

Puerto Rican Slaves In Pennsylvania Camp

See Page 3

Workers Of The World, Unite! THE MILITANT

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CIO LEADERS STALL ON WAGE FIGHT

4 More Negro Victims Added To Lynch Toll

The current wave of lynch terror in the South has claimed four more Negro victims. As usual, there is no sign that the lynchers will be punished.

1. The bruised body of John C. Jones, cotton seed oil refinery worker and World War II veteran, was taken from a lake near Minden, Louisiana last week.

Jones and another Negro had been arrested when a white woman said they had tried to enter her home. But she did not press charges. When the two were released, they were seized by white men, driven out of town and brutally beaten.

The Deputy Coroner, Dr. Thomas Richardson, hastened into print to defend the lynchers by saying he could tell from the nature of the wounds that they had not attempted to kill Jones, but "only" to flog him.

2. Another lynching took place in Gordon, Georgia. Like many other such atrocities it would have remained unknown to the public, except that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People happened to have investigators nearby, who had been working on the recent mass lynching of two Negro couples in Monroe.

According to the NAACP, these are the facts:

John J. Gilbert, who worked in a chalk mill in Gordon, was shot to death on a roadside about 500 yards from his home on Aug.

3. shortly after he left to go to work.

It is believed by citizens in Gordon that he was killed because of his participation in a recent AFL organizing movement in the chalk mines. Another Negro, Willie Dudley, was severely beaten in Gordon under similar circumstances several weeks ago.

The local coroner and sheriff gave out the verdict of "gunshot at the hands of unknown parties," and nothing further has been done to find Gilbert's murderers.

3. Another Negro veteran, J. C. Farmer, who worked on a farm near Bailey, North Carolina, was attacked by a policeman, who shot himself in the hand during the fight. An hour later, a mob of 25 men caught Farmer and shot him to death in the presence of his mother.

4. James Walker, who had quarreled with a white man, was sitting on his father's porch in Elko, South Carolina, when four white men came up and started firing. Walker was killed and several people nearby were narrowly missed. One of the four men was held and then released on \$2,000 bail.

Pickets Halt Fascist Smith In Chicago

By Robert L. Birchman
(Special to The Militant)

CHICAGO, Aug. 15—Gerald L. K. Smith, America's No. 1 fascist, was prevented from speaking here last night when pickets from the Socialist Workers Party, the Jewish War Veterans and the American Youth for Democracy protested the attempt of the America Firsters to hold a meeting.

Smith's crowd had rented a room at the Stevens Hotel under the name of "Regular Republicans." When the pickets gathered in front of the hotel and hotel officials found out that Smith was to speak at the meeting they cancelled the hall and called police to bar the fascists from the hall.

The America Firsters, led by the notorious Elizabeth Dilling, then proceeded to the Embassy Room at the Morrison Hotel. The room had been rented a few hours earlier, also in the name of the "Regular Republicans." The pickets immediately followed to the Morrison Hotel where they gathered in the lobby shouting their protest against the fascists.

A picket line was established in front of the hotel and the pickets carried banners reading: "Stop G. L. K. Smith-Hate Peddler," "Drive Smith Out of Chicago," "Smash Fascism Before It Smashes Organized Labor," "Smith Preaches Nationalism—So Did Hitler." The pickets shouted militant slogans and sang "Solidarity Forever."

The Morrison Hotel Management claimed that they did not know the identity of those who rented the room and after the pickets assembled in the lobby they ordered the meeting disbanded.

The close to one hundred pickets were mobilized on only a few hours' notice and the trade union movement made no effort to mobilize pickets. The Stalinists, as in the past, failed to mobilize their forces.

(See Picture On Anti-Fascist Picketing Page 2.)

IN THE NEWS

Seems to Be a Habit

Bewailing resistance to higher prices, Edward A. O'Neal, American Farm Bureau Federation lobbyist for the live-stock interests, last week complained before the Prices Decontrol Board that "I'm afraid that as a Nation we have become used to cheap food."

A Penny More For Profiteers!

Opposing price ceilings, M. F. Mulroy, of the Millers' National Federation, told the Prices Decontrol Board that "just a penny more on a loaf of bread" is "not important in the cost of living."

Capitalists Have One Law—Their Own

An article in the American Wool and Cotton Reporter, textile manufacturers' trade journal, urges manufacturers to get together to fix wages and working conditions "and then if there is any trouble let the employers go on strike. It may be illegal according to the Wagner Act—but what of it?"

They Sure Will Help

"All the better wages and better conditions of life will not bring goodness, kindness and love into the world." (Rev. Dr. Harold A. Cockburn of Dumfries, Scotland.)

The Truth Marches On

Among top best-sellers on the Japan Publishers Association's current list, reports Time magazine, August 5, are *The State and Revolution*, by Lenin, and *The Communist Manifesto*, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

"Four Freedoms" For Refugee Jews



British Imperialists Drive Jews Into Cyprus Concentration Camp

The Allied powers wrote another shameful postscript to the Atlantic Charter last week in Palestine. Bullets from British Tommy-guns brought "freedom from fear" to new victims whose only "crime" was to demonstrate in behalf of refugees from Allied rule in Europe seeking to enter Palestine. Among these victims on August 13 was a girl 18 years of age, and a boy 14.

Three days later a British drum-head court condemned 18 Jewish youth to death and sentenced four girls to life imprisonment. They had resisted Britain's dictatorial rule in Palestine.

On August 13, the British de-

spots transferred some 1,300 im-

migrants to floating prisons. Men, women and children, sobbing hysterically, were herded into wire cages deep in the holds of converted Liberty ships. British imperialist troops battered in the faces of those who made the slightest show of resistance.

Then the grim ships, with their bleeding human cargo, set sail for the island of Cyprus. There the helpless families were driven at bayonet point into concentration camps.

Jews who had survived Hitler's barbed wire camps shouted to correspondents of the capitalist press and pointed to the serial numbers tattooed on their arms as identification marks by the Nazis. "Tell what you see there!" they shouted.

Two children died the first day in the camp.

As the 1,300 milled in the Allied stockade, the British patroled surrounding roads in tanks and armored cars to hunt down

any who tried escaping.

Angry protest demonstrations swept Palestine. Violent outbreaks were predicted by all observers. Zionists who supported the Allies during the Second World War on the promise of a Jewish homeland are becoming increasingly bitter and disillusioned.

But the only answer of the British to these demonstrations was intensification of the blockade on ports where more Jewish immigrants are scheduled to arrive.

Britain insists on a stranglehold on the oil fields of the Middle East. Britain insists on an anchor to shipping lanes running through the Mediterranean. Britain insists on these imperialist objectives even though it means concentration camps for the Jewish survivors of Nazi terror and ruthless oppression for the Arab people of The Middle East.

OPEN AMERICA'S GATES TO JEWISH REFUGEES!

An Editorial

Truman told the press August 16 that he "might" ask "Congress" to admit a "designated number" of European displaced persons, "including Jews."

What does this weasel-worded statement mean? Is it an attempt to quiet the rising indignation of sections of the American people over the brutal Allied treatment of Jewish refugees in Palestine?

Is it a vague, lying campaign promise calculated to snare a few badly-needed votes for the Democratic machine? Will it land in the waste-basket after election day?

Did Truman deliberately wait until Congress adjourned before lading out this soothing syrup, knowing that Congress will not reconvene until next January?

What are the "designated number" of persecuted Jewish refugees to do in the intervening year or so before the anti-Semites in Congress get through discussing it and filibustering against it?

The Militant has long advocated the immediate opening of the gates of America to the refugees in Europe. The lives of the pitiful remnants of the Jewish people who survived the Nazi terror are in danger. That is why they want to get out of Europe.

Emergency measures must be taken to save them. Truman's declaration, however, shows that Washington is giving nothing but hypocritical lip service to the entry of these hounded refugees. Only tremendous pressure from the American people can hope to force a concession from the Truman Administration.

Put the heat on Washington! Save the survivors of Hitler's terror from the living hell of Allied concentration camps!

Say Higher Wages Needed, But Offer No Real Program

By Art Preis

The CIO leaders are stalling any real campaign for higher wages. Their program, issued by a national CIO conference in Washington on August 15, shows their opposition to any union fight on the wage front.

They paid lip-service to the demands of the union ranks for higher wages. Their statement

renewed appeals to the Truman administration to give "full and official recognition" to "the need for immediate wage increases."

They proposed to gain this "full and official recognition" solely through another conference of union and employer representatives sponsored by Truman. They first made this proposal early in July before the new OPA bill was passed.

NO DEMANDS

Nothing is said in the CIO program about any action by the workers themselves to win wage increases. No specific wage demands are raised. No time limit is set for when the government must give this "recognition" of the "need for immediate wage increases." The CIO leaders merely say that "the future of wage stabilization (Continued on Page 2)

Goodrich Local Opens Drive For Rising Pay Scale

(Special to The Militant)

AKRON, O., Aug. 17—Goodrich Local 5, CIO United Rubber workers, this week fired the opening gun in its campaign to have the demand for a rising scale of wages incorporated in the wage program of the international union at its forthcoming convention. Local 5 represents 15,000 workers.

The local made public a resolution, adopted at the membership meeting yesterday, calling for an escalator wage clause that would provide automatically rising wage scales as the cost of living rises.

This resolution was in response to an announcement by URWA President L. S. Buckmaster that the wage and price question will be discussed at the union's international convention next month.

Local 5's carefully-drawn program was drafted by George R. Bass, Local 5 president; Gideon Lowe, secretary; and Jules Geller, a member of the local union. Its main points are:

1. Wages shall rise automatically one per cent for every one per cent increase in the cost of living;

2. Cost of living shall be determined by regional cost-of-living committees set up by the union;

3. Wages shall be reviewed monthly on a regional basis;

4. Wages prevailing on June 30, 1946 (date of ending of old OPA) shall be considered minimum unless Congressional action (Continued on Page 2)

Profits Soar Along With Prices

"While prices soar," says the CIO wage-price statement issued on August 15, "figures show that corporate profits have not suffered."

"The Department of Commerce reports that overall corporate profits for 1946 will be equal to any previous year. Reports for the second quarter of 1946, according to the National City Bank tabulation covering about 300 corporations, show that profits are 'almost double that of the preceding quarter and almost 12 per cent higher than for the second quarter of 1945.'"

On August 13, Reconstruction Director Steelman reported 1946 "profits after taxes were at the highest levels on record" for any peacetime year.

Detroit Labor Rally Assails Arson Outrage Against SWP

(Special to The Militant)

DETROIT, Aug. 15—Representatives of all sections of Detroit labor tonight participated in a rally to protest the recent fascist-like arson-attack on the Detroit headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party and to aid the fight against attempted eviction of the SWP from its hall. The rally was sponsored by the Detroit SWP.

All speakers stressed the need for united labor action to combat the growing anti-labor and fascist terrorism here.

Arthur Burch, Detroit SWP organizer, opened the meeting by pointing out that the fire set in the SWP hall during a meeting of more than a hundred workers is just one of a series of terrorist attacks on labor and Negro groups all over the country.

Fred Jenkins, president of CIO United Auto Workers Chrysler Local 490, said the bitter experience of the German workers has taught the need for united labor struggle against the fascists. He complimented the SWP for rallying all sections of labor and said that "only by a real fight can we meet such attacks."

President Tom Clamplitt, UAW Briggs Local 212, said that "all the workers are exploited by capitalist employers and whether they happen to be to the left or right in the labor movement, they all suffer under fascist attacks unless they stick together."

Genora Dollinger, one of several Briggs Local militants who were seriously beaten by pro-company thugs, showed the relation between the slugging of Briggs workers and the SWP fire.

Gloster Current, National As-

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SWP Protests Atrocities Against African Strikers

The following telegram, protesting the South African government's attack on the strike of African miners, was sent last week to Premier Smuts by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party:

"The murderous attack of your government against striking workers in Rand gold mines will receive condemnation of labor movement in United States and throughout the world. The Socialist Workers Party demands immediate halt to anti-labor repressions, full recognition of right of Rand workers to bargain for members and abolition of serf-like contract labor."

Copies of the telegram were also sent to the South African Ministry in Washington, D. C. and the Rand Miners Union in South Africa.

The entire labor movement in this country should join in protest against the anti-labor activities of the South African government and express solidarity with the African miners fighting for decent living conditions.

UAW Executive Board Authorizes Chrysler Locals To File Notice For Reopening Of Wage Contracts

The Executive Board of the CIO United Automobile Workers on August 16 announced that it has authorized its Chrysler Division and other units with 30 and 60-day renegotiation clauses in their contracts to file immediate notice of intentions to reopen wage agreements. These do not include General Motors and Ford.

This action followed the recent demand of the Chrysler locals that the UAW Board authorize them to reopen contracts and to seek an adjustable cost-of-living bonus to meet rising prices. A similar demand was raised by Ford Local 600, largest local union in the world.

UAW President Walter Reuther revealed, however, that the Board's move was designed

more as pressure on the Price Decontrol Board and Truman Administration to "roll back" prices, than as any serious intention to launch a real campaign for higher wages.

UAW STATEMENT

"But we are compelled to take these preliminary steps," he added, because "we have got to get ourselves in a position to act if the Government fails us."

A statement of the UAW Board says the filing of the Chrysler notice is intended "to serve notice upon Government and industry that our further wage action shall be determined after a careful evaluation of the relation between prices and wages existing at the end of the sixty-day period from the date of

our wage-reopening notification."

The statement says the UAW will "demand adjustments in our wage structure necessary to compensate for increases in living costs"—if the government has "not taken vigorous steps to restore effective price control on food, clothing and other basic necessities."

It has been proved both during the war years and since V-J Day that the capitalist government has no intentions of establishing any kind of real price controls. In the last six months the cost-of-living has more than outstripped the wage increases won last spring. The new price bill is a price DECONTROL bill, so named and so designed.

It is merely sowing illusion to base any union program today on the hope that this government can or will halt inflation.

The auto workers are obviously serious about making the necessary preparations to press new wage demands. The UAW leaders, however, are apparently paying only lip-service to the memberships' desires. The UAW Board is still concentrating upon the futile campaign of appealing for a "roll back" of prices.

CIO Unions Rally To Aid NMU In Battle With Lake Carriers

(Special To The Militant)

DETROIT, Aug. 16—The most important inland waterway of the world, the Great Lakes, became the scene of a new maritime labor struggle beginning yesterday. The CIO National Maritime Union capped seven months of futile negotiations with powerful and arrogant ship operators of the Lakes with a strike call to all organized and unorganized Lake seamen.

NMU President Joseph Curran, co-chairman of the strike strategy committee, announced today that "73 contract ships and at least 25 unorganized vessels are tied fast to the docks."

