

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. X — No. 24

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JUNE 15, 1946

401

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

LABOR RANKS URGE UNITED ACTION

The Only Way To Control Atomic Energy

By The Editors

The most frightful development of warfare under capitalism—the ruthless employment of the atomic bomb on civilian populations—has planted a deep fear among the masses of the entire world.

This fear is based on the fact that capitalist rulers, having inflicted two world wars on humanity, will plunge the world into a third holocaust.

The Bikini atomic bomb maneuvers scheduled for July show how well-founded is this fear of the masses. For these maneuvers are clearly part of Wall Street's preparation for a Third World War that will surpass anything yet seen in destruction and slaughter.

Wall Street attempts to allay the uneasiness of the people with demagoguery about "controlling" the use of atomic energy. One faction advocates putting control in the hands of the military caste. Another proposes civilian control. A third, control by the United Nations Organization.

But the bitter truth is that under all these proposals the capitalist class will retain its monopoly over atomic energy as a war weapon. It is absolutely certain that if the capitalist system is not abolished in time, civilization and a good part of the human race will be destroyed in a global atomic war. No city or town anywhere can count on exemption. The capitalist powers are already engaged in a mad atomic armaments race.

There is only one way to avert the catastrophe. And that is to establish the planned and rational order of socialism.

But the workers can take an immediate step forward in the struggle against the capitalist diversion of atomic energy into military channels. The workers must take control of atomic energy away from the Wall Street warmongers. Let the workers demand and set up their own control.

Let the workers through their trade unions and other organizations put responsible committees in control over the mining of the fissionable materials from which atomic energy is derived. Let them set up control over the plants now producing atomic explosives. And let the workers' organizations take control of the dangerous dumps where the Truman Administration is secretly storing atomic bombs.

The working class and its allies, the poor of city and countryside, the vast majority of the population, constitute the only power capable of effectively opposing the warmongering designs of the capitalist class.

Taking control over the entire production of atomic energy away from Wall Street and putting it in hands of responsible workers' organizations is not only the right of the American working class but its inescapable duty to the people of the entire earth.

(See articles on Bikini maneuvers and atom bomb, Page 8)

Trotskyists Receive 44,915 Votes In French Elections

(Special to The Militant)

PARIS, June 4—The International Communist Party (PCI), French section of the Fourth International, recorded 44,915 votes for its standard bearers in the June 2 elections to the Constituent Assembly. This was the PCI's first nation-wide campaign, and it ran candidates' lists in 11 electoral districts. The vote represented 1.37 per cent of the total cast in these districts. Over 15,000 of these votes were received in the Paris area.

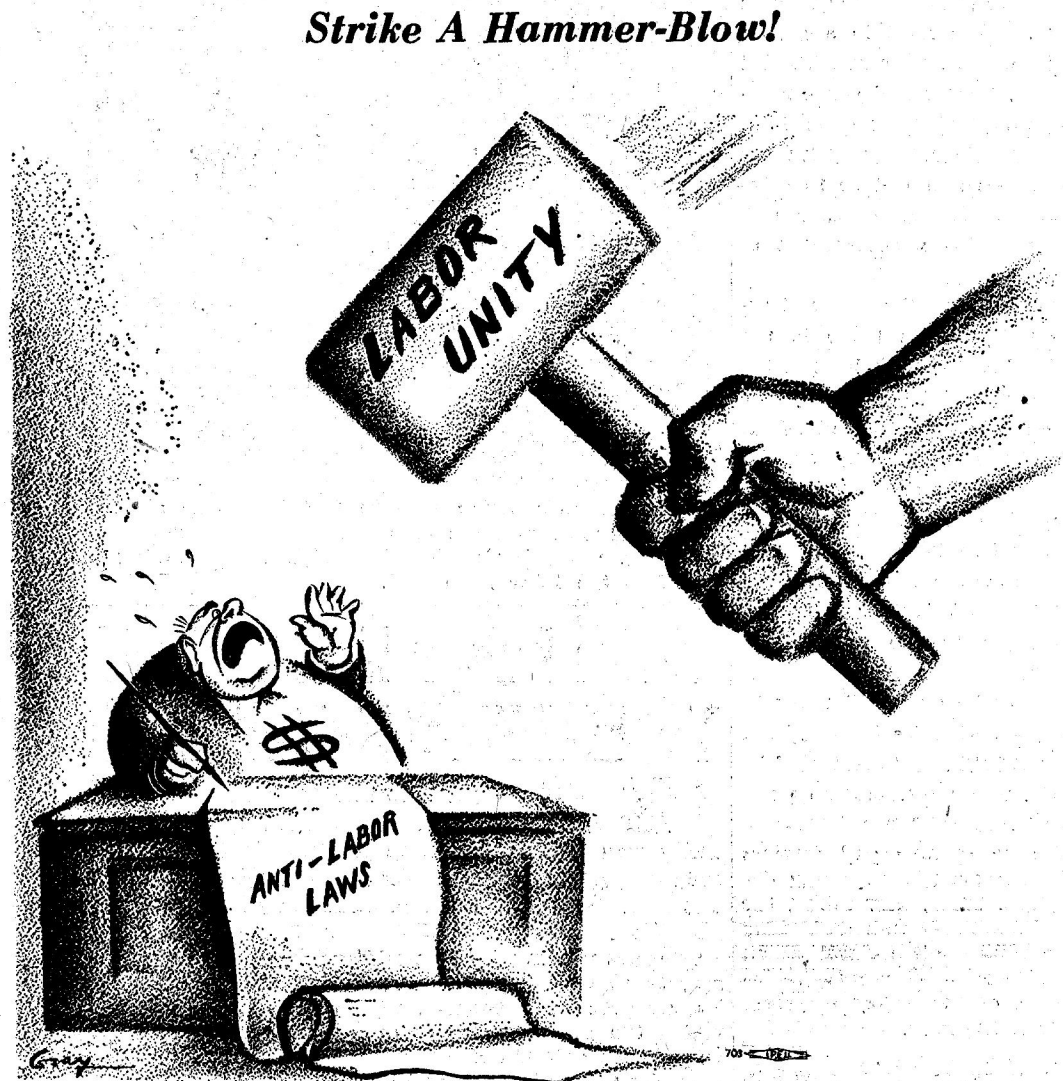
In view of the great difficulties and disadvantages which the Trotskyist party faced, this constituted a good showing, and augurs well for real gains in the future. The campaign has succeeded in its main aim: to put the PCI on the political map, to bring the party to the attention of the masses as the revolutionary internationalist party of the working class.

The PCI's message has reached four and a half million workers in huge attractive posters placarded throughout Paris and numerous industrial cities. In leaflets setting forth the party program sent out to each of the millions of voters in the 11 districts, and in over 300 public meetings where lively debates with opponent parties served to present the meaning of the Trotskyist policy to the masses.

The details of the PCI votes:

Paris, 1st District	4,677
Paris, 2nd District	6,039
Paris, 3rd District	4,949
Paris, 5th District	4,589
Finistère	4,168
Gironde	7,693
Isère	3,751
Marne	3,690
Puy de Dome	2,891
Rhone, 1st District	4,949
Lot et Gironne	1,970
Savoie	1,493
Total	44,915

For further analysis of the French elections, see page 3



Strike A Hammer-Blow!

Unions Denounce Truman Threat To Smash Any Maritime Strike

(Special to The Militant)

NEW YORK, June 8—President Truman's orders of a week ago today, directing all military and maritime government agencies to prepare for a strikebreaking war against the scheduled CIO merchant marine walkout on June 15, has aroused the indignation of the entire organized labor movement.

This latest government attack

See Editorial 'For Maritime Unity' Page 4

AFL Seamen Warn Truman On Strikebreaking

By F. J. Lang

(Special to The Militant)

NEW YORK, June 6—Some 5,000 AFL seamen at a stop-work mass meeting that packed Webster Hall here today voiced bitter denunciation of President Truman's threats to use armed forces against the proposed CIO maritime strike on June 15.

The meeting, held as part of a nation-wide stop-work demonstration of 62,000 members of the Seafarers International Union and Sailors Union of the Pacific, on the Atlantic, Pacific and Gulf Coasts, wired Truman:

"We will regard any attempt to utilize the Navy, Coast Guard or War Shipping Administration personnel to man ships under union contract as an attempt to undermine and destroy the hard-won union conditions in the Merchant Marine.

"We wish to inform you that we will in no way cooperate with such personnel in the movements of American vessels, and that we will regard and treat such personnel for what they are—that is, strikebreakers."

ATTACK INTERVENTION This telegram was introduced from the floor and adopted after John Hawk, international vice president and secretary of the Seafarers International Union, had read to the meeting a statement of policy attacking the government's intervention on behalf of the ship operators in current negotiations and an "analysis of the present chaotic situation within the maritime industry."

The announced purpose of the stop-work meetings was to force the government to permit negotia-

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IN THE NEWS

Let Them Eat Cake

"The shortage of flour, tightening its pinch on the nation's bread supply, was marked in New York yesterday by an increase in black marketing and an apparent abundance of cake." (N. Y. Times, June 5.)

Humble Apologies To Strikebreaker No. 1

"BERLIN, June 1 (U.P.)—Soviet officials, it was learned today, have apologized for the action of the Russian-controlled German newspaper, Vorwaerts, which called President Truman 'Strikebreaker No. 1' in a story about the American coal strike. Brig. Gen. Robert A. McClure, American information control director, protested the headline and Soviet representatives expressed regret and promised to 'clean house' at the newspaper."

Like Drafting Strikers?

"Never before did our country and all mankind have such great need for democracy. Never before was there such an urgent need for the open mindedness and constructively critical spirit of true liberalism as there is today. There are still many vestiges and expressions of totalitarianism to be overcome." (Truman, in letter to New York Liberal Party annual dinner, June 5.)

Author's Postscript On Atlantic Charter

Speaking on foreign policy before the House of Commons on June 5, Churchill said, "I myself contributed to the Atlantic Charter the phrase about no transference of territory apart from the will of the local inhabitants," a policy which, he added, had "proved in many cases to be an unattainable ideal."

The Final Answer Of Wall Street

"Frankly, I am afraid that if strikes continue, we shall have in this country a situation similar to that which existed in Europe when Mussolini and other dictators were brought into power." (Senator Wheeler, of Montana, speaking in Congress on May 7.)

Buffalo CIO Says 'Build A Labor Party'

(Special to The Militant)

BUFFALO, N. Y., June 5—In two meetings here, organized labor in Buffalo this week gave a fighting answer to the anti-labor attacks of Truman and Congress.

Last night the Buffalo CIO Council unanimously endorsed the CIO United Auto Workers call for a national united conference of all labor unions to combat the anti-labor barrage.

Tonight an emergency meeting of almost 600 CIO, AFL, IAM and Railway Brotherhood members denounced Truman and Congress. It selected a delegation to go to Washington with Buffalo labor's protest to Truman. A permanent joint committee was set up to consider further action.

The CIO Council last night also adopted a resolution introduced by CIO United Steelworkers Local 2601 calling upon the unions to take joint "steps to set up a national labor party that shall be completely independent of the Democratic and Republican Parties and of all other ties with Big Business."

Sentiment for a labor party was also evident at tonight's united labor action meeting, where workers in conversations with Socialist Workers Party members stated that they were convinced labor must break with the Democratic and Republican parties.

At this meeting SWP members sold 30 copies of the pamphlet "American Workers Need a Labor Party," and issued leaflets announcing a public meeting on "The Drive Against Labor—How To Combat It." The leaflets supported the call for a national united conference of labor, and advocated a labor party.

Santa Cruz AFL Campaigns For A Labor Party

(Special to The Militant)

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., June 1—The Santa Cruz AFL Central Labor Council has initiated a campaign for the adoption by the forthcoming California State AFL convention of a resolution endorsing the formation of an independent national labor party and urging similar action by all other AFL state bodies.

The resolution which will be introduced at the AFL state convention has been sent to the other local councils throughout the state. It is accompanied by a letter appealing for their support signed by the Santa Cruz CIO secretary, Thomas H. Deane.

As part of its proposal, the resolution would place the California AFL on record for amendment of the AFL National Constitution, which now forbids "party politics," to read: "The AFL both nationally and locally, shall enter into the building of a party of labor based upon a program of labor's needs and interests."

It also would place the state convention on record to present a labor party resolution before the next AFL National Convention and calls on all other state bodies to back such a resolution.

"TREASON TO LABOR"

In his letter to the other AFL local bodies in the state, CIO Secretary Deane states: "Unless we have our own Labor Party we are simply continuing to give up labor's rights to the enemies of labor—without a fight. Continuing to support capitalist candidates is really treason to labor, and can only succeed in ushering in boss rule at the point of a gun—Fascism."

Deane also points out: "If in 1936, John L. Lewis had formed an Independent Labor Party instead of Labor's Non-Partisan League, labor would now be strongly entrenched in National and State Legislatures."

More Unions Back Call For National Labor Conference

UAW Asks Local Conferences Of All Unions To Pave Way For Nation-Wide Joint Action

By Art Preis

A wave of demands for united labor action to resist the Big Business-government union-busting drive is sweeping all sections of the American labor movement, according to reports from coast to coast.

Newark Rally Supports Plan For Joint Action

(Special to The Militant)

NEWARK, N. J., June 6—

More than 1,000 workers at a mass meeting in Military Park here today adopted a resolution introduced by the New Jersey State CIO Council urging immediate convocation of a national conference of all labor unions "to mobilize the full strength and achieve the firmest united action of the entire labor movement against the Big Business-Truman attack." The meeting was called by the state and local CIO councils.

In addition to CIO speakers, representatives of the railroad workers also spoke. Matthew O'Leary, strike chairman of the Hudson and Manhattan railroad workers now on the picket lines, and Frank Mooney, legislative representative of the New Jersey Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, gave the facts in the rail workers' struggle and sharply scored Truman's strikebreaking.

RESOLUTION READ

The resolution for a united national labor conference, read to the meeting by its chairman, Newark CIO Council President Walter Barry, supported a proposal made by the CIO United Auto Workers national officers. It called upon "our local, state and district union officials to initiate a regional conference of all CIO, AFL, railroad and bona fide independent unions for the purpose of preparing the groundwork and broadening the interest in such a national Conference of Labor, and to organize appropriate public meetings to encourage the formation of such a national Conference of Labor."

Speakers at the meeting included Albert J. Fitzgerald, CIO vice-president and president of the CIO United Electrical workers; Ewald Sanders, CIO regional director; Al Barkin, state CIO-PAC director; and Benjamin Butler, officer of the Campbell Shop CIO local at Camden, N. J.

The proposal of the CIO United Auto Workers for a national united labor conference in Washington of the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods is beginning to gain backing from local and even state union bodies.

A further immediate step for the preparation of such a national conference was urged in a resolution adopted last week by the UAW International Executive Board. This called for local united labor conferences throughout the country. Local conferences and joint mass meetings have already been held in a number of leading cities, including Los Angeles, Chicago, Akron and Buffalo.

MANY ENDORSEMENTS

Last week, immediately following the UAW's call for a national united conference of labor, other unions quickly took action to advance the campaign for such a conference. New Jersey State CIO leaders, the Buffalo CIO and a number of local unions have endorsed the UAW proposal.

The New York branches of the AFL Seafarers International Union and Sailors Union of the Pacific, which last week engaged in the AFL seamen's one-day work stoppage, passed resolutions unanimously in their membership meetings in support of the national conference of labor plan.

