

# Coal Miners Triumph After Defying 'Seizure'

## Win Big Gains As Truman Bows To Solid Strike

By Art Preis

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

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

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

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

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

The agreement made by the (Continued on Page 8)

## U. S. Militarists Plan Frightful "Germ" Warfare

By Ralph Graham

New terrifying weapons of war, rivalling the atomic bomb in the scope of their destructive potential, and described generally under the heading of biological warfare, have been developed in the military laboratories of American imperialism for use against armies and civilian populations in the next war. Biological warfare embraces the use of bacteria, fungi, viruses, rickettsias and toxic agents derived from living organisms to produce disease and death in men, animals or plants.

Members of the House Appropriations Committee in Washington first disclosed the existence of these instruments of mass murder to the Associated Press on May 24, but refused to permit use of their names. There are several such weapons, one member said, adding that they had been developed to a point where they could now be used.

One of the weapons, he revealed, "is a germ proposition and is sprayed from airplanes" (Continued on Page 3)

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

By Evelyn Atwood

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

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

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

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

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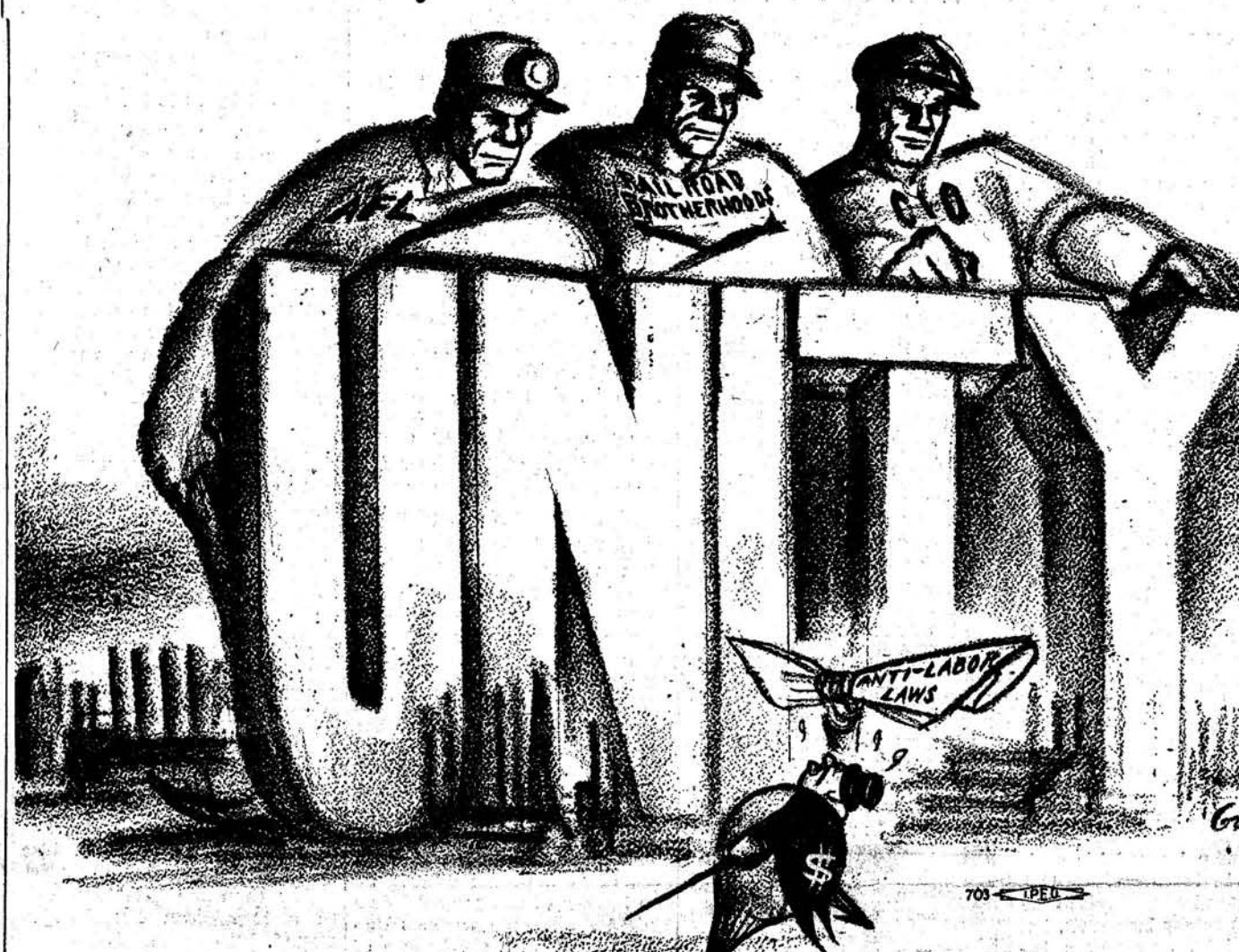
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# THE MILITANT