Many vessels now sailing are expected to join the strike when they return from the "upper lakes." The strike's success depends in large measure on its effect upon the unorganized ships belonging to the notorious open-shop Lake Carriers Association. These unorganized vessels comprise the majority of ships on the lakes.

The major demand of the NMU, a 40-hour week to replace the present 56-hour work week, has a strong appeal to all seamen. Deep sea seamen of both east and west coasts now work a 44-hour week at sea and 40 hours in port as the result of threatened strike action several months ago.

The NMU is also demanding 10 to 18 cents an hour increase in wages and overtime payment



JOSEPH CURRAN

after eight hours per day and 40 hours per week, and hiring from the union hall.

RALLY SUPPORT

Major CIO unions in the Lakes area are rallying to the support of the NMU strike. Ford Local 600 has put a flying squadron of 900 at the disposal of the strike. The Wayne County CIO Council has promised active support to the strike. The Detroit Local of the Socialist Workers Party, at a mass meeting protesting the recent arson raid upon its headquarters, called for full support to the NMU strike from all sections of the labor movement.

The AFL Seafarers International Union, which has a share of the organized ships under contract, announced it would respect the NMU picket line. It refused, however, to join in with the NMU strike call. In a statement issued yesterday, Harry Lundberg, president of the SIU, announced that his union was in process of negotiating new contracts with SIU-contracted operators.

The struggle against the powerful Lake Carriers Association is the first serious threat facing this open-shop stronghold since it was first organized. In 1908 the LCA publicly adopted this anti-union policy: "That the owners of ships on the Great Lakes do now declare that the open principle be adopted and adhered to on our ships."

The ships of the Association are owned by the giant steel corporations, mining and railroad empires that dominate the economic life of the industrial midwest. It is nearly a decade since they bowed to the power of organized labor ashore. Labor afloat must now close one of the last of the major open shops in the midwest.

Goodrich Local Opens Drive For Rising Pay Scale

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tion or union contracts provide a higher minimum;

5. A cost-of-living bonus on an industry-wide basis to reimburse workers for the increase in the cost of living between June 30 and the signing of the escalator clause.

REOPEN CONTRACTS

The resolution calls for the reopening of the Big Four Rubber Agreement (Goodrich, Goodyear, Firestone and U.S. Rubber), and provides that the international union shall instruct all locals not covered by the Big Four Agreement to reopen the wage question in their contracts.

Local 5 President Bass, in announcing this program, said: "Runaway inflation already has eaten up the 18½ cents wage increase achieved in the Big Four Agreement." He added that the new OPA bill "is a fraud and will not protect the standard of living of the working people."

In a letter to all URWA members, President Buckmaster stated that the problem of inflation must be fought both on the wage and price levels. He announced that the international convention in September will conduct a conference on the question so that all views on wages and prices may be aired and the best program arrived at.

While the national CIO program on the wage question places all its emphasis on holding down prices, Buckmaster has wisely left the door open for a more realistic approach to the problem of the rapidly sinking real wages.

The Rubber Workers Convention, one of the first important international CIO conventions since the institution of price "decontrol," will provide an arena for a thorough-going analysis of the problem of wages and prices.

Goodrich Local 5's program will no doubt find many supporters among delegates and international officers at the convention. If the escalator clause program is adopted, the URWA, side by side with the CIO United Packinghouse Workers who are already negotiating for a cost-of-living bonus, could lead the way in a real fight to protect labor against a constantly lowering standard of living caused by rising prices.

Chicago Pickets Halt Smith



Fascist Gerald L. K. Smith was prevented from speaking in Chicago on August 14, by pickets from the Socialist Workers Party, the Jewish War Veterans and the American Youth for Democracy. For full details see story on Page 1.

Decontrol Board Can't Roll Back Prices, Porter Admits

Union leaders, including CIO President Philip Murray, and numerous consumers' representatives let off a lot of steam during the four-day hearings of the Price Decontrol Board last week. Their main demands were for restoration of price ceilings on "decontrolled" foods and a "roll back" of prices to June 30 levels.

Making these demands before the Price Decontrol Board of hand-picked bankers and businessmen was like beating the air. First, the Board members represent Big Business interests and are normally inclined toward aiding the cause of bigger profits. Also, the Price Decontrol Act strictly limits the powers of the Decontrol Board.

PORTER'S ADMISSION

This was made plain by Price Administrator Paul Porter in a radio address on August 17. He pointed out that the present law will not permit the pushing back of prices on meats, dairy products and other foods on which the government formerly paid subsidies. The amounts of these subsidies are required by law to be tacked on to the former retail ceiling prices.

In addition, the Price Decontrol Board is required to rule against restoration of any price regulations unless it "finds":

1. That existing prices on the five groups of food products under consideration—live stock (meat), grain, dairy products, soy beans and cotton seed oil—"have risen unreasonably" above ceiling maximums of June 30.
2. That such commodities are in "short supply" (now vigorously denied by the meat packers and other food profiteers).
3. That price regulations are "practicable and enforceable" (also denied by the food profiteers, who threaten to invoke shortages and a black market if ceilings are restored).
4. That "the public interest will be served by such regulations."

PRICES WON'T DROP

Unless the Decontrol Board agrees that all these conditions are met, it must order the continuation of price "decontrol" on the five groups of foods that are supposed to go back under price regulation on August 20.

Whatever the Board's decision on Tuesday, August 20, it is certain that it can have little effect on inflationary prices.

Representatives of the meat, dairy and other food interests intimidated to the hearings that if the Board should order restoration of some limited price controls, this would be followed by "shortages," wide-spread violations and black market operations. Mack L. Langford, spokesman for the chain grocery groups, asked the Board to "consider very seriously."

"How is our Government going to keep these, essential foods from again vanishing out of law-abiding stores? Is there any way to keep them from returning to illegal and irresponsible hands, if price control is allowed to return? Is there any

reason to believe that OPA can achieve now what it failed to do before June 30?"

The most significant revelation of Philip Murray at the hearing was that the former OPA, far from enforcing "price control," had itself initiated a "top priority, all-out campaign" to "decontrol" thousands of commodities. This campaign was put into "high gear" in March. This he charged, under an UNPUBLISHED ADMINISTRATIVE ORDER.

It now appears that the union leaders' demands to "Save OPA!" would not have meant saving the consumers from inflation, even under the old law.

At the same time, they leave the door open for future support of Truman's wage-price policy. "Labor's acceptance of any form of wage stabilization is possible only if there is an immediate roll back of food prices and an administration of the present price control act which will produce a maximum control of all prices."

READY TO TRADE

In this way the CIO leaders indicate that they are ready to trade away demands for higher wages for capitalist government promises of "price control"—or what can be palmed off on the workers as "price control."

What any such promise would be worth, even if given, was shown during the war when Roosevelt froze wages with a promise of freezing prices. But prices swiftly outsped wages as the war profiteers raked in the biggest profits in history.

The CIO statement itself admits that the Truman administration has consistently administered its own wage-price regulations entirely in the interests of the big profiteering corporations. The CIO charges that "the cold and unsympathetic treatment which labor received at the wage stabilization board contrasts sharply with the enthusiastic price rises which

OPA Approves Hundreds Of New Price Rises

OPA Administrator Paul Porter on the eve of the Price Decontrol Board hearings last week reassured the profiteers and price-gougers that OPA would maintain a "flexible" policy in raising or removing the few remaining price ceilings.

How well that promise is being kept and how "flexible" the OPA has become was shown by its latest approval of wide-spread price increases.

Most of the 40 per cent of food items still subject to price regulations have already been boosted by OPA in the past month. So the government's price agency began concentrating last week on granting higher prices—and profits—to manufacturers of household equipment, automobiles, etc.

The OPA approved price increases of three to 12 per cent on 20 groups of home essentials ranging from radios, stoves and washers to window shades, dishes, cooking utensils and beds. The list includes such electrical kitchen items long wanted by the public as toasters, irons, coffee makers.

Having made the home equipment manufacturers happier, the OPA could do no more than show the food profiteers that they are not being forgotten. Not only will consumers pay higher prices for coffee-makers, they are going to pay 30 to 40 per cent more for coffee. Coffee prices were raised 10 to 13 cents per pound.

NO CONSOLIDATION

To make it tougher for the working man to get a little consolation for these soaring prices, the OPA tacked another one to two cent price boost on beer—both draught and bottled.

That new car in every garage the advertisements promised for after the war is farther away than ever for the wage-earners.

Another big price-hike has been piled on previous price boosts for automobiles—both new and second-hand. OPA added increases of \$70 to \$300—an average of 7.3 per cent more—to the retail prices of all new passenger autos. It threatens to add 5 per cent more for handling charges.

This is the FOURTH general rise in auto prices since November. But the auto workers got only one wage increase—and that didn't even make up for previous rises in the cost of living.

CIO Heads Stall On Fight To Gain New Wage Raises

(Continued from Page 1)

will be decided in the next 30 days."

The CIO bitterly assails the government's "stabilization" program up to now. "A stabilization program which means curbs on wage increases and soaring price increases is not a stabilization program but a fraud," the CIO statement says.

The CIO leaders threaten that "we cannot accept a situation in which wages are frozen while the cost of living soars" and that "labor cannot continue to participate" in such a "stabilization program."

At the same time, they leave the door open for future support of Truman's wage-price policy. "Labor's acceptance of any form of wage stabilization is possible only if there is an immediate roll back of food prices and an administration of the present price control act which will produce a maximum control of all prices."

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The CIO statement itself admits that the Truman administration has consistently administered its own wage-price regulations entirely in the interests of the big profiteering corporations. The CIO charges that "the cold and unsympathetic treatment which labor received at the wage stabilization board contrasts sharply with the enthusiastic price rises which

critically raises the cry of 'production.'

"The CIO repudiates any suggestion that the answer to our economic ills lies in the speed-up or in wide-spread deterioration of terms and conditions of employment," the statement says.

The renewed CIO emphasis of wages—although not accompanied by any effective program of action—reflects the pressure of the CIO ranks in the past few weeks.

More and more CIO unions are demanding the reopening of wage contracts. The CIO leaders' recent complete concentration on a "roll back" of prices has already proved entirely ineffective.

Packinghouse workers, auto workers, rubber workers are raising insistent demands for a real wage program to meet the problems of a constantly mounting cost of living.

The program they are pushing contains in one form or another the principle of the sliding scale of wages that rise automatically with rising prices. Packinghouse and auto workers are asking for regularly adjusted cost-of-living bonuses. Akron rubber workers are demanding the sliding scale escalator wage clause.

These workers remember only too clearly the fiasco of the labor-management conference last fall. They intend to rely on their own organized strength in action to win a wage program that will really combat the ravages of capitalist inflation.

TRADE UNION NOTES

Packers' Insulting Answer To UPWA-CIO

The "Big Four" meat packers have answered the CIO United Packinghouse Workers' demands for higher wages and a cost-of-living bonus by insolent counter-demands designed to destroy union security.

The profiteers who imposed a meat famine on the people and are now charging sky-high prices propose to do away with union security clauses in the contract that expired August 11. Among these are maintenance of membership and the dues check-off.

In addition to \$1 an hour minimum wages, a guaranteed annual wage, and elimination of geographical wage differentials, the UPWA has raised the far-reaching demand for a semi-monthly cost-of-living bonus. This is to be adjusted upward regularly in direct proportion to the rises in living costs. It is a modified form of the sliding scale of wages, automatically rising with price rises, advocated by The Militant.

Armour Local Urges Sliding Wage Scale

A recent issue of the Bulletin of UPWA Armour Local 4, South St. Paul, gave a strong endorsement to the sliding scale of wages principle. It says:

"The only controls on prices and production that can benefit labor are those instigated by the labor movement. First of these, is a sliding scale of wages to meet all increases in prices. When prices go up, wages must go up automatically."

The Bulletin adds: "Second is an independent labor party to represent the labor movement in governmental, policy-making bodies. Until the labor movement is directly represented in the gov-

ernment, the needs of American workers cannot be adequately met. We have organized our own unions and elected our own union representatives to speak for our economic rights. We must also organize our own political party and elect our own political spokesmen who will be responsible only to the labor movement."

Both these proposals show Armour Local 4 has its eye on the ball!

The Richest Prize In All Dixie

On August 20 and 21, the CIO Atomic Workers Organizing Committee and the AFL Atomic Trades & Labor Council will compete in an NLRB collective bargaining election for what one labor paper called "the richest prize in all Dixie"—the atomic bomb plant at Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

Some 20,000 workers are employed in this government open-shop plant operated by such anti-labor corporations as Monsanto, Tennessee Eastman and Union Carbide. Conditions in the plant have been appalling.

The Army brass has interfered with union organizing. Until recently they would not permit union literature to be distributed without first getting Army approval. For a time, a ban was imposed on distribution of union leaflets at gates of the production area.

Organizers still have to get special "labor" passes to function in Oak Ridge; they cannot do house-to-house soliciting; they cannot hold a meeting except under conditions specified by the Army.

The CIO is appealing to the workers to vote for "one big efficient union of the industrial type."

Powerful CIO Unions Support Sliding Wage Scale Principle

The principle of the sliding scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living is fast taking hold in CIO unions representing hundreds of thousands of mass production workers.

The Chrysler locals and Ford Local 600, CIO United Automobile Workers Union, with a combined membership of 165,000 have demanded an adjustable cost-of-living bonus, a modified form of the sliding wage scale.

The UAW-CIO General Motors Sub-Council of Region 1-C in Flint, representing 65,000 GM workers, at its meeting this

month declared itself in favor of reopening wage contracts and called for a sliding scale of wages. This action follows on the heels of similar proposals by Bwags Local 212 and Budd Local 308 in Detroit.

The powerful Akron Goodrich Local last week opened a campaign to have the coming CIO United Rubber Workers Convention adopt an industry-wide demand for a sliding scale of wages.

The originator of the cost-of-living bonus form of the sliding scale is the CIO United Packinghouse Workers. It is one of the union's main demands in its current wage contract negotiations with the Big Four meat packers, Armour, Swift, Wilson and Cudahy.

Many local unions, AFL and CIO, are also on record in favor of the sliding scale of wages to meet rising prices.

ADVOCATED BY 'MILITANT'

This principle has been advocated since 1938 by The Militant and the Socialist Workers Party and is the main plank in the Trotskyist program to fight capitalist inflation.

Under the sliding scale plan, the union contract would call for an automatic increase in wage scales, based on a fixed minimum, for every increase in the cost of living. Such living-cost rises would be determined according to an index acceptable to the union.

The fact that unions representing large sections of industrial workers are adopting various forms of the sliding scale plan testifies to the growing realization that the sliding scale of wages is the only immediate, direct and effective means for safeguarding the workers standard of living today.

