

Trotsky's Book On Stalin--And Its Critics

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Workers Of The World, Unite!

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ATTACK ON MINERS HITS ALL LABOR

U. S. Imperialism Steps Up Drive Toward War

Plans To Tighten Military Grip Over Entire Western Hemisphere

By Charles Carsten

Diplomatic deadlock and heightened tension in the Big Four Paris Conference of Foreign Ministers was accompanied last week by further military preparation and intensified war-propaganda on the part of American imperialism.

Washington moved to expand its world-wide ring of military bases. It began to formally press for a unified military command of the entire Western Hemisphere.

President Truman proposed "a program of military collaboration with other American states including the training, organization and equipment of the armed forces" of all the countries on the North and South American continents.

TWOFOLD AIM

Under Truman's super-imperialist plan the United States would provide modern weapons, standardize military training, organization and equipment. The President would be authorized to "transfer military and naval equipment" to other governments in the Western Hemisphere.

Truman's proposal to centralize the command and standardize the armaments of the Western Hemisphere military bloc has a twofold aim. First, it would help Wall Street tighten its imperialist stranglehold on the Latin American countries. Second, through it the nations of the Western Hemisphere can be more effectively organized for the contemplated war against the Soviet Union.

The whole American ruling class is moving in unison on this decisive question of war preparations. Both Republicans and Democrats combined last Thursday to rush through the Senate an extension of the Draft Act which was to expire May 15.

On May 11 the State Department revealed that it wanted sovereignty over three strategic Pacific Islands formerly held by the British. "These would be part of a vast United States defense system in the Pacific," stated

Open The Books, Say Los Angeles Transit Strikers

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

LOS ANGELES, May 10—The latest development in the strike here of some 4,000 street car and bus operators is a statement by D. D. McClurg, President of AFL Transportation Union Local 1277, condemning the Los Angeles Transit Lines for refusing to show its books in support of its contention that a fare increase is necessary for it to meet the union's wage demands.

Countering the company's demand for outrageous fare increases before granting wage increases from its exorbitant profits, the union has demanded that the company open its books for union and public inspection to show that the wage demands could easily be met without entailing any fare increase.

Backing up the fight of the transit workers, a public statement was also issued by Myra Tanner Weiss, organizer of the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party, in which she called for the taking over of the transit lines by the city to be operated on a non-profit basis for the benefit of the citizens and to ensure adequate wages for the transit workers.

Mrs. Weiss declared: "The demands of the striking employees for a wage increase without a price increase are eminently reasonable. The men and women transit workers are notor-

Shadow Over Latin America



2,000 Steel Worker Delegates Face Key Issues At Convention

By Art Preis

IN THE NEWS

How Wall St. Views The Famine Victims

Speaking recently before a congressional committee on the problem of relief for the starving abroad, Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson said: "We're in the position of a family that owns a litter of puppies; we've got to decide which ones to drown."

Let Them Eat Cake

On April 27, the White House issued a "breadless, fair food conservation menu" covering lunch and dinner. For lunch: Jellied maddlene, cheese omelet, peas and mashed potatoes, strawberries, cookies. For dinner: Clear soup, celery and olives, roast leg of lamb, green beans, glazed carrots, pan potatoes, cucumber salad (vinegar and cream dressing), shredded pineapple, angel food cake.

For Imperialism's Sake

Reporting that the Japanese face food conditions like "the inmates of the Buchenwald and Belsen concentration camps," Herbert Hoover, head of the U. S. famine committee, said in Tokyo on May 6: "It is impossible to conceive that the American flag will fly where such conditions exist. Aside from such Christian spirit, food imports are required if American boys here are not to be endangered by disorders and epidemics inevitably arising from starvation."

"Four Freedoms"

Seven Jewish youth, inmates of a former Nazi concentration camp now operated instead by the American Military Government, were arrested on May 6 at Cham, Germany, for participating in a protest demonstration against condition. Officers of the American First Infantry Division ordered the arrest on the grounds that the youth had engaged in "close order drill" in violation of civilian regulations in the American occupation zone.

Some 2,000 delegates, representing approximately 800,000 organized steel workers, will begin deliberations on May 14 in Atlantic City at the Third International Convention of the CIO United Steelworkers of America.

This convention of the union is in America's most basic industry meets against a background unique in the experience of the steelworkers.

After 50 years of struggles and many bitter defeats, the steel workers will be able to record at this convention the most successful struggle and the greatest achievements of their history.

The rank and file delegates who will participate in the convention have gone through the fire of a titanic battle, the largest industrial strike this country has ever known. They have become tested union combat veterans.

In the course of their unprecedented strike, the steel work-

ers of all races, creeds and national origins, attained a unity in action, a singleness of purpose and endeavor never before known in the industry.

The greatest single sector of the union, Big Steel, had previously gone through the whole past decade of mighty labor battles without a direct test of strength. They had not been pitted in militant combat against the powerful U. S. Steel trust since the terrible defeat of the Great Steel Strike of 1919.

In the recent strike, however, they matched blow for blow and came out not only with their forces intact and further consolidated, but for the first time brought the mighty corporation

The Nuremberg Trials And The Moscow Trials

A Statement by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

The Nuremberg Trials, at which the victors in the Second World War are passing judgment on the defeated Nazi leaders, call public attention once more to the notorious Moscow Trials of 1936-37-38 at which the principal leaders of the Russian Revolution were indicted on the charge of collaborating with the German Nazis to prepare a war against the Soviet Union. As is known, the old Bolshevik leaders were "convicted" of this monstrous charge and most of them were executed. Although he was not present in the Moscow courtroom, Leon Trotsky was named as the chief defendant and the sentence of death was executed on him by a hired Stalinist assassin in Mexico City in August 1940.

Dewey Commission

From the inception of the Moscow Trials the fantastic nature of the Stalinist accusations against the incorruptible leaders of the Russian Revolution aroused doubt and distrust throughout the world. As a result of this great public interest and distrust, a Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, headed by John Dewey, the world famous philosopher and educator, was constituted in New York in the Spring of 1937. Leon Trotsky was given the chance to defend himself, which had been denied in the one-sided Moscow proceedings. At the same time the

Dewey Commission invited the appropriate Soviet representatives in the United States and Mexico to present their own evidence against Trotsky and the old Bolsheviks before this impartial tribunal.

Open hearings were held in Mexico City from April 10 to 17, 1937. Following that, the Dewey Commission studied and analyzed all the available evidence and material bearing on the case. Finally, after the most thorough-going investigation, the Dewey Commission presented to the world, under date of Sept. 21, 1937, its unanimous decision which was summarized in the last two sentences of its report: "We therefore find the Moscow Trials to be frame-ups. We therefore find Trotsky and Sedov not guilty." The full record of the Commission's work was published in two thick books by Harper & Brothers — "The Case of Leon Trotsky" and "Not Guilty."

Following the report of this most impartial and authoritative body, the doubt and skepticism which had pervaded world public opinion from the start of the Moscow Trials was resolved into a settled conviction that the Moscow Trials were a fraud from start to finish. The Trials were completely discredited throughout the entire civilized world; the very words "Moscow Trials" Continued on Page 7)

Union Calls Two-Week Truce In Strike After Owners Agree To Come To Terms

By Joseph Keller

The most savage and concerted strikebreaking assault ever hurled by Big Business and its government against American workers reached its frenzied climax last Friday, May 10, the day the AFL United Mine Workers Union wrested an "agreement in principle" from the coal operators on its key health and safety demands and offered a two-week truce in the 40-day strike of 400,000 soft coal miners.

With a desperation born of fear before the demonstrated power and solidarity of the militant coal miners, the agencies of government, the big corporations, and every capitalist instrument of propaganda were mobilized

for a ferocious attempt

to intimidate the miners and frustrate their just demands. With the mine strike as a pretext, Congress renewed its drive for laws to shackle the unions and help beat labor's standards down.

The invective, slanders, lies and threats hurled at the miners increased in volume and unrestrained as it became clearer that the profiteering mine operators and the government were being forced to yield major concessions by the unshakable stand of the mine workers. From all reports, the union's offer of truce, with retroactivity for all gains finally granted, came only after the operators had wilted and indicated their readiness to talk terms. The day after the truce, the UMW announced its further demands for wage increases totalling 27 cents an hour.

TRUMAN GIVES SIGNAL

The signal for last week's coordinated anti-labor offensive had been given by President Truman himself with his scare-head statement of the previous Friday that the mine strike confronted the country with an imminent "national disaster."

He followed this up by calling "illegal" the miners' chief demand for a "royalty" to provide a union health and welfare fund. Truman threatened "militant action" to break the strike which he said was "gradually" assuming the proportions of a "strike against the government."

At its peak, the anti-labor of-

Buffalo CIO

Backs Miners

BUFFALO, N. Y., May 7 — The Buffalo CIO Council tonight went on record in unanimous support of the striking AFL soft coal miners after a delegate from the CIO United Steelworkers Local 2601 read a strongly-worded resolution backing up the coal miners. This resolution had been passed by Local 2601 the previous evening.

ensive unleashed at Truman's cue surpassed in ferocity even the strikebreaking drive of the late President Roosevelt against the wartime mine strikes of 1943. Last week's assault renewed and extended the virulent labor-hating drive that followed V-J Day and reached its previous climax during the General Motors strike.

POISONOUS BARRAGE

Advancing behind a poisonous barrage from the boss press, Congress, spewing labor-hate and denunciations against the miners and their leaders, poured anti-union bills into the legislative hopper.

The Senate even shoved aside its consideration of Wall Street's militarism program and voted 66 to 9 for immediate discussion of the notorious Case Labor Disputes Bill. This is designed virtually to destroy the right to strike and to dismember the American union movement.

Both houses began consideration of hastily-drafted measures to make it "illegal" for the mine

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LARGEST FORD 600 UNIT REPUDIATES E. L. HESTER

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

DETROIT, May 10—In a bitterly contested election held on April 25-26 in the Production Foundry, largest unit of the Ford River Rouge Local 600 of the CIO United Auto Workers, Edward L. Hester, Stalinist-supported candidate for unit president, was decisively defeated for re-

election by Horace L. Sheffield, a leading Ford militant. Sheffield won by a margin of 500 in the biggest election turnout in the history of the unit.

The fact that the corrupt Hester administration had been feathering its own nest by the criminal use of double-run receipts was exposed by Sheffield in the course of the election campaign. Also ten days before the election the trustees of the Production Foundry Unit reported to the Ford Local 600 Executive Board "that evidence now in our possession clearly proves that a pre-conceived method was devised and used to defraud Production Foundry members of large portions of fines monies paid."

Despite these indisputable facts the cynical Stalinist leadership rallied their forces behind the venal Hester and did everything in their power to block the exposure of his unsavory manipulations.

RANKS DEFEY LEADERS

The corrupt Stalinist leaders were out to beat Sheffield at all costs since he had always been a consistent opponent of their sell-out policies in the auto union. But realizing that the Communist Party ranks were outraged by Hester's shady dealings and were favorably impressed by Sheffield's unimpeachable record of honest and militant trade unionism, the Stalinist bureaucrats initiated a vicious rear-baiting campaign against Sheffield, denouncing him as a "Trotskyite, a fascist and an enemy of the working class."

This growing revolt of honest and sincere Ford workers who are still members of the Communist Party, which resulted in the election of Sheffield, has strengthened the genuine militants who are fighting against the renewed offensive of the bosses.

Korean Labor Pleads For Aid Against Brutal American Rule

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

LOS ANGELES, May 5—The Korean Federation of Trade Unions has appealed to the CIO in the United States to aid it in throwing off the yoke of American Military Government, a regime which is

been) imprisoned by American military police, usually as a result of the intrigues of the Korean foes of our labor movement, who strange to say, have found favor in the eyes of the American Military Government despite their past history of collaboration with the Japanese."

COMMON FOE

First reported in the May 2 issue of the Los Angeles Labor Herald, the appeal was addressed to Philip Murray as President of the CIO, and asked for international labor solidarity in the face of assaults from the common foe—Wall Street imperialism.

The Korean document is significant, not only for the picture it gives of AMG's anti-labor policies, but also because it reveals that the Korean trade unions now boast a total membership of 800,000. Considering that this organization has been built under almost constant terror, first from the Japanese and now from AMG, it testifies to the Korean workers' high degree of militancy and class consciousness.

A continuity of Japanese and American policies in Korea is revealed by this document, which reports: "... many of our union leaders and organizers (have

been) imprisoned by American military police, usually as a result of the intrigues of the Korean foes of our labor movement, who strange to say, have found favor in the eyes of the American Military Government despite their past history of collaboration with the Japanese."

AMG WINKS AT TERROR

The protest further charges that AMG winks at terrorism directed by pro-Japanese reactionaries and landlords against progressive groups. Many anti-labor orders have been handed down by AMG. One of the most notorious is Order No. 19 which prohibits strikes, requires compulsory arbitration and proclaims the "right to work" without any interference whatsoever. In other words, no union security is allowed.

Striking at the workers' attempts to organize politically, AMG issued an order which requires registration by personal signature of every member of a political party, and then holds the party legally responsible for each act of each member. It is easy to see how agent-provocateurs could be thus smuggled into the workers' movement and then commit acts which would bring official reprisals.

According to Harold Zepelin, the U. S. Army sergeant who delivered the Korean appeal and who spent some time in the capital city of Seoul, Japanese collaborators are riding high under AMG rule. Syngman Rhee, a

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SAVAGE ANTI-LABOR ATTACK ON MINERS IS DANGEROUS THREAT TO ALL OF LABOR

(Continued from Page 1)

operators to grant a union health and welfare fund financed by "Royalties" based on production or for employers to grant similar demands to other unions.

The atmosphere for this Congressional labor-hating orgy was created by the Big Business press and radio which turned on a nation-wide geyser intended to flood the country with panic and sweep the people into a veritable lynch spirit against the valiant miners.

Newspaper headlines screamed in "disaster" type—special huge ominous black type kept in reserve for announcement of overwhelming catastrophes, like declarations of war. A horrifying picture was painted of imminent famine, water supplies and utilities cut off, millions unemployed and the country lying in ruin.

These horror stories were bolstered by rapid-fire announcements of threatened plant shutdowns, railroad curtailments and "state of emergency" warnings in big cities like New York and Chicago. To the actual reduction of coal stocks, the capitalist press added fantastic exaggerations.

One after another, big industrial corporations threatened huge lay-offs. General Motors, which only the week before had calmly reported that due to the GM strike it had accumulated coal reserves sufficient for a long period, suddenly discovered it would be down to its last lump in 10 days.

Shameful to relate, the miners also received some stabs-in-the-back from within the labor movement itself. At the very height of the anti-labor attacks on the mine strike, which were being focused especially on the person of UMW President John L. Lewis, CIO President Philip Murray speaking at the Amalgamated Clothing Workers convention on May 9 launched a blistering attack at Lewis, boasting that "no one in the CIO has turned against the Government."

This attack on a strike leader who was then under fire from the most reactionary elements in the country could only give comfort to labor's enemies. Moreover, it was unaccompanied by any statement of support for the miners' strike or their demands.

From another quarter, the Communist (Stalinist) Party and its Daily Worker were conducting a continuous sniping attack

Youngstown CIO Supports Miners

YOUNGSTOWN, O., May 7.—The Mahoning County CIO Council here tonight went on record unanimously to give full support to the demands of the AFL United Mine Workers which is leading the strike of 400,000 soft coal miners. The local CIO Council is composed mainly of CIO steelworkers. Their action was an expression of solidarity with their brother workers in the mines.

on Lewis, stressing particularly his leadership of the wartime mine strikes which the Stalinist leaders had helped try to break. At the same time, like the capitalist press, the Daily Worker called on the capitalist government "to act" in the mine strike—of course, "in the interests of the miners."

OPERATORS TO BLAME

Under a tremendous flood of scare-head propaganda, Big Business and its government sought to bury the plain and simple fact that the responsibility for the mine strike rested squarely on the rich operators who had arrogantly refused even to consider the elementary demands of the miners for adequate health and safety conditions.

The Truman administration could have forestalled what it called a "national disaster" by the simple device of forcing the operators to meet the miners' just demands. But Truman did not say so much as a word on behalf of the miners—not even their demand that the new contract include an agreement by the operators to carry out all safety regulations recommended by the U. S. Bureau of Mines!

What the capitalists and their agents like Truman yelled about was the union's "illegal" demand for a 10-cent payment on every ton of coal mined to maintain an imperatively-needed union health and welfare fund. Yet all the miners have asked for in essence is an increase in their meager share of the wealth their labor alone produces—an increase that will go into a union fund for their mutual welfare.

Truman doesn't find anything "illegal" about the corporations collecting royalties on anything produced under monopoly pat-

Miners' Families Mourn Dead



Grief-stricken relatives of three of the 13 miners killed in the April 18 explosion at McCoy, Virginia are shown as they left the church after funeral services. The miners' demands for a health and welfare fund would provide for bereaved families like these.

ents. The government itself hands billions in "royalties" to the corporations in the form of tax rebates. It gives other billions from the public treasury in "royalties"—subsidies—to the meat and other trusts. Nor does Truman find anything "illegal" about the coal operators deducting tens of millions of dollars annually from miners' pay checks for COMPANY-controlled "welfare" funds from which the miners never receive a penny.

So long as the union leaders in every national election urge the workers to cast their votes for this or that current "friend of labor" within the Big Business political machines, the workers will find themselves politically helpless before the offensive of capitalist reaction, which is spearheaded by the government itself.

The ferocity of the drive against the miners, revealing ever more openly the fusion of government and Big Business, is a further storm—signal to the American labor movement. Labor must have its own independent political weapon, a labor party committed to a real program of struggle against American Big Business, if it is to beat back the assaults of Wall Street and its government and wield real political power in the interests of the American people.

The fact that a tiny cut-throat gang of Big Business rulers can carry out with impunity such a brazen and unrestrained anti-

SAN DIEGO AIRCRAFT WORKERS FIGHT STRIKEBREAKING MOVES

By Jerome Williams
(Special to The Militant)

SAN DIEGO, May 6.—The most important post-war industrial strike to take place in San Diego, that of International Association of Machinists, Lodge 1125, Consolidated Vultee Aircraft (Convair) Workers is now going into its thirteenth week.

Prior to the strike, the union asked for a 15 per cent increase, semi-annual wage review, closed shop and a voice in determining the gradings of workers. Convair refused to negotiate and thus Lodge 1125 was forced to strike.

Some 800 engineers, who have their own independent union and enjoy more lucrative pay and a "white collar" status, hesitated to walk out with the rest. After a few weeks of vacillation, they finally struck, only to crawl back two days later because of the pressure Convair applied through newspaper advertisements and threats.

The inexperienced union, under the leadership of its newly-elected president, W. S. Freeman, found itself in a tough situation. But there was a sufficiently determined group of workers to keep the strike going. Then a few events caused a turn for the better to take place.