At the same time, the all-out offensive of the Truman administration and Congress against

(Continued on Page 2)

Franco Broadcast Praises Truman

A commentator speaking over the radio of Generalissimo Franco, fascist butcher of the Spanish workers, praised Truman's breaking of the railroad strike and his draft-striker bill, according to an Allied Labor News report from London, June 2.

Gloatingly, the fascist commentator stated: "The United States with Mr. Truman at its head has applied to the railroad strike that pure doctrine which the calumniated Spanish state professes. Mr. Truman . . . has given a lesson of civism, of fortitude, of incorruptible severity."

AKRON RUBBER WORKERS RAISE NEW WAGE DEMAND

(Special to The Militant)

AKRON, O., June 6—The powerful Goodrich and Firestone locals here of the CIO United Rubber Workers voted this week to demand wage increases to meet the rising cost of living. The two locals, largest in the rubber union, were the first to make this demand.

Since the "Big Four" rubber wage settlement several months ago which provided for an 18½ cents an hour general wage increase, I. H. Watson, President of Firestone Local 7, and George R. Bass, president of Goodrich Local 5, both stated that the opening of the floodgates of inflation had already swept away the 18½ cents an hour gain. The increase in the price of butter, bread and numerous basic commodities was pointed to as proof of the need to obtain additional wage increases to prevent a lowering of the rubber workers' standard of living.

H. R. Lloyd, URWA International Vice President, supported the demand of the two locals, and indicated that when other locals covered by the "Big Four" agreement have sent in their notice demanding additional wage increases, efforts would be made to reopen negotiations with the Firestone, Goodrich, Goodyear, and U. S. Rubber companies.

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What Do You Say?

Question: The CIO United Auto Workers has proposed a national conference of all labor in Washington in order to counteract Truman's anti-labor drive. What do you think of it?

Place: New York City.

George Kourkounakis, merchant marine, SIU-AFL member

535 West 133d St.

I think it is a very good thing. We have our problems with the NMU. But they are our own problems. We don't want anybody from outside to interfere. We men in the merchant marine have miserable times. We don't want to be kicked around; we want something to come to us. If not for the merchant marine where would this country be? Nothing would be shipped. When men go on strike for better conditions, they are justified.

Alan Plummer, Delehanty School for Firemen

Brooklyn, N. Y.

I believe that is the only way, to have that kind of conference. Then nobody can say they don't know what labor wants. In such a conference everyone will know just what labor wants, and won't have any more excuses.

Alva Johnston, domestic service

Harlem

I haven't thought about it until now, but it is a very good thing. I don't belong to any union because I am in domestic service. But I wish we could do like the union people and get at least an eight-hour day.

Alfred Stewart, merchant marine SIU-AFL

103 West 143 St.

You can say that I am certainly against Truman's speech and what he is doing against labor. I think it would be excellent to have this kind of conference. It would offset all this anti-labor business and is just what we need. Then the president couldn't come out with such a statement. After all, we have a right to live.

John Rolle, Railroad freight handler

2333 Seventh Ave.

A conference would be a great asset in the alleviation of many of our labor ills. It would bring together various forces in labor and thrash out their problems together. In a case where sixty million working people are involved, I don't think it is fair for a few people to dictate to millions.

Julian Brown, Member of AFL Dining Car Employees

28 West 112 St.

Truman sold out the railroad workers; I've been talking to some of the trainmen and they all feel the same way. From what I know about the AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods, they are prejudiced against colored men coming into the unions, especially up north. The CIO is more progressive. If all the unions got together one good thing they could accomplish is to stop this discrimination.

Al Robello, Painter

101 West 112 St.

I'm a 100 per cent union man, and belong to the AFL Painter's union. Even in our own unions there are disputes and politics between the progressives and the others. But I think the unions should all bury their own disputes and get together in a big conference, so they can fight against the corporations.

LABOR NEEDS ITS OWN PARTY, NOT A THIRD CAPITALIST PARTY

By George Clarke

"Labor statesmen" and their Stalinist camp followers are very angry today—and they have every right to be. They expended millions of dollars from union treasuries and workers' pocketbooks to elect "friends of labor"—and now the "friends of labor" headed by the President himself have turned up openly in the camp of the enemies of labor. But anger and cursing won't protect the unions or win an election. The workers want to know: What is to be done now?

The master-minds say that Truman will never again receive the votes of labor. Whitney has pledged part of the treasury of the Trainmen's union to defeat him. But who will replace Truman? From what party will the new "friends of labor" be elected? These questions reduce all the brave shouting to an inaudible whisper.

These gentlemen—the most vociferous among them being the Stalinists—reluctantly admit now, that as between the Democratic and Republican parties the workers are choosing between the devil and the deep blue sea. Yet they are opposed to an independent labor party, based on the trade unions. Such a party, they say, would isolate the workers from the rest of the population and therefore insure defeat at the polls. Hence what is needed, they conclude, is a "Third Party" to be headed by the "Progressives" from both capitalist parties, by men like Henry Wallace, Ickes, Morgenthau, Pepper, LaGuardia and others.

Don't Want It Now

The strangest thing about the self-appointed leaders of the "Third Party" is that not one of them favors its creation now. Wallace, Morgenthau, the newspaper EM—pride and joy of the millionaire Marshall Field—are all against it today. The Stalinist Daily Worker says talk of its immediate creation is "a plot of Trotskyists and reactionaries." All of them are lecturing the workers that there is still a god apple in the rotten barrel, that labor must remain loyal to the Democratic Party.

All of them are hanging on to the Democratic Party for dear life: this despite the fact that the Democratic Party—like the Republican Party—is just another way of saying huge profits, high prices, lagging wages and anti labor-laws; another way of saying Wall Street. But in their own way, Wallace and Co. are right. They see no fundamental difference in program between the so-called "left-wing" of the Democratic Party and that of a Third Party.

The criticisms of the millionaire Morgenthau are a good example. He condemns Truman for betraying Roosevelt's program and as a result falling to curb inflation and to stop strikes. What is this but a choice of one anti-labor program over another? Every housewife knows that skyrocketing prices began during the war under Roosevelt. Every worker knows that Roosevelt froze wages by the device of the "Little Steel" formula. Every profiteer knows that the "Big Steel" began under Roosevelt.

Morgenthau is bitter against Truman because he disbanded the War Labor Board and therefore could not prevent strikes. But the workers were bitter against Roosevelt because he created the War Labor Board which denied wage demands, buried grievances and throttled strikes. The difference between Morgenthau and Truman is one of how best to hamstring the labor movement. Truman wants to do it openly by means of Congressional action. Morgenthau wants to pull the wool over the workers eyes, and then do the same thing as Truman by presidential decree and presidential boards.

How Labor Wins Support

In essence these are the differences between the "Third Party" and the Democratic Party, and the so-called "progressives" can see no reason for the present why these differences cannot be reconciled within the framework of the Democratic Party.

But can labor go it alone? Doesn't it need the support of the poor farmer, the shopkeeper, the

insurance salesman and the bank clerk? True enough—no sane person could deny the need. How is this support to be won?

First: by recognizing the real community of interest that exists between the workers and the lower middle class. Both classes are oppressed by the same tax burden they have to carry to pay the cost of capitalist wars. Both classes suffer at the hands of the monopolies: factory workers receive low wages, the poor farmer pays exorbitant prices for machinery. Sixty families revel in a golden paradise that is made possible by the blood, sweat and tears of the worker, farmer and small businessman. Middle class and working class have one enemy: monopoly capitalism. They must unite around one program whose aim will be to drive out of power the government of bankers and industrialists and to establish a government of workers and farmers.

Second: This program requires the power of organization. And this power exists today in the trade unions which stand in the front lines of the struggle against monopoly capital. The farmer and the small businessmen are in the nature of things isolated one from the other and not easily organized. They can only be politically effective by supporting the political party of the working class—the Labor Party. It would be the height of folly to disorganize and disfranchise 14,000,000 workers in a "Third Party" when it is possible to give organization and strength to the middle class through a Labor Party.

The support of the middle class will never be obtained by labor surrendering its independence and its program in a "Third Party" dominated by Wallace, Ickes and Co. These gentlemen do not represent the middle class, they are impostors whose role is to deceive workers and farmers alike in the interest of Big Business. They denounce labor's struggles because, they allege, the middle class will be offended. By thus artificially dividing the workers from their natural allies, they only weaken and, if successful, eventually defeat, the common front of both classes against the common enemy—Big Business.

Not A "Third Party"

In a "Third Party" the middle class would be pampered and flattered. But it will be just words, words and more words. Without a real struggle against the monopolies—led by the workers—inflation and black market will ruin the merchant, concentration will drive the small businessman to the wall, debts will plague the poor farmer. And the worst of it all will be that the cowardice and betrayals of the "Third Party" will turn the wrath of the middle class not against Big Business, but against the workers where the fascist demagogues will direct it.

All attempts to create a separate middle class party in the past have proved abortive, with the party ending its life in one of the two major parties. The Populist movement, at the turn of the century, was finally interred in the Democratic Party. The Wisconsin Progressive Party, once a national party, which polled 5,000,000 votes in 1924 for President, surrendered the ghost to the Republican Party three months ago. There is no independent road for the middle class. If it does not follow the labor movement, it will be driven into the arms of Big Business.

There is only one reason why the siren tunes of the "Third Party" lack in volume today. The movement for an independent labor party is not yet powerful enough to constitute a threat to the "friends of labor" and the labor leaders who are still running the old skin game of two-party capitalist politics.

To be forewarned is to be forearmed. The "Third Party" is not the labor party wrapped in a more attractive package. It is the old capitalist party with its face lifted and its name changed. Don't be fooled by substitutes. The real fight is the fight for the independent political party of labor based on the trade unions and supported by the poor farmers and the small businessmen.

N. Y. VETS DEMAND HOUSING PROGRAM

By Evelyn Atwood

NEW YORK, June 6—This city's four-year housing "program" was vigorously denounced before Mayor O'Dwyer in his office this afternoon at City Hall by representatives of two large veterans' organizations.

Harold Robins, Housing Chairman of the New York American Veterans Committee and Paul

Rasmussen, Regional Director of the National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires, told this reporter that the members of the two veterans' organizations they represent are indignant with O'Dwyer's do-nothing policy.

"My own impression," said Robins, after his talk with the Mayor, "was that one of the real reasons he is displaying no interest in speeding up housing construction by the city is be-

cause this would require an appropriation of funds to cover overtime work. But without overtime, the project will drag out over years, while veterans and others are hoping for some relief by next year."

Another reason for the inexcusable delays and red-tape, he said, was the fact that the Mayor has no real interest in launching low-rent housing projects, which are vitally necessary to take care of some 250,000 veterans and others who are today suffering severely from the shortage. "The present city housing program, even if realized, will provide for only one-fifth to one-third of those in need."

Presenting official figures, Robins demonstrated that the shortages in contemplated construction would most severely hit the lowest income families. These include 47,900 units renting at less than \$25 a month; 27,200 at \$25 to \$29; 66,400 at \$30 to \$39; 51,600 at \$40 to \$49, and 71,400 at \$50 or more. "Of course, for those who are able to pay a minimum of \$82 a month," he added, "there will be an adequate program of new construction."

The demands presented to the Mayor by the N. Y. Metropolitan Area Council of AVC, Robins stated, are "to provide a maximum of decent housing in the shortest time possible and at rentals the veterans and others can afford to pay."

Union Veterans Denounce Truman



Cleveland's union men in the AFL, CIO and railroad brotherhoods, veterans of overseas fighting, circulated this petition protesting against Truman's strikebreaking actions against the labor movement.

Akron Labor Holds Meetings To Mobilize United Action

(Special to The Militant)

AKRON, O., June 6—Continued demands for labor unity and independence in the political field featured a second meeting of unionists held here last night under the sponsorship of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen in Akron.

The first meeting, held a week ago, to which many CIO local leaders gave their support, revealed the strong desire of all sections of the local union movement for unity of action to halt the government's attacks on labor.

FAVOR LABOR PARTY

Last night's meeting was featured by the attendance and participation of AFL leaders who completely endorsed the efforts of the Brotherhood and the CIO to make labor's role in politics more effective. The AFL representatives pledged their efforts to obtain official support of the Central Trades and Labor Council to the city-wide labor political action committee that now is in process of formation. Both AFL representatives at

the meeting made stirring talks in favor of the formation of an independent labor party. A proposal that Akron unions support the idea of a national united conference of labor, recently advanced by the CIO United Auto Workers, was well received.

Suggestions were made to hold united action mass meetings and conduct educational campaigns among the workers. Speakers suggested drawing in the minority groups of various nationalities, the Negro organizations and others. A few speakers suggested that the support of working class parties be sought. This latter proposal was made by people who are not identified with the Communist Party or the Socialist Workers Party and was a spontaneous invitation for unity of labor's forces.

The CIO leaders who attended the meeting once again pledged themselves to do everything possible to achieve a united political movement of labor in Akron. I. H. Watson, president of Firestone Local 7, CIO United Rubber Workers, offered the technical facilities of his organization for the mailing of notices and the use of Local 7's meeting hall. He said, "We must hold meetings like this every week. We must make them grow larger and larger. When this hall gets too small, we will get a larger one."

Support of united action came from officers and representatives of the transport workers, steel workers and the CIO Council.

While much progress has been made to bring about unity in political action, the various unionists involved have not as yet come to grips with the problem of what they are going to do once they set up the united political action committee. The PAC has endorsed candidates who revealed their hand by supporting President Truman's strike-breaking during the rail crisis. Congressman Huber, who represents this area, voted for Truman's slave-labor bill despite the fact that he has always received labor support.

Undoubtedly, many local unionists will demand that PAC endorsement be withdrawn in this case and that an independent candidate be put into the field.

THIRD MEETING SCHEDULED

Some leading unionists are of the opinion that the only way to elect a labor candidate in the fall is to strike out independently, as the workers will not vote for Huber. The Akron labor movement could elect an independent candidate, if it really put on a campaign and brought its message to the more than 125,000 union members in this area.

Another meeting has been scheduled for next Wednesday night and invitations are being sent to unions heretofore not represented. The meeting voted to establish a committee to make arrangements to contact various CIO and AFL unions and to involve them in the movement.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Art Preis

How Not To Defeat Anti-Labor Drive

Despite "tough" talk from some top union leaders in opposition to the anti-labor drive of Truman and Congress, they are beginning to demonstrate once more that they have no stomach for a fight. They are willing under the Big Business-government onslaught and seeking formulas behind cover of which they can retreat with "honor."

Such capitulatory moods were expressed by ranking AFL leaders before the fifth biennial convention of the AFL United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers, held last week in New York City. Max Zartsky, UHCMW president, David Dubinsky, head of the AFL International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and Matthew Woll, AFL vice president, delivered speeches which might be summed up under one heading: How Not To Defeat The Anti-Labor Drive.

Surrender Labor's Economic Weapons

Zartsky proposed nothing less than "this union carry its wartime 'no-strike' policy over into the reconversion period." He boasted that "wage rates and total earnings of members increased substantially despite the fact that the union did not resort to strikes in order to make its gains."

