

## NEW PURGES IN SOVIET UNION

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VOL. X — No. 27

Workers Of The World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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# UPWA SEEKS 'LIVING COST' BONUS

## Mass Arrests Of Trotskyists In Bulgaria

NEW YORK, July 1—Mass arrests of Trotskyists in Bulgaria were today characterized by Farrell Dobbs, editor of *The Militant*, as "an infallible sign that a blood purge of major proportions is now in progress in the Balkans."

Speaking for the Socialist Workers Party in a press release, Dobbs declared that the purge in the Balkans is "an extension of the purge now underway in the Soviet Union itself." The full text of his statement to the press follows:

The *Militant* has just received word from its Paris correspondent that the reign of terror in Bulgaria has led to sweeping "mass arrests" of "Trotskyists."

Dr. Gatchev of Ploudiv is among those arrested. Dr. Gatchev, a member of the Fourth International, is a well known revolutionary leader in Bulgaria.

Others under arrest include leaders of the League for the Defense of the Rights of Man.

Reuters dispatches reported June 28 the arrest and imprisonment of the Bulgarian Social Democratic leader, Krstiu Pashtuhov. Early in June the Agrarian leader, Trifon Kunev, was beaten by "thugs." R. H. Markham, veteran Balkan correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, declared in an interview in Athens June 27 that people are being "killed by the thousands" in Bulgaria. He repeated his previous report about "concentration camps" in Bulgaria and "executions in the form of legal massacres, the victims of which are placed in unmarked graves."

Markham has been expelled from Rumania by the Stalinist-dominated government. He and three other correspondents were refused permission to enter Bulgaria.

This ruthless purge of all political opposition in the Balkans

is now in progress in the Balkans.

Stalin's executioners have for years secretly hounded the Trotskyists in the Balkans. Thus during the civil war in Greece the Stalinists shot down in cold blood hundreds of workers whom they labelled as "Trotskyists." The same was true in Bulgaria. After the entry of the Red Army the Stalinists systematically hunted down revolutionary workers and killed them, no matter how heroically they may have resisted the Nazis during the war. Those who survived Nazi persecution fell before the Stalinist firing squads.

The public arrest of prominent Bulgarian Trotskyists is therefore an infallible sign that a blood

purge of major proportions is now in progress in the Balkans.

ST. PAUL, Minn., June 30 — The Minnesota branches of the Socialist Workers Party opened their fall election campaign at a state nominating convention held here today.

The delegates, who met in the party's St. Paul headquarters, decided to file three candidates: Grace

Carlson for United States Senator, Warren Creel for Representative from the Third Congressional District (Minneapolis), and Dorothy Schultz for Representative from the Fourth Congressional District (St. Paul).

Chester Johnson of Minneapolis was selected as the party's campaign manager. To meet Minnesota's election regulations, the convention chose "Revolutionary Workers Party" as the ballot name for its slate.

Plans were laid at the convention for gathering signatures on nominating petitions. The state election laws allow "any three weeks between July 9 and August 1 for gathering the thousands of signatures necessary to place the candidates on the ballot."

The party's campaign an-

(Continued on Page 6)

Malcolm Walker, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress running as an independent in the fall elections, was introduced and spoke briefly on the need for a labor party and a Workers and Farmers government to set up a labor party.

George W. West, an official spokesman of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, recently testified before a House Committee in favor of reducing government housing expenditures. He was asked what should be done about the hundreds of thousands of families who need better housing but have incomes too low to pay for it. West replied: "I think poor people belong in the poorhouse."

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## What Do You Say?

**Question:** In Shanghai last week 100,000 Chinese people held a demonstration calling on the U. S. to withdraw its troops from China. What do you think?

**Place:** Philadelphia.

**Rev. J. Westburgh, Neuville, Chalfont, Pa.**

Unless our government is playing hypocrisy and thinks it is deceiving U. S. citizens, our troops should have been home long ago; because if a policy is peaceful the action must show it. Don't the Chinese have just as much right to self-determination as we in this country have?

**Maybell Millner, 2339 N. Collidge Ave.**

I don't think they should keep troops there. Perhaps there is some reason unknown to the public?

**A. McIntyre, transit worker, 5738 N. 6th St.**

Let them take care of themselves. Withdraw American troops. It's only in the interests of the big bosses with money to keep them there, and not in the interests of the young boys and working people.

**Harry Brock, transit worker, 404 W. Raymond St.**

It's not in the interests of the American people to have our boys over in China. Many of us have boys there and we want to get them back.

**Sid Shore, 3872 Wyalusing Ave.**

Remove our troops from China. The war with Japan is over and there's no reason to keep American troops there. The Chinese should be able to handle themselves. The American troops that are there now are only a token force and as such serve only to endanger the lives of the American soldier.

**John J. Lavelle, student, Wilmington, Del.**

It is in the interest of the American public and for universal peace to keep American troops in China.

**Joseph F. Steffler, 3312 N. Lee St.**

Keep American troops in China to cut down on terrorism and suppress the danger of communism.

**Ultimo Rota, 1230 W. 42nd St.**

American soldiers should be withdrawn from China. The Chinese people should be allowed to settle their own problem. The army in China protects only the interests of big corporations and not the interests of the working people.

**Francis Hamilton, white collar worker, 2713 Cambridge St.**

The army should keep American troops in China until the situation is settled.

**Chris Olovgian, veteran, 4 years with Flying Tigers in China; 1421 Arch St.**

Yes, our troops should be withdrawn. Our troops are all that keep Chiang Kai-shek in power.

**Harry Schwartz, white collar worker, 150 S. Brood St.**

I think American troops should not be in China but I feel that the demonstration was held by communists.

**For The Militant's views see editorial "Withdraw The Troops," Page 4.**

# The Sliding Scale Of Wages: An Effective Way To Combat The Rising Cost Of Living

More and more unions are adopting the principle of the sliding scale of wages to protect the workers' living standards from the rising cost of living.

Last week the CIO United Packinghouse Workers put forward an adaptation or variant of the sliding scale principle in the form of a demand for regular weekly or monthly "cost-of-living" bonuses based on the rise in living costs. (Details on Page One.)

The Akron rubber workers and several leading CIO auto union locals in Detroit have advocated the sliding wage scale to meet the rising cost of living. Their program is directly in line with the sliding scale program long advocated by The Militant and Socialist Workers Party.

A sliding scale, as advocated by the Trotskyists, is designed specifically for a period of continuous inflation. It provides the most immediate, direct and effective means for maintaining the workers' living standards regardless of the pace or amount of living cost rises.

### BASIC MINIMUM

The contract with the sliding wage scale would provide a basic minimum wage rate. This rate would rise in direct proportion to the rate of living cost increases. Such a wage increase

### INCREASE RETROACTIVE

Under the sliding scale plan, the amount of the rise in living costs would be determined by the union, based on an index acceptable to the union. All wage increases would be retroactive to the beginning of the living cost increase.

The sliding scale is absolutely automatic, it must be understood. There can be no argument about the amount of additional money to be paid the workers. If the union determines that the cost of living has risen five per cent in the preceding month, then wages would immediately go up five per cent retroactively in con-

formity with the contract.

This, of course, does not preclude demands for higher basic wage rates. On the sliding scale principle, this would not only maintain but improve existing living standards.

The resolution proposed that such a conference have as one task the consideration of the question of formation of a "third national party." Despite the term "third party," the discussion showed that what the delegates had in mind was a labor party.

Richard Gossard, Regional Director, voiced support for the resolution to consider the question at a national conference, although he stated he would not support a resolution for a labor party. In the past, most UAW leaders have opposed any suggestion of a labor party. The fact that they are willing to consider the question now, reflects the sentiment for a labor party in the ranks.

**General Tire Workers Hold Firm In Strike**

**BACK CHEVROLET WORKERS**

The conference also pledged support to the Toledo Chevrolet workers against General Motors' attempts to cripple their union. The company has engaged in a series of provocations. These were climaxed by the firing of Ted Stephens, active union member, two days after he was elected chairman of the local's drive to organize hundreds of veterans newly-hired by the company since the GM strike.

Chris Olovgian, veteran, 4 years with Flying Tigers in China; 1421 Arch St.

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## Canadian Loggers Want Action



Members of the CIO International Woodworkers of Canada marched on the provincial capital at Victoria, British Columbia, to demand action on their demands. They came from logging centers throughout the province.

## New York Painters Roll Up Big Vote Against Stalinists

(Special to The Militant)

NEW YORK, June 29—In the largest vote in the N.Y. painters union (AFL) in eight years, the progressive opposition came within an ace of ousting the corrupt Weinstock administration. The 10-years-long Stalinist incumbent squeezed through by a plurality of 13 votes. The final

count in the hotly-contested election gave 2,354 votes to Weinstock and 2,341 votes to Martin Raback, candidate of the United Progressive Opposition for secretary-treasurer of District Council 9.

The Stalinist machine resorted to every crooked and bureaucratic means during the election campaign to keep the membership from hearing the program of the Progressives.

In Local 905, the largest Stalinist-controlled local in the city, Weinstock stooges called off all membership meetings for the month of June in order to deny Raback the opportunity of addressing the membership of the local.

In Local 892, where Raback won the candidacy for Secretary-Treasurer, the Stalinist machine denied the Progressive candidates access to the sample ballots for the local election.

These were only samples of the irregular procedure practised throughout the District Council and especially in Weinstock's own local.

For months prior to the election Weinstock assured the membership that the Wage Adjustment Board would grant the painters a wage increase of 16

cents an hour. On June 14 Weinstock submitted the union's brief to the board in Washington, boasting that a favorable award would be forthcoming within 14 days.

He timed this to coincide with the election day. His plan was to ballyhoo the award for electioneering purposes in the event it was favorable or to conceal it if adverse.

The entire plan was a cynical trick of playing with the livelihood of the painters for his own personal, bureaucratic interests. The painters were lulled into a false sense of optimism regarding the increase and consequently entirely unprepared to fight the campaign of the boss painters against the wage increase.

### SUPPRESSED NEWS

Weinstock suppressed the news, known to him several days before the election, that the Washington Board had slapped the painters in the face with a decision awarding them a one cent increase!

The campaign of the Progressive Opposition was based on a militant program which aimed at lifting the painters out of the worst working conditions and wages in the N.Y. building trades and restoring them to their traditional place in the forefront of the building trades in the entire country.

Among other demands, the program called for the 6-hour day; the closing of the gap in wages between the painters and the other building trades unions; the sliding scale of wages based on the AFL Cost-Of-Living Index; a rotary system of hiring; an end to the practices of speed-up; discrimination and unsafe working conditions.

The program was received by the bulk of the membership as the first serious threat to the rotten unionism practised by the Weinstock administration for ten years. The huge popular vote received by the young and militant group of painters, headed by Martin Raback, indicates the strength of the opposition which will carry its fight into the locals and the District Council in the coming year for the program it advanced in the election.

