

After The 15 Cents Wage Settlements By George Clarke

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VOL. XI — No. 18

STALIN'S GUILT

Budenz Book Supplies Link In GPU Murder Of Trotsky

By Natalia Sedov Trotsky

COYOACAN, Mexico, Apr. 18—On June 8, 1940 Leon Trotsky wrote: "I can therefore say that I live on this earth not in accordance with the rule but as an exception to the rule." And on August 20, 1947 it will be seven years since the commission of the crime that cut short his life.

Everything we said in connection with the violent death of L. D. Trotsky is today being wholly confirmed by the confessions of Louis Budenz, a former leader of the American "Communist" Stalinist Party, in his book *This Is My Story* published in March of this year.

The testimony of this GPU sub-agent, who took part in the conspiracy against the life of L. D. Trotsky, introduces nothing that is factually new, but it does authoritatively corroborate everything that we had said both on the basis of general political considerations as well as by taking into account numerous facts that took place through the years of our exile.

The confessions of Louis Budenz throw into the limelight the entire activity of the secret Stalinist "Apparatus," which has usurped power and which acts with bloody arbitrariness. According to Budenz, the leaders of the Stalinist party in the United States, Earl Browder and Jack Stachel, participated in the plot against Trotsky. The plan of Stalin's terrorist act was discussed in New York.

For many reasons and, in the first instance, because for many long years Constantine Oumansky, who in his capacity as agent of the secret police attached to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, participated both in the "accidental" as well as non-accidental deaths of Stalin's enemies, it is difficult to suppose that he did not have his hand, in one way or another, in the crime in Mexico during his stay as Soviet Ambassador in the United States. Oumansky himself "fell victim of an accident." Wasn't he perhaps in reality doomed?

Louis Budenz leaves much that is unsaid . . . he knows much more! But under the conspiratorial system, where each of the participants in the conspiracy is told only what concerns him and nothing more — Budenz might have remained uninformed about the most important things. Let us hope that presently others will come forward with supplementary exposures.

Stalin cherished the project of destroying the leader of the anti-totalitarian Opposition even before the expulsion of Trotsky from the Russian Communist Party. Sometime after the death of Lenin, as was testified by Zinoviev and Kamenev, who at that time formed together with



NATALIA TROTSKY

Stalin the secret ruling Triumvirate, Stalin posed himself the task of getting rid of his opponent at any price.

This found its confirmation in attempts which at that time assumed the guise of accidents, but which were nevertheless very suspicious. Thus in 1924 in Kislovodsk where L. D. was recuperating, we happened one night to be returning in a hand-car from a hunting trip together with Muralov and our guards.

The hand-car suddenly jumped the rails and fell down the embankment. We escaped with only contusions. But we never received a plausible explanation of what caused the derailment.

On November 7, 1927 during the parade in celebration of the 1917 Revolution, the Trotskyist Opposition marched with its own banners and its Left slogans. Shots were fired at the automobile of L. D. Trotsky. At that time the Stalinist clique could not go beyond attempts of this type.

To the uninitiated it might seem incomprehensible why Stalin exiled Trotsky abroad and then tried over a period of several years to do away with him. In 1928 when Trotsky was exiled to Central Asia it was still impossible to talk not only about shooting him but about arresting him. The generation with whom Trotsky had passed through the entire October Revolution and the Civil War was still alive. The Political Bureau felt itself besieged on all sides and Stalin's project could not have been realized at that time either politically or psychologically.

Even the legal exile of L. D. was not managed successfully by Stalin; it was broken up by a huge demonstration which took (Continued on Page 3)

Release Of Jailed Indian Trotskyists Demanded By SWP

NEW YORK, Apr. 26 — The arrest of several well-known Trotskyists and strike leaders by Congress Party leaders in Madras, India was vigorously protested by the Socialist Workers Party here in telegrams to Jawaharlal Nehru, head of the Interim Government of India, and Ramasami Reddiar, Congress Party Premier of Madras.

The telegrams of the SWP, which had also protested the arrest of Nehru and other Congress Party leaders by British imperialism five years ago, demanded the immediate release of C.S.S. Antony Pillai, Colvin R. De Silva, Mutiah and other members of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India, section of the Fourth International, and unionists whose arrest is reported to have taken place on April 16.

The Militant of April 12 reported that the arrest of Antony Pillai, president of the Madras Labor Union and a member of the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress, had been protested by a huge 24-hour strike of 100,000 workers in Madras on March 31. This Trotskyist union leader was imprisoned during a militant strike of 14,500 workers of the Bucking movement.

24-HOUR PROTEST STRIKE ADVOCATED BY FLINT CIO

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401

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Urges Calling Nation-Wide Work Haltage

By Henry Robinson

FLINT, Mich., Apr. 27 — The Greater Flint Industrial Union Council of the CIO voted by an overwhelming majority last night in favor of a 24-hour nation-wide strike against anti-labor bills.

The Council resolution stated:

"That the Greater Flint Industrial Union Council organize a joint committee of AFL, CIO and independent unions in Flint for the purpose of demonstrating our opposition to this ruthless campaign against the unions, and that the Council request the National CIO to immediately call a 24-hour general strike throughout the U.S."

It was also decided to present the resolution for adoption by all the local unions which were meeting today on the General Motors wage agreement. It was adopted unanimously by Chevrolet Local 659.

Several speakers took the floor in favor of the resolution. No one was in direct opposition.

Among those speaking for the resolution were Lawrence Jones and Everett Sides from Local 659. Jones stated: "We among the ranks of the workers must build a fire under our top CIO leadership and force them into action."

It is becoming clearer every day that Congress represents the industrial citadel, more than 275,000 white and Negro workers, men and women from office and factory, led by the CIO, but including many members of AFL, railroad unions and independents.

marched into Cadillac Square this afternoon, jamming all the streets for blocks around.

Expressing their hostility toward the Big Business drive for vicious anti-labor legislation like the Hartley and Taft bills, the demonstrators filled the square even before the thousands of auto workers began marching in. As the West Side auto workers began filing into Cadillac Square, it was announced that the columns of this contingent were still a mile away at the Briggs Stadium.

SHUTDOWN COMPLETE

The shutdown of the auto plants was complete. The local capitalist press admitted that 500,000 workers left the plants at the appointed hour, striking proof of the virtually unanimous support of this demonstration.

The Turkish government indefinitely suspended two more newspapers, *Tasvir* and *Democracy*, because they had printed portions of a speech by Deputy Adnan Menderes of the Democratic Party. Menderes had accused the government of threatening members of this party. The mere reporting of this speech, delivered by an elected Deputy in Parliament, brought prompt censorship.

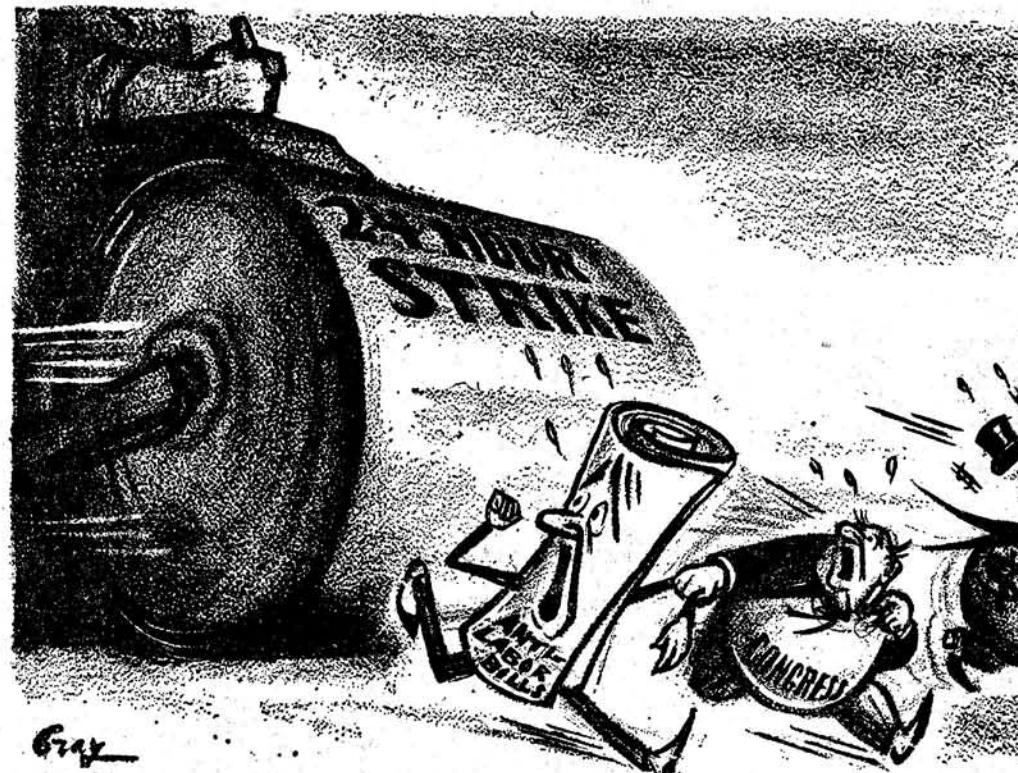
This brings the total number of suspended papers to eleven, as the Turkish government continues its suppression of democratic rights. Such governmental acts are proclaimed under the seven-year martial law and state of seige which the Turkish dictatorship maintains to keep the masses in subjection.

