

NEW PURGES IN  
SOVIET UNION

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## THE MILITANT

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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 Pastuhov. 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 Balkan

countries today, Bulgaria in particular, resembles in many respects the monstrous blood baths which accompanied the infamous Moscow frame-up trials. The purge in the Soviet buffer zone is an extension of the purge now underway in the Soviet Union itself.

It is common knowledge that the interjection of the term 'Trotskyism' in a Stalinist purge has invariably signalized the most ferocious type of repression. In the Stalinist dictionary 'Trotskyism' not only covers all opposition but also signifies the physical extermination of all opponent tendencies, including the genuine followers of the assassinated Leon Trotsky.

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.

Toledo Rail Workers Support  
Resolution For Labor Party(Special to *The Militant*)

TOLEDO, O., June 18—A mass meeting of railroad workers, held here tonight under the auspices of the Toledo Area Council of Railroad Workers, enthusiastically adopted a resolution calling for a National United Labor Conference to set up a labor party.

Their action followed talks by several speakers who stressed the need for the immediate convocation of a conference of all labor to stem the anti-labor offensive of the government and for the formation of a labor party. Every reference to genuine independent labor political action was loudly applauded.

Emil Mazy, Detroit East Side Regional Director of the CIO United Auto Workers, a guest speaker, strongly urged labor to build its own party as the only way to fight Big Business on the political arena. Tim McCormick, president of the Toledo Area

Council of Railroad Workers, also appealed to labor to form its own party. 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.

Pleas For 'Self-Restraint'  
Won't Halt Price-Gougers

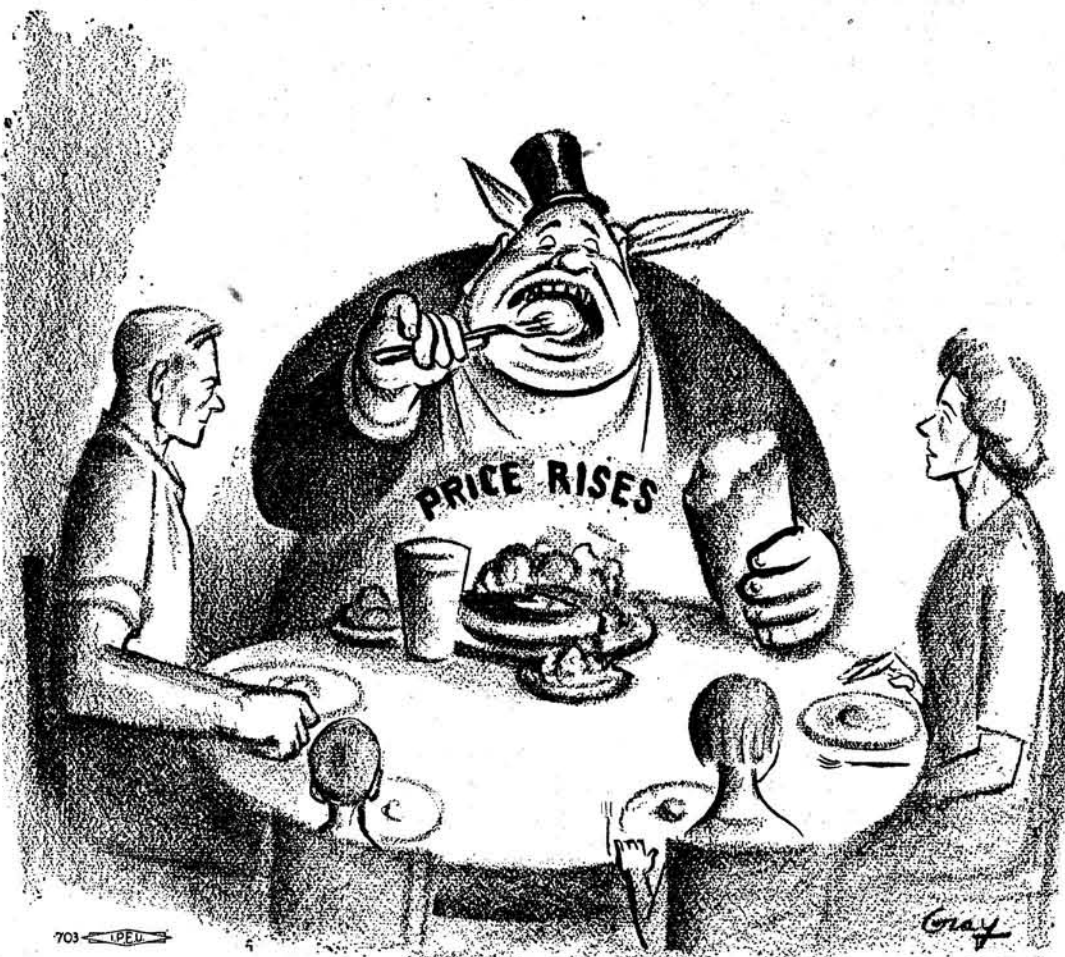
The last flimsy legal barrier to the inflationary assault was removed on June 30 with the expiration of OPA. Having vetoed the "compromise" OPA extension bill passed by Congress, Truman could only raise a pip-squeak appeal for "self-restraint" by the Big Business price-gougers as they wheeled their inflationary artillery into line.

But only one restraint remains on the profiteers. That is their growing fear that with the fiction of "price control" removed, there will be nothing to counterpoise to the workers' demands for higher and higher wages to keep abreast of soaring living costs.

Thus, after helping give the coup-de-grace to the OPA, a note of caution began to express itself in the capitalist press. Papers which had whooped it up for the openly-inflationary OPA extension bill or called for the complete abolition of any legal restraints on prices, began to advise the profiteers to go a little easy, not to push up prices all at once or too fast, to put it over just a shade more gradually.

Businessmen's organizations and real estate groups hastily issued advertisements and ultimatums not to grab too much too quickly, to spread the rises out a bit. They warn against "chaos and industrial unrest"—that is, an upsurge of labor struggle.

## The Uninvited Guest

Minnesota SWP Opens Election  
Campaign, Nominates Candidates

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 election regulations, the convention chose "Revolutionary Workers Party" as the ballot name for its slate.

Plans were laid at the convention for gathering signatures of nominating petitions. The state election laws allow only the 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 announced (Continued on Page 6)



GRACE CARLSON

## IN THE NEWS

Capitalist Answer  
To Poverty

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 poor-house."

Peace Of The Grave  
After Atomic War?

Dr. Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, declared on June 25 at commencement ceremonies of Yale University that despite appearances "we are much nearer a peaceful future than at any other time."

Cleric Prefers An  
'Ittie Bittie' War Now

Thomas Cardinal Tien, Chinese Catholic cleric in Tsingtao, on June 25 said he thought World War III is inevitable. Therefore he hoped it would not be delayed another 10 or 20 years when there would be mass production by all countries of atom bombs and other new weapons. In that event, he said, "I cannot imagine a single creature left living." It would be better to have an immediate war, he said.

New Model Pigs—  
All Tail, No Chops

At a large meat market in Mamaroneck, N. Y., on June 25, meat-hungry housewives eagerly observed a barrel rolled out. When it was opened, it was full to the brim with pig tails. "There must have been a pig for each tail," said one housewife. "What happened to the pigs?" The butcher answered: "Don't ask me, ma'am."

## It Works Both Ways

W. Stuart Symington, Assistant Secretary of War for Air, said on June 17 that the U. S. has developed a bomber capable of flying from this country "to drop an atomic bomb on any industrial center in the world." He added: "If we can do it, others can do it to us."

3 Auto Locals  
Urge Sliding  
Wage Scales

Budd, Briggs And Ford  
Unions Vote in Favor

(Special to *The Militant*)

DETROIT, July 1—Three leading locals of the CIO United Auto Workers here recently have gone on record in favor of the sliding scale of wages to meet rising living costs.

The General Council of Ford Local 600, largest UAW affiliate; Briggs Local 212, with 20,000 members; and Budd Local 306 have endorsed resolutions for the sliding scale.

## PLEA TO STATE CIO

Budd Local 306 has voted to introduce into its current contract negotiations the demand for automatic wage adjustments upward to compensate for increases in the cost of living.

The Ford General Council adopted a resolution early in June approving the proposal for the sliding scale of wages program and recommended its adoption by the Michigan State CIO convention. A similar resolution was adopted by Briggs Local 212.

The resolution adopted by Briggs Local 212 recommended "that a clause for an upward sliding scale of wages be inserted in each union contract to be adjusted quarterly" in line with rising prices, and that the CIO maintain a cost-of-living index to provide an accurate gauge of rising living costs.

With the unbounded rise in prices, it is expected that more locals of the militant auto workers will adopt this program. The auto workers are agreed that wage increases won last spring have already been eaten up by price rises.

Chicago Union  
Says Labor Must  
Build Own Party

By Eugene Zucker

(Special to *The Militant*)

CHICAGO, June 23—Revere Copper and Brass Local 477, CIO United Auto Workers at its meeting here today unanimously adopted a resolution calling for establishment of a permanent Congress of Labor and a labor party.

