooklyn headquarters. SWP, 635 Fulton Street. Dancing, refreshments.  
PHILADELPHIA—Youth Forums held every Saturday, 8 p.m. 1303-05 W. Girard, 2nd floor.  
LOS ANGELES—Socialist Youth Club meets every Friday, 8 p.m., at SWP headquarters, 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Educationalists by Youth, and SWP speakers.  
Subscribe to "Young Militant," published semi-monthly, for truth of youth's struggles.  
Watch this column for further announcements of youth activities.

## Pioneer Notes

Another letter from Alma Seton of the Socialist Workers Party branch in Philadelphia gives a good indication as to why Philadelphia remains at the top in the sale of Pioneer literature. She writes:  
"I was completely taken aback when I discovered how low our literature supplies are! They seem to melt away! Our brand new Negro comrade, George Grant, is unemployed and he spends a good bit of his time selling pamphlets. Also, he goes out on every distribution and mobilization. On top of all this he is a crackerjack salesman."  
"I haven't analyzed his score yet, to see if he beats our champion, Comrade Theresa Stone, but he probably comes pretty near it. He is certainly a valuable addition to the Philadelphia branch. When I figure out just how much he has sold so far, I'll send you a report. It ought to be very interesting."  
We have another letter from Philadelphia from Beatrice Hart enclosing two large orders from Wanamakers and Brentano's book stores for The First Five Years of the Communist International and The Revolution Betrayed. She asks for information on the sale of the two books by Socialist Workers Party branches in other cities. So far the branches have received orders from bookstores in Minneapolis, St. Paul, Buffalo, Boston, San Francisco and Philadelphia. In addition we have received scores of direct orders from large bookstores all over the country. Many of these stores, handling Pioneer literature for the first time, have already sent in repeat orders for the two new books, and also for other Trotsky books and pamphlets.

## OUR PROGRAM:

1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!  
A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!  
A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!  
Government operation of all idle and government-built plants under workers' control!  
Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!
2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!  
No restriction on the right to strike!
3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!
4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!  
Down with Jim Crow!
5. Build an independent labor party!
6. Tax the rich, not the poor!  
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!  
Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!  
Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!
8. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!  
For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!  
Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!
9. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!



The past year has seen a great many improvements in The Militant. New columns and special features have been added, the Workers Forum has been enlarged, and the cartoons by Laura Gray are eagerly looked forward to each week. In addition, there has been a greater coverage of national and international events illustrated by many fine pictures.

Many of these improvements were the direct result of our First Militant Institute held last year. In a couple of weeks, the Second Annual Militant Institute will be held at which time a discussion of the past year's accomplishments will be held and many new suggestions and ideas will undoubtedly be recommended to further improve The Militant.

We want to urge our many readers to send us their ideas and plans for improving The Militant. These suggestions will be very carefully discussed, so don't hesitate, but send your ideas in to us.

Fred Martin, Milwaukee Militant Director writes: "We have begun our renewal work, and will continue until we complete all the expirations on the tape your office sent. One comrade met a reader who is the treasurer of a UAW local. This subscriber gives his copy of The Militant to the union president and other officers, and tells them bluntly: 'Read it! It's a real workers' paper.'"

"We have begun distributions of The Militant at this plant and expect some valuable results."  
Pearl Spangler of Connecticut sent this interesting item: "We have been placing The Militant on many newsstands in the Connecticut area. One of the newsstands is located in a neighborhood patronized mainly by Negro workers."  
"When I called again the following week, I noticed that the store owner had cut out Charles Jackson's 'The Negro Struggle' column and pasted it on his store window where everyone going by could read it!"

An enthusiastic reader of Millburn, N. J. sent us the following letter: "For the past eight months I have had the privilege of reading The Militant weekly. The paper is a fine tribute to the Socialist Workers Party, and its increased circulation will undoubtedly result in arousing the workers to take their rightful place in society."  
"The articles which I have enjoyed most are those by T. Kovalsky. Not only does he have a thorough understanding of human emotions, but the artistry to create poetic word pictures to describe and define them. His articles besides being esthetic, are politically significant and inspiring and convey a powerful message."  
"The new series by V. Grey is also proving to be most instructive."  
One of our readers across the border writes: "We have been getting The Militant regularly each week, and as soon as we're finished reading it, we circulate it among our friends. I certainly would not like to be without it."  
"The Militant is sure an excellent workers' paper and a wonderful source of good information all the time."

## Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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I would like:  
 To join the Socialist Workers Party.  
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## Books And Pamphlets On Socialism And The Labor Movement

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**The Militant**  
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# 'Militant' Fund Drive Reaches 88% Of Goal With \$13,192 Collected In First 11 Weeks

By Justine Lang  
Campaign Director

As we write this, only sixteen days left before the June 15 deadline!

The response to date to our Militant Sustaining Fund Drive from branches of the Socialist Workers Party, our readers and friends has been most gratifying. Since the start of the campaign, eleven weeks ago, the wholehearted support we have received has resulted in our obtaining \$13,191.97.

For our readers who like their statistics in percentages, this sum represents the completion of 88 per cent of our \$15,000 goal. And, in addition, we are still ahead of our schedule by 10 per cent.

However, the period ahead is most important. Approximately 50 per cent of our branches have already achieved their quotas, thus enabling us to reach the present high percentage. Now the responsibility for bringing our Militant Fund Drive to a successful conclusion lies with the other sections which have yet to meet their respective goals.

Those branches below 80 per cent must exert every effort in the next few days to meet their quotas. To meet their goals by June 15, we urge that all outstanding pledges be paid up, wind-up socials planned to raise the branches balance, collection lists utilized to the fullest extent possible, and friends visited for aid.

We want to specifically urge Detroit, the Los Angeles Youth, Akron, Seattle, and Bayonne to bend every effort in this direction in order to insure having their cities listed in our 100 per cent category in our final score-board.

### STILL TOP LIST

It's a bit early to be conclusive, but it appears that the New York Youth will lead our sections nationally in the final accounting. They appear to be unchallenged for the highest percentage.

We want to commend the Flint Branch of the Socialist Workers Party especially this week. Flint has consistently climbed up the scoreboard. From fifteenth place last week, it has leaped to third place, joining our category of "100 per centers."

Three other branches on the fringe of the 100 per cent group for a number of weeks overcame that final hurdle and are also to be congratulated for making the final spurt. Buffalo-Lackawanna, Newark and New York are most welcome additions to our "100 per centers."

The New York branches also warrant special commendation for their fine achievement in this Militant Fund Drive. With the highest quota to meet, the New York branches have kept up an excellent pace in this drive, and we're proud to list them as one of the 100 per cent sections.

Our mailing contains some interesting items this week which we pass on to our readers:

T. Dreito, Militant Fund Director of Buffalo-Lackawanna, writes: "Here is the last payment of \$44 to the Militant Fund Drive. This makes an even \$500." Charles Reading, Toledo Militant Fund Director writes: "Enclosed find our check for \$49.85 to be applied on our account. Most of this comes from our last social."

"We still plan a rummage sale and personal contacting of close friends and sympathizers. We got a late start, but of course there's no thought of our not making our quota."

From Milwaukee, H. Burns writes: "Am enclosing another payment on our pledge. \$5 of this amount represents payment of one of our comrade's pledge. In addition \$1.50 is the sum collected on a Militant Collection List by a comrade in the UAW-CIO shop where he works. You'll be interested to know that he has a score of Militant subscribers in his shop, and he intends to see them about supporting the Militant Fund Drive financially."

Joy Connors of Chicago sent this brief note: "Here's another check, this one for \$110. You'll be interested in knowing that \$45 of this sum came from sympathizers."