Three days later a report from Greece again underlined the reactionary character of the regime backed by Truman in that land. Following up its long and bloody campaign of torture, arrests, and shootings, the Athens police issued an order banning all May Day public meetings, parades and demonstrations.

Prominently represented were veterans of the last world war, who bore banners reading: "We Had Foxholes — Give Us Homes," "We Veterans Didn't Fight For Union Busting," "Michigan American Veterans' Committee Opposes Anti-Labor Bills."

Fighting to maintain their living standards, the workers showed their knowledge that "Anti-Labor Bills Mean Higher Food Bills." In bold slogans they insisted that they wanted "No

How To Put Them On The Run!



500,000 Join In Detroit Protest Against Congress

DETROIT, Apr. 24 — In

Tax on Incomes Up To \$5,000," position to destruction of America.

"Tax the Greedy Not the Needy."

These unionists who have moved ousted furniture back into homes, opposed rent increases and evictions: "No Evictions — No Rent Increases."

Recognizing that race discrimination is an employers' weapon to divide workers, the easier to undermine unions and cut wages, demonstrators carried placards: "Smash Jim Crow," "We want a Fair Employment Practices Law."

DENOOUNCE GOVERNOR

These workers had fought on many picket lines, learned the need for labor solidarity, understood how Hitler used racial lies to smash the German labor movement. Many banners showed the consciousness of American workers that Wall Street was out to repeat Hitler's methods: "Germany 1934 — United States 1947." Prominent were denunciations of Governor Sigler as the Hitler of Michigan.

The workers knew that this Big Business Congress was menacing their living standards. This was expressed in banners which read: "Your Job, Your Union, Your Security Is At Stake." This was expressed in the speeches of the leaders, who denounced the profiteers' drive against the working people. R. J. Thomas, UAW vice-president, flayed "the giant monopolies of industry" whose aim is to destroy labor which "stands first and foremost in op-

(Continued on Page 2)

Origin of Detroit Rally

DETROIT, Apr. 24 — The organization of the Cadillac Square demonstration was spearheaded by the militants in Briggs Local 212, UAW-CIO. These militants recognized the need for a demonstrative and emphatic answer to Wall Street's drive to shackle labor. They opposed the adoption of all milder proposals and concentrated in all local and city-wide meetings on demanding a massive demonstration through the shut-down of plants.

Following this action of Local 212 in March, the following groups in rapid order took a similar stand: Detroit and Wayne County CIO Council; a Conference and Mass Lobby in Lansing for FEPIC; and Ford Local 600 Executive Board.

The UAW International Board meeting in New York on April 15, finally awakened to the threat of the Congressional anti-labor drive. It not only authorized the plant shut-downs but also "instructed and directed" the UAW local unions in Detroit to cease work at 2 p.m. today so that the UAW membership could gather in Cadillac Square and "petition Congress for redress of our grievances."

Telephone Strike In Fourth Week

By Alan Kohlman

APRIL 29 — The nation's

phone workers tightened their ranks in the fourth week of their strike and rejected the AT&T's "divide and conquer" offer one after another. The huge communications trust still is proceeding with its arrogant tactics to starve out the phone workers, weaken their coast-to-coast unity and attempt to split their ranks by making piddling regional offers.

These company tactics have been decisively spurned on every front. When the Northwestern Bell Co. offered a miserly \$2.50 raise, the regional Federation of Telephone Workers turned thumbs down. Likewise in New Jersey, where 4,600 members of the Telephone Workers Union, which is not on strike but has

been respecting picket lines, voted to continue the strike.

Yesterday, the heroic New Jersey girl operators who successfully defeated Governor Driscoll's strikebreaking laws, likewise showed unanimous approval to their president Mary Hanscom's statement to continue the strike. (In this state the heavy pressure of the union movement has forced the government to withdraw its charges against the three women officers of the Traffic Telephone Workers.)

Meanwhile in Washington, AT&T tried another splitting tactic by demanding a "pledge" from the Association of Communications Workers that it would make a decision independently of the NFTW leadership. This offer, which was made through the office of Secretary of Labor Schenck, only further incensed the NFTW policy com-

mittee who made clear that centralized direction of the strike on a nationwide scale still prevailed.

In the light of CIO settlements for \$6 a week, the phone workers have halved their original \$12 demand to this figure. Their rejection of company offers below this figure was adequately summarized by Mary Hanscom who declared that "To return for less would be signing our own death warrant."

The union's determination to hold out for this amount and preserve centralized bargaining is a strong sign of the power of the phone workers. It is clear that such continued strength and determination is the only key to victory. Every CIO and AFL local, state and international has the duty to extend full moral and financial support to the phone workers and back them up to the hilt in order to bring the mighty AT&T trust to terms.

Notebook Of An Agitator

Think It Over, Mr. Dubinsky

The rights of workers to make a living and speak their minds freely are taking quite a beating these days, and Congress is not the only scene of the crime. A rough job was done this week by Justice E. L. Hammer in New York's Supreme Court. Justice Hammer gave the business to four suspended members of Cutters Union, Local 10, of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

The four men — Arnold Ames, Charles Nemeth, Irving Kotler and Emanuel Brownstein — had been suspended from Local 10 for periods of three to five years on charges of circulating defamatory literature against David Dubinsky, the highly-touted president, and other officers of the garment union. Their appeal to the court was denied by the judge, who denounced them as "Communists" in a 40-page decision. Emil Schlesinger, attorney for the ILGWU, hailed the decision as a "milestone in the defense of American labor against Communist deceit and treachery." Mr. Schlesinger, according to the press reports, expressed certainty that the ruling would serve as a precedent in future cases affecting "communist penetration of trade unions" and applauded "the determination of the courts to prevent totalitarian forces from using democratic institutions as a weapon in their efforts to overthrow democracy."

It seems that the leadership of the ILGWU, which has been widely advertised as the most progressive and democratic of all unions, is giving us a new definition of this famous "democracy" in cahoots with a friendly Supreme Court Justice. First taking my shoes off, and saving Mr. Dubinsky's presence, I would like to make a few remarks about the matter and pass on a suggestion to Mr. Dubinsky.

I don't for a minute doubt that the four suspended cutters, who were leaders of the Stalinist-backed opposition slate in the union elections in 1944, defamed Mr. Dubinsky and probably also slandered him and other officers of the union — such procedures are in the nature of Stalinism. No one could blame the aggrieved labor leaders for objecting to it and seeking redress. The method employed in this case, however, was not a happy one.

The real authors and inspirers of the defamation and slander are the Stalin-picked bosses of the Communist Party. They escape unscathed, and have been gratuitously handed a democratic issue to exploit, which they do not deserve, while four of their deluded followers, rank and file men who work for a living, get the lumps. Suspension from the union in a trade that is 100% organized is far too severe a punishment for harsh words — or even false accusations — made in the heat of a union election struggle. And, if, as is the general practice in such cases, it is followed by removal from

SAN DIEGO
On MOTHERS' DAY
Bring the Children To A
Spring Picnic
Refreshments and Fun
EL MONTE PARK
Sun., May 11, 10:30 a.m.
Proceeds to ACEWR
Adults \$1. Children Free

MINNEAPOLIS
Come to the Election Jamboree
Showing of the Delightful Movie
"THE MIRACLE OF MORGAN'S CREEK"
10 South 4th St.
Minneapolis
Dancing
Auspices: Minneapolis Branch, Socialist Workers Party

J. P. C.

After The 15c Settlement

By George Clarke

Last week the President of the United States told the nation that the days of post-war "paradise" were numbered. In a short time, he warned, "the economic cloudbusts" might be upon us. Thus, less than two years since the end of hostilities, the American workers are blantly and truthfully informed that it is only a matter of time before the terrible storm of economic paralysis and depression drenches their lives and their children's lives with unemployment, poverty and hopelessness.

The coming economic crisis will reveal the grim

realities of American life that have been partly hidden by the chimera of wartime and postwar prosperity. It will reveal that the pledges of Roosevelt to lead the people into the promised land if only they would endure the toll and sacrifices and killings of the war were lies — all lies. It will reveal that a handful of capitalist butchers plundered the great productive plant, rifled the public treasury and cornered the nation's wealth. It will reveal that the high wages of the prosperity years did not appreciably raise the standard of living of the American workers, that the increased number of paper dollars in pay envelopes bought little furniture, few wash-

machines and even fewer homes — not to speak of security against illness, old age and "economic cloudbusts."

Yet at the same time as Truman's warnings of the impending collapse, the capitalist press — that great purveyor of lies and misinformation — found the opportunity to hide these ugly realities. The wage settlements signed in the electrical, steel and auto industries — setting a 15 cents hourly increase as a national "pattern" — came to them like manna from heaven. By their boasts of "victory" and "substantial gains," Murray and Reuther helped to draw even tighter the iron curtain over the truth.

Louis G. Seaton, who negotiated the settlement for the General Motors Corporation, came much closer to the truth when he commented that "It (the contract) settles our economic questions until April 28, 1948." General Motors, and all of Big Business for that matter, has every reason to purr with satisfaction.