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One Year of Indonesia's Battle For Independence

The text of the speech by Joseph Hansen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the U.S. Senate from New York, at the rally celebrating the first anniversary of the Indonesian Republic, held under auspices of the Indonesian League of America at Labor Temple, New York, Aug. 18:

If we are able to celebrate the first anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia, it is certainly not because of anything done by the powers who proclaimed the "Four Freedoms" of the Atlantic Charter at the beginning of the Second World War. They have done everything they could to drown this new republic in blood.

During the war, the Dutch colonial despots specifically promised the Indonesians their freedom. But when the war ended, these same colonial rulers tore up these promises as so much war propaganda and set out to re-establish the hated, oppressive regime that had ground down the Indonesians for some 300 years.

The British capitalists backed the Dutch. British generals directed operations in Java and British forces began invading the island within a month after the Republic of Indonesia was born.

The war of these two powers against Indonesia has continued ever since. Within the past week alone, another 275 Indonesians were killed by these Allied victors who had promised to bring the world "Four Freedoms."

Most people might have expected these two powers to go back on all their promises — they are old, case-hardened experts in the use of the lie and cold steel in maintaining colonial empires. But what about the United States? After all, America became a republic through a colonial rebellion, and the democratic principles of 1776 are still taught in the public schools.

Wall Street's Government

The United States has changed since that heroic time. Today Washington is concerned about the Indonesian investments of powerful companies like General Motors, Goodyear Rubber, and Standard Oil. These companies would be weakened if control over their investments in Indonesia passed out of the hands of the Dutch overlords.

Even more important, if the Indonesian people should succeed in gaining independence, their example would inspire the entire colonial world. Wall Street's holdings in China, Africa, Arabia, and Latin America would become endangered.

The working class right here in the United States would become bolder and more aggressive in defending its rights and its standards of living.

The Negro people would feel immeasurably heartened and strengthened in their struggle against segregation and discrimination.

That is why Washington participated in the decision of the Dutch and the British rulers to put down the Indonesian Republic. When the British landed their troops last September, they raised the Stars and Stripes as well as the Union Jack and the Dutch Tri-color over the smoking ruins of the cities and villages they conquered.

Washington acted as the arsenal for the British and Dutch colonial despots. The tanks, rocket-firing planes, ammunition, and other frightful instruments of modern war were furnished by the Truman Administration. And that was not all. From 400 to 600 ships were deployed to carry these supplies to the invading imperialist armies.

Shot Down Indonesian Peoples

The Indonesians were ill-equipped. Many of them fought with nothing but primitive spears. The invader was ruthless. The imperialists bombed defenseless villages; took reprisals on civilians in the fashion of the Nazis; shot down helpless men, women and children.

The head of the Indonesian government appealed to Truman for help.

In a few days the Indonesian people got an answer from Secretary of State Byrnes. This high and authoritative spokesman told the British and Dutch generals to remove the insignia of the USA from the equipment they were using in slaughtering the Indonesians. That made the role of the Truman Administration a little more hypocritical, but not less criminal.

This did not complete Truman's reply to the Indonesian appeal for help. Very shortly the State Department issued an official statement supporting Dutch rule in Indonesia. And then the Export-Import Bank, apparently wishing to speed up the slaughter, granted the Dutch capitalists a credit of \$50,000,000.

On top of this, the Truman Administration sent thousands of Dutch marines, trained and equipped by the U.S. Armed Forces, to fight against the Indonesians.

Even these cruel blows against the heroic battlers for Indonesia's freedom were not all. The Truman Administration put on a man-hunt against the Indonesians residing in this country. These Indonesians were not many — only a pitiful, few hundreds. But it was the principle of the thing. Some of these defenders of the new republic were seamen who refused to sail Dutch ships loaded with arms for use against Indonesia! These men acted as men should act. They defied the brutal Dutch despot. They tried to protect their loved ones and their fellow countrymen from death at the hands of the foreign invader.

The Truman Administration went even further. It tracked down Indonesians who had refused as long as 16 years in this country; rounded them up; put them behind bars; and ordered them deported to Indonesia into the tender mercies of the Dutch butchers. Today these partisans of the new republic are held in prison at San Francisco. They may be sent to their deaths any day.

This would seem a sufficient answer to the

appeal of Indonesia for help from the America that boasts it is the land of freedom. But it was not enough for the Truman Administration.

Truman's Infamous Record

On November 27 the Wall Street political agent who sits in the White House decorated the four British generals on the Combined Chief of Staffs in charge of over-all operations in the Far East, including putting down the Indonesian people. He pinned the Legion of Merit on the chests of Coyer, Macready and Somerville! He gave the Distinguished Service Medal to Sir Henry Martland Wilson! Thus Truman put the finishing touch on his answer to a desperate plea for help!

The picture would look dark indeed for the Republic of Indonesia if its fate depended on the powers who proclaimed the lofty principles of the Atlantic Charter.

But it is not so easy to forge new chains on a nation of 72,000,000 people who have struck off their old shackles and lighted the torch of liberty. The imperialists of Holland, Great Britain and the United States will discover to their cost that the battle is barely begun.

Besides, the Indonesian people have friends who have taken up their cause.

In the Netherlands itself, the most advanced workers have raised the slogan: "Free Indonesia from Holland Now!" These workers, the followers of Leon Trotsky organized in the Revolutionary Communist Party, are doing their utmost to arouse the entire working class of the Netherlands to take up the cause of Indonesia and fight against the Dutch capitalists.

Working-Class Demonstrations

In other lands, too, the workers have rallied to the side of the Indonesian people. The most powerful blow yet struck for the Republic of Indonesia was that delivered by the dockworkers of Australia. On September 28, some 30,000 went on strike. They refused to load any supplies for the Dutch rulers. They demanded, "Hands Off Java!"

The great ports of Sydney, Brisbane and Melbourne were closed to the Dutch oppressor.

This magnificent working class demonstration in defense of the Indonesian people inspired workers elsewhere. Similar militant demonstrations occurred in South Africa, in Singapore and Ceylon. The workers in Tokio, despite the Allied occupation authorities, likewise managed to show that their sympathies were with the Indonesian people.

To this day, the dockworkers of Australia have maintained their refusal to load supplies on the Dutch war ships. When they said, "Hands Off Java!" they meant it.

They gave a mighty demonstration of the power of labor in defending a colonial rebellion. Australia was the military base of operations for the Dutch. They had accumulated huge stores in Australia. They intended to ferry these supplies to the beach heads taken by the British with the connivance of the Truman administration.

Example of Australian Workers

But they have been forced to abandon these plans. The latest dispatches say that the Dutch have been compelled to give up their Australian military base.

Unable to get their supplies loaded on ships, they now have decided to try to salvage what they can by putting them up for sale.

By their militant action, the Australian dockworkers have compelled the Dutch capitalists to seek other territory as a base for their bloody operations.

Where do the Dutch intend to secure this new base? This has not yet been revealed. According to the press, they hope to get supplies from the United States, to replace the supplies the Australian dockworkers forced them to sell. The Dutch despots are convinced the Truman administration will force the American workers to load and deliver the bombs, the high-velocity shells, the rockets, the rifles and other supplies needed to crush the Republic of Indonesia.

What shame for America that these tyrants count on help from the country which boasts it is the land of freedom! What bitter feelings there must be in the hearts of the Indonesian seamen who were rounded up by the Truman Administration and herded on to Ellis Island—in the very shadow of the Statue of Liberty!

"Hands Off Java"

The Australian dockworkers did their duty. Now it is the turn of the American workers.

Let the American labor movement take up the cause of the 72,000,000 people fighting for the freedom of their land. It is a just cause. Let the longshoremen follow the splendid example of the Australian dockworkers. "Hands Off Java!"

Let the mighty American labor movement begin action in behalf of the sorely beleaguered Indonesians. Demand that the Indonesian residents be freed from prison and allowed to remain in America! Save them from the Dutch executioners!

Demand that the State Department recognize the Republic of Indonesia which has battled heroically for an entire year against terrible odds! On the streets and buildings of Batavia in the first days of the Indonesian Republic a slogan appeared that must remind every worker of the struggle of America for freedom from colonial despotism: "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is the right of all nations!"

And alongside that slogan appeared another that reminds us of the militant spirit in which America gained its independence: "Rather to live in Hell than be colonized again!"

Let those slogans find an echoing ring in the hearts of the American workers.

"Hands Off the Indonesian Republic!"

Puerto Ricans Treated Like Slaves In Pennsylvania Camp

Bringing "Four Freedoms" To Indonesia



Blood, Tears And Sweat In African Gold Mines

By Larissa Reed

In the South African gold mines fabulous fortunes are amassed by British absentee bondholders. The rapacious British ruling class squeezes enormous wealth out of the enslavement and exploitation of the native mine workers, who produce more than half the world's gold. But for the mine toilers themselves, there is nothing but filth, squalor, disease and barbarous living conditions, comparable only to life in a concentration camp.

In a colony where the cost of living is higher even than it is in England, wages for native mine workers are about 50 cents a day. Out of this they must pay land rates, poll taxes and transportation.

Inside the mines, the natives labor 14 hours a day thousands of feet below the surface, in unhealthy and unsanitary conditions. Always undernourished, the mine workers become a ready prey to disease.

Native mine workers are indentured laborers. They are forced to sign contracts to work

prisons. South African "Pass Laws" govern and restrict the daily lives and freedom of all natives. These Pass Laws are doubly enforced in the mines. Daily, like criminals, they are marched to and from the shaft head. At the end of their contracts, they are sent home, virtually human wrecks. They return with only enough money to pay their land and poll taxes.

Under these conditions the average native miner manages to live only about five years in the mines. If he lives that long, he usually is stricken with silicosis and becomes tubercular. The remainder of his life is a lingering death.

HIGH MORTALITY

Because of this high mortality rate, contracts for native mine labor are held down to a maximum of two years. The mining companies replenish their supplies of this speedily outworn labor through recruiting agents. These agents go to the towns and farms, holding out the prospect of "high wages." For wages on the farms and in industry are even lower than in the mines.

In Johannesburg, the "City of Gold," and other townships, where some of the miners are "recruited," conditions are equally appalling. In these Black Ghettos, living quarters are mostly shacks of corrugated iron and bits of packing cases. The gaps are stuffed with old sacks and other rubbish. Sanitary facilities are inadequate or do not exist at all. In some hovels whole families live in one room. Water is drawn from a communal pump and diphtheria rages. In some areas, high barbed wire fences around the ghettos, prevent the inhabitants from leaving at night.

PELLAGRA RAMPANT

The cost of food is high. The underpaid native subsists largely on his mealie-meal, which is his staple diet almost unrelieved by other foods. Such a diet produces pellagra, a disease which is widely prevalent and which eventually produces insanity and death. Malnutrition and filth take a tremendous toll of human life. An average of five out of every ten children die within a month of being born.

Conditions in rural areas, where other miners are "recruited," are even worse. These natives live in mud huts and are clothed in sacks and rags. Millions of them starve. Under the pressure of hunger, they are compelled to "volunteer" by the thousands to sign contracts for work in the mines.

It was against these conditions that the 50,000 miners struck for union recognition and a \$2 daily wage.

Just Out!

Veterans & Labor

By Charles Carsten

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By Paul Kelly

(Special To The Militant)

CHALFONT, Pa., Aug. 19—Hundreds of Puerto Rican laborers, lured into this country by crooked labor contractors, are existing in conditions of indescribable misery in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Yesterday I saw with my own eyes the frightful conditions of some of these workers brought into this country as a source of cheap labor. I visited the camp of nearly a hundred of these workers here at Chalfont.

These workers were brought to this country under vague promises of getting wages of \$50 and \$60 a week. They were fooled into signing "contracts" which they couldn't even read, by the Harry S. Friedman International Trading Commission Company at San Juan.

PAY OWN PASSAGE

After paying \$85 of their own money for a \$50 passage from Puerto Rico, they find themselves at the mercy of the labor contractors, who hire them out to local farmers for wages of as little as \$3 a week after "deductions."

The workers are housed at the George Washington Boys Camp, owned by the Patriotic Order of Sons of America at Chalfont. It is rented to the labor contractor who farms out the workers on an hourly basis. Nominally the worker is supposed to get 50 cents an hour. He has no assurance of even a day's work. \$1.40 a day is deducted by the contractor for room and board and \$3.50 per week for a return ticket to Puerto Rico.

One worker I spoke to told me he earned \$30 a week in his own country driving a truck. For 57 hours work in the tomato fields here he received \$9.50 in cash and \$5.70 sent to his family. Others end the week with only \$3 or \$4 for themselves—and families.

Seven to nine workers are forced to live in one room, ten by ten feet. Only cold water is available. All say the food is inadequate for men expected to do hard labor in the fields. Two

U. S. Army veterans, Alcides Perez and Jose Vargas Roe, who protested their treatment to government agencies, have faced threats of being thrown out of the camp.

Not only are the workers deceived into serving as slave labor, but local farmers too are being tricked. One farmer, Frank Welch of Hilltown, states that he had to pay \$5 fare from New York for each of the Puerto Ricans, plus \$8 for their board at the camp. Thus Friedman appears to be collecting from two sources.

Efforts to help the Puerto Ricans have just begun. Rev. J. Westburgh of Newville has been extremely active in their defense, and much of the information in this report was obtained through him, although he explained that he does not agree with the program of The Militant. He discovered the plight of the Puerto Rican workers when he went among them distributing Spanish translations of the Bible.

CIO AID

Rev. Westburgh contacted the American Legion, which sent a representative to inspect the camp—but what the Legion decided to do is not yet known. The only other aid the Puerto Ricans have received so far has been from Local 80 of the CIO Farm, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers.

The investigations of the Legion, the Board of Health and others have caused Friedman and his foremen some worry, and a slight improvement in conditions has been noted by the men. They got more to eat, and Friedman himself has been out to the camp to see what was going on. Whether this is a temporary improvement will depend on what further publicity the camp receives and on what actions the farm workers themselves undertake.

Mexican GPU Agent Slanders Trotsky's Biography Of Stalin

(Special To The Militant)

MEXICO, D. F., Aug. 14—An article viciously attacking Trotsky and his biography of Stalin, which is being published serially in one of the daily newspapers of this city, appeared in the July 18 issue of *Todo*, a Mexican weekly magazine. Signed by Hernan-

Laborde, one time secretary of the Mexican Communist Party, the venomous "review" repeats almost word for word the malicious slanders contained in a companion piece written by V. J. Jerome for the June 25 *New Masses*. (A refutation of this later article was carried in the July 6 *Militant*.) Such fidelity in the reproduction of lies leaves no room for doubt: the real author of both articles is Stalin's loathsome GPU.

One of the Kremlin-hired killers, Charles Jacon, succeeded in murdering Trotsky in Coyoacan, Mexico, on August 21, 1940, six

years ago, but the campaign to assassinate the great Marxist's character continues unabated. Why? Because Trotsky was not conducting a personal struggle for power, his physical destruction did not solve Stalin's problem: assassination of the great revolutionist did not eliminate Trotskyist opposition to the Kremlin bureaucracy.