Duncan Conway, New York Militant Fund Director, writes: "The highly successful social put on recently by the Central Branch raised approximately \$160, and was to a large extent responsible for our going over the top so soon. The Harlem branch which has led the other four branches all through the campaign, was the first branch to reach 100 per cent."

Remember, only 16 more days to go! Let's redouble our efforts for a bang-up finish!

## New York SWP Announces Gala 'Militant' Ball

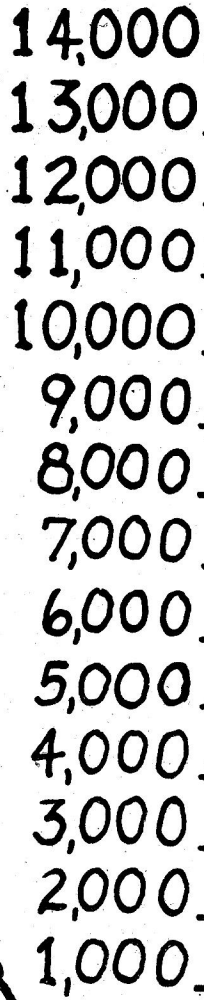
NEW YORK—On June 15, 1946, the Socialist Workers Party of New York is presenting its First Annual Militant Ball at the Hotel Diplomat. Preparations are in full swing to make this a memorable occasion for all Militant readers and their friends, Karl Taylor and his Rhythm Band, well-known in Harlem for 20 years, will lead the festivities from 9 p.m. till 2 a.m.

In addition, a program of outstanding entertainment will be presented starting at 11 p.m. Alvin Royce, ex-GI, who has MC'd before GI audiences everywhere from the Rhine River to the Gowanus Canal, will be Master of Ceremonies. He will present skits and impersonations and introduce entertainers of New York stage, vaudeville and night clubs.

**New York ANNUAL MILITANT BALL**  
Dancing From 9:00 p.m. to 2 a.m.  
to the music of  
**KARL TAYLOR and his RHYTHM BAND**  
Also  
Entertainers From Stage And Night Clubs  
A. BOYCE, ex-GI, Master of Ceremonies  
**SATURDAY, JUNE 15**  
In The Spacious, Air-Cooled  
Royal Palm Room of the Hotel Diplomat  
108 W. 43rd St. New York  
Tickets at all branch offices and City Office of Socialist Workers Party in New York.

# \$15,000

## Ring the Bell!



May 30 — \$13,191

## SCOREBOARD

CITY	QUOTA	PAID	PER CENT	
NEW YORK YOUTH	50	121.52	242	
CINCINNATI	25	30.00	120	
FLINT	100	107.00	107	
PORTLAND	25	27.00	104	
ROCHESTER	50	50.00	100	
BALTIMORE	25	25.00	100	
READING	100	100.00	100	
BOSTON	400	400.00	100	
YOUNGSTOWN	400	401.00	100	
CONNECTICUT	100	100.00	100	
ST. PAUL	250	250.00	100	
ST. LOUIS	50	50.50	100	
BUFFALO-LACKAWANNA	500	500.00	100	
NEWARK	300	300.40	100	
NEW YORK	3500	3500.00	100	
Milwaukee	100	92.55	93	
Minneapolis	500	466.00	93	
San Francisco	1000	926.00	93	
Philadelphia	500	438.65	88	
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	65.00	87	
Pittsburgh	100	85.00	85	
San Diego	100	85.00	85	
Cleveland	250	203.00	81	
Philadelphia Youth	25	20.55	80	
Los Angeles	2000	1585.50	79	
Chicago	1500	1156.10	78	
Toledo	200	146.66	73	
Detroit	1250	799.16	64	
Los Angeles Youth	75	37.09	49	
Akron	300	143.25	48	
Seattle	500	231.50	46	
Bayonne	75	34.50	45	
General	575	714.04	124	
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$15,000</b>	<b>\$13,191.97</b>	<b>88</b>

## ANTOINETTE KONIKOW URGES AID TO EUROPEAN WORKERS

The following letter, written by Antoinette F. Konikow, an old and devoted member of the Trotskyist movement since its inception, appeals to friends and readers of "The Militant" to send food, clothing and funds to the American Committee for European Workers Relief, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Comrades and Friends:

After participating fifty-eight years in the revolutionary movement, and having reached my seventy-seventh year, I am physically not able to do active work in our organization.

This realization of my disability, however, does not depress me, for I know that we now have an enthusiastic fighting group which has the inspiration to continue the energetic struggle started by us older comrades; a young group with more knowledge, more assurance, historically nearer the goal than their predecessors.

To these young comrades and friends, I appeal now to concentrate their well-proved energy, their splendid abilities on the important burdensome job of relieving the physical sufferings of our co-workers in Europe and other countries.

I turn to you, my young comrades and friends, to take upon yourselves the obligations which old and ill comrades like myself are not in condition to fulfill.

We have the picture of the comrades in other countries suffering from malnutrition, cold, exhaustion, mercilessly persecuted by political enemies. Still, they have not given up the struggle. They have lifted our banner high to carry on the work under most unbelievable hardships.

Our response to their heroic strength and self-sacrifice must be — HELP!

Food and clothing to our heroic brothers and sisters in other countries is our immediate and most responsible task!

## 'Militant' Readers Donate Food, Clothing For Relief

Generously responding to the appeal of the newly-formed American Committee for European Workers Relief, readers of The Militant, comrades and friends of the Socialist Workers Party in the past few weeks have sent many packages of food, clothing and other items to the Committee for shipment abroad to destitute working class families.

The packages are designed for the courageous fighters for the working class who have suffered terrible hardships, hunger and sickness during the Nazi occupation and subsequently in the devastation caused by the Allied armies.

The clothing sent by the SWP branches, which are now in process of organizing local committees throughout the country, includes both winter and summer items, stated Rose Karnser, Executive Secretary of the Committee. Moreover, the clothing was received in excellent shape, cleaned and mended. "This is very important," she pointed out, "for these impoverished families have neither the means nor the money to clean garments over there. Soap is almost unobtainable, as well as cleaning fluids."

Many of the local committees are setting up special departments for the cleaning and mending of clothes which are collected. In New York, Marvel Scholl has organized a group of women to do this necessary work. A number of branches have already held socials and affairs to raise funds for the Committee, and others, among them Philadelphia and San Francisco, are planning such affairs in the near future.

The Committee is making special efforts to respond to a desperate appeal concerning working class families in Austria. Rose Karnser said, "We received word that the situation there is so serious that not only are our friends menaced with starvation, but their lives are now in grave danger. Quick action is needed." She stated that the interna-



ANTOINETTE KONIKOW

tional parcel post service is closed for transmission of packages of relief to Austria. However, the Committee is preparing to send food parcels through a commercial agency which is permitted to ship such packages. "The food parcels which are permitted through this agency cost \$7.50 to \$10.25 for each parcel," she pointed out. "This is why we need funds, as well as food and clothing."

Readers of The Militant are urged to send food, clothing and funds to the American Committee for European Workers Relief, 116 University Place, New York 3, New York.

## IMPRESSIONS OF THEODORE KOVALESKY AT MID-WEST VACATION CAMP AND SCHOOL

The Mid-West Vacation Camp and School at Grass Lakes, Michigan, opens for its third season on June 30. Conveniently located on Little Pleasant Lake near Jackson, Michigan, 60 miles from Detroit, the camp has become a favorite vacation spot for Militant readers and their friends. We reprint below an impression of the camp written by the author of the column, "Diary of a Steelworker."