The year 1946 saw over 12 billion dollars in profits roll into the coffers of the corporations — the biggest killing made by the capitalists in any year in American history, peacetime or wartime; bigger by a billion than the combined profits of the years 1936-1937-1938; and bigger by one-half than the profits of the peak pre-war prosperity year of 1929. Having slain the fatigued calf, Big Business could well afford to throw the American workers a bone. This "generosity" came all the easier since it is estimated that over four of the 12 billion profit was a gift from Congress in the form of tax reductions and carry-back provisions.

SMALL PRICE TO PAY

Fifteen cents was a small price to pay for the results Big Business expects from the settlement: a year or two of peace on the labor front while Congress cripples the unions with anti-labor legislation. No strikes in the United States to interfere with Wall Street's plans for the Third World War. No workers' action in the U. S. to give hope and inspiration to the rebellious colonial peoples or the workers' struggles in Europe.

The fifteen cents settlement was a real bargain sale buy for America's 60 richest families.

But what about the workers? Are their "economic questions" settled by this agreement? The 15 cents raise — and it will be lower when it gets around to weaker unions in other industries — will hardly keep the wolf from the door. A year ago, workers in the basic manufacturing industries received raises amounting to an average of 14.7 cents per hour. This in no way compensated for the 30% cut instituted with the elimination of wartime overtime, downgrading, etc.

In the meantime prices have zoomed upwards. Truman is only repeating what every working class housewife has seen in the shrinking purchasing power of wages when he reports that housefur-

nishes have bounded 23% over the 1945 average, clothing 24%, food 31%. In July of last year the CIO Economic Outlook found that there was an "overall reduction of over 19% of the real earnings of American workers" from the previous year.

The story of the postwar paradise "free enterprise" can be summed up in the few brief words of Karl Marx' prediction: The rich have grown richer and the poor poorer.

NOT THE WHOLE STORY

Yet even this is not the whole story. Big Business can now report success in its conspiracy to rob the savings of the war production workers, of the veterans and of the soldiers' widows. High prices have forced workers to use up their savings and cash in war bonds. Seven out of 10 families whose wages come from manufacturing industries have less than \$300 in savings. Already, according to Truman, American families have gone into debt "in an amount 50% greater than a year ago."

What is wrong with America? Certainly there is nothing wrong with the American industrial plant and with the skill of the American workers who turned out a volume of production 71% greater than in 1929 and increased the annual national income to 176 billion dollars as compared with 83 billion dollars in 1929.

What is wrong is that this fabulous wealth is not used to build homes for veterans and to provide adequate food, clothes, medical care, and education for the workers and their children.

What is wrong is that a lion's share of the national income goes to the 60 parasitic families who rule America.

What is wrong is that the ever-lower share of the workers in the nation's wealth makes them unable to buy back what they have produced and thus prepares the way for overproduction and economic crisis.

What is wrong is that the leaders of 15 million organized workers are satisfied with a pitance of 15 cents when they should be demanding workers' control of the national production and the national wealth.

But the wrong can be righted. The great monopolies and trusts need not be run for the profits of a few by the labor of many. They need not be run so a few can enjoy the prosperity years while the masses must suffer the agony of depressions.

15 million trade unionists organized in their own party can right the wrong. A Labor Party can gain control of the government — and gain control it must — nationalize the great trusts, run them by the workers and for the benefit of all the people.

When 15 million unionists are ready to demand not 15 cents, but control of the nation's industries — then it will be done.



Scene of part of a Detroit local union marching to Cadillac Square last week to participate in the monster mass demonstration against anti-labor bills. Among the slogans prominently displayed are: "Busting Unions Won't Feed Kids;" "An Escalator Wage Clause In Every Union Contract;" "Our Answer to the Labor-Hating Republican Democratic Coalition — Build a Labor Party," etc.

Anti-Labor Bills Arouse Giant Protest In Detroit

(Continued from Page 1)

ers: "Stop Murder of Miners — Human Life Before Profits."

In memory of victims of the Centralia, Ill., disaster, the assembled thousands maintained a thirty second silence.

Mrs. Frances Smith, speaking for the striking American Federation of Telephone Workers, told how fire hoses were being used against the telephone girls.

She informed the demonstrators that this was the 18th day of their tough battle against the world's richest corporation. She reported how in Indiana, vicious state laws have prevented telephone workers from striking for decent wages; and denounced all attempts to reduce labor to servitude.

SPIRITED APPROVAL

A chorus of tens of thousands met with spirited approval the statement of Robert Keys of the Foremen's Association of America, to the effect that if Congress passes laws denying foremen the right to organize, they would fight.

It is an ironical coincident that the April 4 issue of the *Wage Earner*, the Detroit organ of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, files an editorial protest against the Stalinized District Executive Board of the United Electrical Workers of West Michigan for suspending a dissident member named L. Carlton Sanford, and then notifying Sanford's employer to exclude him from the local's bargaining unit. The *Wage Earner* goes on to say: "The UE officials responsible for this blow at a man's livelihood would do well to study the American constitution and try to understand the democracy which protects their rights so generously."

I don't think much of the ACTU and its *Wage Earner*, but in this instance they make a suggestion to the Stalinists which might profitably be accepted by the Social Democrats who denounce the Stalinists so bitterly in the name of democracy. Think it over, Mr. Dubinsky.

It is the Bosses' Weapon to Destroy Labor."

The tremendous significance of this huge demonstration cannot be underestimated. The corporations did everything in their power to reduce this inspiring demonstration of strength. They first declared that it should be held on a day when the plants were not operating. Then intimidation was tried.

Thus George Romney, managing director of the Automobile Manufacturers Association, declared that the protest meeting was "in violation of all com-

pany contracts . . . The auto union is demanding an illegal shutdown . . ." Managements of several plants informed local union officials that reprisals would follow for those who took part in the demonstration. The press followed suit.

Four days after the demonstration, GM officials fired 15 workers and suspended 23 others for participating in the demonstration.

But the Detroit workers showed in action that they wish to fight for labor's rights and living standards and against the political knifing by labor's enemies.

But no speaker at the meeting told the workers how to really fight politically. There were many urgencies to cast more ballots for Democrats or Republicans but not one speaker mentioned the great and crying need for a labor party. Emil Mazey, Regional UAW Director, who has been advocating a labor party, failed to do so on this occasion.

The growing political consciousness of the workers was expressed by the UAW-CIO Briggs Local 212 delegation, which bore slogans demanding the building of a labor party. Other locals carried this slogan,

This signal show of power, beyond the shadow of doubt, has gone a long way toward awakening labor's political consciousness. It will compel Big Business to slow down its vindictive attacks, for fear of further counter-actions. It will play a major role in the struggle for the formation of a Labor Party.

calculated by the striking telephone girls.

Earl Roland, area representative of the telephone workers, simply and modestly described the difficulties facing the strike against the gigantic telephone monopoly. "When we went out on strike," he said, "we had no idea we would have to stay out so long. We are poor, we have no carfare for our pickets, we are inexperienced, we need advice, we need help." He concluded with a warning to Governor Driscoll that the telephone workers, despite his state slave act, "don't intend to give up and are in this fight to the finish."

Both President Frank Hardman of the Camden Central Labor Union and President John Fabion of the South Jersey Industrial Union Council hailed the rally as a demonstration of labor unity and emphasized the need for all sections of the union movement to get together to defeat the reactionary drive against labor.

Union officials declared that the size of the rally was affected by the refusal of the city administration to permit sound trucks to tour the main industrial plants in the area and notify the workers of the rally. But the workers present were little downcast by the attempts of the city administration to sabotage their rally. They responded enthusiastically to appeals by union officials for all-out AFL and CIO aid to the telephone workers. They contributed generously to the collection cans cir-

culated by the striking telephone girls.

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The high point of the rally was the speech by Virginia Wigglesworth, telephone union official arrested for breaking Driscoll's strikebreaking law. Her restrained but determined tone exemplified the courageous spirit of the striking telephone girls.

Demonstration In Newark Protests Slave-Labor Law

By Ruth Franklin

NEWARK, N. J., Apr. 23 — A big rally, held in downtown Newark under the auspices of the striking telephone workers, the CIO and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, yesterday sharply protested the Driscoll slave labor law and the Hartley and Taft bills in Washington.

It was the biggest labor demonstration in Newark since the early days of the CIO, and was attended by between six and eight thousand. The workers poured into Washington Park by the thousands, many marching for many blocks from their shops and foundries.

They filed in, singing Solidarity Forever, carrying placards and shouting slogans such as "Down with Driscoll" and "Down with anti-strike legislation." There were young and old, men and women, black and white, and enthusiasm was manifested everywhere.

But this did not terminate the demonstration. Many thousands then marched over to the Bell Telephone Co., forming a huge picket line, in solidarity with the striking telephone workers. Other thousands lined the streets to witness this mass demonstration of solidarity. In the face of which the cops preferred to remain quietly in the background. It was truly a revival of the "Spirit of '37" for which many banners called.

This signal show of power, beyond the shadow of doubt, has gone a long way toward awakening labor's political consciousness. It will compel Big Business to slow down its vindictive attacks, for fear of further counter-actions. It will play a major role in the formation of a Labor Party.

The spirited parade of thousands of workers marching and crowding through the crowded downtown streets of Newark attracted into its ranks many workers from the sidewalks. At the City Hall, they covered all the steps, overflowed into the streets and formed a solid block so that it was impossible for anyone to exit or enter.