**AFL Seamen Announce New Wage Agreement**

Negotiating on the basis of the June 15 gains won from the War Shipping Administration by the CIO Maritime Union, the AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific announced on June 27 that further wage concessions had been agreed to by the Pacific American Shipowners Association. The new scale negotiated by the SUP is as follows:

Boatswains: \$225 per month on vessels of 15 to 20 thousand gross tons; \$212.50 on vessels of 10 to 15 thousand gross tons; \$202.50 on vessels under 10 thousand tons.

Carpenters: \$212.50, \$207.50 and \$195 according to size of vessel as listed above.

Carpenters Mates: \$195  
Deck Storkeers: \$192.50  
Able Seamen Maintenance Men: \$187.50

Boatswain's Mates: \$172.50  
Quartermasters: \$167.50  
Able Seamen On Watch: \$167.50

Ordinary Seamen: \$145  
Deck Boy: \$140

The above scale is retroactive to April 1, and the overtime rate of \$1 per hour is retroactive to June 15. Men on watch receive overtime for Sunday at sea. In these respects the SUP agreement is the same as that reached by the CIO unions.

The SUP wage scales, according to the SUP announcement, range from \$5 per month for able seamen on watch, to \$35 for bosuns, above the scales offered the CIO by the WSA. These new wage rates will become effective when approved by the WSA and the National Wage Stabilization Board.

## UAW Local Wins 110-Day Strike In Port Clinton

(Special to The Militant)

PORT CLINTON, O., June 15—CIO United Auto Workers Local 497 today ended its 110-day strike at the Standard Products Company here, after forcing the company to grant a 16 to 21 cent an hour wage increase and other improvements.

"All sections of organized labor are menaced by an all-out union busting offensive conducted by Big Business, President Truman and his administration, and the Congress of the United States," the resolution states.

"Local 104 therefore went on record supporting the idea of a National United Conference of Labor and calls on President William Green (AFL) to arrange with the heads of the CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods for the convocation of such a conference at the earliest possible date."

This long, militant strike—in which 70 per cent of the 700 strikers were women—climaxing two years of negotiations during which the company tried to bust the union and victimize its leaders.

Prior to the strike two committeemen and a steward were fired. The strike won their reinstatement, but with only two weeks back pay of the hundreds of dollars due them.

### ADS FAIL

Full page ads appeared

throughout the strike in the Port Clinton Herald calling for vigilante action against the strikers. Unsuccessful back-to-work movements were attempted.

The company shot its last wad on June 10 with an announcement it would open the plant for those who wished to work. This was answered with a mass picket line, swelled by reinforcements of union men from nearby Toledo, Fremont, Fostoria and other towns.

After this display of fighting strength by the union, the company decided to negotiate for the first time since it cancelled the union contract on April 8.

## L.A. Rubber Union Seeks Wage Raises

(Special to The Militant)

LOS ANGELES, June 21—A regular meeting of Firestone Local 100, CIO United Rubber Workers, last night voted to call on the International Union to re-open wage negotiations under the terms of the contract with the "Big Four" rubber corporations.

This contract provides that the union can re-open wage negotiations on the grounds of rising living costs. Such rises the members agreed, already have wiped out most of last spring's wage gains.

The action of Local 100, which represents nearly 3,000 workers at the Firestone plant here, is in line with similar decisions of the large Akron rubber locals.

The Stalinists can't admit that their shift in attitude regarding government strikebreaking followed the Kremlin's shift in foreign policy. So they brazenly lie

and say that they were dished up in the June 18 New Masses, Stalinist weekly. An article, "What Is Truman's Game?" by Virginia Gardner, explains:

"It is rarely pointed out that the administration (Truman) has foisted a completely new concept of seizure on the public, compared to that in use during the war. Then it was used as an aid to workers who had rendered themselves defenseless by forfeiting their strike weapon for Roosevelt?"

An answer has been dished up in the June 18 New Masses, Stalinist weekly. An article, "What Is Truman's Game?" by Virginia Gardner, explains:

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## Why India Starves

## British Imperialists Drained Food Supply

By Kamalesh Ray

Since the famine of 1943, India is persistently suffering from starvation. We hear of the forecast of a worse famine to come this year—with ten million doomed to die. India's famine has now become an accepted fact.

It is taking its toll uncontrollably by the government which, nevertheless, is multiplying its committees and commissions to investigate and report on the food situation, without apparently any real prospect of alleviating the grim situation.

For the last three years the government of the country has acted as nothing better than a passive onlooker; and when it intervenes, it only aggravates the situation through maladministration.

The people of the world have been given all kinds of misleading explanations about India's food situation. First, that India is not self-sufficient in her food production; secondly, that India has too great a population; hence the famines. The remedy suggested—is to grow more food and to control birth rates.

The truth about India's food situation, however, is something else.

## PRODUCTION OF FOOD

India has the richest agricultural soil, the full benefit of which is not derived by the people because of their low standard of income which deprives them of modern farming practices. In spite of this fact, India produces sufficient food crops to make possible a moderately low standard of subsistence well above starvation. Normally and naturally it does not lead to famine.

Some parts of the country have surplus production in one or another crop, while some other parts have shortages. The overall shortage of food crops in India may be roughly taken to be 10 per cent. According to the Gregory Committee's report, "It is imperative for the India Government to have an import of one million tons of food stuff every year."

If this is her annual deficiency, simple arithmetic shows that one million tons of food stuff per year for 400 million people would amount to an increase of a quarter of an ounce per head per day. Even distributing this quota over British India only (excluding the Indian states) the amount would not come up to half an ounce.

This report thus indirectly corroborates our contention that the actual food shortage in India is not so acute as to account for chronic starvation or sweeping famines.

## CONSUMPTION OF FOOD STUFFS

An important question therefore arises: How famine can occur in a country where shortage in food production is not at all conspicuous?

As was noted by Eugene Varlin in *The Militant* May 4: "The real reasons (of the famine) however lie in the effects of British rule upon India and the aggravation of these conditions by the policies of Allied imperialism during the war. Despite the desperate needs of the Indian masses, the British exported grain from India to the Middle East during the war. Huge stocks of food supplies were purchased

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

## Germany

In Hamburg last week 4,000 Germans staged a mass demonstration in the city square against an order evacuating over 30,000 people from their homes to make room for British headquarters. This was the biggest protest demonstration in the British occupation zone since the end of the war.

The Indonesian Ministry of Information, trying to clear Soekarno of responsibility for the Premier's disappearance, said it was the work of the "Trotskyites." That is the name given to the best fighters for Indonesian independence, who refuse to compromise with the Dutch.

Soekarno placed the blame on "fifth columnists" and declared that he would lead part of the army in a drive to rescue Sjahrir.

## Austria

Workers of 19 of Vienna's most important factories and plants went out on strike in protest against underfeeding last week. Rations had just been cut again for the second time in two weeks.

As part of the protest against starvation rations, tramwaymen joined the strike and the city's entire transportation system came to a standstill. Later that same day the Food Ministry was compelled to announce that all workers would get 1,200 calories.

## New Purge Is Stalin's Answer To Economic Crisis In Soviet Union

## Kremlin Offers Scapegoats To Cover Up Its Own Crimes

By George Breitman

The purges in the Soviet Union have invariably expressed a grave internal economic situation which threatens to grow into a political and social crisis. Today the country is passing through an economic crisis of unprecedented proportions, which is producing profound political convulsions. That is the significance of the current purges.

But to understand both the political crisis and the purges, one must first understand the origin and nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy conducting the purge.

The Soviet Union was created by a workers' revolution. The government led by Lenin and Trotsky was something new—a government frankly basing itself on and acting in the interests of the workers and poor farmers. Through the Soviets democratically expressing the desires of the masses, the rule of the capitalists and landowners was ended. Industry was nationalized. The land was distributed among the peasants. All special privilege was abolished. The first steps were taken toward the free and plentiful society of socialism.

CRISIS TODAY

Famine has not spared the Soviet Union; UNRRA officials estimated last week that the Ukraine winter wheat crop will not be half of the normal pre-war crop.

The commodities on display in the stores of the big cities are "slightly" out of reach of the average citizen, the press reports. That means they go into the hands of bureaucrats.

The masses who were fed all kinds of promises—about "advancing from socialism to communism," for example—find on the one hand that it was never so hard for them to make both ends meet; and on the other, they see the bureaucrats living the life of Riley. They see that despite the acute shortages the gulf was never so great between the living standards of the worker and the manager, of the collective farmer and the collective farm director.

MAKING PROTESTS

"And they are undoubtedly making their sentiments known, as even the Soviet press occasionally indicates in its super-cautious way. The report several months ago, of the woman who asked Kalinin at a mass meeting why he was able to wear excellent shoes while the masses were lucky to get tree-bark sandals, is probably not unique.

In any case, the Kremlin knows that resentment exists deep down and is boiling there. It is not for nothing, as merchant seamen reported on returning from Soviet ports this spring, that Odessa is still under martial law and that other cities bristle like armed camps with troops and police.

Hence the need for new scapegoats. In order to save its own face, the Kremlin throws the masses a few unpopular bureaucrats (even though these victims were promoted only a few years ago solely on the basis of their "reliability" and fidelity to Stalinism). And what could be more appropriate for the occasion—or more popular with the masses—than charges of "embezzlement" and "mismanagement of industry"?

Yesterday's demonstration showed the real mood of the French working class, which is one of militancy and the will to struggle that the Stalinist and reformist leaders have been trying by all means to stifle and suppress. The Stalinist leadership was still able to inject some of the chauvinistic spirit—there were some isolated banners bearing the CP imprint that called for "Coal from the Ruhr"; the Stalinist soundtrucks still blared the Marseillaise; CP ushers in hundreds throughout the crowd took care to suppress spontaneous shouts of "Down with de Gaulle" and "Thorez to Power." But they could not dampen the clear expression of class struggle which the workers manifested.

The Communist Party is making a strong effort to adjust policy to the surging militancy of the French workers, in order to maintain the hold on them that is threatening to get out of hand. Thus the CP bureaucracy made a great show of democracy at its Central Committee sessions last weekend.

Stalin will not forever be able to foist his own crimes on scapegoats, for with each successive purge it becomes clearer that they are his own underlings.

It is not at all precluded that the purge begun by the summits of the bureaucracy and directed fundamentally against the masses may end as a purge of the bureaucracy by the masses.

Such is the background and

## Hunger In Hunan



Starving Chinese men, women and children hold up their empty rice bowls in a plea for food, as famine takes a heavy toll of lives. Hundreds of millions of people throughout the world face death as hoarders and speculators withhold food supplies to extort higher and higher prices.

## Parisian Workers Hold Huge Rally

PARIS, June 21—Hundreds of thousands of Paris workers poured out of the plants an hour before quitting time yesterday and marched through the city's streets in a powerful display of working class strength.

The demonstration was the workers' answer to the sacking of a Communist (Stalinist) Party headquarters by reactionary de Gaulle youth on the night of June 18-19. Inspired by de Gaulle's latest speeches for "a strong man," these young hoodlums had broken the windows of a CP headquarters on Chateau Square, smashed its library and made a bonfire of the books. Since the hour was close to midnight, no street struggle took place. The Police politely dispersed the gathering after the completion of the provocative demonstration.