The resolution, introduced by the local's executive board, endorsed the UAW's proposal for a National United Labor Conference of all unions. Such a conference, said the resolution, should have as its purpose to:

- "1. Establish a permanent Congress of Labor.
- "2. Mobilize and call for protest meetings in every section of our country, protesting the anti-labor attitude and actions of Congress.
- "3. Launch a concerted drive in Washington to present a solid front for labor opposing President Truman's proposed anti-labor legislation."

## ASK LABOR PARTY

The resolution urged that "this Congress of Labor take immediate steps to form an Independent Labor Party, in order to defeat the agents of reactionary Big Business and their lobbyists in Washington, and to place representatives of labor in the Government who will defend and promote the best interests of the working people."

All central union bodies in Greater Chicago were urged to call local joint conferences to mobilize labor in this area for united action. Conferences of AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhood leaders here have been held, but these have not as yet involved the union ranks.

Their activities have been limited to visits with local Democratic and Republican politicians in vain hopes of soliciting their aid in opposing the anti-labor drive of Truman and Congress. However, these conferences have represented a step toward getting the unions together.

CIO Packinghouse Workers  
Raise Far-Reaching Demand

Propose A Form Of Sliding Scale Of Wages  
To Protect Workers From Inflationary Knife

A "cost of living" bonus payable weekly or monthly in proportion as living costs rise, will be demanded by the CIO United Packinghouse Workers Union in its contract negotiations with the meat industry this month. These bonuses would be in addition to a minimum wage of \$1 an hour

which the union is seeking to boost present rates ranging from 88½ cents in metropolitan areas down to 71 cents in the South.

As revealed on June 28 by Ralph Helstein, UPWA president, this far-reaching bonus plan is designed to continuously protect the workers' living standards from attacks by the mounting cost of living. It is a broad, progressive step in the direction of the principle of the sliding scale of wages.

Besides their basic minimum hourly rates, the workers would receive a periodic "cost-of-living" bonus, computed weekly or monthly. The amount would be continuously adjusted in proportion to the rises in living costs. It would be retroactive to the start of the living cost increase.

## REJECT BLS FIGURES

The extent of such rises would be based on a reliable cost-of-living index acceptable to the union. Helstein said the union will not accept the Bureau of Labor Statistics' fallacious index.

This bonus demand is one variant of the demand for a sliding scale of wages, based on a fixed minimum, automatically raised to meet every rise in the cost of living. It can be expected to spread in one form or another to other unions. It represents a realistic and effective answer to the problem of reduced living standards caused by continuously soaring inflation. For this problem cannot be solved in terms of fixed and limited wage demands that are soon devoured by rising living costs.

(For more information: See Page 2)

UNITED LABOR ACTION  
TO FIGHT PROFITEERS!

An Editorial

Prices are leaping each day and each hour. The inflationary tide, already running stronger and stronger while the OPA bobbed around on it like a leaf, is turning into full flood.

All the false hopes and illusions of price control which the liberals and labor leaders had led the workers to place in the government are being swept away too.

This capitalist government, the pliant tool of Big Business, has no program to halt raging inflation. Any dependence placed upon this government to seriously resist inflation is utter folly.

But Truman, the labor leaders, the Stalinists are trying to revive illusions. They now call piteously for another OPA — a "good" OPA. They hope to persuade Congress to trick out some new measure to palm off once more as "price control."

The workers must not be fooled again by regulated inflation passed off as "price control" and used as a pretext for a wage freeze.

The workers can place dependence only on their own organized strength, their own independent actions, to fight the consequences of capitalist inflation.

Now more than ever, all the unions—CIO, AFL, and Railroad Brotherhoods — must join in united action. They must immediately convene a National Conference of Labor to put forward a program of joint action and mobilize the workers for a real fight.

The first point on the program should be a struggle for the sliding scale of wages to meet all price rises. That is the only immediately effective answer to the bounding cost of living.

The working populace, the poor farmers and lower middle class must be united into mass consumers committees to halt price-gouging by organized means. These committees must apply direct mass pressure on the inflationers. They must ferret out food stocks and intervene to fix prices themselves. On the housing front the tenants must be organized for mass resistance to any rent increases.

Forward to the United Labor Conference! Stop the profiteers by the independent action of the working masses!



## 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,** Newville, 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 Oolovgian,** 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. Broad 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

would be automatic and guaranteed by contract. Thus, if in a given period the cost-of-living rises 10 per cent, the wage rate would rise a corresponding 10 per cent.

Should living costs decline, the wages could not be reduced below the basic minimum contract rate. The sliding scale does not peg wage rates to prices. It does not provide that the workers accept fixed and immutable wage rates in terms of fixed living standards or cost of living. It does not constitute an agreement that the workers shall not insist on a greater and greater share of the surplus value their labor produces, but which the capitalists expropriate as profits.

It merely provides for protection against a rising cost of living. If it costs more for the workers to live, then they must have a corresponding increase in wages merely to keep their established standard of living.

## 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 conformity 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 higher the basic rate, the greater the amount of money each percentage rise on the sliding scale would provide. A 10 per cent cost-of-living rise on a \$1 an hour basic wage is 10 cents. On \$1.25, it is 12½ cents.

Thus, the sliding scale gives an incentive to fight for the highest possible basic wage rates.

## General Tire Workers Hold Firm In Strike

AKRON, Ohio, June 29—The strike of 2,500 workers at the General Tire and Rubber Company in Akron entered its second week today. The other plants of the company at Jeannette, Pennsylvania, and Waco, Texas also remain closed in the first corporation-wide strike in the rubber industry.

Using the pretext that they cannot discuss with the union so long as the factory office is closed and unorganized office workers are barred from entering the struck plant, officials of the company have refused to reopen negotiations with the union. There is no indication that the company's ultimatum will dissuade the workers from continuing the strike on a 100 per cent effective basis.

Present indications are that the company intends to conduct a protracted struggle with the workers before coming to a settlement. The danger of an exhausting, long drawn-out strike is real if the General strikers remain isolated. However, the probable breakdown of negotiations between the major rubber firms here and the United Rubber Workers can result in an industry-wide shut-down in rubber.

## Ohio UAW Group Endorses Labor Conference Call

(Special to The Militant)

CEDAR POINT, O., June 21—A conference of Region 2B delegates of the CIO United Auto Workers, representing more than 50,000 member in northwest Ohio, today went on record unanimously for the calling of a United Labor Conference of the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods.

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.

## 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. Stephens was fired last Tuesday on the pretext of absenteeism and "bad attitude" after he went to Port Clinton the day before on a union assignment.

The conference voted to immediately reopen negotiations for further wage increases if a halt is not made to price rises.

## Buffalo Readers

Our Saturday Night Current Discussion Group and Open House have been discontinued for the summer months. Watch The Militant for notice of meetings in Buffalo. Visit The Militant Forum, 629 Main St., any afternoon except Sunday.

## 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 Rarback, 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 Rarback the opportunity of addressing the membership of the local.

In Local 892, where Rarback 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 practiced 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

## 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 Unions, 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.  
Deck Storkeeps: \$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 union 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.

This long, militant strike—in which 70 per cent of the 700 strikers were women—climaxed 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 reopen wage negotiations under the terms of the contract with the "Big Four" rubber corporations.

This contract provides that the union can reopen 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.

## CONTRACTORS BLOCK HOUSING CONSTRUCTION IN HOUSTON

By Robert Dallas

(Special to The Militant)

HOUSTON, Texas, June 26—Houston's commercial building boom came to an abrupt halt today as scores of huge projects contracted by members of the Associated General Contractors (AGC), were shut down by order of the commercial builders' association.

The official reason given for the shutdown was existence of a dispute between AGC and the AFL Building Trades Council, with the Council demanding recognition of organized teamsters and laborers and the AGC refusing to negotiate.

Confidentially, however, prominent builders cynically explained that "the AFL boys have given us just the out we were looking for. Contractors have been demanding fulfillment of contracts entered into during the war, which we have now made a bona fide start on. But materials are scarce and labor costs high; fulfillment of these contracts now can be accomplished only at a severe reduction in net profits. 'We could well afford to sit and cool our heels for six months on the basis of war earnings until materials are easier to obtain and the labor market gets cheaper.'

A significant development of the contractors' shut down which bears on the housing shortage is the fact that craftsmen locked out by AGC's action are not, according to D. W. Maxwell, Secretary of the Building Trades Council, walking picket lines or out of work. Instead they have been hired by the thousands, with AFL approval, by independent contractors, non-members of AGC, engaged in housing construction.

These contractors have hitherto been unable to obtain labor and materials in preference to

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By Art Preis

## Boilermakers Local For Joint Labor Conference

The CIO United Auto Workers proposal for a national union labor conference of all unions to combat government anti-labor policies continues to win adherents. In Seattle, Wash., the powerful AFL Boilermakers Local 104, with a large shipyard membership, passed a resolution at its general meeting on June 15 urging such united action.

"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."

It also calls on the Washington State AFL and the Seattle Central Labor Council to organize state and local conferences to conduct "mass united protest action" against government strikebreaking and union busting.