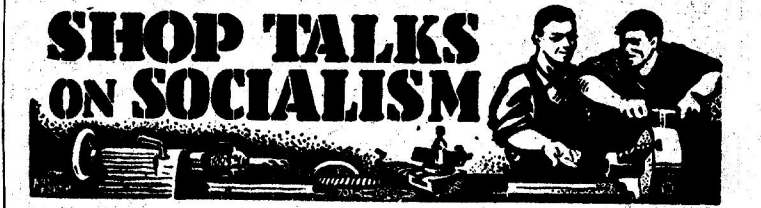
By Theodore Kovalesky

You noticed many things when you reached the camp. You saw the beautiful little lake framed by soft trees and low hills; you saw the sleeping quarters and the dining and recreation hall.

Oh, yes, there were many things that you noticed. You were struck particularly by the clear-eyed comrades, who sat eagerly listening to the one-hour lectures . . . out there far from the time-studied turmoil of the shops and the scathing blasts of the furnaces. It was inspiring to see these workers, young

and old, Negro and white, men and women, joining in the discussions of Marxist economics, history, and politics, of trade union policies and organizational questions, straining to learn the maximum in the short time allotted.

and after the classes you saw little groups, not exclusive groups, but expanding knots of people who continued to discuss and clarify and exchange opinions . . . There was fun, so much of it, that it alone made the vacation a memorable event. But there was an underlying, ever-present seriousness, an all-pervading knowledge of the historical tasks of the party and the necessity to prepare for them in every possible way, that arrested your attention and made you proud to be one of these working class fighters.



Labor and Labor Power  
By V. Grey

"In order to be able to extract value from the consumption of a commodity, our friend Moneybags, must be so lucky as to find in the market, a commodity, whose use-value possesses the peculiar property of being a source of value, whose actual consumption, therefore, is itself an embodiment of labor, and consequently a creation of value. The possessor of money does find on the market such a special commodity in . . . labor power."

KARL MARX

As we have shown, commodities exchange in accordance with their value. The capitalist buys and sells everything at its value. How is it then that he pays less for the new values created by the labor he employs?

Just what does the capitalist buy when he pays the worker his wages? He would probably say that he buys "labor." That he pays the market value for it too, by God! His millions of dollars in profit — that is, his steel products, autos, soap, or frigidares over and above his investment, he regards not as the product of labor, but as the product of his brain. Or if he hired someone else's brain, he looks upon the new product as the legitimate offspring of his own capital. At any rate the law says the profit is his, and that is enough for him!

As a matter of fact the capitalist does not buy your labor at all. He buys LABOR POWER. And that is what he pays the market value for. Labor itself has no value at all. It is the measure of all values. But like breathing, it is only an activity of man (rather harder than breathing, to be sure.) Labor doesn't have value any more than running has size.

Long before exchange or exchange value ever existed there was labor. Labor was "an eternal nature—imposed necessity" on man in order to live. It was his relationship to the earth—a purposeful activity. He couldn't exchange this activity either then or now. Today he may perform this activity for another. But exchange is the trading of two things both of which are products of this activity, labor.

Walking, for example, is such an activity. Walking itself hasn't any exchange value. But a number of hours walking behind a plow adds so much value to the potatoes which will be harvested in the fall. Later a faster, riding plow is invented. Walking behind plows becomes less and less socially necessary labor. But both before and after the invention of the riding plow, walking itself has no value.

"But I sell my labor for so much an hour, don't I? It must be worth something!" the worker says. No, you give your labor to the earth, as men have always done. You incorporate your labor in your product. What you sell the capitalist is not walking—but your ability to walk. If he can make you run instead of walk, so much the better for him, and worse for you.

### You Sell Yourself

What you sell is your nerves, muscles, flesh, blood, bone and brain for so much an hour. Add up all the hours you sell it for throughout your life, and you will see that what you sell is yourself. You sell yourself piece-meal to the capitalist, little by little, hour by hour throughout your life. The capitalist does not buy you all at once like a chattel slave. He does not want to feed you and your children during depressions when you don't work for him.

The self that you sell piece by piece can well be called your labor power. It is this labor power that is bought and sold under capitalism. It is the worker's strength, his intelligence, the skill of his hand, the sharpness of his eye, that passes under the auction block like tobacco and slaves. Labor and labor power do not at first sound like such very different things. But you have to remember that "labor power" is the worker himself. Labor is the worker's action. Or putting it another way: labor power is a commodity whose use is labor.

The capitalist buys so much labor power and pays so many dollars for so many hours of its use. How he uses it is his business. The more usefulness he can extract from it, the richer he gets.

You could buy an apple for a nickel, for instance. The seller would get the exchange value for it. You would get its use value by eating it.

If you are a laborer and sell your apple (your labor power) to the boss, you get your nickel. And the boss eats the apple, which in this case happens to be you — because you and your commodity (labor power) happen to be one and the same. At any rate the method the boss has of realizing your use value is by putting you to work. Your commodity, labor power, has the wonderful aspect for the capitalist, that in using it, he can obtain values beyond what he paid for it. And lo and behold, when the day is finished you are eaten up, the capitalist is fatter, while your wages — the price of your labor power — barely replenishes you and your family.

Next Week: The Value of Labor Power.

## I Want To Help!

To The Militant:  
116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

I like The Militant because it tells the truth. I know that it depends entirely upon workers like myself for support. That is why I want to do my part in contributing to The Militant's \$15,000 Fund Campaign.

- I enclose \$ . . . . . toward your work.
- I want a contribution-list to circulate among my friends and fellow-workers, so they can help The Militant.

Name  (Please Print)  
Street  Apt.   
City   
Postal Zone No.  State

## Newark SWP Files Petitions For Elections

NEWARK, N. J., May 29. — The Socialist Workers Party today filed a total of 3,134 signatures to place its four candidates on the ballot for the November elections. Under terms of New Jersey election law, such petitions must be filed by May 31 and must contain a minimum of 800 each for Senator and Governor, and 100 for each Congressional candidate.

The SWP filed petitions with 1,235 signatures for its U. S. Senatorial candidate, George Breitman; 1,225 for Alan Kohlman for Governor; 465 for William E. Bohannon for Congress, 11th District; and 209 for Ariene Phillips for Congress, 13th District.

## Westinghouse Local Backs Miners' Fight

PHILADELPHIA, May 18. — In their first meeting since the recent conclusion of their 110-day strike against the Westinghouse Corporation, the members of CIO United Electrical Workers Local 107 here today adopted with but one dissenting vote a resolution calling for support of the striking coal miners and condemning CIO President Philip Murray's attack on John L. Lewis, leader of 400,000 striking miners, "in the middle of their battle."

One after another, workers took the floor to call for support to the miners and to criticize Murray's failure to back the miners. They stated that Murray did not represent the sentiments of the CIO ranks. The only opposition to the resolution came from one misguided Stalinist.

**Pittsburgh Readers! Militant Reading Room**  
Will move June 1 to  
141 S. Highland, Rm. 21  
(Corner Highland & Centre)  
Phone: EM 4899

Mail This Blank For Your Reservation At  
**Mid-West Vacation Camp And School**  
Season June 30-Aug. 17 Adults \$25 week, Children \$15  
**OSCAR COOVER, Manager**  
116 University Place  
Reserve accommodations for below from . . . . . to . . . . .  
Family  Couple  Single  (check one)  
List all who will attend:  
Name  (Mr., Mrs., Miss)  
List Children and Age   
Name of Applicant  (Please sign)  
Address   
City & Zone  State

# Kremlin Prosecutors At Nuremberg Come To Court With Unclean Hands

By Joseph Hansen  
(Third of a series of articles)

Among the shocking atrocities charged against the Nazi prisoners at Nuremberg is the leveling of Lidice. This tiny Czechoslovakian village, claimed the Nazis, "gave shelter and assisted" the underground fighters who had assassinated Reinhard Heydrich, one of Hitler's brutal lieutenants. In retaliation, the Nazis murdered all the men, sentenced the women to the unspeakable horrors of the concentration camps, and then razed the town.