## UNITED LABOR CONFERENCE URGED BY UAW OFFICERS

Only Answer To The Labor-Haters



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

By The Editors

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

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

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

### Program For Action

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

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

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

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

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

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

Only yesterday, the union leaders were representing

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

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

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

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

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

### Millions Awaken

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

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

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

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

By Joseph Keller

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

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

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

## PAC Endorsees Support Truman Slave Labor Act

By Jeff Thorne

Polices of the CIO-Political Action Committee met their most crucial test Saturday, May 25, and demonstrated their bankruptcy. When CIO-endorsed President

Truman demanded a law to enslave American labor, most of the CIO-endorsed Congressmen voted for it. The House of Representatives, whose election in 1944 the CIO-PAC hailed as a "great progressive victory," rushed the "work-under-bayonets" bill through in 40 minutes with a vote of 306-13. And of the 13, only 7 were CIO-supported.

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

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

## What Roosevelt Said On The Labor Draft

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

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

## AKRON UNION ADVOCATES SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES

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

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

A movement is developing in the CIO United Auto Workers for additional wage rises. This movement was evidenced last week in a resolution adopted by the large Chrysler Local 7, Detroit, which declared that price increases have "evaporated" the 18½ cents an hour increase secured in the contract last January.

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

### CANNOT DEPEND ON OPA

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

prices was a fraud."

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

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

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

### ON THE INSIDE

Labor Party Needed	2
French Elections	3
CIO Still In Prison	4
Moscow Trial	7
Rochester Strike	8
On The Railroads	8
'COLUMNS AND FEATURES	
Trade Union Notes	2
Veterans Problems	4
Workers Forum	5
Shoptalks on Socialism	6
The Negro Struggle	7
Diary of Steelworker	8
Notes of A Seaman	8

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

By George Clarke

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

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

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

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

## Labor Is Unprepared

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

Thus in a series of tragic but inevitable steps the criminal, cowardly leaders of labor led the workers into the gigantic trap openly prepared by the monopolies. At the rim of the trap, waiting for the blindfolded workers, was Truman, "the friend of labor," armed with the big anti-labor stick prepared by his predecessor Roosevelt, also "a friend of labor." The great pains suffered by the workers came not so much from the injuries themselves as from the fact that they were inflicted by a "friend of labor." Every-  
where workers are asking: Why are we so strong on the picket line and so weak before Wall Street's puppets in Washington? What next?

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

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

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

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

## Forged By Roosevelt

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

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

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

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

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

## Auto Union Leaders Urge National Labor Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

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

Forseeing the tremendous struggle impending at the very start of the Big Business-government drive against labor after V-J Day, The Militant last September 15, 1945, first urged:

"Right now one of the most reactionary Congresses in American history is debating problems affecting the destinies of scores of millions. These millions have no genuine voice in the legislative halls and no means of bringing direct immediate and concentrated pressure to bear. The obvious and crying need is for the mobilization of organized labor's power in Washington through a National Labor Congress representing every union local and labor body in the United States."

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

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

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

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

pending in the Congress."

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

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

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## Army Protects Scabs



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

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

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

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

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

drive of the Truman administration and Congress. But in the course of the three-hour meeting they began to grow increasingly silent and restless when the speakers, including several well-known Stalinist union leaders, failed to propose any program of real labor action to beat back the union-busting offensive.

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

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

The workers at first enthusiastically applauded every attack on Truman and Congress. But

they also virtually nullified the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act, by authorizing the Attorney General to secure from District Federal Courts injunctions to enforce government orders for work resumption.