Many union leaders addressed the meeting, which adopted two resolutions — one condemning state and national anti-labor bills, the other pledging complete moral and financial support to the phone workers.

NEW YORK
Invitation To
Cafe Internationale
Sat., May 17, 9 p.m.
15 Irving Place
(Near 14th Street)
Auspices:
American Committee for
European Workers Relief

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 strike-breaking!

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
116 University Place
New York 3, New York

I would like:
 To join

The Stalinist Bureaucrats And The Other Bureaucrats

By James P. Cannon

(Editorial Note: This is the fifth of a series of articles on American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism.)

Some people, who carry their understandable and quite justified hatred of the Stalinists to the point of phobia, seem to overlook the fact that there are other evils in this world, and in the labor movement. They tend to limit their political program to the single simple formula: United front of everybody against the Stalinists. This does not state the problem correctly. And, moreover, it doesn't hurt the Stalinists. They can live and thrive on the indiscriminate campaign of "red-baiting" directed against them, and even gain a certain credit in the eyes of radical workers which they by no means deserve.

We define the Stalinists as bureaucracy in the labor movement, with special interests of its own to serve. This bureaucracy seeks to gain, and does gain, special privileges at the expense of the masses of the workers, tenaciously holds onto these privileges and fiercely defends them, and is ready at any moment to sell out the workers to maintain them.

But the Stalinists are not the only bureaucrats in the labor movement. There are others, and in America the others are more numerous, and stronger. By the same token they constitute a far more useful instrument of the Stalinists in preventing, restraining and sabotaging the emancipation struggle of the workers. We refer, of course, to the old-line, conservative, trade union bureaucracy and its "progressive" and "Socialist," or ex-Socialist, appendages. This bureaucracy is also based on special privileges which differ from those of the American Stalinists mainly in the circumstance that their privileges are more extensive, more firmly established over a longer period of time, and more secure.

A vast horde of these privileged bureaucrats, ranging from the over-fed business agents of a good many of the local unions to the high-salaried International officers, have raised themselves up on the backs of the workers. They enjoy standards of living which the workers cannot even dream of, and think and act more like businessmen than like workers. Most of them feel more at home in a conference with bosses and capitalist party politicians than in a meeting of rank and file workers.

Fight For Their Privileges

The pickings of the conservative American labor bureaucracy are the richest in the world, and their consciousness is determined accordingly. When they fight it is always mainly for the defense of these privileges.

Whether it is a fight to smash a rank and file revolt one day, by any and every dirty means of demagogic, expulsion and brutal violence; or another day against anti-union legislation which threatens the existence of the unions and therefore their own basis of existence; or a third day against another union in a jurisdictional quarrel — their primary motivation is always the same: the defense of their pickings.

The good-standing members of this corrupt and reactionary gang are fierce Russophobes and red-baiters; and superficially they appear to be diametrical opposites of the Stalinists, whom they are attacking with exceptional energy at the present time in response to the Washington tuning fork. In reality, however, they are essentially the same type as the Stalinists. They are motivated by the same kind of privileged special interests and defend them with very much the same mentality. There are differences, of course, between them and the Stalinist bureaucrats, but the points of difference are superficial and secondary. The points of similarity are fundamental.

That is why they attack the Stalinists not for their crimes and betrayals of the workers but rather for their virtues; more correctly, what would be their virtues if the accusations were true. Leaving aside the stupid allegation that the American Stalinists are promoting and planning to organize a workers' revolution to overthrow capitalism — a "crime" which they are not in the least guilty of — there is not much substance to the furious bluster of the reactionary red-baiters in the labor movement against the "Commies." These anti-Stalinists are guilty of the very same crimes as the Stalinists, and in every crucial test they find themselves allied with the Stalinists in the commission of these crimes against the workers. Strange as it may seem, that is what the record says, and the record does not lie.

Last week we recounted the most important crimes and betrayals of which we accuse the Stalinists in the American labor movement. We cited their disruption, class-collaboration and support of capitalist political parties, leading up to the crowning infamy: support of the imperialist war. On top of that, strikebreaking activity to keep the workers in shackles during the war, and stool-pigeon collaboration with the capitalist government for the prosecution of militant and revolutionary workers. That is a "criminal record" if there ever was one. And where were the noble red-baiters while all this was going on? The anti-Stalinist labor bureaucrats were committing the very same crimes, point for point; many times in intimate collaboration with these same Stalinists with whom unbalanced Stalinophobes imagine them to be in irreconcilable conflict.

Sought To Restrict Unionism

The old-line trade union bureaucracy has always sought to restrict the trade union movement to the more or less skilled trades who constitute the aristocracy of American labor. They did more to hinder than to help the organization of the great mass of the unskilled. Prior to the thirties, whenever they entered the unskilled and mass production field, it was hardly ever to organize the unorganized, but nearly always to disrupt the organizing campaigns of rival organizations, such as the IWW and independent unions. In this field, where the most exploited workers stood most in need of the benefits of organization, the old-line labor skates have always done ten times more union busting than union building.

The movement of the mass production workers for unionization surged forward mightily in the thirties, and its driving impulse came from below, not from the top. The shameless and cynical fakers feared the entrance of these great masses into the organized labor movement as a possible threat to their bureaucratic stranglehold, and consequently to their privileges. The heroic rank and file efforts to attain effective unionization were disrupted again and again by the AFL bureaucracy. The auto workers and the rubber workers, especially, can tell a tale about that; to say nothing of the electrical workers who, in order to create their own union, had to break out of their "Class B" prison in the AFL union, where they had the right to pay dues but not to breathe or to vote. It required a split with the AFL bureaucracy before the mass production workers could finally break through and secure for them-

selves the protection of organization under the banner of the CIO.

Rank and file militants in many a local union know from experience that every attempt to take advantage of a favorable opportunity to improve their conditions by strike action must take into account not only the bosses and the cops, but also the top officers of their own organization. There is always the danger of their interference, which does not stop at gangsterism and strikebreaking. These bureaucrats would rather bust up a local union any time than allow it to come under an honest militant leadership that might endanger their control in the International organization and the emoluments and perquisites appertaining thereto and accruing therefrom.

Approximately 40% of the local unions of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, for example, at the present time are under "receivership," i.e., deprived of all their constitutional rights to elect officers, etc., for precisely these reasons. It was the attempt, by the way, to impose such a "receivership" on Minneapolis local 544, in order to get rid of its militant leadership and line the union up for the war program, that led to the big fight and the subsequent arrest and imprisonment of 18 of the union and SWP leaders—all Trotskyists. Tobin, the president of the Teamsters' International, appealed directly to Roosevelt and directly instigated the prosecution. And he worked hand-in-glove with the Stalinists, first to put us in prison and then to prevent any union under their control from aiding our defense committee. These cynical labor skates couldn't learn anything about disruption, union busting, stool-pigeonning, or violations of trade union democracy, from the Stalinists; they are past masters at all these dark and evil arts.

Both Serve Labor's Enemies

When it comes to class collaboration on the political field — another crime we charged against the Stalinists — it cannot be said that they taught this scheme of class betrayal to the conservative labor bureaucrats. On the contrary, they learned it from them. The labor leaders of the old school operate in every election as procurers for the capitalist parties, urging the trade unionists to "reward their friends," who almost invariably turn out in every real showdown to be their enemies. Witness the present Congress, a large percentage of which, if not a majority, sailed into office with the "endorsement" of the labor leaders; not to mention the strikebreaking President who was recommended as labor's "special friend."

Last week we cited the especially abominable record of the Stalinists during the war — their support of the war, their support of the no-strike pledge, and their collaboration with the employers and governmental agencies to frame up and break up every attempt of the hard-pressed rank and file to get through it or around it. We denounced the Stalinists during the war for these real and heinous crimes against the interests of the working class. But the red-baiting anti-Stalinist labor bureaucrats, who are making so much noise today in synchronism with the governmental drive against the Stalinists, had absolutely nothing to say against these crimes committed by the Stalinists during the war. And for good reason. They were engaged in the same dirty business. They were, in fact, united with the Stalinists in the conspiracy against truth which was required to drag the workers into the war. They jointly put over the "no-strike pledge," and jointly fought the militant rank and file whenever they tried to assert their right to strike during the war.

And this applies to the so-called "progressive" labor leaders of the CIO as well as to their more stolid brethren of the AFL. Visualize once again the unforgettable picture, drawn by Art Preis in *The Militant*, of the convention of the United Automobile Workers in 1944. Thomas and Reuther and Addes and Leonard, the whole administration in all of its factions, were lined up solidly on the platform in fraternal unity with the Stalinists to beat down the rank and file revolt against the no-strike pledge.

The transitory leaders thrown to the top of the first great wave of the new unionism represented by the CIO, are showing a marked inclination to imitate the AFL fakers and a tendency, like them, to grow fat, especially around the ears. They strive constantly to consolidate their positions in official machines, permanent and secure, and independent from all control, on the pattern of the AFL — and to constrict the membership in a bureaucratic strait-jacket. If they have not succeeded — as they have not and will not — it is by no means due to the lack of ambitions in this respect, but primarily to the power of resistance that resides in the rank and file of the new unions of the mass production workers; to their alertness, and their mighty striving for democracy and for an aggressive, militant policy.