The Nuremberg prosecutors and judges, however, do not come to the trial with clean hands. Stalin's lieutenants, for instance, are guilty of countless bloody crimes against the Russian people. One crime in particular resembles the Nazi atrocity at Lidice, differing only in its far greater ramifications and number of victims. That crime was Stalin's retaliation for the assassination of Kirov.

Before December 1, 1934, Kirov had gained notoriety in the Soviet Union as one of the bureaucrats lifted overnight from obscurity to high office by the dictator in the Kremlin. Kirov's territory was the Leningrad area, just as Heydrich's territory at a later date included Lidice. But outside the Soviet Union he was completely unknown.

**KIROV KILLED**  
On December 1, 1934, somewhere in the Communist Party headquarters in Leningrad, a young Communist named Nikolayev levelled a gun on Kirov and killed him. The name of the unknown bureaucrat leaped into world prominence.

The circumstances surrounding this terrorist act remain obscured in the heavy murk of Stalinist censorship. A persistent rumor claims that Stalin himself rushed to Leningrad to direct the questioning of the unfortunate youth as he writhed day after day under frightful torture.

Moscow's first official proclamation laid the blame for the assassination on "White Guards"—followers of the former Czarist regime—who were alleged to have eluded the border patrols and entered the USSR from Poland, Rumania and other border states. During the next two weeks the Moscow press revealed that 104 such "White Guards" had been summarily executed. The real identity of these victims has been kept a top secret by the Kremlin bureaucracy to this day. Their part in the assassination—if any—was never explained. They were never given a trial nor permitted to defend themselves. It is only known that they had been placed under arrest some time before, were in prison at the time of the assassination of Kirov, and were dragged from their cells to face the firing squads.

**SECRET TRIAL**  
On December 28-29, 1934, the trial of Nikolayev and 13 other unknown youths accused with him, was held in air-tight secrecy. The press was barred from the trial. A diary kept by Nikolayev for two years was destroyed or filed away in Stalin's secret archives. The letter found on Nikolayev by the GPU, setting down the motives of his act, was likewise kept from the public.

According to one report, which the Kremlin never attempted to refute, "Almost all the accused denied the crimes with which they were charged; denied, too, the evidence attributed to them, and spoke of the pressure brought to bear upon them during the investigation." Nevertheless all of them were shot within an hour after the close of the "trial".

The real causes of Nikolayev's act remained a somber mystery. One hypothesis held that Kirov had seduced Nikolayev's beautiful young wife. A more plausible explanation pointed to terrorists' moods growing among the Soviet youth because of the stifling totalitarian atmosphere.

The exact identity of Nikolayev was never made clear. Was he part of Kirov's body guard? Even the details of the shooting were kept hidden. Small wonder suspicion grew that Nikolayev was a pawn in some perfidious GPU plot. What was Stalin trying to hide? Did Stalin himself set in motion the mechanism that ended in Kirov's death?

**FRAME-UP 'CONFESSION'**  
Among the extracts of the indictment released by Moscow on December 28, 1934, it was alleged Nikolayev had "confessed" he was paid 5,000 rubles by an unnamed consul for "expenses". Nikolayev was alleged to have added: "He told me that he can establish contact with Trotsky, if I give him a letter to Trotsky from the group."

was not "sufficient basis for turning over to the court" the seven leading members. But less prominent members, under threat of death, denounced Zinoviev, Kameney and others for "counter-revolutionary activity." By that they meant, criticism, dissatisfaction, grumbling over Stalin's policies.

In the light of this denunciation, Zinoviev, Kameney and the others made an utterly fantastic "confession" of "moral" responsibility for the terrorist act. "At this price," declared Trotsky, "Zinoviev and Kameney (temporarily) bought themselves off from the charge of direct participation in the assassination of Kirov."

**THOUSANDS ARRESTED**  
On January 18, 1935, these men, former comrades of Lenin, were sentenced together with many of their friends to terms ranging from five to ten years imprisonment. Between 2,000 and 3,000 of their former followers throughout the Soviet Union were arrested and hundreds sent to concentration camps or deported.

On top of this, hundreds of genuine Trotskyists who had suffered since 1928 in Stalin's foul prisons, were again sentenced without trial to five year terms.

But monstrous as were these crimes of Stalin. They were only the beginning. Kirov's death proved the pretext for the most frightful purges in all history.

Victor Serge, a revolutionary who escaped from the Soviet Union, gives an account of how after the Kirov assassination "thirty, fifty, perhaps a hundred thousand" persons were deported from Leningrad: "Citizens who are not the object of a single charge are sent to the concentration camps by the thousands. The decrees of the GPU simply say: '... is considered socially dangerous and is interned for three (or five) years'..." As a rule, they are not former servants of the old regime, but engineers, scholars, artists, functionaries, workers, in a word, collaborators of the new regime. Whole families leave, with the sick, the invalids, the pregnant women, the dying. The dying die on the railroads, the pregnant women give birth in the stations."

**NEVER PRODUCED**  
These alleged letters, naturally, were never produced. They couldn't be, for they were never written. Bisseneck was recalled to Latvia and disappeared without a trace. Trotsky labelled him "an obvious agent of the GPU."

All these contradictory versions of the moving force behind the assassination together with the growing mound of corpses only served to cast a more glaring light on the sinister role of Stalin in Kirov's death. But this did not deter the Kremlin monster from advancing still another version and standing more victims against the wall. Like the assassinated Heydrich, Kirov's blood demanded vengeance!

Stalin ordered the arrest of the leaders of the former Zinoviev faction. On December 22, 1934, Tass agency admitted there

## Trotsky's New Book Reveals Stalin As A Traitor To Bolshevism

(This is fourth in a series of articles in connection with the publication of Leon Trotsky's biography of Stalin.)

By John G. Wright

In writing this book it was Trotsky's intention from the very outset to place the stress on the early or "preparatory period" of Stalin's life. As the author explains in his introduction, the facts of Stalin's more recent political activities "are known to every literate person." For this reason, despite the fact that the latter portion remained uncompleted, the essential part of the biography as Trotsky conceived it is nevertheless available to the reader.

At every phase Trotsky analyzes the powerful forces that shaped Stalin's personality preparing the future dictator. First, he describes Stalin's childhood and adolescence; then his school years and stay at the theological seminary. Next, Stalin's entry into the revolutionary move-

ment, his role in the upsurge of the first revolution (1905) and the ensuing period of reaction (1907-12). Trotsky outlines the resurgence of the Russian mass movement (1912-14) which was out across by the First World War and the temporary ascendancy of reaction that swept Stalin, together with hundreds of others of his generation, into Czarist Siberian exile, from which the February 1917 revolution was to set them all free. All this and much more Trotsky succeeded in fully completing.

**TREASURE OF INFORMATION**  
Thus despite its restricted scope this book is a veritable treasure trove of information about the three revolutions in Russia (1905, February 1917, October 1917), the ensuing Civil War; about the building of the Red Army and of the creation of a new state power; about the generations that accomplished this mighty labor and the younger generations on whose shoulders Stalin later rode into power.