Senator Taft of Ohio, the leading Republican opponent of Truman's original bill, explained his chief objection as being that "this bill makes the President a complete dictator."

He does not object in principle to drafting strikers, but thinks "we ought

not to have legislation of this kind until an emergency arises."

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

Thus, the conflict between Truman and the Congress majority is not over the issue of government strikebreaking and the destruction of labor's rights.

It is principally a feud over the extent of presidential versus congressional powers, plus maneuvering for political advantage between groupings within the two Big Business parties.

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## Pantelis Pouliopoulos, Revolutionary Martyr

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

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

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

### ORGANIZED VETERANS

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

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

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

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

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

### FOR FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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

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



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

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

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

### AUTHOR AND TRANSLATOR

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

Several works by L. D. Trotsky were also translated by him. Among them, Revolution Betrayed, published only recently by our Greek comrades.

Moreover, Pouliopoulos was the author of numerous articles, pamphlets and books dealing with general questions of Marxist theory as well as with current political problems in Greece. Among his writings an important place is occupied by his masterly reply to the opportunist People's Front theses of the Greek Communist Party in 1935, which replaced the revolutionary socialist perspective in Greece with that of a "Popular Democracy."

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

### APPEALS TO FIRING SQUAD

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

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

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

### THE SOLDIERS RESPOND

## ITALY BEFORE THE JUNE ELECTIONS

By Rosa Di Bartolomeo

(Special to The Militant)

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

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

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

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

The liberals, likewise divided

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

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

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

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

responsible for reaction. The very real and dangerous reaction, however, is rearming itself under the guise of "democracy," the conservative cohorts of Demo-Christians tied with the clerical hierarchy of the Vatican; the big financiers and in-

## French Trotskyists Conduct Energetic Election Campaign

### SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

PARIS, France, May 25—The election campaign of the Internationalist Communist Party (PCI), French section, is now in full swing. The French Trotskyists have plastered the city with posters. Every evening one or two rallies are held in each constituency. So far attendance

has not been high, but the discussions have gained a number of recruits for the party.

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

### STALINISTS ALARMED

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

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

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

"Some Socialists," continues the *Daily Mail*, "are stated to have shown willingness to give indirect support to Trotskyists, so that they can at least be represented in the Assembly. They are still talking about the whole thing in Saigon, through a preparatory peace mission which we sent to Indo-China early in April. Apparently the French prefer bullets to words. They talk louder."

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

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

"France today is trying to return to her colonial glory. She is convinced she can do it, and she is certainly trying hard enough. She wants the immediate return of four provinces we got back in 1941. We are still

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# THE MILITANT

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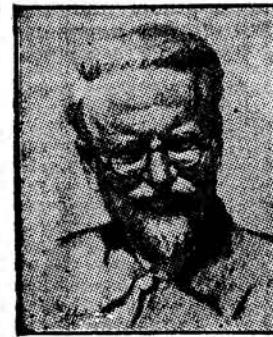
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Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy.

—Leon Trotsky

## Labor's Answer To Rising Prices

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

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

Less than six months after winning an 18½-cent an hour wage raise, an important section of the CIO United Auto Workers, the Chrysler workers, is clamoring for new wage increases to offset the soaring cost-of-living. And this is but one sign of the rapidly growing movement for renewed struggle for additional wage gains.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## End The War!

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

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

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

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

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

and even tighten the chains on the working class.

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

## Withdraw All Troops!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Unbridled Militarism

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

## Workers' BOOKSHELF

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

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

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

### CP REJECTED LENINISM

"Carrying out the bureaucratic commands of the Russian government, the Comintern led the proletariat from one catastrophe to another. After the defeat of the Chinese revolution, came Germany's turn. The CPG refused to use the Leninist method of the united front and therefore prevented the proletarian mass action against the fascists—the only possible road to victory."

"After the victory of fascism in Germany, Stalin's policy of collaborating with the 'democratic' imperialists forced the Comintern to the position of Social Democracy—to a policy of class collaboration. It resulted in the defeat of the Spanish Civil War and the fiasco of the French strike movement. These were the milestones on

the way to World War II...