The Foreign Power In Washington

The closer you look at the dubious program of united front with the conservative and "progressive" labor bureaucrats against the Stalinist bureaucrats, the clearer it becomes that in practice, wherever the vital interests of the masses of the workers are concerned, the "united front" usually takes a different shape, with or without a formal agreement. When it comes to the fundamental conflict of interests between the classes, the burning reality which serious workers must take as their starting point, the Stalinist bureaucrats and the anti-Stalinist bureaucrats find themselves lined up on the same side, and it is not the side of the workers.

"But," say the AFL fakers, and the CIO "progressive" red-baiters, and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, and the ex-radical Stalinophobes — "but," they all say in chorus, "there is one crime of the Stalinists you have not mentioned, and it is the greatest crime of all which should unite all men of good will in opposition to them: They are the servants of a foreign power." That is true. The official leaders of the Communist Party of the United States are indubitably the hired agents of the Stalin regime in Russia; and they servilely carry out its instructions and serve its interests with every twist and turn of Kremlin policy, no matter how such conduct may contradict and injure the interests of the American working class. For that we condemn them and denounce them, and wage war against them.

But not under your leadership, Messrs. labor fakers and Russophobes! You are just as much the agents and servants of the capitalist government at Washington as the Stalinists are the agents and servants of the Stalin regime. What kind of a government is that, if you please? Didn't it drag the people of America into two wars of imperialist conquest under the fake slogan of "democracy," and isn't it now plotting and planning a third? Didn't it preside over the ten-year depression of the thirties with its terrible toll of broken lives and broken homes, and isn't it heading the country straight into another depression,

100,000 Workers Protest Arrest Of Trotskyist Leader In Madras

By Manickam

MADRAS, India, Apr. 5 — The British-owned Buckingham and Carnatic Mills at Madras is the biggest textile mill in India. Its 14,500 workers are 100% unionized into the Madras Labor Union. The MLU president is S.C.C. Antony Pillai, member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India, section of the Fourth International. He is also a member of the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress and president of the 7,000 strong Perambur Workshop branch of the Madras and Southern Maharastra Railway Union. In June last year, he led to partial success a 48-day strike of the B&C Mill Workers — a strike which made him undoubtedly the most prominent and popular labor leader in Madras.

On March 11 this year, the Madras Labor Union, after negotiation and notice, struck work on a number of demands. Of these, one sets the pace in India, namely, the demand that the money returned by the government to the company as accumulated wartime excess profits taxes should be utilized for a housing plan for the B&C workers. (Madras working class houses are among the worst in India.)

The amount thus returned to this company totalled over 11,000,000 rupees. Yet the management actually offered the workers a pittance half a million rupees during negotiations.

Among the other union demands was a bonus equal to six months' wages — a demand recently won by the textile workers of Coimbatore, Madras Province;



C. S. S. ANTONY PILLAI

reinstatement of all dismissed for striking during the August 1942 uprising of the Indian masses; payment of a cost-of-living allowance at four annas per index point (the present amount is less than two annas), etc.

A strike at B&C paralyzes cloth production in the whole province. The Congress Party government, whose anti-working class policies are now a by-word in India, used this as pretext to declare the strike illegal through a legalistic maneuver. This maneuver failed, and the strike began.

In the meantime, the existing Congress Ministry was intrigued out of office by a rival intra-Congress group. The new Ministry gave an ultimatum to the union to settle with the management by March 28. It fixed 11 a.m. on that day for the union to report to it on the negotiations.

But before this could be done, the Ministry suddenly arrested comrade Antony Pillai at his house at 4 a.m. and rushed him away to Vellore jail. (He has since been removed to Rajamundry.) The arrest was made under the notorious Public Safety Bill, recently passed by the Madras Legislature as a thoroughgoing anti-working class weapon.

The Ministry's blow boomeranged. On the evening of the

28th a huge meeting of the strikers, presided over by comrade Antony Pillai's wife, solemnly resolved that they would enter into no negotiations unless and until their leader was released. More significantly, representatives of other trade unions in Madras addressed this meeting of over 40,000 people, stating that they would join in a one-day general strike to protest the arrest. This action was finally fixed for March 31.

This day was preceded by a direct radio appeal from the Madras Premier, demanding that the strike be called off. He had his answer on the morning of the 31st. One hundred thousand Madras workers downed tools to protest the Ministry's attack on the union and the working class by the arrest of its president (well-known as a Trotskyist).

March 31 in Madras might as well have been a day in the 1942 August uprising in India. Armed police at every ten yards in the streets. Gurkha troops armed to the teeth, at every street corner. Motorcycles fitted with machine-guns rushing through streets emptied of traffic by a virtually complete transport strike (even the taxi-drivers joined). Railways patrolled by armed trolley cars. In short, the armed might of the state on display everywhere.

The workers answered 7,000 workers of the Perambur Railway workshop of the MSM Railway went out in the streets to back the mill president (who was the president of their union too). The bus workers, lorry workers, tramway workers, municipal workers, workers in the civil supplies, a section of the harbor workers, the leather workers, cigar workers, etc. — 100,000 strong, as we said, struck work that day. The Ministry had received the workers' answer.

The B&C workers have now been on strike for over 24 days. The strike looks as though it will be prolonged, for the Congress Ministry has let it be known that it is out this time to smash the union — spearhead of the Madras working class.

But they won't find it easy. Even rank and file members of the Congress Party, outraged by the Ministry's attitude, are active in the strike. The political prestige of the Ministry has been severely hit. Worker after worker gets up at meetings to denounce the Congress and to declare that it has proved its capitalist character. Even Congress members have spoken in the same vein.

Thus the strike and the arrest is tending to make complete the political exposure of Congress, the political party of the Indian bourgeoisie who are at this very moment engaged in a political horse-deal with British imperialism — behind the backs and over the heads of the masses.

The prisoner must be subjected to a supplementary cross-examination in order to clear up the following points:

(1) His real identity and his past; (2) his role in the Siqueiros assault and the murder of Robert Sheldon Harte; (3) what he did on the trips that he made periodically to New York; (4) the identity of his superiors, inspirers and paymasters.

The participation of the leaders of the "Communist" Party of the U.S. in the plot against Trotsky, attested to by Louis Budenz, provides sufficient grounds for bringing before the court Budenz himself together with Browder and Stachel and to place them in the hands of the Mexican judicial authorities.

Millions of people are under a monstrous delusion: they identify the October Revolution with the bloody totalitarian regime which engulfed it, the regime with its "Apparatus" of espionage, corruption and slander; with its Comintern, the organizer of murders, formally dissolved in 1942 but still continuing its evil activities. The time has come for those who continue to grope in the dark to open their eyes. The responsibility of the crime committed in Coyoacan and for other innumerable crimes falls directly and far more so than on his contemptible secret agents — upon Stalin himself. The interests of the complete investigation of this exceptional court case demand Stalin's presence; he must appear before the court as the author and arranger of the crime. Stalin bears the responsibility before the world's public opinion, before posterity and before history.

READ

Fourth International

and a still worse one? Isn't it the cynical instrument of the monopolists and profit hogs, serving their interests against the interests of the American people? Isn't it an anti-labor, strikebreaking government, owned lock, stock and barrel by the Sixty Families of monopoly capitalism?

The main enemy of the American workers is in their own country; and as far as their most basic interests are concerned, this government at Washington is also a foreign power. It is a far mightier, and a far more immediate threat and danger to the American working class than the government of Stalin, as the experience of the past year has amply demonstrated once again. It is not the Stalin government that is breaking strikes and threatening the rights of unions in the United States at the present time. It is the bi-partisan capitalist government at Washington. That is a foreign power, workers of America, and those who serve this foreign power cannot be your allies in the struggle against Stalinism.

The united front of the rank and file, who have no privileges, who serve no foreign powers, who have nothing to lose but their poverty and insecurity, and have a world to win. This united front must be directed at the capitalist system, and thereby against both of its servile agencies — the Stalinist bureaucrats and the other bureaucrats. (Next Week: Is The Communist Party A Working Class Organization?)

The revelations of Louis Budenz, the former editor of the *Daily Worker*, the "Communist" Stalinist daily in the United States, are quite specific and have become widely known. The conscience of world public opinion can neither remain indifferent to the crimes that have been committed nor permit them to pass unpunished.

A new and supplementary judicial investigation must be undertaken against the Stalinist assassin now lodged in a prison in Mexico, the self-styled "Jackson," "Mornard," "Vandendregh" — all three false aliases.

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"War is a gigantic commercial enterprise especially for the war industry. The 'Sixty Families' are therefore the first-line patriots and the chief provocateurs of war. Workers' control of war industries is the first step in the struggle against the 'manufacturers' of war."

Leon Trotsky

Detroit Appeal

(Text of leaflet distributed to Cadillac Square demonstration by the Socialist Workers Party in Detroit last week.)

We salute you members of the CIO and hall this Cadillac Square demonstration.

This mobilization of labor strength in Detroit—the heart of the auto industry—is a more effective answer to the labor haters in Congress than tons of postcards mailed to Washington. It is labor's warning to the Powers-That-Be that labor is powerful and will not tolerate the destruction of its organizations.