## Stalinist Explanation On Plant Seizures

During the war, when the Kremlin and Wall Street imperialism were putting on the brotherly love act, the American Communist (Stalinist) Party hailed Roosevelt's strike-breaking seizures of the railroads, coal mines, Montgomery Ward's, etc.

Soviet-U. S. relations have soured since. Now the CP has been ordered to take swipes at Truman and talk "militant." Among other things, the Stalinist leaders condemn Truman's strikebreaking plant seizures.

But the Stalinist leaders are being embarrassed by the pointed question: How come it's wrong for Truman to break strikes by plant seizures, but it wasn't 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:

"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 the duration. It was used to compel employers to comply with WLB directives. Now it is used to impose unfair settlements, as was done in the rail case..."

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

that Roosevelt's seizures, which they supported, were "good" seizures.

Roosevelt seized the railroads in December 1943 to impose the rail operators' and government's terms on the railroad workers. Earlier he had seized the coal mines in an attempt to drive the miners back to work and enforce the wage freeze. Although Sewell Avery of Montgomery Ward and George F. McNear of the Toledo, Peoria and Western Railroad long defied WLB rulings, Roosevelt did nothing. He invoked seizure only after strikes began and in order to break them. Avery and McNear never accepted the decisions. Their properties were finally handed back, after the government helped to weaken the unions.

The Stalinists don't dare tell the truth about Roosevelt's strikebreaking. That would damn them as well.

## More Unions Declare 'Build A Labor Party'

Sentiment for the formation of an independent labor party is growing ever more rapidly. This is reflected in local union papers.

Among union publications which in recent weeks have advocated the building of a labor party are The Midwest Labor World, organ of the St. Louis Joint Council of the CIO Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, and The Cable, published by the National Association of Telephone Equipment Workers, Independent.

The Cable, after summarizing Truman's anti-labor law, concludes: "In order to secure justice for 53,000,000 American workers and their 70,000,000 dependents, about 85 per cent of the U. S. population; and in order to peacefully wrest the control of the greatest nation in the world away from a greedy and selfish minority, American Labor Unions must unite to form a true Labor Party, capable of electing Congressmen and Presidents sworn to serve America best by truly representing the great majority of the American public—The American Worker. The two-party system has proved not only to be obsolete but also untrustworthy. Labor must place its own candidates in a political field."

## Briggs Local Votes Strike

By Jeanette Kirk

(Special to The Militant)

DETROIT, June 28—At a special meeting of CIO United Auto Workers Briggs Local 212 on June 23, over 2,000 members voted to strike the Briggs Manufacturing Company if their demands are not met. A secret ballot vote showed 94 per cent in favor of the strike.

A mass meeting of 5,000 Briggs workers last month had already signified that they were fed up with company provocations and speed-up and desired to take strike action.

The most serious grievance is the docking of workers for not meeting production standards arbitrarily set by the Company. Whole departments have had their paychecks docked for being unable to meet the company's man-killing production quotas. The union is determined to settle this issue and also to secure reimbursement for those workers who have been docked.

The membership stands ready at any moment to shut down all Briggs plants, at present employing 20,000 workers, until the company quits stalling and settles these long-standing grievances.

## Camden Group Backs Labor Conference

By Jim Dolan

(Special to The Militant)

CAMDEN, N. J., July 1—The Political Action Committee of RCA Local 103, CIO United Electrical and Radio Workers, representing over 5,600 production workers, has unanimously gone on record in support of a National Labor Conference of the CIO, AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and independent unions to meet the Big Business "war on labor."

At a special election meeting June 27 the committee voted unanimously that a telegram be sent to an enlarged CIO Council meeting being held that night in Philadelphia, asking the Council to go on record for a National Labor Conference.

New PAC officers are Arthur Wolfe, chairman; Wesley Terres, vice-chairman; Mark Killcayne, treasurer; Jack Etlin, secretary.

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A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

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## Why India Starves

British Imperialists  
Drained Food Supply

By Kamalash 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 alleviation of 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 over all 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

in India for the British Army, thus forcing grain prices up. Furthermore, the British-controlled provincial governments took part in flagrant profiteering."

Here are additional details from extracts drawn from the Editorial Notes—*The Modern Review*, Calcutta, March 1946:

"The last famine (of Bengal, 1943) was precipitated by government bungling and made worse by the congenial inefficiency and unscrupulous corruption of the higher officials and their trader henchmen."

"The government knew that India was never fully self-sufficient in respect of food. When they brought armies of British and American soldiers into India, they did not arrange for import of all the necessary amount of food."

"It has now been revealed that the daily ration of British troops in India was nearly five times that of civilian ration. In addition, most of the protective food like milk, egg, fish, meat and green vegetables were drained away for the benefit of the military personnel."

"The impact of need on the population was thus much more than five times their actual number. It was British policies which brought them here and the government machinery in India was utilized to serve her purpose in the deal."

## RICE EXPORTED

"Large quantities of rice had been exported in 1942 and 1943 at the instance of the Food Ministry of Britain and a flagrant disregard of the need of the country. It is well known that in spite of the opposition of the Bengal Ministers, and mostly without their knowledge, food was exported from Bengal at the direction of the British government."

"It is also common knowledge now that large quantities of food stuffs were exported to Russia and Persia at the time of the battle of Stalingrad in order to meet Great Britain's political commitments and her own needs in Persia. This export was done through the U.K.C.C. to the back of the people of the land."

"Thus, knowing full well that India was hardly self-sufficient in respect of food, the government of Great Britain and India never hesitated to fritter away the slender surplus that was in hand in 1942."

The *Modern Review* of April 1946 further notes: "The export lists of Calcutta Customs and the records of exports in Government of India's abstract of overseas trade, cannot be taken as true account of rice exports from India. It is now alleged that export of rice and paddy from India has been made to foreign countries in vessels chartered by His Majesty's Government's Ministry of Food. Their final destinations being not disclosed, they were kept as close secret and that these exports were not entered in Customs Registers."

Next week we shall discuss the "argument" of over-population.

New Purge Is Stalin's Answer To  
Economic Crisis In Soviet UnionKremlin 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 threatened 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.

But the young workers' state remained blocked and encircled by the imperialist powers. Under the conditions of a backward and war devastated country, the social and cultural transformation inaugurated by the revolution could not fully unfold.

## DESPOTIC CLIQUE

Degeneration set in. After Lenin's death in 1924, a clique of bureaucrats headed by Stalin usurped power. The despotic rule of this bureaucracy replaced the regime of workers' democracy through the Soviets and other mass organizations. Lenin's program of world revolution was abandoned, and most of the progressive gains won by the Russian revolution were undone. With the years, the gap between the mass of the people and the bureaucrats grew wider and wider. As the privileged grouping entrenched itself, the workers were stripped of all their political rights. The bureaucracy established new social privileges for itself, raising its own living standards—at the expense of the people.

Industrially, Russia was always a backward country. Nationalization of industry and planned economy, introduced by the revolution, gave a great boost to production and industrialization. But even so, living standards in the Soviet Union remained lower than in the advanced capitalist countries.

A factor contributing to this was the bureaucratic domination of the economy, which discouraged the initiative of the masses, preventing them from correcting errors, eliminating waste, etc. The living standard of the masses remained pitifully low because of the ever-growing proportion of the national income devoured by the bureaucratic caste.

Totalitarian rule does not prevent mass discontent—it only suppresses its free expression. In times of economic crisis, when this discontent threatened to break out into the open, purges would take place. They followed this general pattern:

## PATTERN OF PURGES

To explain away the economic catastrophes for which they alone were responsible, the bureaucrats in the Kremlin selected scapegoats and charged them with all kinds of crimes—sabotage, diversion, etc. The scapegoats were usually lesser bureaucrats, or those who had ventured to express critical views in the past. Trials were staged to give publicity to these "explanations" for the economic crisis. The defendants were each time duly found guilty and were then either executed or disappeared.

But that was only the beginning, the propaganda appetizer so to speak. These trials provided Stalin with the pretext for exterminating everyone in the country who represented a threat to the continued privileges and power of the bureaucracy—either from the right (those who wanted a restoration of capitalism), or from the left (those who wanted a restoration of the communist policies of Leninism).

For every man tried, there were tens of thousands purged without trial. The Red Army leadership was decimated. The whole generation of Bolsheviks that made the revolution was destroyed. Millions of workers and peasants were dragged from their homes and flung into forced-labor camps. The leading government and industrial bodies were purged, then purged again and again.

Such is the background and

pattern of the present purge.

Today, a great part of the country's industrial apparatus lies in ruins. The new Five-Year Plan will be considered a great success if it restores the economy to prewar levels. But this will not restore even prewar living standards. Because, as Stalin's speeches show, a large portion of production will go to the armed forces or into heavy industry and not to the masses in the form of consumers' goods.

Foreign trade remains virtually at a standstill; the countries producing machinery required by the USSR—the U. S. and England primarily—are using it themselves or supplying governments they are trying to weld into an alliance against the USSR. The prospect of a loan from Washington is admittedly slim.

## 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 supercilious 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?"