Trotsky delineates how obscure Stalin's role really was in the greatest revolutionary events of our era. At the same time, the book gives intimate glimpses of the leading personalities who really comprised the general staff of Bolshevism, headed by Lenin and Trotsky. Its pages provide a lucid and brilliant exposition of the struggle for socialism, a cause to which the author devoted his entire conscious life. In addition section after section of this book graphically explains how the main instrument of the struggle for socialism was constructed.

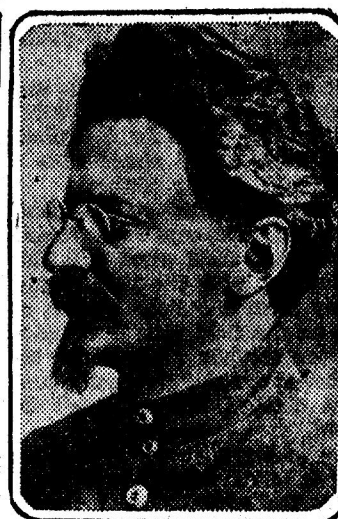
**LENIN'S PARTY**  
This instrument—the proletarian party—which Lenin began building at the close of the nineteenth century and which took definite shape in the first 17 years of the twentieth century, was indeed something new. In its day Bolshevism was an epoch-making invention in the political field as, say, the discovery of atomic energy is in the field of scientific endeavor.

With the growth and development of Lenin's party, a new type of political thinker and warrior arose for the first time among the ranks of the working class in the cities of the Czarist empire. Young men and women began to call themselves "professional revolutionists." This means that the liberating struggle of the proletariat became their lifetime "trade" or occupation. Whatever other skills they attained—and these were many and varied—were subordinated to the development and perfection of this primary revolutionary skill or "profession."

Stalin was one among many in Lenin's great army of Bolshevism. He remained in its ranks only so long as Lenin remained alive, or in other words, only so long as he—Stalin—remained a subordinate figure. In the party of Lenin, a personality like Stalin's could not and did not play any other role. Trotsky proves this to the hilt. In the pages of "Stalin" Trotsky unfailingly juxtaposes the essence and spirit of Lenin's party with every stage in the development of an individual who evolved into a polar opposite of a genuine Bolshevist leader and fighter.

**DEFENDS BOLSHEVISM**  
Stalin did not begin as the full-fledged monster that now rules in the Kremlin. He rose to prominence gradually by betraying—step by step—the traditions, principles and program of Lenin's party, by becoming transformed into its gravedigger. This is likewise proved to the hilt by Trotsky.

The biography is, in consequence, not merely a historical indictment of a modern despot, and of Stalinism, as a system of ideas and practices; it is at the same time a great historical defense and justification of Lenin,



LEON TROTSKY

the Bolshevik system of ideas and the party of Bolshevism.

This is the basic content of "Stalin." This is Trotsky's basic design.

The capitalist reviewers without exception have reacted hostilely to the book.

In explaining the struggle for socialism and concurrently the character of the most important instrument in this struggle, Trotsky deals heavy blows to all contemporary slaveholders and despots, first and foremost the capitalist rulers of Wall Street and their government in Washington.

They not only hate this book, they fear it. For it conveys the most attractive, powerful and truthful ideas yet attained by mankind. On the granite foundation of these ideas, Lenin built his epoch-making party in Russia. Why can't the far more advanced American workers follow in millions the path already blazed by their Russian brothers?

The answer is they can and they will—once they find their path to Leninism, which in our day is synonymous with Trotskyism.

Yes, the capitalist rulers and all their apologists have every reason to disparage and attack this book. We, who are the disciples of Lenin and Trotsky, on the contrary, recommend it most highly to every thinking worker, and in particular to the youth of this country who are searching for the revolutionary way out of the bloody blind-alley of imperialism.

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The biography is, in consequence, not merely a historical indictment of a modern despot, and of Stalinism, as a system of ideas and practices; it is at the same time a great historical defense and justification of Lenin,

the Bolshevik system of ideas and the party of Bolshevism. This is the basic content of "Stalin." This is Trotsky's basic design. The capitalist reviewers without exception have reacted hostilely to the book. In explaining the struggle for socialism and concurrently the character of the most important instrument in this struggle, Trotsky deals heavy blows to all contemporary slaveholders and despots, first and foremost the capitalist rulers of Wall Street and their government in Washington.

They not only hate this book, they fear it. For it conveys the most attractive, powerful and truthful ideas yet attained by mankind. On the granite foundation of these ideas, Lenin built his epoch-making party in Russia. Why can't the far more advanced American workers follow in millions the path already blazed by their Russian brothers? The answer is they can and they will—once they find their path to Leninism, which in our day is synonymous with Trotskyism.

Yes, the capitalist rulers and all their apologists have every reason to disparage and attack this book. We, who are the disciples of Lenin and Trotsky, on the contrary, recommend it most highly to every thinking worker, and in particular to the youth of this country who are searching for the revolutionary way out of the bloody blind-alley of imperialism.

### The NEGRO STRUGGLE

by CHARLES JACKSON

"Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded."  
—KARL MARX

**Governor of a Different (?) Color**  
William H. Hastie has recently been inaugurated as Governor of the Virgin Islands. This marks the first time that a Negro has held such a position in this American "possession" which is predominantly populated by colored people.

His appointment by President Truman which was later confirmed by Congress was hailed at the time by the Negro press as a "great victory" for the people of the Islands as well as for the American Negro. Previously the Islands had only been "blessed" with Governors of lily-white hue. The Militant, however, warned even then that such an appointment could be calculated only to serve the ruling class of cotton and sugar trusts in America which fleece the rich little islands and leave the masses of the workers there in subjugation and poverty.

We stated then that Hastie, regardless of his past progressive record and regardless of his race, would, if he were to keep the job, be forced to continue to hold down the working natives and thereby to act as a colonial Uncle Tom.

In his inaugural address Mr. Hastie is already giving indications of a policy that tends to bear out the truth of our assertion.

He stated that the independence which the islanders have been promised will only be realized when they sufficiently "increased their national income" to pay all the expenses of their government administration. This he claimed, they cannot do today.

Flanked by Julius A. Krug, Secretary of the Interior and open spokesman for American imperialist interests, he pointed out that the present revenue of the islands is "insufficient" to even pay the salaries of the necessary government officials. Of course, the thing for the Virgin Islanders to do, then, if they insist on gaining their promised independence, is to "improve the economy" by further toll on the sugar plantations of the absentee "owners" of the land.

In view of the fact that this group of islands is one of the richest in the world for its area, and in view of the known exploitation of the inhabitants by the Wall Street trusts and their native stooges, such a proclamation becomes one of the most cynical and hypocritical attacks against the local workers that one could conceive.

It is seen to be part of a most arrogant plot against the workers there, when we further realize that it is carried out by a colored Governor, a member of a race which is oppressed and

### AKRON Militant Fund Social SATURDAY, JUNE 8

405-406 Everett Bldg. 39 E. Market St. 8 p.m.

**Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers At these Local Activities of The Socialist Workers Party**

**AKRON**—Visit The Militant Club, 405-6 Everett Bldg., 39 East Market St., open daily except Sunday, 2 to 4 p.m.; also, Wed., 7:30-9:30. Public Forums—First Sunday each month, 8 p.m. **ALLENTOWN-BETHEHEM**—Open meeting every Thursday, 8 p.m., at Militant Labor Forum, S. E. corner Front and Hamilton Streets, Allentown. Public Forums—First Sunday each month, 8:15 p.m. **BALTIMORE**—For information write Box 1583, Baltimore 2, Md. Monthly forums to be announced. **BOSTON**—Office at 30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays from noon until 5 p.m.; Wednesday and Friday, 7:30 to 9:30 p.m. **BUFFALO**—Every Saturday night, Current Events Discussion and Open House; Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. **CHICAGO**—Visit SWP, 777 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 7562. Library, bookstore. Classes every Wednesday, June 5-27, on "Nature of the Soviet Union." 8 to 9:30 p.m. **CLEVELAND**—Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall 1446 E. 82nd St. **DETROIT**—Open house every Saturday, 8 p.m. at 6108 Linwood. Office open daily 12 to 5. Phone Tyler 7-6267. Monday, 8 p.m.—Class on "Program of SWP." **FLINT**—SWP meets every Friday, 8 p.m. at YWCA, 1st and Harrison. **HARTFORD**—For information, write P. O. Box 905. **LOS ANGELES**—Visit Militant Publishing Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone VAndyke 7938. **SAN PEDRO**, Militant Publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214. **MILWAUKEE**—Visit the Milwaukee SWP branch, 424 E. Wells St., evenings from 7:30 Sat. night—Open house, 8 p.m. **MINNEAPOLIS**—Visit the Labor Book Store, 10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily. **NEWARK**—Branch meeting every Friday at 423 Springfield Ave., at 8:30. Reading room and office open Mondays-Thursdays, 4 to 10 p.m. Tues., 7:30—Basic Training class. **NEW YORK-CITY HQ.**, 116 University Place, GR. 5-8149. Sat., 4:30 p.m., Tues., 7:30, rehearsal of Militant chorus. **HARLEM**: 103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23, MO. 2-1866. **BRONX**: 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TT 2-0101. Wednesday class, 8:30: State and Revolution. Friday Class, 8:30: Principles of Socialism. **BROOKLYN**: 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433. Mon. Class — "Program of SWP." 7 p.m. **CHELSEA**: 130 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434. **YORKVILLE**: Discussion Group, meets at Czech Worker's Center, 347 E. 72 St. Wednesday, 8 p.m. **OAKLAND, Cal.**—Meetings Wednesday, Odd Fellows Temple, 410 - 11th St. For information write to P.O. Box 1351. **PHILADELPHIA**—SWP Headquarters, 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 5820. **PITTSBURGH**—Militant Reading Room, 141 S. Highland, Room 21 (corner Highland and Central Ave.), E. Liberty. Phone, EM. 4899. Open Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 6:30 to 9:30. Sat. 2-6. Sundays at 8, "Militant Discussion."

**PORTLAND, Ore.**—Visit the SWP headquarters, 134 S. W. Washington, 3rd Floor. Tel. ATwater 3992. Open 1 to 4 p.m., daily except Sunday, and 6 to 8, Tuesday, Friday. Fridays, 8 p.m., Open House and Round Table Discussions. **SAN DIEGO**—P. O. Box 857. **SAN FRANCISCO**—Visit the San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., corner of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor; open from 12 noon to 3 p.m., Monday through Saturday, and 7 to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday. Friday Classes: "Introduction to Marxist Economics" 7:30-8:30. "Fascism," 8:30-9:30. **SEATTLE**—Visit our Headquarters, 119 1/2 Second Ave. Open Saturdays 12 to 5, Sunday 7:30 to 10, Wednesday 7:30 to 10. Sundays at 7:30. Discussion on Militant. Wednesdays at 7:30. Class: "In Defense of Marxism."

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GREGORY ZINOVIEV

Zinoviev shared Lenin's exile for ten years. A Bolshevist since 1903, he was known as preeminent agitator and popularizer of Lenin's ideas and program. Member of the Political Bureau; Chairman of the Leningrad Soviet after 1917; first President of the Communist International.

Despite his great abilities, Zinoviev had many weaknesses. Thus during the most critical days, he opposed the October Insurrection. When Lenin was stricken, Zinoviev sought to take his place. Kameney and Stalin supported Zinoviev. When Trotsky called attention to the growing danger of bureaucratism, the triumvirate—Zinoviev-Kameney-Stalin—deliberately invented the danger of "Trotskyism." In 1926, however, Zinoviev was forced to admit that the greatest mistake of his entire life was joining Stalin in struggle against Trotsky.

Zinoviev capitulated to Stalin in 1928. But this did not save him. In 1936 Stalin executed Zinoviev on charges of being a "fascist dog gone mad."

## F.I. Subscription Drive Nears 500 Goal

By Constance Locke

The two-month campaign to get 500 new six-month subscriptions to Fourth International, theoretical magazine of the American Trotskyists, is nearing its goal. The total number of subs sent in to date is 438, or 88 per cent of our quota. Only two weeks remain in which to get the 62 additional subscriptions needed to complete the quota by June 15.

Campaign Directors in Milwaukee, Newark, St. Paul, Tacoma, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Boston, Buffalo, Minneapolis, and San Diego are to be congratulated on the good work they have done in obtaining enough subscriptions to fulfill their quotas ahead of schedule. In fact, some of these Campaign Directors are not contenting themselves with 100 per cent but continue going after subs. As a result their percentages are soaring.

Campaign Directors in those cities which have not yet reached 100 per cent should make arrangements for special mobilizations in order to obtain the subscriptions necessary to complete their quotas by June 15.

Letters from some of the Campaign Directors give assurance of reaching 100 per cent by the end of the campaign. Excerpts from a few of these letters are quoted.

**Reading's Campaign Director Smith:** "Reading needs only one more sub to fill its quota in the FI campaign. I am sure we will get this and we hope to go over our quota."  
**Toledo's Campaign Director Josephs:** "Enclosed are five new subs. It is our hope to continue to build the FI subscription list even though the drive ends shortly. Those who have subscribed to the FI in the past have become quite attached to it."

## SCOREBOARD

City	Quota	Subs	Per Cent
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NEWARK	20	24	140
ST. PAUL	10	13	130
TACOMA	5	6	120
PHILADELPHIA	20	21	105
SAN FRANCISCO	25	26	104
BOSTON	10	10	100
BUFFALO	20	20	100
MINNEAPOLIS	25	25	100
SAN DIEGO	5	5	100
Chicago	50	48	97
Pittsburgh	15	14	93
Connecticut	10	9	90
Baltimore	10	8	80
Detroit	40	32	80
Youngstown	20	16	80
New York	100	73	73
Akron	10	7	70
Bayonne	10	6	60
Flint	10	6	60
Reading	5	4	80
Toledo	10	5	50
Los Angeles	60	27	45
Cleveland	10	4	40
St. Louis	5	2	20
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Portland	2	0	0
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# Diary Of A Steelworker *By T. Kovalsky*

When I was a child somebody told me that the white cliffs of the English coast were made of the bodies of little sea creatures who died centuries and centuries ago. One by one their millions of little bodies piled up and the lime or calcium of their bones built up and up until the great chalk cliffs of the Dover coast rose up.

Last week on Memorial Day I didn't have to work, and we took a walk under the trees of the park. It was a beautiful day, not as warm as that Memorial Day nine years ago, and as we walked, I happened to think about the chalk cliffs, built up through persistent centuries by the deaths of the little sea-creatures.

You see, anything is like that, anything that is worth anything. All great things are built up out of the sacrifices of smaller things. Our union today, for instance, which stands in strength that might make it look timeless if you didn't know any better, was built out of the sacrifices of its members and sympathizers.

Years and years ago it had its beginning when men strained and sweated twelve hours through the days and nights tending the furnaces and mills. They tried to organize for their own sakes and for the sake of their wives and children. Some of them were hounded out of the steel plants for their activities, some were shot down by the guns of the Pinkertons and cops. You could say that their blood, their misery had gone into the bedrock and the girder of the union.