But the Billionaire Robber Barons—the real owners, the real rulers of America—are today gorged with profits and drunk with power.

At their orders, the Democratic-Republican coalition in Congress is trying to crucify labor and render the workingman helpless before the predatory might of big capital.

At their orders, the Democratic-Republican coalition has passed the biggest military peace-time budget in all of America's history and is working to plunge the American people into the bloodbath of a new atomic world war.

Big Business must be stopped! The criminal designs of their Congressional stooges must be defeated!

But How?

Organized labor, 15 million strong, who with their families and friends constitute the great majority of the population, has absolutely no representation in Congress.

How is such a state of affairs possible?

Only because the CIO and AFL leaders practice a policy of company unionism on the political field. Only because these leaders support the very Democratic and Republican parties that are now engaged in trying to slit labor's collective throat.

This impressive demonstration can be the beginning of a great labor counter-offensive. The job ahead is for the powerful CIO movement in Michigan to take the initiative in launching a labor party in this state as the first step towards the formation of a national labor party.

As soon as labor utilizes its political arm as well as its economic arm, it can stop its enemies in their tracks and hurl back the present lynch-labor campaign.

Smash the Republican-Democratic conspiracy to destroy organized labor!

Break with company unionism on the political field!

Build the Labor Party NOW!

Failure At Moscow

Almost two years after V-E Day, the former Allied powers are still as far from achieving an enduring peace as they were when their armies marched into the smoking ruins of Berlin. The abysmal failure of the Moscow Conference serves to underline this fact.

Why can't the Allied statesmen write a workable peace treaty? Didn't all of them swear they were fighting in the Second World War to make the world safe for democracy and bring "Four Freedoms" to the peoples of the earth?

The truth is that the powers haggling over the table at Moscow had their sights not on peace but on the Third World War which all of them consider inevitable.

The profit-mad, power-drunk Wall Street imperialists envisage domination over the entire earth. Having emerged from World War II with American industry unscarred and with a mighty military machine that possesses temporary monopoly of atomic weapons, they are impatient to realize what they believe is their manifest destiny.

At the Moscow Conference, General Marshall led from this strength. Wall Street's aim was to gain maximum concessions at the expense of the Soviet Union as an installment on eventual liquidation of the workers' state.

If Mars, the god of war, sat at Marshall's elbow, the Kremlin's representatives did nothing to dislodge the grim spectator. Concerned only with safeguarding their bureaucratic privileges and staving off the socialist revolution that would end their stranglehold on the USSR, they made no attempt to fight for or even present a program that could guarantee enduring peace. Stalin, Molotov and Vyshinsky avoided the word "socialism" the way the devil is said to avoid holy water.

And in this obscene game of power politics,

the pawns were the peoples of the world who have suffered the devastation and agony of two global slaughters in a brief quarter of a century. In the first instance, the German workers, who suffered the horrors of fascism in addition to the horrors of two world wars, were the object of barter between these diplomats jockeying for position in a Third World War.

The failure of the Moscow Conference demonstrates once more that the only hope of achieving enduring peace lies in the rise of a new power—the power of the working class on an international scale. The workers and farmers will take their fate into their own hands. They will hurl down the capitalist rulers. They will raise up in their place genuine leaders of the people charged with the task of putting a finish to the capitalist system.

Only when capitalism has been ended will it be possible to achieve enduring peace. That peace will be a socialist peace, the kind of peace that can end the present bitter, bloody epoch of depressions and imperialist wars.

Grooming Truman

On April 22 President Truman told the annual luncheon of the Associated Press in New York that "If we are to avoid a recession we must act before it starts. Prices must be brought down. I speak first to those businessmen who have it within their power to reduce their prices."

The capitalist press has interpreted this declaration as a warning that if businessmen insist on "pricing their products out of the market" it is "their own funeral," and that consequently the speech constituted White House pressure to lower prices.

Our interpretation is different. It appears to us that Truman aimed at a more modest goal. He hoped simply to lower the odds on a political funeral being held for him in the presidential election next year.

One of the big domestic issues agitating the American people is the skyrocketing cost of living. Every worker knows what the fantastic price hikes have done to the family budget. Every time the grocer puts up higher price tags, the housewife is reminded that Truman is still in the White House and that she has a vote coming.

Besides wrath over mounting living costs, every worker is harried by the fear of the looming depression. He recalls how factory gates closed in the Thirties and 20 million workers were thrown out of jobs.

The Democratic High Command know that price-gouging and the on-rushing depression will be among the major issues of the coming campaign. They are exceedingly anxious to get out from under. They evidently have decided that their best hope of beating the rap is to have Truman make the record with some key speeches, and try to sell him to the voters as the champion of the people.

We can already hear the campaign speeches the ghostwriters will piece together from the speeches that put Roosevelt over four times: "Didn't I warn again and again and again about the danger of a recession? Didn't I ask the businessmen again and again and again to lower prices?"

This line of defense charted by the Democratic High Command has the additional advantage of relieving Truman of actually doing anything besides speech-making to bring prices down. When Truman appeals to Big Business to lower prices voluntarily, these ruthless monopolists and profiteers dismiss the appeal, of course, as the usual demagogery that is the necessary stock-in-trade of their political representatives. Where prices do come down a few notches here or there as the first harbingers of the depression, they have no objection to Truman trying to wring out a little political credit for his badly damaged party.

The best stories in the book are those which concern Tevye. Tevye is a simple, loquacious person with pretensions to scriptural learning. He sometimes wonders if it is right that he prefers laughter to tears, "Laughter is healthful. The doctors bid us laugh."

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Next were the New Deal Democrats headed by Pepper (Fla.) and Taylor (Idaho). They put up a weak battle, Pepper taking part of his time to apologize for a previous public announcement that he intended to vote for it.

The isolationists, headed by Johnson (D., Colo.) leveled grave charges at the Truman Administration, but put up no consistent fight against the bill and it was passed April 22 by a majority of 67 to 23.

Truman had tried to justify his "doctrine" by calling for support of "free" people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."

Johnson declared that "the Greek monarchy is an armed minority forcibly imposed upon the majority." He said that Congress "is to be the outside pressure group which will be subjugating the Greek people."

By-passing the UN was an act of "extreme arrogance," Johnson said. "Let us not hide behind pretty phrases. The basic fact is that we have violated our obligation to the United Nations. The basic blunt, brutal fact is that we, by ourselves alone, have decided to police the world alone."

He implied that American military men will guide the strategy, tactics, and military move-

THE MILITANT



"Six cents! Don't you know that our President has asked us to reduce prices?"

BOOKSHELF

THE OLD COUNTRY

by Sholom Aleichem, Crown Publishers, 434 pp., 1946, \$3.

The Old Country is a translation of selected short stories and sketches of Sholom Aleichem, the Jewish humorist who died in 1916. The world which Sholom Aleichem describes is that of the Jews of the towns of Czarist Russia of forty or fifty years ago.

These Jews are struggling artisans—tailors, cobblers, tanners—who barely manage to eke out a miserable living. Their world, in which ignorance mingles with sterile scholastic learning, in which the men are ground down by their effort to earn a living and the women are wholly absorbed in the work of the kitchen, is a narrow one, but it is brightened by the communal spirit of an oppressed people.

Sholom Aleichem acts as the spokesman for these penurious Jews. He writes in the first person in a direct, simple fashion, as one Jew speaking to another, sometimes tending to garrulity but always catching himself up to return to his tale. His humor is one of shrewd observation, of sly statement, of pungent idiomatic expression. Much of it is evidently lost in translation, but a good deal filters through. It is a warm, genial humor which has its origin in its author's sympathy of feeling with his characters. At times he gives up humor for pathos or purely descriptive sketches, but his attitude generally is that of a member of a half-tolerated oppressed minority which has learned to jest at its misfortunes. As he says at the end of a tragicomic story, refusing to tell the reader its unhappy ending because he prefers laughter to tears, "Laughter is healthful. The doctors bid us laugh."

Tevye's world no longer exists. It was transformed by the proletarian revolution for which his child fought. In the stories of Sholom Aleichem, however, it continues to live.

—Paul Schapiro

ARCHITECTS OF IDEAS

by Ernest Trattner, Carrick & Evans, 426 pp., 1938, \$3.75.

Architects of Ideas is a valuable book because it gives the reader a clear idea of what a scientific theory really is.

To do this, Trattner describes the historical background of several basic scientific concepts.

The book tells of previous ideas

that people held on the phenomena concerned. It shows the effect that the existing situation had upon the theorist, and finally, it recounts the exhausting struggle that was carried on against previous concepts

and prejudices. This makes a very interesting story; but more important, it gives the reader the material basis of the concept, without which it cannot be fully understood.

Secondly Trattner points out that a theory is more than a mere idea. A theory is verifiable by facts. A theory is more than a mere hypothesis. It is a hypothesis that has proved itself correct in a number of situations.

The value of a theory lies in what it enables the scientist to do. With it they are placed in a position to synthesize and explain a group of facts which as they stand are incomplete, and to act in their fields on the basis of this new knowledge. Trattner says, "True intellectual enterprise does not consist simply in listing mere data; the theorist does more than elucidate the obvious. The additional task required is to make the facts yield more information about themselves; for nature is more than she obviously is."