Hence trials and widespread publicity, which pursue a dual aim: To refurbish the Kremlin's prestige. And to serve as a shield behind which will be launched a new wave of terror to liquidate or intimidate all sorts of opposition—both from the growing pro-capitalist elements, encouraged by Stalin during the war, and from the revolutionary opponents of Stalinism.

## PROVING GROUND

But the pitcher can go to the well too often. The war was a proving ground for the masses. As the recent Conference of the Fourth International pointed out:

"The war... has roused broad layers of the population and lifted them from the rut of conservatism and passivity toward the bureaucracy and its regime, acquainting them with other ways of life and other ideas (Red Army fighters, war prisoners, soldiers in the armies of occupation in the different European countries), thus sharpening their critical faculties and stimulating tendencies toward self-assertion."

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 sum of the bureaucracy and directed fundamentally against the masses may end as a purge of the bureaucracy by the masses.

## 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's 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 Chateaudun 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 Lamp-posts 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 "Marxist-Leninist" and other patriotic canticles. 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."

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 soundtracks 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.

Some of its lesser lights were even permitted to criticize past policy; to charge the leadership with "yielding too easily to the hoax ('mystique') of tri-partyism" in Parliament; to speak of the need for "advancing the idea of a socialist-communist government."

A later dispatch reported that the Stalinist leader Duclos had been compelled to renew support for the CGT demand "after having abandoned it in his negotiations with M. Bidault." (N. Y. Times, June 27.)

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 discloses that involved are branches of industry from the still-devastated areas in the Ukraine, through Leningrad to the distant Urals and beyond. Everywhere, government and factory officials are being dismissed, indicted for trial, fined and jailed.

Simultaneously, Stalin has finally released the long-suppressed news that savage purges were likewise employed in wartime: Two autonomous Soviet Republics—the Crimean and Chechen-Ingush—had been "liquidated." Other Republics dissolved during the war were the German Volga, Kalmyk and Karachayev, making a total of five. In violation of Stalin's own constitution, which prohibits such action, millions of Soviet citizens were torn in wartime from their homes and thrown into slave-labor camps to die slow deaths. There was no pretext of any trials.

The "peacetime" purge comes

## 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; Shekhn Coal Trust; Dniepropetrovsk Metallurgical Equipment Plant; Kater Automobile Works; Novosibirsk Meat and Dairy Production 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.

Calling Turn  
On The Purge

The American Trotskyist magazine, *Fourth International*, called the turn on the current purges in the Soviet Union as long ago as last March.

A leading editorial in that issue, entitled *The Stalinist 'Left Turn' and the Internal Crisis of the Kremlin Regime*, clearly analyzed the economic crisis in the USSR and warned against the danger of renewed purges as a result of this crisis. The editorial said in part:

"Without any fear of exaggeration, one can say that the Kremlin has never confronted a more critical situation at home and abroad than it does today... 'The economic crisis in the USSR, resulting from the war, is so grave that it threatens to pass into a political and social crisis of the regime...'

"It remains to be seen whether the current 'left' turn will likewise be accompanied by a large-scale purge. There would be nothing surprising in it, for Stalin, the Kremlin Nero, is the greatest devourer of his own agents...'

Copies of this long and extremely informative editorial on conditions in post-war Soviet Russia may be obtained by writing Business Manager, *Fourth International*, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y. Individual copies cost 25 cents.

Inflation Cuts Wages  
In Hungary And Italy

The Hungarian government last week announced a campaign against raging inflation, which has raised the cost of living trillions of times in terms of the pengoe. Part of its program included the raising of wages every 24 hours in accordance with the rise in living costs for the day.

Two days later the joker was revealed. It was then announced, according to the June 28 N. Y. Times, that first the government was going to reduce "real wages, or workers' standard of living, to 50 or 60 per cent of the prewar scale, which was not very high even then... In terms of the incomes that will be permitted, all living costs will be higher."

In Italy too inflation is one of the key problems, and strikes against the high cost of living are said to be threatening.

The cost of living is now 22 times what it was at the beginning of the war. But the wages of even skilled workers have risen only 15 times over what they were in 1939.



"THE FOUR FREEDOMS"

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 Cochinchina.

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.

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.

"First phosphorous bombs; now removal," the demonstrators chanted, referring to the Allied air raids which wiped out a great part of the city during the war.

"Down with Peterson! Resign for the good of your people!" they shouted, when Hamburg's mayor appeared on the City Hall balcony and appealed vainly for the crowd to disperse.

British and German police made a number of arrests, but another demonstration of more than 1,000 people was held three days later.

These incidents come shortly after the report that workers in the Ruhr "hunger belt" of the British zone were stopping trains and seizing food.

## Indonesia

The kidnapping of Premier Sjahrir and his staff last week again brought into the limelight the struggle of the Indonesian Republic for independence from Dutch imperialism.

Negotiations between Sjahrir

and the Dutch have been bogged down for months. The kidnapping of Sjahrir, who represents the conciliatory wing in Indonesia, was seen as an effort to restore and continue the struggle on a militant basis. President Soekarno assumed all government powers and declared a state of emergency.

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.



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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 peacetime 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,



LEWIS

a strike developed. The coal operators appealed to Lewis, who then appointed three members of the executive board to investigate. Following their report, the Kansas officials were ousted and replaced by "provisional" officers. The District charter was suspended.

The miners were in sympathy with the local leaders. Before Lewis was able to crush the opposition, the charters of 83 local unions were revoked and 2500 miners expelled.

Lewis' career demonstrates the limitations of "pure and simple" trade unionism, unguided by a progressive economic and political philosophy. During the depression of 1929 Lewis had no program for the miners. He could only repeat, parrot-like, the antiquated economic doctrines of Adam Smith — laissez-faire, "natural economic laws," and the "pendulum theory of history." He lauded the "constructive industrial statesmanship" of Hoover. In 1933 the union had lost four-fifths of its membership and its treasury had fallen to \$75,000.

At Lewis' instigation the constitution of the UMW was amended

in 1927 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 of 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 possesses 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

## Congressmen At Work

### Why Electricity Comes High

"Never say die on the political front!" This is the motto of the power trust. For years it has fought federal and municipal power plants. It doesn't want the public to find out how cheaply electricity can be sold and still bring a profit. In this battle the power trust counts a great deal on its political representatives in Congress.

Take the federal project for Central Valley, California. Public pressure for the reservoirs that would control floods, provide water and power, was so great the State legislature had to vote for it. The Governor thought it politically advisable to wire Congress his OK. Virtually all the California Representatives favored it. And both Senators had to come out for it.

### ACES UP SLEEVE

But the power trust still held a few aces up its sleeve. On June 20, Senator McCarran, a Democrat of Nevada, began talking. Smoothly, yet feelingly, as if the story came straight from his heart, he told about "an enterprising private concern known as the Pacific Gas & Electric Co." This outfit, to hear him tell it, is big-hearted and generous, like the West where it is located. "For half a century it has sustained the State of California by its services."



McCarran spoke with authority. Wasn't he personally acquainted with "Mr. Black, the president?" A bit of praise was in order, thought McCarran, for the "fine spirit of cooperation and the splendid management of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. under the administration of Mr. Black."

Having described this upright monopoly and its public-minded president, McCarran next turned to the villainous plot on foot — nothing less than an attempt to "create in the Government a great power octopus." McCarran pictured this marine monster with its slimy tentacles fastening on the horror-struck Pacific Gas & Electric Co. "The time will come when that power octopus will be a menace superseding and out-reaching anything that

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 in order that it may take over." Don't foster a "socialist 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.

## 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 falsity 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 proletarians 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 revisionist.

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 revolutionists 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 against capitalism must of necessity be likewise directed against Stalinism.

## "Vigilante Terror In Fontana"

By Myra Tanner Weiss  
Price 10 Cents

If you live west of Rockies order from  
Socialist Workers Party  
316½ W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif.  
East of Rockies: Order from  
Pioneer Publishers  
116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

## 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.



# 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.

## J. PIERPONT MONEYBAGS

**Says:**  
RAISE PRICES THAT'S THE WAY TO BEAT THE BLACK MARKET



BYRNES

## Byrnes At Paris:

We'll make the peace in pieces if we must. From Tuscaloosa to Tashkent — or bust; So either you go my way for the while, Or you go your way, Hiroshima-style.

D. D. T.  
New York, N. Y.

## Thinks "Militant" Divides Workers

**Editor:**  
I think such papers as The Militant are doing more harm to the working class movement than good. I do not wish to lend my support to any party, paper or organization that seeks to disrupt the workers any worse than they already are.

There is not a class conscious worker in this country that cannot see that the Pope and the capitalist red-baiters are trying to work up a war between this country and Russia, and still you keep trying to weaken our forces by dividing the workers into factions. Why don't you try to get the parties all together instead of trying to keep them divided?

J. F. S.  
Combs, Ark.

## Praises Articles By Germain

**Editor:**  
Congratulations on the new series of articles concerning the Soviet Union and written by Ernest Germain! They are just what I have been waiting for — a rounded and yet simple explanation of the postwar policy being followed by the Soviet government.

Here's hoping that these articles get the wide circulation they deserve.