Later on there was the First World War and the labor upsurge that followed it. The steelworkers wiped the sweat and blood from their faces and returned to the fight. They flung themselves into the battle with all their might. They fought . . . and lost once again. So that threw more sacrifices into the hopper, more bodies into the foundation.

It took a long time to get over that last defeat, and the steelworkers went on sweating and burning out their bodies on the furnaces and in the mills and dragging their feet home at night and dropping on the couch for naps

that ended at bedtime. Then came the CIO, and a lot of men thought, "Oh, no, not me! I saw the old man, walking the streets looking for work after 1919 . . ." They thought that because they didn't know that there is a war going on all the time, and the last battle is the one that counts. But they were in the minority anyway, and the CIO went into the steel plants and grew right under the noses of the bosses and thugs.

But about Memorial Day: It was like summer on Memorial Day, 1937. It was much hotter than it was this year. The big organizing strike was on, and the Republic Steel Plant in Chicago, among others, was pretty well shut down. They say the company was burning tarpaper in the open hearth furnaces so the smoke would come out of the stacks and look as if the plant was working. The Union was having a rally . . . hot dogs, ice cream cones for the kids, beer for the steel strikers and their wives, and plenty of good strong union speeches.

There was to be a parade. The pickets and their wives and some of their kids were to march out in front of the steel plant for a demonstration. It looked more like a picnic than a strike . . . sunshine and Sunday clothes.

Well, they marched out. They met the Chicago cops near the plant. The cops began shooting, and the pickets and their wives and kids and friends scattered over the field. Only, you can't run away from a bullet. So ten of them stayed there on the field with their blood draining off into the scrubby grass under the bright sky. We never found out exactly how many others were clubbed and wounded on Memorial Day, 1937.

It isn't necessary to say that didn't stop us. Anybody can see our union today. Last January we shut down the whole steel industry, and they didn't even bother to burn any tarpaper in the furnaces, because we knew the plants were dead and they couldn't fool us.

But, do you see what I'm getting at . . . about the cliffs that were built up out of the bodies of the sea creatures that died? That's what it's like. Our martyrs in the labor movement are just as dead as anybody that ever died. But they've left their monument behind them. And that's the way it will always be.

# Army Releases Two Reports Calculated To Whitewash Criticism Of Cost System

## General Strike Freed Them



Even the mascot went to jail, as 267 union men were imprisoned by the Rochester, New York police for protesting against the city administration's refusal to bargain with the AFL State, County and Municipal Employees Union. The AFL Central Trades and Labor Council and the CIO Industrial Union Council joined in a general strike to demand the right of collective bargaining.

## Rochester AFL And CIO Unite In General Strike

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

ROCHESTER, N. Y., May 29—AFL and CIO labor here, united in the first general strike in the recollection of New York states, scored a smashing victory today against the union-busting Republican city administration and the big open-shop interests which control the local government.

For nearly 24 hours from 4 a.m. yesterday, more than 30,000 workers, with their ranks increasing hourly, crippled municipal transportation and tied up two anti-labor Frank E. Gannett dailies, the large garment industry, numerous construction and other enterprises and virtually all city projects and services. At 3 o'clock this morning, the "city fathers" capitulated. The strike came as a crushing answer to the attempts of the city administration to prevent unionization of the city employees, first by firing 489 union members on May 15, and then by mass arrests of 267 pickets after some 900 Public Works Department workers went on protest strike.

Terms of the agreement which the general strike wrested from the city officials, who had previously refused even to meet with union committees or representatives, provided for reinstatement of all fired city workers without prejudice; dismissal of all disorderly conduct charges against arrested pickets and return of bail monies; recognition of the right of municipal employees to join the AFL State, County and Municipal Employees

## Jim Crow Units Endorsed By Gillem Report

By Charles Carsten

At about the same time the Army set up the Doolittle Board to counteract dissatisfaction with the military caste-system, it also established a board headed by Lt. Gen. Alvan C. Gillem to make recommendations which would meet criticism against the way the Negro was being treated by the Army. The Gillem report, released last month, turned out even more unsatisfactory than the Doolittle report.

The Gillem report makes a number of recommendations which have been touted as opening the way for broader use of Negro troops in all sections of the Army. But it studiously avoids any commitment about the most important question of all—Army Jim Crow and segregation.

This means that although the Army is trying to recruit large numbers of Negroes for its occupation forces—and that was the only reason for the Gillem report—it intends to continue the same pattern of segregation which Negroes fought against all through the war.

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## DOOLITTLE BOARD ADVOCATES POLICY OF LIMITED REFORMS

By George Breitman

"Recommendations of the Army's GI gripe board for narrowing the gap between officers and enlisted men were applauded by GIs here today but many said the plan would never be put into effect—the brass would kill it." That reaction, recorded in a May 28 AP dispatch from Tokyo, was undoubtedly shared by millions of veterans and servicemen all over the world.

These men, who know from their own unpleasant experiences what an undemocratic institution the Army is, agree with many of the specific recommendations of the War Department's Doolittle Board, especially those calling for greater equality between officers and enlisted men in pay, living accommodations, food rations, travel allowances, treatment in military trials, privilege to accumulate furlough time and terminal leave pay, etc. They naturally agree with them because all through the war, whenever they had any freedom of expression, they themselves called for these and similar reforms.

2. The report, well-larded with high-sounding generalities about "full recognition of the dignity of man," did not commit the War Department to anything. Secretary of War Patterson promised only that the report would be studied further and that "additional steps will be taken as may be indicated and possible." Even the most insignificant recommendation—that officers and enlisted men wear the same uniform—which was decided on by the War Department months ago, will not go into effect until the middle of 1948.

3. At the same time and at no cost to itself the War Department has received a lot of favorable publicity implying that it is seriously interested in improving conditions of the enlisted men. This is the most important consideration—and the main reason for the establishment of the Doolittle Board—because it will help Army recruitment and at the same time soften some of the opposition to peacetime conscription.

4. Veterans, veteran organizations and the labor movement should support most of the Doolittle Board's recommendations, no matter why they were made. And the more hesitant the War Department shows itself, the more vigorously they should demand their immediate adoption. But at the same time they must be aware of the extremely limited, inadequate and therefore unsatisfactory nature of these recommendations.

5. While these recommendations will help reduce some of the more glaring differences between the living conditions of officers and enlisted men, they will by no means eliminate the caste system itself. And the adoption of every one of these recommendations will not change the fundamentally undemocratic structure of the army in any respect.

When we say that the Army is undemocratic, it is not only because officers enjoy privileges denied to enlisted men. It is above all because the enlisted man, when he is given a uniform, is simultaneously deprived of the democratic rights which are recognized as his in civilian life. Deprived of the protection of these rights, he is as much at the mercy of the military hierarchy as a German worker was under Hitler (or is today under the occupation authorities.) And this is true, no matter how much the officers get paid or what kind of uniform they wear.

Among the most elementary of the rights taken away from the soldiers are the right of free speech and free press, the right of petition and assembly, the right to serve on military juries, the right to elect committees to present grievances. Under present regulations, for example, a soldier cannot—without specific authorization from the War Department—even write his Congressman to urge his support of legislation incorporating the recommendations of the Doolittle Board!

Without these rights, you cannot even speak of a democratic army. And since the servicemen are muzzled, it is up to the veterans and the labor movement to take the initiative in an aggressive fight to revise the military code for the purpose of really democratizing the armed forces.

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## Notes Of A Seaman *F. J. Lang*

The expected "break" in negotiations between ship operators and all seamen's unions came last week when the operators offered a \$12.50 monthly wage increase for unlicensed men.