NEW STRENGTH
The victory of the General Motors workers provided a new source of strength to the Convair workers. That, combined with company provocations ("Killer" Latimer, Tom Girdler's goon who played a leading

role in the Chicago Memorial Day massacre, was imported and put in charge of the company plant police) roused the militancy of the ranks and the picket lines became scenes of spirit and strength.

Support began to flow in from other unions, including \$1000 from Lockheed, \$1,000 from Seattle Boeing Aircraft, \$500 from AFL cannery workers in San Diego, plus additional aid from the local CIO Longshoremen, District 50, Restaurant Workers and others.

Three nights ago, at about 12:30 p.m. two pickets were beaten up by company goons. Six hours after that beating, I walked down Pacific Highway with another friend and followed the trail of blood left by one of the strikers.

POLICE "NEUTRALITY"

The "neutrality" of the police department prevented it from arresting the company gangsters responsible. This "neutrality" also prevented the San Diego cops from arresting a Convair vice-president who drove into a picket line and dragged a picket for 150 yards on the auto's front fender.

But the "neutral" courts fined the union \$1,500 for alleged violation of injunction. The city police escort the scabs in and out every day and according to some reports, they are in constant short wave communication with the company police and following the latter's direction.

Recently, the Convair workers voted 11 to 1 not to return to work under the company's conditions. The company wanted to give retroactive pay to the scabs alone.

The Militant is distributed on the line every week. Most of the strikers already know the paper and subscriptions have been received. When we yell: "Read a working-class newspaper that tells the truth," they know that we're correct.

THIS IS DYNAMITE!

(Special to The Militant)
MCCOY, Va., Apr. 21.—All workers are burdened with numerous deductions from their pay. But the miners carry an extra load. This load is dynamite.

All explosives used by miners must be paid for by the miners themselves. "At the McCoy mine here," where 12 men died on April 18, the deduction amounts from \$20 to \$35 every two weeks.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Mine Strike Endorsed By William Green

AFL President William Green finally gave a public endorsement to the strike of 400,000 soft coal miners of the AFL United Mine Workers when he urged the convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor on May 8 to give unqualified support to the miners' struggle.

Green told the cheering delegates that "the UMW is in a life and death struggle and the organization is making a fine fight of it. Our duty is to rally around the mine workers until they win this battle."

This is the first time in many, many years that the ultra-conservative Green has spoken out decisively on behalf of striking workers. Throughout the war Green was a prop of the notorious no-strike pledge and assailed the miners' wartime strikes. Whatever Green's present motive for backing the miners, his stand can only be welcomed. Once more Big Business and its government are making the mine union the chief target of their anti-labor drive.

No Agreement On Rail Wage Issues

Negotiations with the railroad operators for additional wage raises above the 16 cents an hour granted by a government "fact-finding" board were broken off on May 2 by representatives of the brotherhoods of locomotive engineers and trainmen.

The union representatives were last week departing from the scene of negotiations in Chicago to go to Cleveland where preparations are reported on foot "to organize the strike" of 300,000 engineers and trainmen scheduled for May 18.

Both unions had previously gone through all the delays and rigamarole of the Railway Labor Act, and when its provisions were exhausted, had submitted their demands to a special Truman-appointed "fact-finding" board.

Additional strike threats have since been voiced by three other operating brotherhoods, representing the conductors, switchmen and firemen. Their demand for a 30-cent increase was whittled down to a grant of 16 cents an hour by an arbitration board. On May 3, officials of these unions issued a statement that unless their demands for additional increases and other concessions are met, they will take a strike

vote and a strike would "actually occur."

At last reports, the Truman administration was planning to intervene again through the establishment of another panel—an "extra-legal" panel of three, necessitated by the fact that all legal provisions for settling strike action under the Railway Labor Act are exhausted. New red-tape machinery is now proposed.

Textile Workers Heading South

One of the major battle-fronts of the CIO's great organizing campaign in the South will be the textile industry, a chief stronghold of low-wage sweatshop conditions.

As reported at the recent convention of the CIO Textile Workers Union, of the approximately 800,000 textile workers in this country about 400,000 are organized. However, these are mainly in the northern plants, 85 per cent of whose employees are unionized. Only 20 per cent of Southern textile workers are in the union. Over 300,000 are non-union, and suffer corresponding conditions.

Heading the TWU-CIO Southern drive will be Vice-President George Baldanzi, who is a vice-chairman of the CIO's Southern organizing committee. He warned the TWU convention that the Southern employers have already started a wide-scale counter-offensive, with a "crew of evangelists" stamping the Southern states to organize the reactionary forces against the "communist" CIO.

Stalinist Chickens Come Home To Roost

Readers of The Militant will recall articles we published last fall about the despicable scabbery of the Stalinist-dominated leadership of the CIO International Woodworkers of America in the Pacific Northwest during the prolonged and bitter strike of the AFL Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union.

Not only did the IWA leadership reject joint action in the strike, they openly attacked the strike, helped break picket lines, and signed injunctions along with company representatives against AFL picketing. The New World, Stalinist west coast shaner, slandered the strike. Finally, the IWA leaders made a deal for a 12½-cent an hour increase, undercutting the AFL demands, although the AFL union in the end won 15 cents.

Now comes the pay-off! Today, the Stalinist leaders of the IWA are screaming their heads off because the employers with whom they collaborated have concurred in ABROGATED 100 IWA contracts. In addition, the Fir Industry Negotiating Committee of the Northwest lumber operators, has issued 33 demands on the union which, if granted, would destroy the IWA.

ment among the steel union militants for greater union democracy. They would like to be able to elect their own district representatives. They would like to be able to hold district conventions and maintain district organizations where they might have the opportunity to discuss their common problems and work out proposals for improvement of the union in between the International conventions.

Another concern of the steel workers is the report that an effort may be made at this convention to lengthen the terms of office of top officers as well as district appointees. Such a move, a prelude to extending the time between conventions, is correctly feared as an encouragement to the firmer entrenchment of a top bureaucracy over which the membership would have less and less control.

No officer of a union flees frequent elections if he is carrying out the policies the members desire and is doing a good job. Nor can it hurt the interests of the union if the duly elected rank and file representatives meet frequently in convention to examine past policies, make new constructive decisions and keep a close check on the officers. If the delegates at the steel convention have the opportunity to discuss the basic issues freely and fully, their deliberations will bring forth decisions which will help guide the whole labor movement for its great progressive tasks ahead.

CIO Steel Worker Delegates Face Many Key Issues

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to terms by picket-line action. This must be recorded as a tremendous gain for the whole union and labor movement.

Nor should there be any minimizing of the significant gains in terms of wage increases and other concessions which the steel workers won by their determined fighting action.

The whole experience of their recent historic struggle has left deepest reflections in the thinking and understanding of the steel militants. It has taught them initiative, raised their self-confidence, and, above all, inspired them to view their problems in broader terms.

And in the event of the strike they could observe not only their strength and their power to win gains, but the existing weaknesses which must be corrected and the grave issues which that combat left unresolved.

This convention, if it is to fulfill its real duty to the steel workers and the labor movement generally, has the obligation to examine carefully the lessons of the recent struggle, analyze the decisive issues that confront the union and prepare for the inevitable and greater struggles that lie ahead.

It is little more than three

months since the conclusion of the strike that won the largest single wage increase ever achieved in steel. Yet it is apparent to all, that these wage gains are already seriously threatened by price inflation.

American Big Business is determined to thrust upon the workers the colossal debt of the Second Imperialist World War out of which the Wall Street rulers emerged with the high pile of blood-profits in their history. The corporations are seeking to protect their profits by a form of hidden wage cut—price increases. In this way they intend to rob labor of its recent wage gains.

It is clear that the only effective way the workers can protect their limited wage gains and halt the steady decline in living standards is by fighting to keep their wages abreast of steadily rising prices. The capitalist government, which is concerned first and always with safeguarding profit interests, can not be depended upon in the slightest to "control prices." The record of the OPA is one of consistent concessions to the extortionate price demands of the corporations.

More and more, the most far-

seeing militants in the labor movement have come to appreciate the need to fight for a program which will really defend labor against the consequences of inflation and that this program is best expressed in the slogan: For a sliding scale of wages to meet price rises.

The steel union convention can make a great contribution to the labor movement by adopting as a major plank of its program the demand that there be incorporated into its contracts a clause for a sliding scale of wages that will rise automatically with every rise in the cost of living.

POLITICAL TASKS

What was most clearly revealed during the course of the strike was the weakness of the labor movement in the political arena. The mighty strength of the industrial unions on the economic field is repeatedly negated on the political field.

We have witnessed the spectacle of a Congress representing the tiny class of ruling rich able to contemptuously defy the overwhelming working section of the population. While the CIO leaders, headed by USA-CIO President Philip Murray, complained about the tax rebates and other

methods whereby the government has helped to finance corporation strikebreaking, their voices found little echo in the halls of Congress. Not a single labor voice is being raised in Congress on behalf of 15,000,000 organized workers and their families.

In direct contravention of the strong opposition of the entire union movement, President Truman during the strike wave, not only called for the establishment of semi-compulsory arbitration "fact-finding" boards, but succeeded in imposing such boards on the workers and used them to whittle down the just wage demands of the steel and other unions.

So long as labor follows the policy of "company unionism" in the political field, so long as it looks to the capitalist government, the capitalist "friends of labor" and the Big-Business controlled Democratic and Republican parties to protect the workers' political interests, labor will suffer unending victimization.

It is time for organized labor to discard its antique, bankrupt political policy and to build its own party, a labor party. If a mighty organization like the CIO Steelworkers were to take the lead along with other big unions in forming a labor party, millions of workers and lower middle class people would quickly rally behind such a labor party in the fight against the reactionary monopolists who today rule America.

ORGANIZE SOUTH!

One of the truly great and progressive tasks which the CIO, including the steel union, has set itself is the organization of the Southern workers. The fact that the CIO is now in a position to undertake this crusade with justified hopes of success is one of the true measures of the strength it has gained in the recent strike wave.

But it must be recognized that this organizing drive is no ordinary one. It is not, as leading CIO officers have stated, a "simple trade-union campaign." Effectively conducted, this campaign is bound to conflict with the whole rotten social, economic and political system main-

tained by the white Southern ruling class.

The chief bulwark of that system is organized and legalized Jim Crow, the complete subjugation of the Negro people who form a main source of "cheap labor" in the South, and the rigid division of the workers along racial lines.

Only by the most uncompromising struggle against the Jim-Crow system can the CIO achieve its splendid aims in the South.

AGAINST WITCH-HUNTS

In the Southern campaign, the basic task of uniting the Negro and white workers can be accomplished only if the CIO refuses to adapt itself in any way to the prejudices fostered by the Southern ruling class social system and if the great mass of Negro people are firmly convinced that the CIO is truly their fighting champion for first-class citizenship all up and down the line.

In connection with the Southern drive, the steel workers must be on guard against the sinister and divisive methods of

red-baiting. Already the Southern industrialists and their fascist-minded agents of all stamps are raising the hue and cry against the "red communistic" CIO.

It would be self-defeating for the steel workers to give any aid and encouragement to this anti-labor campaign by supporting red-baiting policies within their union. Any witch-hunt within the union against "reds" could only jeopardize the Southern organizing campaign and give comfort to the bosses, both North and South.

All progressive elements in the labor movement should be uncompromising enemies of Stalinism. But Stalinist influence can be destroyed in the unions only by exposure of their reactionary influence and by counter-posing a genuinely militant program. Any attempt to fight Stalinism by means of red-baiting and bureaucratic expulsions is directed in reality not only against the Stalinists but against the genuine union militants.

Past conventions of the CIO Steelworkers have always raised

115-Day Westinghouse Strike Wins 18 Cents An Hour Raise

PITTSBURGH, May 10.—Agreement in the 115-day-old strike of 75,000 Westinghouse Electric workers was reached yesterday between the CIO United Electrical Workers negotiators and the company. The agreement calls for an 18-cent an hour general wage increase, plus one cent an hour for a fund to equalize wage differentials.

Membership ratification of the new contract is expected to take place at special meetings of 23 Westinghouse locals in 12 states to be held tomorrow. Full terms of the agreement have not yet been made public.

FOUR-MONTH FIGHT

For four months Westinghouse workers have fought courageously against the international trust which arrogantly rejected demands for wage increases of 18½ cents won previously by the simultaneously-called strikes of the General Electric and General

Motors Electrical Division workers.

The best previous counter-offer of Westinghouse had averaged out to a 9.7 cents an hour increase and had totally excluded some 10,000 lamp workers from any wage gains.

In the course of the bitter and prolonged strike, the company had secured the aid of local and state police agencies and courts. Injunctions were issued against mass picketing, and police terrorism was used against strikers in several cities. The company also attempted to split the workers' rank with high-powered propaganda in big newspaper advertisements and unsuccessfully attempted to organize back-to-work movements.

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Belgian Workers Face Wage Freeze

By E. Germain

(Special to The Militant)

BRUSSELS, Apr. 24—The two major points of our analysis of the current situation in Belgium, which appeared in *The Militant* of April 20, have just received rapid and striking confirmation. First, Van Acker has just proved that while he has been able to form a new government, it was only because the capitalists were compelled to have their "dirty job" done by "working class leaders." Second, the workers, on their side, have just proved that while they are in general little interested in the ups and downs in the political field, they react immediately and with admirable understanding to governmental moves in the sphere of prices and wages.

GOVERNMENT PROMISES

In the past months, reformist trade union leaders had promised the workers a rise in their standard of living through a progressive lowering of prices. The Stalinist leaders had demanded a modest increase of 10 or 15 per cent in wages.

Confronted with genuine distress among thousands of families of civil servants (postmen, railway workers, "temporary" employees, etc.), the government had developed a plan for raising payment classifications. Although the plan ignored a whole series of major demands of the workers, it provided an over-all increase of five billion francs for hundreds of thousands of employees and workers in the state service.

THE BOSSES COMMAND AND VAN ACKER ACTS

But the bosses are opposed even to these measures, modest as they are in the light of the real gap between prices and wages. (Wages are fixed at the index 220 with 1938 as base, whereas prices have risen to 400 or 450.) Several days before the time when the government's promises were to become effective, the reactionary press began a vigorous campaign against the "wasteful policy" of the government. At the same time speculators caused a drop in the price of government bonds on the Bourse.

Thereupon Van Acker became panicky. Capitulating before the pressure of the bosses and stock-brokers, he called reporters and trade union representatives to a conference. His statement had "the effect of an atomic bomb." He cynically acknowledged that prices, instead of declining, have continued to go up. He admitted that the black market had not disappeared but grown greater. How did he react to this situation?

He announced that the wage freeze will be more rigorously enforced, that bosses allowing wage increases will be punished, and that only a billion, instead of five billion, will be given as wage increases to civil servants! The only thing he promised was a "rigorous control" by the government over prices! (1), when, according to his own admission, this same control has not prevented a continuous rise in the cost of living!

STORMY WORKING CLASS REACTION

As many as ten days before Van Acker's statement, the Belgian workers had begun, in some degree throughout the country, isolated actions for wage increases. Van Acker's statement unleashed a veritable storm of protest. Van Acker himself had to admit that Belgium is currently going through the "gravest social crisis," one equal to that of November 1944 (disarming of the partisans) and of May 1945 (miners' strike).

Strike movements have broken out in various coal pits at Borinage, Centre and Verviers. About 8,000 shipyard workers at Antwerp organized the most powerful working class demonstration that has been seen since "liberation." The streetcar conductors of Charleroi have stopped work. The threat of strike hangs over the metal works of Liege and Carlingue. And finally, the civil service employees are preparing mass demonstrations at Brussels and Borinage while waiting for their union to decide whether or not it will call a strike.

TRADE UNION LEADERS WANT TO AVOID STRUGGLE

The Stalinist and reformist trade union leaders, completely tied to the policy of "class collaboration," want at all cost to avoid an extension of strike struggles which would endanger the "rebuilding of the country." It matters little to them that this "rebuilding" has up to now filled only the coffers of the capitalists, while the closets of the workers remain as empty as their wallets in the middle of the week.

It matters little to the Stalinist and reformist trade union heads that thousands of miners are used up at the age of 30, slowly murdered by silicosis and tied down to their homes with a miserable pension of four and a half dollars a week. At the same time, the "socialist" Van Acker goes to Lisbon to treat his sinus!

In order to prevent once again a workers' revolt, the Stalinist and "socialist" labor leaders urge the workers to pin their hopes on the next "Labor Conference" which in two weeks will bring together representatives of the workers, bosses and government.

Trotskyist militants of the Internationalist Communist Party, whose patient propaganda has just received striking confirmation, are warning the workers that these discussions with the bosses and government agents will bring them nothing that they haven't already won through their own efforts in struggle.

Due to the complete failure of the trade union leaders to organize strike struggles, a tendency to quit the trade unions is becoming more and more apparent in the workers' ranks. STRIKE COMMITTEES must reappear and effectively lead the workers' battle FOR A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES AND FOR WORKERS' CONTROL OVER PRICES.

These are the Trotskyist slogans in the current crisis. The Trotskyists call on the Belgian workers to have no confidence either in the promises of the government or the maneuvers of the bureaucrats. Only general and united workers' action can result in victories. The most advanced elements of all the workers' parties and unions together with the Trotskyist militants must prepare for this action.

FRENCH TROTSKYIST POLICY ON CONSTITUTION BALLOT

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

PARIS, April 28—At a Central Committee meeting held on April 23, the Parti Communiste Internationaliste reversed its previous stand of boycotting the current referendum on the constitution adopted by the French Constituent Assembly. The majority of the Central Committee voted to instruct the party to participate in the referendum for a yes vote on the constitution.

The change in position was motivated by its sponsors as follows. Since the MRP (the capitalist party in the coalition with the Socialists and Stalinists) had withdrawn its support of the constitution, the lineup in the referendum is transformed into a test of strength between the workers' parties who are for a yes vote and the bourgeois parties who are for a no vote. Under these circumstances, the CC by a small majority held, the party must side with the former and utilize the campaign in order to agitate for a complete break of the SP and CP, with the MRP and for an SP-CP-CGT (Trade Union) government.

The minority of the CC held that it was impermissible in principle to vote for a constitution which consecrates private property and the bourgeois state in

its fundamentals, and proposed that the party call for the casting of ballots in the referendum inscribed: "For a Workers' and Peasants' Government."

May 6.—The proposed new Constitution was rejected yesterday by a vote of 10,450,000 to 9,280,000. The rejection of the Stalinist-Socialist sponsored Constitution indicates a rightward shift in the relation of political forces in France. By participating in the capitalist government and thus assuming responsibility for the continued chaos in French economy, the Stalinist-Socialist bloc is beginning to lose the confidence particularly of the petty-bourgeois sections of the population.