Zartsky spoke from the smug and narrow outlook of the head of a union of 40,000 members which deals with a swarm of competing petty manufacturers in a secondary consumers goods industry. Because of various special factors, this particular industry suffers a relative labor shortage, a favorable circumstance for collective bargaining. In addition, this small union has been able to ride with the gains won by the great industrial unions through their strike struggles against the giant monopoly corporations—a different calibre of opposition than the "cockroach" employers confronting Zartsky.

Zartsky's theory is that the way to avoid repressive legislation is to surrender labor's strike weapon and depend on "labor statesmen" like himself to win gains by ingratiating themselves with the employers and capitalist government. But even "labor statesmen" par excellence, like Philip Murray and some of the railroad union leaders, were forced into leading tremendous strike actions despite all their efforts to put ideas like Zartsky's into practice.

Surrender Labor's Political Weapons

While Zartsky proposes that labor yield up its economic weapons of struggle, Matthew Woll represents the other side of the theory of "defending" labor by capitulation. He advocated at the Hatters' convention that labor "give the ruling capitalists" all titles to property, give him the political power. "With the invincible power of labor on the economic field," contended Woll, "I will match his power and I will reign supreme."

To support his argument that labor should surrender any struggle for political power and

rely solely on its "economic power," Woll pointed to the example of the miners strike. He did not point out, however, how the intervention of the government served to prolong the strike and whittle down the possible gains of the mine workers. He did not show how labor's weakness in the political field helped the government to break the railroad strike.

Woll's horse-and-buggy theory of no-politics for labor (in reality he means support only capitalist politics) would keep labor in the position of fighting against the employers with one arm tied behind it.

New Back-Door Deals With 'Friends of Labor'

Dubinsky, on the other hand, said he wants labor in politics. He even advocated the idea of an independent national labor party at the convention.

But, while paying lip service to the labor party idea, Dubinsky indicated he was ready to make still another political deal with Truman. The ILGWU president said he did not agree with calling Truman "strikebreaker No. 1." "I say that the test of judging the position of the President," claimed Dubinsky, "will be his signing or vetoing of the Case bill."

Dubinsky is ready to accept Truman as a "friend of labor" even if he broke the railroad strike, tried to smash the mine strike, and is pushing the "work-under-bayonets" bill to draft strikers into the Army. All Dubinsky asks is one little veto. Zartsky, Woll and Dubinsky have come up with three tried-and-true methods for leading labor to defeat: give up labor's economic weapons; give up labor's political weapons; seek some more back-door deals with "friends of labor" like Truman.

Flint Local Endorses Call For Conference

By Jerry Kirk

(Special to The Militant)

FLINT, Mich., June 4—Flint Chevrolet Local 659, CIO United Auto Workers, went on record endorsing the proposal of UAW top officers for a national union labor conference. It proposed that the conference be held in "Washington, D. C. where the eyes of the entire country can be focused on exposing this nefarious plot" of Big Business and its government to crush labor.

The Local 659 resolution also pledged full support to a committee established by the Greater Flint Industrial Union (CIO) Council which is to organize a mass protest meeting against Truman's anti-labor program. Chairman of the committee is Tex Owens, president of the Chevrolet local.

Owens informed the Militant reporter that AFL and Railroad Brotherhood leaders have been contacted and are in favor of this meeting. A meeting of officers of the four big General Motors locals here will take place this week to map out further plans. The committee will attempt to have Whitney and Johnston of the Railroad Brotherhoods as two of the main speakers of this meeting.

A proposal for a national Congress of Labor had been adopted during the GM strike by the Flint City-Wide Strike Committee as an answer to the anti-labor campaign of Congress. Chevrolet local's resolution states: "The ganging up of all the forces opposed to labor, the President of the United States, the National Association of Manufacturers, Congress, the kept press and the radio, proves conclusively that labor can only rely on its own united strength to smash this attack on its just rights."

Emergency Rally In South Jersey

CAMDEN, N. J., June 8—An emergency meeting of more than 200 CIO local union officers and shop stewards, held yesterday at the Shipbuilders Auditorium in Fairview, voted unanimously to instruct the South Jersey Industrial Union Council (CIO) to call a South Jersey conference of CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods to map a united counter-offensive against the bosses' drive to smash labor.

The meeting enthusiastically adopted a motion to send a wire to Philip Murray urging him to initiate a call for a national conference of all unions.

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Where Is The Soviet Union Going?

U. S. Imperialism Is Encircling The USSR

By Ernest Germain

In order to survive in a world which remains capitalist, the Soviet Union is forced to maneuver between the great powers, to engage in "diplomacy." This was already true in the days of Lenin and Trotsky, and remains fundamentally true for the Stalin period.

But during the first years after the October Revolution, Soviet "diplomacy" introduced new concepts into international politics. It began by publishing all the secret treaties. It voluntarily abandoned all the economic and territorial "concessions" extorted by Czarist Russia from backward countries like Persia and China. It based its diplomatic plans not on a system of alliances, but on the estimate of the revolutionary possibilities in different countries.

While exploiting to the utmost the imperialist contradictions, the USSR relied, in the first place, on the WORLD PROLETARIAT AND THE COLONIAL PEOPLES AS ITS PRINCIPAL ALLIES.

BANKRUPT POLICY OF "EQUILIBRIUM"

With the victory of the bureaucracy, reaction made itself equally felt in the domain of foreign politics. Having, at first, lost confidence in the revolutionary possibilities of the working classes of other countries, then having understood that revolutionary victories abroad would constitute a mortal blow AGAINST the domination of the bureaucracy, Stalin replaced the foreign policy, as it was practiced in the days of Lenin and Trotsky, by a new policy based EXCLUSIVELY on the exploitation of imperialist contradictions.

Allying himself now with one power, now with another, first with Germany, then France, then Germany again, and then England, Stalin hoped each time to "neutralize" the main enemy, and above all, prevent the consolidation of an anti-Soviet alliance of all the imperialist powers.

During the war, it may have seemed for a while that the Stalinist policy had succeeded. In truth, Hitler had failed to gather about him all the imperialist powers for the purpose of launching a final assault against the USSR. But an analysis of the PRESENT situation demonstrates the complete bankruptcy of the Stalinist policy. The German-Soviet war, and the Hitler-Stalin Pact, which preceded it, are now disclosed as successive stages through which the ELIMINATION of different potential "allies" of the USSR was effected; the elimination of all those powers which by creating a balance, lessened the threat of complete encirclement of the USSR by any one imperialism.

The result of the Second World War has been that the entire capitalist world finds itself now dominated by a single imperialist power, the United States, while a second, Great Britain, desper-

ately attempts to defend its remnants of independence. Before the war, the USSR was ringed by the armed forces of a half-dozen nations, which clashed violently among themselves in all domains.

Now, whichever way the USSR turns it finds itself confronted by the same army, the Anglo-American army!

THE ENCIRCLEMENT IS BEING COMPLETED

The different "crises" which we have witnessed since the end of the war were each time the climax of an imperialist attempt to close the chain surrounding the USSR by adding a new link. American imperialism has secured for itself the control of Japan, South Korea, North China. Now it also wants, at all costs, to secure for itself, Manchuria, in order to close the chain of encirclement from the northeast.

The Middle-Eastern crisis, Iran, and of the whole Arab world is only one aspect of British imperialism's attempt to keep intact the cordon of encirclement to the south of the USSR. Turkey is the key position to the southwest.

Finally, the problem of Greece, the question of Trieste, the question of "regime" in the countries occupied by the USSR in Central Europe (for example: the question of the forced merger of the Socialist and Communist Parties in the Soviet Zone in Germany) are manifestations of this same desire to complete the encirclement to the west.

And if we follow the events closely, we cannot fail to conclude that despite the loud cries of the vernal press about Soviet "imperialism" (which is real) is quietly going about, almost imperceptibly, completing this encirclement, so much coveted by world imperialism for 28 years but never, in the past, realized.

Thus, we can understand how erroneous and superficial is the judgment of those who claim that Stalin has "preferred" to serve Russia rather than the world revolution. By demoralizing the international proletariat, by shackling the revolutionary movements with the help of his Stalinist agents, by smashing the movement even by violence and betrayal where it has broken out, Stalin has prevented the breaking of the imperialist iron ring surrounding the USSR at the only place it could be broken, namely, in the very interior of the capitalist world. It is Stalin who bears the whole responsibility for the imperialist encirclement of the USSR, which is now being completed.

(Translated from the Belgian Trotskyist paper, "La Lutte Ouvriere," April 6, 1946. Next week's "Militant" will feature another article on this question.)

Stormy Outbreaks Due In France As Workers Demand Wage Raises

French And Italian June Elections Record Slight Shift To Right

By George Breitman



Bevin Provides Homes And Jobs For Fascists

(Special to The Militant) LONDON, May 25—"Homes for fascists, deportation for anti-fascists"—such is the policy of the British Labor government as revealed by two acts this week. On the one hand, Ernest Bevin offered 120,000 members of General Aender's reactionary Polish Army, now in Italy, a choice of homes and jobs in Britain or of service in a special praetorian corps. On the other hand, Trifon Gomez, Minister of Immigration of the Spanish Republican government, charged that the Labor government was refusing to demobilize in England 800 Spanish Republicans who had served in the British army during the war, but instead was sending them for demobilization to Hungary and unemployment-ridden Italy.

Defense Organized Against Deportation Of Indonesians

NEW YORK, June 9—Even while the Indonesia League of America was engaged in defending the democratic rights of Indonesian residents in this country against mass round-ups by the U. S. Government in preparation for immediate deportation, John Andu, president of the League was himself arrested on June 4. Thanks to the timely intervention of the American Civil Liberties Union, which is supporting the defense case, he was released.



INDONESIAN SEAMAN

As a result of the defense launched by the Indonesia League in behalf of these and other cases of political persecution, Philip Sumampow, father of six children, who has worked steadily for the past 18 years in a Linden, N. J. dye plant, was also released.

These deportation round-ups of Indonesian residents have followed the six-months imprisonment on Ellis Island of 178 Indonesian seamen, who refused

A slight shift to the right took place in the French and Italian elections of June 2. In both countries, for the first time since the end of the war, a capitalist party came forward as the largest in the electoral field. But in each case this capitalist party still remains a minority. France and Italy remain in the grip of a political crisis; in both countries the parliamentary scene will be marked by instability for the coming period. The decisive battles still lie ahead.

In the elections to the French Constituent Assembly, which will prepare a new constitution, the Communist Party held its own, even adding slightly to its popular vote, but losing 4 or 5 seats in the Assembly. The Socialist Party lost both seats and votes, falling back to the position of third party. Together the two parties still represent a majority, but now by only one or two seats; their combined relative strength has declined.

The chief gains were made by the Popular Republican Movement (MRP), which added over a million votes and about 15 seats in the Assembly. The MRP, whose strength was an unknown factor only last October, has emerged as the main party and rallying center of the

not make this change overnight—the political conditions were not ripe for it. First of all they needed a party of their own. So, while they were rebuilding the shattered structure of the capitalist state with the aid of the workers parties' leaders, they began to prepare for the future by organizing the MRP. To help it secure a mass base, even among the lower middle class, they had to give it a radical hue. The MRP declared for nationalization of industry, for example, and in many other ways took the coloration of the workers' parties.

OCTOBER ELECTION

The MRP made a strong beginning in the first postwar election last October, but it was still only the third largest party. De Gaulle, who represented one wing of the MRP, thought the time had come early this year for beginning the anti-labor offensive, but the capitalists generally judged more time was required. De Gaulle was compelled to step down from the government until a more favorable occasion.

The MRP got all the help the ruling class could give it, but no one aided it more effectively than the leaders of the CP and SP. Instead of exposing the true aims of the MRP, the leaders of these parties—who constituted a majority of the government—entered into a coalition with the MRP and thus helped to build up its authority. Instead of offering a truly revolutionary program to inspire the workers, peasants and middle class, the CP and SP sponsored measures which the MRP could support and go along with.

As the Republican columnist, Walter Lippman, points out with satisfaction: "The Communists have no social program for the reconstruction of France which is more advanced or more radical than that which the MRP and the Socialists offer."

Furthermore, the CP and SP vied with the MRP, and even surpassed it, in such measures as disarming the workers, prohibiting strikes, increasing the speedup, maintaining wage-freezing, etc. Little wonder, therefore, that large sections of the masses have become confused, discouraged and even fallen into apathy.

MRP BENEFITS

That the MRP was able to benefit from such conditions was shown in the next balloting—the May 5 referendum on the constitution. Here, by cleverly seizing on a secondary though important difference with the other two parties, the MRP was able to get credit for being an opposition to the Gouin government, thus partly obscuring the fact that it shared responsibility for all the unpopular measures of that government.

As a Paris dispatch to The Militant two weeks ago indicated, the MRP was able to win in this test of strength because of the abstention, if not the direct opposition, of a considerable section of the lowest strata of the population." In four of the industrial departments, the vote in favor of the constitution was more than 200,000 less than the vote cast for the CP and SP together last October. (A typographical error in the June 1 MILITANT made this read 2,000,000 instead of 200,000; this does not alter the significance of the decline in the CP-SP vote.)

The June 2 election shows that this trend, in a modified form, is continuing.

The capitalists in Italy and France can thank the CP and SP not only for maintaining capitalism in its darkest days, but also for assisting in the creation of strong and growing capitalist parties.

As a result of the political forces of French capitalism are today stronger comparatively than at any time since the collapse of Germany. But even now they are not in the position they aim to secure. The social crisis remains unresolved.

PARIS, June 1—New wage and price-control demands have been advanced by Benoit Frachon, Stalinist general secretary of the CGT (French Trade Union Congress).

The importance of these demands, advanced three days before election day, lies not in their possible effects on the election results so much as in their effect upon the future. The wage and price-control demands spring

by itself, surely usher in a period of strikes and serious battles on the part of the workers.

The Communist Party of France (and along with it the CGT) and the Socialist Party themselves imposed the wage-freeze. It was none other than Ambroise Croizat, Stalinist Minister of Work and Social Security, who introduced the legislation freezing wages and tying wages to production (the infamous system of piecework). It was the Stalinists who took the lead in denouncing strikers. Not only did these reformists champion such anti-working class policies, but they even went so far as to produce false figures to prove that the cost of living had gone down.



THOREZ

from the following motives:

- 1. To weaken the position of the Socialist Party which has capitalized on the American loan negotiated by Leon Blum.
2. To present a threat to any who contemplate the exclusion of the Stalinists from any future government.
3. To meet the tremendous pressure of the workers whose minimum pay was frozen on a level of 4 to 5,000 francs per month — about half the amount necessary to meet minimum needs.
4. To counter the successful propaganda of the PCI (French section of the Fourth International), whose slogans have penetrated even into the ranks of the Communist Party membership.

REFORMISTS IMPOSED WAGE-FREEZE

It is clear that the leaders of the French Communist Party have started something which they cannot easily control. They will, — as experience demonstrates, try to divert the forthcoming movement into safe and harmless channels. But the raising of these new demands will,

UP 82 PER CENT

Now these gentlemen have produced figures which reveal that the cost of living has actually increased by 82 per cent and production by 100 per cent since March 1945, while wages have not increased at all.

Contradicting all their previous declarations they now say that wages can be increased without there being any increase in prices — if prices are controlled. But how and by whom this control is to be exercised is not even indicated. Along with this the Stalinists continue the anti-working class policy of demanding that wages be tied to production.