## UNITED CALL

The response to this was a joint call for yesterday's demonstration by the regional trade union federation and the CP, which had the support of the Socialist Party, the General Labor Federation (CGT) and all other working class organizations.

Among the slogans raised yesterday were: "To the Lampposts with the Fascists," "Working Class Unity," "Purge the Reaction," "Give Us Our 25 Per cent (wage increase)," "War Against the Profiteers," "Thorez to Power," etc.

There were lively renditions of old revolutionary songs which the Stalinists have long been trying to replace with the "Marseillaise" and other patriotic chants. The "Internationale" predominated and particular gusto went into the singing of the traditional song of the Communist youth, "Prenez Garde" (Take Care) with its stirring refrain—"The revolution is beginning, this is the day for all those that starve."

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Such is the background and

## Trials Strike At Almost Every Branch Of Industry

The sinister news that has periodically shocked the world working class once again comes from Moscow: Another purge is on. Like its predecessors, the new purge strikes at virtually every sphere of Soviet life.

The very first Moscow report

## Past Purges

"The Militant" is now featuring a series of articles by Joseph Hansen on past purges in the Soviet Union. Turn to Page 7 for the latest in this series.

on the heels of new military regulations which surpass in harshness even the wartime code. This code, as last week's *Militant* reported, establishes special officers' courts for the wholesale elimination of oppositional elements in the armed forces.

## HOLLOW BOASTS

These developments prove how hollow were the boasts that the Kremlin's regime had been greatly strengthened by the victorious end of the war. Stalin's rule remains the regime of crisis it has been from its inception. To survive, Stalin is compelled to resort to the same bestial methods of rule—terror and repression—by which he has maintained himself up to now.

The pattern, too, remains essentially the same. The only change is in the wording of the charges against the scapegoats.

During the monstrous 1936-38 blood baths, in which all of Lenin's co-workers were slaughtered, the main charge was "sabotage" — in the interests of a foreign capitalist power. The formula for the 1946 purge is "embezzlement." No mention has yet been made of agents of foreign powers, or of "Trotskyists," etc. Not yet, that is.

The "various responsible persons" in government bureaus and plants are as yet indicted only on the following counts: falsifying production figures, illegal distribution of bonuses, mismanagement of industry, shipment of sub-standard products, all sorts of embezzlement of funds and supplies.

## BRANCHES INVOLVED

The following branches of industry are already reported involved: the Russian Diesel Plant; Schekin Coal Trust; Dniepropetrovsk Metallurgical Equipment Plant; Katsk Automobile Works; Novosibirsk Meat and Dairy Produce Ministry; Ministry of Aviation; Ministry of Agricultural Machinery.

The sweeping nature of the purge is strikingly exemplified by the fact that it has already reached the Council of Ministers appointed amid great fanfare early this year. Thus, the Minister of Agricultural Machinery, B. L. Vannikov, has already been "dismissed" from his job.

This latest purge, carefully prepared for months behind the scenes, will in all likelihood surpass the blood-baths of the past in which millions were involved.

## Ta-Tu-Thau Reported Dead In Indo-China

(Special to *The Militant*)

PARIS, June 21—News from Indo-China confirms the death of Ta-Tu-Thau, founder and outstanding leader of the Indo-Chinese Trotskyist movement, in the course of the Viet-Nam uprising against French colonialism. Ta-Tu-Thau died in the province of Quang Ngai, in Southern Cochin-China.

He joined the Trotskyist movement in 1930 and in 1933 was elected to the Municipal Council of Saigon as a Trotskyist. Most of the time since then he spent in the prisons of French imperialism. In 1938, as a result of under-nourishment and torture, he was struck with partial paralysis while in prison.

## ARRESTED BY BRITISH

At the beginning of 1939, on the eve of the war, he sought to escape, was caught by the British police and turned over to the French, who confined him to the living hell known as the Poulo Condor concentration camp.

Liberated after the Japanese defeat, he was too debilitated to participate in more than an advisory capacity in the ensuing insurrection, and shortly after succumbed.

The Fourth International has lost in Ta-Tu-Thau one of its best militants. His courage, his firmness and his tenacity, which inspired respect even among our enemies, will be a living example for Trotskyists everywhere.



Times, June 27.

## THE MILITANT

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

—Leon Trotsky

## It's Time To Act

Events of the last week or so in Washington have further underlined the need for a labor party now.

The overwhelming majority of Democrats and Republicans in Congress passed an OPA bill so loaded with inflationary dynamite that Truman did not dare risk the wrath of the people by signing it. They finally scuttled OPA completely to give the legal green light to the inflationeers.

After bleeding the Fair Employment Practices Commission to death for lack of funds, Congress last week consigned it to burial. The one feeble government agency designed to protect the Negro people and other minorities from discrimination in industry was the victim of a Congressional lynching.

Congress shoved through the Hobbs bill which every labor organization has denounced. This bill, put through under the guise of a measure to prevent "robbery" in interstate commerce, contains clauses directly aimed at framing strikers and strike pickets and victimizing them with long prison sentences.

Not a single person in Congress has fought boldly and militantly for the workers, the low-income consumers, the Negro people. At best, there are a few feeble voices raised "for the record."

But where are all the CIO-PAC endorsed Congressmen whose election in 1944 was hailed by union leaders as a "progressive victory"? They are either going down the line with the open reactionaries or beating an ignominious retreat.

Labor's voice should have resounded last week in the Congressional halls. Instead it was bleating and complaining on the outside. It should have been heard in Congress demanding drastic measures against the profiteers and price-gougers. Instead it was pleading on the outside for Truman to veto a bill that presented "a choice between inflation with a statute and inflation without one."

Why was there only this choice? Because there were no real labor representatives to fight in Congress for an effective bill.

How much longer will the workers, the union militants, tolerate this situation? How much longer will they heed the false arguments of the union leaders that "now is not the time" for a labor party? Will the time be when the labor unions are shackled by anti-labor laws, when the workers are weakened and demoralized by slashed living standards?

If there is one great lesson to be learned from the events in Washington, it is that labor must have its own party, its own political instrument — and it can't safely stall any longer on the vital task of building that party.

An insistent and powerful demand must go up from labor's ranks: "Build the Labor Party!" Spur the union leaders to action and start the ball rolling for a labor party NOW!

## End Meat Famine!

Last week the meat trust publicly threatened that unless all price ceilings are removed the meat industry will withhold supplies and prolong the meat famine.

Meat packers and corporation ranch owners have deliberately held back meat or diverted it to the black market. There is no real scarcity. Meat on the hoof admittedly is at record levels.

But when Congress restored meat price regulations into the OPA bill (since vetoed), the meat packers in effect told the people: "We don't care what the law is. Pay the price we demand, or else go meat-hungry!"

A tiny handful of monopolists thus dare to withhold a prime necessity and practise open extortion on the working consumers.

By rights not one of these gangsters, black marketeers and extortioners should be outside of jail. Everyone knows they have flouted price ceilings and cooperated in the black market.

Yet the OPA handed them price increase after price increase. The government has given them billions in subsidies. Their admitted net profits rose nearly 300 per cent during the war. Today, meat profits are fantastic.

Last January, when the meat trust drove the CIO Packinghouse Workers on strike, Truman promptly seized the plants on the pretext of a threatened meat famine. He used the gov-

ernment's powers to protect the meat trust's profit interests.

Today when the meat barons openly and deliberately impose a meat famine on scores of millions of poor people, the government does nothing to protect the populace. Truman admits and complains about the withholding of meat. But he is more concerned "that profits should be 'ample'" than in seeing that the people are properly fed.

Workers need meat! They can get it only if the profiteers' stranglehold on the meat industry is broken.

There is but one answer: EXPROPRIATE THE MEAT TRUST! Let the government take over the meat industry and meat supplies. Let the meat industry be operated under the control of the workers.

Jail the meat trust racketeers! Take over the meat industry! Halt the meat famine and price extortion!

## A Prussian Law

As the atomic bomb flashed like distant heat lightning on the clouds of World War III, arousing universal fear of what is to come, President Truman quietly signed a measure of even greater importance to Wall Street's military plans than the spectacular explosion at Bikini.

This measure is the extension of Selective Service. Under its provisions, youths 19 years old will be drafted into the armed services. They can then be sent overseas as replacements in the occupation armies of American imperialism.

Men up to the age of 45 can likewise be drafted. The age limit was obviously designed as a threat to strikers. If the Administration feels so inclined it now has the power to break key strikes by utilizing the draft boards.

The extension of the draft act until March 31 is part and parcel of Wall Street's plan to convert America into a vast Prussianized military camp. Wall Street's dream of world conquest requires for fulfillment huge armies modelled on the lines of the German Wehrmacht. This means converting American youth into a reservoir of heel-clicking, race-hating, professional killers.

Wall Street's military blueprint exceeds in ambition anything conceived by Hitler or the Mikado. The \$11,000,000,000 appropriation for the armed forces, virtually approved by Congress, includes expenditures for bases throughout the world. In the Pacific these bases start with islands near Australia and sweep in a great arc through the Philippines to China and Korea. In the Atlantic, Wall Street wants bases from Iceland through the Azores down to Brazil. Already American militarism has built huge airfields in the Middle East.

But this is not all. The American generals want a free hand to convert all Latin America and Canada into auxiliaries of the U. S. armed forces. They want to send officers to indoctrinate the armed forces of the Latin American countries. They want to junk the armaments of these lands and replace them with American arms. Ammunition, parts and replacements thus would depend upon U. S. factories, giving Wall Street a military stranglehold on Latin America.

Thus if Wall Street has its way America will be converted into the most colossal peace-time military camp the world has ever seen. Extension of the draft act is one of the calculated steps in that direction.

## Withdraw The Troops

On June 28 came a cool announcement by Acting Secretary of State Acheson that United States marines will be held in China. This was the official response to last week's demonstration of 100,000 Chinese in Shanghai who carried placards reading: "U. S. Army — Go Back to Your Home Sweet Home," "Down With U. S. Dollar Diplomacy," and "Americans, Don't Participate in the Chinese Civil War."

Acheson reached a new high in brazen effrontery by "explaining" that American boys are being held thousands of miles across the Pacific Ocean to guard "supply lines from coast producing areas to the great coastal cities, an essential service that should continue."

On the very same day that Acheson made this announcement, a dispatch from Peiping revealed precisely who benefits from this "essential service." At Tangshan where fighting has occurred, the marines are guarding British-owned coal mines!

The character of this "essential service" was likewise revealed. "The United States Marine garrison in Communist-surrounded Tsingtao," reported United Press, "staged a mock battle yesterday. Marine combat teams carried out simulated attacks against 'enemy lines,' fortified with pill boxes and barbed wire entanglements."

American troops right now are protecting the holdings of the Anglo-American imperialists in China.

But Wall Street has more ambitious plans in China than simply clearing the Chinese away from the flag of Standard Oil and the other companies. Wall Street is backing up Chiang Kai-shek. This reactionary regime would collapse overnight if American troops were withdrawn.

Wall Street considers China one of the great prizes of the Second World War. Its resources are among the richest in the world. China, in addition, can become an advance base for the attack on the Soviet Union planned by Anglo-American imperialism.