Only a radical turn to an independent political course can prevent further gains by the reactionary Big Business parties. This turn, long advocated by the French Trotskyists, would mean above all breaking the coalition with the capitalist MRP and setting out on the road to an SP-CP-CGT government.

Trotsky's Biography Of Stalin -- The Meaning Of The Attacks Upon It

FOOD SHIPMENTS DWINDLE AS FAMINE SWEEPS WORLD

By Charles Carsten

A famine of such sweeping proportions that it threatens the majority of the world's population with starvation is raging in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Islands of the Pacific. This unprecedented catastrophe is a direct result of the breakdown, chaos and decay of capitalist economy, and of the terrible devastation wrought by six years of imperialist war.

The very extent of the famine is irrefutable proof that it is a man-made catastrophe.

What are those responsible for this famine, the imperialist rulers, doing to alleviate the suffering and dying throughout the world? Amid great fanfare, they organized the UNRRA. But relief shipments by UNRRA to Europe have fallen to 66 per cent of the grains needed to maintain even starvation level rations.

In the first week of May the United States fell 150,000 tons short of its commitments, according to Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson, who said on May 7 that it would be "extremely difficult" to meet goals set for the next two months.

The Combined Food Board, which has all the surplus grains

in the world, allotted UNRRA 491,000 tons of bread grains for May instead of the 700,000 requested. UNRRA's request was barely enough to maintain the present starvation level rations in Europe.

Although CFB promised 250,000 tons a week, only 100,000 tons of wheat and flour were delivered during the first week of May. This followed the pattern set by scanty shipments during previous months.

Of the 13,900 tons of rice promised, 32 tons were shipped. Of the 161,500 tons of bread cereals promised, 89,000 tons were shipped. Of the 12,000 tons of fats promised, about one fifth—2,440 tons—were shipped.

DIRE PREDICTIONS

Food shipments are not only far below the minimum needed to prevent millions upon millions of people from starving to death, but no one is optimistic about the future. The Department of Agriculture's latest prediction is that Europe's food shortage may last into 1950.

The critical food scarcity in Europe is only exceeded by the appalling situation in Asia and the Pacific Islands. Conditions in India are typical of those in China, Indonesia, Indo-China and other parts of the Far East.

Washington officials hypocritically comment on the horrible, famine threatening India while, at the same time, they cut grain allotments to the country by almost half. Only 265,000 tons of the 500,000 tons sought was allocated to India by the CFB.

According to Sir Girja Bajpai, Indian agent general, 100,000,000 Indians are now living on the near starvation ration of 9.6 ounces a day. India has been "promised" about half enough grain to maintain this scandalously low ration.

CFB officials say not more than 20,000 tons will be sent by the United States.

Starvation In China



Emaciated, weary Chinese men, women and children sit in a village courtyard waiting for their pitiful allotments of rice. Such tragic scenes are common today throughout Asia and Europe as famine threatens tens of millions of lives.

Opposition Group In Dutch CP Challenges Stalinist Leaders

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

AMSTERDAM, April — An organized opposition, which showed considerable strength at the last national congress of the party and has since grown, is challenging the Stalinist leadership within the ranks of the Dutch Communist Party itself.

The fact alone that the Stalinists have had to tolerate this opposition is testimony to its strength and deep roots. Such a phenomenon has not been known inside any Communist (Stalinist) Party in more than a decade and a half. Very likely it foreshadows similar developments in other countries.

One of the main issues dividing the opposition from the Stalinist leadership is the question of Indonesia. The opposition

takes a firm stand along the lines of traditional communist anti-imperialist policy. Recently this issue has led to a public clash around the figure of Tan Malakka, the Indonesian Communist leader arrested by the Sjahrir government and denounced by the Stalinists as a Trotskyist. The Dutch Opposition has addressed the following telegram to the Indonesian government:

"The Opposition in the Communist Party of the Netherlands (Waarheid) protests vigorously against the arrest of Tan Malakka Yoesoef and other Indian revolutionaries. We demand their immediate liberation. The Opposition in the C.P.N., contrary to the official leadership, supports the point of view of absolute independence for Indonesia.

For the Dutch Opposition, (Signed Maurice Ferarez"

Arabs And Jews Display Solidarity As Strike Wave Sweeps Palestine

By T. Cliff

(Special to The Militant)

JERUSALEM, Apr. 25 — The biggest strikes in the history of Palestine, far surpassing any which have taken place until now, broke out during the last fortnight.

On the 9th of April, 500 Arab and Jewish workers in the Post and Telegraph Services in Tel Aviv and Jaffa came out on strike.

On the 10th the strike spread to the Post and Telegraph services in all other parts of the country, encompassing altogether 2,000 workers and employees. The workers of Broadcasting House in Jerusalem and Ramallah joined the strike on the same day.

On the 15th, government employees of the Second Division—the lower-paid employees constituting more than 90 per cent of all civil servants—came out on strike in Haifa and were joined two days later by the Second Division civil servants of the whole country who are 20,000 strong in all. On the same day the railway workers of the whole country—7,000 strong—and the workers of the Haifa and Jaffa ports—1,500 strong—joined the strike.

(It must be pointed out that the third part of the country, that of Tel Aviv, continued working throughout the period of the strike. The Histadruth—the General Federation of Jewish Labor—was unwilling to jeopardize Zionist activity.)

AWAKENS RESPONSE

The strike now encompassed a total of about 30,000 civil servants. It awakened responses in many other places. The employees of the war departments (Control of Light Industry, Control of Heavy Industry, Censorship, etc.)—5,000 strong—made a demonstration strike of three hours, declaring that they would stop work fully if the Government used soldiers to break the strike or transferred employees of the war departments to the departments where Second Division civil servants worked.

The workers of three privately owned factories in Ramallah

also struck and the workers of another cigarette factory, the biggest in the country, threatened to come out if their demands were not acceded to. The municipal employees of Acre and Gaza and a part of the municipal workers in Haifa joined the strike. Work was also ceased for a day by a few hundred workers and employees of Spinneys Ltd., the biggest commercial company in the country, who demanded recognition of their organization. 150 workers of the police garage in Haifa joined the strike.

Great ferment was felt among the workers of the petroleum companies and the military camps, the former 3,000 and the latter about 30,000 strong. The daily workers of the Public Works Department—about 10,000—also showed great readiness for action. The strike encompassed all in all about 32,000 workers, while about 50,000 stood behind them, greatly stirred by their action and ready to join them if called upon.

What were the demands of the strikers? The daily workers in the Post and Telegraph Departments receive 96 cents to \$1.12 a day, even if they are skilled; and it takes three to four years before a daily worker becomes an employee on a monthly salary. The employees receive a basic salary of about \$24 a month and a maximum of \$60 after 14 years of service. Postmen comprise a special category which cannot

rise above \$36. The majority of the Post and Telegraph employees and workers were not included in a pension scheme, all they were entitled to being compensation of one week's salary for every year of work.

GREAT PRIVATION The basic wage in the railways is \$1.20 a day, in the port 96 cents, in the Public Works Department 96 cents, in the oil refineries \$1.28. Other conditions of labor, pension, etc., are not dissimilar to those of the Post and Telegraph workers and employees. A family of five or six—the norm among the Arabs—living on \$12 or \$16 a month, which was the income of unskilled daily workers of the Government, municipalities and foreign companies before the war, obviously suffered great privation. The lot of the lower employees was hardly better.

The cost of living during the war steadily rose until today it is, according to the government index, 258. But the cost of living allowance of the workers and employees did not rise to anywhere near this figure, and was less than half of the real cost of living.

The demands of the Second Division civil servants were similar to those of the Post and Telegraph employees but somewhat greater.

NO SCABS

The government attempted to break the strike by recruiting strikebreakers, but despite the promises of high payment no scab could be found. It tried also to divide the united ranks of Arab and Jewish workers, but again without any success whatsoever. Emir Abdullah—the "independent" ruler of Transjordan—also spoke on behalf of the government, flaunting high-sounding national slogans in order to win the Arab workers and employees back to work, but his appeal fell on deaf ears.

The workers showed great militancy and unflinching international solidarity. The only strikebreakers were British soldiers who to some extent, carried on the work in the railways and post offices. Large demonstrations were held throughout the period of the strike, and it was most encouraging to see immense processions of strikers making their way through the Arab and Jewish quarters carrying slogans in Arabic and Hebrew calling for support.

The strike of Second Division employees and Post and Telegraph workers and employees ended on April 23 and that of the railways on the 24th.

(The second part of this dispatch will appear in next week's Militant.)

They also called for an 8-hour day and payment for overtime; three weeks' annual paid leave; full compensation in case of accidents (compensation given until now was half the wage, not exceeding \$4 a week); those dismissed to receive a compensation of two weeks' pay for every year of work with the addition of cost of living allowance (until now it was only one week's pay for every year of work without cost of living allowance). There were other lesser demands.

The demands of the Second Division civil servants were similar to those of the Post and Telegraph employees but somewhat greater.

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By John G. Wright

This is the first in a series of articles that "The Militant" will carry in connection with the publication of Leon Trotsky's biography of Stalin.

Few biographies have created the sensation aroused by the release of "Stalin" to the public. The reason for this and for the importance attached to this book can be fully understood only in the light of all the circumstances surrounding it. Years before the book itself reached the hands of the readers it had already become the center of vast international intrigue and struggle.

Who was more qualified to write a biography of the Kremlin dictator than Trotsky? In addition to his great literary gifts, his exceptional objectivity and his unquestioned ability to interpret events and individuals, Leon Trotsky brought to this work the knowledge of an eyewitness and a direct participant in the decisive events that shaped Stalin's entire career.

Trotsky was the lone survivor abroad of the entire generation of Lenin's leading collaborators. That is why Stalin feared him so; that is why he lamented in public that he had made a "mistake" in agreeing to exile Trotsky to Turkey in 1929.

Trotsky knew the truth about Stalin's role in the counter-revolution in the USSR and was able to tell it better than anyone else. Stalin reached his decision to murder Trotsky long before the latter began working on this book. As a matter of fact, one of the reasons for staging the infamous Moscow frameups of 1936-38, in which Trotsky and his son Sedov figured as the principal defendants, was to prepare politically for the subsequent assassinations of both.

TRY TO BURN ARCHIVES

When the news reached the Kremlin that Trotsky had begun work on "Stalin," the GPU redoubled its activities. They spared no efforts to destroy not only the author but also his archives and the manuscript. The GPU machinegun squad that assaulted Trotsky's home in Mexico on the night of May 24, 1940 tried to set his library on fire with incendiary bombs.

Trotsky was hastening to complete the manuscript, and was actually at work on it when the GPU assassin finally struck him down on August 20, 1940.

But while Stalin succeeded in preventing Trotsky from finishing the book, he was unable to destroy it. The most important sections dealing with Stalin's real role in the Bolshevik movement prior to and during the Russian revolution, were completed. This part of Stalin's past is one of the Kremlin bureaucracy's most jealously guarded secrets. Stalin has for years sought to eradicate every trace of it. Documents and books in the USSR relating to this period have been systematically destroyed, and countless others falsified.

BOOK RECALLED

The remaining part of "Stalin" (beginning with chapter VII) was left unfinished, but nevertheless in suitable form for publication. Harper and Brothers arbitrarily decided, however, that the man hired to translate the book should "edit" it. Whereupon the translator proceeded to interpolate material into the unfinished chapters. The views in some of these interpolations run directly counter to Trotsky's own ideas.

After thus tampering with the

text, the publishers then announced its publication in the fall of 1941. But it was not released. Even the review copies, already sent out, were recalled. This was one of the many favors that Roosevelt and the State Department accorded at the time to their "ally" in the Kremlin. Just as there were political motives for the suppression of "Stalin" in 1941, so, too, the break-up of the wartime alliance between Moscow and Washington permits the publishers to release the book in 1946.

Trotsky's treatment of Stalin's life has been subjected to attack by both capitalist critics and spokesmen for the Kremlin. The capitalist reviewers assail the book because its author personifies the Russian and world socialist revolution, and in his ideas defends the interests of the workers against all their enemies and misleaders.

The task of the Stalinist agents is to lie, slander and vilify the biography just as they lied, slandered and vilified its author when he was alive. Stalin must try to cast a shadow over the book because even from a purely factual standpoint it contains material highly damaging to the fraudulent biography the Kremlin despot has manufactured for himself.

While the Daily Worker as yet remains studiously silent, the work of defamation is being carried on, for the time being, by journalistic prostitutes who assume the pose of impartial observers. We will deal in detail with this two-front attack by the capitalist and GPU reviewers in a subsequent article.

VALUABLE HISTORY

The book is valuable not only from the standpoint of the data it contains on Stalin and Stalinism but also from the standpoint of the history of the Bolshevik Party. Before he began working on "Stalin," Trotsky had been engaged in preparing a biography of Lenin. Because of its relevance, Trotsky transferred a great deal of the material intended for use in that latter volume into the work on Stalin. In point of content it is the most brilliant product of Trotsky's pen.

This outstanding biography in Marxist literature is, by a savage irony of history, the biography of the most abysmal betrayer of Marxism.

"Stalin" deserves the attention of every serious worker who is interested in the struggle for socialism. It casts an illuminating light on the real issues in the struggle between Trotsky and Stalin. This struggle was not at all a personal feud but a life and death duel between two diametrically opposed systems of ideas. What separates these two systems of ideas is the class struggle. Trotsky remained on the workers' side of the barricade; Stalin deserted to the class enemy. Precisely for this reason this biography constitutes a powerful political weapon for the class-conscious workers.

Korean Labor Pleads For Aid Against Brutal American Rule

(Continued from Page 1)

leader of the reactionaries, was placed on the AMG's council to advise on the creation of a provisional government. Kidnapped labor leaders were recently found imprisoned in the cellar of Syngman's palace.

MPs BREAK STRIKES

AMG is giving great aid to the Korean Democratic Party, a misnamed organization which is headed by the brothers Kim Seung Soo and Kim Yun Soo, both former members of the central advisory council to the Japanese governor-general. When workers at a textile factory operated by Kim Yun Soo struck last November, American military police helped break the strike.

Zepelin also reports that although there was a bumper crop of rice last year, rice has been rationed by AMG at a level below even the Japanese wartime allowance.

The Korean Federation of Trade Unions came into formal existence last November at a convention of 650 delegates from 17 national unions. The federa-

tion now has 800,000 members and speaks for 2,000,000 workers in both the American and Soviet zones of occupation. While there can be little doubt that there is considerable Stalinist influence in its leadership, it is clearly a genuine and powerful working class movement.

ONE STRUGGLE

The Korean trade unionists concluded their appeal to the CIO with the following plea:

"We bring this situation to your attention because we feel that American workers must want to know how their fellow workers in Korea are faring."

"We feel that American and Korean workers even now are engaged in common struggle... The same groups who threaten our independence are the ones who seek to erase the gains made by organized American workers and eventually, if they can, to destroy American workers' organizations. The success of these groups, either in America or Korea, can only lead to a new growth of fascism and eventually to a catastrophic war."

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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

The Capitalist World A Year After V-E Day

A year has passed since the cease-fire order silenced the guns of World War II in Europe. What has happened in that year to the promises made by the capitalist rulers to gain support for their imperialist war? How do these promises square with the realities of life today?

What has happened to the promise that World War II would bring freedom from fear? The promise that victory would bring freedom from want? That defeat of the Axis powers would secure world-wide democracy?

"Freedom From Want"

In the United States the promise to stabilize prices has been broken. Prices began skyrocketing with the outbreak of the war and they have been spiraling upward ever since. Now the removal of virtually all price controls threatens further staggering slashes in the standard of living of the masses.

Every attempt of the workers to maintain their standard of living through wage increases has been met head-on by the employer-government combination. The profits of the bosses, on the other hand, already swollen during the war to levels never before seen in history, have been guaranteed and underwritten by a legislative machine completely dominated by Wall Street.

The returning veterans have found—not a land of plenty—but a land haunted by the specter of mass unemployment and hunger. Many cannot find either homes or decent jobs. Over all the working people hangs the continuous threat of vicious anti-labor legislation designed to shackle the trade unions and degrade the standard of living.

In Europe conditions are catastrophic. Factories, mines, mills and transportation lie in ruins. Millions are unemployed; millions homeless. Crop-production is far below pre-war levels. Raging inflation drains away the pitiful earnings of those workers fortunate enough to find jobs. Famine now threatens tens of millions. The diseases that follow in the wake of war are spreading beyond control. Throughout the colonial lands a famine such as the world has never before experienced threatens to decimate the majority of the human race.

This is the "freedom from want" promised by the capitalist rulers who plunged mankind into the Second World War for the sake of profits, plunder, colonies and spheres of influence.

The picture of the promised democracy that would emerge from the Second World War is not any better.

Throughout Europe reactionary dictatorships exercise a brutal police rule over the masses. Anglo-American imperialism maintains huge standing armies. Bayonets "Made in America" bolster up decayed monarchies. Machine-guns fired at the command of British and American generals answer the attempts of the European peoples to end the hated rule of the decrepit regimes which plunged them into their present misery.

In the colonies the Anglo-American imperialists have waged all-out war to keep in oppression the teeming millions who seek independence. In Java, Indo-China, India, the Arab world and China, all the promises of Anglo-American imperialism about freedom have gone up in the smoke of bombs and artillery fire.

In the United States itself democracy did not come to the Negro people and other minority groups. They were not even granted the sop of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee. The foulest type of reaction has been encouraged and bolstered. In Congress the Southern Bourbons have scored victory after victory. The Ku Klux Klan has again raised its hooded head.

"Freedom From Fear"

What happened to the promise to bring freedom from fear? A few months after V-E day American imperialism ushered in the age of atomic energy. They did it by utterly destroying two great cities, snuffing out in a few short seconds the lives of hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of civilians. Since that time the military clique have worked in secret to develop the atomic bomb to thousands of times the colossally destructive force demonstrated at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The manufacture of these bombs proceeds at feverish pace.

Instead of enduring peace, the capitalist

rulers of the world have no perspective but preparation for the Third World War. They themselves assure the public that in the first few minutes of this approaching war forty to fifty million inhabitants of the United States may be snuffed out and the major cities reduced to smoking rubble.

In preparation for this war of continents, Wall Street is establishing a perimeter of permanent military bases that embraces both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The cost of American militarism is projected in astronomical sums, but this terrible burden on the people is of small concern to Congress. Wall Street wants the most colossal military machine in history.

This is how the capitalist rulers have carried out their promise to bring freedom from fear!

The Only Hope

Against this dark and bloody background, the International Conference of the Fourth International, held in Belgium last month, shines like a beacon.

For the Fourth International was the only organization which did not betray or desert the workers. During the war the Fourth International remained true to its great goal of socialism. It not only survived the combined blows of fascism, "democratic" imperialism and the degenerate Stalinist bureaucracy, but even grew stronger. It told the workers the truth before the war and during the war despite all the attempts to silence its voice.