L. S.

New York City

(The remainder of the series, "Where Is the Soviet Union Going?" by Ernest Germain, will be printed in this paper as soon as they are received from Europe. The Militant intends to follow it with many more series of analytical articles on international problems written by Comrade Germain and other Marxist writers throughout the world. — The Editors.)

## Calls For A Labor Party

**Editor:**  
We should have a working man's party, as everyone should see by this time that all we get by fooling around with the two old parties is a slam in the puss, and that is just exactly what we deserve.

If the workers had a political party of their own, you would not see the exploiters of labor voting for any candidate of the labor party just because that candidate was supposed to be a friend of the CAPITALIST system! Then why should a worker vote a capitalist ticket, or for a man in either of the two old parties?

It is a joke to think that labor has any real friends in either party. For when it comes to a showdown there is no such animal as a friend of labor in either party.

Yours for an international brotherhood of the working class,

H. M. W.  
Minneapolis

## No Homes For Vets

**Editor:**  
According to a recent government announcement, 10,000 families in Philadelphia alone face eviction notices within the next six months because the leases on the houses and apartments they now live in, will expire; and former tenants and owners want to get them back.

Veterans especially face a difficult time due to the acute housing shortage. Private housing construction so far has been too expensive for the average worker and veteran, with the cost ranging from \$7,000 to \$10,000 per unit.

Since V-J Day not one temporary housing unit has been constructed for the hundreds of thousands of veterans who are returning to the city seeking a decent place for themselves and their families to live. The local City Council is reluctant even to choose a sufficient number of sites where such temporary or permanent homes could be built.

C. Blake  
Philadelphia

## Bilbo's Lynch Call

**Editor:**  
Sen. Bilbo dared the Federal government to enforce the Constitutional right of Negroes to vote in the Democratic primaries of Mississippi.

Bilbo called upon the white Southern oligarchy to keep the Negroes away from the polls. He offered "legal services to anybody who gets into trouble," saying, "I've defended people in eleven murder cases in my life and got them off free." Negroes know that remark means lynching. They doubt the theories of liberals who say freedom can be won by the ballot alone.

It is no secret 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 repress 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.

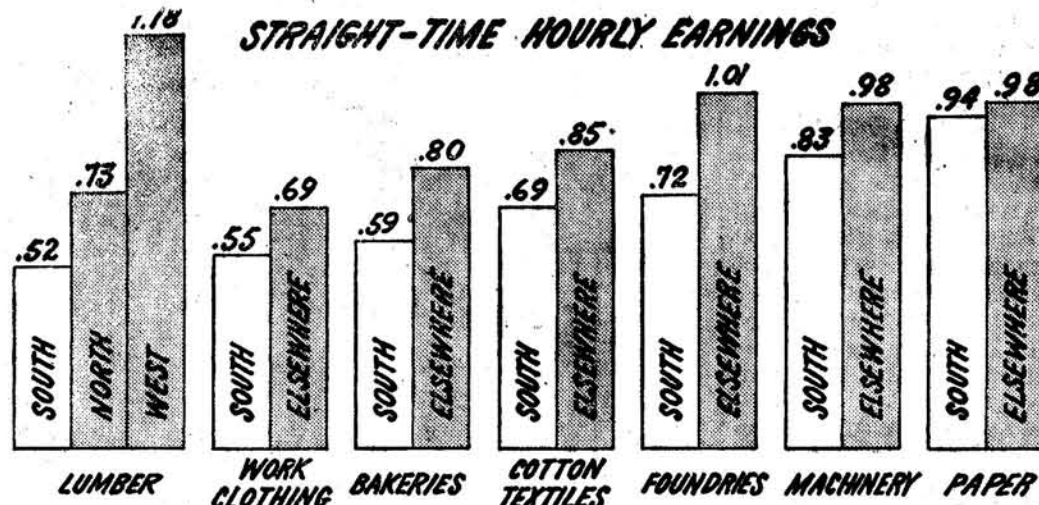
Seventy-six years after they won the Constitutional right to vote and eighty years after the Thirteenth Amendment was adopted, the Negroes still are enslaved in chain gangs and barred from the polls.

But Negroes, north and south, are turning now to an alliance with the white workers. Common problems are bringing them closer together in the fight against their common enemy, the capitalist.

The capitalists are using the revived KKK and the fascist and vigilante gangs to terrorize the Negroes and trade unionists in the mass industries of the south. The Negroes still fight for their constitutional rights, but they know that they will enjoy those rights only if together with the rest of the workers, they take the power from the bosses.

Harold Rice,  
New York

## Why The South Must Be Organized



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

## LIBERALS

(With Quotations from the Authorities)

Liberals are a sensible breed  
Well-tempered and soft-spoken;  
Truth in the middle is their creed,  
And the peace that's never broken.

They view with calm and liquid eye  
The smoke and storm of battle;  
Wretched millions scream and die;  
They see them die like cattle.

And coldly talk of what they've seen  
In terms of the sum and total,  
Considered through the golden mean  
Of the dead Greek, Aristotle.

They "deplore" and "find regrettable"  
This epoch's wretched madness;  
That "for convictions most debatable"  
Cause all this cosmic sadness.

And call "for a moment's thinking"  
Of just and impartial sort  
To keep the ship of state from sinking  
And bring it safe to port.

Louis Breier

## "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 the army set the pattern for these conditions with its outworn traditions of separatism — which in turn is a definite perspective of capitalism, which thrives on separatism. That is why today there is a concerted effort to herd the Negroes into ghettos throughout 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; and 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!

J. Stevens  
Los Angeles, Calif.

## 'What We Come Home To'



"Restricted" sign on Los Angeles street, barring Negroes from so-called "white" areas.

## 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, 160th St. and 90th Ave., 8 p.m.

**PHILADELPHIA**—Youth Forums 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, 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Educational 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: The Militant's zone number is New York 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 mailed to you and send it to us at once to assure delivery of your paper.

Send your zone number to:  
**Business Manager**  
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE  
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.



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."

John McBride of Seattle, Wash., thinks The Militant is a good paper and wants to give his friends a chance to read it. He sent in \$10 not only for a renewal of his own sub but also for six one-year subscriptions for friends living in Seattle. The remaining \$3 he contributed to the Militant Fund.

Thanks, Comrade Dusenberry and Comrade McBride. Help like this from members of the Militant Army is really welcome.

We need both subscriptions and contributions to help sustain The Militant and we invite all our readers to join the Militant Army. If you like the paper, send in a sub for a friend. If possible, send a contribution to the Militant Fund.

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."

Anne Reese reports on the

work being done by the Texas Branch: "We have set up a committee to obtain more subs to The Militant from this area and you'll be hearing from them in the near future... One of our readers passes his paper around to more than half a dozen people. That's the main thing. Into the workers' hands!"

Subs are pouring in from the Akron Branch. Milt Genecin explains that of the 13 enclosed in today's letter, "Special credit should be given to Comrade Doris Hilson 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.

Increased bundle orders show an increase in branch activity.

Paul Chelstrom of St. Paul ordered 100 copies a week, stating: "Since we have opened our new headquarters we sell out right here. We expect that with the formal opening there will be even more of a demand for The Militant."

Jerry Kirk of Flint placed an order for 3,000 copies of the current issue which carries a story on the Flint elections.

Mae Walker of Toledo ordered 500 copies of next week's issue which will contain a story on Post Clinton.

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

## OUR PROGRAM:

### 1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!

A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!

A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!

Government operation of all idle and government-built plants under workers' control!

Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!

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

No restriction on the right to strike!

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

### 4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!

Down with Jim Crow!

### 5. Build an independent labor party!

### 6. Tax the rich, not the poor!

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

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

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

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

For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!

Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

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

## Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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

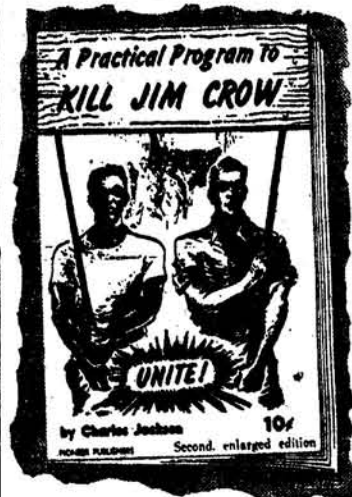
I would like:

☐ 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.

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## 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.

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# 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 except 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 bull 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

white guys aboard," said one (a super-bigot). "We'd keep them (the Negroes) in their place. How are you making out with them?"

"Not bad," replied the other. "A Texan who was trying to overcome his heritage of hate. 'The way I figure it, I'm just about as good as they are.'"

On another occasion, nine white GIs were arguing, analyzing, and explaining to a young soldier from South Carolina who held the traditional southern Bourbon views. In the third hour of discussion, they won him over.

When we reached port, we were transported by ferry to Camp Knight, Oakland. There were many civilian vendors aboard. One, hawking snapshots, had several boards with pictures attached. When a colored soldier looked at them, the salesman shouted: "Hey, boy, are you going to buy those prints?" Another Negro retorted: "Mac, there aren't any boys aboard this ship."

**LIFT THE ROOF**

A similar incident took place when we landed at a waterfront warehouse. A white MP was in charge of lining us up. He shoved a Negro soldier, adding in a hard tone, "Boy, get in that line there."