In contrast to the Stalinists and "socialists", the Internationalist Communist Party (PCI) has conducted a consistent campaign for the sliding scale of wages with a minimum of 7,500 francs per month; for the control of prices by committees of workers, housewives, small shopkeepers and poor peasants; for the nationalization of all industry without compensation and its operation by workers' committees.

STALINISTS SQUABBLE OVER NATIONAL BORDERS

(Special to The Militant)

PARIS, May 25—The Stalinist bureaucracy is reaping the fruits of its chauvinist policies. In oppressed and Balkanized Europe there are, at present, monstrous contradictions in the foreign policies of three principal Stalinist parties:

- 1. The French Communist Party calls for the attachment of the Saar to France and for the "internationalization" of the Ruhr and Rhineland (that is, separation politically and economically from Germany). But the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Stalinist party in the Soviet zone, calls for the unification of Germany and is against any attempt to separate the Ruhr and Rhineland from it.
2. The Italian Communist Party calls for an "Italian Trieste," in opposition to Tito who, with the authority of the Kremlin and the Yugoslavian Communist Party, calls for a "Yugoslavian Trieste."
3. The Bulgarian Communist Party demands from Greece, Western Thrace in opposition to the Communist Party of Greece which demands revision of the Bulgarian-Greece frontier to the advantage of Greece.

SECONDARY ANTAGONISMS

In addition to these principal antagonisms between the brother parties of the defunct Third International, there exist other secondary antagonisms. For example, the French and Italian Stalinist Parties have differences on the question of revision of the Alpine frontier. The Italian and Austrian Stalinist Parties are at loggerheads over the Tyrol. The Czechoslovakian and Polish Stalinist Parties stand at opposite poles on the question of Techn, etc., etc.

In most cases the Stalinist Parties prefer to demand what is convenient for their own capitalist class without directly attacking the opposed Stalinist Party. However, Togliatti, Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, pursuing a policy in accordance with the Italian capitalists and with an eye to the June 2 elections, openly attacked the French and Yugoslavian

Stalinist Parties in a speech he made in Rome May 5:

"Nothing will prevent me from declaring that I am not in agreement with those Communists in other countries who... commit the error of not making any distinction between fascism and the Italian people." In Greece, Zachariades, General Secretary of the Communist Party, has raised the slogan to throw the Turks out of Eastern Thrace and out of Europe. (Rizospastis, the Greek Stalinist paper, April 13, 1946.) To justify this demand, which is dictated by the Kremlin's desire to put pressure on Turkey to obtain control of the Dardanelles, Zachariades tried to arouse nationalist hatred among the Greek masses: "Turkey has been for us Greeks the plague inherited since the constitution of the neo-Hellenic state."

TENDENCIES SHARPEN

These contradictions arise from the fact that in the major European countries, the Stalinists hold responsible government posts. In the interests of the Kremlin's foreign policy, Stalin requires them to maintain these positions. Having abandoned the policy of revolutionary internationalism, the Stalinist parties can only pursue a domestic and foreign policy dictated by the interest of preserving capitalism and accommodating the foreign policy of the Kremlin. There is, therefore, consistency in the inconsistency of the policies of the various Stalinist parties.

This development, which directly arises out of the chauvinist degeneration of the Stalinist parties and the counter-revolutionary nature of the Kremlin, cannot but sharpen the centrifugal tendencies within the ex-Third International.

Subscribe To Fourth International

Critics Of Opportunism Expelled From Greek CP

(Special to THE MILITANT)

May 30 — A deep-going crisis within the Communist Party of Greece has broken out publicly. Since the beginning of May the central organ of the Greek Communist Party, Rizospastis, has been engaged in a violent campaign against an opposition which has arisen within the party, both in the leadership and the rank and file. Special control commissions are functioning, examining the case of each oppositionist and proceeding to numerous expulsions. Up to May 20, forty expulsions had been made public.

Among the expelled members is Petropoulos, one of the founders of the Communist Party of Greece, whose business activities, established probably with the aid and under the control of the party, brought it great financial help.

Zachariades, secretary of the CPG, published in Rizospastis, May 16, 1946 a long article publicly opening fire on the opposition which criticizes the policy followed by the present leadership as "opportunist and adventurist."

LEADING MEMBERS

Zachariades mentions two well-known and popular captains of ELAS, Orestis and Zacharias, as being among the leaders of the opposition; and he adds:

"I mention these two captains because they are among the most representative leaders of ELAS who have gone over to the opposition. These two captains have made a name for themselves during the movement for national liberation. This 'name' now enables them to carry on with all the greater 'prestige' their campaign against the Party and against the EAM."

Further on Zachariades prepares the party opinion for their

turned all arms over to the British and Greek reaction. Since then a reign of terror has fallen on the country with a violence which equals and even surpasses the crimes committed by the Mexican dictatorship.

The situation has worsened particularly since the elections of March 31, 1946, and the coming to power of the pro-monarchist government of Tsaldaris. In face of this rising flood of reaction the Communist Party continues to defend the "Varkiza" policy. It remains opposed to the arming of the workers, and cannot decide on breaking with its "popular front" line and its repeated (and unanswered) appeals to "the democratic (?) forces" of the capitalists.

In this situation, which has led the party into a complete blind alley, it is quite natural that there has ripened an internal crisis which today forces itself out into the open. The Greek Trotskyists will have to give this oppositional organization a clear political consciousness and to put it to the profit, not of reaction, but of the revolutionary movement.

German Workers Seize Food

(Special to The Militant)

PARIS, May 24—As their daily food ration sags to the starvation level of the worst Nazi concentration camps, large numbers of German workers are beginning to rouse from despair and lethargy into direct action.

Even when the EAM and the ELAS were beaten by the British at Athens at the end of December, 1944, these two organizations still retained mastery of all the rest of the country. Nevertheless they concluded the shameful Varkiza agreement and

last October to man Dutch ships loaded with arms and ammunition destined for use against the Indonesian fighters for freedom. This action by the U. S. Government can only be construed as part and parcel of the aid that American imperialism is giving to the Dutch oppressors of the Indonesian people.

On Friday, June 7, the 178 seamen, as well as almost a score of Indonesian residents were sent by train to San Francisco, where they will be placed on a vessel and deported.

John Andu stated that the League will continue to fight this case through to the end. He is appealing to prominent Americans, as well as all labor and progressive organizations to rally to the support of the Indonesian victims of political persecution. Andu stated that Edward J. Ennis, prominent attorney and formerly Chief of the Enemy Alien Control Unit in the U. S. Department of Justice, has been retained by the League to handle the legal aspects of the case.

The Indonesia League is urging the following steps to protect the rights and indeed the lives of the nearly 1,000 Indonesians now living in the United States, as well as the Indonesian seamen on Ellis Island.

First, a guarantee that all repatriated Indonesians be returned to the Indonesian Republic on an American ship, so that they will not be imprisoned in Dutch concentration camps in Borneo and New Guinea.

Second, that all deportations of Indonesian residents be suspended until Congress acts upon two pending bills which are designed to prevent undue hardships and suffering in such cases as these.

Thousands of workers crowded down trains, swarmed aboard them and expropriated the food that would save them from death.

British and German police cordoned off whole areas of Ruhr towns and their arrests ran into hundreds, but the attacks on the trains continued.



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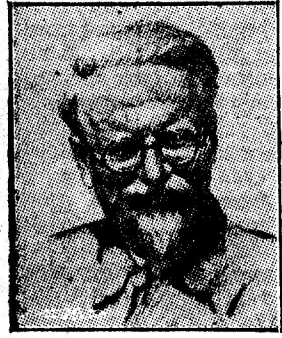
Vol. X—No. 24 Saturday, June 15, 1946

Published Weekly by THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8330 FARRELL DOBBS, Managing Editor

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$1.00 per year; 50c for 6 months Foreign: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Single copies: 5 cents per copy in the United States; 6 cents per copy in all foreign countries.

Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.



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

—Leon Trotsky

Against The Draft!

By a vote of 69 to 8, Republican and Democratic Senators on June 5 voted for the Truman-sponsored extension of the Selective Service Act to May 15, 1947. And by a vote of 53 to 26, these reactionary Republican and Democratic Senators voted to restore teen-age inductions, thus subjecting all men between 18 and 45 to possible draft.

What are the reasons for Wall Street's insistence on conscription almost a year after V-J Day?

General Eisenhower on June 2 pointed to "international commitments." What these commitments are, has never been revealed. They have never been embodied in peace treaties, nor have they been publicly debated even by Congress. They are secret commitments arrived at in the dark of the night behind the backs of the people.

The N. Y. Times, the most authoritative mouthpiece of Big Business, asserts that huge armed forces must be maintained "as a protective shield against coup d'etats . . . in such trouble zones as Austria, Northern Italy and Korea." (May 8). And the Times' military expert, Hanson W. Baldwin, adds (June 5) that "with increasing hunger our occupation authorities have noted increasing trouble in Germany."

Thus it is clear that one of the major reasons impelling Wall Street to maintain the greatest peacetime military camp in history, is to put down working class revolutions and colonial rebellions. Wall Street wants troops posted over the entire world to bolster up decaying capitalism. The Times in a June 1 editorial placed extension of conscription equal in importance to passage of Truman's vicious strikebreaking "emergency" legislation.

Strikebreaking legislation at home and armed violence abroad—these are the two arms of Wall Street's anti-labor politics!

But the long-range purpose of conscription is preparation for the Third World War. Senator Gurney, Republican from South Dakota, who led the Senate fight for Truman's conscription legislation revealed this June 3 in the following significant words: "Far from being at peace, we are confronted with a world containing more explosive elements than at the time World War II started. It would be literally easier to go to war now than then."

Few legislative measures have aroused such popular indignation as the extension of the draft act. Congress is being bombarded by letters. That is why the newspapers financed by Big Business are trying to stiffen the backbones of their political spokesmen in Congress. The June 3 Times insists that "no matter how unhappy the choice to him personally nor how politically dangerous he may believe it to be," each Congressman must vote to extend conscription. And the June 6 Times hopes that the House of Representatives which must now act on the Senate bill will "have the political courage to look beyond the November elections." This is an order to go down in defeat if necessary fighting for Wall Street's legislative program.

It is the task of the American labor movement to combat capitalist militarism. All the conscription schemes of Wall Street's agents in Congress must be defeated.

Prevent the dragooning of American youth into a military machine that is used against labor both at home and abroad!

For Maritime Unity

The commendable action of the AFL seamen's unions in warning Truman they will not tolerate his use of the Navy and other government agencies to man struck ships in the event of a CIO maritime strike, has raised the hopes and aroused the enthusiasm of all maritime workers.

Truman has been planning to utilize the rivalry between the AFL and CIO maritime unions, to play off one group against the other and strike deadly blows at both.

The seamen remember that it was the disunity and division among the 21 railroad unions which enabled Truman to break the recent rail strike.

All seamen agree that the ideal set-up for them would be one united organization. But everyone can see that this is impossible to achieve in short order.

The Stalinist leaders of the CIO maritime unions have hindered such unity by their fake unity maneuvers through their "One Big Un-

ion" conference. Likewise, the leaders of the AFL unions have placed numerous obstacles in the way of a unified organization with their threats of jurisdictional warfare etc.

But the fact remains that right now both groups of maritime unions are preparing concrete actions in fighting their mutual enemy, the ship operators. This paves the way for achieving unity of action in a common immediate struggle.

What is necessary is that a Joint Strike Coordinating Committee be set up immediately to coordinate the strike actions of both the AFL and CIO unions.

Such joint strike coordination would ensure against any successful attempt by the government to play off one group of seamen's unions against the other. It would further ensure that neither the CIO nor AFL unions would sign separate agreements and undercut each other's demands.

An AFL-CIO Maritime Joint Strike Coordinating Committee should be established at once, by both groups of unions electing a similar number of representatives to one body with the duty of coordinating all actions of the organized seamen in fighting for their common demands. This is indispensable if the seamen are to achieve unity in their common immediate struggle for better wages and working conditions.

New Strike Wave

A new strike wave to resist the soaring cost of living is in the offing. The capitalist press and government officials are voicing growing concern.

"A big new outburst of strikes is expected in Government circles here if the Administration's price and inflation control machinery is weakened further," writes a Washington correspondent in the Christian Science Monitor, June 3.

The Research Institute of America on June 5 warned its corporation subscribers: "An indication of the size of the new strike wave, which will reach every city and village in the nation is given by more than 1,600 strike notices filed during March and April. Yet the picture is worse even than these notices indicate . . ."

Louis Stark, chief labor correspondent of the N. Y. Times, said in the June 9 issue that "the rumblings of discontent because of fluctuations in living costs may bring about a new series of wage demands much earlier than had been expected . . . There are general signs which point to warning signals."

These capitalist observers read the signs aright. Unions which won wage increases but a few months ago, such as the CIO Rubber Workers and CIO Auto Workers, are beginning to press for new raises.

The capitalists and their government, however, give us a hint as to the most effective means of defending labor from the consequences of price inflation. It is a method Big Business is using to protect its profit interests regardless of price and production "fluctuations."

For instance, OPA has authorized pig iron producers to sell their products on an "adjustable pricing basis"—that is, requiring buyers to agree to retroactive payment of any future price increases. OPA gave a one cent per loaf price increase last week "to compensate the baking industry for loss of profits resulting from reduced production."

Labor, too, should make "adjustable" wage demands to protect its purchasing power from the inflationary knife. If the bosses are so anxious to avoid a new strike wave, let them agree to union contracts providing a sliding scale of wages which will rise automatically with every rise in prices.

Withdraw All Troops!

Another conflict between the colonial peoples and world imperialism has broken out—this time in Burma.

On June 7 the press reported 50,000 Burmese marched through Rangoon's main streets shouting such slogans as "We want Complete Independence!" "We Don't Want a Governor!" "Withdraw the Occupation Force!"

The demonstration protested "repressive measures" of the British, including the police firing on a recent demonstration in Tanbabin, 40 miles from Rangoon.