Finally Trattner's book brings out the important fact that all sciences and scientific theories are related to each other. A scientific concept does not contradict other scientific concepts but rather helps to explain them. The light of a theory not only shines within its own field but is carried out into other fields of scientific endeavor.

In this book fifteen theorists have been chosen because they have one thing in common: an impressive contemporary implication. In each case the theory is a self portrait of the man worthy to hang in any scientific gallery. Their personalities match the greatness of their achievements.

Among the theories discussed are: Darwin's Theory of Evolution, Marx's Theory of the Economic Interpretation of History, Pasteur's Theory of Disease, Freud's Theory of the Mind and Einstein's Theory of Relativity.

—Dick Carlson

Congressmen At Work

The Senate Votes On Greece

The 23 Senators opposing S. 938, the bill authorizing Truman to carry out his war policy in Greece and Turkey, fell into three groups.

First, the economicizers such as McKellar (D., Tenn.) and Byrd (D., Va.) They contended the government could not afford the program.

Next were the New Deal Democrats headed by Pepper (Fla.) and Taylor (Idaho). They put up a weak battle, Pepper taking part of his time to apologize for a previous public announcement that he intended to vote for it.

The isolationists, headed by Johnson (D., Colo.) leveled grave charges at the Truman Administration, but put up no consistent fight against the bill and it was passed April 22 by a majority of 67 to 23.

Truman had tried to justify his "doctrine" by calling for support of "free" people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."

Johnson declared that "the Greek monarchy is an armed minority forcibly imposed upon the majority." He said that Congress "is to be the outside pressure group which will be subjugating the Greek people."

By-passing the UN was an act of "extreme arrogance," Johnson said. "Let us not hide behind pretty phrases. The basic fact is that we have violated our obligation to the United Nations. The basic blunt, brutal fact is that we, by ourselves alone, have decided to police the world alone."

Johnson explained that the Black Sea area is the "soft under-belly" of the Soviet Union. "On the Black Sea and the Turkish front, she is vulnerable and there only is she vulnerable . . . Any alert military strategist contemplating war with Russia would select Turkey as a made-to-order springboard for

that purpose. We have made that selection. The pending measure plants the American flag plus \$100,000,000 worth of military instruction in Turkey. More, much more, will follow."

"Under the provisions of the pending measure," continued Johnson, "when our military engineers go to Turkey, maps will be drawn and plans will be made depicting the battlefield of World War III; nothing will be left to accident or speculation. Every inch of Turkey will be surveyed and blue-printed. Airfields and air bases will be prepared on paper. I understand the first military shipment to Turkey will include 1,000 modern anti-aircraft guns."

Johnson credited General Marshall, now Secretary of State, with this "bold and brilliantly conceived military strategy."

"Twice I have seen the United States drift into a European blood-bath," said Johnson. "I know the signposts . . . Not one fatal criterion is missing. Once again without their approval and against their will the American people are being sold down the river of blood."

However, Johnson declared that if the bill were passed, he would have no alternative but to support "every other step necessary to defeat our enemies quickly." And he ended up calling for the training of 20,000 fighter pilots a year, for "full steam" on atomic bomb making, and "If it be our decision to fight communism with guns . . . then we must fight it at its fountainhead," that is, "In Moscow, not Greece, not Turkey, not France, not all over the globe."

—Dick Carlson

ments" of the Greek Army, that "American pilots" and "American observation planes" will be used "against the rebel guerrilla fighters in the mountains of Greece, many of whom are fighting for the same principles we fought for in 1917."

Johnson made even more serious charges: "Military aid of this character and a military commitment of this scope is not short of war. It is war. And it is all-out war and war to the death. So this innocent-appearing proposal is in reality a declaration of war. Little wonder that the President's tense and solemn appearance before a gloomy, unresponsive Congress on March 12 had all the aspects of a declaration of war with Russia."

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Pioneer Publishers

For 15 Years Publishers of Books and Pamphlets on Socialism and the Labor Movement

By LEON TROTSKY

The First Five Years of the Communist International, Vol. 1

The Revolution Betray

WORKERS' FORUM

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

A Gruesome Crime In Mississippi

An unusual item appeared in a recent issue of *The Crisis*, official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which I am sure never found the columns of the daily papers. You will notice that in this account the shoe is on the other foot, so to speak.

W. C. Holloway and Lawrence Jenkins, an honorably discharged Navy veteran, both of Collins, Miss., accepted a lift from a white man after attending a movie. They had gone only a short distance when the driver told Holloway to get out of the car and out of town right away. The driver said Jenkins was the man he wanted.

The unnamed man then took Jenkins to a side road off Highway 49, north of Collins, where a group of white men were waiting. They tied Jenkins to a tree and castrated him with a razor blade.

Sheriff John Sandiford of Covington county said there was nothing he could do because Jenkins will not name his assailant, who is said to be interested in a Negro girl and was resentful of Jenkins' attention to her. The sheriff found the rope and razor used in the attack.

D. Cooper
Cleveland, Ohio

Sidelights Of Rally In Cadillac Square

The Cadillac Square demonstration was the largest ever seen in Detroit. Locals chartered buses to bring the contingents down from the plant gates with police escorts. The escorts gave the impression of feeling the need for protection themselves and traffic really was in the hands of union contingents that day.

The Briggs local was the second or third in the East Side line of march. After it was squeezed into the teeming thousands already filling the square, the platform requested the workers to follow directions closely in taking stations because room had to be made for 54 more East Side CIO locals.

Report has it that the Packard local never was able to find a spot. The Ford Local 600 band shared honors with the Dodge Local band in providing music. The sight of the Ford band marching into the square was a picture never to be forgotten.

Revive the spirit of '37 was a very popular slogan, particularly on Ford and Briggs local banners. The demand for an escalator clause and a Labor Party were also seen in the sea of militant slogans.

The Socialist Workers Party distributed leaflets calling for a

If I Should Die

If I should die before I live,
Think only this of me;
That in the class struggle I
had to be.
And in a gutter should I fall,
To stain the roadway red;
For that glorious tomorrow
have I bled.
If there is but one crimson
banner,
In the world that is to be;
You'll know I've died to set
men free.

Subscriber
New York

Labor Party. They were well received.

CIO flying squadrons went through the crowd gathering pickets to help the telephone strikers. The fighting picket line of thousands forced Bell Telephone to close up until midnight and was a fitting reply to all attacks against mass picketing.

There was one sour note. This was the program of the officials.

Richard Leonard, UAW Vice President, did his best to turn the demonstration into a rally for the Democratic Party. He served as chairman of the demonstration and set the line by concentrating on scolding and blaming the workers for the Republican victory and their failure to vote for PAC Democrats. The leaders blame the membership for their own crimes and prove they learned nothing from the last elections and what followed.

But the thousands upon thousands and the local slogans and banners set the real note of power and determination to fight.

As the meeting adjourned and the crowd began to leave, you had a feeling this demonstration of power was only the beginning. Labor has just begun to fight!

Chuck
Detroit, Mich.

Praises 'Militant' For Telling Truth

With the greatest pleasure I renew my subscription to *The Militant* because this is the only newspaper in the City of New York which is in every way courageous and fearless enough to inform and educate the working class and tell the real truth about the present situation and the danger that might befall if the working men do not unite, stick together and fight.

It is high time, please, fellow working men, to take up.

Theo Henke
Hicksville, Long Island

P.S. I would like to subscribe for a year, but at my age of 85 years I do not think that I will pass that time.

*Editorial Note: We hope Comrade Henke will find he has mis-calculated and have to renew his six months subscription to *The Militant* many times over.*

Failure At Moscow Conference Underlines Imperialist Drive For Another World War

By Jean Paul Martin

PARIS — With the end of the Moscow Conference, the draft of the Four Power Pact proposed by U.S. Secretary of State Marshall, which aimed at a strict control of the disarmament and demilitarization of Germany for a period of 40 years, is virtually dead.

Molotov accepted the idea of the pact in general, but demanded that it be based on the Yalta and Potsdam agreements which guaranteed reparations payments to the USSR. That is, he wanted the pact to replace in some way the treaty with Germany upon which the "Big Four" are as far as ever from an agreement.

The Soviet refusal to accept the pact as proposed by Marshall is motivated by the objection that it aims in reality not at guaranteeing the disarmament of Germany, but at the establishment of the U.S.A. in Europe. But after Truman's speech on aid to Greece and Turkey it is quite clear that Yankee imperialism intends to remain active in Europe in any case.

VENTE DÉMOCRATIQUE
On the economic plane, Britain and America categorically vetoed the Russian demands for the payment of reparations to the USSR from current German production. Marshall and Bevin objected that the first need is to see Germany again able to assure her own existence. Added to this, if it is necessary to raise the level of German economy above that foreseen at Potsdam, they are afraid to go so far as to make Germany a new "danger."

This argumentation was in total contrast to the point of view maintained by the Russian representatives, who are revising the policy they have pursued up to now, and who proposed the elevation of German economy to a level able to guarantee both the existence of the country and the payment of reparations. Opposed to this, the French obstinately maintain the position of keeping German production in a state of semi-paralysis as long as possible.