The Chinese people want American troops withdrawn. The troops themselves want to come home. The American people have no interest in backing Wall Street in China's civil war.

The same holds true for Europe and wherever Wall Street has stationed garrisons.

Consequently the labor movement should demand immediate withdrawal of all troops held abroad.



"The workers don't realize how much overtime WE put in!"

## Workers' BOOKSHELF

LABOR BARON — by James A. Wechsler; published by Wm. Morrow and Co., 1944. 268 pp., \$2.50.

The resounding victories achieved by the miners in the recent coal strikes have once again focused the national spotlight on the chief of the United Mine Workers, John L. Lewis. Wechsler's biography of Lewis presents a fairly realistic appraisal of the man, his work and influence in the labor movement of America.

Unfortunately, the author's social-patriotic views lead to some distortion in the interpretation of events, but the book is valuable for its collection of the important facts necessary to understand the real role of Lewis. For a Marxist analysis the reader is referred to the article by E. R. Frank in *Fourth International*, April 1943.

Wechsler traces Lewis' rise to power, pointing out that he achieved the position of President of the UMW by appointment and succession and not by reliance on the rank and file. He proceeded immediately to consolidate his position by building a machine that ruthlessly suppressed all democracy and rank-and-file expression.

At the 1924 convention of the UMW, it was Lewis who led the fight against rank and file election of organizers, after the convention had already gone on record in favor of such a measure.

He also invented the tactic of "provisionalism," whereby the elected officials of autonomous districts of the union were replaced by Lewis appointees and yes-men.

KANSAS DISTRICT

"Provisionalism" was applied with a vengeance in the Kansas district in 1921, to take one example. Officials of the Kansas district were arrested after defying a court order for compulsory arbitration. Subsequently,

At Lewis' instigation the constitution of the UMW was amended to strike out the Marxist idea that miners are entitled to the "full product of their labor." In its place was substituted the statement that miners are to secure an "equitable share of the fruits of their labor." Testifying before a House labor committee, Lewis deliberately perverted the miners' slogan of nationalization of the coal mines by stating that this meant merely government operation but continued private ownership.

CLASS COLLABORATION

During the war, Lewis favored class collaboration and entered into the no-strike pledge. His leadership of wartime strikes later was a result of his conviction that Roosevelt and the American capitalist class would not openly recognize labor as a partner in a coalition government and formalize the relation by the granting of labor posts in the cabinet and other official positions.

Wechsler concludes by pointing to the danger of Lewis becoming a fascist demagogue. Other writers have reached similar conclusions.

This conclusion, however, is based more on the superficial aspects of similarities and ignores the underlying differences. As an individual Lewis undoubtedly possessed numerous personal traits expected of a fascist demagogue. But the fascist movement bases itself on the middle classes and the destruction of the labor movement. Lewis, on the other hand, bases himself and must base himself on the labor movement and his whole career is bound up with it. He cannot be abstracted from his role as a union leader. That is why it is idle to talk of Lewis as a fascist.

Reviewed by Al Miller

has ever been charged against private enterprise."

Senator Gurney, Republican of South Dakota, rose up in alarm at the danger enveloping the poor gas and electric company. If \$384,000,000 were allotted for this Central Valley project, "the Federal debt would be increased, and there would be no chance of getting back the money for a long period of years."

What argument could be more powerful in a Congress which dumped hundreds of billions of dollars into the slaughter of World War II, just earmarked another eleven billions to build the biggest peacetime military force in American history, and is now blowing up \$500,000,000 worth of public property with an atomic bomb in the Pacific?

McCarran the Democrat responded with profound emotion to his comrade in the Republican fold: "I am grateful to the Senator from South Dakota . . . he and I have seen the subject eye to eye, and I am exceedingly grateful that he joins me in this presentation."

RED HERRING

The Nevada mouthpiece of the Pacific Gas & Electric then hauled out his favorite weapon, the red herring. "Today on every hand and at every portal of our nation, communism is crying aloud to be let in or that it may take over." Don't forget a "socialistic regime," pleaded McCarran. Let the people rest content with a "favorable contract" for the electric power; and that contract is with the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.

McCarran laid on such stinging blows with his favorite weapon that 31 Senators voted with him, only 5 short of defeating the project right then and there. The power trust knows the value of capable political representatives in Congress.

## NEWARK

## Public Forum

"The Sliding Scale Of Wages—  
Labor's Chief Weapon Against Inflation"

Speaker: ALAN KOHLMAN

SWP Candidate for Governor of New Jersey

FRIDAY, JULY 5

423 Springfield Ave.

8:30 p.m.

WORLD SOCIALISM  
AND THE KREMLIN

By M. Stein

Is it Stalin's aim to overthrow capitalism in the United States and Great Britain and to establish his rule over these two countries and thus control the entire world?

In a series of articles for the Scripps-Howard press (New York World Telegram, June 12, 13, 14) Max Eastman answers this question in the affirmative. Last week we showed the utter futility of Eastman's "reasoning." He rests his flimsy arguments on a quotation from a book by Stalin, *The Problems of Leninism*, first published 22 years ago. He fails to analyze Stalinist policy over this period to determine whether the dead letter of the printed word corresponds in any way to the living reality. He offers as gospel truth an old quotation in face of the fact that everything Stalin has since said and done refutes both Stalin's 1924 quotation and Eastman's writings of 1946.

But the irony is that the very book which according to Eastman allegedly proves Stalin's designs for world revolution actually proves the direct opposite.

The book *Problems of Leninism* appeared in two editions in Russia in Spring and Autumn 1924. In the first edition Stalin still defended the traditional Marxist concept of a world socialist revolution. He said that "the main task of socialism—the organization of socialist production—still remains ahead. Can this task be accomplished, can the final victory of socialism in one country be attained, without the joint efforts of the proletariat of several advanced countries? No, this is impossible . . . For the final victory of socialism, for the organization of socialist construction, the efforts of one country, particularly of such a peasant country as Russia, are insufficient. For this the efforts of the proletariat of several advanced countries are necessary."

## Stalin's Revision

But in the second edition of his book Stalin threw out this formulation and substituted in its place the nationalist doctrine, which marked Stalin's departure from revolutionary Marxism and which laid the "theoretical" foundation for "nationalistic socialism." In the revised edition, he said: "After the victorious proletariat of one country has consolidated its power and has won over the peasantry for itself, it can and must build up the socialist society."

This change of line in the interval between the two editions of the same book took place in a characteristic Stalinist manner. No explanation was ever made, no theoretical justification for it was given. It was simply sneaked in. It represented in reality a falsification by the author of the first edition of his own book. All the subsequent editions of the book as well as the English edition base themselves on this second and basically revised version. Eastman is well acquainted with the facts in the case. It has been amply explained by the Trotskyist movement. If Max Eastman "overlooks" all these facts it is because Wall Street's propaganda campaign for World War III requires that Stalin be pictured as a revolutionist.

Yet it was in the name of the nationalist doctrine of socialism in one country that the Communist International was liquidated, and the Communist Parties the world over became converted from revolutionary instruments into pliant tools of Stalin's foreign policy. To them was assigned not the revolutionary role of overthrowing capitalism at home, but the role of border patrols for the Soviet Union.

All the zigzags in the policies of the Stalinist parties, all their twists and turns, all their somersaults, can acquire meaning only if one understands that under Stalinist control these parties have no independent role to play. They are instruments of the ruthless Kremlin regime, betraying the interests of the working class and their socialist aspirations. The Stalinist parties are used as pressure groups in all deals between the imperialists and the Kremlin.

Needless to say, the theory of socialism in one country has meant in reality socialism in no country. It was nothing but a snare for the Soviet masses. The Stalinist bureaucracy which stands on the back of the Russian workers is interested solely in the defense of its bureaucratic caste privileges and the defense of these privileges against the Soviet masses. This is why the bureaucracy must maintain a regime of terror. This is why the monstrous bloody purges have been sweeping the tortured Soviet land in one devastating wave after another. This is why millions of Soviet workers are systematically uprooted and condemned to slow death in forced labor camps in desolate Siberian regions.

## Wall St. Purpose

It suits the purposes of Wall Street to identify this regime of terror with socialism in order thereby to discredit socialism, and Eastman, like so many other bankrupt ex-radicals, is now playing their game of falsification. The Stalinist terror regime reflects the terror of the bureaucracy in the face of a working class it has deceived so cruelly for over two decades. It fears the day of reckoning and retribution.

The fear of the working class which grips the Stalinist bureaucracy is not confined to the Soviet Union alone. The bureaucracy fears revolution abroad no less than the imperialists do. This is why they were able to work in perfect harmony to crush the German working class and prevent it from rising up and settling its own accounts with the Nazis. This is why the Stalinists continue to hold ministerial posts in capitalist cabinets of France, Italy and in other countries. This is why revolutionaries are persecuted so mercilessly in the countries occupied by Stalin's armies.

The Kremlin bureaucracy fears the independent action of the workers. Anything the bureaucracy cannot control it seeks to destroy. And revolutions cannot be controlled by bureaucratic edict. This is why any genuine revolutionary movement directed

# WORKERS' FORUM

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

## Must Fight For Rising Scale Of Wages

**Editor:**  
I am very glad to hear that Local 5 of the United Rubber Workers has come out in favor of the escalator clause (rising scale of wages) in union contracts. However, as you yourself reported in January, 1944, the United Auto Workers International Executive Board went on record in favor of the same demand a year and a half ago: then did nothing about it. It is not enough to pass resolutions in favor of the escalator clause. We must fight to make it effective.

A. B.  
New York, N. Y.

## Supports Program Of "Militant" And SWP

**Editor:**  
The Militant and the Socialist Workers Party are doing one swell job in raising the class consciousness of the American workers.

Keep jabbing away at old Jim Crow, and keep up the agitation for a nation-wide labor party to fight the bosses on the political field as the unions are doing on the economic. And keep the banner of international working class solidarity flying.

S. T.  
Madison, Wis.

## Stalinist Radio Censorship

**Editor:**  
The betrayal of Stalinism in Russia is exemplified by stringent censorship of the radio. A Lieutenant Commander whom I know well was stationed in Russia. He reported that all homes have one-station radios. The frequency is fixed. While the volume is adjustable, it is unlawful to change the volume without permission of the OGPU. It is unlawful to turn the radio off.

While this arrangement might consist of Home Defense Communication, undoubtedly that is not the probable primary purpose, for my friend made no mention of this possibility. He stated that it was used for propaganda — the propaganda of Stalinism. While he did not like the government, he did like the Russians very much.

W. T. Moore  
La Jolla, Calif.



## NEW YORK Public Meetings

### STALINISM OR LENINISM

#### The Real Situation in the USSR

*Speaker: JOSEPH HANSEN, former secretary to Leon Trotsky*

#### The Fruits of Stalin's Foreign Policy

*Speaker: DAVID WEISS*

#### Stalinism: The Betrayal of Leninism

*Speaker: M. STEIN, organizational secretary, SWP*

#### Coming Week:

**HARLEM**  
Thursday, July 11, 8 p.m.  
M. Stein  
103 W. 110th, Room 23

**BROOKLYN**  
Thursday, July 11, 8 p.m.  
Joseph Hansen  
635 Fulton St.

**BRONX**  
Friday, July 12, 8 p.m.  
M. Stein  
1034 Prospect

**CENTRAL**  
Friday, July 12, 8 p.m.  
David Weiss  
116 University Pl.

#### 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** Grass Lake, Mich.

Reserve accommodations for below from ..... to .....