FEARED TROTSKY'S IDEAS

Stalin fears Trotsky's ideas, disciples and organization—the Fourth International. Stalin still sees in them one of the greatest threats to the hated Soviet ruling caste. Hence, Stalin's literary GPU agents are under standing orders to defame Trotsky's role in the October revolution, and besmirch his character in the vain hope that they can erase the memory of his heroic record and eradicate the knowledge of his powerful ideas from the minds of workers throughout the world. They must falsify his great contributions to Marxism and deny that he was an untiring defender of the Soviet Union. They attempt to confuse workers, who are naturally interested in defending the conquests of the October Revolution, by identifying a political attack against Stalin and the bureaucracy which he dominates, with an attack on the Soviet Union.

TIME-WORN FORMULA

This is a time-worn GPU formula and Laborde, like his fellow-agents in the United States, faithfully repeats it. He makes no attempt to discuss or refute the factual material presented by Trotsky in his book. Like Jerome in the *New Masses*, he deals only with slanders based on the Kremlin's utterly falsified history of the Russian Party.

Both the literary campaign against Trotskyism and the present mass purge in the Soviet Union reveal, not stability of the Kremlin bureaucracy, but the regime's growing fear of all political opposition, whether it be in Russia or abroad.

'Peace' At Any Price!

President Truman on August 13 signed a bill upping American diplomats' pay from former levels of \$10,000—\$17,500 yearly to new scales of \$15,000—\$25,000. This, Truman said, was a step to make U. S. efforts "much more effective" to "win the peace."

LEON TROTSKY'S

Classic Analysis Of

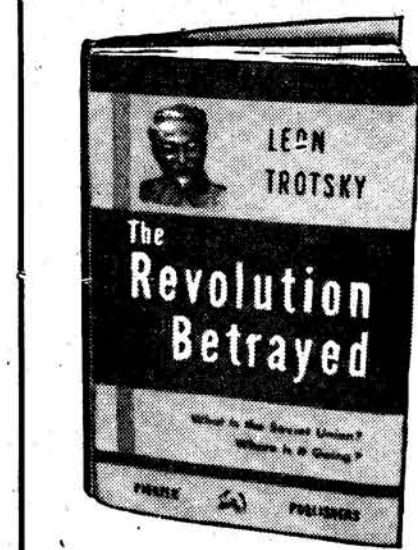
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Leon Trotsky

The Socialist who aids directly or indirectly in perpetuating the privileged position of one nation at the expense of another, who accommodates himself to colonial slavery, who draws a line of distinction between races and colors in the matter of human rights... such a Socialist deserves to be branded with infamy.

Veterans And Politics

It wasn't until a dozen years after World War I that the veterans were called "forgotten men." The second imperialist world war ended only a year ago. And already those who were sent out to fight and die are being called "forgotten men."

"Forgotten men"—that is the conclusion of a report on what has happened to the returned veterans, issued last week by the New York City Veterans Service Centers Committee. It is a harrowing story—told not only in cold statistics, but in hundreds of actual case histories.

Scores of thousands of veterans forced into miserable dwellings, robbed by greedy landlords and rental agents. Hundreds of thousands jobless and other hundreds of thousands working for almost starvation wages. Veterans on government compensation scarcely able to feed themselves and their families.

That is why the veterans as veterans are beginning to turn to political action. That is why the veterans' little civil war against a corrupt political machine in Athens, Tennessee, has aroused veterans' groups all over the country to seek political expression.

Are the veterans as such justified in using their own political means to safeguard their interests? Absolutely. But can the veterans, independently of the rest of the working people, effectively defend their interests? Only to a very limited extent.

Most of the veteran political action groups now springing up want to kick out corrupt local political machines. That is a worthwhile and progressive aim. But it does not and cannot solve the veterans' basic economic and social problems.

These local veteran groups act as appendages of those other local political machines, Democrats or Republicans, who represent the "outs." They have no program—other than "honest government"—fundamentally different from the "ins."

The veterans' real problems—housing, jobs, decent wages—are merely one important and special aspect of the problems of the entire American working class. Political action to solve the veterans' problems must be directed at solving the problems of all the workers.

The progressive aspirations of the veterans need a broader and more fundamental political expression. They must be fused with the aspirations of the whole working class. The interests of the veterans—and all the other workers—will be best served through the building of a labor party.

Lynchings Hush-Hush

While Federal and state officials put on a show of "investigating" the wave of lynchings down South, four more Negroes were murdered last week by white lynchers.

As *The Militant* revealed last week, the government "investigators" don't lack clues. But there have been no arrests. Known killers are walking around free.

Meanwhile, the impression is being given that "something" is being done. The FBI is "on the job," we are told. No need for any more agitation.

An official campaign of "hush-hush" is being pushed by the FBI and Georgia officials in the mass lynching of two Negro couples near Monroe, Georgia. For instance, Major William Spence of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation said, "We want public interest to die down. We can get more information if folks are not stirred up."

If the American people forget about these lynchings, these cases can be quietly buried. That's the real reason why Major Spence—and the FBI—don't want folks "stirred up."

This is a warning to the labor movement and the Negro people that they'd better stir things up a lot more. Or there will be more corpses of lynched Negroes—and union organizers.

The labor movement must loudly protest this attempt at "hush-hush" and demand that Truman take vigorous measures to arrest and prosecute the lynchers. It must demand the

indictment and prosecution of lynch-inciters like Bilbo, Talmadge, Rankin and Eastland. It must call for the immediate reconvening of Congress to pass effective anti-lynching legislation.

These demands must be backed up by independent action. A broad committee of union, Negro and veterans' groups is needed. It should offer large rewards for information leading to arrest and conviction of the lynchers. It should conduct its own investigations on the scenes of the crimes. Wherever Negroes or other minorities are threatened with terrorist attacks, Defense Guards must be organized to protect their lives and homes.

The latest lynchings, the "hush-hush" attempts of the government officials, makes this program more imperative than ever. Halt the lynchings!

The War Scandals

U. S. Comptroller General Warren recently testified that during the war "untold billions" were looted from the U. S. Treasury by the biggest corporations. He told how their monumental thievery was aided by the connivance of government and military officials.

The Senate War Investigating Committee has already uncovered some stench, although it is not exposing the really big crooks like General Motors. But it is clear that a real investigation would incriminate government and military officials from top to bottom.

They were all involved in the war contracts procurement racket. They all helped to grease the wheels of the gigantic war profits swindle. Those few not involved directly knew what was going on and either approved or kept silent.

Now that the war is over and the thievery accomplished—and now that some of the scandal is leaking out—the War Department tops last week issued an order forbidding Army procurement officials to maintain close personal association with war contractors. The explanation for the order is that even if there is nothing "dishonest" about such association—it looks bad!

What's behind the "investigating" going on in Washington? What's behind this new Army order? Didn't we have a similar farce after World War I—although nobody ever went to jail? But the capitalist politicians then promised, at least it would "never happen again."

We get a hint of the real motive for the "investigating" in one capitalist newspaper, the August 9 Newark (N. J.) *Evening News*. An editorial, "Investigating Procurement," says the object of such investigation is "not to develop scandal" but "to secure information upon which more correct letting of war contracts can be based."

"If that sounds like preparing for another war, it is no less than wise government procedure. . . In view of the uncertain stabilization of peace, we ought to know what our errors were in order not to repeat them," says the *Evening News*.

American capitalism is preparing for a "bigger and better" world war. That war is to be run more "efficiently" than World War II. Crude methods of thievery must go. The graft and corruption of the last war was a "mistake." World War III will be "different." It's going to be an "efficient" and "honest" war.

Ominous Trend

Wall Street's tendency to rely more and more heavily on the military caste in running the country has the most alarming implications for the American workers.

On May 6 Truman placed in the Congressional hopper a bill for "Inter-American Military Cooperation" (H.R. 6326). This bill would have authorized standardization of all armed forces in Latin America according to a master blueprint in the hands of Wall Street's generals.

This bill is part of a grandiose scheme to convert all Latin America into a vast military camp to bolster Wall Street's drive to smash the Soviet Union and gain complete world mastery. It likewise intended to prop up reactionary regimes to safeguard the Latin American investments of the big corporations. Assured profits from Latin America enable Big Business to better resist the wage demands of workers at home.

But Congress adjourned without acting on the measure. People unacquainted with Wall Street's political cunning might imagine that execution of the plan had been at least postponed.

However, Wall Street's military clique is going right ahead with brazen lack of concern about Congress. Admiral Halsey went to Chile to advance the plan and General Eisenhower went south to work out the details of Brazil's and Mexico's participation.

Frank L. Kluckhohn, correspondent of the N. Y. *Times*, outlines the strategy in an August 8 dispatch from Buenos Aires. "United States diplomatic and military representatives are making an all-out drive," he says, to carry out the Truman plan. "This may have the effect of presenting the United States Congress . . . with a fait accompli when next it meets." Kluckhohn explains that "it would be difficult indeed, it is held, for Congress not to approve President Truman's plan."

Kluckhohn emphasizes that "it is impossible in the present state of world affairs to be certain that war with Russia will not occur soon."

It is the preparation for this war that accounts for Wall Street shifting more and more real power in Washington to the military clique. Congress by the same process is being reduced to nothing but a rubber stamp body that OK's the plans of the militarists.

The unauthorized activity of Wall Street's brass hats in Latin America is a straw in the wind. It points in the direction of military dictatorship.



"My husband says in these critical times we must learn to be on our toes!"

Workers BOOKSHELF

NEWS FROM NOWHERE, by William Morris. Kerr Publishers, 258 pp.

News From Nowhere, written about 1890, is subtitled "chapters from a Utopian romance." It is simple in plot, based, like many other socialist novels of the nineteenth century, upon a dream-trip into man's future communist society.

There is warmth and charm in Morris' picture of men, women and children who live happily and healthily in a world free of oppression and war. Everyone has all he needs. Each person works when he pleases, at whatever task he chooses. The state has withered away; there are no laws, no courts, no prisons. Mutual love and respect are the sole government.

Even the memory of capitalism has all but died out in this new society. Only the old men of ninety (who are as vigorous as men of 40) can recall the suffering endured by their grandparents.

Most fascinating section of the book for readers today, is the chapter on "how the change came." Morris was fully aware that the capitalists would not yield voluntarily to the will of the people when the majority demanded socialism. He describes the fascist bands organized by the wealthy monopolists. He tells of the ensuing civil war, in which the capitalists were willing to destroy the world rather than see it made free by the workers. He describes how the capitalists were thwarted. The army, which flamed with the same revolutionary ardor as the masses, joined the workers and ensured their victory.

Morris then indicates, though

dimly, the early troubles of the socialist state and the first growth of a bureaucracy. This bureaucracy is finally eliminated as the workers restore the shattered economy, and a workers' democracy develops. From this flow genuine brotherhood and freedom.

Readers in this atomic age may smile at Morris' description of a new handicraft age as the ultimate form of communist life. But they will appreciate the penetrating prediction of coming fascism, which developed so many years after this socialist classic was written.

Reviewed by
Ruth Benson

MRS. PALMER'S HONEY by Fannie Cook, Doubleday & Company, New York, 1946, 280 pp., \$2.50.

Winner of the first George Washington Carver Award, Mrs. Cook's novel of a colored girl's struggle in a white world has a message to give. But it fails in the telling.

Honey Hoop, one of a large family of Hoops from Big Mama down to Lamb, mothers not only her own family but also the Palmers, whom she serves as a domestic until war and a defense job come along. The story of Honey's first contact with the CIO and her slowly growing realization of the power of the labor movement as an instrument in the freeing of her own race, could have served as a novel of progressive social content.

The book starts out to do this, pointing out that the solution for Negroes and all minorities is uniting with labor against a common enemy. Where Mrs. Cook fails, however, is in preaching

support of the bosses' war as Act I, end of Hitler, to be accomplished before Act II, liberation, can be achieved. Along with this patriotism, of course, goes support of the bosses' Democratic Party (the party of Rankin and Bilbo) as against the bosses' Republican Party.

Telling three-fourths of her story to this tune, the author sings out praises of Wallace, Roosevelt and the war-supporting Democratic Party line-up of CIO's Political Action Committee. Her characters mouth glorious promises "if you vote PAC," but nowhere does the book go on to say that the pattern of segregation and discrimination remains unchanged under the Democratic Party.

Mrs. Cook has yet to learn to be a good propagandist. Too much of her story preaches a false doctrine, and it is partly because of this that she is unconvincing. But it is also the very fact that she is still a "preacher," rather than one who conveys a message by the force of facts presented.

A review of this novel in the Pittsburgh Courier praised it as more realistic than Ann Petry's *The Street*, recently reviewed in *The Militant*. This reviewer disagrees, as any thinking and honest Negro must disagree. Support of the Democratic Party and the war has brought the Negro people not one thing in the way of freedom, save the right to continue being lynched, mobbed, burned; witness the Georgia lynchings, the terror in Columbia, Tennessee, the shootings in Freetown, the Fontana and Chicago fires!

Reviewed by
Winifred Nelson

Political Action—But What Kind?

AFL and CIO leaders agree completely on at least one thing: The 79th Congress was the "worst" in decades, if not in all U. S. history.

The conservative AFL Executive Council on August 12 issued a statement that called the record of Congress "dismal" and a "danger signal to the American people." It urged a "sweeping Congressional housecleaning."

This, you will recall, is entirely opposite to the union leaders' estimate of the 79th Congress in November 1944—less than two years ago. They then hailed the election of this same Congress as a "great progressive victory."

SHOW REAL COLORS

Most of the "progressive" capitalist politicians whom the CIO Political Action Committee helped elect in 1944—yes, boasted about electing—showed their real stripes once safely in office. Their pattern was anti-labor and reactionary.

But last week the CIO Political Action Committee began to crow over a "really progressive" vic-

tory. They took credit for helping to defeat in primary elections 16 incumbent reactionary Representatives and Senators—including some "progressives" they supported in the last elections.

What kind of new "progressives" they helped nominate is shown by their "great victory" in Missouri. There they opposed Representative Roger C. Slaughter. The CIO-PAC backed the Truman-endorsed candidate, Enos A. Axtell. The PAC's "great victory" was in winning the Democratic Party's nomination for a 100 per cent tool of the corrupt Pendergast machine!

Now the CIO-PAC leaders announce they are going to spend a million of the workers' hard-earned dollars to put some more "progressive" capitalist politicians in Congress next November. They propose to repeat their performance of 1944. If they have their way, we can look for another "great progressive victory" three months from now that will prove a victory for re-

action within six months.

The AFL leaders also propose to go in for a little more electioneering. They make it clear they don't propose anything even faintly resembling independent labor political action. "Despite garbled newspaper reports," the August 6 AFL Weekly News Service emphasizes, "the AFL does not contemplate setting up a 'political action' committee."