Despite these differences with France, the other imperialist powers at the conference were able to make progress in the consolidation of a Western Bloc. It is not difficult to see why

each of the "Big Four" maintained such a point of view. The Russian bureaucracy, faced with the USSR and the occupied countries with growing economic difficulties, does not wish to see reparations reduced to a trickle. So it consents to permit the raising of German productive levels providing it can continue to take reparations from current production. For it, the settling of the German question is above all an economic question.

PRESSURE ON USSR
The U.S.-British imperialists, on the other hand, are aware of the difficulties of the USSR, and naturally have no interest in running to its aid without imposing conditions. Thanks to the unification of their zones and their dominant position in Germany, they refuse to hand the benefits of the occupation to the USSR.

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THE MILITANT ARMY
The serious of the conference's failure to agree on the future of Germany, made even more pronounced by the rejection of the Four Power Pact offered by Marshall, is evident to all. Marshall himself underlined this fact when he declared: "I therefore think it is a very serious stand for one government to take in this important matter."

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The Secret Of The Cities

By Theodore Kovalesky

It stares out at you from the alleyways of a million cities. It peers at you through torn window shades and lurks about the broken pavement of narrow streets. It settles like a cloud on the hard pressed little farms. It is everywhere. Poverty is everywhere.

There were stores on the street where I walked the other day. And on the side streets were comfortable homes, places where doctors, lawyers, small businessmen live. It was a neighborhood where people own their own homes... not people like you and me, but people who are well off, people who say, "You know, I think we ought to get a new refrigerator" and then go out and order one, people who say, "We can't make up our mind whether to get an Olds or a Dodge this year."

That's the kind of neighborhood it was. So I was surprised when I saw a tough little kid race out of the space between two of the buildings. You know the kind: a mop of hair, a dirty face, some of his buttons gone and others just not buttoned up, a tough, wise-guy expression on his face. He looked like the kind who would sometimes, when he felt like it, mark dirty words on walls with chalk. You know the kind: remember when we were kids.

Well, that's all there was to it. He raced into another alley, and that's the last I saw of him. When I went a few steps farther, I passed the alley he had come out of, and I looked back.

It was like a lot of alleys. It was dark and dirty. There were boxes and barrels along the walls, and beside them papers and orange peels had overflowed to the ground. At the end of the

narrow passageway stood a ramshackle house, a sad, unhealthy place.

It was surrounded, you see, by comfortable homes. More accurately, it was surrounded by stores and garages in the section where the comfortable homes stood. It wasn't right under the eyes of the comfortable people, but it was there, an evil growth in the very midst of what looked healthy.

Down near the canals and wharves, beside the railroad yards and in the shadow of the warehouses we see poverty. We see piled-up heaps of old brick and wood where people live. We know that the poorest people live here, and somehow we're used to seeing their miserable homes.

In the sections where the Negroes live, we see terrible poverty, and this, too, we have come to expect, for we have grown up in a world that condemns those with dark skins to live in squalor. However we may hate the injustice of it, it does not surprise us; we know it too well.

But the alleyways in the better sections... these tell the story. The little back-yard shacks with rubbish in their yards, the unheated "apartments" over garages and behind stores show that poverty, like an epidemic, cannot be confined to any particular area.

The next time you walk along the street somewhere, look between the buildings. Perhaps it will surprise you.

Probably you're familiar with only one city. Remember, there are thousands of them in the United States. And there are thousands more throughout the world. And in every one of them you will see poverty peering from the alleyways.

That's what capitalism has given us. Don't you think it's time we did something about it?

The Negro Struggle

NAACP Aims At A Million

By William E. Bohannon

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is well started on its current campaign to enlist a million members in its ranks this year. In this campaign it deserves the support of all opponents of Jim Crow in this country.

The NAACP has shortcomings and faults, which have been discussed previously in this column. But even so, no one can deny that it has been an effective and aggressive agency in challenging Jim

Crow laws and customs in the courts and in defending victims of lynch terror and violence.

During the last year, for example, the NAACP conducted the defense of the victims in the Columbia, Tenn. frameup; prosecuted a number of cases against the "white primary" in the South; started cases demanding the admission of Negro students to Southern universities, etc. Even if it had done nothing else—and it was involved in many other progressive activities—the NAACP merits the support of the Negro people and the labor movement in such fights.

The NAACP has undergone some change in recent years, primarily as the result of a very rapid growth in membership. It jumped from 100,000 members at the end of 1942 to 250,000 in 1943; to 300,000 in 1944; 400,000 the next year; 530,000 last year; and stands a good chance of reaching a million in 1947.

The Fountain Of Youth

By Grace Carlson

It was in 1513 that the Spanish explorer, Ponce de Leon set out on his futile search for the Fountain of Youth. Over 400 years later, Columbia University's Professor Henry Sherman has announced that the search has been completed.

According to this eminent nutritionist, the Fountain of Youth is the unromantic milk bottle!

Milk and milk products—butter, cheese, ice cream—are extremely important sources of Vitamin A, says Dr. Sherman.

If human beings double their consumption of foods rich in Vitamin A, another decade may be added on to the life span. Here are the lyrical words in which Dr. Sherman reports his scientific findings:

"The studies aren't completed as yet, but on the basis of what we've uncovered so far, I think that it's safe to say that adults and children both would benefit if they were to consume about twice as much Vitamin A as that ordinarily recommended."

"The extra years thus offered are not to be pictured as added to old age. Rather it appears that something like an extra decade can be inserted at the prime of the life lived in accordance with today's newer knowledge of nutrition. Life

This rapid growth took place simultaneously with a radicalization of the Negro masses, who were and are looking for a way to end their second-class citizenship status. For a time at the beginning of the war, it looked as though this movement might develop around the March On Washington Movement, but that organization was stifled by the conservative policies of its leaders, and the Negro masses turned to the NAACP instead.

The entry of these new members gave new life to the NAACP and forced it to revise some of its outmoded and ineffective methods of functioning. This revision was on a small scale, however, and the NAACP is still far from ideal as an instrument for effective mass struggle for Negro equality. One of its worst faults is its failure to involve the great mass of its members in any activity besides paying their dues each year and attending a meeting every month or two.

But this is a fault that the members themselves have it in their power to correct in most branches of the organization. The NAACP could become a much more useful organization if it is today and could play a bigger role in local struggles particularly—if the Negro people made their desires felt and heard.

But in order for them to do so, they must first join it of course. The membership drive taking place now, when the need for Negro organization and militancy is greater than ever before, is a good time to take this step.

The demonstration was called to protest Superior Judge George Schonfeld's injunction arbitrarily limiting the number of pickets before each telephone exchange to no more than six. When the restraining order was served yesterday the unions complied by reducing the picket lines to the required six and prepared to carry the case to the courts. Hearings will be held next Wednesday.

2,000 MARCH

The whole question of the injunction was discussed at a mass meeting held at the Coliseum Bowl this morning. After the meeting was over, 2,000 of the strikers marched down the street toward the telephone building. As they marched the workers chanted two slogans: "Down with Judge Schonfeld" and "We have the right to picket!"

Over 100 policemen, under the direct command of Police Chief Dullea, hurriedly threw a cordon in front of the demonstration a block before they reached the telephone building. Chief Dullea ordered the marchers to disband, claiming they were violating a city ordinance. When the marchers booed he ordered

the police to charge and break them up.

All the pictures published in the daily press this afternoon indicate clearly that the police were out to terrorize the strikers. A CIO spokesman reported that Mrs. MacDougal, a striker, was beaten and kicked in the stomach by police officer, badge number 909, until she was unconscious. When the police refused to call an ambulance, she was rushed to the CIO hall in a taxi and then to a doctor's office. She is now under observation.

The 27 arrested strikers were taken to the police station, booked and then released on \$20 bail each.

Five unions banded into the United Telephone Strike Committee, composed of three affiliates to the National Federation of Telephone Workers, one independent union and the CIO American Communications Association, have issued a joint statement condemning the injunction procedure. "We are violently opposed to the use of injunctions to break strikes and restrict union rights," the statement said in part and labelled

it as a "vicious, unconstitutional way of legally breaking a strike."

Anger against police brutality in San Francisco is mounting.

Picket lines remain firm with spirit high. One telephone worker on the picket line in front of the

Grant Ave. office expressed this clearly. "The fight is just beginning," she said grimly.

Another striker, who has been employed by the company for over 30 years, berated the police force. "I do not think that San Francisco will stand for this,"

she said. "It was a terrible action. We have at least as much right to the streets as the Shriners and American Legion. They took over the town and the police did nothing. We wanted to peacefully demonstrate and they brutally attacked us. All the strikers are very angry."

Tonight the CIO is holding an emergency meeting to consider measures of support for the strikers. Tomorrow a mass meeting with representatives from all the unions, AFL, CIO and independent, will meet to consider broader and more active support of the striking unions. The provocations on the part of the police and courts have only served to move the unions into more vigorous support of the strike.

But these predictions were far off the mark. The Popular Bloc (Communist and Socialist Party) increased its vote 72% over

last June and came out on top with 29 of the Parliament's 90 seats (22 for the Stalinists, 7 for the Socialists). Their coalition partner, the so-called center party, the Christian Democrats, lost the most ground, winning only 20 seats. The Rightist Coalition received 15; the Monarchs 9; the Separatists 8; Republicans 4; Italian Workers and Fusionists, who showed great strength on the island in last year's elections.

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