Two white soldiers standing several files away shouted, "What the hell do you mean, 'boy'?"

The cry was taken up by a number of other GIs. The MP, obviously more than a little stupid, repeated the word in the same tone to the next Negro who walked up. The warehouse roof was nearly lifted off as both white and colored soldiers volubly cursed the MP, threatened to take him outside and dunk him in the bay. He retreated in haste.

At Camp Knight we were again quartered together. Together we dug hungrily into the first steaks we had eaten in months and waited patiently in line for a chance to phone home, exchanging grins and comments. Back-slapping and well wishes were the farewells of Negro and white soldiers as we boarded trains for separation centers the next morning.

This brief application of non-segregation proved an unequalled success, as it has innumerable times in the past, as it always will when it is given a fair try.

# MINNESOTA SWP NOMINATES 3 CANDIDATES FOR CONGRESS

(Continued from Page 1)

nouncement 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

Minneapolis labor case in 1941. Despite her conviction in this war-time frame-up, Comrade Carlson received 3 per cent of the total vote cast as the party's candidate for Mayor of St. Paul in 1942.

Since her return from federal prison Comrade Carlson has continued her work as an organizer for the party. She has been a frequent contributor to The Militant. In the summer of 1945 she made a national tour in which she spoke on the topic, "Women in Prison."

Warren Creel, Congressional candidate in the Third District, is a frequent contributor to The Militant and Fourth International. He is a member of the United Electrical Workers CIO, Local 1140, and a delegate to the Hennepin County CIO Council.

Through long activity in the trade unions and workers' political movement, Warren Creel is well known to the workers and farmers of Minnesota. From 1933 to 1937 he was Secretary of the Educational Bureau of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Association. For the next 8 years he was organizer for the Duluth Teachers Union, Local 692 of the American Federation of Teachers.

## ACTIVE FOR YEARS

Dorothy Schultz, Congressional candidate in the Fourth District, is the organizer of the St. Paul Branch of the Socialist Workers Party. Active for years in St. Paul trade union, unemployed and working class political organizations, she is well known to St. Paul workers. For several years Dorothy Schultz has served as an executive board member of the St. Paul Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people.

In 1941 Dorothy Schultz was one of the 29 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and 544-CIO, indicted in the Minneapolis labor case. After her acquittal she made a speaking tour under the auspices of the Civil Rights Defense Committee in behalf of the remaining defendants.



# 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 mortgage 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, far-sighted 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 retired 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

men in the industrial relations department of Seven Companies Ltd. were busier than Noah was just before the record-breaking rainstorm so many years before. While one group turned out reams of copy proving the demands of the union were a dangerous attack on "free enterprise," the balance of the legal sharks were desperately seeking some method to undermine the unquestioned solidarity of the union membership.

They pored over the union's advertisement which closed with the challenge: "United in speech, thought and purpose, we will never yield until the social and financial concessions asked by our members are won."

It happened that one of these corporations lawyers noticed the wording: "United in Speech." Ah! Here was a likely wedge. Why not start a confusion of tongues! Furiously the entire machinery of the company concentrated on the strike-breaking plan. In a few weeks, company finks and spies began circulating through the picket lines.

Speaking to a brickmason, for example, an innocent-seeming fellow-striker would refer sneeringly to all workers who were not brickmasons, complain that ever the mud-mixers were going to get almost an equal wage increase and then unfolded his final master plan: Refuse to even talk with any worker, except in the technical words of each particular craft.

This poison spread through the ranks of the workers until soon some twenty-odd crafts were speaking an entirely different language and regarding each other with suspicion and hatred. Needless to say, the strikers' unity was dissolved in the corrosive acid of boss-stimulated petty personal jealousies and all the issues at stake were abandoned. Thus began the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel which has endured for 10, these 5,000 years!

# 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 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.

# Red-Baiting Of AFL Leaders Mars California Convention

SAN FRANCISCO June 24. — The California State Federation of Labor held its 44th annual convention here June 17-22. Its sessions were marred by a red-baiting drive against all "left-wingers" in the Federation.

The conservative leadership, sparked by George Meany, AFL national secretary - treasurer, rode roughshod over the most important progressive resolutions, including those on forming a labor party, easing the tension between the AFL and CIO, and condemning imperialist oppression in the colonies.

In his keynote address, which set the tone for the convention, Meany launched a red-baiting attack on the CIO. He based himself on the fact that CIO officials were attending an Executive Board meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Moscow. He concluded that "the fundamental difference in ideals between the two groups would make cooperation impossible."

Unity with the CIO was approached from the standpoint that the CIO was a "dual union" which must "return to the fold" under provisions of the AFL charter. Preparations were made for a "unity drive" within the AFL locals to consolidate the AFL for jurisdictional war against the CIO. A caucus of representatives of 15 international unions pledged support to the "unity drive" against the CIO.

## INTERNAL DRIVE

An internal drive was launched at the same time against any opposition to the AFL leaders' policies. A resolution was pushed through urging affiliates "to for-

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.



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 sets his laborers 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 produces 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 root-

ing 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.

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# 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.

## ABSURD 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. Drobinsk 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



KARL RADEK

One of the most brilliant journalists in the Bolshevik movement. Prior to the October 1917 revolution he was a close friend of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Radek accompanied Lenin in the famous "sealed" train across Germany to Scandinavia but remained in Stockholm as literary representative of the Bolsheviks until 1918. He became a member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party.

Radek understood the counter-revolutionary character of Stalinism and fought against Stalin's rise to power. But in 1929 he made a great political error: He capitulated to Stalin. From then on he devoted himself to denouncing Trotsky. As late as the First Moscow Trial in 1936 Radek threw Stalinist mud at Trotsky, calling him a "Fascist." Stalin paid off Radek by labelling him a "fascist" and making him a defendant in the Second Moscow Trial. Radek got a ten year prison sentence. He has not been heard from since. According to rumor he was shot.

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 confession

## Stalinists Hail Nuremberg; Silent Over Moscow Trials

"An unprecedented historical record of what fascism was and how it functioned has been produced at Nuremberg," declares the June 22 Daily Worker, official organ of the American Stalinists.

If this conclusion is true, then the Stalinists themselves have underlined the fact that Trotsky did not plot with Hitler against the Soviet Union. During the entire eight months of the Nuremberg trial not one word has been breathed about the notorious Moscow Trials which charged Leon Trotsky was in league with Hitler.

Stalin even charged that Rudolph Hess, now in the prisoners' dock at Nuremberg, was the man who dealt with Trotsky. Yet the Stalinist prosecutor has not raised the question of this alleged deal, much less demanded evidence or documents.

Months ago Natalia Sedov Trotsky's widow of Leon Trotsky, demanded the right to have her representative question the Nazi defendants. Her demand has been ignored.

The truth is such an investigation would serve only to further expose the frame-up in the Moscow Trials. That is why the Stalinist prosecutors at Nuremberg are afraid to grant Natalia Trotsky's demand.

And that is why the Daily Worker, when it mentions the Nuremberg trial, is most discreetly silent about the monstrous slanders in the Moscow trials.

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—though at least one did—that they had lied under NKVD (GPU) torture 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."

These reports, Kravchenko reveals, were "made long before the explosions and other accidents subsequently called sabotage had taken place. In urgent and sometimes desperate language they warned that to avoid loss of life and property, protective measures ought to be taken without delay. The significance of these warnings was clear enough. Saboteurs would hardly have pleaded so vigorously for action to head off their own cal-

culated crimes . . ."

To this it should be added that Trotsky, the principal target of Stalin in the Moscow frame-ups, had likewise warned repeatedly from his exile of the inevitable disasters in store under the mismanagement of the Stalinist regime.

Kravchenko considers other charges leveled at the unfortunate defendants: "Norkin's confession about the underground printing set-up had been confirmed at trials in Kemerovo and Novosibirsk by other prisoners and supported by photographs of the press and copies of the anti-Soviet leaflets. It was one of the few confessions seemingly bolstered by documentary evidence. I was intrigued by the story and never missed a chance to get some light on it now that I was on the scene of the crime."

Kravchenko now makes a most sensational exposure of the Stalinist frame-up machine: "During nearly a year's residence in Kemerovo I was able to piece together the facts, and they proved very unsavory indeed . . ."

A secret typographical establishment did exist. Many times I was in the cellar where it stood; there were still signs of its presence. Leaflets attacking Stalin and calling for mutiny had in fact been printed. But the press had been installed, the leaflets had been composed and printed by the NKVD (GPU) itself. To make sure that no one would talk, the architects of the ugly hoax used only workers who would be physically unable to talk—prisoners waiting execution or sentenced to long terms of confinement. The job was done under cover of night."

Kravchenko asked "one man who knew the facts" about the thousands of leaflets "supposed to have been distributed here."

This was the devastating response: "What nonsense! You know well enough that anyone caught with such a leaflet would have been arrested. Yet I don't know of a single arrest on any such charge; neither does anyone else here. No one among the workers seems ever to have seen or even heard about the famous leaflets until the trial."