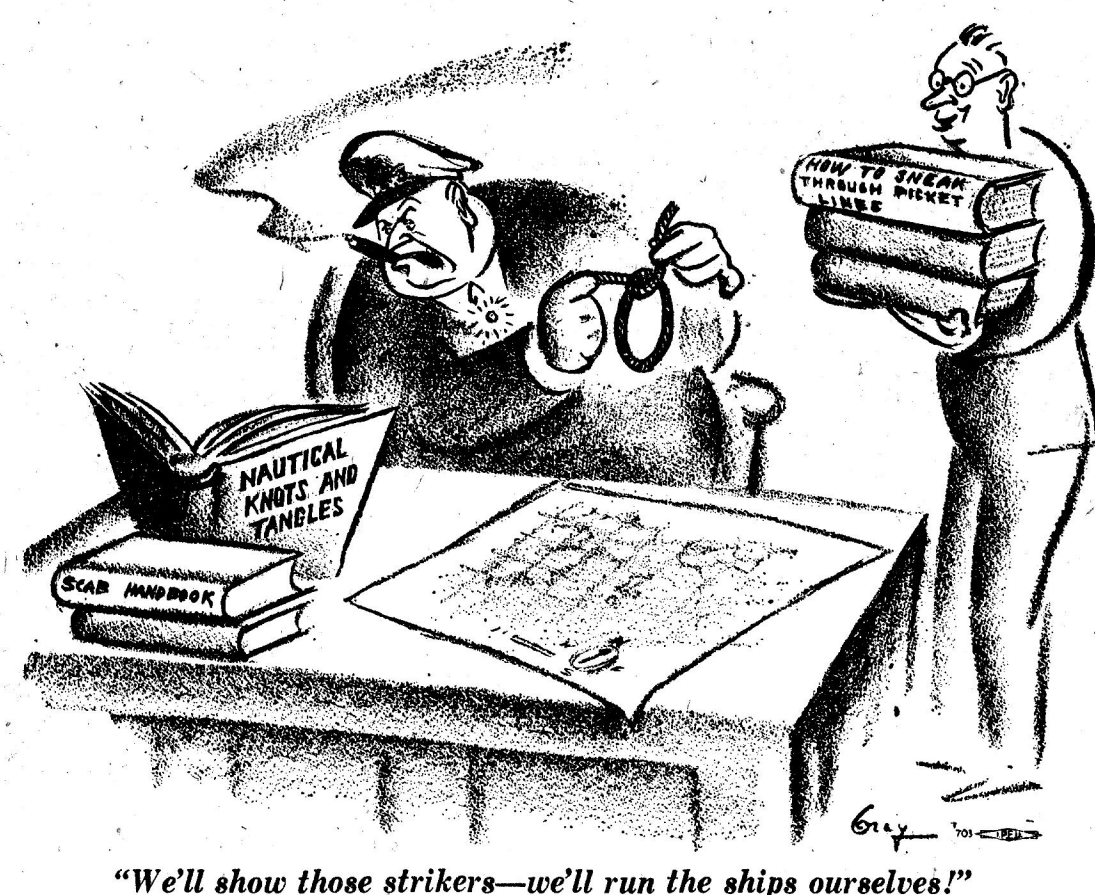
The British imperialists, momentarily lifting the iron censorship they have maintained on Burma, slandered the Burmese fighters for independence in typical style. In a debate June 7 in the House of Commons they labeled the Burmese demonstrators as "armed bandits," "tub-thumping seditionists," etc.

These facts underline once again that the Second World War did not bring "Freedom from fear" to the colonial peoples. On the contrary! The British capitalists are doing their utmost to re-establish their hated pre-war rule over Burma. They are again tapping Burma's rich natural resources.

The British have reinstated the same Governor, Sir Reginald Dorman Smith, whose word was law before the war. He exercises the same despotic rule as before through an appointed Executive Council. British troops have been stationed at strategic points throughout the country. It is on their bayonets that this brutal regime rests.

The slogans shouted by the demonstrators in Rangoon will find a responsive echo in the heart of every militant worker in America. The struggle of the colonial peoples for freedom is necessarily directed squarely against world imperialism. The main powerhouse of that imperialist system stands in Wall Street. Any struggle that weakens imperialism helps the American workers in their own battle against Wall Street.

The American workers can aid their ally in distant Burma by taking up the slogan, "Withdraw the Occupation Force!"



"We'll show those strikers—we'll run the ships ourselves!"

Workers' BOOKSHOPS

BREAKING THE BUILDING BLOCKADE, By Robert Lasch; University of Chicago Press, 1946, 316 pp., \$3.

The author of this book places the blame for the unprecedented housing shortage upon the archaic conditions and techniques prevailing today in the building industry. These, he admits, arise out of a system which places the means of production in the hands of individuals who produce not for use but solely for profits. "What we have is a collection of small-scale builders who come into the market when conditions permit a high-priced house to be built with profit and who disappear when these conditions change."

Lasch presents a case in favor of a planned national housing program to begin immediately. He demonstrates the vast extent of the shortage as a result of 15 years of underbuilding, first because of the depression and then because of the war. A minimum of 15,000,000 new houses must be built in the next 10 years, he states, and even then, there would still remain millions of people living in slums.

The main emphasis of the book is placed upon the desperate need for low cost housing which private capital virtually never provides. For the profiteering construction interests, low-cost housing is "uneconomic." Therefore, states Lasch, "what private capital could and did provide at these rent levels was the squalor and misery of the slums . . . The squalor in which millions live attests the brutal inadequacy of that system."

The reformist Lasch does not, however, propose to abolish the whole capitalist system of anarchy in housing construction. He prefers the "middle way" in which the profiteering construction monopolists can live harmoniously side by side with socialized housing. But Lasch himself is forced to the final conclusion that "when the pursuit of private profit takes place at the expense of the common good, the masses of people themselves must initiate, induce and control the provision of adequate housing and the building of adequate communities."

Reviewed by Larissa Reed

THE GOOD SOLDIER SCHWEIK by Jaroslav Hasek; Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1930.

Everyone who likes a good book should read *The Good Soldier Schweik*, and World War II veterans especially. Written over 20 years ago, it still remains the best all-round satirical novel—and the most biting condemnation—of modern capitalist militarism available in English. And although it is about the Austrian Army in World War I, every American veteran of the more recent war will immediately recognize its incidents and characters, especially the officers.

Schweik was a Czech, drafted into the Austrian Army. Like the Sad Sack, Schweik was always getting into trouble, but unlike the Sad Sack and because he knew what military service was, he always managed somehow to escape the harsh fate meted out to his more careful companions. Schweik had been in the army in peacetime but had been discharged as an imbecile. Every once in a while you get to thinking that he really is an imbecile; but before long you begin to wonder, because one thing is sure—Schweik isn't as crazy as the army is.

The author follows Schweik from his arrest at the beginning of the war as a suspicious character because of some innocent statements made in a saloon, through prison and an amazing psychiatric examination (one doctor asks: "Is radium heavier than lead?") up to his induction into the army.

Because he has rheumatism, Schweik is sent to a hospital for malingering and then detention barracks, reminiscent of the Lichfield guardhouse of more recent fame. Here the sergeant-major complains bitterly about having had to trample on some prisoner for 10 minutes before his ribs began to crack; and another non-com warns Schweik that if he is ever questioned during an inspection, he must stand at attention, salute and answer: "I beg to report, sir, no complaints, and I'm quite satisfied."

Schweik is released from detention to become the orderly of a generally drunk chaplain fond of commanding. "Any of you who are dead must report themselves to headquarters within three days, so that their corpses can be consecrated." But the chaplain loses Schweik to a lieutenant in a card game, and Schweik gets his new superior into trouble with their colonel, so both are shipped off to the front. At the end Schweik is captured—by soldiers of his own army.

The author, Hasek, was himself a Czech draftee in the Austrian Army and a prisoner of war of the Russians. There, I was told in Europe, he came under the influence of the Russian Revolution and became a supporter of the Bolsheviks. *The Good Soldier Schweik* was planned for six books; Hasek wrote only four before his death in 1923; a friend completed the other two along lines indicated in his notes. The American edition includes only the first three of Hasek's books. A publisher who wants to do the public a good turn should print the whole work.

Early this year Penguin Books issued a 25 cent edition of the original American edition, but unfortunately it is abridged. The original edition is available in most public libraries.

Reviewed by George Bretman

Congressmen At Work

Southern Bourbon Suffers Nightmare

Representative Smith of Virginia has been suffering lately from a nightmare; namely, "The fourth attempt to eliminate me from Congress by these radical groups, headed by the CIO Political Action Committee." But this son of Virginia's old aristocracy is a brave man. In the tradition of the slave-holding Bourbons he intends to go down in history as a last-ditch fighter: "I defy them now as I have done in the past!"

Smith's motives, naturally, are the noblest: "I do not desire a seat in the Congress at the price of supine submission to any minority pressure group, particularly the CIO Political Action Committee." Smith wants to remain in Congress as the representative of a different minority—the reactionary, labor-hating, Jim Crow, poll tax oligarchy who have ruled Virginia with an iron hand since Civil War days.

As the first step in his historical battle to stay in office, Smith reviled the machinations of his CIO enemy: "They have published it boldly and boastfully under large headlines in every daily newspaper in the country . . . They propose to conduct this nefarious enterprise openly and boldly from their head offices in New York and Washington."

According to Smith, the real aim of the Southern organizing drive of the CIO—especially the campaign to eliminate him



from office—is nothing less than "to destroy the American system of government as we have known it and to fasten upon us the fetters of political and economic dictatorship."

Having thus denounced the sinister plot, Smith sounded a clarion call: "Are the southern people become so supine and spineless that they will meekly submit to another carpetbagger invasion without raising a voice in protest?"

Raising on high the tattered flag of the Confederacy, Smith declared war on the Northern aliens: "Such is the scheme that has been cooked up, dishied, and is ready to be served by persons who are not even citizens of the States they propose to invade and conquer."

Smith called for heroic measures, especially from those old decaying Bourbon families who organized the first Ku Klux Klan. The character of the foe, he pointed out is far worse than any yet seen below the Mason-Dixon

line. "The carpetbaggers who invaded the South after the Civil War were at least American-born citizens with American names."

If the Bourbons of those days put on hoods and robes to lynch American-born citizens, what should they do now about the present invading hordes? "There is not an American-born citizen in the top-flight leadership of this model 1946 carpet bag invasion!"

But the "top-flight leadership" are not the only ones who must be concerned about Smith's tar-pot and lynch rope. He put the finger on "The swarm of minor hirelings who propose to do the actual field work."

Smith doesn't know what others may do, but as for him "I shall fight this invasion openly and aboveboard with all the energy I possess." He intends to fight moreover to the bitter bloody end, "expecting no quarter and asking none."

Every Ku Klux Klanner in the country will approve this lynch call against the CIO organizers raised in the very halls of Congress. They will rally to keep their anti-union mouthpiece in Washington where he can do the most political damage to labor.

But that won't save Smith. If he's got nightmares now, just wait until the CIO decides to cover the political front too and puts a squad of political organizers right in Congress where they can answer Smith and his gang face to face!

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By ALVIN ROYCE

The AVC Convention

Of all the World War II veteran organizations the American Veterans Committee has received the most publicity. The AVC chartered a blimp to fly over Los Angeles and organized a mammoth bonfire in Denver, Col. to advertise their recruiting campaign. Publicity stunts such as these have enjoyed the widest attention of the capitalist newspapers throughout the country.

Members of this infant organization, which is still technically only an organizing committee in spite of the 60,000 members it claims, ostensibly have the opportunity to decide the future of the AVC at its founding convention in Des Moines on June 14 to 16.

The rank and file joined because they want an organization of action. Without any encouragement from the National Planning Committee, which is composed of such capitalist liberals as Charles Bolte and F. D. Roosevelt Jr., the membership has participated in numerous picket lines around fascist meetings. Many local AVC units have taken an active part in the struggle for housing and in New York have initiated a progressive housing program.

However, the National Planning Committee has done everything in its power to divert the militancy of the veterans into "harmless" channels. These "liberals" have as their aim the shackling of the militant vets to Wall Street's war machine.

One of the best illustrations of the duplicity practiced by these professional lovers of "democracy" is the procedure they propose for the convention. They have arranged for so many invited speakers that the delegates at Des Moines will find it virtually impossible to get the floor. To top it off, no amendment to the constitution or discussion on the platform can be brought on the floor of the convention unless a minority report is submitted. With these methods they want to lace the rank and file in a bureaucratic straitjacket at this founding convention.

Posing as liberals on questions of foreign policy, the AVC leaders urge "active participation in the United Nations" which they claim "will remove the causes of war." They support the allocation of troops to suppress the revolutionary aspirations of the workers of Germany and Japan. At no time have they opposed the draft despite the overwhelming opposition of the mass of veterans to capitalist militarism. On each of these issues no difference exists between the foreign policy of the AVC and that of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Must Choose Sides

During a discussion, recently, in an AVC chapter on the Truman anti-labor offensive, one fellow who prided himself on being a liberal said the following: "Up till now I would have considered solidarity with labor as completely alien to my views. But we have got to look at this situation coolly. Either you are on the side of the worker or on the side of Wall Street."

Throughout the recent wave of strikes the AVC remained neutral. While the corporations working hand in glove with the government were waging their vicious war against the unions and the living standards of the workers, the AVC identified itself with the "public" and refused to "take part in management-labor disputes."

By turning their backs on the labor movement, veterans in the AVC are losing their only real friend. The unions are the only force that can wage a consistent fight for housing, for the bonus, for the abolition of Jim Crow and every other demand the veterans have raised. That is why *The Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party have continually urged the organization of the veterans by the trade unions.

Navy Throws Away Food While Millions Starve

While American housewives are lining up in block-long queues to obtain a little of the vanishing stores of meat, bread and other necessities, and while tens of millions throughout the world face death by starvation in the next few months, the U. S. Navy is dumping quantities of perfectly good canned edibles into the Navy garbage dump at Astoria, Oregon.

This shocking revelation of food wastage on a vast scale was made by Representative Norblad of Oregon in Congress on May 9, according to the Congressional Record. Presenting as evidence cans of meat, vegetables, whole milk, cereal packages, etc., Norblad stated: "These cans of food on the desk are not, as you might imagine, recently purchased from the grocery store, but they were obtained within the past few weeks from the Navy garbage dump at Astoria, Oregon."

One can of lemon juice powder, Norblad declared, was taken from a large container in which up to 200 of these cans were "completely wrapped and encircled with a very tight metal strip." He pointed out that all the canned food products were new and "in very good condition."

While at his home in Oregon last month, a friend of Norblad's invited him to inspect the abundant stores of food he had collected at the dump. These included "large perfect tins of corned beef, Australian corned lamb, Canadian bacon, cartons of oatmeal," etc. Among other items in his basement, said Norblad, were "probably 20 or 30 large cans of paint, unopened, and several cans of turpentine, likewise in perfect condition and unopened . . . about 50 packages of powdered soap . . . a large case of toilet paper, a brass fire nozzle and other similar items."

So much food is thrown into the dump, that one resident of Astoria told Norblad that he "had so much of this in his basement, he has quit salvaging food from the dump, as he says he has enough food for himself and his family for the rest of his life." Others made their living through salvaging these items from the dump-heap.

"So that there may be no question as to whether this food that the Navy considers garbage is edible or not, I wish to advise the members of the House that I shall eat this food in the House Restaurant tomorrow noon, and any of you who wish to have a sample thereof are very welcome to do so," Norblad announced.

Denouncing a statement made by Captain Ligon B. Ard of the U. S. Navy that "I was making a mountain out of a mole hill regarding this matter," Norblad concluded: "The matter of this waste of food may not be a serious one to him and of no consequence, but I do not believe that the taxpayers of the United States or the starving millions of Europe would agree with him."

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.

Bread And Butter Is A Luxury Even In Farm Areas

Last week, in order to get a pound of butter for my butterless household, I was forced to buy assorted vegetables in a tie-in sale that brought the price of one pound of butter to almost 75 cents.

Every night after work I made the rounds of the bakeries for a loaf of bread, and sometimes, after stopping at six bakeries, there still is no bread to be had. Oh, yes, of course, if you can afford to buy fancy breads at 20 cents per loaf, that is available.

The woman who takes care of my son while I work has taken to baking bread for us—but she can only buy 10 pounds of flour at a time, which makes the price of flour high.

Mrs. W. N. St. Paul, Minn.

Rail Worker Writes On Hudson-Manhattan Transport Strike

As I scan the press and listen to the radio, I become impatient waiting for Truman, Congress, Wall Street and its lackeys to denounce the owners of the Manhattan and Hudson railroad as traitors to the 115,000 commuters who are denied adequate transportation to their jobs in New York City.