The Fourth International declared at the outbreak of hostilities that the Second World War would inevitably lead to a still worse cataclysm unless the anarchy of the dying capitalist system is replaced by the planned order of socialism. Everything that has happened since V-E Day has confirmed this grave warning.

No wonder that the Manifesto of the Conference of the Fourth International, printed in last week's Militant, is of such importance to the working class. It points to the only road that can save humanity from a Third World War. It points to the only road that can end the barbaric rule of capitalism.

The Manifesto recognizes the formidable obstacles that still lie in the way of the workers, but it likewise recognizes the signs of a great revolutionary upsurge on the part of the oppressed throughout the world—the powerful strike wave in the United States, the magnificent fight for freedom by the colonial peoples, the mounting opposition in Latin America to Wall Street's domination and the profoundly revolutionary sentiments of the masses in Europe, as well as the leftward shift of the petty bourgeoisie everywhere.

The Manifesto does not close its eyes to the surface strength of world imperialism and its lackeys. But it bases itself on the far greater—and in final analysis, invincible—strength of the masses once their revolutionary energies are harnessed to the leadership and program of revolutionary socialism.

The war broke communications among the international revolutionary socialists but it did not break the political ties binding them together. Now united organizationally as well as politically, the striking power and effectiveness of the Fourth International will grow by leaps and bounds in the period of great class struggles that lies ahead. Workers in this country who want to end the anarchy of capitalism and usher in the socialist order of enduring peace and plenty should study the program of the Fourth International. It constitutes the most powerful weapon in the arsenal of the working class.

Wages And Prices

American workers are faced with a grave problem—how to keep up the family income in the face of continuously mounting prices. The solution to this problem at first sight seems very difficult.

Price "controls" as operated by the employer-dominated government have proved completely ineffective. During the war, capitalists got around these regulations by diverting goods to the black market and by other devices. And now nearly all these official price-fixing measures, extremely lax at best, are being tossed into the ash can.

Again and again the workers have gone out on the picket line to fight for wage increases that would enable them to meet the price hikes and thus maintain their standard of living. But even the most encouraging victories in the strike struggle have proved short-lived. The reasons are not difficult to determine.

Each wage increase has meant a cut in profits for the capitalists. But the capitalists always and everywhere fight tooth and nail to keep up their rate of profit and increase it no matter what the cost in terms of human suffering.

Consequently the employers clamp a vise on the workers. They supplement the assault on wage standards with continuous efforts to boost prices. With fresh price increases the capitalists succeed in wiping out the wage gains. In this economic struggle conducted by the capitalists against the workers, the standard of living of the working class is steadily depressed.

But the workers can escape from the jaws of this vise. The solution is to include in their union contracts a rising scale of wages. Such a provision would operate as follows: Wages are pegged to the cost of living as determined by responsible and reliable statistical agencies such as those maintained by the AFL and the CIO. When the cost of living goes up, then in accordance with the provisions of the union contract, the employers would be compelled automatically to raise wages in direct proportion to the rise in living costs.

It is important to note that the rising scale of wages is not pegged to the profits of the bosses, to sales, or to production. Wages are pegged to the real cost of living.

This effective solution to the problem of skyrocketing prices is simplicity itself. But it can be won, like any other reasonable demand of the working class, only through militant action. The first step is for the workers to understand its necessity and feasibility.



"Why Yvette — how can you DREAM of asking for a day off, with the nation facing this dreadful coal crisis?"

Workers' BOOKSHELF

TERROR IN TENNESSEE, published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1946, 10 pp.

This pamphlet establishes the authentic facts in the Columbia, Tennessee Jim-Crow outrage, when on February 25, the white ruling class unleashed savage armed warfare and wholesale atrocities against the defenseless, segregated Negro community of this town.

The facts are based upon the findings of Maurice Weaver, a white Chattanooga attorney, Z. Alexander Looby, Nashville Tennessee member of the National Legal Committee of the NAACP, and Walter White, Secretary of the Association, as well as other reliable NAACP investigators who were rushed into the community immediately following the events.

ORGY OF TERROR

The orgy of Jim-Crow terror and devastation, the pamphlet begins, arose out of an altercation between Gladys Stephenson, a Negro woman and William Fleming, a white radio repairman. Mrs. Stephenson told Fleming that the faulty repair job "was certainly not worth the money she was being charged." When Fleming physically assaulted her, Mrs. Stephenson's 19-year-old son, just returned from three years' service in the Navy, rushed to her defense.

A police officer rushed into the hostile crowd which was milling around and punching the mother and son, and immediately clubbed the boy. Then "mother and son were hustled off to the jail."

What followed, the pamphlet states, "is as shocking a tale of mass terrorism, unbridled vandalism and murder as America has known since the hooded Klan first robbed, mutilated and burned defenseless Negro citizens."

Immediately after the distur-

bance, the Negro population of the town, "Dixie-wise" through years of experience with white mob violence and lynchings, "quietly left other sections of the town and retired to the doubtful security of their own segregated community."

By 7 o'clock the white gangsters, intoxicated with race hate and alcohol, descended upon the jail and dynamited the mother and son. However, through the energetic action of Negro citizens, they had been taken to safety out of town. But this was the signal to the Negro people "that the mob was hell-bent on another lynch spree."

Quickly and quietly, within the Negro community, "doors were locked and window shades drawn. The children were swiftly herded into the back rooms or in the attics. There were no lights. The area huddled silent and blacked out except for one feeble street lamp. The families huddled together in their tiny houses and waited."

But the savage terror was not halted by this retirement. "Shots were fired into the Negro community by members of the mob. Bands of white men, fully armed, roamed the adjoining streets. Several cars tore through the darkened area pumping shots into the houses..."

At dawn on Tuesday morning "zero hour" brought official reinforcements who backed up the white gangsters in the name of the LAW. "State patrolmen and guardsmen in full battle dress, armed with tommy-guns, automatic rifles and machine guns, lay down a barrage, battle fashion... Volley after volley crashed into the pitiful wooden walls of the beleaguered houses..."

machine gun bullets whipped into the windows and doors of the silent buildings. Walls disintegrated in the face of the hot machine-gun blasts. Inside their homes, Negro citizens, men, women and children, lay flattened against their quivering floors."

Then the American storm troopers "rushed" the houses. "The frightened people were clubbed and jabbed. Screaming children running wildly for their mothers were sent sprawling. The people, stunned and covered with blood, were pushed and thrown into the streets. Hot guns were jabbed into their stomachs..."

Meanwhile, working in storm-trooper platoons, other guardians of the LAW smashed through the entire business district of the Negro people leaving a shambles of destruction behind them, looting, burning and robbing the cash registers.

Throughout the country the venal capitalist "press and radio erupted: RIOTING NEGROES UNDER CONTROL!"

Over 100 Negro citizens were rushed to the jail and held incommunicado. Only the nationwide protest raised by labor and progressive groups plus the immediate intercession of the NAACP and its legal counsel, halted a mass Jim-Crow frame-up of imprisonments and death sentences against the Negro population.

But the war of the capitalist-inspired scum against the Negro citizens is not yet over. A grand jury is still to be called to try 28 Negroes, 18 of whom are under bond and 12 of whom were not named, with "attempted murder in the first degree."

The pamphlet concludes: "Today the Klan rides again, but today it rides in armored cars. It wears cap and visor and shining badge. It spews forth death from machine-gun and tommy-gun. Its face wears the expression of the Nazi storm trooper, terror of helpless Jews. It is the LAW."

Reviewed by
Larissa Reed

Congressmen At Work

Many of the men now in the Senate and House of Representatives drifted into their present way of life only after desperate attempts to succeed in other and more honorable occupations. From time to time the better nature of these servants of the capitalist class asserts itself and they nostalgically recall the days when they earned an honest living.

Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho, for instance, remembers when he was on the vaudeville circuit: "I was merely a poor ham actor... I never saw Broadway..."

We had to go into the small communities, to cross-road halls and schoolhouses which the talkies had not reached. Many times we have taken farm produce, chickens—sometimes live chickens—and vegetables, in exchange for tickets to our show."

Finally Taylor went out of the show business "because there was no longer any place to put on shows. I organized a cowboy band. So I took the cowboy band and campaigned with them. I was fourth in a field of nine in the primaries in that race for Congress. In encouraged me."

Another Congressman who once engaged in a more honest occupation, but one closely allied to his present profession, is Representative Lanham of Texas. "As gentlemen of the House know,"



said Representative Mundt of South Dakota, lauding Lanham's remarkable talents, "the gentleman from Texas before entering Congress was something of a magician. It may be that after he retires from Congress he will go back to the practice of that elusive art. The speaker now addressing you was at one time something of an amateur magician himself, so he knows something about the many ramifications of the hidden art."

Whether the Honorable Jennings Randolph of West Virginia ever practiced as a poet is not certain; but he delights in filling the Congressional Record with the poetry of others and sometimes he gives indications or personal urges that do not seem in strict consonance with the brutal

task of legislating for Wall Street. On March 21, for instance, without any warning at all to his fellow politicians, Randolph suddenly gave way to the thought of spring:

"It is warming to watch the mantle of green which nature covers over every blossoming tree. The trembling soil is painted when March and April unlock the flowers. The fragrant air seems to hold a new strength which is stimulating to tired hearts, frayed minds and taut nerves."

"Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, allow me to turn your thoughts, for a brief moment, from the rather brittle legislative tasks to which we are chained. Let us realize that: "Once more the Heavenly Power Makes all things new, And domes the red-plough'd hills

With loving blue; The blackbirds have their wills, And thrushes too."

"Soon we shall have again the spring rains."

It is gifts such as these—learned before they degenerated into capitalist politicians—that enable the Congressmen to endure year after year the weary labor of carrying on their legislative tasks for Wall Street.

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

The Buffalo CIO Program For Vets

Continuing to lead the way in the trade union organization of ex-servicemen, the Buffalo CIO Council Veterans Committee, composed of representatives from veterans committees in 15 CIO locals in the area, has adopted a broad program and begun a vigorous campaign to make it a reality.

On April 28 the Committee held a rally calling for action to end the housing crisis and to improve other conditions for all veterans. The Committee's program was presented to the CIO and unemployed veterans attending the meeting.

One of the speakers, Hugh Thompson, CIO regional director and president of the Greater Buffalo Industrial Council, expressed and denounced the Big Business lobbies that are blocking housing legislation and declared: "The CIO recognizes that the problem of veteran housing... is the problem of organized labor."

"The veterans' housing problem," he continued, "has become the spearhead of the fight for decent low-cost housing for the whole American people."

Alexander Hall, vice president of Local 568 UAW-CIO, pointed out the significant gains made by the 15 committees now in existence in the CIO locals. These included, he said, settlement of numerous grievances and the creation of greater confidence by the veterans in their union.

Calling attention to widespread unemployment among veterans, Leon Rothman, executive board member of the CIO Council's Veterans Committee, said 14,000 veterans were unemployed in the area. Since many of the employed veterans have lower seniority than most of the workers in their plants, he predicted veterans would be the first to lose their jobs when lay-offs came. This means, he declared, that the time to start organizing the unemployed veterans within the union movement is now.

The program of the Buffalo CIO Council Veterans Committee follows.

CIO VETERANS' PROGRAM

Adequate, low-cost, low-rental housing for all, with priorities for veterans.

Immediate use of all available building materials and vacant buildings to meet emergency housing requirements for vets.

Open up the junked war plants (Curtiss, Kenmore and Bell, Elmwood), to manufacture housing for long range requirements and at the same time create jobs for veterans at trade union wages.

Immediate passage of the Veterans Emergency Housing by Congress without any crippling amendments which aid building and real estate interests.

Full support to all progressive veteran legislation. Amend the "GI Bill of Rights" to provide larger allotments for education and easier terms for loans.

An end to all employer chiseling on wages and working conditions of vets who return to their jobs.

Equality of all veterans regardless of race, color or religion.

A minimum of \$25 per week to all unemployed vets until employment is secured. Dependency allotments to be continued as the unemployed vet's family needs are as great as they were when he was in uniform and since he is out of work through no fault of his own.

On-the-job training at union wages for all vets who want to learn trades so as to make a better living.

Liberal state and national bonus NOW, when it is needed most.

A Veterans Committee in every local union, and every unemployed vet a member of the CIO Vets unemployed section.

How GM Made Profits Despite 113-Day Strike

General Motors Corporation profits in 1945, when it kept its plants idle for months rather than yield a desperately needed wage increase to the auto workers, soared millions of dollars above 1944 profits. This was revealed recently in GM's annual report to its stockholders.

GM sales dropped by over a billion dollars between 1944 and 1945. Yet the corporation raked in more profits while producing and selling less in 1945, than it had in the full-production wartime year of 1944! How? The difference in profits was a gift from the United States Treasury.

Under the carry-back provisions of the excess profits law, tax-refunds of \$34,000,000 were handed over to GM. In addition, GM made a neat deal on the war plants built by the government at a cost of \$85,000,000 but owned by the corporation. GM cuts its income taxes by \$17,664,800 as "compensation" for the plants it had received free—and then took its annual 20 per cent amortization on these same plants!

By these raids on the treasury, GM not only financed its drive against the auto workers but made extra profits to boot. While the average weekly wage of the GM workers dropped from \$56.70 in 1944 to \$55.90 in 1945, and the workers fought on the picket lines for wage increases to compensate for still further cuts in take-home pay, the corporation held out, secure in the knowledge that its profits would roll in regardless of production.

The use of tax-refunds as a strikebreaking and union-busting weapon was recognized and condemned by Philip Murray, President of the CIO and the United Steelworkers, during the steel strike. Murray then demanded repeal of the tax-steal laws by which the government finances the anti-labor drive of Big Business. But since the settlement of the steel strike, Murray and his associates have dropped this vital question.

In the coming months, as living costs continue to soar, thousands upon thousands more workers will be forced to strike for wage increases. The tax-refund system which filled GM's coffers during the auto strike, are still in effect. They threaten every union with the prospect of a struggle made incomparably longer and more difficult than it might otherwise be.

GM's report to its stockholders should be an object lesson to workers everywhere, spurring them to a renewed fight against these anti-labor provisions of the government tax laws. Only a united, consistent drive by all of labor can force the repeal or amendment of the laws which today finance union-busting with government funds.

NEWARK

Gala Open House

SATURDAY NITE, MAY 25

FOOD DANCING REFRESHMENTS

423 Springfield 8 p.m. Admission Free

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.

Chicago Reader Urges Aid To European Workers

Editor:

It is my understanding that common everyday articles of living are needed by the impoverished people of Europe almost as much as food.

I think it would be a good plan for you to publicize the needs of the peoples of Europe through the pages of The Militant. If a majority of the families in America would contribute whatever they can spare to those in war-stricken areas, it would tide them over until they can again produce their own needs.

F. L.
Chicago, Ill.

(Editor's Note: The Militant urges its readers and friends to contribute food, clothing, and funds to the American Committee for European Workers' Relief: see article on Page 7.)

Veterans Express Support of Los Angeles Transport Strikers

Editor:

Illustrative of the close solidarity between veterans and strikers is an incident I noted while riding on a Pacific Electric Railway car during the strike of the "Yellow Car System."

It might have been expected that the difficulties attendant upon a transportation tie-up would provoke some irritation towards the strikers, especially with the entire capitalist press harping away on this theme.

Not so with the many veterans crowded with the others into the street car. All expressed support of the strikers. One of them told about his ex-servicic buddy who is active in the strike and who said that they were "going to stay out" until they "got their demand."

These veterans also expressed their support to the conductor when he said that the P. E. workers were expecting to go out in another week, and thus tie up the whole city transportation system.

"If we have to, we'll all stay home and take a rest," stated one veteran.

A. L.
Los Angeles

How One Family Suffers In St. Paul's Housing Crisis

Editor:

The story of a 36-year-old mother of nine children, who pleaded with the city building inspection department to halt eviction proceedings, was revealed recently by the St. Paul Daily Press. The mother, Mrs. Dorothy Kane, sole support of her family, phoned the city department from her sickbed to stay wrecking procedure on their home.

As long ago as last January, building inspectors declared this house "one of the most appalling and unfit habitations in St. Paul." But in April Louis Riesch, chief clerk of the division, under heat to do something about this deplorable housing, stated:

"Evicting that family would certainly work an undue hardship on them... We're going to make another survey of the property with a view to recommending some changes which would make the property habitable."

Any changes that a profit-hungry landlord might be willing to make to improve this "appalling and unfit" dwelling would scarcely make the property "habitable." According to Mrs. Kane, the landlord has spent only \$2 on the house since she moved in some time ago. That the city council knows this is apparent, since it condemned the place last March. Now, facing a housing shortage of no minor importance and having no solution to the problem, city officials sigh and "make another survey."

Mrs. Kane and her two oldest sons have promised to find some way to make necessary repairs if they are allowed to remain. But there is little chance for a working mother of nine children to find either the money or time for this, especially when the "home" to be repaired is a dilapidated fire hazard.

For warmth, the house has only a circulating heater which leaks coal gas so that an obnoxious odor fills the rooms. Red-hot coals constantly fall from the stove, igniting the floor — the point of being practically non-existent. Windows are

boarded up or stuffed with rags and cardboard to keep out the cold.

In the five small rooms, the plaster, showing through tattered pieces of wallpaper, has become a mouldy-green mass which crumbles onto the floor — the result of rain leaking through the roof. And for this broken-down shack Mrs. Kane pays \$25 a month rent, not daring to complain to her landlord for fear of eviction.

MOTHER HARRASSED

To the St. Paul Dispatch reporter who interviewed her in January, this harassed mother said: "If only those 'big shots' up in the Capitol could come down here and see what we have to put up with, I'll bet they'd vote for that housing bill. Maybe you, Mr. Reporter, can persuade them in your newspaper to come down and see how we, and a lot of other people, live here in St. Paul."

That was three months ago; Minnesota still has no adequate housing legislation.

The St. Paul YWCA has substantiated Mrs. Kane's story in reports of conditions in this area of St. Paul. It recounts that the children living here don't even have a chance to keep clean, coming from homes where 10 to 12 families must share one bathroom. The YWCA's solution? A "youth project center where teen-agers could pursue hobbies, meet the right sort of people, and learn a worthwhile trade."

To the mothers who must raise families in broken-down "homes" with inadequate heating and cooking and sanitary facilities, a housing program to provide the elements of decent living is a far greater need.

Winifred Nelson
St. Paul, Minn.

Crippled Vets Find 'Nothing To Live For'

Editor:

The same day that I read the article in The Militant dealing with the plight of two veterans who from "Heroes of 1945," had already become "Bums of 1946," I had occasion to ride in a street car with two crippled veterans and saw exactly what was meant.