Kravchenko's testimony is of great importance, since he lived in Kemerovo and had an unparalleled opportunity to investigate the facts. His revelations cast a new glaring light on the frame-up in the Second Moscow Trial since one of the principal charges in that trial was the organization of "wrecking" activities at Kemerovo. We shall consider the Second Moscow Trial next week.

## The NEGRO STRUGGLE

"Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded."  
—Karl, Marx  
by CHARLES JACKSON

### Race Consciousness and Class Consciousness

(This week's column is written by Joe Morgan of Toledo—C. J.)

As Negroes we are every day made conscious of our race. In our search for employment, food, entertainment, shelter, and so forth, we are continually reminded of our "step-child" relationship with the other members of the nation.

It is not true, however, that all of our consciousness of race is in such a negative vein. While in the public schools we were taught nothing of the role that the Negro has played in the making of history, a growing pride of race has caused us to delve into history and learn about black men like Attucks, Overture, Washington, et al.

One of the things this feeling has done for us is to raise our self-respect. We know that given the same equipment under the same set of circumstances we are the equals of any other men. This is a good thing. But it has another side, that finds its duplicate in the pride of other peoples in their races or nationalities.

To some extent we have an understandable distrust of anything not Negro. And many of us have a prejudiced attitude toward those of other races. The derogatory labels, "kike," "polack," and "wop" are unfortunately in use among Negroes when referring to members of other groups as is the term "nigger" among them in referring to us. An extreme sense of race pride which leads to disparaging the race and culture of others is backward and reactionary.

RECALL GERMANY  
We may recall that in Germany it was a wedge forged of this race prejudice which Hitler utilized to smash the German labor movement. Workers' organizations stood around with their hands in their pockets in silent approval of this Nazi terror against the Jews. Later they were crushed, and their standards of living reduced until they were in practically the same category as the Jewish people.

Or take another example. In the northern states, and especially in those localities where the CIO is strong, the wages of the workers are highest, and their conditions are best. This is because the union is built on a firm working class base. Not a craft, or race, or religious base, but a working class base in which equality of opportunity to all races is guaranteed.

In the Southern states where Negroes are denied even the right to act like human beings, let alone join a union, the wages of the workers, black and white alike, remain lowest. Inter-racial working class solidarity, the only

These phrases remind me of the pro-fascist groups of the pre-war era with their slogans of "Buy Gentile" or "Buy Christian" and I do not believe that they are any different in the effect. As for the Negro enterprises I can't see any difference in a colored man exploiting me or a white one. And last but not least, the idea of the Black Republic. For us to isolate ourselves or even to set ourselves apart from the rest of the members of the working class would be suicide. The more isolated one is from the rest of the members of his class the more vulnerable he is to attack from the enemies of his class.

We must realize that to be really effective we must have the cooperation and wholehearted support of the rest of the working class. The way for us to accomplish this is on the picket lines, in the shops, at the union meetings, and on the political field where we will join with other working men in fighting for the rights of all labor.

# Poison Pen Artists Attack Trotsky's Biography Of The Kremlin Dictator

By Charles Carsten

Even as a new and terrible purge rages in the USSR, a purge in which more millions of Soviet men and women will be exiled, imprisoned and shot, Stalin's literary GPU agents are intensifying their efforts to picture Leon Trotsky—a victim of Stalin's GPU—as an assassin!

The present campaign is a continuation of the GPU job begun long ago. Its aim is to falsify history so as to make the leaders of the October 1917 Revolution appear as enemies of the Soviet Union, while Stalin and his henchmen appear in a favorable light.

V. J. Jerome, in "reviewing" Trotsky's biography of Stalin, June 25 New Masses, repeats all the malicious lies concocted in the Kremlin laboratory. Jerome is but one of a legion of Stalinist journalistic thugs who are carrying out the literary counterpart of the job done by Jason when he drove a pickaxe into Trotsky's brain on August 21, 1940.

## MONSTROUS LIES

Jerome's whole "review" hinges on Stalin's falsified history of Bolshevism, which includes allegations made against Trotsky in the infamous Moscow Trials. Parrotting the GPU, Jerome asserts that Trotsky made a deal with the Nazis through Rudolf Hess and Alfred Rosenberg.

If there were an iota of truth in this charge, the Stalinist prosecutors at the Nuremberg trial, who had every opportunity for doing so, could have produced some evidence to substantiate it. Hess and Rosenberg are in their hands. If documents exist, as was claimed during the Moscow Trials, they could have been brought to light. Why hasn't the Kremlin done so? Because the purported link between Trotsky and the Nazis is a monstrous lie.

Preceding Jerome's New Masses review were several others of an equally mendacious character in the "liberal" capitalist press. Professor Frederick L. Schuman, who poses as a "historian," voiced in the April 28 PM the same GPU line as the New Masses. This was followed by a review in the May 5 PM by Max Lerner, co-editor of the paper, who lauded Stalin and condemned Trotsky. Lerner pretends to accept the Moscow

is even less concerned with the fact that millions of Soviet workers and peasants hate the ruthless bureaucracy and its leader Stalin.

These matters are of little interest to Jerome because he is neither a defender of the October Revolution nor a champion of the people as Trotsky was, but a cynical apologist for the Kremlin bureaucracy.

In typical GPU style, the New Masses review begins with two quotations (stolen by the Hearst press) from Trotsky which are torn out of context and twisted into their opposite meaning. Jerome pretends that these quotations show that Trotsky was an assassin. Does history offer a more striking paradox? The regime which murdered Trotsky's sons and daughters, and finally Trotsky himself, the regime which imprisoned and murdered Trotsky's collaborators, the regime which has imprisoned and tortured and destroyed literally millions of men and women, seeks to depict its most renowned victim—as a murderer!

The Stalinists understand only

## Los Angeles Comm. Plans Relief Picnic

LOS ANGELES, June 26.—The newly organized Los Angeles committee of the American Committee for European Workers Relief will hold its first benefit July 14, according to Lillian Curtis, chairman of the committee. The affair will be a picnic at Reseda Park, with facilities for swimming, baseball, other games, and a playground for children. A picnic dinner will be served, beginning at 1 p.m.

At the first meeting of the local committee, held last Monday night, plans were made to broaden the committee, hold a number of fund raising affairs for the benefit of workers abroad. Tentative plans include a theater party and a large bazaar. Details will be announced in the near future. In addition many individuals will be asked to hold luncheons, house parties and similar smaller benefit affairs.

Any Militant readers interested in serving on the Los Angeles Committee or helping in any of these projects are invited to contact Lillian Curtis at Richmond 4644.



STALIN

their own methods, frame-ups, violence and murder. The Stalinist bureaucracy invariably attributes its own crimes to its political opponents. Just as a liar thinks there are no honest men, so Stalin's GPU cannot imagine political struggle without prisons and assassination.

## OWN METHODS

Ever since the triumph of Stalinism in the Soviet Union, critics of the regime have been identified with whatever foreign power seemed most menacing at the time. Jerome hews to this line in his review of Trotsky's book.

He attempts to connect Trotsky with the present power that appears most threatening to the Soviet Union, that is, the United States. He attempts to form an amalgam between Trotsky and the State Department.

He fails to explain, however, why, if Trotsky was an agent of the State Department, the latter refused to grant him refuge in this country when he was "a man without a visa," and sought entry into the U. S. Or, why to this day does the State Department deny a visa to Natalia Sedov, Trotsky's ailing widow?

In the only true statement in his review, Jerome remarks with glee that "reviews in the bourgeois press convey a general note of disappointment." How does this fit into the Jerome-GPU formula that "Trotsky's biography bears the 'superimprimatur' . . . of the U. S. State Department?" Jerome cannot be unaware of the fact that the World Telegram, which he correctly quotes as being hostile to the book, is a notorious red-baiting sheet.

Jerome must know that the N. Y. Herald-Tribune and N. Y. Times, whose disapproval of the book he cites with such satisfaction, are mouthpieces for the State Department just as the New Masses is the voice of the GPU. From Jerome's assertion it follows that they should all have hailed the book as they have hundreds of others which really convey Washington's point of view.

But these organs, too, know better. They are fully aware that an exposure of the lies spun by Stalin's official biographers is not of necessity an attack on the structure of the Soviet Union. They know that political opposition to the Soviet bureaucracy is not at all identical with an attack on the Soviet system.

## TROTSKY DEFENDED USSR

Furthermore, editors of the bourgeois press know that Trotsky, far from being an enemy of the Soviet Union, was its most ardent defender. They remember him only too well as co-leader with Lenin of the October Revolution. They know that during his entire lifetime Trotsky was one of the greatest revolutionary Marxist leaders and the bitterest enemy of imperialism, fascism and oppression of every kind.

It is for exactly this reason that the Kremlin gang cannot rest content with the physical destruction of Trotsky. The murder of Trotsky did not complete the GPU's job; it must continue falsifying history in an attempt to erase knowledge of Trotsky's theories and the memory of his revolutionary leadership from the minds of the workers in the Soviet Union and throughout the world.