I feel sort of disappointed in the "friend of labor" who remains strangely silent on the refusal of the Manhattan and Hudson railroad in refusing to grant the striking engineers and trainmen the 18 1/2 cent wage increase he recommended.

As this is written the strike has been in progress for four days and I am beginning to lose all hope of hearing a fiery speech that would raise my blood pressure. I am prepared as soon as the fireside chat is over to write letters to my Congressman and Senator demanding a law to draft these ungrateful profiteers into the army or take their seniority rights away from them.

I was sort of skeptical when I gave my dollar to the PAC to help elect this "friend of labor." I was scolded and reprimanded severely and told that I was prejudiced against this outstanding fighter for labor's rights.

I constantly heard that after the war he was going to take care of the working men and women. Ain't he a small town boy who made good? Don't he hate big bankers, Yale snobbery and Harvard sophistication? When I tried to explain that a banker big or little is still a banker, I was growled at: "Ah, why don't you go back where you came from?"

Well, I guess I will pack my bags and go back to Newark, New Jersey, where I can be as prejudiced as I wish.

Railroad Worker Reading, Penna.

"CONTRAST . . ."

A miner is smashing his drill into rock
And his insides are shaking like jelly from shock;
A workman is thrusting his spade into mud,
And the clay that he digs is the color of blood.
A farmer is mopping the sweat from his brow,
And his dreams are an integral part of his plow;
The whole thing is totaled in red and black ink
And the board of directors adjourns for a drink . . .
A mill-hand mechanically shuts off his press,
And then looks at his hand where there's one finger less—
A Negro is bending his back in a field,
And the ache in his heart is part of its yield.
A girl at a loom gets a glimpse of the sky,
And she feels she's been cheated, but she doesn't know why;
The whole thing adds up to a few figures in ink
And the board of directors adjourns for a drink . . .

Eddie Dumaine

Workers Gouged By Newark Landlord

One day, much to my surprise, I saw an ad in a Newark daily paper which said, "Newly furnished rooms—light housekeeping—all improvements." Since I am one of millions of victims of the housing situation, I investigated.

The advertised place was a very old tenement, slightly renovated. The original seven-room flats have been broken up into individual rooms, with the kitchen converted into a "community kitchen." That settled the "light housekeeping" question.

The rooms had been newly painted. The one bathroom per floor has a shower, rare in Newark. I finally decided on a room with running water, and asked how much the rental was.

The bold reply was \$12 a week, single! When I said that was too high, the owner showed me a smaller room without a closet and without water, for \$8 a week, single. I didn't take it. Finally he remembered a room he had "overlooked." This was a tiny place with barely room for a bed and chair, evidently once used for storage or closet space. The small window opened on a shaftway.

Completely discouraged, I decided to remain in my cheap rooming house. A week later I went back to see if the recon-verted tenement had come down in rents. Instead, I found it completely filled! Desperate workers have yielded to this robbery in order to have some place to sleep.

Ruth Franklin Newark, N. J.

No More Beer—4,000 Laid Off

The two leading St. Paul breweries, Schmidt's and Hamm's, are practically at a standstill due to the so-called shortages of wheat and coal. In the Twin Cities over 4,000 brewery workers are laid off. One wouldn't believe this could happen here right in the wheat center of the Americas but it has.

A group of us were talking the other day about the old days when there was plenty of beer. "14 ounces for a nickel" signs were all over town. "Largest glass of beer in town" was another. "Three bottles for a quarter," and you could take out all you wanted.

Now they tell you "NO BEER."

And I like beer. To come from work and stop in and have a glass, to feel this cool refreshing liquid on the tongue after a hard day's work in the shop would make this capitalist world vanish for a few moments. My friends and I always talked over our common problems over a large cool glass of beer. Our discussions were always on a better basis this way.

The thing that makes me so mad is the fact that the big shots still have their favorite drink but the worker's is taken from him.

Paul Chelstrom St. Paul, Minn.

Comments On National Negro Congress

I was one of 650 delegates to the National Negro Congress held in Detroit, May 30-June 2. This was its first national convention since the start of World War II.

The convention reflected the growing awareness of the Negro people that unity with the entire working class is essential to their struggle. The seriousness and enthusiasm of discussion on many questions showed the Negroes' qualifications for leadership. However, the Stalinist tops of the NNC attempted to channel all this off into reformist ideas. Militant speakers were denied the floor after their views were known.

The convention sent a petition to the UN to end the oppression of the American Negro! Colonial peoples of India and Asia and the oppressed peoples of the invaded countries are learning to hate the UN whose function is to continue their enslavement. Yet to Negro workers eager for truth and struggle, the Stalinists recommend the UN as "the highest authority in the world today!"

The NNC adopted the Stalinist line "for a third party, based on the unions but not to be organized prematurely." Meanwhile, the Stalinists said, all attention should be on "men and issues" which can "only be found in the parties already in existence," the very men and parties now attacking labor with every conceivable legislative club.

A Reader Chicago, Ill.

Workers Oppose Stalinist Tactics

On June 5, at Military Park in Newark, N. J. at the C.I.O. rally to protest Truman's anti-labor acts, the Stalinists made one of their hysterical and cowardly attempts to stop the distribution of *The Militant*. At first they tried their old methods—taking copies from the distributors in order to tear them up, all the while shouting to the workers who took the paper to also tear it up.

Since these methods proved unavailing, the Stalinists went into a huddle. The goon squad went into action. Four men and two women surrounded one of the distributors, joining hands in a circle around her. Just then the rally adjourned. The distributor continued to try to give out the papers.

The goon squad circle dissolved when two young workers approached and firmly objected to this hooliganism.

There was a small crowd left near the speakers' stand and the *Militant* distributor went there. The Stalinists followed, yelling hysterically, snatching at her papers. The four Stalinist men started to withdraw when they saw that many workers kept coming up to the distributor and demonstratively asking for *The Militant*, and that many of their own sympathizers were frowning on their actions.

The local unionists are disgusted with the use of the Stalinist goon squads against a section of the working class movement.

A Reader Newark, N. J.

Los Angeles Family Homeless



The plight of workers' families in the housing crisis is dramatically shown in the photo above. Mr. and Mrs. Cleen Simmons and their eight children, evicted from a Los Angeles housing project, were forced to take shelter in the railroad station. The children play on the floor or try to sleep on the hard benches.

A Working Class Mother's Answer To Aid For Europe

The other day an article in our local paper said that a New Britain (Conn.) Famine Relief Committee consisting of Mrs. So and So and the highly respected community leader Mr. Do-That had been appointed by the mayor to talk the people into tightening their belts during the food crisis.

Some Mrs. "Crust" was even assigned to talk to the "overfed" boys and girls in schools.

During the war we were told a lot of lies about shortages. Now veterans tell us indignantly of utter waste; of luxurious living for officers while GIs and workers sacrificed. American mothers and housewives are also wise to the present tale of "shortages."

"We know that the things essential for even a bare existence are being withheld by profiteers who prefer to sell on the black market. The food we don't get certainly isn't going to the starving in Europe."

Mrs. "Crust" doesn't have to go to a worker's child and tell him not to eat a piece of bread and jam after school, so that little scrap of bread will reach Italy or France! We've already cut out that "luxury." Bread shortage!

Furthermore, Mrs. "Crust" needn't preach to our kids about sacrificing. Workers' kids don't mind sharing with other children. Ours have done it when Mrs. Jones was in the hospital.

They've done it when Pop Jones was out on strike nine weeks. The Jones kids did the same when others needed help.

Workers' children, like their parents, feel a close bond with the starving Europeans. Yes, we're in favor of sending food to Europe. But we also want to go after the speculators who hoard food at the expense of both American and European workers.

The answer of the working class mother to "What can we do right now?" should be "We'll send our food to Europe through the American Committee for European Workers' Relief." Our little Barbaras and Johnnies will gladly contribute their candy bars and clothes to Nicola and the others in Europe. In that way we mothers know that the food and clothing reaches directly the hands of the anti-fascist fighters of Europe, because this is a workers' committee, not a phony outfit of rich loafers put up as a front for UNRRA.

Pearl Spangler New Britain, Conn.

(Editor's Note: The American Committee for European Workers' Relief needs food, clothing, and funds to defray mailing costs. Please send all contributions to American Committee for European Workers' Relief, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Story Of A Timber Worker Enslaved By California Boss

This is the story of one man, but at the same time, the story of thousands among the unorganized timber workers in California.

Old Tex is an expert in the piece-work job of splitting out redwood grade stakes for the vinyardists. He works directly for the wily entrepreneurs who come into the forest to exploit these men.

Old Tex is 60-odd years old. Like other workers he is tricked into running up bills at the one store nearby. The merchant then makes a profit both ways by demanding the workers' grapestakes, at less than market price. Tex got into debt, his stakes were hauled to the store loading place, and he was told to sell them at the merchant's price.

Tex remonstrated. He was thrown out of the store, kicked in the face by the bouncer-clerk who is also a deputy sheriff, badly beaten, and driven off.

Next the brother-in-law of the deputy, who had been hiring Old Tex, ordered him out of his cabin, into the empty night, alone and broke and disheartened. Somehow Tex had absorbed the idea that in America "a man's home is his castle." Threatened by violence, he reached for his shotgun.

The upshot is that Tex was placed under arrest by the deputy, threatened with a trial for sanity—a popular terror weapon in California, and finally released on probation on condition that he take the job the sheriff would get him, and stay on that job until released.

What was the job? Farmers in California experience difficulty in getting labor for such work as orchard pruning. Old Tex is now

IN TACOMA Buy "The Militant" at these stands: 9th and Pacific Pacific bet. 12th and 13th

Pioneer Notes

Growing interest in the life and works of Leon Trotsky is indicated by the many letters Pioneer has received of late from college students who state that they are writing their theses on Trotsky and Trotskyism. One letter came from a girls' school in Virginia, another from the University of Illinois, and the letter quoted below from Ann Arbor, Mich.

"I am interested in studying Leon Trotsky's writings of his last period, say from 1932 on. His Stalin gives a list of books and pamphlets published by you. Will you please send me a price list?"

And from a student at Sweet Briar, Va., we hear:

"I am writing a paper on your party and I would greatly appreciate any literature or information that you can send me on your history, workings and achievements up to date."

In addition to requests for information and orders for books from individual students, Pioneer has received orders from universities and college libraries, as well as public libraries, all over the country. The University of California, Oklahoma University, Brown University at Providence, R. I., and Madison College in Harrisonburg, Va., are only a few of the many schools we have heard from.

Public libraries which have ordered recently include Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh; Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Boston, New York, Baltimore, Mt. Hermon, Indianapolis, and Oak Park, Ill. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Youth Group Activities

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

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

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

PHILADELPHIA—Youth Forums held every Saturday, 8 p.m. 1303-05 W. Girard, 2nd floor. LOS ANGELES—Socialist Youth Club meets every Friday, 8 p.m., at SWP headquarters, 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Educational by Youth and SWP speakers.

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

Watch this column for further announcements of youth activities.

Detroit SWP Asks For Books

The Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party, improving its facilities for friends and visitors, is now enlarging its library. All types of books, including fiction as well as revolutionary literature, will be available.

Readers of *The Militant* who have books, magazines, pamphlets or other material which they can spare, are urged to donate it to the Detroit SWP library where it can be used by increasing numbers of comrades and friends. The literature, or information concerning it, should be sent to the Socialist Workers Party, 6108 Linwood, Detroit 8, Michigan.

A. B. California

DETROIT Public Meeting
'The Big-Business-Govt. War On Labor -And How To Combat It'
 Speaker: WILLIAM F. WARDE
 Associate Editor of *The Militant*
 Socialist Workers Party 6108 Linwood
THURSDAY, JUNE 27, 8 P.M.

CHICAGO MASS MEETING
Smash Truman's War On Labor!
 Speaker:
FARRELL DOBBS, Editor of The Militant
SUNDAY, JUNE 16, 8 P.M.
 Socialist Workers Party Headquarters
777 W. Adams St.



Readers of *The Militant* will have noted the addition of a new feature column, "On The Railroads." This column is directed especially to our present railroad worker readers, in addition to those we hope to gain through our special subscription drive.

In connection with this special drive, we have printed an attractive railroad workers' subscription card carrying a Militant five-point program of action for the railroad workers.

Although many subs have already come in from railroad workers, we would like to institute some socialist competition among the various branches which have the greatest contact with railroad workers. To date Reading and Minneapolis seem to be in the lead. How about challenging Toledo and St. Paul into some lively action? We'll watch the railroad subs coming in from these centers and keep our readers informed as to the top scoring centers.

D. Sanders of New York writes: "Last Sunday on our renewal mobilization, I called on a subscriber who has been reading *The Militant* for a year. He didn't wait for me to ask him if he wanted to renew, but immediately gave me a dollar for a one year renewal adding: 'The Militant is a fine paper!'"

"I asked him why he liked *The Militant*, and this was his reply: 'I used to get a paper something like this, the *Daily Worker*. In addition, I read the other New York daily papers. But what I like about *The Militant* particularly, is that it gives you what you might call hidden news. Things you can't find in other papers, you get straight in *The Militant*.'"

From Los Angeles we obtained the following information on a renewal mobilization: "East side Branch pulled out in front of the other branches in the drive for Militant renewals by being the first to go out.

"It was a modest beginning with visits being made to 34 subscribers. Eleven renewals were obtained. No one reported a dislike or disappointment with the paper. Eight who didn't subscribe asked us to call back in a short time. Nine were not home and

five had moved. One new sub was obtained. 31 Fontana pamphlets were sold as well as one copy of the Fourth International. The percentage of renewals was about 55.

"One subscriber, after renewing his *Militant* sub, asked us to call back next week for a sub to the Fourth International. Another subscriber who renewed, offered us the use of his home for discussion."

June Carey of Allentown writes: "We have been holding regular distributions at the Mack plant. After one of the recent distributions, our comrade distributor turned in to me a one year sub, which came to him in the most unusual way.

"This particular subscriber had gone from plant to plant looking for an authorized representative of *The Militant* so that he might obtain a subscription. He finally gave a dollar to one of the workers together with his name and address, and after passing through many workers' hands it reached our comrade who turned it in.

"What is so remarkable about this is revealed by the anxiety of our subscriber to get *The Militant*, that he entrusted his dollar to other workers hoping it would get to the right party. A dollar of a worker's money is a lot, but his confidence in his fellow worker was well rewarded, and we know how pleased he will be with *The Militant* once it starts coming."

May will be recorded as another banner month for new Militant subscriptions as well as renewals. Our paper was introduced to over 400 new readers. In addition, over 500 resubscribed. Our monthly breakdown is as follows:

344 six-month and 90 one-year new subscriptions.
420 six-month and 165 one-year renewal subscriptions.
37 new and 31 renewal combinations to both *The Militant* and the Fourth International.

Subscribe To *The Militant* Use Coupon On Page 2

OUR PROGRAM:

1. Full employment and job security for workers and veterans!
 A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours work with no reduction in pay!
 A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!
 Government operation of all idle and government built plants under workers' control!
 Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!
2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!
 No restriction on the right to strike!
3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!
4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!
 Down with Jim Crow!
 Build an independent labor party!
 Tax the rich, not the poor!
 No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
 A working class answer to capitalist militarism!
 Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
 Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!
5. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!
 For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!
 Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!
9. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

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- To join the Socialist Workers Party.
 - To obtain further information about your organization.
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\$13,864 RAISED FOR 'MILITANT' FUND WITH ONLY NINE DAYS LEFT TO DEADLINE

By Justine Lang
Campaign Director

Our drive to raise \$15,000 to help sustain *The Militant* is coming to a close. As this is written only nine more days remain before the June 15 deadline.