Family  Couple  Single  (check one)

List all who will attend:

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

List Children and Age .....

I enclose \$..... (as deposit ..... ) (full payment)

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

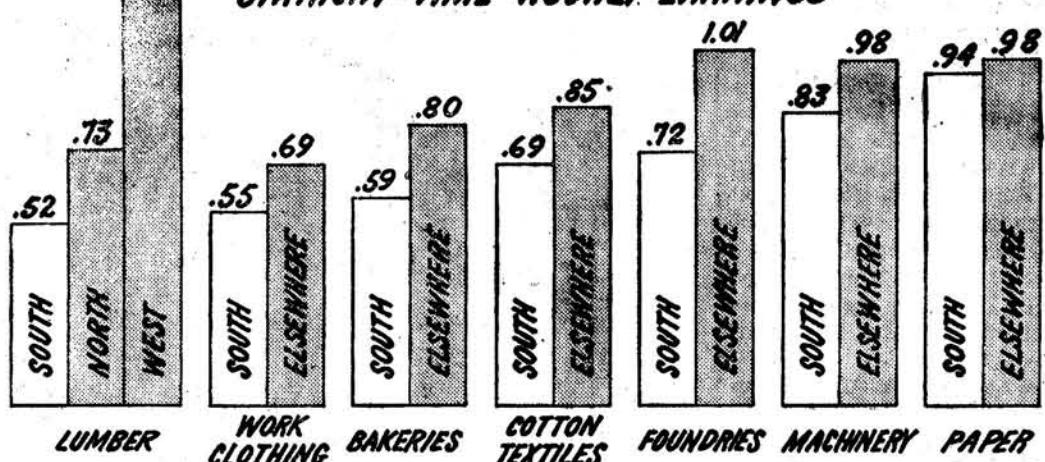
Address .....

City & Zone ..... State .....

## THE MILITANT

### Why The South Must Be Organized

#### STRAIGHT-TIME HOURLY EARNINGS



Source: U. S. Department of Labor. Lumber, 1944; other industries, 1945.

Wages in the South, far below the levels in the North and West, drag down the living standards of all workers. This chart, from the AFL Monthly Survey, shows that in all industry classifications analyzed, Southern wages undercut those in other sections of the country.

Federated Press



Jarvis Dusenberry of Perry, N. Y., sends \$5 to help the research department track down the connection between the Catholic hierarchy and budding fascism in America. "Labor has a hard battle ahead," he writes, "and labor must learn to battle all three of the capitalists' Trinity at the same time—the bankers, lawyers and clergymen."

Subs are pouring in from the Akron Branch. Milt Gencin explains that of the 13 enclosed in today's letter, "Special credit should be given to Comrade Doris Wilson who got most of them in house-to-house canvassing and through visiting individuals." Sara Preston of the Chicago Branch has been sending in subs almost daily. Although brief, her note which accompanied the last batch of subs is welcome: "They are all new, and all from workers."

A word of praise comes from Yetta Fine of the San Pedro Branch: "Comrades from Long Beach have been doing good work on the renewal campaign. To date they have sent in 11 renewals. I have asked them to write up their experiences for the Militant Army column." We are looking forward to a report from the Long Beach comrades.

Subscription work has become a regular part of branch activity and this regularity is bringing in many subs.

Newark Branch is conducting a call-back campaign for renewals. D. Lessing reports results for the first week: "Enclosed find 19 subs . . . There are 372 Militant readers in Newark and vicinity whose subs expire before the end of July. By the end of our campaign we will have visited all these readers, obtained a substantial amount of renewals and made the acquaintance of many new friends of the Party. . . . Team 1 is in the lead and Ruth Franklin of Team 2 is high individual scorer."

Milwaukee Branch is also getting renewals. Fred Martin writes: "Enclosed are nine renewals. We have had mobilizations for the last three Sundays and plan to have them on alternate Sundays until we visit all our Militant readers. Each comrade is taking a quota of two new subs or renewals to be obtained every month."

## Pioneer Notes

### "Why Should Such Conditions Exist?" Asks Negro Veteran

Editor:

Hundreds of thousands of Negro men were drafted into the American imperialist army, to fight to maintain "the American way of life." They told us the main concept of the American way of life is that all men are created equal and endowed with the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To have liberty a man must enjoy the same political status and accessibility to community services as others have. To live, he must have a sufficiency of material goods to meet his needs.

We veterans saw and witnessed the destructive forces of war; a world broken and wounded, shocked with the impact of war; millions of lives snuffed out; cities and towns and countries, thousands of homes, utterly destroyed; families broken up and scattered, never again to be united; men frozen motionless with fear; men who aged 10 to 20 years in the space of a few months.

And on our return to the land of the free we find conditions worse than when we left. Discrimination running rampant; no place to live; Jim Crow more intensified in the form of "racial restriction covenants" on real estate.

Of course we realize that Bilbo and Co. keep themselves in power by terror. It is also known that the capitalist class throughout the country recognizes the Southern Bourbons "right" to oppress the Negroes and the poor whites. In return, Bilbo and Co. support their capitalist allies of the north and west to represent workers, too.

Immunity from prosecution protects the murderers of Negroes in the Columbia, Tenn. jail; the Freeport, L. I. policeman who murdered two Negro veterans and wounded a third; the arsonists who burned Negro families in their homes in Chicago and Los Angeles. The same immunity protecting the KKK gangsters in Mississippi also protects the gangsters who murder Negroes in the rest of the country.

The housing in these restrictive areas is sub-standard and overcrowded. The strain on housing facilities is acute and growing worse rapidly. Anything with a roof has been converted into living quarters, garages, store fronts, wood sheds, and what have you.

Statistics prove that landlords are making more profits now than in the past. This is due to the fact that vacancies have been eliminated, that increased rents have been permitted where more individuals live in units than previously; that landlords are giving less service, and are spending little for maintenance.

Profits are more important to this clique of profiteers (blood suckers) than the needs of humanity.

This capitalist system is so vicious that it destroys human lives in order to perpetuate itself. There is no problem, no need of humanity, which is insoluble today. The war has demonstrated what great productive possibilities this country has, in spite of the fact that we have a large number of the population homeless, and many others living in dwellings unfit for human habitation.

Why should such a thing exist, may I ask? To hell with private property where human needs are concerned!

### Youth Group Activities

NEW YORK—For information on the Trotskyist Youth Group send name and address to 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Open Forum: Every Friday, 8 p.m., at 116 University Place. Dancing and refreshments follow.

Brooklyn: Class on "Struggle for Negro Equality." Instructor: Harry Robinson. Every Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. at Brooklyn headquarters. SWP, 635 Fulton Street. Dancing, refreshments.

Queens—Opens forums every Wednesday at Odd Fellows Temple, 116th St. and 90th Ave., 8 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA—Youth Forum held every Saturday, 8 p.m. 1303-05 W. Girard, 2nd floor.

LOS ANGELES—Socialist Youth Club meets every Thursday, 8 p.m., at SWP headquarters, 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Educationalists by Youth, and SWP speakers.

Subscribe to "Young Militant," published semi-monthly, for truth of youth's struggles.

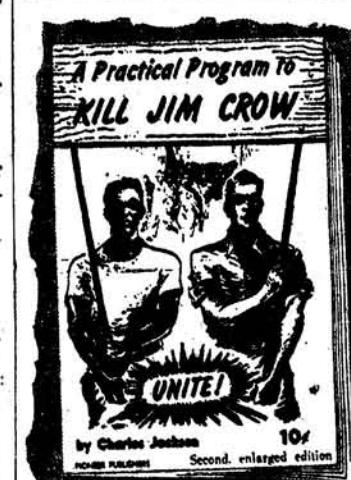
Watch this column for further announcements of youth activities.

#### Notice To Subscribers

According to postal regulations your address is not complete unless it shows your postal zone number. For example: 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y. The postal authorities are now insisting that this regulation be carried out in the mailing of The Militant. Check the address stamped on THE MILITANT and if necessary send it to the post office to assure delivery of your paper.

Send your zone number to:

J. Stevens  
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE  
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.



PIONEER PUBLISHERS  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

### Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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

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

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

## SAN PEDRO Public Meeting "American Workers Need A Labor Party" Friday, July 12 Odd Fellows Hall 1006 S. Gaffey St. 8 p.m.

1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!
- A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!
- A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!
- Government operation of all idle and government-built plants under workers' control!
- Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!

#### 2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

No restriction on the right to strike!

#### 3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!

Down with Jim Crow!

#### 5. Build an independent labor party!

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

#### 7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!

Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions! Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

#### 8. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!

For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!

Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

#### 9. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

# How Jim Crow Broke Down On A Troop Ship

By Ray Moore  
(Special to The Militant)

I've just returned from a year in the central, south and western Pacific areas as part of the invading and occupying forces of the army. I was involved in perhaps a dozen full-scale troop movements. All but the last had a strict policy of segregation.

The last movement was entirely different, probably because the largest number of colored soldiers involved would have made the usual lily-white methods extremely difficult.

The change began in the 25th Replacement Depot in Okinawa, extended the 5,300 miles we traveled to San Francisco, a day's stay at Camp Knight, California, and assignment to troop trains which shuttled us to our respective separation centers.

## CHANGE BEGINS

Previously, seldom a meal or full session had passed among the white men, without some derogatory or threatening remark about the Negroes. The difference was not immediately discernible at the Replacement Depot, as men tended to gravitate toward friends from their original units. But the change began to appear at meal time.

The same chow line served both white and Negro soldiers. They ate in the same mess hall at the same tables. This was the first time that many of the white men had eaten with Negroes. A few Ku Klux Klan elements predicted dire consequences.

But the opposite happened, proving that racial prejudice is built up by segregation and quashed by close and equalitarian contact.

It was soon fairly common to see white and Negro GIs playing ball on the same team and testing their skill at chess and checkers together. A formerly unknown comradeship began to form in the "sweating out" process. This, despite the fact that Negro troops were used exclusively for all the dirty details at the depot.

**INCREASED COURTESY**  
We were sent aboard the transport in alphabetical order, separated solely by destination. In the rush to obtain the best bunks, we were thoroughly intermingled. The inevitable mishaps between white and colored soldiers were not the cue for violent arguments and fights, but on the contrary for vastly increased courtesy.