One of them (one leg missing, the other in bad shape) spoke to me, explaining that the reason that they were drunk was because there was nothing left to live for and that he and his friend (one leg and one hand missing) hated to stay at a prison like the veterans' hospital.

He was bitter over the fact that during the war everyone had glorified them as heroes and now they are just another couple of drunks blocking traffic.

This capitalist system has no trouble at all in creating millions of such broken lives, but is unable in the slightest degree to find them a place in society.

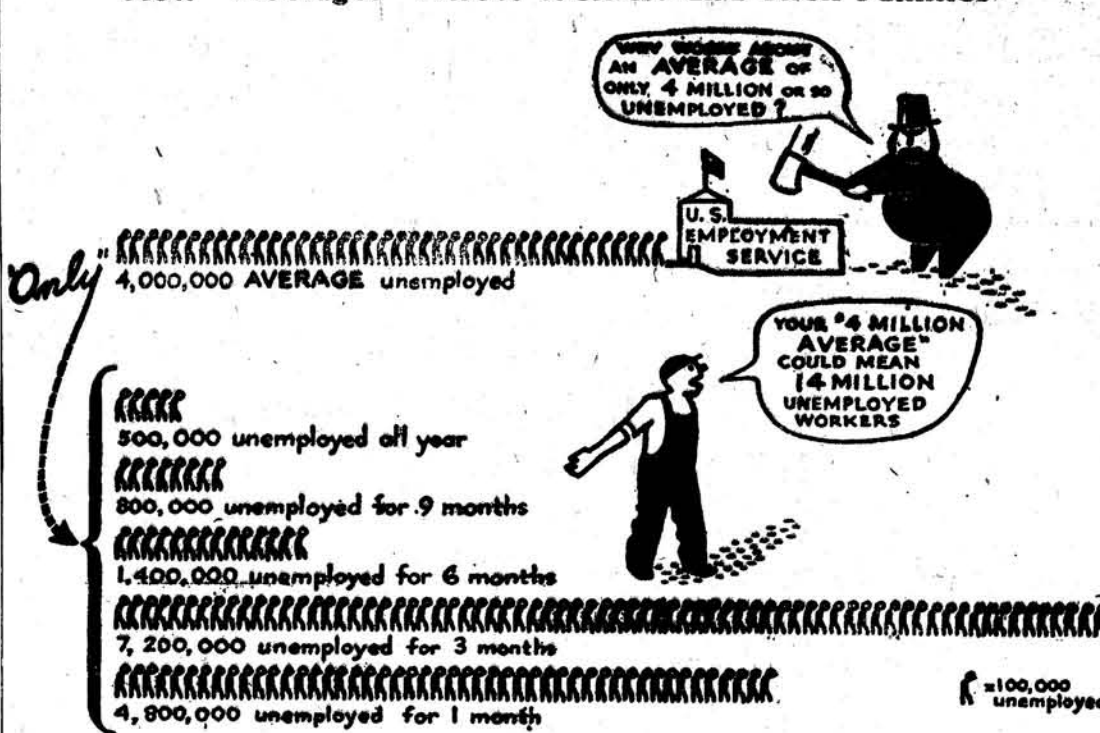
A. L.
Los Angeles



TOLEDO
Turkey Dinner and Social
SAT., MAY 25
Dinner at 6:30
(for reservations call AD 2304)
Social at 8:30
213 Michigan St.

NEW YORK
CENTRAL BRANCH
"Militant" Fund
Social
Saturday, May 18
Special Entertainment!
A Gala Welcome to Out-of-Town Visitors!
116 University Pl. 8 p.m.

How "Averages" Affect Workers and Their Families



Civilian Unemployment Hounds GIs Persecuted By Brass Hats

Editor:

Acknowledged in the press this week were more than one hundred courts-martial sentences of death passed down by the Brass Hats upon GIs during the war for questionable infractions of rules. The tale of such injustice as is now admitted by the army, has to be multiplied by thousands to understand how the military "Boss Courts" functioned.

The following is an example of how freely the Brass passed out "justice":

An enlisted man whom I had befriended in the Navy overseas was accused by his officer of stealing his personal property—without the least verification of who stole the object. Enraged, the enlisted man defended himself by word, and then told the officer that if he were any sort of a man he would take his uniform off and thrash out the personal friction through fistfights.

The officer, with his dignity as a "gentleman" offended, placed the enlisted man on report under the following charges:

1. Insubordination and disobedience to orders.
2. Offending an officer through the use of vile language.
3. Striking an officer.
4. Stealing government property.

Taken through the "proper" court channels, the enlisted man was found "GUILTY" of charges one and two, not guilty of charges three and four.

The punishment for defending

himself was two years at hard labor and a dishonorable discharge.

The officer who provoked the challenge walks scot free, confident that he has brought an arrogant enlisted man to "justice!"

The enlisted man will forever face the task of explaining the dishonorable discharge to those "employment offices" he must go to for a job, and he will be forced to sell his labor on the market cheaper.

Dishonorable discharges in this last war were passed out very freely and it is no coincidence that those men with such discharges are confronted with greater obstacles in obtaining employment. Many are so relieved to get a job at last, that they find themselves under-selling the value of their own labor power. The bosses seeking cheap labor can thus often find it in men with dishonorable discharges.

Investigations by Brass Hats and "liberal" Congressmen on the courts-martial verdicts and the Lichfield atrocities are a sham; a means of "covering up" so that the people will know only a small part of what has taken place, and at the same time those Brass Hats who are responsible and the system of which they are a part, will be protected.

C. BLAKE

Stalinist Leaders Incite Ranks To Assault On Trotskyists

Editor:

A few members of the Communist (Stalinist) Party, incited by their local leaders, attempted to prevent a distribution of the May Day issue of The Militant here in Lackawanna last night. When members of the Socialist Workers Party appeared with the paper outside of Crofton Hall where a CP May Day meeting was about to begin, three or four CP-ers came out of the hall and engaged in name-calling. When this failed to intimidate the SWP distributors, who upheld their democratic right to hand out The Militant, an attempt was made to rip the papers from the hands of the girls carrying them.

In the scuffle that followed a few Militants were torn and one girl distributor received a glancing blow on the mouth. A large crowd collected as the SWP members fought back successfully and loudly denounced the hooligan and anti-working class methods used by the Stalinist leadership against political opponents.

The attitude of most of the CP members and sympathizers attending the meeting was clearly one of embarrassment and disapproval of the fascist-like tactics. Efforts to involve them in the attack upon the Trotskyists were unsuccessful. Most of them took The Militant and hurried into the hall without saying a word.

The length to which the Stalinist

leaders will go to prevent the rank and file from reading The Militant and making up their own minds about the real nature of Trotskyism was demonstrated when everybody entering the hall with a paper in hand had it snatched away by a crew of the door. Two persons who entered were suspected of being Trotskyists and were promptly ejected.

There can be only one meaning to the appearance at this time, in the Buffalo area, of these efforts by the Stalinist leadership to incite a campaign of physical violence against the Trotskyists. It means that here, as everywhere else, the Stalinist rank and file is filled with doubts and dissatisfaction with the party line. By whipping up anti-Trotskyist hysteria in the CP, the leadership hopes to avoid discussion of these dissatisfactions. It will try to pin the label of "Trotskyist disrupter" upon anyone who has the courage to voice his disagreements. Thus he would be prevented from getting a hearing inside the party. Such methods can only aid our class enemy, American imperialism.

We urge all serious CP members to condemn the anti-working class methods of the Stalinist leadership both inside their own party and toward revolutionary political opponents.

B. G.
Lackawanna, N. Y.

BOSTON

European Workers' Relief Party

Your Enjoyable Evening Will Aid Labor's Fighters Against Reaction.

SATURDAY EVENING, MAY 25

Proceeds to:

American Com. For European Workers' Relief

Sponsored by:

Socialist Workers Party

Workers Educational Center

30 Stuart St.

Pioneer Notes

The Philadelphia branch of the Socialist Workers Party continues to not only maintain but to increase its high record of literature sales. Alma Seton, a most enterprising young literature agent, sent us a comprehensive report on literature sales for the month of March. She summarizes the accomplishments of the branch thus:

"I thought you might be interested in how Philadelphia is doing in the way of literature sales, so I have enclosed a duplicate of my March report. It beats February by close to \$11.00. In fact, monthly literature receipts have been steadily increasing over the past six months, but this month interests me especially because of its 'all over' growth."

"Sometimes the increase is all in one department, such as some new Pioneer book, or an extra large mobilization at which we sold literature. The figures for March, however, show that the increase is spread over all departments."

"When you look over the report, you will find that the number of pamphlets sold and the money received do not always agree. This is because the comrades took some things on credit or part credit."

"I'd be interested to know how Philadelphia literature sales compare with those of other branches of the same size."

Of the more recent Pioneer Pamphlets, the Philadelphia report for March shows the sale of 32 copies of Socialism on Trial, 57 copies of American Workers Need a Labor Party, 208 copies of A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow, 10 copies of The Struggle for Negro Equality, and 12 copies Negroes in the Post-War World. Almost every other item in the Pioneer catalog was sold in smaller numbers. The grand total of all literature sold was \$68.59.

Order any of the above mentioned pamphlets from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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.

Harlem: Weekly discussions on current problems every Friday, 8 p.m., at 103 West 110 St. (Lenox Ave.) Room 28. Dancing, refreshments.

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—Write to SWP headquarters, 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. For information on Youth Group activities.

San Francisco Sunday Forum

May 26, 8 p.m.

"One Big Union And the Coming Waterfront Strike"

Speaker: R. CHESTER

305 Grant Ave. 4th floor.



The vigorous struggle The Militant has carried on in fighting discrimination and segregation of minorities is well known to all our readers.

The exposures made by The Militant in the Fontana arson-outrage in California, the Ferguson slayings in New York, and the official atrocities in Columbia, Tennessee are a few of the more recent examples.

The reprinting of Charles Jackson's column, "The Negro Struggle" by a growing number of Negro newspapers is another indication of the effectiveness and importance of our work.

How even the most casual reader of The Militant notices the forthright struggle carried on in our columns is illustrated by the following instance.

From Philadelphia: "Campbell's Company in New Jersey hires imported Jamaica workers. One of these workers happened to pick up a discarded copy of The Militant. The worker read through the paper and came across a Militant article explaining how the imported workers are exploited and the wretched conditions under which they are living."

"He explained with astonishment to our comrade: 'We didn't know that there are any people interested in the conditions and plight of Jamaican workers.'"

San Pedro writes: "The enclosed subscriptions are the first results of our callback work. We met with warm response and good results. We obtained in a short time 5 renewals and 1 new sub."

Paul Jensen of New York sent the following note: "While spending a social evening with a number of workers, the conversation drifted around to politics. This afforded me an excellent opportunity to discuss The Militant, and before the evening was over, I had sold subscriptions to everyone there—six in all. Five of the workers present were members of CIO Wholesale and Warehouse Workers, Local 65, and of these four were war veterans."

"When next I saw them at the Ferguson Protest Meeting held by the Brooklyn Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, one of

the workers remarked to me: 'The Militant is just what I have been looking for—it sure is the real McCoy!'

Ann Morgan of Minneapolis writes: "From letters to the office, and stories appearing in The Militant you know that recently during three consecutive weeks, our comrades were attacked by Stalinists. One comrade was badly beaten while we were distributing at the CIO hall here."

"Since then, the Stalinists, frustrated in their attempts to provoke a serious situation for us here, have gone all out slandering the Trotskyists in Minnesota Labor, the state CIO weekly, controlled by the Stalinists, via letters to the Editor, and with the aid of one particular columnist."

"However, with all their attempts at slander and terrorism, they have NOT stopped us from distributing The Militant to the CIO workers. We reach them at the plant gates now, instead of the union hall. This change in distribution point has even worked to our advantage as The Militant gets into the hands of the CIO worker who doesn't attend union meetings."

"In addition to the CIO unions, we are also concentrating on the AFL unions. Our Militant distributions are going very well. The CIO workers at the plants and the AFL union members are most friendly and responsive."

Statistics for April reveal that The Militant was introduced to approximately 300 new readers. In addition many new and renewal combination subscriptions were obtained. The combination offer includes The Militant and Fourth International, theoretical organ of the American Trotskyists. The breakdown of the month's results is as follows:

231 six-month and 67 one-year new subscriptions.

136 six-month and 103 one-year renewal subscriptions.

44 new and 23 renewal combinations to The Militant and Fourth International.

Subscribe To The Militant Use Coupon On Page 2

OUR PROGRAM:

1. Full employment and job security for 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!

No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

6. Tax the rich, not the poor!

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!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
116 University Place
New York 3, New York

I would like:

- ☐ To join the Socialist Workers Party.
- ☐ To obtain further information about your organization.
- ☐ To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

NAME _____ (Please Print)
STREET _____
CITY _____
POSTAL ZONE _____ STATE _____

\$10,006 REACHED IN 'MILITANT' FUND AS CAMPAIGN GOES INTO EIGHTH WEEK

By Justine Lang
Campaign Director

With our eye on the goal-post marked "\$15,000 by June 15," we now record that at the end of the eighth week of The Militant Sustaining Fund Drive, the total stands at \$10,006.13.

Since the opening of the drive, comrades of the Socialist Workers Party together with friends and readers of the paper have solidly supported The Militant Fund Drive, and enabled us to reach two-thirds of our quota in advance of schedule.

Our weekly goal of \$1,000 was again surpassed. At the present pace with six more weeks to go, we'll undoubtedly oversubscribe our original quota of \$15,000.

The Connecticut State Branch of the Socialist Workers Party is now added to the list of "100 per centers." This category includes those branches who have met or surpassed their quotas, and deserve special commendation for achieving their goal early in our drive.

Connecticut was in eleventh place last week, but has now climbed to eighth, by completion of its quota. In addition, Connecticut is especially to be commended for its fine work in utilizing the Militant Collection Lists.

FROM MAILBAG

Our mailbag this week contains some fine reports from various localities which we pass on to our readers.

Ellen Wheeler of the Chelsea Branch, New York reports several ways which comrades have found to help build the Militant Sustaining Fund Drive: "Two comrades gave small houseparties in their homes recently and raised a nice sum."

"In addition, two other comrades had friends from out-of-town visiting them for the weekend, who wanted to give them something for their hospitality. Naturally, the comrades told them about the Militant Fund Drive, and they contributed \$10!"

Duncan Conway, New York Fund Director, reports: "Tickets are also being sold now for the First Annual Militant Ball, the entire proceeds of which will go to our joint Militant and City Expansion Fund. This affair, which will offer outstanding entertainment and a first-class band, will be held at the Hotel

Collection Lists Aid Fund Drive Of 'Militant'

One of the best measures of The Militant's popularity with the workers is the success our comrades report on the circulation of the Militant collection lists. One of the most inspiring accounts of this comes from Detroit, where \$31.46 has already been obtained from workers in the mass production plants.

The Connecticut branch of the Socialist Workers Party, first to use the lists, has consistently sent in donations of workers, now totalling \$18.

George Lengel, a steel worker in Reading, Pa., reports that he obtained \$7.50 from fellow-workers by use of collection lists.

Milwaukee comrades have sent in \$5.45 secured in the same way, \$2 of it obtained by a single brewery worker who circulated the lists in his own shop. Sam Taylor, a student at the University of Wisconsin, mailed us \$5 contributed out of the small allowances of his student friends.

The Boston branch reports that it has already collected \$8 on these lists.

We urge our friends and readers to write for Militant collection lists. Use coupon below.

Windsor Worker Aids 'Militant'

Editor:

Please accept this dollar to sustain The Militant. I want to see this fighting paper grow bigger and bigger to carry its program to the American workers.

Auto Worker
Windsor

Diplomat on the last day of the campaign, June 15.

"Comrade Lou Cooper, our City Social Director, tells us he expects that 700 to 800 tickets will be sold. This should make the Militant Ball a really big money-raiser for the fund. Plans are being made to visit as many of the readers of The Militant as possible, to sell them tickets, and urge them to support their paper by coming to this First Annual Militant Ball."

T. Dreilo, Buffalo-Lackawanna Militant Fund Director writes: "Am enclosing another money order which brings our total up to over \$400. A number of comrades have already paid their pledges, with the others in hot pursuit."

"In addition, we have collected about \$16 from close friends of the party and The Militant. The collection lists have been distributed and we should be receiving some money on them shortly."

WANTS IT DAILY
Jannette Kirk of Detroit writes: "A Mack Plant Briggs worker, member of Local 212, UAW, when asked if he would contribute to The Militant Sustaining Fund replied: 'For that cause I'll give any time.'"

"He asked the comrade with the contribution list to see him every week so he could contribute each week in order 'to make it a pretty good amount.'"

"Another worker told us this: 'Here is \$10. I'd like to give more. It's too bad The Militant isn't a daily paper for the workers to read.'"

"To date, we have obtained over \$30 on the Militant collection lists. In the main this money has come from active trade unionists, readers of The Militant, who have seen our paper support their strike struggles and know what a real fighter it is."

From Toledo, Charles Reading sent this brief note: "Enclosed is a check to be applied on our Militant Fund Quota. This amount was raised by a social."