As our scoreboard reveals, we have already obtained 92 per cent of our goal, or \$13,864.88 in this twelfth week. However, the next few days are probably the most vital in the whole period of our drive. The next few days will determine whether or not we meet our quota.

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party, our readers and friends have cooperated with real Trotskyist spirit, thus insuring, ahead of schedule, progress every week since the inception of the Militant Sustaining Fund Drive. This pace must be kept up right to the end.

As was pointed out last week, over 50 per cent of our branches have already met or oversubscribed their quotas. It is incumbent upon those sections which have yet to fulfill their quotas, to bring our \$15,000 drive to a successful conclusion. All branches below 86 per cent this week must make every effort to send their final payments in immediately in order to insure attaining our national quota of \$15,000.

100 PERCENTERS

Three more branches join the "100 per centers" this week. Philadelphia, Minneapolis and the Philadelphia Youth Group.

In fact, Philadelphia climbed to fifth place with a score of 103 per cent. The branch is to be commended for its fine achievement, especially in view of the fact that it was in the nineteenth place with a score of 103 per cent. The branch is to be commended for its fine achievement, especially in view of the fact that it was in nineteenth place last week!

Irene Fitzgerald of Philadelphia writes: "Here's a breakdown of the money sent this far: From the comrades \$387.50, sympathizers and contacts \$50.50 and socials \$77."

The Minneapolis Branch is also to be commended for reaching its quota ahead of schedule, with a consistent weekly contribution. It has maintained a fine pace all during our drive.

M. Cooper of the Philadelphia Youth Group sent this note: "This payment finishes up the quota for our Youth Group. There will be more coming in from our group very soon, I'm sure."

There is keen competition on our scoreboard for third place. Flint superseded Portland two weeks ago. However, Portland won it back this week!

FROM OUR MAILBAG

Joyce James of Portland sent this note: "Here is an additional contribution from a subscriber. Hope we can send in more money before the campaign ends."

Well, Flint are you going to allow that replacement to go unchallenged?

Other interesting items from our mailbag include the following:

From Detroit, Jeanette Kirk writes: "The majority of our comrades are having serious financial difficulties. They are either working part time as a result of material shortages in the plants, paying up debts incurred during the strikes, or have just returned to work. Some are still unemployed. But

PHILADELPHIA
RICHARD MILTON
Militant Negro Veteran
will speak on:
"Can The Negro Win Democracy Under Capitalism?"
FRIDAY, JUNE 21
1303 W. Girard 8 p.m.

they are all determined to meet their pledges by the deadline. "Money is still coming in on the contribution lists. From all reports the comrades are met with a very friendly response from workers, who sincerely want to aid *The Militant*."

Mike Bartell of Chicago writes: "Enclosed is \$137 for the Militant Fund Drive, collected at our June 1 banquet."

"You might be interested in the fact that the Marxist Study Group of the University of Chicago pledged \$20 for the fund."

The "I Want To Help" coupons continue to be one of our most consistent sources of contributions from friends. In this week's mail were contributions from readers in Youngstown, Chicago and Minneapolis. We thank these readers for their fine cooperation, and urge others to help, too. Clip the "I Want To Help" coupon and send in your contribution, no matter how small!

A glance at the graphic portrayal of our Militant Fund Drive reveals our Militant worker has the weight very close to the bell. Let's help him ring the bell within the next few days!

Chicago SWP Celebrates New Headquarters

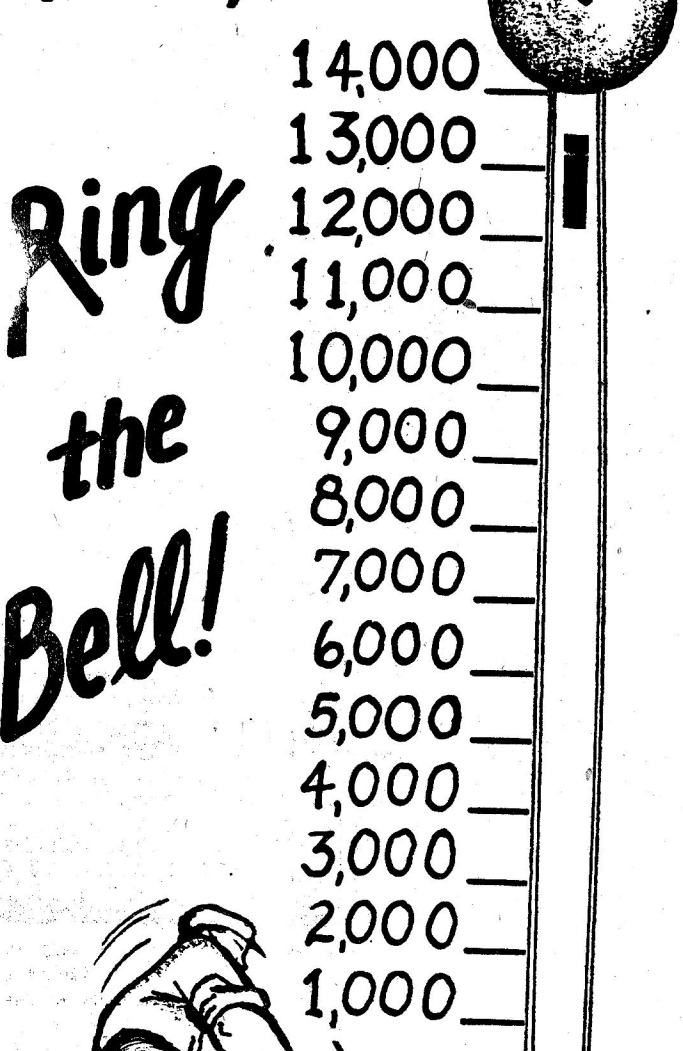
CHICAGO, June 1—Enthusiastic members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party celebrated "Housewarming Day" at the new headquarters of the Chicago SWP branch tonight.

A delicious seven-course dinner, prepared and served by the comrades, was followed by an evening of top-notch entertainment, featuring piano and vocal solos.

The new Chicago headquarters is well worth celebrating. It is not only the finest the Chicago branch has ever had, it is one of the finest SWP headquarters in the country. Located at 777 West Adams, just outside the Chicago loop area, it consists of two offices, a comfortably furnished combination reading-room, library and book-store, and a meeting hall with a seating capacity of over 400.

The headquarters is equipped with a public address system, a piano, and an automatic phonograph. Future plans include the building of new bookcases, and establishment of a circulating library. A ping-pong table will be set up, too. The splendid appearance of the Chicago headquarters has been made possible by the enthusiasm and devotion with which the comrades, many of them skilled craftsmen, plunged into the task of getting it in shape. For the past month they have devoted their spare time to painting, plastering, scraping and varnishing. A sink, stove and refrigerator were installed and a kitchen set up. Friends and out-of-town comrades present tonight were enthusiastic in their praise of the headquarters. More than \$150 was contributed to *The Militant* and two applications were received for membership in the SWP.

\$15,000



SCOREBOARD

CITY	SCORE	QUOTA	PAID	PER CENT
NEW YORK YOUTH	50	121.52	242	
CINCINNATI	25	30.00	120	
PORTLAND	25	28.00	112	
FLINT	100	107.00	107	
PHILADELPHIA	500	515.00	103	
ROCHESTER	50	50.00	100	
BALTIMORE	25	25.00	100	
READING	100	100.00	100	
BOSTON	400	400.00	100	
YOUNGSTOWN	400	401.00	100	
CONNECTICUT	100	100.00	100	
ST. PAUL	250	250.00	100	
ST. LOUIS	50	50.50	100	
BUFFALO-LACKAWANNA	500	500.00	100	
NEWARK	300	300.40	100	
NEW YORK	3500	3500.00	100	
MINNEAPOLIS	500	500.00	100	
PHILADELPHIA YOUTH	25	25.00	100	
Milwaukee	100	97.55	98	
San Francisco	1000	972.86	97	
Pittsburgh	100	95.00	95	
San Diego	100	95.00	95	
Cleveland	250	234.00	93	
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	65.00	87	
Chicago	1500	1293.10	86	
Detroit	1250	1032.41	82	
Los Angeles	2000	1585.50	79	
Toledo	200	146.66	73	
Akron	300	216.25	72	
Bayonne	75	43.50	58	
Los Angeles Youth	75	37.09	49	
Seattle	500	231.50	46	
General	575	716.04	124	
Total	15,000	\$13,864.88	92	

Dear Reader:

On June 15, we will close our campaign for \$15,000 to maintain *The Militant*. If you have been postponing your donation, send it today—right now while you read this.

Don't Put It Off!

Every penny is important. *The Militant*, which fights for every working man and woman, depends upon people like you for support. We carry no paid advertising, and want none. We haven't any Rockefellers or Morgans paying our bills, and we don't want them, either! What we do want is just what you can give, just what it's worth to you to see the program of revolutionary socialism going into factories and homes throughout the country.

Mail It NOW!

The Editors

5,000 Sign Ferguson Case Petitions Of New York SWP

NEW YORK, June 10—Nearly 5,000 New York workers have signed petitions circulated by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party demanding that the State Commission Against Discrimination (SCAD) investigate Jim Crow conditions in Nassau County.

The shocking conditions and discrimination under which the Negro people are forced to live in Nassau County were brought to light last February when four Negro brothers, three of whom were veterans in uniform, were brutally assaulted by a Freeport, L. I., cop. Two of the brothers, Charles and Alfonso Ferguson were murdered in cold blood, Joseph Ferguson was wounded and Richard Ferguson was framed up and jailed by Nassau County officials.

As a result of public protest Richard Ferguson was released from jail and his fine ordered returned. The Navy completely exonerated Joseph Ferguson, who was wounded. And the Army finally declared Charles Ferguson's widow eligible for a pension since Charles had been "killed in the line of duty."

KILLER STILL FREE

However, the police-killer, Joseph Romeika, still walks his beat protected by Nassau County officials. Ku Klux Klan mobsters, Christian Fronters and other reactionary groups continue their organizational work and are a constant threat to the lives of several hundred Negro families in Nassau County.

The New York Local of the SWP intends to present this petition to the SCAD in an effort to force this long dormant body to take steps to eliminate Jim Crow conditions on Long Island.

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party is conducting a house-to-house campaign, leaving petitions with readers of *The Militant* to be filled out. Those who have received copies of the Ferguson petition are urged to have them signed and returned to 116 University Place. Friends of the SWP may secure these petitions at the City Office, 116 University Place, New York City.

In Memoriam Comrade Fred Lind

The Tacoma Branch of the Socialist Workers Party suffered the loss of one of its finest comrades when Fred Lind passed away at the age of 56. A virile and active man, of keen brain and firm Socialist conviction, his departure from our ranks leaves a great gap that will be hard to fill.

Born in Sweden on January 21, 1890, Fred Lind early developed a deep understanding of life. At the age of 16, working in the steel mills, this young lad joined the Social Democratic Party of Sweden. For the remaining forty years of his life span, he carried the banner for justice and a decent world. Whoever came in contact with him through the years, felt the influence of his goodness and kindness.

In 1920, like others of his native land, he migrated to the United States. After some years toiling in the great steel mills of Chicago and in the employ of the Pullman Car Company, Fred headed for the Northwest. Here the soil reclaimed him. Fred worked as a farmer on the land which he dearly loved.

The latter years of his life, vigorous and active as ever, Fred Lind worked in the plywood industry. He became a charter member of the Tacoma Branch of the Socialist Workers Party. In the brief period of two months that Fred was our comrade, he imbedded himself deeply in the hearts of all of us. With heavy heart we extend our hand in a last comradely salute to one whose physical presence is with us no more, but whose memory will be an eternal source of strength to each of us.



SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM

Labor and Labor Power

(Continued)

By V. Grey

Labor power is the capacity to work. It is, in the long run, the worker himself. But labor is the living action of the worker. It is value-creating action.

It was the genius of Karl Marx that first discovered and clearly described this difference between labor and labor-power. At first glance, the difference seems slight. It might be some kind of hair-splitting. But the difference is really of great importance. And it is because of this difference that capitalism can exist at all.

It is the second great distinction that the young student of Marxist economics has to master. The first was the distinction between use-value and value. These seemed a little bit alike, but we saw how these two qualities were very different.

It may be difficult to grasp the difference between labor and labor-power at first. But once we do grasp it we can understand what capitalist exploitation is.

It is because the laborer is able to produce more than enough for his own and his family's upkeep, that profits can exist. If the product of his labor was exactly equal to the products that he and his family consumed in daily life, there would be no capital, and no capitalism.

Labor power can remain almost unchanged from one year to the next. A man's muscle and brain don't change much in a year. And his food, clothing and family requirements are about the same. But his labor and what it produces can change drastically in that same year.

In ship building, for example, it used to be a year-round proposition to build an ocean going ship—especially naval craft. But before the war was over, these vessels were turned out in a matter of days. Labor was applied in different ways, under new circumstances—welding huge pre-fabricated sections together with assembly line technique. The labor, however, was still powered with the same spinach and beef as when the iron worker, fitter, burner and welder used to put each ship-plate in place in the ancient days of 1940.

Labor Power Must Be Sustained

A man working piece-work may turn out a thousand articles a day, and a maintenance man may read comic books for hours at a time. The labor they perform is very different. But their labor power is about the same. They eat about the same quantity of groceries—they wear out the same amount of clothing, and they both have a wife and family to provide for.

During the war a man labored six days for the boss to get the money to keep his labor power replenished for seven days. But now he only labors five days. And he still must live for seven. That is why he demanded a higher price for his labor power and struck for the 18 1/2 cent raise.

Finally, a man who is laid off altogether, is doing no labor whatsoever for the boss. But his labor power, like a millstone around his neck, is an unsold commodity that still requires spinach and beef, even in idleness. In an agony of hunger and worry for his family, he is willing to sell it cheaper and cut out the beef. But once having sold it at a cut rate, he is still compelled to produce for his boss at a faster rate of labor than ever.

The capitalists are always trying to push down the price of labor power. They are trying to make the laborer get along on less. They are trying to reduce his standard of living. That is why the working people are organized in unions—in order to resist this pressure—and raise the price of their labor power.

And while the capitalists try to reduce the value of labor power, they move heaven and earth to increase the values that its labor produces—in other words, they whip more labor out of the labor-power they have bought.

Having grasped the difference between labor and labor power, we have accomplished two big things. We have stripped bare the secret of capitalist exploitation. And we have discovered the economic roots of the class struggle.

(Next week: The Value of Labor Power)

Workers Enjoy Mid-West Vacation Camp And School

For workers and their families who are now thinking about and planning their summer vacations, the announcement that the Mid-

West Vacation Camp and School at Grass Lakes, Michigan is opening its third season on June 30 is welcome news. The Mid-West Camp is conveniently located on Little Pleasant Lake near Jackson, Michigan, 80 miles from Detroit.

The camp is operated on a cooperative basis to provide friends of *The Militant* a vacation and opportunity to study problems of the labor movement at reasonable rates.

Last year an enthusiastic visitor to the camp wrote a letter of appreciation to *The Militant*, a section of which is reprinted below:

"I had a grand week at the Mid-West Vacation School. I arrived a complete stranger . . .