They're going to put all candidates under a special "microscope" and determine those who have a half-line more "progressive" records. They will send this information out and urge the AFL members to "elect the friends of labor and defeat its enemies."

It is this very policy that has found its latest results in the last Congress—admittedly the "worst."

THE ALTERNATIVE

There is an alternative—the only one the labor movement can grasp if it is not to go from defeat to defeat. That alternative is: Build A Labor Party. Labor will be able to make a "sweeping Congressional housecleaning" only when it breaks all ties with the capitalist parties, organizes its own political party and runs its own candidates. The election of genuine labor Congressmen by a labor party will be the first political action labor will be able to honestly call a progressive victory.

Stalinist Policy In New York Primaries

NEW YORK, Aug. 19—When this issue of *The Militant* comes off the press, the tally in the capitalist parties' primaries in New York State will already have been counted. The results will be of little consequence for the workers of this state. A faker will be defeated and an opportunist elected. In all cases, the winning candidates will be agents of Wall Street's political machines, at the best they will be captives.

For the Communist (Stalinist) Party the outcome of the primaries is of decisive importance. Day-in day-out, they have been hammering in their press for the defeat of this capitalist candidate and the election of that one. Their members and supporters are being urged to leave the country resorts for the voting.

Despite all the diatribes against Browder as a "friend and tool of monopoly capitalism," the present policy was either written by him or by his excommunicated ghost. This policy gives the real measure of the sham campaign now being conducted by the CP to place their ticket on the state ballot.

In Manhattan they are supporting three candidates for nomination for Congress on the GOP ticket, the party of Wall Street, Hoover and Dewey. And they are supporting three candidates for nomination on the Democratic ticket, the party of Wall Street, Bilbo and Talmadge. In Brooklyn and Queens they are supporting candidates for the Democratic nomination and in Buffalo candidates for the Republican nomination.

It would be sufficient to indicate the Wall Street political machines from which their candidates seek support, to condemn the Stalinist policy out of hand as an anti-working class policy. But the Stalinists themselves give us an insight into the personality and record of some of these men. Take two examples:

Joseph Clarke Baldwin is competing for the Republican nomination in the 17th Congressional District, popularly known as the "rile stocking" district. Baldwin—according to Marcantonio, a well-known Stalinist mouthpiece—"is by no means a laborite or a liberal, but is definitely an honest and patriotic conservative . . . a sincere defender of free enterprise." In other words, a true-blue son of Wall Street.

Donald O'Toole is supported by the Stalinists for the Democratic nomination in Brooklyn's 13th Congressional District. Five weeks ago when the Stalinists were backing Douglas McMahon of the Transport Workers Union for the same nomination, they screamed that O'Toole is viciously anti-labor. On August 7 the *Daily Worker* stated that: "Many who voted for O'Toole in 1944 undoubtedly will protest his anti-labor stand on the Case Bill . . ." Then suddenly they dropped McMahon and supported O'Toole because of his "progressive" (!) views on international and domestic issues.

Loud talk for an "independent" CP slate. Rivalry for the backing of Wall Street's parties. Cheap, back-room deals for the support of the corrupt Tammany and GOP machines. That's the Stalinist policy in the New York primaries—and in the 1946 elections.

Wall St. "Bargains"—Slavery At Cut Rates

By Dan Shelton

In an article entitled, "Bargains in War Surpluses Bring U.S. Privileges Abroad," *World Report*, one of the house organs of Big Business, provides an instructive glimpse into Wall Street's drive toward world domination.

Goods and equipment worth more than 11 billion dollars, stored in U. S. depots all over the world, are now being sold "at bargain rates" to 80 countries. Over three billion dollars worth of Army tractors and equipment, transportation stock, hospitals and food rations, have already been sold "at a 72% loss." In return for these "bargains," Wall Street has gained the following "privileges":

1. U. S. commercial planes receive the right to land on important round-the-world airports built during the war. A globe-encircling air transportation net is thus provided for American exporters. Equally important, American military planes also have permission to land on these bases.

2. Navigational aid stations, providing vital weather information for long-range planes, are to be maintained in many countries. Thus U. S. commercial and military planes crossing the Atlantic will continue to receive these important reports in peacetime as in war.

3. The U. S. gets permission to use China's dry-dock facilities for her fleet repairs. Instead of towing damaged ships across the Pacific. This agreement with China is—for the time being—"limited" to a period of 30 years!

4. Trade with other nations will be stimulated by the sales of vast surplus quantities of U. S. equipment. In addition, new equipment will be needed for any plants which may be built around surplus supplies, as well as replacements for worn-out material.

5. Guns and fighting equipment are sold to friendly nations at scrap prices. Needed replacements and parts can be supplied only by American munitions factories. As soon as Congress passes the military cooperation bill, Latin American nations will receive large shipments of these weapons to standardize their armies on the American plan, thus further intensifying their dependence on Wall Street.

In brief what *World Report* cynically calls "bargains" turn out to be imperialist chains which all the more securely tie these already dependent countries to Wall Street.

Or, as *World Report* puts it, "as compensation for the loss in dollar values, the U. S. is gaining new property and privileges abroad." And further "gives America a foothold in strategic areas of the world." The real price of these "bargains" is thus slavery. Taking advantage of the precarious economic situation of the "buyer" countries and their dire needs, the U. S. imperialists turn them into even more servile dependents by wresting political and economic concessions through these "tie-in" sales.

Build A Labor Party Now!

by George Clarke

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Blistering Attack On Lynch Terror Delivered By Milton Richardson

By Robert L. Birchman
(Special to The Militant)

CHICAGO, Aug. 17—In a blistering attack against lynch terror, Milton Richardson, S.W.P. candidate for Lieut.-Governor of New York, last night outlined the revolutionary socialist program to combat the mounting wave of anti-Negro violence. Over 150 Negro and white workers attended the mass meeting, called by the Socialist Workers Party.

Richardson presented a historical and factual analysis of the reasons why lynch terror is rising. He pointed out that the only road to freedom and security for the Negro people is through the revolutionary socialist program. He called upon the audience to join with the SWP in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression.

Mike Bartell, Chicago SWP Organizer, explained that Big Business was behind these terrorist actions against the Negro people. He pointed out that the only allies of the Negro people in their struggle against tyranny and oppression were the organized labor movement and other minority groups.

Bartell presented the six-point program of the SWP to halt the terrorists in Chicago.

1. Broaden and expand the Chicago united front to include all local unions, Negro, veteran and progressive organizations.

2. Organize mass demonstrations, including a militant march of thousands of Negro and white workers through the streets of Chicago.

3. Conduct an independent public investigation through an Independent Investigating Committee to hunt down and punish the terrorists. Increase the amount of the reward offered for information leading to the apprehension of the criminals responsible for terrorism.

4. Demand the appointment of a special prosecutor, to be chosen by the labor and other organizations represented in the Conference to Combat Terrorism Against Minorities.

5. Build a Defense Organization. Only Defense Guards, based on the unions, Negro and veteran organizations, in cooperation with all anti-fascist forces, can provide adequate and timely protection to threatened Negro families. In the absence of such Defense Guards, demand that city authorities deputize special guards to be selected by the labor organizations, armed and financed by the city.

6. Build an independent labor party, and break with the cor-



MILTON RICHARDSON

rupt capitalist politicians who have permitted these terrorist crimes to go unpunished. Replace them with genuine representatives of labor and persecuted minority races.

Bartell also condemned the passive and negative role of the Communist (Stalinist) Party, which has refused to actively participate in the Chicago united front campaign. He called upon any members or sympathizers of the Communist Party present, to demand that their leaders join in the fight.

Henry W. McGee, president of the Chicago Branch of the NAACP, announced that last night a second attempt was made to set fire to the home of Mrs. W. G. Campbell, 4203 S. Wells St. The first attempt to destroy this family's home was made on July 12. He stated that this is the 60th attack on Negro homes in less than two years. He pointed out that tension is mounting under these terrorist attacks.

Among the speakers was Gerald Bullock, chairman of the Committee on Racial Equality, who drew a parallel between the present situation and that in 1919 when a wave of provocations was launched against the Negro people, followed by terrorist actions.

After the meeting 15 Negro and white workers requested more information on the activities and program of the SWP.

SWP Petition Drive Enters Final Stage In New York

By Carolyn Kerry

NEW YORK SWP CAMPAIGN MANAGER

NEW YORK, Aug. 19—The petition campaign to place Farrell Dobbs, Milton Richardson and the Socialist Workers Party ticket on the ballot is now on the last lap. Only a few thousand signatures remain to reach our set goal of 25,000 signatures or double the legally required number.

But for the rainy weather this weekend, the goal would have been reached in half the time allotted for obtaining signatures. By next week there is every indication that the campaign will finish in record time.

William Kitt, candidate for Comptroller, writes us that "the Buffalo Branch was greatly enthused to hear of the amazing progress made to date in the campaign. It certainly is a testimonial to the spirit and power of our party." The Buffalo Branch itself is already well over half its quota of 5,000 signatures.

The Harlem Branch came in for honors this week, turning in over 500 signatures. Outstanding in this case is the report that more than 400 of these signatures were gathered by James, a new comrade who joined the branch less than two weeks ago.

TIRELESS CAMPAIGNERS

Two of our veterans and tireless campaigners returned with an interesting account of their upstate experiences. In the town of Oneonta, where C. P. petitioners were driven out a week ago, intimidation took a more subtle form. A local cop took the petition and copied two of the names on it. This flagrantly illegal action was vigorously protested by our veteran.

In Seneca Falls a Stalinist worker signed our petition and got some of his friends to do likewise. When he was reminded that the Daily Worker regularly slanders us as "fascists" he replied: "You know there are stupid fanatics in all parties. Up here we are for the unity of all left wing forces."

The next petition mobilization in New York will start from Campaign Headquarters at 116 University Pl., and from Brooklyn Campaign Headquarters, 635 Fulton St., on Saturday evening 7 p.m., August 27th.

Black Market Charged To 'Big 4' Packers

NEW YORK, Aug. 16—The OPA yesterday filed 55 complaints of black market practices against the "Big Four" of the meatpacking trust—Armour, Swift, Wilson and Cudahy.

The government's charges, filed in the War Emergency Courts of Manhattan, Bronx, Brooklyn and Queens, accused the "Big Four" and their agents of numerous acts in violation of OPA regulations over a nine-month period prior to June 30.

Some of the worst practices were forced tie-in sales and delivery of unwanted items to retailers. This put a big added cost on the retailers, who in turn added the illegal price to what the consumer was compelled to pay.

OPA interviews with hundreds of retailers disclosed that they were compelled to buy scrap, veal brains and other items they didn't want in order to get meat and butter to sell.

Armour & Company was named in 23 complaints; Swift, in 14; Wilson, in 9; and Cudahy, in 9.

While engaged in these black market practices during the meat famine they imposed on the people, the "Big Four" were hypocritically issuing public statements complaining about the "black market" getting all the meat because OPA price ceilings were "too low."

Washington lobbyists of these meat profiteers are once more threatening that meat will be diverted into the black market if any price ceilings are reimposed.

Veterans Win Election Battle



Knox Henry, a veteran of the North Africa campaign, was elected sheriff of Athens, Tennessee, after ex-GIs won a victory in an election day battle against the old-line, corrupt Democratic machine. A six-hour struggle with bullets as well as ballots was necessary before the machine politicians, who tried to terrorize the veterans with 300 armed "deputies," were driven out.

Federated Press

San Francisco Parley Calls For United Labor Conference

By Russell Morgan

(Special to The Militant)

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 15—A joint conference of some 200 delegates from the AFL, CIO, and Railway Brotherhoods met here last Thursday and unanimously passed a resolution calling for a United Labor Conference of all unions to work out joint action against anti-labor legislation.

Among the speakers were Robert Adams of Richmond; John Hughes, vice-president of the AFL painters, Richmond; Dave Bers, Marine Cooks and Stewards; G. F. Irvine, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen; and Sylvain Schaittacher, AFL laborers.

Delegates Hughes, Adams and Schaittacher reported methods used in conducting so-called buyers strikes in the East Bay area. Brother Hughes pointed out that the only buyers strikes which had met with any sustained success had been those conducted by the trade unions through militant action, such as picket-lines, work stoppages, etc.

Probably the best represented delegation to the conference was the Marine Cooks and Stewards. It was one of their delegates, Dave Bers, who urged the delegates to back-up these worthwhile moves against inflation by endorsing and getting behind a call for a United Labor Council composed of all unions to fight all anti-labor legislation.

The conference also adopted resolutions calling for a special session of Congress to enact "a bona-fide OPA bill"; demanding the price decontrol board reinstate price ceilings on all items now exempted; approved the Bay Area buyers strike to be conducted the week of August 26 to September 2.

Half of America Lives Sub-Standard

One-half of all American families in 1945 had an income of less than \$2,000 a year—under \$40 a week.

More than two-thirds had incomes under \$3,000. And 9,300,000 families were forced to exist on less than \$1,000 a year.

These are the figures contained in a recent Federal Reserve Board study. They do not take into account reduction of real income due to inflated cost-of-living.

At the other end of the income brackets, the same report showed that the wealthiest ten per cent of American families hold 60 per cent of all liquid assets.

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Wages, Prices And Profits

The Relation Between Wages and Surplus Value

By Warren Creel

Normally, the price of commodities reflects the labor-value that is in them. This point was dealt with in last week's installment. Wages, the price of labor-power, are controlled by the same law of labor-value, through the same process of competition. In this case, it is competition in the labor market.

The sellers, the workers, try to get the best wage they can, while the buyers, the employers, try to buy cheaply. The workers must sell their labor power somehow, for they cannot live without a job. No one worker can keep his wage standard high, because he knows the employer will hire some other worker at a lower wage, and leave him unemployed.

The employer offers the lowest wage at which he can hire workers. It turns out there is a point below which workers will not go. In the long run, workers will not take jobs at wages below the cost of living, because they can't. They might as well starve unemployed as starve on the job. Moreover, at that point the workers can organize most strongly to strike for higher wages. No group of the workers within the union will consent to settle a strike and go back to work for less than a living wage.

So the level of wages that comes from bargaining in the labor market is determined indirectly by the cost of living. The cost of living is another way of saying the cost of production of the worker's labor power. In order to work the worker must get goods enough to live, to keep him healthy and strong enough to work, and to support his family so there will be other workers in the future.

Wages obey the law of labor value. The normal wage for a day's work equals the amount of labor required to produce the worker for the day's work.

How much labor to support a worker for a day's work? He and his family eat a certain number of pounds of food, which took a certain amount of labor to produce. They wear out a certain fraction of their clothes, use up a certain fraction of housing, burn up some fuel for heating, and so on, all of which took labor to produce. At a rough estimate, the goods used up by an American worker and his family in living a day probably took less than two hours total labor in production. He works eight hours (or more) and gets back the output of two hours labor.