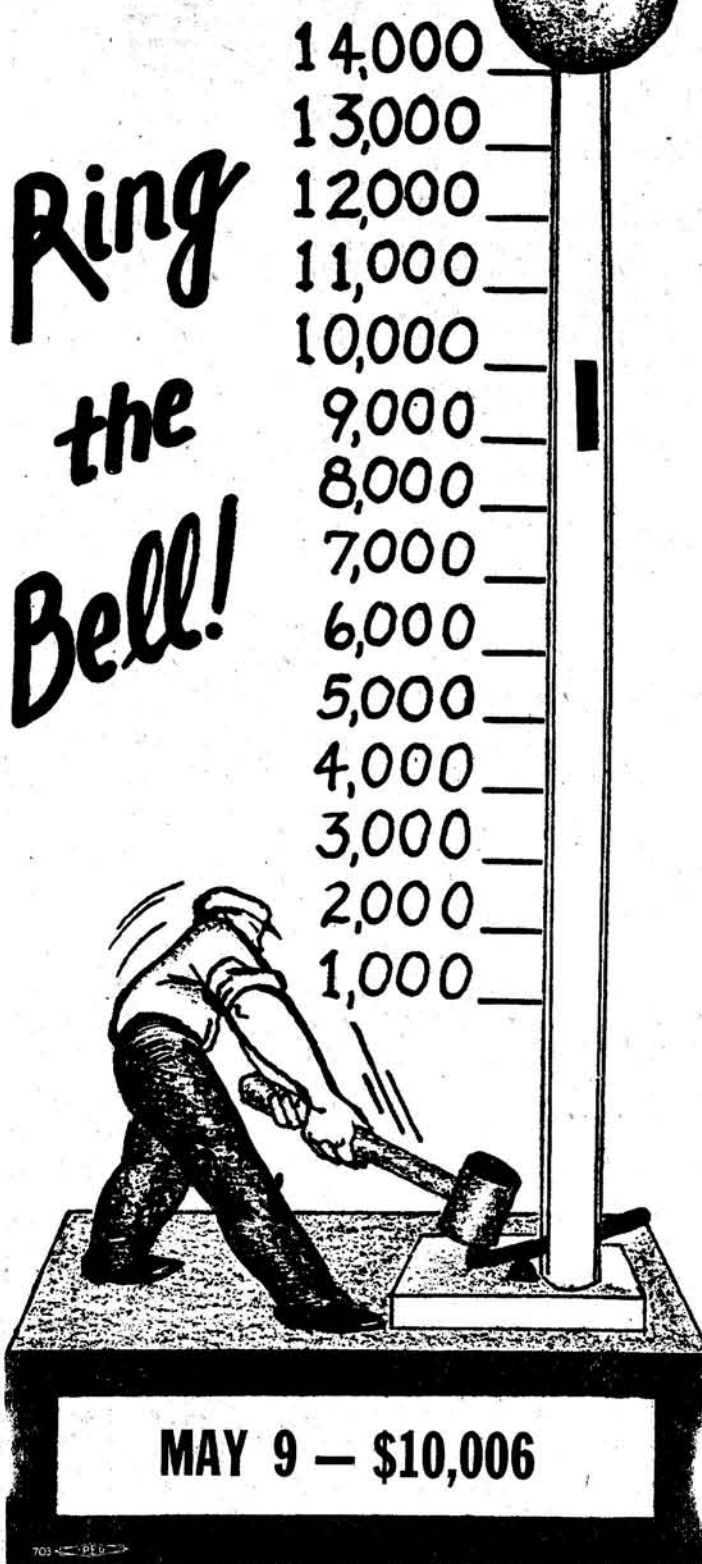
"We are planning another benefit social in May, also a rummage sale, and by these means we hope to raise enough money to meet our quota, and go over it."

Mike Bartell, Chicago organizer writes: "The comrades in Chicago are rallying behind this drive with real spirit. We have more than \$1,500 pledged and I am sure we will get the additional \$300 pledged for our Chicago local fund drive."

"The Calumet branch is doing a particularly fine job. The branch was organized only a year ago. The large majority of the members are new, and notwithstanding the fact that they have just come through a steel strike they have pledged \$340, and are making a remarkable showing."

Comrades and friends have remarked how much more impressive the weight which our Militant worker is striking, looks as it nears the top of that scale. With our combined efforts and renewed revolutionary spirit, let's aim to "Ring the Bell!" as quickly as possible.

\$15,000



SCOREBOARD

CITY	QUOTA	PAID	PER CENT
NEW YORK YOUTH	50	97.87	195
PORTLAND	25	26.00	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
Minneapolis	500	421.00	84
San Francisco	1000	805.00	80
St. Louis	50	40.00	80
Newark	300	240.00	80
Milwaukee	100	79.05	80
Buffalo-Lackawanna	100	80.00	80
Cleveland	500	400.50	80
New York City	250	175.00	70
St. Paul	3500	2408.72	68
Los Angeles	250	155.00	62
San Diego	2000	1205.50	60
Detroit	100	55.00	55
Pittsburgh	1250	648.46	55
Philadelphia	100	53.75	53
Chicago	500	253.48	51
Philadelphia Youth	1500	691.10	46
Akron	25	10.55	42
Cincinnati	300	128.25	42
Toledo	25	10.00	40
Seattle	200	69.66	34
Allentown-Bethlehem	500	149.50	30
Bayonne	75	20.00	26
Los Angeles Youth	75	15.00	21
General	75	8.75	12
TOTAL	575	684.89	118

TOTAL \$15,000 \$10,006.13 67

SWP In Many Cities Reports Inspiring May Day Meetings

TWIN CITIES HOLD MEETING

By Barbara Bruce
(Special to The Militant)

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., May 1—"Mankind is at the brink of a precipice which he must cross if civilization as we know it is to survive," declared Grace Carlson to a large May Day audience in Minneapolis. Sponsored by the Twin City Branches of the Socialist Workers Party, the celebration of the traditional working class holiday attracted dozens of workers, students and other friends. Many of them heard the ideas of socialism for the first time.

Pointing out vividly the horrors of atomic warfare, Comrade Carlson depicted the bridge across the chasm of extinction as one of revolutionary socialist internationalism.

GENORA DOLLINGER SPEAKS IN TOLEDO

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

TOLEDO, O., May 1—Members and many friends of the Toledo Branch of the Socialist Workers Party assembled here tonight to celebrate the 60th Anniversary of May Day, the International Holiday of the working class. Comrade Genora Dollinger of Detroit was the main speaker. Her speech was enthusiastically received by all those present.

SEATTLE HOLDS LIVELY MEETING

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

SEATTLE, Wash., May 1—Many workers, members and friends of the Seattle branch of the Socialist Workers Party attended a May Day rally at the party headquarters here tonight. Chairman C. Smith introduced the speakers, Frances Roberts, who spoke on "The History of May Day," and Dan Roberts, who spoke on "Mankind's Communist Future." After the speeches the audience joined in singing revolutionary songs, and stayed for dancing and refreshments. The collection totalled \$20.

CALUMET MEETING RECRUITS WORKER

By S. Priner
(Special to The Militant)

INDIANA HARBOR, ILL., Apr. 27—The Calumet branch of the Socialist Workers Party celebrated its first anniversary with a gala party tonight.

A recorded program of entertainment included an inspiring May Day greeting from Farrell Dobbs, managing editor of The Militant; a speech by Eugene V. Debs, and revolutionary songs.

This was the first big affair held at the new headquarters of the Calumet branch, and set a precedent for future social events devoted to building the party. One steel worker joined the SWP.

BOSTON WORKERS HEAR GELDMAN

By F. Daniels
(Special to The Militant)

BOSTON, May 3—A highly appreciative audience tonight met at the Boston headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party in celebration of May Day. They heard Max Geldman, veteran fighter for labor's rights, present a withering indictment of the capitalist system for the devastation and misery which exists today.

Chairman Larry Trainor, Boston SWP organizer, made a stirring plea for donations of food and clothing to the American Committee for European Workers' Relief, which aids labor's fighters abroad.

A collection of \$105 was contributed to the Socialist Workers Party for its work.

CHICAGO MEETS IN NEW QUARTERS

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

CHICAGO, May 4—Chicago workers celebrated May Day tonight in the impressive new headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party at 777 W. Adams St.

Charles Jackson, author of "The Negro Struggle" column, in an impressive address told of the significance of May Day for all toilers, and its meaning for the oppressed and exploited Negroes and other minority groups.

Farrell Dobbs traced the balance sheet of World War II and

pointed out that there has been no realization of the "Four Freedoms" for the workers and oppressed peoples of the world.

He then gave a brief report on the World conference of the Fourth International declaring its program the only hope for the peoples of the world.

A trained chorus of workers sang revolutionary labor songs. The audience, many attending their first Trotskyist meeting, enthusiastically contributed \$217 for the furtherance of the work of the SWP.

WORKER JOINS SWP AT AKRON MEETING

By Patrick O'Connor
(Special to The Militant)

AKRON, O., May 1—The Akron branch of the Socialist Workers Party celebrated the 60th anniversary of May Day tonight at a public meeting. Mary Clark told of the origin of the international workers holiday and its significance. Milton Genevin spoke of the conditions of the workers today. He called for the formation of a Labor Party and explained how the workers can defend themselves against inflation by demanding a rising scale of wages to match any increase in the cost of living.

LARGE MEETING IN SAN FRANCISCO

By R. Davis
(Special to The Militant)

SAN FRANCISCO, May 5—A large group of comrades and friends gathered at the San Francisco headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party tonight, to celebrate Labor's International Holiday with speeches, singing and a social.

Comrade Lili read selections from the speeches of Haymarket martyrs Fisher, Parsons, Ling and Spies.

The audience next heard the voice of Leon Trotsky in a recorded speech given in 1938 at the double celebration of the 10th Anniversary of the Left Opposition, and of the Founding Conference of the Fourth International.

Four workers in the audience applied for membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

BUFFALO RALLY ENTHUSIASTIC

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

BUFFALO, May 1—Working men and women jammed the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in Buffalo to hear Vincent R. Dunne speak on May Day. From aircraft and auto plants, from steel mills and foundries, came workers of different nationalities and races. They joined in celebration and together sang "Solidarity" and "Red Flag."

They listened intently to Rosemary Rook's spirited presentation of the history and traditions of May Day. After Comrade Dunne's speech, they asked eager and searching questions.

The meeting was well organized and enthusiastic. New signs, a beautiful sketch of Lenin made by a Buffalo comrade, red banners, and a picture of united workers throwing off their chains, decorated the hall.

OVERFLOW CROWD IN LOS ANGELES

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

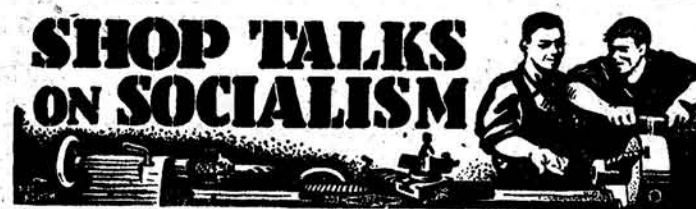
LOS ANGELES, May 2—An overflow audience thronged the South Hall of the Embassy Auditorium here last night for a May Day meeting held by the Socialist Workers Party.

The meeting opened with the singing of the "Workers' Memorial Hymn" by the Workers' Chorus of Los Angeles. This was followed by an analysis of "Labor Struggles of 1946," by Comrade Murry Weiss, who traced the recent great strike wave in the United States and revolutionary struggles in other parts of the world.

"Voices of Revolt," by Myra Tanner Weiss, included excerpts from the greatest speeches of the great labor martyrs of the past.

Comrade Eugene Parker delivered a stirring rendition of "I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill," dedicated to the heroic American labor leader killed by the copper bosses.

The final speaker, C. Charles, author of the pamphlet "Your Standard of Living," and contributor to Fourth International, gave the socialist reply to the most important question of today, "Socialist Construction or Atomic Destruction."



How Value Is Created

By V. Grey

"The total labor-power of society, which is embodied in the sum total of the values of all commodities produced by that society, counts here as one homogeneous mass of human labor-power, composed though it be of innumerable units."

Marx's "Capital"

Even though the worker in the shop is far removed from the bowels of the earth where the iron he works upon comes from—the final product that he makes represents nothing but a piece of the earth transformed by the labor of thousands of people.

If we look up and down the whole world-wide list of commodities, we see that every single one of them answers this description. They are all products of labor as far as man is concerned—and nothing but parts of the earth as far as nature is concerned.

Take a piece of metal, shaped into an auto fender, for instance. Trace its history back, and you will see that everything in its making is labor and nothing but labor.

The fenders are stamped out from sheet steel by operators of huge presses. The man and the press made them from the sheet steel. The press itself was made by many machinists, founders, tool-and-die makers, etc. The sheet metal that was stamped out came in turn from the rolling mill or strip mill, where men pressed it out with massive machinery that was also the product of labor—the ingot steel came from the blooming-mill, and the open hearth furnaces—and before that from the cast iron made by the blast furnace workers. (Needless to say, these furnaces are all the products of labor, too.) And before the blast furnace, the iron ore, the limestone and the coal that go into it are all dug out of the ground by man. Man—human labor—works upon the earth.

A commodity has a tangible, touchable material—the elements it is made of. And it also has another substance: all the labor that has gone into making it.

The labor that goes into making the commodity has two sides to it, just as the commodity has. There is the particular kind of labor, like shovelling, picking, press-operating. And there is just plain human labor—the energy of human muscles, nerves and mind.

Some kinds of labor may be far more useful than others—just like the products of that labor. One man makes dog biscuits, another makes bread for human beings.

One works at a forge, another extracts iron ore. But two men can't dig and forge at the same time. Both things have to be done to make a hammer. And although a hammer and iron ore are two very different KINDS of things, they are just two different ways of using human brain and muscle.

When you consider all the thousands of different kinds of useful labor and all the people working together to make the complete product, it's as though one universal giant with millions of pairs of hands made the hammer and the fender.

It doesn't make any difference so far as the quantity of labor in a given product is concerned, whether one pair of hands painted, polished or hammered. It makes no difference whether they moved up and down, back and forth, or around in circles. Just so long as the labor was necessary labor. It's the total AMOUNT of labor—human labor, that creates the product.

The Sum Total

Take the finished auto fender. There it is, gleaming in all its painted glory. The sweat and dirt of the workers has been washed off. The blood from industrial accidents has been mopped from the floor. The umbilical cord is cut between it and the producer. It stands there as though it had dropped from heaven—the sacred property of the capitalist.

But the labor of the workers—the motion, the activity, of which the sweat and dirt are the by-products—has not really disappeared. Just as the mighty motion of Niagara is transformed into charged power lines, so the laboring motion of the working people is transformed into the apparent stillness of their product.

The painter's activity has been concretized in color, the polisher's in brightness and smoothness, the steel-maker's in flexibility and durability, etc.—that is, the useful side of their activity. But they all work in common to produce a single commodity, and the sum total of their different labors equals one massive general labor—value-creating labor.

All the different useful labors flow into the final product just as many rivers flow into the sea. The great Mississippi loses its identity in the ocean just like the little Rappahannock. So the big and little labors lose their individuality in the product. And this product becomes a part of the sum total of generalized human labor; labor-power concealed in material mold.

American Legion Fails To Halt May Day Meeting In San Diego

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

SAN DIEGO, Cal., May 4—Attempts of the American Legion to prevent the Socialist Workers Party from holding its May Day meeting here not only failed, but actually added to the spirit of the meeting and to the determination of the comrades to redouble their efforts in building the SWP.

One day before the meeting, the Legion forced the SWP out of its headquarters. But comrades overnight obtained another hall, and in the few hours remaining, notified many people of the change in address.

A large number of comrades and friends, Negro and white, heard Al Burke organizer of the

IN TACOMA Buy 'The Militant'

at these stands:
9th and Pacific
Pacific bet. 12th and 13th
(above 'Midway Amusements')

NEW YORK FORUM

"Zionism and the Jewish Crisis"

Speaker:

HERBERT HILL

Sunday, May 19

116 University Place

8 p. m.

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.....

The Nuremberg Trials And The Moscow Trials

(Continued from Page 1)

became a synonym for frame-up and fraud in the language of the day.

The Stalinists in recent years have made redoubled efforts to rehabilitate the discredited Moscow Trials of 1936-37-38. A book published in recent months, called "The Great Conspiracy," written by two Stalinist hacks, is devoted primarily to a reshaping of the Moscow Trials in a new attempt to smear the memory of their victims. Prior to that, the Stalinist frame-up and murder machine had secured the complicity of the State Department of the United States to bolster the old frame-ups of 1936-37. The book and motion picture "Mission to Moscow" by the former American Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, issued with the implicit blessing of the State Department, were designed primarily to whitewash the notorious Moscow Trials and deceive public opinion in regard to them.

When, therefore, the Nuremberg Trials of the Nazi leaders were announced, those people in the world who are concerned about truth and justice had every reason to be apprehensive that these trials would be utilized to give supplementary support to the old, discredited accusations on the basis of which the old Bolsheviks had been convicted and slaughtered. We shared in this apprehension, especially when it was announced that Hitler's deputy, Hess, with whom Trotsky had allegedly collaborated, would be one of the prisoners in the dock at Nuremberg.

The indictment of the January 1937 trial at Moscow stated:

"The investigation has established that L. D. Trotsky entered into negotiations with one of the leaders of the German National Socialist Party with a view to waging a joint struggle against the Soviet Union . . ."

Further:

"The principles of this agreement, as Trotsky related, were finally elaborated and adopted during Trotsky's meeting with Hitler's deputy, Hess." (Verbatim report of the trial, Moscow, 1937.)

The question spontaneously arose in the minds of all informed people, especially among those who, like ourselves and our co-thinkers in all countries, are passionate defenders of the irrefragable memory of Trotsky and the old Bolsheviks: "Will the Nuremberg Trials, among other things, be utilized to 'prove' once again that the Moscow Trials were not frame-ups, but fair and just proceedings?"

Stalinists Renew Slanders

The renewal of the campaign against the Trotskyists in the Stalinist press, coupled with sinister references to the impending Trials at Nuremberg, only increased our apprehension and alarm. The direct line leading from the Moscow Trials to the Nuremberg affair was obvious to everybody, including the Stalinists.

Last November, for example, the Stalinists at St. Louis, Missouri distributed a leaflet outside a meeting of the Socialist Workers Party addressed by John G. Wright. In this leaflet it was brazenly stated: "Documents discovered in Berlin and produced at the Nuremberg trial of Nazi high criminals, reveal to the whole world how Trotsky plotted with Rudolf Hess to organize a fifth column in the Soviet Union in order to open the gates to the Nazi invasion." The distribution of this Stalinist leaflet was reported in *The Militant*, December 29, 1945. We had good reason to fear that something was being cooked up at Nuremberg and that the Stalinists were already freely talking about it in their own ranks.

Several months ago, the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International, launched a campaign designed to unmask the Stalinist frame-up machine and defend the memory of Trotsky and his other victims. This campaign took the initial form of a request to the War Crimes Commission at Nuremberg and to the British and Soviet prosecutors that a representative of Natalia Trotsky, the widow of Leon Trotsky, be permitted to examine Hess, and that any documents relating to the alleged conspiracy between Trotsky and the Nazi leaders, if such documents exist, be produced at Nuremberg.

Following the initiative of the British Trotskyists in the matter, a group of well-known political and literary figures, headed by H. G. Wells and a number of members of Parliament, publicly addressed these requests to the court at Nuremberg. This created a great sensation and did much to center public attention on the campaign.

Later a number of other Trotskyist parties in Europe, notably the French, Belgian and Dutch Sections of the Fourth International, took up the campaign and secured the signatures of prominent literary and political people to similar

letters addressed to the Nuremberg court. In the United States a short while ago a petition signed by over one hundred American political figures, trade unionists, clergymen, professors and writers, headed by Norman Thomas and Matthew Woll, was dispatched to the Nuremberg court and published in the press. The American petition, however, omitted the demand that a representative of Natalia Trotsky be permitted to intervene at the trial and confined itself to the request that the court pursue the investigation of the alleged complicity of Trotsky and the other Bolshevik leaders with the Nazi criminals in the preparation of a war against the Soviet Union.

Ignored By Court

All these appeals and petitions have been ignored by the Nuremberg Court.

The Socialist Workers Party, on its part, did not participate in any of this activity. Our hesitation was not prompted in the least by lack of interest in the question or lack of desire to aid in dealing new blows against the Moscow frame-ups of 1936-37-38. Our reasons were of an entirely different order.