The change of attitude was shown by a conversation between two white soldiers:

"Too bad there aren't more

## MINNESOTA SWP NOMINATES 3 CANDIDATES FOR CONGRESS

(Continued from Page 1)

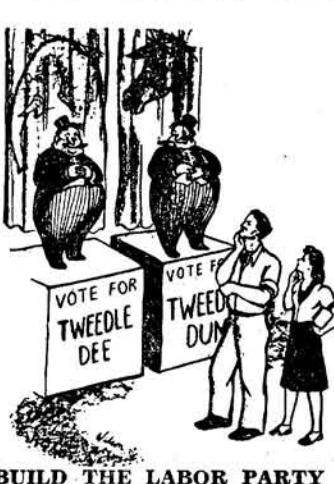
ouncement stated in part: "The Socialist Workers Party will offer the only program of working class political action independent of both the old capitalist parties. Since the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party was liquidated and the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party formed in 1942, no labor program has been offered to the voters of this state."

The statement pointed out that Democratic Farmer-Labor Congressmen William Gallagher of the Third District, and Frank Starkey of the Fourth District voted for President Truman's Draft Labor Bill.

The election platform adopted by the convention was based on the planks of the Socialist Workers Party program which appears each week on page 5 of The Militant.

## RAN FOR MAYOR

Grace Carlson, the Senatorial candidate, was also the party's candidate for United States Senator from Minnesota in 1940, at which time her vote was higher than the combined votes of the Socialist and Communist parties. Along with 17 other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Motor Transport Union Local 544-CIO, Grace Carlson was one of the defendants in the famous



BUILD THE LABOR PARTY

# The Tower Of Babel Strike

By M. Luce

"EXTRA! Construction Strike National Disaster!" screamed the headlines of the *Shinar Daily Clay Tablet* the morning of April 17, 2700 B.C. Below the headlines was a detailed report on how the strike had tied up all construction on the Tower of Babel project.

Bargaining between the powerful Building and Tower Workers Union and the gigantic Seven Companies, Ltd., and its subsidiary the Sunkist Brick Company had been broken off by the company. Sunkist Brick denounced the workers' demands for a 30 per cent wage increase as "extreme, unreasonably worded, socialist and unthinkable."

In a double page advertisement in the *Daily Clay Tablet* the Seven Companies Ltd. pointed out that the cost-plus clauses of this government-financed job were so unprofitable that 14 vice-presidents had already been demoted to assistant vice-presidents.

The company quoted statistics intended to show that the ungrateful striking employees were the best paid, best fed, best treated, etc., etc., of any similar workers in the whole Euphrates valley. That all these "bests" had been achieved since the workers had organized the BTWU was of course carefully ignored in the company ad.

## THE MORAL SIDE

The editorial writers of the *Daily Clay Tablet* agreed wholeheartedly with the company ad writers and on their side they delved deeply into the moral aspects of the strike.

"It is a national disgrace," one editorial pointed out, "that when our King has benignly agreed to heavily mortgag the national credit to construct a Tower that will permit the entire people to visit heaven at will, a few autocratic labor leaders are permitted to chal-



lenge the authority of the State and keep all of us from sharing that heaven which our able, farsighted business and industrial leaders are making available to all the people."

"Our King," continued this editorial, "will have to sharply restrict the so-called rights of labor, influenced as it is by un-Shinar ideologies."

However, since there were 78,000 construction workers and only one King, that befuddled gentleman did not seem disposed to stir out of his palace. On the contrary, the only word from the King's palace was an administrative order to set up a special fact-finding board, composed of one high priest and two retarding money-lenders to study the merit of the workers' case.

In another, and smaller advertisement, the BTWU presented its case. In the first place, claimed the union, the Seven Companies Ltd. and its subsidiaries could well afford the 30 per cent increase. Their profits

were estimated at 764,872 talents for the previous year. The Union challenged the company's claim of financial hardship and demanded that the company open its books for inspection by the union.

Within the union a far more important point was especially stressed by the most advanced and militant members. They seriously and even scornfully questioned that a simple Tower could be built to some mythical heaven.

Instead, these intensely practical men demanded that the wealth of the nation be used constructively. For example, there was acute need of modern housing units, and an irrigation system to increase the domestic food supply. In this way a partial step would be taken, if not toward heaven, then at least to bettering the hellish conditions under which the workers lived and from which they died.

The bright and legal-minded

## Big Problems Still Face Maritime Workers After Concessions Won In Recent Struggle

By F. J. Lang

The wage gains recently won by the CIO Committee for Maritime Unity are the result of the great demonstration of labor solidarity which stayed Truman's hand when he threatened to use the Navy to smash the scheduled June 15 CIO maritime strike. The government was forced to grant concessions. Consequently, seamen and longshoremen have emerged more confident in their strength and with heightened morale.

Following the CIO's gains, the AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific and Seafarers International Union are securing similar gains and even extending them. It is officially reported that the SUP has succeeded in negotiating a \$22.50 monthly increase for able seamen, bringing the basic scale up to \$167.50 per month. This is \$5 more than the CIO unions secured last month.

It is a foregone conclusion that if the government approves the new wage scale for AFL unions, the CIO will demand parity in the industry. Moreover, both groups are still negotiating changes and improvements in working rules.

## CONTINUOUS FIGHT

The fight for higher wages to keep pace with the rising cost of living, however, is a continuous one in the maritime industry, as in all others. By dragging out negotiations the employers have succeeded in keeping periodic wage raises far below the price spiral.

In an attempt to keep wages abreast of rising living costs the maritime unions now find themselves in almost continuous negotiations with the operators. Even when an agreement is reached—as in the case of the CIO West Coast longshoremen—the unions are forced immediately to advance new demands for higher wages.

The June 15 settlement gave west coast longshoremen a 22 cent an hour increase (the first since the end of the war). Yet Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, was impelled to announce at the very time of signing that further increases would have to be granted in the three month period ahead, by September 30, or the longshoremen would be forced to take action in order to secure a living wage.

Reopening agreements every three or six months for wage revisions is one tactic the unions have resorted to in the race against runaway living costs. Another means to jump earnings has been the demand for shorter

hours so as to force more overtime payment.

## EFFECTIVE USE

The CIO maritime unions used effectively the demand for a 40-hour week for seamen to win overtime payment for Sunday at sea. The 56-hour work week at sea has not been changed but the employers were forced to grant the 48-hour week and to pay overtime for Sunday. This means a gain of about \$16 per month at the overtime rate of \$1 per hour assuming that two week-ends of every month are spent at sea.

The additional \$16 a month in overtime, resulting from reduction in hours, plus \$22.50 increase in basic wages has brought the regular monthly earnings of an able seaman up to \$183.50. This falls short of his regular earnings during the war which were figured on the

basis of a \$100 monthly wage scale plus a 100 per cent war risk bonus for time at sea. Yet the cost of living since the end of the war has risen constantly.

It is obvious that both methods used by the unions to bring wage increases abreast of mounting living costs have proved inadequate. The living standards of the workers can be maintained only if the unions win a sliding scale of wages which rises automatically with the rising cost of living.

This is the only method to end the employers' game of stalling negotiations until union wage demands—even when won—have already been wiped out by the constant advance in prices. The unions must now insert a clause in their contracts that any increase in living costs shall automatically result in corresponding increase in wages.

The manner in which cost-of-living increases are to be measured should also be specified in the union contract. Department of Labor statistics are falsified and completely unreliable. The AFL and CIO must establish their own cost-of-living index.

The demand for shorter hours is especially important in the maritime industry. The maritime unions used this demand primarily to raise wages. The demand for a four-watch system (6-hour day) instead of the present three-watch (8-hour day) is essentially the demand to reduce the work week from 56 to 42 hours in order to put more men to work. If the four-watch system were instituted aboard ship it would increase the manning scale by approximately 25 per cent.

Seamen are beginning to feel the pinch of unemployment. Since the end of the war more than 2,000 of the 5,500-ship merchant fleet have been laid up. More ships are being sent to the boneyard daily. At the present rate of lay-up the fleet will be reduced by another 2,000 in another year. Shipping experts estimate that 1,000 modern vessels can handle 50 per cent more tonnage than was carried in American bottoms prior to World War II.

## FOUR-WATCH SYSTEM

With the merchant fleet reduced to 1,000 ships, four out of every five merchant seamen employed at the end of the war will be out of a job. Many seamen are leaving the industry for shoreside jobs. But among the thousands who remain there will be keen competition for jobs aboard ship in the coming year.

The four-watch system would help protect the union against the weakening effects of widespread unemployment. Maritime workers must now begin to prepare for the next stage of the struggle.

The four-watch system for more jobs! The sliding scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living! These are the two important demands for which the maritime workers must fight.

Despite the pressure of the top machine, individual delegates braved the red-baiting to protest the leadership's policies and call for a fight for progressive, democratic trade unionism. The convention as a whole showed the growing size and strength of organized labor in California. It indicated that any wholesale attack on the unions will meet vigorous and stubborn opposition.

## SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM



### Surplus Value

By V. Grey

We have seen the capitalist makes nothing out of idle factories or rusting machinery. New wealth, including machinery itself can only be created by labor. And it is a portion of this newly created wealth that the capitalist keeps for himself. It is legal and just that he should do this under a capitalist system with capitalist laws.

He pays dollar for dollar for everything he gets. He buys according to the labor worked up in things. He buys labor power in the same manner. Then he sells his labor to work. And he sells the things workers produce dollar for dollar according to the total labor worked up in them. He has paid the workers the value of their labor power, or enough for them to live on. But of course not the value of what they have produced.

The source of all capitalist wealth-rent, interest, dividends—"profit"—is the surplus the workers produce over and above what they get paid—the difference between the wages and the product. This is called by Karl Marx "surplus value."

The appropriation by rulers of surplus product was not invented by capitalism.

Capitalism, in fact, claims that there is no such thing as surplus value nowadays. Assuredly the ancient slaves produced surplus value, say the capitalists' professors. "And of course the serfs of the middle ages did." Each of these serfs worked about four days on his own miserable land and two days on his lord's. He had to perform unpaid labor and so create surplus value. The capitalist professors acknowledge that.

"But today" they exclaim—"Why today the worker is paid wages for every day and every hour in the day. He works for himself, not for the capitalist!"

If these wise gentlemen saw thirty brand new cars an hour whiz down the assembly line as they felt their muscles get sore, they might think otherwise. But it is quite true that we work for so much an hour in the plant. The hourly wage conceals the systematic robbery of the workers by the capitalist and helps to give it legal justification.

It is very obvious that the feudal serf was performing unpaid labor a couple days a week. There he was working on the lord's estate without wages—without a return of any kind.

The wages system seems to give a return for all work performed. We look back upon the feudal serf system and think the serfs were an awful gullible bunch of fools. It's so clear to us now that they were just making the lords rich all the time, working on their land for nothing, as they did. The church taught the people that the lord was placed there above them by God. And the people believed it.

### Company Is Our "Lord"

But it's hard to see the woods for the trees today. We are working part of every day and part of every hour and minute for nothing, regardless of the testimony of time-cards and professors. We are working part of the time "for ourselves" and part of the time for the company. Suppose we are producing new value at the rate of two dollars an hour, and get paid just one dollar an hour—then we are working just half the time for ourselves and half for our "lord"—the company.

If you stop to think of the thousands of workers that work for each big company, and multiply their number by a dollar an hour, you have an idea why these companies get so much surplus value that they make the old lords and dukes look very poor indeed.