As farming becomes more efficient, a worker on a farm produces more pounds of food by a day's labor. Thus each pound of food contains less labor-value. But so many pounds of food will nourish a worker and his family just the same. A similar increase in efficiency takes place in clothing, housing, everything. Productivity goes up. But wages do not go up with productivity. Through the law of labor value wages are controlled by the amount the worker needs to live on, not by what the worker produces.

We see from statistics pictured in the above chart that the average worker's output in goods doubled between 1919 and 1938. But real wages, wages measured in goods, did not go up. They stayed very close to an even level through the whole time. The law of labor-value shows the reason why.

Productivity and Real Weekly Earnings in Manufacturing, 1919 to 1938 (1923-25=100)

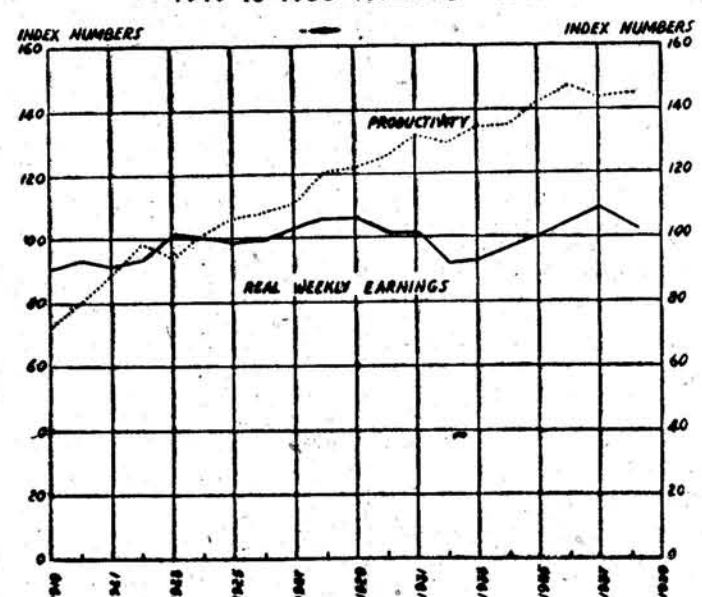


Figure 1

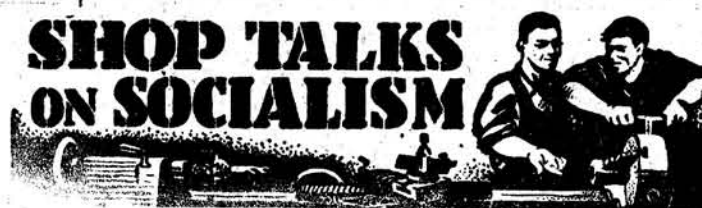
The goods a worker produces in one day contain the total value of his one day's labor. We'll call it 8 hours labor time. That's what he produces, measured in labor-value. His wages buy enough goods to live on for a day. The labor it took to produce the goods he can buy is the amount he gets, measured in labor value. We'll estimate 2 hours labor in what he gets. The difference, the output of 6 hours labor stays in the hands of the employer. This difference between the labor-value the worker produces and the labor-value the worker gets is called "surplus-value" in Marxist economics.

The surplus value is the employer's margin. Increased efficiency in output only increases the surplus value.

The law of wages, like the law of prices, works out indirectly, through the bargaining process between employers and workers. The actual wage settled on depends, as Marx said, on "The respective powers of the combatants." (Value, Price and Profit). The Real Wage line in the above chart shows how wages dropped in 1932, as unemployment weakened the bargaining power of the workers. Wages rose from 1934 through 1937, as the strike waves, and the CIO organization drive in the mass industries increased labor's power to bargain.

The level of wages settles at the point where the workers must say, or have organized strongly enough to say, "Below this we will not go." That point is governed first of all by the amount of goods they need, but also, as Marx said, by their "traditional standard of life," and by the strength of their working class organizations.

Next Week: What Becomes of Surplus Value



Machines Create No New Value

By V. Grey

Here is a steel plant worth a hundred million dollars. Thousands tons of steel are produced each day in this plant. The product is worth hundreds of thousands of dollars.

What is happening to the plant itself as the products come rolling out the gate? What is happening to the plant while the ten thousand workers are producing surplus value for the owners?

Why, the plant is wearing away. Bit by bit, rust, corrosion, decay, wear and tear—all take their toll. You see machinists, millwrights, riggers, pipefitters always repairing and replacing. (In the blast furnace department, for instance, there are over a hundred maintenance men, with only about a hundred and fifty workers actually operating the furnaces.) Every so often a whole furnace is relined and rebuilt. Shops are torn down or remodeled. Mills grow old fashioned. New ones replace them.

Company-owned lake boats bring ten to twenty thousand tons of ore in a load. The weird "leg" unloaders that dip down into the hold like men-from-Mars, scoop up twenty tons at a grab, and a hopper sifts their load onto a moving belt to the huge piles of ore in the rear. They unload the limestone in the same way.

Behind the "legs," up skyward over these mountains of ore and lime are the "bridges." These are cranes on straddled stilts 60 feet high, running back and forth to pick up more tons of lime and ore for the waiting gantry cars on the trestle, still further inland, parallel to the ore piles. These cars rumble up and down the trestle day and night—loading and dumping their twenty tons or so every few minutes. Everything clatters, bumps and wears out.

The stock house below the trestle receives the loads of lime, coke and ore into its bins. And still another group of "larry" cars run up and down inside the stock house—getting their smaller loads from the bins above. They stop opposite each furnace and spot their loads above the waiting "skip" cars, which take the stock up to the top of the furnace, five and ten tons at a time.

So before the stock is even put into the blast furnace for its first operation, millions of dollars of machinery handles it, and wears out in the process.

Then the million and a quarter dollar blast furnace blows, burns and blasts the stock. It coughs up the slag and finally pours the molten iron. Huge ladles, each mounted on eight railway car wheels, receive the iron below the furnace floor. Steam and Diesel locomotives pull the live iron to the Open Hearth.

The Open Hearth has machinery almost as tremendous and expensive as the blast furnace. The charging machines which lift up the "coffin" boxes full of lime or scrap steel, turn them over, knock them against the side of the door to be sure they are empty; the overhead cranes which pick up small ladles of live iron and pour them into the furnace; the locomotives which also run up and down the Open Hearth floor.

When the "heat" is tapped and the new steel leaps into the pit behind the Open Hearth Furnace, a huge 80 ton vessel receives it into its battered sides lined with clay and brick. A hundred ton crane overhead picks up this full ladle, and pours the liquid steel into ingot moulds on flat cars.

After all this, the resulting steel ingot, with its iron ore, coke, limestone, carbon, silicon, sulphur and sometimes other things as well is only worth around 80 dollars a ton! And these materials have gone through machines and processes costing millions upon millions of dollars.

Instead of saying that machines produce profits by themselves, you might almost say, "How on earth can the company afford to sell steel for 80 dollars a ton when they use up such expensive machinery?"

But there are thousands of tons produced. For each dollar of value worn away in the machinery, a dollar of value reappears in the steel product; and a new value appears above this, which is added by the creative human beings who run the machines.

The corporation enters this in its bookkeeping. The money it takes in which represents the surplus value produced by the workers, it calls "profits" or "dividends" and sends them to the owners. The money it takes in, which represents the value of the worn-away machinery, it lays aside and calls a "sinking fund." If it takes a machine or a furnace ten years to wear out entirely, then the sinking fund must contain one-tenth of the machine's value each year and purchase a new one at the end of ten years.

U. S. Steel, for example, has to produce and sell fifteen million tons of steel a year before they start making a profit. The enormous machinery they have to replace will wear out in a few years whether it produces steel or not.

The machinery and plants of U. S. Steel do not produce any new value. Not only that. If less than fifteen million tons of steel can be produced, these machines and plants are a liability.

Who's Really To Blame In Jersey Rail Wreck?

Who is responsible for the wreck on the Central Railroad of New Jersey of August 2? The blame has been put on engineer William O'Neill of the second train by the Hudson County Prosecutor's office in a closed session.

Three other investigations are going on simultaneously, by the Interstate Commerce Commission, the New Jersey State Public Utility Commission and the CRRNJ.

Will they too first condemn the engineer and then make him prove he is innocent afterwards? Will any of these investigations bring out the following facts?

1. Age of Locomotive: That engine was built anywhere between 1900 and 1910. The engineer says he had to fix some injectors (which control water feed to the boilers) while running and couldn't see the signal light at the same time.

2. The Construction of Locomotive: The locomotive cab is slung across the middle of the boiler just in front of the firebox. The fireman can be either on the left side of cab with the boiler between him and the engineer, or on the tender feeding coal to the fire, with the firebox between him and the engineer.

In either case, if anything went wrong with the engineer or some part of the controls, the fireman couldn't reach the engi-

neer be the goat for this too?

4. Age of Engineer, Retirement, and Pension Payments: The engineer was 71 years old. The question might be asked why didn't he retire on his pension at the age of 65 as he had a right to? The joker is: His pension entitles him only to \$85-\$110 per month, while his wage entitles him to \$250-\$350 per month.

This puts the engineer in the position of having to choose between retiring at an elderly age (65) and trying to maintain his dependents on \$21-\$27.50 a week; or working beyond the limit of his strength, nerves, eyes, ears, and other physical factors that go into making the difference between safety and danger in handling speeding trains.

It is peculiar that in six days of investigating, no official has thought of investigating the company!

The railroad brotherhoods should get together to investigate this crime of the railroad management against the riding public and the workmen who make it possible for the owners to get their big profits. All the CRRNJ brotherhoods ought to send delegates to a united con-

ference to protect the rights of the laboring men involved. The brotherhoods ought to be present at all hearings involving Brother O'Neill and see that he is properly represented and protected. No investigations should be held behind closed doors, like the Hudson County prosecutor's.

There are many other things that could be looked into, but the facts should be sufficient to fix the responsibility for the CRRNJ wreck where it belongs—on the company.

CRRNJ Worker,
Bayonne, N. J.

SEATTLE Election Banquet and Rally

Speakers:

Charles Swett

SWP Candidate for U. S.

Senate

Dan Roberts

SWP Candidate for State

Senator from 31st District

Songs

Dance

Fri., August 30,

7:30 p.m.

1919 1/2 Second Avenue

How The Third Big Frameup Trial Exposed Stalin's Gangster Regime

By Joseph Hansen

(Thirteenth in a series on the Moscow Trials and their significance.)

If it is possible to reach an absurdity in mud-slinging, lies, slander, bloodshed and horror, Stalin achieved it in the frame-up trial of Bukharin, Rykov, Rakovsky, Krestinsky, Yagoda, and the others on March 2-13, 1938.

In the dock of victims sat

no less than eight former Soviet ministers, not counting Trotsky who was exiled in Mexico. "After the death of Lenin," Trotsky told the press, "Rykov was the official head of the government for more than five years. From 1918 Bukharin was the editor of the central organ of the Party, Pravda, and from 1926 the official head of the Communist International. Later, after his fall into disfavor, he became the editor of Izvestia. Rakovsky was the head of the Ukrainian government and later ambassador to London and Paris. Krestinsky, the predecessor of Stalin as secretary of the Central Committee of the party, was afterward ambassador to Berlin for several years. For almost all of the last ten years Yagoda stood at the head of the GPU as Stalin's most trusted henchman and cooked up the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial in its entirety. In the list of the accused there are no fewer than six former members of the Central government. Of the nine people who were members of the Political Bureau during Lenin's lifetime, i.e., actual rulers of the fate of the USSR, there remains only one unaccused, Stalin."

WORLD IS SHOCKED

The entire world drew back from the charges in amazement. "The chief line of the wreckers in the sphere of finances . . ." said the former White Guard Vyshinsky, become Stalin's prosecuting attorney, "was to strike at the Soviet government with the Soviet ruble . . . Wrecking in the financial sphere spread to various branches of economy. In agriculture, which is of tremendous importance to the USSR, the wrecking work was designed as far as possible to frustrate the task set by the Party and the government of achieving a harvest of seven to eight billion poods." Fantastic? It's only the beginning.

"Grinko," continued Vyshinsky, "has mentioned the wrecking work he performed in the sphere of taxation and in the savings banks, where he tried in every way to incense the public." It is on charges such as this that the defendants were condemned and shot.

Vyshinsky accused the victims in the dock of deliberately setting out "to disrupt horse-breeding." On top of this "they deliberately infected pigs with erysipelas and the plague," he said. You wonder how Stalin could expect people to believe that? Listen to these charges of Vyshinsky: "Take Zelenisky. I shall only refer here to the most abominable practice of mixing glass and nails with foodstuffs, butter in particular, which hit at the most vital interests, the health and lives of our population. Glass and nails in butter! This is so monstrous a crime that, in my opinion, all other crimes of



BUKHARIN

the kind pale before it." Vyshinsky continued: "It is now clear why there are interruptions of supplies here and there, why, with our riches and abundance of products, there is a shortage first of one thing, then of another. It is these traitors who are responsible for it."

With those words Vyshinsky revealed the real purpose of the frame-up — to divert public wrath over breakdowns and shortages away from the Stalin regime to the scapegoats in the dock.

TO DIVERT PUBLIC WRATH

Operating on the theory that if you throw enough mud some is bound to stick, Vyshinsky accused the victims of having poisoned the great author Maxim Gorky, who died in 1936. Yagoda confessed to this crime.

Coming directly after the long investigation of the Dewey Commission into the first two trials, this new lurid trial served only to underline the Commission's findings that the defendants were victims of a frame-up. It was not necessary to launch an extensive investigation into this trial. No one took it as genuine. The only ones who tried to defend it were the pen prostitutes on Stalin's payroll or Wall Street diplomats given the official assignment of pandering to Stalin.

SAME FRAME-UP PATTERN

The trial developed along the same basic pattern as the previous frame-ups. In the dock sat well known Bolsheviks who had capitulated to Stalin. The only difference between them and previous Stalinists in the dock was the fact — that except Rakovsky they had capitulated earlier, had been with Stalin longer, and had had even less to do with Trotskyism than previous defendants. Bukharin, for instance, had been with Stalin throughout the fight against the Left Opposition. As in the previous trials, the frame-up juts out at every point in the "confessions" of the victims.

When Bukharin made his final plea, he denied so many specific

SUMMARIES AT NUREMBERG SILENT ON MOSCOW TRIALS

The Nuremberg trial of Nazi leaders is entering the last lap without a single word so far on their alleged connections with the old Bolsheviks shot by Stalin in the Moscow Trials on the charge of being agents of Hitler.

Despite the demand by Natalia Trotsky that her attorney be permitted to cross-examine Hess and the others on Stalin's slanderous accusation Trotsky had made a "deal" with them, the court has maintained a rigid silence.