In our opinion, the Nuremberg Trials offered not only great propagandistic possibilities to the defenders of the memory of the martyred heroes of the Russian Revolution; they were also fraught with great dangers.

The Nuremberg court of Imperialist and Stalinist judges operates outside of all control. These judges are just as capable of perpetrating another frame-up as were the judges in the Moscow Trials if it serves their purposes and they can come to an agreement amongst themselves. They have Hess and the other Nazi leaders in their hands; both the prisoners and the prosecutors are completely unscrupulous and they are capable of making any kind of a deal against the interests of proletarian revolutionists.

Such a deal was made once before. That is precisely what happened when Ambassador Davies wrote his book, "Mission to Moscow," and it was made into a motion picture with the sanction of the American State Department. By that action the American government became a party to the most monstrous frame-up in history—the Moscow Trials of 1936-37-38. We did not want to take the responsibility of asking the Nuremberg court, which in the person of its Russian and American representatives, is already implicated in the Moscow frame-up, to again pass judgment on the case.

It has become quite apparent by now, however, that the sharpening conflicts between the imperialists and the Stalinists have thus far prevented them from coming to an agreement to perpetrate a supplementary frame-up against the old Bolsheviks. The prosecution closed its case without introducing a single document or a single bit of evidence of any kind to substantiate the charge that "the principles of this agreement, as Trotsky related, were finally elaborated and adopted during Trotsky's meeting with Hitler's deputy, Hess." (Verbatim report of the trial, Moscow, 1937.)

The Soviet prosecutors have finished the presentation of their case and have confessed by silence that there are no documents and no evidence of any other kind on the "conspiracy of Trotsky and the Nazis," for the simple reason that there was no conspiracy. By their failure to question Hess about this alleged "meeting," by their failure to introduce a single document or piece of material evidence of any kind bearing on the question—the Soviet prosecutors at Nuremberg have shouted a confession to the whole world: THE MOSCOW TRIALS WERE FRAME-UPS!

Moscow Trials Exposed

The Nuremberg Trials, and the campaign around them initiated by the British Trotskyists, have served to expose the Moscow Trials as frame-ups once again. They have also revived public interest in the names and the deeds of the heroic leaders of the Russian Revolution who were foully slandered and murdered by the Stalinist traitors. We have done our part in the past to defend and glorify their names and we shall do our part also in the future. We shall endeavor to the best of our ability to make the names of the martyred Bolsheviks as dear and precious to the new generation of militant workers rising in America as they have always been to us.

Next week *The Militant* will begin a comprehensive series of articles elucidating and exposing the Moscow Trials of 1936-37 and everything connected with them.

National Committee Socialist Workers Party May 10, 1946.

Lenin, Trotsky And Kamenev



Three of the leaders of the October Revolution, Lenin, Trotsky, and Kamenev, photographed together during the early days of the Soviet Union. Trotsky (at left) was murdered by a Stalinist GPU agent in 1940; Lenin died in 1924; Kamenev (at right) and hundreds of other old Bolsheviks, were "liquidated" in Stalin's infamous Moscow Trials.

Generous Response To Appeal For European Workers Relief

Readers of *The Militant*, comrades and friends of the Socialist Workers Party are

generously responding to the appeal of the recently formed American Committee for European Workers' Relief to aid destitute European workers and their families, Rose Karsner, Executive Secretary of the Committee, reported this week.

These relief packages, she said, are designed to aid those courageous working-class fighters against fascism, and all forms of reaction, who suffered great hardships and hunger not only under the Nazi occupation but subsequently in the devastation caused by the Allied armies. Today they are in dire need of food, clothing, medical aid.

In response to the appeal by the Committee for funds to meet the heavy expenses of buying food, packing, crating, postage and shipping half a hundred or more packages a week, the two of the Socialist Workers Party branches held affairs last month to raise funds for this

relief work.

In the Twin Cities, an International Solidarity Bazaar was skillfully planned and organized, at which \$300 was raised for the Committee.

In Milwaukee \$25 was raised at a similar affair. The latter branch plans to set up a women's mending club as a working unit of their local committee, to collect and repair garments for the European relief.

"A letter from a reader of *The Militant* last week accompanied a package of baby clothes," said Rose Karsner, "in which the sender asked if we would welcome more little packages like this one. Through *The Militant* I want to express our gratitude and the hope that more of these much-needed baby garments will be forthcoming."

Among the numerous letters congratulating the Committee on its formation, Belle Montague of Boston wrote: "I am more than delighted to hear of the formation of your Committee for European relief. My friends are eager to help. They do not trust

any government agency for relief; they say that those who have slaughtered millions of helpless and defenseless people, even children, cannot be interested in feeding the starving, that they must want the food and money for something else! But they will gladly give to a group like yours, whom they can trust."

The gratitude of the working class families in Europe who receive the packages is expressed in scores of letters every week. One letter from Amsterdam states: "Believe me, we have a great admiration for all you are doing. During the German occupation we often had to provide food for our comrades who were in concentration camps. We know that it is not easy. We are grateful to you who are trying to care for us in Europe."

Another letter from Marseilles declares: "On behalf of us all I want to say we will never forget all that our comrades in America are doing for us, as do all those who find themselves in the same desperate situation as myself. You have demonstrated to us that international solidarity is not a word in vain. It gives us strength to continue the struggle for a better world."

All readers of *The Militant* are urged to contribute food or clothing for packages, and funds to help defray the expenses involved in shipping and other costs. Send these at once to the American Committee for European Workers' Relief, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

F.I. Subscription Campaign Hits 60 Per Cent Of Quota

By Constance Locke
Campaign Director

Since April 1, opening date of the national campaign for 500 new subscribers to *Fourth International*, the theoretical magazine of the American Trotskyists, 300 new subscriptions have been received. The campaign is featuring the special offer of a 6-

month subscription for \$1. But a large proportion of one-year (\$2.) and one-year combinations to *Fourth International* and *The Militant* (\$2.50) have also been sold.

Campaign directors from cities all over the United States report that the May *Fourth International* is an especially fine introductory issue for obtaining new subscribers. Ruth Massey, Pittsburgh Campaign Director, comments: "The Great Strike Wave and its Significance" by E. R. Frank in the May F. I. is splendid material for a proletarian center like ours."

John Leavitt, Baltimore director, feels that this issue is a milestone to aid the understanding of any worker who is beginning to see the necessity of international unity in struggle of the politically aroused working class.

"Please rush us 10 copies of the May F. I.," writes Cleveland's Campaign Director I. London. "We think so much of this issue that we are going to use it to introduce *Fourth International* to some of our best workers we met during the GM-Fisher Body strike. As you know this is still

on. We've been out 162 days now—to eliminate piece work."

Recently a seaman from one of the countries bordering on the Soviet Union came into the *Fourth International* office. He now sails on American vessels.

He had come across a copy of the F. I. aboard ship and found for the first time a clear explanation of what he had seen happen in his home country. He was so impressed with the April F. I. which deals with "The Stalinist Left Turn and the Internal Crisis in the USSR" that he bought a one-year combination subscription to *Fourth International* and *The Militant*.

The June issue of *Fourth International* will contain the proceedings of the World Conference of the Fourth International held last month in Belgium. Readers of *The Militant* who are interested in following the developments of the world Trotskyist movement should start their subscription with the June issue. A six-month subscription may be obtained by sending \$1 to: Business Manager, *Fourth International*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

The Negroes' Secret Weapon

Many people who have a middle class outlook (even though they may temporarily be employed in a factory) are often heard to say that the laboring men are too "dumb" to solve their own problems. The workers, they say, need some "educated" leaders to show them the way.

Karl Marx, however, proved after an exhaustive study of the capitalist system, that the working class, precisely because it is the most insecure and underprivileged class in today's economy, will be the very class that will LEAD all the people to the only security for all — a Socialist reconstruction of society. Addressing his Communist Manifesto to the most oppressed class of all, he said: "Workers of the world, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains."

It is for this same reason that Marxists today keep in mind the fact that it is the most oppressed section of the working class itself, which will be the first to realize that capitalism must go and which will provide the most determined fighters — as a section — for the new society of economic equality.

There are many segments, unfortunately, of the working class. It is our duty to strive to unite them all against the single foe, the capitalist class. It is also our duty to recognize that, just as white collar workers will be less militant because of their supposedly more favorable position in society, in the same respect the Negro workers will be the quickest to take up the fight on a mass scale. They are not only economically exploited but are also denied basic democratic rights as well as certain types of employment that are still granted to the white workers.

Let us also remember that the Negro people, having been denied many opportunities simply on the basis of their color, as a consequence better understand the reactionary nature of the system, in spite of their relative lack of "education."

UNDERSTAND GOVERNMENT ROLE
Look at the respective views of the white and Negro workers when it comes to the evaluation of the state. The white worker, for the most part still believes that the government is impartial. The Negro, although he may not realize fully that it is the direct agent of the monopoly capitalists, at least knows that it is not an impartial but rather a reactionary institution.

Many white workers are still fooled by agencies of the capitalist government set up to "help" the working man. But the

Negro knows that he is subjected to discrimination and segregation by every governmental agency from the U. S. Army down to the county court.

And how about the forces of "law and order"? Last week 62 UAW-CIO members (mostly white) picketed the home of E. R. Alles, secretary-treasurer of the Detroit Steel Products Co. for his boycott of union company negotiations.

POLICE "PROTECTION"
His wife called the cops. The pickets had been stinging "Alles is a horse thief; he shall be removed." Upon seeing the police they changed this verse to: "The police will protect us; we shall not be moved." The police "protected" them by roughly hustling them down to the precinct station.

On the other hand any "ignorant" Negro knows just about what to expect from the cops when it comes to justice. Both Northern and Southern police have on many occasions insulted, provoked, intimidated, terrorized, beaten and murdered innocent Negro men and women. We recently saw two Negro veterans shot to death by a policeman in Freeport, N. Y. for the "crime" of requesting service in a Jim Crow restaurant. We saw the whole Negro population terrorized and two of their number shot to death by the state police in Columbia, Tenn. during a pogrom set off when a Negro veteran tried to protect his mother from bodily harm.

The Negro is much further advanced than his white brother when it comes to understanding the social and political forces in this capitalist society. He is advanced only because he has had the painful lessons driven home to him more frequently and because the true score has been indelibly branded into his flesh and his mind.

That will be of great advantage in the coming period wherein he intends to use militant mass action in his own defense against persecution and discrimination, and in his rising struggles to obtain the full equality which today he does not have.

Subscribe To
The Militant
Use Coupon On Page 2

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 Mon., Wed., Fri., 7:30-9:30.

WEDNESDAY EVENINGS — Current events discussion.

ALLENTOWN — BETHLEHEM — Open meeting every Friday, 8 p. m., at Militant Labor Forum, S. E. corner Front and Hamilton Streets, Allentown.

PUBLIC FORUMS — First Sunday each month, 2:15 p. m.

BALTIMORE — For information write Box 1583, Baltimore 3, 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 8 p. m. every day except Sunday. Tel Dearborn 7562.

Classes every Wednesday, 7:30 and 9:00 p. m.

SOUTH SIDE: 354 W. 63rd. Meetings Thursday evening.

CLEVELAND — Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p. m. at Peck's Hall 1448 E. 82nd St.

DETROIT — Forums on topical questions every Sunday, 3 p. m. at 6108 Linwood. Office open daily 10 to 6. Phone Tyler 7-6287.

HARTFORD — For information, write P. O. Box 905.

LOS ANGELES — Visit SWP headquarters, 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p. m. Phone Vandyke 7936.

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. Sun. May 19 — "Universal Conscription and Brass Hats," 8 p. m.

MINNEAPOLIS — Visit the Labor Book Store, 10 South 4th St., open 10 a. m. to 5 p. m. daily. Forum every Sunday, 3:30.

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.

Sat. night, May 25 — Gala open house. Admission free.

NEW YORK — CITY HQ, 116 University Place, GR. 5-8149.

Sat., 4:30 p. m., Weds., 7 p. m. rehearsal of Militant chorus.

Sun., May 19, 8 p. m. — "Zionism and the Jewish Crisis."

HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23. MO. 2-1866.

BROOKLYN: 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TI 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, 146 E. 84 St. Meets second and fourth Fridays.

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.

Sunday classes, 7 p. m., "Basic Training in Principles of Marxism" and "Historical Materialism."

PITTSBURGH — Militant Reading Room, Seely Bldg., 5805

Penn. Ave., corner Penn. Ave. & Beatty St., E. Liberty. Open Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 6:30 to 9:30. Sat. 2-6.

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.

READING, Pa. — Militant Labor Forum, Market Bldg., 10th and Penn St., Room 202. Public forums every 2nd and 4th Sundays at 2:30 p. m. Headquarters open Mondays and Wednesdays from 1:30 to 3 p. m.

SAN DIEGO — SWP Headquarters, 1142 Union St. Room 6, open daily except Sat., 7 to 9 p. m.

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, 1919 1/2 Second Ave.

ST. LOUIS — Visit our Headquarters, 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312, open Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 7:30 to 9 p. m. Forums every Thursday, 8:30 p. m. Phone Jefferson 3642.

TACOMA, Wash. — For information, write P. O. Box 1079.

TOLEDO — Forums every Tuesday, 8:00 p. m., 213 Michigan St. Open evenings, 7-9.

YOUNGSTOWN — Youngstown School of Social Science, 225 N. Phelps St., open to public Tuesday and Saturday afternoon from 2 to 5; also 7:30 to 9:30, Monday to Thursday.

The Forgotten Woman By Grace Carlson

"Keep 'em rolling!" "Keep 'em flying!" "Keep 'em sailing!" With such appeals to patriotic sentiment, American industry tried to build up its womanpower during the war.

Millions of American women streamed into the nation's war plants, but it is doubtful whether the patriotic appeals played a very big role in bringing them there. Much more important was the fact that war work offered the vast majority of these women workers their first opportunity for jobs at better wages.

American industrialists sang the praise of the woman worker—her ability to learn a skilled trade; her speed; her general adaptability. Opportunities were given women workers for almost every kind of trade-training. Women welders, women machinists, women sheet metal workers, women boiler-makers found ready employment in shipyards, aviation plants, railroad yards, and machine shops.

But the days when the American industrialist wooed the woman worker are gone! American capitalism is back at its peacetime "normal." The skilled woman worker has become "the forgotten woman."

Since V-J Day, 4,000,000 women workers have been dropped from the country's labor force, the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor reported recently. The most startling drop was revealed by the Ford Motor Company. In the peak year of 1943, women made up 22 per cent of the workers in the Ford plants throughout the country. In January of 1946, they were only 4 per cent.

Hundreds of thousands of skilled women workers are crowding the offices of the United States Employment Service looking for jobs.

Spokesmen of the USES say that the big majority of these women will not be rehired even when full production has been resumed. Many employers have instructed the USES not to send them any women workers. Orders which during the war specified women, now say "men only."

To deal with this new situation, all of the agencies of capitalist propaganda have been set going to persuade women that, after all, they really belong in the kitchen—or, if they must work to support their families, they should go into a more "feminine" line of work, like low-paid domestic service.

Gone are the days when pictures of movie stars modeling the latest in war plant uniforms were prominently displayed in newspapers and magazines. Pick up any copy of *Woman's Home Companion*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Ladies' Home Journal* or *McCall's Magazine* these days and you will find an article urging women to change from "drab wartime clothes" into something "frilly and feminine."

And in the food sections of these magazines, you will now look in vain for the "Quick Meals for Busy Women," which used to fill these pages during the war. Now you will find that women are being urged "to end wartime hurry and glamorize your meals." A multitude of recipes are given for complicated cakes and pastries; for fussy garnishes—"egg daisies," "radish roses," "cucumber baskets," etc.

But despite all of this advice as to the best ways to achieve a "home-made" glamor most women would prefer a factory job at high wages and a chance to buy their glamor—especially in the form of decent living standards which help maintain good health and natural beauty.

Diary Of A Steelworker By T. Kovalesky

"The wearing out of the body is not compensable." I remember reading these words a few years ago in one of the magazines that factory management subscribes to. The article in which they appeared told about an old shoemaker employed in one of the big New England shoe factories, an old worker who "wore out his body."

One day as he was hammering at a last, a violent pain shot through his arm, causing him to cry out and drop his hammer. He never picked up that hammer — or anything else — again, because years of constant toil had broken down and finally wrecked his arm.

It must have been a shock for the old fellow to learn at first that his right hand was gone, that from that time on he would carry only a withered, useless claw protruding stiffly from his sleeve, that he would have to learn all over again how to tie his shoes, how to eat, to light his pipe. Still, he must have reasoned, he'd get compensation. He'd be able to live with the old lady in a clean little place and never again have to worry about getting up in the dark or winter mornings when his rheumatism urged him to stay in bed instead of plodding through the snow to the factory.

And then, the hearing: a pontifical voice informing him in precise legal terms that, "the wearing out of the body is not compensable!" I can imagine the sudden horrible black emptiness, the fear and incredulity: "But what will become of us? How can we live? We are old and poor? All my life I've worked long and faithfully. How can you do this to us?"

Notes Of A Seaman By Art Sharon

The majority of seamen have either taken a strike vote or are now voting. On the west coast the membership of the Independent Marine Firemen's Union has voted more than 90 per cent in favor of strike action.



Similarly with the CIO Marine Cooks there. On the east coast the CIO National Maritime Union is also voting.

These votes are closely tied in with a previous decision of west coast longshoremen to walk off the job on the first of April. The stevedores postponed their walk-out pending a decision by the seamen's unions on strike action.

The answer that rank and file seamen are giving to the question "should we strike the ships?" is unmistakably YES.

This is no surprise to anyone familiar with wages and working conditions in the maritime industry today. The basic scale for unlicensed personnel is \$145 per month. The work week at sea is 56 hours. Overtime work is being cut down, thus reducing the seamen's pay-off.

Shipping companies are taking a tougher attitude. Most of the wartime restrictions against seamen remain in effect.

Every maritime union has been trying to negotiate a new and improved contract since last September. After eight months nothing has been accomplished. Instead of getting a new agreement for higher wages and better conditions seamen are coming back with smaller and smaller pay-offs. Each trip they get worse treatment than the trip before. It is therefore natural that the overwhelming majority of seamen are voting in favor of strike action now.

This does not mean that a strike will inevitably be called. The fact is that the Stalinists, who are conducting the strike vote and have capped it with the May 6 maritime "unity" conference in San Francisco, do not expect a strike and have advanced no program in preparation for one. This remains the case even though Bridges, Stalinist head of the CIO west coast longshoremen, has announced a new strike "deadline" of June 1.

The Stalinists hope that such threats of strike action will force the ship operators to grant some concessions. This is why no definite strike date was set by the seamen's referendum. Instead they have voted to grant their negotiating committees power to call a strike if and when such action becomes necessary.