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

### CPLE RESPONSIBILITY

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## PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

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

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

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

After reviewing what has been proposed to provide homes for ex-GIs, the conservative N. Y. State Committee on Housing, declared that steps are being taken but those projected will not begin to care for the housing requirements of the veterans. Not only will too few housing units be constructed but the minimum rent of \$62 for three rooms allowed by OPA cannot be paid by more than one in 25 veterans.

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

### Tenements and Slums

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

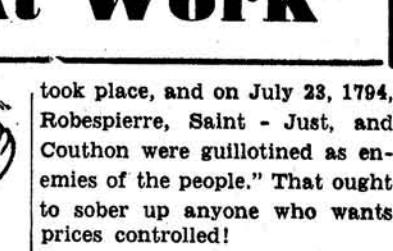
O'Dwyer's administration asked for a law enabling modification of slum dwellings and one or two family houses. Republicans and Democrats in the state legislature obligingly passed a bill granting the request and providing reimbursement to the landlords for the cost of modifying slum buildings. They may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

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

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

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

## 3,000 COs Still Held In Concentration Camps



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

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

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

As every school child knows, the great French revolution led the Jacobins to mark the overthrow of the feudal system by rising capitalism. But Gwinn presented a different version: "When the leftists of that day, the Jacobins, decided to destroy French culture and French enterprise, they made use of the old tyrannical medium of a violent price control." But the Jacobins had to pay for their price control, according to Gwinn: "The battle became so violent that a counter-revolution

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

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

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

### Refuse Food For 12th Day

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

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

One of the leaders of the Sandstone strikers, 23-year-old Richard Alan Zumwinkle, is serving a three-year term after refusing to report to a conscientious objectors work camp.

### Atrocities Of U. S. Imperialism

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

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



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

By Justine Lang  
Campaign Director

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

The response to date to our Militant Sustaining Fund Drive from branches of the Socialist Workers Party, our readers and friends has been most gratifying. Since the start of the campaign, eleven weeks ago, the wholehearted support we have received has resulted in our obtaining \$13,192.

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

However, the period ahead is most important. Approximately 80 per cent of our branches have already achieved their quotas, thus enabling us to reach the present high percentage. Now the responsibility for bringing our Militant Fund Drive to a successful conclusion lies with the other sections which have yet to meet their respective goals.

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

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

## STILL TOP LIST

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

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

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

## New York SWP Announces Gala Militant' Ball

NEW YORK—On June 15, 1946, the Socialist Workers Party of New York is presenting its First Annual Militant Ball at the Hotel Diplomat. Preparations are in full swing to make this a memorable occasion for all Militant readers and their friends.

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

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

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

T. Dredio, Militant Fund Director of Buffalo-Lackawanna, writes: "Here is the last payment of \$44 to the Militant Fund Drive. This makes an even \$500."

Charles Reading, Toledo, Ohio:

## New York ANNUAL MILITANT BALL

Dancing From 9:00 p.m. to 2 a.m.

to the music of

KARL TAYLOR and his RHYTHM BAND

Also

Entertainers From Stage And Night Clubs

A. ROYCE, ex-GI, Master of Ceremonies

SATURDAY, JUNE 15

In The Spacious, Air-Cooled

Royal Palm Room of the Hotel Diplomat

108 W. 43rd St. New York

Tickets at all branch offices and City Office of Socialist Workers Party in New York.