All the mansions, limousines and pleasure yachts in the world are heaps of surplus value. The swank clubs and services for the rich have been made by the surplus labor of the poor. The tyrants of old had slaves and serfs, but were not able with whip, lash, or torture wheels to extract the surplus labor that Capital automatically commands from "free labor" today.

All the railroads, steamships, skyscrapers, great bridges, highways—all the man-made wonders of the world are monuments of surplus value. They put to shame the palaces of old. They outshine the pyramids. Man is able to produce infinitely more than his ancestors. And he needs a much smaller percentage of his day's product to feed and clothe himself. Hence these glories.

Capital itself is that part of the surplus value which is put back into production. It is the surplus labor of the past that is turned into new machinery to exploit new laborers. The harder the workers labor, the more they produce, the more surplus they produce—then the more Capital they produce. Capital is dead labor that lives "vampire-like on living labor." And under capitalism the completed surplus labor—the dead labor—returns to haunt the living laborer in the form of a machine that makes him work faster, produce more surplus for the boss while he works himself an early grave.

Under Capitalism and capitalist law this is just the way things should be. "To them that hath shall be given." Under Capitalism, the capitalists have every right to all their riches. They have every right to own the means of production even though the whole world should starve. For the surplus product belongs to the capitalist.

The working class can only take this surplus by rooting out capitalism itself, by changing the laws of society and establishing socialism.

## 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 me for support, and I want to do my part.

I enclose

Name .....  
(Please print)

Street .....

Apt. .....

City .....

Postal Zone No. ....

State .....



# Former Stalinist Official Reveals How GPU Cooked Up "Evidence"

By Joseph Hansen

(Seventh in a series on the Moscow Trials and their significance.) When the curtain dropped on trials organized by Stalin in the USSR, some of the defendants were sentenced to concentration camps or prisons. They disappeared. But most of the victims were paid off very quickly for their services in slandering Trotsky and "confessing" Stalin's greatness.

A bullet was sent crashing through their brains and the mouths that might have revealed the truth were covered with earth. Only the court record remained as indelible evidence of Stalin's monstrous frame-ups.

Occasionally a muffled voice behind bars managed to spread an inkling of what had happened in the GPU torture chambers. But such voices, naturally, were very rare.

Consequently, the recent revelations of Victor Kravchenko are of exceptional interest. This former official, who rose to the top circles in the Stalinist regime before choosing voluntary exile, uncovered facts about a frame-up case that was little publicized by Moscow—the trial at Kemerovo in Novosibirsk November 19-22, 1936.

The Kemerovo case followed on the heels of the shocking Zinoviev-Kamenev trial. It constituted preparation for a bigger and better-organized frame-up to make up for the collapse of the Zinoviev-Kamenev show.

**ABSID CHARGES**

The names of part of the cast scheduled to appear in the second great Moscow Trial were made public at Kemerovo. Pyatakov was mentioned. Drobis was a "witness." Norkin was involved. All nine of the defendants at Kemerovo were pictured as instruments of Pyatakov, one of the heads of the Commissariat of Heavy Industry. "It is my explanation," said Leon Trotsky, "but it is based on the situation, that the Novosibirsk trial was organized especially for Pyatakov, as the trial of July, 1935, for Kamenev."

The "crimes" for which six of these nine paid with their lives were "wrecking" activities. For instance, they were said to have plotted "to damage the ventilation system, fill the pits with gas and cause explosions" in

the Tsentralnaya Mine. The purpose of the explosives, said the Stalinist prosecutor, was to "arouse the resentment of the workers against the Soviet government."

The absurdity of this accusation was revealed at the time of the trial by a group of French miners who happened to be touring the country under Stalinist guidance as friends of the Soviet Union. Kleber Legay, associate secretary of the National Federation of Miners in France, wrote an indignant protest upon the return home of the delegation:

"As a miner, and knowing perfectly the difficulty of mining, and having worked more than 30 years, during 12 of them as a delegate for the security of the workers in one of the most dangerous mines in France, I defy any technician, no matter how competent, systematically to put a mine in an explosive state without the inspectors, even if they were complete idiots, perceiving it within the hour."

However, since Kemerovo is in distant Siberia and the record of the trial was never made public by the GPU except for brief extracts published in *Pravda*, this preparatory frame-up remained obscure until the publication a few months ago of Kravchenko's book, *I Chose Freedom*. Kravchenko happened to live in Kemerovo as a plant administrator. He writes:

"The city had figured sensational in the Moscow trials. Its chemical works and coal mines had been pictured as among the main targets of sabotage activity; and it was in Kemerovo that a 'secret printing press' was supposed to have been installed and used by the Opposition leaders."

"The chief 'conspirator' in this city," continues Kravchenko, "had allegedly been Comrade Norkin who was one of the defendants in the Pyatakov trial and duly executed a few hours after the trial. He worked in

Kemerovo as representative of the Commissariat of Heavy Industry. For my sins I had to sit now in the very office from which Norkin, if his senseless confes-

sion were to be believed, had directed his crimes. I was in daily contact with some of the men who had worked with him and several who had testified against him."

"As my acquaintance with these people flourished," reports Kravchenko, "it was inevitable that Norkin's name should come up now and then in conversation. Invariably they would be overcome with embarrassment and, it seemed to me, also deep shame. They scarcely needed to tell me—that at least one did—that they had lied under NKVD (GPU) pressure to save their own skins. Several times a gnawing conscience got the better of their discretion."

A prominent Stalinist of Kemerovo told Kravchenko: "If those engineers had really wished to make trouble they could have blown the whole combinat sky-high. Why would they have limited themselves so considerably to minor damage and petty tie-

ups of production? Why would they poison workers? Confessions. Fairy tales for foreign idiots!"

Another time an official at the local headquarters of the coal trust" one day "went to a filling cabinet and drew out a manila folder, which he handed to me without a word." Kravchenko "opened the folder and began to read at random carbon copies of reports to the Coal Administration in Moscow."

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## Diary Of A Steel Worker

## A Hot Summer Night In The Mill

By Theodore Kovalesky

Last night old Steve didn't come to work, and Jake Buckley stayed on the job for sixteen hours. It was a hot night, and Tom and Jimmy were kidding Jake about staying for a double in the hot weather.

"Looks like you like it hot," Jimmy told him, "staying around here in this kind of weather."

"Naw," Tom said, "It's just he's afraid to go home. His old woman kicked him out, and he's scared to go back."

Jake said, "If I'd known I had to work along side of you two crazy fools, I know I wouldn't have stayed." He took off his glasses and sat down on the bench in the shanty, wiping the sweat steam off the lenses.

"You sure picked one hell of a night to work a double, Jake," I said when Jimmy and Tom left the shanty.

"Had to do it, man. Had to do it," Jake sighed. "You know a man can't make out on the money you get here for forty hours, leastways if he's got any extra expenses to pay like I have . . . with my kid."

"That's right, Jake," I said. "How's he getting along, now?"

Jake's dark face brooded. He took his glasses off once again and wiped them with the well-learned motions of a habit acquired long ago. He spoke slowly, almost reluctantly. "The doctor don't think he can do much good. The boy's almost blind now, and the doctor don't think he'll have any eyesight left by the end of the year."

"God!" I said, struck by the idea. "How old is he, Jake?"

"He'll be 13 in December. December 9th." "That's rotten luck, Jake."

"I don't know how much money I've spent on that boy," Jake went on. "It ain't that I begrudge the money if it had done any good. Only I just been paying it out every week or so, and the boy's going blind all the same. So I got to put in some doubles every now and then when I can get them. My wife's out working too just so we can make enough to pay the doctor and

## Veterans' Problems

## Postwar World And GI Dreams

By Alvin Royce

I can't help but wonder sometimes how the other fellows who were in my outfit are doing. It's not easy to forget those bitching sessions around the fires that warmed our hands and feet and made our C-Rations half edible.

We were about 5,000 miles from home and just a few hundred yards from a spray of shrapnel that I have never seen on any War Department recruiting poster. If anybody had anything they had been meaning to say all their life, they said it in those few hectic hours.

We all had ambitions. Take, Stanley the No. 1 gunner, for instance. He was sick and tired of punching a clock every morning. There was "plenty of opportunity in this world for a smart guy" and Stanley was going to take advantage of one of those GI loans and open a gas station.

As I read the headline the other day, RED TAPE BLOCKS GI LOANS, Stanley came to mind. The Veterans Administration has put out a memorandum to warn veterans that there are already plenty of taverns and filling stations.

Opening a new business, in general according to the VA, is "extremely precarious under existing conditions."

Standard Oil and the Shell Oil Co. were willing enough to give Stanley a machine gun to fight for their world markets but Wall Street warns Stanley now he won't make any money with a filling station because the monopolies have already loaded that field to capacity.

Then there was Connors, who saw an opportunity to get an education through the GI bill

the hospital and all that and keep buying food and paying the rent as well."

"Well, Jake," I said, "You'll make close to fifteen dollars tonight on the keeper's job, counting the time and a half and the six cent shift differential. That'll help a little."

"Yeah, it'll go a little way. Well," he went on, "fact is, we're about caught up now, and this'll be a little bit ahead. I figure on putting a down payment on a suit if I can get one. I ain't had no clothes in I don't know when, and all my things are getting ragged."

Jake and I talked a few moments longer. He put his glasses in their case. I knocked out my pipe, and we went out to work.

We had a bad night last night. The iron stopped running during cast, and we had to push bars into the tapping hole. Then, when we finally got the hole opened up again, we thought the whole front of the furnace was coming out. The iron ran right over the top of the runner and across the floor down at the third gate, chasing Jake away from there so that he ran the ladle over. And coke! The coke poured out of that furnace like a coke oven battery. It was so hot you couldn't get anywhere near the trough. Then, to make it complete, we had to shut down after cast and change two tuyeres.

About five o'clock in the morning I decided that whether or not I finished my work I was going to eat my lunch, so I walked, almost crawled, into the shanty. Jimmy was already there, streaming with sweat, chewing a sandwich and quarreling wearily with the blower. We were all dead tired.

I had just opened my coffee bottle when Jake Buckley came in. I felt sorry for Jake, knowing how tired he felt, since the rest of us were all done in, and he had been there eight hours longer than we had. But more was bothering Jake than just exhaustion.

"Look," he said to me with a funny grin. He held out his glasses. They were broken, both lenses. "Wouldn't you know it!" he said.

I looked at the glasses and at Jake. "Will it cost much to fix them?" I asked.

"Eight dollars apiece. Sixteen dollars."

He kept staring me in the eye with that queer set grin. "Wouldn't that beat you!" he said.

"Wouldn't that beat you!"

One individual wrote in to the mail bag of Minneapolis Star Journal questioning the wisdom of this policy of "starvation meals" for the workers who produce the wherewithal to help feed the world. The results of an experiment conducted with a group of conscientious objectors at the University of Minnesota last summer bear out the demoralizing effect of "starvation diets."

These human guinea pigs were subjected to a diet of some 1,000 calories a day (the amount necessary to keep alive a man in bed who does not work) over a short-term period. Men who took part in the starvation regimen lost one-quarter of their body substance during the early days of the experiment and subsequently were "reconditioned"—but NOT YET have they regained their pre-diet strength, according to a recent report of Dr. Ancel Keys, head of the university's laboratory of psychological hygiene. Dr. Keys, who examined the men, stated: "Our studies indicate that complete restoration to full vigor has not yet been effected."