The U. S. Prosecutor, Robert H. Jackson, summed up July 26. He ran through the whole calendar of Nazi crimes. But not once did he mention the Moscow Trials.

The British Prosecutor, Sir Hartley W. Shawcross, followed Jackson with a demand to execute the Nazis as "common murderers." But in his 8-hour speech he too failed to say a word about the Moscow Trials.

Then General Roman Rudenko, the Stalinist Prosecutor, on July 29 summed up the Kremlin's case. He used "the strongest language yet heard in the court" as he denounced the Nazi leaders. And he took up the prisoners one by one to give an "exhaustive description of his part in the conspiracy." But the Stalinist spokesman likewise failed to so much as hint about the infamous charges leveled by Vyshinsky against the Bolsheviks in the Moscow Trials.

There is only one reason for the silence throughout the nine months of the Nuremberg Trial. The Moscow Trials were so thoroughly exploded that Stalin decided it was politically advisable not to mention them at Nuremberg. Better to keep quiet about the frameups rather than have the crimes of the Kremlin dragged once more into the light of day!

charges that he blew the frame-up skyhigh. He spoke with wry irony: "I further consider myself responsible both politically and legally for wrecking activities, although I personally do not remember having given directions about wrecking activities." Bukharin declared he had not plotted as charged, and that he had never even heard of some of the defendants until he read their names in the indictment.

SHOT AFTER "CONFESSION"

In explaining "how I came to realize the necessity of capitulating to the investigating authorities and to you, Citizens Judges," after a year in prison, Bukharin declared: "One must be a Trotsky not to lay down one's arms." After he had laid down his arms and "confessed" the glory of Stalin, Bukharin naturally was led out and shot.

Rakovsky, an old man, who had devoted his entire life to the cause of the working class, said bitterly: "What would it matter for the substance of the case if I should attempt to establish here before you the fact that I learned of many of the crimes and of the most appalling crimes of the 'bloc of Rights and Trotskyites' here in Court, and that it was here that I first met some of the participants? . . . Like a galley-slave fettered to his galley, I am fettered to the 'bloc of Rights and Trotskyites' . . ."

The Stalinist judge sentenced Rakovsky to 20 years in prison. He has disappeared since then, but his words remain in the official court record, forever condemning the Stalin regime: "The question which arises . . . is . . . how former members of the Central Committee, former members of the government, former ambassadors have ended up here. What form of insanity brought them to this dock of political infamy . . . Yes, it was raving, real raving, the ravings of a madman . . ." cried out Rakovsky. As in the previous trials, agents of the GPU sat among the victims selected to confess crimes. But their importance had increased. The head of the GPU, Yagoda himself, had ended in the dock. Few people had proved more faithful to Stalin. For ten years he had acted as a butcher for Stalin. He had organized the previous frame-ups and executed Lenin's comrades on order of Stalin.

Now Yagoda confessed that in the GPU arsenal was a poison cabinet and that poisons had been used to end the lives of prominent individuals in the USSR. Stalin hesitates at nothing.

The revelations about this poison cabinet added weight to a conviction long held by Trotsky that Stalin in his drive for power had poisoned Lenin. Stalin rewarded Yagoda's faithful services by putting a bullet through his head. Just as fatal flaws had showed up in the previous trials, so they inevitably turned up in this one. Bessonov confessed he got a letter "written in December, 1936, by Krestinsky to Trotsky." This letter, according to Bessonov, "was passed on by me. In a few days I received a reply from Trotsky." Naturally this letter was not produced in court any more than any of the other "let-

ters" mentioned in previous trials.

Bessonov's "confession" was proved a lie in short order. The Norwegian newspaper Dagbladet checked up with the Norwegian authorities. From September to December 19, Trotsky had been held incommunicado by the Norwegian police. They had censored every item directed to Trotsky, even holding up the manuscript of his book, *The Revolution Betrayed*. On December 19, the Norwegian police put him on a tanker and a police officer accompanied the exile and his wife Natalia to Mexico. This officer who was chief of police by the time of the Bukharin trial, declared Trotsky could not possibly have received any communication from Bessonov or replied to it.

That didn't save Bessonov. He got a sentence of 15 years.

The worst blunder of all in the frame-up was the "confession" of Krestinsky that "Trotsky came to Merano (Italy) about October 10 (1933) together with Sedov" for a conspirative meeting. This error in the GPU frameup was on par with the one about meeting Sedov in the non-existent Hotel Bristol in Copenhagen, or flying to Oslo in an airplane that never landed.

The Dewey Commission had already established that Trotsky was near the border of Spain on October 9 under the surveillance of the French police. Apparently the GPU got mixed up in its geography and thought the Pyrenees were between France and Italy. So the GPU claimed Trotsky was in Italy precisely at the time Trotsky was at least 600 miles away as the crow flies!

Proof of this brazen and stupid lie of course did not save Krestinsky. Stalin had him shot.

And the Daily Worker blindly and stupidly repeated the GPU lie. Harry Gannes spoke learnedly about how Trotsky's "living at that time in the Pyrenees" "brought him near to the Franco-Italian border."

Just as the previous trials had

Mussolini Thanked Stalin For Trials

Benito Mussolini was greatly pleased with the Moscow frame-up trials. The fascist dictator was only too happy to see Lenin's comrades slaughtered. At the time of the Bukharin trial, Mussolini, in the columns of *Popolo d'Italia*, compared Stalin's methods with those of the Italian fascist regime:

"Stalin does not resort to castor oil to punish Communist leaders who are so stupid or criminal as still to believe in Communism. Stalin is unable to understand the subtle irony involved in the laxative system of castor oil. He makes a clean sweep by means of systems which were born in the steppes of Genghis Khan . . . Stalin renders a commendable service to Fascism."

gone back years to re-write history so the GPU went back in this trial. They returned to 1918 and claimed that Trotsky, the head of the Red Army, was in a plot with Bukharin to do away with Lenin!

This charge was leveled by Vyshinsky who was fighting with the White Guards against the Soviet Union at that time.

Vyshinsky even went back to 1909 to try and make out that Bukharin had always been a plotter. Yet Lenin in his last testament in December 1922 had called Bukharin the party's "best theoretician" and "the favorite of the whole party."

The Bukharin trial was another indication of how thoroughly Stalin was undermining the defense of the Soviet Union. As the last members of Lenin's general staff of revolution walked off the stage of the frame-up trial to face Stalin's executioners, Hitler's legions poured into Austria. The Nazi war machine was already inching toward the borders of the Soviet Union.

Judge Denies Civil Rights In Frameup Trial Of 25 Negroes

Circuit Court Judge Joe M. Ingram, presiding over the frame-up of 25 Negroes in Lawrenceburg, Tennessee, is brazenly denying their civil rights even before the trial begins. On August 15, he nine times ruled out defense mo-

oath, or whether they would give equal weight to the testimony of white and Negro witnesses. While propping up the anti-Negro prosecutor, Judge Ingram insolently orders the defense attorneys to "hurry up with the questioning." He wants no time wasted in making an "example" of these Negroes who dared defend their homes and lives.

Attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, defending the 25 accused men against an attempted mass legal lynching, were forced to use one of their 200 peremptory challenges to remove Vandiver from the lists. Every such challenge is precious, for in Lawrenceburg, anti-Negro prejudice is running rampant. The white ruling class is determined to "see to it" that a "hanging jury" is chosen.

NEGRO BARRED District Attorney Bumpus used his own first peremptory challenge to remove a Negro, J. E. Collier, from the jury list. Only 15 Negroes are on the panel of over 300 from whom the jury is to be drawn. Furthermore, Bumpus was forced to admit under questioning, that "never had he known a Negro to serve on a petit jury" in this Jim-Crow county, although 700 Negroes are citizens.

Judge Ingram has refused the men every constitutional guarantee of a fair trial. He has barred the defense attorneys from asking prospective jurors whether they would believe a Negro under oath.

Every Thursday open discussion, 8 p.m. BROWN: 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: 130 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.

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

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

By William Bohannon

The Government and the Lynch Mobs

We are demanding that the government take action to prosecute the lynchers and the high government officials who incite the lynchers. And we will continue to make the demand until either the government acts or is driven out of office in disgrace.

But that does not mean we have any illusions about the government. In fact, I think the great majority of the Negro people in this country has a pretty good idea about what kind of government is seated in Washington. They know that they cannot depend on it to act in the interests of the fight against Judge Lynch and Jim Crow.

If they didn't know it before, they certainly know it after the events of the last month.

Lynchings, floggings, beatings, mass terrorism — you hardly ever open up a newspaper without reading of some atrocity in Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana. Occasionally, maybe once a week, you read the statement of some official who is "shocked" and "deplores" the situation. Investigations are promised; generally they don't take place; when they do take place, 99 times out of 100 they are whitewash jobs like Dewey's investigation of the Freeport murders in Long Island, N. Y.

In a few states action to ban the Ku Klux Klan is taken or is being discussed. But in no case are measures put forward by federal or local officials to cope with the activities of organizations like the Ku Klux Klan under a new name. In no case are the known Ku Klux leaders actually punished for their crimes and appeals for lynching action.

MISERABLE JOKE

What a miserable joke it is to talk about curbing the Ku Klux Klan when a swine like Bilbo can get up on the floor of the U. S. Senate and incite race hatred! When he can hold campaign meetings calling openly for mob action against Negroes exercising their democratic right to vote! When he can speak on a national broadcast and blandly boast that he has been and always will be a member of the Ku Klux Klan!

Any government that was really interested in protecting the rights of the Negro people would begin by cleaning up its own house. Any "government that doesn't clean its own house first stands convicted of hypocrisy and deceit."

We demand that the government act against the lynchers, but we don't place a nickel's worth of confidence in a government whose officials' hands are red with the blood of murdered Negroes. If we placed our hopes or reliance in such a government,



WILLIAM BOHANNON

then the fight for Negro equality would be doomed.

That is why we members of the Socialist Workers Party place our main emphasis on the mobilization of the labor movement for the struggle to halt lynching. The white workers are the real allies of the Negro people; their interests are our interests; and without their support we can never be successful.

If you read the statement of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party printed in *The Militant* two weeks ago, then you know what we are aiming at. We urge the unions to demand action of Truman, prosecution of the Bilbos and immediate reconvening of Congress to enact anti-lynching legislation. More than that, we call on the unions to:

"1. Set up a broad committee composed of representatives of the unions, Negro and veteran organizations. This committee should conduct its own investigation of the lynchings at the scene of the crimes. It should offer a huge reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the lynchers.

"2. Set up Defense Guards to protect the lives and homes of Negroes and other minorities in danger of attacks by the minorities."

Either we will get the support of the labor movement along the lines indicated in that program, or else the Negro people in this country will undergo the same fate as the Jewish people in Germany.

I intend to return to further discussion of this question in a future issue of this paper.

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.

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

BALTIMORE — For information write Box 415, Baltimore 3, Md. Monthly forums to be announced.

BAYONNE — SWP headquarters, 62 W. 23rd St. Open house 2nd and 4th Saturdays.

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 4787. Library, bookstore.

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

CONNECTICUT — Write to the Militant, P.O. Box 841, New Haven.

DETROIT — Open house every Saturday, 8 p.m. at 6188 Linwood. Office open daily 12 to 5. Phone Tyler 7-8287.

FLINT — SWP meets every Friday, 6 p.m. at YWCA, 1st and Harrison.

LOS ANGELES — Visit Militant Publishing Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644. Every Friday, 8 p.m. — Militant Workers Forum, 466 E.

Vernon. 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 — Visit SWP headquarters, 423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Library and reading room open week nights, 7-10 p.m.

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

HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23. MO. 2-1866. Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.

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

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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.

Wed. night class on Socialism and current events, 8 p.m. 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 4:30 p.m., daily except Sunday. Phone EXbrook 1926.

SEATTLE — Visit our Headquarters, 1919 1/2 Second Ave. Open Monday through Saturdays, 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. Forums every Thursday, 8:30 p.m. Phone Jefferson 3642.

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 1137. 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.



1879 - 1940

Trotsky Memorial

THE MILITANT invites all its readers and friends to attend the memorial meetings in the following cities under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party.

Newark

ALAN KOHLMAN
SWP Candidate for Governor
of New Jersey
will speak on

"Trotsky's Program in the 1946 Elections"

Other Speakers:

William E. Bohannon
SWP Candidate for U. S. Congress

Arlene Phillips
SWP Candidate for U. S. Congress

Friday, August 23, 8 p.m.
423 Springfield Ave.

Boston

Speaker:

S. M. BROOKS
Friday, August 23, 8 p.m.
Workers Educational Center
30 Stuart St.

Philadelphia

JOSEPH HANSEN

Former Secretary to Leon Trotsky, and
SWP Candidate for U. S. Senate
will speak on:

"The Teachings of Leon Trotsky"

Friday, August 23, 8 p.m.
1303 W. Girard Ave.

Baltimore

MEMORIAL ADDRESS BY

MAX GELDMAN

Philadelphia SWP Organizer

Saturday, Aug. 24, 8:15 p.m.

Baltimore Interracial Fellowship House
21 West Preston Street

Buffalo

Speaker:

WILLIAM KITT

Western New York SWP Organizer,
and SWP Candidate for State
Comptroller

Also, film showing of

"Thunder Over Mexico"

Wed. Aug. 28, 8:30 p.m.
Militant Forum
629 Main Street

New Haven

Speaker:

L. MORRIS

"Leon Trotsky — World
Defender Of Labor and
the Oppressed"

Sunday, Aug. 25, 7:30 p.m.
Workman's Circle Hall
72 Legion Ave.



BUILD THE LABOR PARTY

Diary Of A Steel Worker

Our Comrade — Leon Trotsky

By Theodore Kovalesky

The Old Man turned his back. The assassin caught his breath and struck. Time passes. Six years have come and gone. There is a monument in Mexico marked with the hammer and sickle.



To speak of Leon Trotsky, brothers, is to speak of you and me. For he lived and fought for us. We sweat in steel plants; we are smeared with the filth of our jobs; the hot fatigue of our toil may dull our brains. Trotsky saw and knew all that and more. He said we were the only hope of the world, that the workers must and will rule.

Trotsky believed in us. (We are American, Russian, French, German, English, Italian, Japanese — all races and nationalities, with brown, red, white, black or yellow skins. We are the brotherhood of the earth's workers, and what's good for one is good for all.)

In 1905 the Russian workers rose against the Czar's cruel despotism. But the time was not yet ripe. They failed, and Trotsky was hounded out of the country.

He fought on. His confidence pulsed with his heartbeats. World War I blazed in Europe. Kings, Presidents and Dictators herded the workers to the slaughter. Misery howled over the earth. Death clotted upon the battlefields. Cold eyed generals commanded. But Trotsky's confidence never wavered. "The workers," he said, "will be the final victors!"