## I Want To Help!

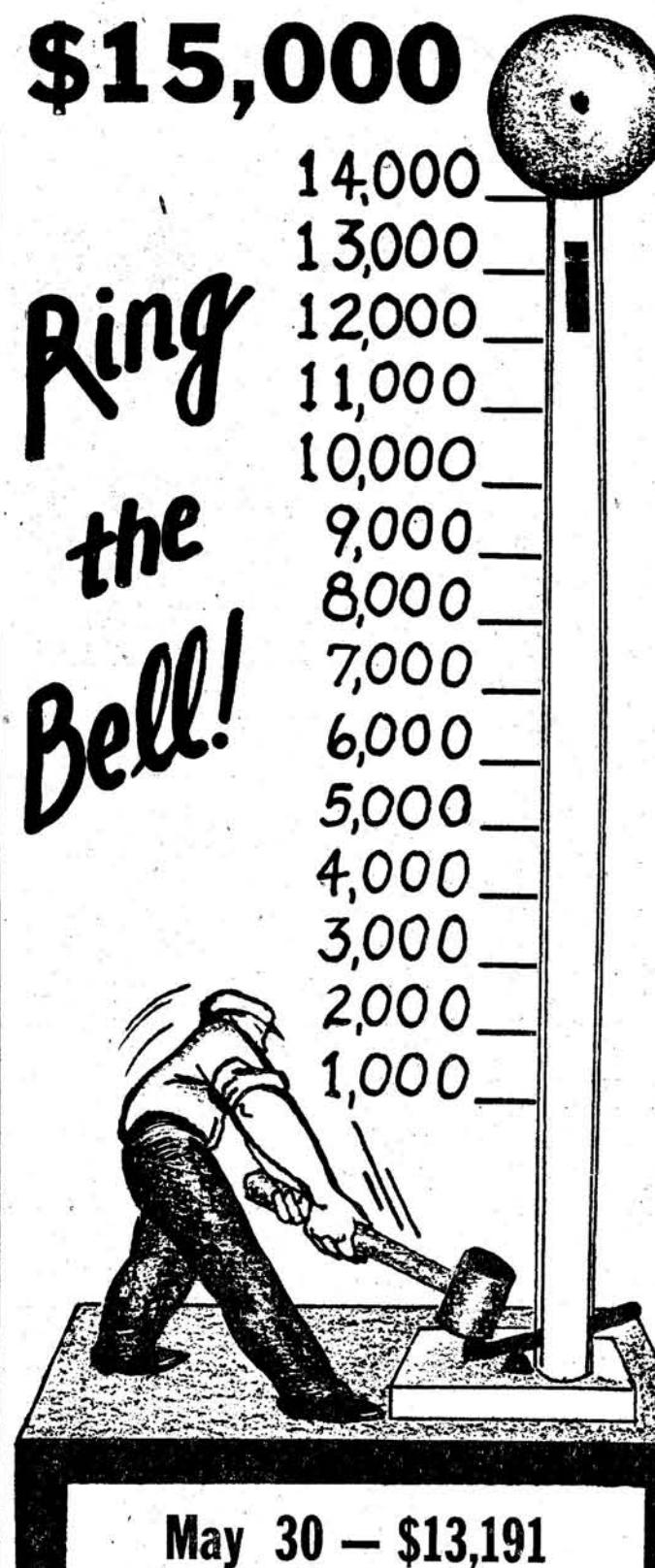
To The Militant:  
116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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 .....



## SCOREBOARD

### SCORE BOARD

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

## Newark SWP Files Petitions For Elections

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

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

## ANTOINETTE KONIKOW URGES AID TO EUROPEAN WORKERS

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

Comrades and Friends:

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

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

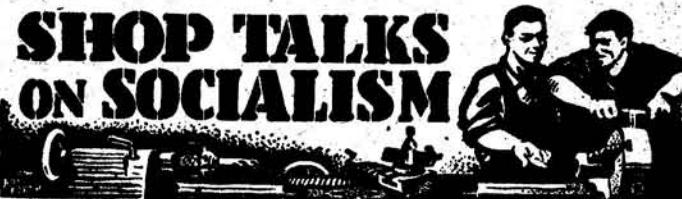
To these young comrades and friends, I appeal now to concentrate their well-proved energy, their splendid abilities on the important burdensome job of relieving the physical sufferings of our co-workers in Europe and other countries.

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

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

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

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



## Labor and Labor Power

By V. Grey

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

KARL MARX

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

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

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

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

Walking, for example, is such an activity. Walking itself hasn't any exchange value. But a number of hours walking behind a plow adds so much value to the potatoes which will be harvested in the fall. Later a faster, riding plow is invented. Walking behind plows becomes less and less socially necessary labor. But both before and after the invention of the riding plow, walking itself has no value. "But I sell my labor for so much an hour, don't I? It must be worth something" the worker says. No, you give your labor to the earth, as men have always done. You incorporate your labor in your product. What you sell the capitalist is not walking—but your ability to walk. If he can make you run instead of walk, so much the better for him, and worse for you.