## RICH WASTE FOOD

Workers of the Twin Cities, like workers all over the United States, want to help the starving people of other countries. But when the rich waste food that the poor are urged to conserve, the whole project becomes "starve to help the rich grow fatter!"

When I first met Tony he didn't know much about politics but it wasn't long before he agreed that the working man must take political power into his own hands. One day at the airport outside Nancy, France, a piece of shrapnel struck Tony between the eyes and killed him quietly and instantly.

I don't know whether Stanley has his filling station or Connors his school. What I really regret, though, is that Tony couldn't see the unions, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the veterans, beat the coal operators and the steel trusts to their knees. I'm sure it would have made up for a great deal of suffering.

## Saga Of Henry J. Kaiser

By Art Preis

At the outbreak of World War II, the Maritime Commission propositioned Henry J. Kaiser to build ships for the government. Kaiser was willing. He put up \$100,000 and the Maritime Commission put up the rest, including the shipyards to build the ships. In short order Kaiser shook down a cool \$8,000,000.

His ambitions aroused by this success, Kaiser set out to become a big-time millionaire. He put up his freshly acquired \$8,000,000 and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation "loaned" him the rest — \$11,805,000. Out of this deal Kaiser got a brand new steel plant at Fontana, California.

Having reaped a fortune in this spectacular fashion, Kaiser decided to make a real killing. He cooked up a scheme to make 5,000 mammoth cargo planes to ferry 500,000 troops a day across the Atlantic. Aviation experts pointed out that Kaiser had never made a plane in his life and that no aluminum was available. However, brains win every time. Kaiser proposed to make the planes out of wood!

\$18,000,000 splashed out of the public treasury into the waiting hands of the genius who had discovered the secret of becoming a millionaire. Kaiser set his carpenters to work. But the ex-

perts proved right. You can't equip a barn with engines and wings and expect it to fly across the Atlantic. Kaiser's first flying barn is still on the ground.

With the close of the war, the newly-made millionaire entered the automobile business. The government again rewarded his spirit of dare and do. Kaiser got the enormous Willow Run plant which had been built out of public funds during the war.

Then he issued 1,700,000 shares of common stock at \$1 and began dumping the gilt-edged paper on an unsuspecting public at \$10 a share. The gamble paid off so well that Kaiser decided he'd like a repeat. This time he palmed off 1,800,000 additional \$1 shares of common stock at \$20.25.

In these two deals, Kaiser sold \$57,000,000 worth of stock. Yet he has neither machinery in place to make cars nor steel for bodies or parts.

These are only the highlights in the remarkable saga of Henry J. Kaiser. But they are sufficient to reveal his secret. All it takes to become a millionaire is to pinch pennies, work long and hard, don't ask the boss for a raise — and make sure a capitalist government runs the country.

## Senator Bilbo And The Law

By Ruth Johnson

Senator Bilbo, running for re-election in Mississippi, last week defied the Department of Justice to enforce the 1944 Supreme Court ruling declaring it illegal to bar Negroes from voting in Southern Democratic primaries.

Bilbo brazenly challenged the government "to keep the white people of this state from running the white Democratic primaries as we think they should be run." He offered "legal service to anybody who gets in trouble" while keeping Negroes from the polls, bragging "I've defended people in 11 murder cases . . . and got them all off free."

Previously, Bilbo had incited his supporters to use "any means" to "help maintain white supremacy at the polls." These means, of course, are the traditional lynch violence and terrorism of the Southern ruling Bourbons. An example is the flogging of a Negro veteran who attempted to register at Brandon, Mississippi.

In the face of Bilbo's defiance of the Supreme Court, the Democratic administration resorts only to vocal bluster. A Senator or two voiced "for the record" protest. But the Sen-

ate Committee on Elections sees "nothing it can do." A Department of Justice official, says the June 28 N. Y. Times, admits "no positive steps" will be taken unless "information indicating violations of law" is received. Besides, as Bilbo notes, "they'd have to get a grand jury in Mississippi to indict a man"—a jury of 12 good and true Mississippi white men."

When the Supreme Court made its ruling, The Militant of April 16, 1944, warned "A hundred Supreme Court rulings alone would not prevail against the actual means whereby the Southern white ruling class maintains its domination and power . . . the law of gun, club, rope and burning faggot. The government will never willingly defend the Negro . . . not seriously enforce any law upholding Negro rights."

"Only the Negro masses themselves, standing shoulder to shoulder with the organized white workers, in independent mass struggle, will prevail against the Southern slave masters," wrote The Militant in 1944. "Bilbo's open defiance of the Supreme Court fully confirms The Militant's contention."

## Atomic Bomb Demonstration In The Pacific Is Part Of Wall Street Drive Toward War

## Rich Eat Cake; Urge Cut In Diet Of Poor Families

By Winifred Nelson

(Special to The Militant)

ST. PAUL, June 24—While Twin Cities workers last week conserved food to help the starving of other countries, the rich overate on cake and delicacies.

Minneapolis families last Tuesday were urged to eat "starvation dinners" of scalloped potatoes, radishes, green onions—257 calories for adults and 450 calories for children—and send the money saved to the mayor's food collection committee for aid to the hungry people of Europe and Asia.

## LAVISH WEDDING

In contrast, the very next day the lavish wedding of millionaire contractor and shipyard operator Robert Butler's daughter in suburban St. Paul was written up in the local press, with pictures of a huge wedding cake.

The story reported: "A half dozen caterers' trucks were parked on the circular driveway this morning with workers busily unloading delicacies."

One individual wrote in to the mail bag of Minneapolis Star Journal questioning the wisdom of this policy of "starvation meals" for the workers who produce the wherewithal to help feed the world. The results of an experiment conducted with a group of conscientious objectors at the University of Minnesota last summer bear out the demoralizing effect of "starvation diets."

These human guinea pigs were subjected to a diet of some 1,000

## Victim Of Chicago Bombing



Mrs. Grace Hardy has been in a hospital since May 1, when anti-Negro terrorists threw an incendiary bomb through the window of her home. Suffering from severe and painful burns, Mrs. Hardy is still fighting courageously for her right to live in the "white" neighborhood. The full story of the bombing was exposed recently by Mike Bartell, Socialist Workers Party organizer in Chicago.

By Robert L. Birchman

(Special to The Militant)

CHICAGO, June 28 — A call for a broad united front conference to combat terrorism against minority groups in Chicago is being sent to all local unions, Negro organizations, progressive groups and working class political organizations.

The conference call was inspired by the wave of terrorism against the Negro people, climaxing by the incendiary bombing of the home of Mrs. Grace Hardy, a Negro widow. This attempt to drive her out of a "white" neighborhood was exposed by the Socialist Workers Party here.

Plans will be formulated to break out of the ghetto by moving into restrictive covenant areas.

Michael Mann, secretary of the Chicago CIO Council, said: "These damnable outrages have got to stop. This matter has been brought to the attention of the police, and if no action is taken by the police to protect citizens, the CIO will raise plenty of hell."

It was pointed out by Henry McGhee, NAACP president, that in the past two and a half years there have been 27 bombings of Negro homes and numerous acts of vandalism, window smashing, shootings and threats against Negroes who have attempted to move into so-called white neighborhoods."

Henry McGhee, speaking for the NAACP said, "Some immediate action must be taken to stop this reign of terror against Negroes who are trying to find places to live. Adequate protection must be given Negro families moving into so-called white neighborhoods."

The decision to call the broad conference was made Wednesday by a steering committee elected at a previous conference attended by representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, CIO Chicago Industrial Union Council, Council Against Religious and Racial Discrimination, Chicago Urban League, Socialist Workers Party, American Civil Liberties Union, and CORE (Committee on Racial Equality).

The conference established the "Grace Hardy Fund" so that she will be able to meet the payments on her home, to ensure that Negroes have the right to live in the house. The following organizations have already contributed to the fund: NAACP, \$100; Urban League, \$100; Socialist Workers Party, \$50.

Readers of The Militant are asked to send contributions. Mrs. Hardy, badly burned, has been confined to the hospital for seven weeks and will be there indefinitely. Unless she receives immediate financial assistance, she will lose her home. That was the aim of the white terrorists. Contributions should be sent to the "Grace Hardy Fund," c/o NAACP, 3456 S. State St., Chicago 16, Ill.

A committee selected by the first conference called on Police Commissioner Prendergast. The committee included Michael Mann, CIO; Homer Jack, Council against Religious and Racial Discrimination; Rev. Joseph Evans, Metropolitan Community Church; Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers Party (SWP); and Henry McGhee, NAACP.

The audience contributed \$117 to aid the SWP's campaign for action in the Hardy case. Six workers applied for party membership.

The committee informed Prendergast that the progressive and the labor movement were aroused

Atomic bomb No. 4 was exploded at Bikini July 1 in the first of three demonstrations designed to deepen the universal fear of Wall Street's military might. Three weeks ago The Militant pointed out that "experts see no scientific value in the Bikini test." "These maneuvers," said The Militant, "are clearly part of Wall Street's preparations for a Third World War that will surpass anything yet seen in destruction and slaughter."

Two weeks ago The Militant declared that the Bikini demonstration was timed to coincide with the Paris Conference of Foreign Ministers as part of a "ruthless power play against the Soviet Union." "The Paris conference at which Byrnes sits," continued The Militant, "will be lit up by the frightful glare of the atomic bomb explosion at Bikini." The demonstration of military force was designed to back up Byrnes in bargaining with Molotov.

This analysis has now been confirmed by dispatches from London. The British imperialists, in the words of a June 29 report to the N. Y. Times, are "acutely interested in the effect of the tests on the current diplomatic situation and particularly on the relations between the western powers and the Soviet Union."

## OFFICIAL ADMISSIONS

How accurately The Militant sized up the Bikini demonstration can be judged from the following admissions in the London dispatch mentioned above: "In official quarters here the greatest importance is attached to the tests. A Government spokesman declared that, although the tests seem far off to the general public, they represented in reality the most significant event in recent months and were indissolubly bound up with the future peace of the world."

"The authoritative view in Britain is that, apart from their ultimate importance in case there should be an atomic war, the tests are bound to have major repercussions on the relations between Russia and the West."

Leading scientists continued to point out that the demonstrations have no scientific value.

## Senator Scores Bikini "Tests" As Step To War

How the Bikini atomic bomb demonstration fits into the drift toward World War III was graphically described by Senator Huffman, Ohio on June 14. Protesting the Bikini demonstration, the Senator declared:

"In future wars guided missiles in the form of bombs with atomic warheads, traveling 100,000 miles an hour, will arch through the stratosphere so far above even our Air Forces that they will be beyond the reach of any kind of radar detection and defense."

"Since there is no foreseeable defense whatever against such an attack in future wars, the proposed Bikini tests pale into insignificance. As a matter of fact, defense against atomic weapons of the future appears so futile that these experiments which even contemplate atomic war are sheer madness . . .