This miserly offer of a 9 per cent wage increase, in contrast with the 30 per cent demanded by the CIO National Maritime Union, is now proffered only after eight months stalling by the operators and in the face of mounting sentiment for strike action by the seamen. It amounts to little more than a nickel an hour as compared with the standard 18-18½ cents conceded by the government as a result of the bitter strike actions in the shored industries.

What this proposed \$12.50 a month increase would really mean to seamen was well expressed by a married man who said that trying to meet rising food and rent costs ashore with this kind of "raise" is like shoveling sand against the tide.

The new rates, if accepted by the unions, would fix the base scale at \$157.50 per month for unlicensed seamen. Moreover, the operators stipulate that no new negotiations would be entered into until March 1, 1947, the effective period of the proposed new contract being from June 1, 1946 until September 30, 1947. In this way the operators hope to freeze wages for the coming year while prices soar.

### Behind the Wage Proposal

All parties, union leaders and bosses, involved in seamen's wage negotiations at first appeared satisfied with \$12.50 hike in wages—everybody except the rank and file seamen. For their part, the ship operators, who grew fat on the \$25 billion wartime slush fund that the government fed the maritime industry, now are concerned primarily with the postwar ship steel scheme hatched in Washington. Any wage raise, they hope, will provide a new pretext for higher government subsidies and a jump in freight rates.

The government in turn is willing to grant a token wage increase at this time because another year's time is needed for a complete reorganization of the U. S. Maritime Commission

and "stabilization" of the industry. The War Shipping Administration is to be discontinued; government-owned ships quietly turned over to private shipping companies; trade-route franchises awarded; and government subsidies allotted. This dovetails with the plans of the operators to continue their wartime swindle.

Also, in the government file is a Presidential order which replaces the prewar Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation with the U. S. Coast Guard, thus putting merchant seamen under the jurisdiction of a military authority.

Government representatives, in collusion with the ship operators, hope to effect these plans in the coming year without interference of strikes and strike threats which would center attention upon their whole crooked record.

### Kick Out the Operators

The Stalinist leaders in the CIO maritime unions are threatening a strike on June 15, and also are using the shipping scandal as an additional bargaining weapon in Washington. Their exposures as yet haven't gone very deep.

Simply scandalizing the ship operators will be of little aid to the seamen. It is possible that the operators may make another slightly higher offer, but the limit they and their government stooges will go to in order to prevent strike action at this time, is far below what has been fought for and won in other industries.

A strike in the maritime industry will run into direct conflict with the government, which owns 85 per cent of American merchant shipping. But the economic demands of the seamen can be won if the strike is solid and ties up all ships.

However, in order to fully satisfy the needs of the seamen today, the unions, in the course of the strike, will have to demand that this government-owned industry be completely reorganized.

It is a sick industry, plagued with chronic corruption, and will continue to pay sub-standard wages so long as the myth of "private ownership" is maintained by the government. It is necessary now to kick out these so-called "private operators," who feed off government largess, and compel the government to run the shipping industry under the control of the maritime unions.

## On The Railroads *By John Russo*

During the General Motors strike last winter, Truman took the occasion to praise the wonders of the Railway Labor Act and advocate the extension of its principles to all industry. Yet a couple of weeks ago he was engaged in a fierce attack on A. F. Whitney and Alvanley Johnston, heads respectively of the trainmen's and locomotive engineers' brotherhoods, who had complied with all the provisions of the Railway Labor Act and authorized a strike only after all its machinery for arbitration had been exhausted.

Why did this set-up fail to maintain "peace and harmony" and impel Truman to act openly as a strikebreaking agent of the railroad corporations? The answer to that question is shown in the actual effects of the Act on the conditions of the railroad men since its passage in 1926.

The railroad unions are dominated by a senile bureaucracy that has been utterly subservient to the capitalist government. Particularly in the past 10 years, such miserable gains as the rail workers secured through arbitration and fact-finding boards have been far outstripped by the concessions won for other sections of organized labor through strike action.

How the railroad workers lost ground in relation to other groups of organized labor is shown in data compiled by the National Industrial Conference Board, a research organization maintained by the employers, and by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor.

From 1920 to 1935, the railworkers, operating and non-operating, ranked at the top of the list in average hourly earnings, as compared to the 25 leading manufacturing industries. Non-operating rail workers averaged 64.8 cents per hour while the top of 25 leading manufacturing industries was only 60.3 cents.

In 1935, the railworkers still maintained the edge by a scant margin. But the development of industrial unionism and strikes during the birth of the CIO had already begun pushing the railworkers down the ladder of rank in hourly earnings.

Within ten years, by 1945, the non-operating railworkers ranked 23rd in hourly earnings and the operating group was down to 27th place! Non-operating rail workers were averaging 86.8 cents an hour, while automobile and heavy equipment industries workers were averaging respectively \$1.279 and \$1.316.

To this must be added the fact that the railworkers, as a result of their helplessness to put up an effective struggle under the shackles of the Railway Labor Act, were reduced in many respects to the position of labor in the 19th Century.

## Vigilante Terror In Fontana *By Myra Tanner Weiss*

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(Next Week: How the Railway Labor Act was used to cheat the rail workers during World War II.)

## NMU Membership Rejects Stalinist Wage Sell-Out Plan

NEW YORK, May 30—A large membership meeting here of the CIO National Maritime Union on Monday night, May 27, revolted against an attempt by the top Stalinist NMU leaders to shove through acceptance of a miserable nine per cent wage increase offer from the ship operators.

In a stormy meeting at Manhattan Center, the seamen, including a number of Communist (Stalinist) Party rank and filers, angrily rejected the Stalinist leadership's sell-out proposal.

This proposal provided for a monthly wage increase of only \$12.50, raising basic wages for unlicensed seamen from \$145 per month to \$157.50. It also called for a five to 15 cent increase in the overtime rates but not to exceed \$1 an hour in any category, and for eight hours in a spread of 13 for the stewards department.

Earlier in the day the ship operators had made this offer in negotiations with NMU President Joseph Curran; Stalinist NMU Secretary Ferdinand Smith; Howard MacKenzie, another leading Stalinist spokesman and union vice-president; and Jack Lawrensen, also a vice-president.

MEMBERS INFURIATED

The membership was infuriated by the offer, which was far below the union's demands of a 30 per cent wage increase, graduated overtime rates of \$1, \$1.25 and \$1.50 per hour and eight hours of work in a spread of 12

complete exposure and discredit, did Joseph Stack, port agent and a leading Stalinist whip, take the floor and oppose acceptance of the sell-out offer.

Curran tried to defend his position by emphasizing the dangers of strike action, playing up Truman's actions against the railroad workers, and luridly depicting the propaganda which the bosses and government would use against a seamen's strike. These arguments were seconded by leading Stalinists, including Smith and MacKenzie.

DIVERT RESPONSIBILITY

The following day, the Daily Worker tried to cover up the Stalinist treachery by featuring a statement of Ferdinand C. Smith, who had tried to put over the raw deal, which hypocritically claimed "the leadership of the NMU expresses its complete support and gratification for the position taken by the membership and viewed that position as a mandate to secure a more satisfactory consideration of the union's justified demands."

In an effort to divert attention from their own actions, the Stalinist leaders are now trying to place the full responsibility for recommending acceptance of the miserly offer of the operators on Curran alone. They keep silent about the support openly voiced for the recommendations by Smith, MacKenzie and other Stalinist NMU tops.

**BRONX**  
Open Forum  
"Labor's Answer  
To Truman's  
Strikebreaking"  
Speaker: SAM RYAN  
FRIDAY, June 7  
1034 Prospect 8 P.M.