## You Sell Yourself

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

The self that you sell piece by piece can well be called your labor power. It is this labor power that is bought and sold under capitalism. It is the worker's strength, his intelligence, the skill of his hand, the sharpness of his eye, that passes under the auction block like tobacco and slaves.

Labor and labor power do not at first sound like such very different things. But you have to remember that "labor power" is the worker himself. Labor is the worker's action. Or putting it another way: labor power is a commodity whose use is labor.

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

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

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

Next Week: The Value of Labor Power.



ANTOINETTE KONIKOW

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

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

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

people who continued to discuss and clarify and exchange opinions . . .

There was fun, so much of it, that it alone made the vacation a memorable event. But there was an underlying, ever-present seriousness, an all-pervading knowledge of the historical tasks of the party and the necessity to prepare for them in every possible way, that arrested your attention and made you proud to be one of these working class fighters.

And after the classes you saw little groups, not exclusive groups, but expanding knots of fighters.

## Mail This Blank For Your Reservation At

## Mid-West Vacation Camp And School

Season June 30-Aug. 17 Adults \$25 week, Children \$15  
OSCAR COOVER, Manager  
116 University Place

Reserve accommodations for below from . . .

Family  Couple  Single  (check one)

Name . . . . . (Mr., Mrs., Miss)

List Children and Age . . . . .

Name of Applicant . . . . . (Please sign)

# Kremlin Prosecutors At Nuremburg Come To Court With Unclean Hands

By Joseph Hansen

(Third of a series of articles)

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

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

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

## KIROV KILLED

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

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

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

## SECRET TRIAL

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

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

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

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

## FRAME-UP "CONFESSION"

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

On the basis of this press release, Leon Trotsky from his exile in France charged on December 30, 1934, that "the GPU itself, through the medium of

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

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

## THOUSANDS ARRESTED

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

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

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

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

An eye witness of Stalin's retaliatory measures in Leningrad is quoted by Serge: "Last March and April (1935), I witnessed the arrest in Leningrad, followed by deportations en masse; the total number of the deported, counting their families, must have come close to a hundred thousand. . . . The railroad stations were botted up for two weeks."

## EYE WITNESS STORY

These tragic scenes were duplicated throughout the Soviet Union as Stalin carried forward his monstrous retaliation for the death of Kirov. The horror of Hitler's reprisal at Lidice for the death of Heydrich sinks into insignificance compared to the horror Stalin unleashed upon all of Soviet Russia.

## F.I. Subscription Drive Nears 500 Goal

By Constance Locke

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

Campaign Directors in Milwaukee, Newark, St. Paul, Tacoma, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Boston, Buffalo, Minneapolis, and San Diego are to be congratulated on the good work they have done in obtaining enough subscriptions to fulfill their quota ahead of schedule.

In fact, some of these Campaign Directors are not contenting themselves with 100 per cent but continue going after subs. As a result their percentages are soaring.

Campaign Directors in those

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

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

Reading's Campaign Director Smith: "Reading needs only one more sub to fill its quota in the FI campaign. I am sure we will get this and we hope to go over our quota."

Toledo's Campaign Director

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

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

By John G. Wright

In writing this book it was Trotsky's intention from the very outset to place the stress on the early or "preparatory period" of Stalin's life. As the author explains in his introduction, the facts of Stalin's more recent political activities are known to every literate person.

For this reason, despite the fact that the latter portion remained uncompleted, the essential part of the biography as Trotsky conceived it is nevertheless available to the reader.

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

## TREASURE OF INFORMATION

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

Trotsky delineates how obscure Stalin's role really was in the greatest revolutionary events of our era. At the same time, the book gives intimate glimpses of the leading personalities who really comprised the general staff of Bolshevism, headed by Lenin and Trotsky.

Its pages provide a lucid and brilliant exposition of the struggle for socialism, a cause to which the author devoted his entire conscious life. In addition section after section of this book graphically explains how the main instrument of the struggle, the capitalist rulers and the capitalist rulers of Wall Street and their government in Washington.

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

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

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

With the growth and development of Lenin's party, a new type of political thinker and warrior arose for the first time among the ranks of the working class in the cities of the Czarist empire. Young men and women began to call themselves "professional revolutionists."