Revolt broke out, again in Russia, and he hurried home. (Home was where workers fought for freedom, anywhere, any land; it was the fight, the red banner of liberty and brotherhood that called to him.) The Revolution grew and deepened. October came, and Leon Trotsky, side by side with Lenin, organized the great October

insurrection in Petrograd that killed Capitalism in Russia. And when the reactionaries shook off the first stunning blows and returned to fight against the new-born workers state, it was Trotsky who organized the Red Army and led it to victory over them.

Always and everywhere he fought for the man in the mill and the shop and the mine. When Stalin rose like an evil genie from the exhaustion of the workers in the Soviet Union and the defeats of the workers in other countries, Trotsky fought him. He fought desperately against the rising bureaucracy that stole the worker's new freedom and turned from the worldwide struggle.

Once again Trotsky was exiled, hounded from land to land, from Alma-Ata to Turkey to France to Norway to Mexico. His followers were imprisoned and jailed, and his name was smeared with lies. But still he fought on. (He believed in us, brothers, he believed in our final victory, and he kept fighting for it.)

His voice rang out always. People used to stand hours in the Russian rains and shows to hear what Trotsky had to say. . . . workers like you and me. And people still listened. The Czar and the capitalists tried to silence him, and now it was Stalin.

Trotsky spoke the truth. Always and everywhere he urged the workers to organize in their might, to fight against tyranny. And always he exposed the crimes of Stalin.

In the Kremlin a hard-eyed man rubbed his hands in satisfaction. At last Stalin had succeeded. The voice of Trotsky was still. . . . he thought.

But Trotsky's world organization, still lived. The Fourth International lives and grows. And it is here that the Old Man's confidence in the working class flames brightest. It is here that the great idea still shines!

WORKERS WILL RULE THE WORLD!

Selling Water In A Bread Wrapper

By Joseph Hansen

Have you noticed lately how water collects in the toaster when you put in a slice of bakery bread? Have you noticed how the bread shrivels up as the heat drives out the moisture? Maybe you thought it was just a damp day or something was wrong with the toaster.

If you'll read page 8,741 of the July 11, 1946, Congressional Record you'll discover the real reason for those beads of water in your toaster.

In 1942, says the Record, the Federal Trade Commission made an inquiry into "Competition and Profits in Bread and Flour." This Commission reported that back in 1922 the big baking companies got 285 pounds of bread out of a 196-pound barrel of flour. That's putting a lot of fluff in honest flour. But by September 1942 these profit-gougers were getting 300 pounds of bread out of the same barrel of flour. The increase was mainly due to a "higher moisture content!"

In other words, these short-change artists were running an extra 15 pounds of water across the counter for every barrel of flour they dumped into the bread mixer. How much more water the food trust has succeeded in getting inside a bread wrapper since 1942 is not revealed.

The stepped-up dividends from this profitable little operation were pocketed by the food trust, naturally. The farmers who grow wheat never saw a red cent of the pay-off. In fact their

share in the money rung up on the cash register for a loaf of bread actually decreased.

In 1922 a farmer got 1.14 cents out of a loaf whose average price was 8.55 cents. In 1942 he got only 1.03 cents. Yet the price of bread had risen meanwhile to 9.27 cents.

Since 1942, of course, the picture is much worse. Not only has the loaf been lopped in weight, until it begins to look more like a sandwich, but prices are shooting up so fast the food trust can hardly keep the printed price-bands up to date.

The 1942 inquiry of the Federal Trade Commission reveals some interesting figures on how the price pyramids in a loaf of bread. After the farmer was paid off 1.03 cents, the country elevators added .06 cents. Then the transportation agencies laid on a tariff of .13 cents.

Next the terminal elevators levied .08 cents a loaf. The mills listed costs at .32 cents and added .11 cents for "profits." Then the transportation agencies got another cut on hauling the flour — .13 cents. The big bakeries figured costs of ingredients "other than flour" (including ingredients out of the water tap) at 1.06 cents. On top of this they added 3.81 for production and distribution. Still not satisfied, they added .45 for "profits."

Now the retailers come in. They stacked on 2.09 cents, making the final price 9.27 cents.

To track down how much the profiteers in this chain gouge the public under the new OPA would be a worthwhile project for a committee of consumers. With some good union backing,

Fresh Winds Blow In Rail Unions

By Henry Adams

The "reward your friends and punish your enemies" school of labor politics has dominated the political action of railway labor organizations for half a century. A whole bureaucratic apparatus has grown up, spending its time at lobbying, dealing with government boards, begging a multitude of minor legislative rulings and amendments within the framework of capital-



ist machine politics.

Disgusted with this petty politics, most of the union membership have grown indifferent to the maneuverings of the bureaucratic official crust.

It is all the more noteworthy then to find, stirring within this creaking machinery, the basic political discussion reported in the just-published proceedings of the convention of the Minnesota State Legislative Board of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers (BLF&E), held last May in St. Paul, Minn.

For the first time in years, every one of the 26 lodges of the BLF&E in the state sent delegates. Both CIO and AFL representatives were invited to speak on the question of working out more unified action on common labor problems. A strongly-worded resolution calling for amalgamation of the BLF&E and the Brotherhood of

Locomotive Engineers (BLE) was passed unanimously.

Center of the discussion was the labor party question. A resolution introduced by one of the Minneapolis lodges stated: ". . . the workers must organize politically around their own program and behind their own candidates not only to obtain penny-ante favors like those asked for by our lobbyists in the past but to put the working class in control of the government."

The secretary-treasurer of the Board, I. Nelson, Lodge 510, Minneapolis, pointed out how D. F. Robertson, International President, had prevented discussion on this important question in the BLF&E magazine. He cited an article which he had written on LABOR NEEDS ITS OWN POLITICAL PARTY which had been denied publication by the Grand Lodge. After the article was read to the convention, the delegates voted to have the article printed in full in the Proceedings.

Although by-passing a forth-right declaration on the immediate formation of a labor party, the Legislative Board finally passed a resolution "favoring in principle the ultimate aim of the organization of a political party that shall express . . . the right of the producing members of society to enjoy to the fullest the fruits of their labors." This is clear evidence that the ranks are demanding a change in labor politics that can offer them a real program.

Veterans Exploited As Cheap Labor

By Alvin Royce

It used to be said in the Army that "when a general chews out a colonel, then the privates had better duck." Gen. Omar N. Bradley, in a scorching speech a few weeks ago, revealed that the on-the-job training program was a "national scandal." He stated in no uncertain terms that the employers were taking full advantage of the program to build a huge reservoir of cheap labor.



An uninitiated rookie unfamiliar with the ways of Army Brass would heave a deep sigh after that explosive speech, and expect culprits' heads to roll. But the venerable General handled the problem in a way to make West Point proud. According to the logic of the brass, if the employer is at fault it's obvious that the veteran should be punished.

Bradley's solution was a bill that would limit the total earnings of veterans on this program to \$200 a month for married men and \$175 for men without dependents. Washington's "friends

of the veteran" were quick to come to the General's aid. Representative Rankin, who breathes anti-labor and anti-Negro fire everytime he opens his mouth, was quick to introduce the measure into Congress. President Truman, without wadding any time, signed the bill on August 8 to make it national law.

Previously, a veteran who is learning was entitled to the amount an employer paid him as an apprentice plus his subsistence, up to the amount that a skilled worker earns in the particular occupation. Now a veteran can earn no more than \$110 a month without a reduction in his subsistence allowance. Veterans are tied to this maximum no matter how many dependents they have.

Officials charged with administering the program in New Jersey have already admitted that "the new standards will encourage employers to exploit veterans as a source of cheap labor." These paid officials of the VA have exposed fully this measure before the ink of Truman's signature had fully dried.

Candidate Explains Position Of SWP To New Jersey Women Voters League

NEWARK, N. J., Aug. 17—George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator from New Jersey, today submitted the following answers to questions on foreign and domestic policy asked of Congressional candidates by the Voters' Service of the League of Women Voters of New Jersey:

ATOMIC ENERGY

QUESTION:

1. If an international authority with power to control atomic energy (such as the one outlined in the Baruch report) can be established under the United Nations, would you favor a gradual transfer to it of our technical knowledge about the atomic bomb?

ANSWER:

The Socialist Workers Party's main concern in atomic energy is seeing that it is used not for war, but for the peaceful development of the productive forces and medical research. Neither U. S. government monopoly nor the Baruch Plan will achieve that; in fact, both will leave control of atomic energy in the hands of the U. S. government, which is producing atomic bombs 24 hours a day. We seek control of atomic energy by the toiling people of the world, who alone can be depended on to prevent atomic warfare and destruction.

TARIFF

QUESTION:

2. (a) What should be the position of this country regarding lowered U. S. tariffs as our contribution toward removing restrictions on the flow of international trade?

ANSWER:

We support abolition of all capitalist restrictions on international trade, including the tariff. The tariff is only one of the obstacles to the free exchange of commodities on a world scale. More important are the national boundary lines which stand as walls obstructing international commerce. We advocate the Socialist United States of the World as the only means to achieve international prosperity and the genuine brotherhood of man.

FOOD

QUESTION:

2. (b) What should be the position of this country regarding shipment of food to famine areas for

the duration of the famine emergency?

ANSWER:

We strongly favor shipment of food to famine areas. To insure that distribution of such food is not used as a political weapon by Washington, we favor placing it under the control of committees representing the labor movement both in this country and the famine areas.

COLONIES

QUESTION:

2. (c) What should be the position of this country regarding placing mandated territories (including our own Pacific Island bases) under trusteeship of the United Nations?

ANSWER:

We are opposed. "Trusteeship" and "mandates" are just fancy names to cover up foul imperialist policies. We demand immediate independence for all countries and all peoples under the political, economic or military domination of the U. S. or any of the other United Nations.

PRODUCTION

QUESTION:

3. What measures do you believe will maintain production and employment in this country at their present high levels?

ANSWER:

Nationalization of the basic industries under the control of committees democratically elected by the workers in those industries. This measure will lead to a planned economy, which will not merely maintain production, but raise it to levels never reached in this country and will end unemployment altogether.

HOUSING

QUESTION:

4. What is your position on (a) Government housing for lowest income groups, including programs for slum clearance? (b) Federal encouragement of housing for middle income groups?

ANSWER:

We vigorously support legis-

lation toward this end. We favor taking the 18 billion dollars a year now being spent for military preparations and using it to finance such a housing program.

PRICE RISES

QUESTION:

4. (c) What is your position on measures to check inflation?

ANSWER:

To protect the working people

against rising prices, we advocate the sliding scale of wages, an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living. We also favor applying this principle to all fixed incomes—such as unemployed workers and veterans, people living on pensions, students under the GI Bill of Rights, etc.

To effectively control prices, we advocate consumers committees — composed of housewives, workers, farmers, small businessmen—empowered to fix and police prices.

To combat profiteering, we advocate nationalization of the food industries, which have been extorting price rises, and their operations under workers' control.

Meet The SWP Candidates

Grace Carlson

Candidate for U. S. Senate From Minnesota

The daughter of an Irish-American railroad worker, Grace Carlson was born in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1906. After receiving her Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota in 1933, she lectured for two years at the University in the Department of Psychology. Then for five years, she held the post of Vocational Rehabilitation Counselor for the State Department of Education.

Grace Carlson was a charter member of Minnesota State Employees Union, Local No. 10, and one of its most active organizers and supporters. For four years, she was her union's delegate to the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly and served on the Assembly Education Committee for three years.

In 1940, she resigned from the Minnesota Education Department and ran as SWP candidate for U. S. Senator on a militant anti-war platform. She received 8761 votes, more than the com-



moned votes of the Communist and Socialist parties.

The only woman among the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis Labor Case, Grace Carlson was given a 16-month prison sentence on December 8, 1941, under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act. While the case was being appealed to higher courts, she

ran for Mayor of St. Paul on the SWP ticket, and, although already convicted and sentenced to prison, she received 3 per cent of the total vote cast.

After the appeal of the 18 was denied, Grace Carlson was taken to the Federal Penitentiary for Women at Alderson, West Virginia, to serve her sentence. After her release from prison on January 24, 1945, she returned to work for the Socialist Workers Party. In the summer of 1945, she made a national tour, speaking on the injustices that are done to women in prison.

For many years she has been active in labor defense work, and is, at present, a member of the National Committee of the Workers Defense League. She has also been an active worker in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for several years.

As one of its regular columnists, Grace Carlson has become known to thousands of readers of *The Militant* in Minnesota, as well as in other parts of the country.

Joseph Hansen

Candidate for U. S. Senate From New York State

Joseph Hansen was born in Salt Lake City, Utah, in 1910. His earliest memories are of the stern struggle for existence in the Nevada mining towns. At the age of 4 he saw a battle he never forgot — the desperate struggle of the McGill strikers against armed scabs brought in by the copper kings.

A few years later he learned what child labor is like under the hot western sun in the Utah beet fields.

He first heard about socialism from the stories in the capitalist press about the victories of Trotsky's Red Army. At the age of 12 he read a pamphlet on socialism by Daniel De Leon which someone had slipped on the shelves of the public library at Richfield, Utah. From then on, he counted himself a socialist.

During the depression, Hansen learned that only a highly disciplined, revolutionary party can



accomplish the great goals of socialism. He set out to determine the correct party to join. He ruled out the Socialist Party as an empty shell. For a year he studied the press and writings of the Stalinists and Trotskyists. In April 1934 an open meeting held by the Trotskyists,

then organized in the Communist League of America, was broken up by Stalinist thugs. This act convinced Hansen that Stalinism represented nothing but a degenerating tendency. He joined the Trotskyists.

In 1936 he entered the maritime industry, serving as Associate Editor of the *Voice of the Federation*, official organ of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific. During the war he sailed as an unlicensed seaman.

In 1937 Hansen became Secretary to Leon Trotsky, shortly after the great revolutionary found refuge in Mexico from Stalin's gangsters. He was with Trotsky at the end when the GPU assassin finally succeeded in striking down the founder of the Soviet Union.

Since Trotsky's death, Hansen has been active in the Socialist Workers Party as a Marxist writer. He is at present an Associate Editor of *The Militant*.

Next week: William E. Bohannon and Daniel Roberts

Our Program:

1. Defend labor's standard of living!

A sliding scale of wages—an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living! Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging! Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers' control!

2. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!

For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours—reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment! Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control! Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!

3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strikebreaking!

No restrictions on the right to strike and picket! No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!

4. Build an independent labor party!

5. Tax the rich, not the poor!

Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes! No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

6. An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!

7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!

End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!

8. For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!

9. A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war.

Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace! Against capitalist conscription! Abolish the officer caste system! Full democratic rights in the armed forces! Trade union wages for the armed forces! Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!

10. 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!

11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
1116 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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