The Stalinist-rigged strike referendum leaves

On The Railroads

A. F. Whitney's call for government ownership of the railroads seems like strong talk to come from the conservative head of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. Government ownership, he says, is not the aim of the union, but "it appears to be the only way by which over-capitalization may be corrected and railroad finances placed upon a sound basis."



Congress is asked to enact legislation to seize the lines in order to forestall the nationwide railroad strike set for May 18 by the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. This demand is made necessary, Whitney says, "due to the obstinacy of the railroads and the fact that they are unwilling to make a reasonable settlement with their employees."

This suddenly raised call for government ownership after years of opposition by railroad labor bureaucrats is without doubt an attempt on Whitney's part to strengthen his hand in the union negotiations. The carriers, using the President's "fact-finding" board proposals, have offered only an inadequate wage increase and have stubbornly refused to discuss vital rules changes.

While 18 of the 21 railroad unions have accepted the arbitration proposals, resentment within the ranks of both the 18 unions whose heads accepted the award and within the trainmen and engineers brotherhoods have forced Whitney to try to find another formula.

Local unions throughout the country have protested bitterly the terms of the agreement and the whole method of negotiating through government boards. Sharply worded resolutions have condemned the Arbitration Award for ignoring such working conditions as a 56-hour week at straight time, no overtime pay for Sundays and holidays, no initial terminal delay

And I can imagine the unctuous sympathy: "We're very sorry, but that is the law. If we made an exception in your case, we'd have to do the same in all cases..." And then, with hypocritical incomprehension, "But, you've been working all your life, except for some layoffs now and then... how is it that you haven't saved up money for a rainy day? Didn't you ever expect to retire?" Workers are so improvident!

"The wearing out of the body," disease, even occupational diseases... how long did the miners fight to have silicosis recognized as an occupational disease? How many workers died in the long struggle to get workmen's compensation laws passed? How many strikes were there in which safety devices, guards for moving machinery, stood high on the list of demands?

Not very long ago the boys took up a collection for Jimmy when he was off with pneumonia, which he had contracted on the job. Each day he had been sweating in the terrible heat of the job and shivering in the slashing winter wind, until finally his body rebelled, and he tossed in his bed in fever and delirium. I don't suppose Jimmy has made up for that yet, physically or economically, because the little that we were able to give couldn't have been enough for more than a few days' meat and groceries for the family and a pitifully small amount of medicine for him. Of course, he never received a penny of compensation. After all, he was just sick, and that surely was of no concern to the company.

What injustice and ingratitude faces the worker under capitalism in his daily contact with the boss! All the wealth in the world has been produced by the worker, but in his hour of direst need he finds that there is none of it for him.

the initiative with the operators. They can stall around, make some pretense at negotiating, refer moot questions to "impartial" fact-finding boards, intimate that possibly concessions will be granted "if the War Shipping Administration agrees"... and finally, when the operators are ready, by agreement with the proper government agencies they can break off negotiations and provoke a strike when the seamen are least prepared for it. This is what happened after World War I, in 1921. It can happen again.

The Stalinists do not control the American seamen and are not able to manipulate the maritime unions exactly as they would like to. They are not able to put the seamen on the bricks nor to hold them on the ships simply to suit the changing diplomatic needs of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. Even in the CIO maritime unions where the Stalinists have long held sway, there is a growing opposition, both to Bridges in the longshoremen's union on the west coast and to Stalinist spokesmen among the NMU seamen on the east coast.

The AFL seamen's unions headed by Harry Lundeberg are a bigger factor now than they were prior to World War II. Neither the AFL Seafarers International Union nor the Sailors Union of the Pacific has taken a strike vote. Lundeberg argues that now is not the time for a strike because: 1) ships are being laid up and turned over to foreign operators, thus creating widespread unemployment in the industry; 2) the ship operators are now indifferent to strike threats because they will continue to receive huge fees for handling the Government-owned ships even if they are stuck; 3) The Government will break the strike in order to keep supplies moving to the Army and Navy and United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Association.

These are real dangers which any strike at this time faces. But there is another and far greater danger. Seamen are today divided along jurisdictional lines—AFL and CIO. The leadership in both groups seem to be more concerned with their jurisdictional struggle than with organizing the showdown fight against the operators.

The reasons Lundeberg gives for opposing strike action will be as valid six months or a year from now — if not more so. How, then, is the present leadership of the maritime unions preparing to meet the government-shipowner union-smashing drive? Can this drive against the seamen be halted without a strike? These are the questions seamen are asking today. If now is not the time for a strike, when is the time? The powerful strike vote they are rolling up is the seamen's answer.

By Henry Adams

rule, loss of held-away-from-home terminal time, inadequate health insurance, complicated rules structure used to lay all blame for accidents on the men, etc.

One resolution sums it up, saying "This wage award still keeps rail workers in the status of second class citizens as compared to the wages paid for similar work in other industries... (We must) depend on the power and strength of the Rail Workers and not on any Boards who are always ready and willing to sell out the workers."

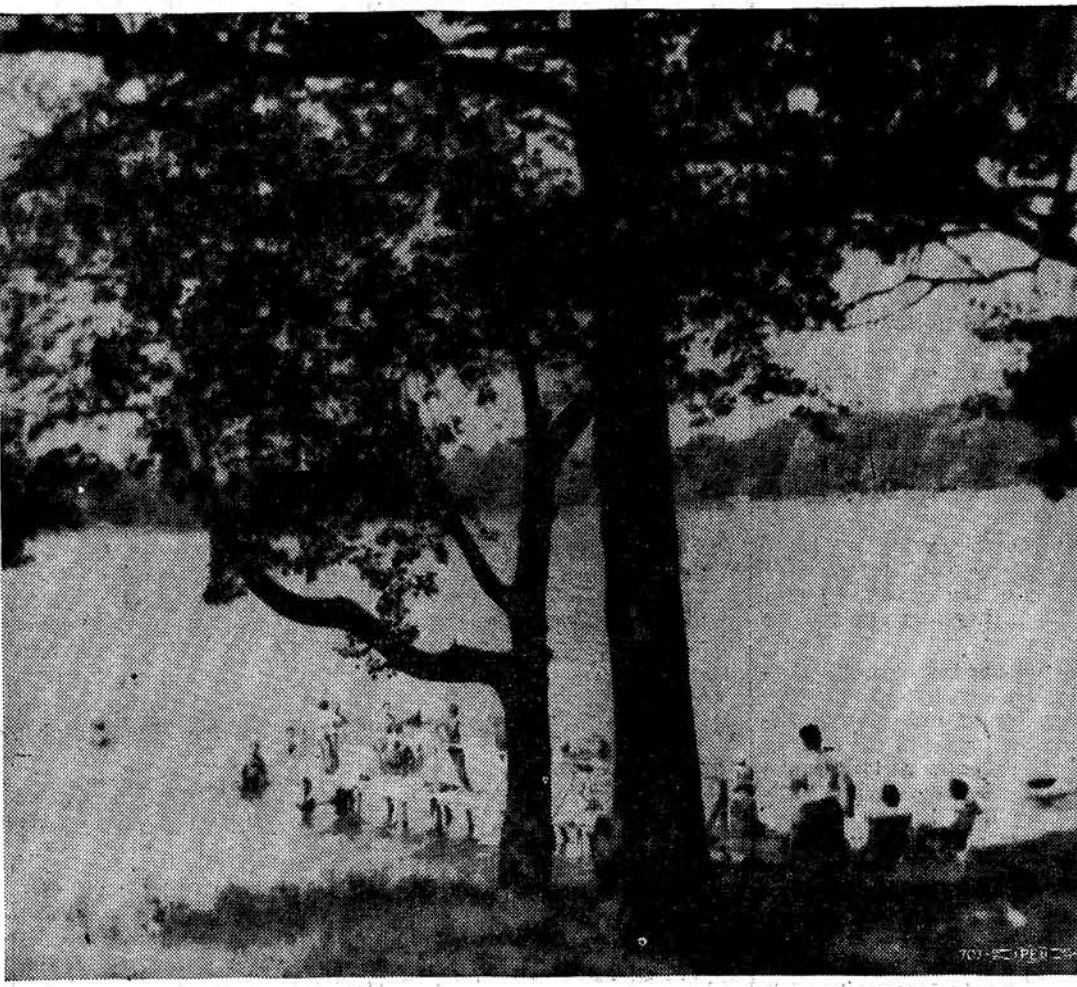
What is usually meant by "government ownership" when voiced by such individuals as Whitney is operation of the railroads by the capitalist government with protection of the profit interests of the railroad monopolists. An indication of what such "government ownership" would really mean was given when Roosevelt seized the railroads in December 1943 to prevent a strike. The operation of the railroads continued under the control of the same bosses, who simply strutted around with the new titles of "colonel" and "major." Their profits were fully safeguarded. In the event of the government taking formal ownership, the present owners would be granted sufficient compensation to cover all present and potential profits while "railroad finances are placed on a sound basis."

We agree that government ownership of the railroads would be in the interests of the workers—but only if they are operated under the control of the workers, without any profit or compensation to the present parasite owners.

But to achieve this indispensable program and the other sound aims of the railroad workers, what is needed is a policy for strengthening the rail unions for effective struggle. Among the most imperative needs of the railroad workers is progressive amalgamation of the railroad unions, looking toward industrial organization. Then we would not have the disgraceful spectacle, as at present, of 21 different policies in the wage fight being rammed down the throats of the railroad workers by 21 different sets of bureaucrats.

4,000 Transit Workers In Los Angeles Strike For More Wages, Oppose Fare Rise

Scene At Mid-West Vacation School



Students relax with a swim between classes, in the photo above which shows the cool, shaded pier in front of the dormitories at Little Pleasant Lake. The Mid-West Vacation School is now taking reservations for the third season which opens June 30.

Midwest Vacation School Opens For Third Season On June 30

The annual Mid-West Vacation School for workers, which proved so popular in previous summers, has announced that it will open for its third year on June 30. The school will again be operated on a cooperative basis to provide friends of *The Militant* with a pleasant vacation at a reasonable rate and an opportunity to study problems of the labor movement under Marxist instructors.

The Vacation School is charmingly situated on a wooded slope beside Little Lake Pleasant in central Michigan, near the city of Jackson, 60 miles from Detroit. There are ideal facilities for sports—soft ball, boating, archery, fishing and hiking, and a magnificent oak grove for picnics. Indoor games including chess, checkers, cards and ping-pong, as well as amateur theatricals and dancing, are also provided.

U. S. Imperialism Accelerates Drive Toward New World War

(Continued from Page 1)

James Reston in the May 12th N. Y. Times.

Meanwhile, the Paris Conference, called to divide the plunder of World War II and establish spheres of influence, neared a complete breakdown on Thursday of last week.

Secretary of State James Byrnes insisted, in view of the stalemate between representatives of the Big Four, on convening a session of the 21 victor nations on June 15 to draft pacts formally ending the war with Italy and Axis satellite nations in the Balkans.

AIM AT USSR

The Foreign Ministers and press agents of the capitalist powers blamed Russian delegate Molotov for the diplomatic deadlock. While both sides may make minor concessions, no one expected agreement on any basic issues being considered in the present conference. Thus, Washington and London, in calling for an expanded meeting, indicate an intention to make treaties, if need be, without Russia's agreement.

The N. Y. Times correspondent C. L. Sulzberger, reporting from Paris on May 12, stated "There are some persons who say that if this Council fails the United States must adopt a two-worlds policy." This would hasten the march toward war.

Although such a policy hasn't been openly admitted by Washington, both diplomatic and political commentators speak in terms comparing the present situation to that during the Munich crisis in 1938.

At the height of the Conference crisis, on May 9, Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, who accompanied Byrnes to Paris, reported to Washington in these sinister terms:

"The outlook is pretty grim—unless you want to go to Munich every day. And I am not willing to go to Munich." Vandenberg made it clear that he and Senator Tom Connolly, also a member of the American diplomatic gang, saw "eye to eye" with delegation head Byrnes.

To exert additional pressure upon the Kremlin, political commentators in the capitalist press speak openly of strained rela-

Overlooking the lake are the main dormitory, dining hall, and individual cabins. All the rooms are clean, light and airy. The camp is equipped with all modern improvements, including showers with hot and cold water. Food is plentiful and well prepared.

Attendance at the classes is voluntary. They are arranged so that each can be completed within one week, and all are planned to be particularly useful to active unionists. Courses for the 1946 season include The Role and Function of Trade Unions; An Introduction to Marxist Economics; Lectures on American History; What Is Marxism?; The History of the Socialist Workers Party; The Fourth International and Its Program.

William Warde, Associate Editor of *The Militant*, prominent educator and lecturer, is in charge of the educational program.

Rates are extremely low; only \$25 a week for adults, \$15 a week for children up to the age of 15. This includes board, lodging, enrollment in classes, use of boats, etc.

Reservations should be made immediately, since the camp has a limited capacity. Those who include part or full payment with their application will be given first consideration. Full payment may be made upon arrival at camp. For advance reservations write to: Mid-West Vacation School, Oscar Coover, Manager; 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Buffalo CIO Hits Policy Of Militarization

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

BUFFALO, May 7 — The Buffalo CIO Council today went on record against universal conscription and the proposed war appropriations measure now before Congress.

Robert Bornholz of the United Office and Professional Workers moved to condemn universal conscription and the contemplated \$8-billion war program. Intense and lively discussion followed. All shades of political thought were expressed.

It was significant that right at the outset many conservative delegates wanted the motion split in two parts, so they could vote against conscription while voting for the war funds. When the motion against universal conscription was finally considered alone, it carried unanimously!

Some of the more conservative even voted against the "defense program" itself, as the discussion brought out the real imperialist and anti-labor content of this program. The motion condemning the war appropriation measure carried about 2 to 1.

By Al Lynn

(Special to The Militant)

LOS ANGELES, May 6—More than 4,000 local street car and bus operators went out on strike this week for higher wages to meet the increased cost of living, halting the entire Los Angeles "Yellow" car system.

Open The Books, Say Los Angeles Transit Strikers

(Continued from Page 1)

iously underpaid, especially considering the constantly rising cost of living and the fact that they carry an onerous responsibility as operators of a public transit system.

"If the Los Angeles Transit Lines refuse to grant the strikers' demands, or claim that they cannot do so without increasing fares, then the city should step in, cancel the company's franchises, grant the workers' demands and operate the system under the control of the representatives of the street car and bus workers."

Mrs. Weiss pointed out that the proposed fare increases would, if sanctioned by the State Railroad Commission, add an additional burden to the already tight budgets of the workers, who represent the bulk of the users of the Yellow cars and buses. These increases, amounting to more than 50 per cent when coupled with the proposed abolition of weekly passes and family commutation tickets, would fall most heavily on the poorest section of the city's population, she said.

In answer to Mayor Bowron's statements on the strike, Mrs. Weiss said, "Many crocodile tears are being shed for the one million people who are deprived of transportation during this strike. Perhaps Mayor Bowron and others who are attempting to place the blame for this tie-up on the workers, would be more convincing if they showed a similar concern for the same one million people whom the profiteering street car corporation proposes to burden with this outrageous price increase."

Taking issue with the company's claim that it was unable to pay wage increases without increased fares, Mrs. Weiss went on to say: "The gross earnings of the company, as shown in statistics given in *Moody's Public Utilities*, have steadily risen during the war years," when annual gross profits averaged over \$2,000,000, as compared with the 1941 gross of \$764,000. Further, revenue per car-mile hit an all-time high in 1944.

During the war, said Mrs. Weiss, the company operated all its equipment at top capacity — also its employees. "The company piled up profits at the expense of the public and its overworked employees. If now it claims that it cannot operate if wage increases are granted, let's have the company's books opened for inspection so that the full facts may be made public."

Local union leaders, peeved because they had not been consulted, refused to support the strike. Strike action was approved by a strike vote, but the shop committee, riddled with company stooges, refused to take responsibility for the strike.

The recent 18 1/2 cent wage increase was granted, but was tacked to impossibly high production quotas. Failure to meet production meant no increase in pay. Along with the increase came a speed-up of the sweatshop variety.

At least four women have suffered complete mental and nervous breakdowns. At almost any time, crying women can be found in washrooms — women who break down under the strain of trying to meet the inhuman production quotas.

All this, while Frank Stranahan, Jr., son of the Champion's president, tours the country by air, playing in amateur golf tournaments, his expenses paid by the toll of slave-driven women workers.

However, through the militancy of the 400 women, some concessions were won, constituting a great victory for them as the leaders of the first strike in Champion's history.

They succeeded in getting a 10 cent per hour increase with no strings attached, the remainder of the 18 1/2 cents still being tacked to the production quotas, which were dropped 10 per cent.

The Champion workers' strike, as short and as unorganized as it was, marked a turning point in their history. They have become conscious of the united fighting spirit they must show in order to keep the company from organizing them still lower.

The recent example of militant strike action exhibited by the great industrial unions has stirred even these most exploited women workers in the backwash of the labor movement where union stewards think it is their duty to stooge for the company.

By the overwhelming vote of 3,142 to 31 the workers decided to go out if their demands for \$1.36 per hour for a 40-hour week were not met. The present rate for operators of one-man cars and busses is \$1.03 an hour for a 44-hour week. Proportionate increases were also demanded for the two-man car operators who get only 93 cents per hour.

The company is now offering \$1.15 per hour for the former, but for a 48-hour week, and with the additional proviso that the company be given an increase in fares which are now 7 and 10 cents.

This unjustified move for a fare increase is being backed up by the U.S. Labor Department Conciliator, E. H. Fitzgerald, who suggested that such an increase might allow the company to meet the demands although it might take a little time to get the increase approved.

By operating with equipment which has long been obsolete and dangerous, employing insufficient labor and overcrowding its vehicles, the company has been making a fortune.

LINES DECEIT

The entire transportation system of Los Angeles is extremely deceitful and disorganized. Riders may have to make changes to any one of a dozen different lines, which gives the company an excuse to collect extra fares.

Transit Lines, which owns the system, is controlled by the Phillips Oil Company, a subsidiary of Standard Oil, by the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. and General Motors. The Bank of America, largest bank in the U. S. according to figures released this week, also has a big finger in the pie.

Women Lead First Strike At Toledo Champion

By Harold Josephs

(Special To The Militant)

TOLEDO, O., May 1—Four hundred women workers of the Champion Spark Plug Company here lead a recent strike against intolerable working conditions — the first strike in the company's history.

Local union leaders, peeved because they had not been consulted, refused to support the strike. Strike action was approved by a strike vote, but the shop committee, riddled with company stooges, refused to take responsibility for the strike.

The recent 18 1/2 cent wage increase was granted, but was tacked to impossibly high production quotas. Failure to meet production meant no increase in pay. Along with the increase came a speed-up of the sweatshop variety.

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