This means that the liberating struggle of the proletariat became their lifetime "trade" or occupation. Whatever other skills they attained — and these were many and varied — were subordinated to the development and perfection of this primary revolutionary skill or "profession."

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

DEFENDS BOLSHEVISM

Stalin did not begin as the full-fledged monster that now rules in the Kremlin. He rose to prominence gradually by betraying step by step the traditions, principles and program of Lenin's party, by becoming and of Stalinism, as a system of ideas and practices; it is at the same time a great historical defense and justification of Lenin.

PHILADELPHIA

Frivolity Carnival Saturday, June 15

Dancing . . . Fun . . . Food

Militant Labor Forum

1303 W. Girard 9 p.m.

DETROIT

Open house every Saturday, 8 p.m. at 6108 Linwood. Office open daily 12 to 5. Phone Tyler 7-6287.

MONDAY, 8 p.m. — Class on "Program of SWP."

FLINT

SWP meets every Friday, 8 p.m. at YWCA, 1st and Harrison.

HARRISBURG

For information, write P.O. Box 905.

LOS ANGELES

Visit Militant Publishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Vandyke 7936.

SAN PEDRO

Militant Publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

PITTSBURGH

Militant Reading Room, 141 S. Highland.

MINNEAPOLIS

Visit Militant Book Store, 10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily.

NEW YORK

CITY HQ., 116 University Place, GR. 5-8149.

SATURDAY, 8:30 p.m., Tues., 7:30, rehearsal of Militant chorus.

HARLEM

103 W. 110 St., 23, MO. 2-1866.

BRONX

1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TI 2-0101.

WEDNESDAY CLASS, 8:30: State and Revolution.

FRIDAY CLASS, 8:30: Principles of Socialism.

SUNDAYS AT 7:30, Discussion on Militant. WEDNESDAYS AT 7:30, Classes: "Introduction to Marxist Economics" 7:30-8:30. "Fascism," 8:30-9:30.

SEATTLE

Visit our Headquarters, 119½ Second Ave. Open Saturdays 12 to 5, Sunday 7:30 to 10, Wednesday 7:30 to 10.

SUNDAYS AT 7:30, Discussion on Militant. WEDNESDAYS AT 7:30, Classes: "In Defense of Marxism."

ST. LOUIS

Visit our Headquarters, 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312, open Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 8:30-9:30 p.m. Saturday, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Monday through Saturday, 7:30 to 10 p.m. MONDAY THROUGH FRIDAY.

ST. PAUL

540 Cedar Ave., St. Paul 2, Phone Garfield 1132. Open daily 2:30-9:30.

TACOMA

Wash. — Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m. at Oddfellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P.O. Box 1079.

TOLEDO

Forums every Tuesday, 8:30 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 NEGRO STRUGGLE

by CHARLES JACKSON

### Governor of a Different (?) Color

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

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

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

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

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

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

Flanked by Julius A. Krug, Secretary of the Interior and open spokesman for American imperialist interests, he pointed out that the present revenue of the islands is "insufficient" to even pay the salaries of the necessary government officials.

Of course, the thing for the Virgin Islanders to do, then, if they insist on gaining their promised independence, is to "improve the economy" by further toll on the sugar plantations of the absentee "owners" of the

## Diary Of A Steelworker By T. Kovalesky

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Notes Of A Seaman

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

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

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

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

### Behind the Wage Proposal

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

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

## On The Railroads

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

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

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

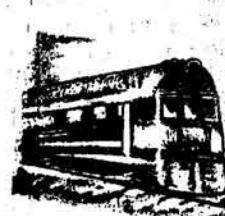
### "Vigilante Terror In Fontana"

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



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

### General Strike Freed Them



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

### Rochester AFL And CIO Unite In General Strike

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

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

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

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

### Kick Out The Operators

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

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

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

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

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

The general strike was led by joint AFL-CIO strike strategy committee which was headed by two local AFL Central Trades and Labor Council leaders, Council President Anthony A. Capone and Henry Steve.

INSPIRING VICTORY

By its victory, Rochester labor has paved the way for a powerful drive against one of the main open-shop citadels remaining in America, dominated by the Eastman-Kodak and Bausch & Lomb corporations. The unity in action of the AFL and CIO here will unquestionably serve as inspiration to the whole American labor movement.

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