## FEAR TRUTH

Trotsky's theoretical contributions to revolutionary Marxism and the world organization which he forged, the Fourth International, present the greatest threat to the Kremlin gangsters. The Stalinists recognize this. That is why beneath the almost maniacal fury of the present anti-Trotskyist campaign an undertone of fear can be detected. The Stalinists fear the truth. They are further compromised by the new purges in the USSR. They are redoubting their efforts to physically extirpate what they fear most, namely: Trotskyism.

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

AKRON — Visit The Militant Club, 405-6 Everett Bldg., 39 East Market St., open daily except Sunday, 2 to 4 p. m.; also Wed., 7:30-9:30.

Public Forums—Sun., July 14, 8 p.m. 'Wage Program To Meet Inflation.'

ALBANY — BETHLEHEM — Open meeting every Thursday, 8 p.m., at Militant Labor Forum, S. E. corner Front and Hamilton Streets, Albiontown.

Public Forums—First Sunday each month, 8:15 p.m.

BALTIMORE—For information write Box 1583, Baltimore 3, Md. Monthly forums to be announced.

BOSTON—Office at 30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays from noon until 5 p.m.; Wednesday and Fridays, 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

BUFFALO — Open every afternoon except Sunday. Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor.

CHICAGO — Visit SWP, 777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 4767. Library, bookstore. Sat. night, open house.

CLEVELAND — Militant Forum every Friday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Pk.).

DETROIT — Open house every Saturday, 8 p.m. at 6108 Linwood. Office open daily 12 to 5. Phone Tyler 7-6267.

Monday, 8 p.m.—Class on 'Program of SWP.'

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

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

LOS ANGELES—Visit Militant Publishing Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.

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

MILWAUKEE — Visit the Milwaukee SWP branch, 424 E. Wells St., evenings from 7:30. Sat. night—Open house.

MINNEAPOLIS—Visit the Labor Book Store, 10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily.

NEWARK—Branch meeting every Friday at 423 Springfield Ave., at 8:30. Reading room and office open Mondays to Thursdays, 4 to 10 p.m.

Tues., 7:30—Basic Training class.

NEW YORK—CITY HQ, 116 University Place, GR. 5-8149. Sat., 4:30 p.m., Tues., 7:30, rehearsal of Militant chorus.

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

BRONX: 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TI 2-0101. Reading room open Mon. to Fri., 7 to 10 p.m.

Current events discussion, Fridays at 8.

BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433. Mon. Class — "Program of SWP" 7 p.m.

CHELSEA: 1430 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.

YORKVILLE: Discussion Group, meets at Czech Worker's Center, 347 E. 72 St. Wednesday, 8 p.m.

OAKLAND, Cal.—Meetings Wednesday, Odd Fellows Temple, 410 - 11th St. For information write to P.O. Box 1351.

PHILADELPHIA — SWP Headquarters, 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 5820.

PITTSBURGH—Militant Reading Room, 141 S. Highland, Room 21 (corner Highland and Central Ave.). E. Liberty. Phone, EM. 4899. Open Wednesday, 7 to 10 p.m., Sunday 3 to 9 p.m.

PORTLAND, Ore. — Visit the SWP headquarters, 134 S. W. Washington, 3rd Floor. Tel. Atwater 3992. Open 1 to 4 p.m., daily except Sunday, and 6 to 8, Tuesday, Friday.

Fridays, 8 p.m., Open House and Round Table Discussions.

SAN DIEGO—P. O. Box 857.

SAN FRANCISCO — Visit the San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., corner of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor; open from 12 noon to 3 p.m., Monday through Saturday, and 7 to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday.

SEATTLE—Visit our Headquarters, 1919 1/2 Second Ave. Open Saturdays 12 to 5, Sunday 7:30 to 10, Wednesday 7:30 to 10.

Sundays at 7:30, Discussion on Militant. Wednesdays at 7:30, Class: "In Defense of Marxism."

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

ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St., St. Paul 2, Phone Garfield 1135. Open daily 2:30-9:30.

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

TOLEDO — Visit our headquarters and bookstore at 213 Michigan St. Open Monday through Friday, 11 to 5. Saturday, forum 8 p.m. Open house 9:30 p.m.

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



## Diary Of A Steel Worker A Hot Summer Night In The Mill

By Theodore Kovalsky

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's we can make enough to pay the doctor and

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," 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!"

## 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 a 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

of rights. His parents died when he was very young and he was skipping along on \$15 a week as a grocery store clerk when he was drafted. I wonder if he found a school that offers the course he sought or if he found a house to live in. I would like to know how he pays his rent, buys his food and gets a new pair of shoes once in a while on \$65 a month.

Tony is one man in the squad that we will never hear from again. He was drafted out of a steel mill. He hated the officers, his draft board and the whole rotten system that put him in uniform. We spent many hours together on sentry duty and he told me about the coal town in which his family lived and about the bloody strikes his father was in when Tony was a kid. Then the subject shifted to the first strike he was in during the "sit-downs" in the thirties.

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 \$9,000,000.

His ambitions aroused by this success, Kaiser set out to become a big-time millionaire. He put up his freshly acquired \$9,000,000 and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation "loaned" him the rest — \$111,805,000. 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 . . . nor 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 today 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 overindulged themselves 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 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 regiment 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!"

## Bay City S.W.P. Fights Sales Tax

(Special to The Militant)

SAN FRANCISCO, June 24—The Socialist Workers Party branch here today submitted a statement to the Board of Supervisors meeting tomorrow, voicing strong opposition to the proposed city retail sales tax to finance "improvements to the city's properties."

The statement says "We are firmly opposed to a sales tax in any form, which adds to the heavily strained budgets of the working people. This tax instead should be placed upon Big Business and the higher income brackets where it belongs. With the sky-rocketing cost of living adding pennies, nickels and dimes to every article and service needed by the workers, the city should take steps to ease their burden rather than add an additional weight."

TAX HURTS WORKERS  
This proposed sales tax, the SWP discloses is designed to enable big real estate owners to get reduced property tax rates and improvements to enhance the value of their properties at the expense of the workers and small-property owners.

Asking where the workers are to get the money for sales taxes without scrimping on their daily needs, the statement points out that 70 per cent of the population with low incomes, have little or no savings and would carry the burden of sales taxes out of their slim wages.

### TAX HURTS WORKERS

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

## 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.

## Racial Terror In Chicago Arouses Defense Movement

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, climaxed 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 demand an end to the intolerable and miserable housing conditions that exist in the "black ghetto" and to immediately end restrictive covenants.

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 committee informed Prendergast that the progressives and the labor movement were aroused

## Los Angeles Readers!

The Los Angeles Committee of the American Committee for European Workers' Relief will hold a

## Picnic at Reseda Park

for the benefit of needy European workers  
SUNDAY, July 14

(By auto — go west on Ventura Blvd. to Reseda Blvd., then right half a mile)  
SWIMMING, BASEBALL, OTHER GAMES  
PLAYGROUND DINNER SERVED  
For Further Information phone Richmond 4644

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 table at which Byrnes sits," continued The Militant, "will be lighted 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."

## 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 . . .

"The only important impression these tests are going to give the world is that the United States is not done with war. What more logical conclusion can be drawn from a gaudy show that is advertised and headlined as the 'most stupendous military spectacle in history'?"

## How Atomic Energy Can Free The World Under Socialism

The crisis of capitalism is epitomized in the development of atomic energy. The scientists have made available a colossal new source of power. Even at the present stage of development in 15 years they calculate atomic power plants could replace all existing

sources of energy. In the sixteenth year this inexhaustible source of power could be doubled since the production of fissionable material proceeds at a geometric rate.

The benefits of atomic energy if given free development exceed the most optimistic imagination. In addition to freeing humanity from billions of man-hours of labor, atomic energy makes possible solution of many secrets that have hitherto baffled science. Dread diseases such as cancer could be wiped from the earth. Man's normal life span could be prolonged.

The great riddles of the universe, such as the relation between matter and energy, the birth of stars and planetary systems and their life cycle could be unlocked.

Above all, mankind could win unlimited leisure. The mind's best energies could be devoted to the problem of improving existence and making life a joy from childhood to old age.

Capitalism has made all this possible. But these stirring possibilities are only the promised land, and one that will never be seen under capitalist rule. Instead, the capitalist class has turned atomic energy into destructive channels.

The atomic bomb is just the beginning. The Admirals and Generals are now working on

## Japanese Soldiers Punish Brutal Officers

Japanese soldiers being repatriated on a ship from Bangkok conducted their own "Lichfield trials," the Kyodo News Agency reported in Tokyo last week. The results turned out a little different from the U. S. Army's Lichfield trials where an officer was merely reprimanded and fined for ordering brutal beatings of American soldiers.

The Japanese soldiers held their own trial and convicted 33 officers of beating subordinates and making excessive use of their authority.

Punishment: The officers were beaten so soundly that 30 were hospitalized and three others had to be helped ashore when the ship docked.

## Pittsburgh Readers

Our Sunday afternoon "Militant Discussion Group" will be discontinued for the summer months. Watch The Militant for notice of Pittsburgh meetings. Visit our headquarters, 141 E. Highland, Wednesdays from 7 to 10 p.m., Sundays 2 to 4.