Yet all the members of the staff welcomed me most cordially and accepted me with no apparent reservations. When I left, I distinctly felt I had made many new friends, sincere, warm people. Believe me, it was a wonderful feeling.

"The classes I was able to attend were of invaluable benefit to me. I realize I shall need much more instruction and reading, but for a novice, I heartily recommend a week at Mid-West Vacation school. Nowhere else have I met such sincere and willing teachers, anxious and desirous at all times to help the students in their quest for more knowledge. I learned a lot from them and am anxious to continue studying."

Mail This Blank For Your Reservation At Mid-West Vacation Camp And School

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

Reserve accommodations for below from to
Family Couple Single (check one)
List all who will attend:

Name
(Mr., Mrs., Miss)

List Children and Age

Name of Applicant
(Please sign)

Address
City & Zone State

I Want To Help!

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

I like *The Militant* because it tells the truth. I know that it depends entirely upon workers like myself for support. That is why I want to do my part in contributing to *The Militant's* \$15,000 Fund Campaign.

- I enclose \$ toward your work.
- I want a contribution-list to circulate among my friends and fellow-workers, so they can help *The Militant*.

Name
(Please Print)

Street Apt.

City

Postal Zone No. State

San Francisco SWP Plans Relief Dinner

SAN FRANCISCO—A delicious Italian dinner will be served Saturday, June 29 from 7 to 9 p.m. at 305 Grant Ave., 4th floor. Proceeds will be donated to the American Committee for European Workers Relief. All *Militant* readers are invited.

San Francisco Italian Dinner SATURDAY, JUNE 29

Dancing . . . Auction
Proceeds to American Comm.
For European Workers Relief

Reservations:
EXBROOK 1926
305 Grant Ave. 7 to 9 p.m.

How Stalin Shocked Entire World With The First Moscow Frameup

By Joseph Hansen

(Fourth in the series of articles on Stalin's Moscow Frame-up Trials and their significance.)
As the nets of Stalin's GPU dragged tens of thousands of innocent victims to prisons and concentration camps following the assassination of Kirov in 1934, Leon Trotsky foresaw that Stalin would utilize this death for new and still more horrible crimes against the generation of the October 1917 revolution.

On January 26, 1935, just eight days after Zinoviev had been condemned to 10 years and Kamenev to 5 years imprisonment for "moral" responsibility in Kirov's death, Trotsky from his exile in France warned: "The strategy developed around Kirov's corpse won Stalin no great laurels. But just for this reason he can neither stop nor retreat. Stalin will have to cover up the misbegotten amalgam by new, more extensive and . . . more successful amalgams. We must meet them well armed!"

This prediction was confirmed to the hilt. Within 18 months Stalin took the lives of Zinoviev, Kamenev and 14 others in a frameup that shocked the entire world working class.

FOURTH TRIAL

By July 1935, another trial, the fourth in the series, was held over the death of Kirov. It was staged in such rigorous secrecy that its circumstances remain a sinister mystery to this day. According to one report, out of 38 defendants, two were sentenced to death and shot; Kamenev's previous 5 year sentence was stretched to 10 years. But outside of Kamenev the names of the unfortunate victims are still buried in the files of the Kremlin. The charges are unknown. The denials or "confessions" of the defendants are a state secret.

Basing his conclusion on information seeping from the concentration camps in the Soviet Union, Trotsky declared that this "trial was especially organized in order to educate Kamenev for the next trial and to break his backbone . . ."

By the summer of 1936 the actors in the tragic drama were

Mussolini Pleased

Mussolini was greatly pleased with the outcome of the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial. His paper *Il Messaggero* gleefully characterized the frame-up as "a victory of political reason over revolutionary romanticism."

thoroughly rehearsed in their roles. On August 15 the press reported that Andrei Vyshinsky, prosecutor for the state, had arraigned 16 defendants, among them Zinoviev, Kamenev, I. N. Smirnov and other former leading Bolsheviks.

WORLD INCREDULOUS

An incredulous world blinked at the charges—conspiring with the Nazi regime to murder seven prominent Soviet officials; and direct participation in the assassination of Kirov!

Every thinking person asked himself in astonishment, how could leading Bolsheviks end up like that? Observers who had been following events in the Soviet Union recalled that already in the Kirov case a number of alleged White Guards had been shot. The confessed assassin had been tried and shot. The GPU officials involved had been tried and sentenced. And the Soviet courts had already declared no evidence implicated either Zinoviev or Kamenev directly in the death of Kirov.

Moreover, how could Smirnov be guilty? For 40 years he had been a Bolshevik. He was the inspirer of the Fifth Red Army that fought Koltchak during the Civil War. The Soviet masses knew him as the "Lenin of Siberia." But in addition it was physically impossible for him to be guilty of such charges. Smirnov had been held in Stalinist

Royalists Gloat

Counter-revolutionary White Guards who wished to restore the Romanov throne in Russia exulted over the Zinoviev-Kamenev-Smirnov trial. The September 1, 1936, *Golos Rossii* declared: "This is the first time that we are pleased with an execution among the millions of executions carried out by the Bolsheviks . . . They will not stop at Zinoviev and his associates any more than the French Revolution stopped at Danton . . ."

prisons since 1932—before the Hitler regime seized power!

Universal suspicion centered on Stalin. Was a frameup involved? The Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions cabled a demand that defending counsel be provided "who are absolutely independent of the government" and that "no death sentence shall be promulgated . . ."

STALIN'S ANSWER

Stalin gave a typical answer to this reasonable request. The trial opened August 19. Five days later the verdict was read. Within 24 hours the press announced the defendants had been executed!

The Stalinist machine and its apologists claimed this precipitate haste resulted from the damning character of the evidence. But the truth was that Stalin rushed the frame-up through and murdered the defendants in this summary fashion because they were innocent.

Not a shred of genuine evidence was produced by the prosecutor. The defendants unanimously "confessed" crimes that were utterly incredible. These "confessions" bristled with glaring contradictions. The frame-up could not stand the slightest examination. The GPU had botched the job from beginning to end. That was why Stalin hastened to shoot his victims before a wide protest movement could get under way to save them and clarify their enigmatic "confessions."

The world waited eagerly to hear how Leon Trotsky would respond to the monstrous charges leveled by the Stalinist prosecutor. Trotsky, more than any other single individual, was capable of exposing all the lies in the "confessions" of the defendants. Moreover, the Stalinist frameup machine had dragged in his name and that of his son, Sedov, as the principal defendants.

TROTSKY HOUNDED

Stalin was panic-stricken by what Trotsky might say. To silence Trotsky's embarrassing questions and exposures, the Stalinist machine put pressure on the shipowners and their government in Norway where the hounded revolutionary leader had found temporary refuge. The Norwegian capitalist government conceded to Stalin. Trotsky and his wife were placed under tight police surveillance, his secretaries deported. All incoming and outgoing mail was censored. Trotsky was cynically prohibited by the Norwegian "democrats" from answering the charges leveled at him in Moscow or from even taking court action against his defamers!

Stalin's purpose in framing up Trotsky and at the same time silencing his voice was not difficult to fathom. The Stalinist regime, profoundly hated by the Soviet masses, lived in deadly fear of the program of revolutionary socialism represented by Trotsky. By smearing Trotsky as a "fascist," a "murderer," etc., Stalin sought to make his reactionary struggle against Trotsky's program easier.

Stalin wished at the same time to give the capitalists of the world a demonstration of how thoroughly he had broken with Lenin's tradition. Rising

Notice To Subscribers

According to postal regulations your address is not complete unless it shows your postal zone number. For example: The Militant's zone number is New York 3, N. Y. The postal authorities are now insisting that this regulation be carried out in the mailing of The Militant. Check the wrapper in which The Militant is mailed to you and if the zone number is not included, be sure to send it to us at once to assure delivery of your paper.

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



LEON KAMENEV

In 1901 at the age of 18, Kamenev joined the Marxist movement. Member of the Bolshevik wing from its inception in 1903. Elected to the leading staff in 1907. Directed the Bolshevik fraction in the Czarist Duma. In 1915 he was sentenced to lifetime exile in Siberia where he remained until freed by the February 1917 revolution.

From 1918 to 1925 he was President of the Moscow Soviet. He was a member of the Bolshevik Political Bureau under Lenin. When Lenin became ill, Kamenev acted as his deputy. Chosen by the party to head the Lenin Institute and to edit Lenin's works.

A bosom companion of Zinoviev, he shared in the latter's political mistakes, the worst of which was joining Stalin in unprincipled struggle against Leon Trotsky and the program of Lenin. Shot by Stalin in 1936 as a fascist "dog gone mad."

unrest in Europe had alarmed the capitalists with the specter of the workers taking power in other countries besides the Soviet Union. The French workers faced a revolutionary situation and in Spain the revolution had reached the stage of open civil war. By shooting Lenin's general staff and slandering Trotsky with the vilest charges possible, Stalin hoped to gain the good will of the Anglo-French-American capitalists. He wanted to prove decisively that he had no intention of leading the socialist revolution in Spain, France, or anywhere else!

A few random phrases from Vyshinsky's lips will indicate the type of charges leveled against the defendants: "These mad dogs of capitalism tried to tear limb from limb the best of the best of our Soviet land . . . criminal madmen . . . traitors, murderers and bandits . . . liars and clowns, insignificant pygmies, little dogs snarling at an elephant, this is what this gang represents! . . . Not political figures, but a gang of murderers and criminals, thieves who tried to rob the state, this is what this gang represents!"

LENIN'S COMRADES

More than one commentator observed that the men suffering this abuse were once Lenin's comrades, while their defamer was a Menshevik on the other side of the barricades in the early critical days of the workers' state.

Stalin never published a complete transcript of the trial of the 16. A great deal of the testimony is summarized by the Stalinist editorial hand in a few cryptic phrases. At times it appears that some of the defendants were deliberately trying to give the show away. But what Stalin did publish was sufficient to blow the whole trial sky high. For buried in the mass of wild vituperation, cries for lynch justice, breast beating, cursing of Trotsky and hallelujahs to Stalin, were some bits of "evidence" that became irrefutable proof of the frameup character of the trial.

Next week we will tell how this evidence exposed the frameup.

Unions Denounce Truman Threat To Smash Any Maritime Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

quired to make deliveries directly to the docks.

The Truman administration had hoped to be able to play off the AFL maritime unions against the CIO. At least, he figured the AFL unions might be expected to take a passive "hands-off" attitude. This impression was strengthened by early statements of AFL President William Green and AFL International Longshoremen's Association President Ryan, who used the fact that the CIO maritime unions are Stalinist-dominated to declare that the AFL unions would not recognize so-called "political picket lines."

Aware of the bitter jurisdictional warfare smoldering since 1938 in the maritime industry, the government policy makers hoped to be in position to smash a CIO maritime strike and cripple the CIO National Maritime Union, largest organization of American seamen. Then would come the same fate for the AFL Seafarers International Union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

ARROGANT MOVE

This explains why Truman moved with such arrogant confidence against the CIO strike threat. Navy strikebreaking preparations were highly publicized after Truman's order. All former Navy personnel were called up to man the struck ships, as well as others with merchant marine experience. Army, Navy, Coast Guard, UNRRA, Agricultural Department, Office of Defense Transportation and War Shipping Administration were to be directed in unified strikebreaking activities by a special transportation co-ordinating committee headed by War Shipping Administrator Granville Conway.

This fanfare was somewhat quieted by the stop-work demonstration of the AFL seamen and the solidarity expressed by other sections of organized labor. Following Thursday's AFL seamen's action, Truman had no comment for the press. He quickly called in his cabinet on Friday morning to discuss the new turn of events. The only government pronouncement was that the situation was now "pretty bad." Because of "the delicacy of the situation" a House Labor subcommittee deferred its planned inquiry into maritime labor disputes.

This does not mean that the government has given up its plans to smash the proposed June 15 strike. It means only that Washington is proceeding more cautiously because the seamen have shown they will not surrender without a struggle and the rest of labor will not stand idly by and watch them beaten.

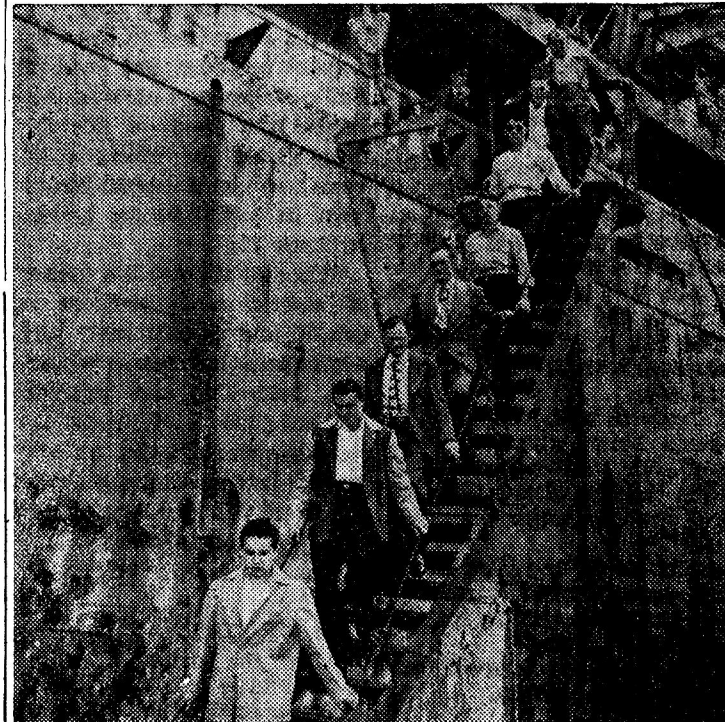
Militant Ball This Saturday

NEW YORK—This Saturday night, June 15, the First Annual Militant Ball will be held by the Socialist Workers Party at the spacious, air-cooled Royal Palm Room of the Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43rd Street, New York. Readers and friends of The Militant are cordially invited. The evening's program begins with dancing to the tune of Karl Taylor and his band, who will play from 9 p.m. to 2 a.m. For one hour, from 11 p.m. to midnight, Alvin Royce, ex-GI master of ceremonies, will present professional entertainers in song, dance and skits. Another special feature will be the appearance of the Militant chorus, led by George Perle. Tickets may still be purchased in advance at 116 University Place, or at the Royal Palm Room on Saturday night.

This Saturday Night!

New York ANNUAL MILITANT BALL Dancing From 9:00 p.m. to 2 a.m. to the music of KARL TAYLOR and his RHYTHM BAND Also Entertainers From Stage And Night Clubs A. ROYCE, ex-GI, Master of Ceremonies SATURDAY, JUNE 15 In The Spacious, Air-Cooled Royal Palm Room of the Hotel Diplomat 108 W. 43rd St. New York Tickets at all branch offices and City Office of Socialist Workers Party in New York.

Seamen's Solidarity



Some of the 5,000 AFL seamen walking off the ship at East River, New York. This scene was duplicated at all Atlantic, Pacific and Gulf ports at 3 p.m. June 7, when members of the AFL Seafarers International Union and Sailors Union of the Pacific piled off their ships to denounce Truman's strike-breaking threats against the CIO National Maritime Union.

AFL Seamen Serve Warning Against Navy Strikebreaking

(Continued from Page 1)

liations to proceed between the SIU-SUP and the ship operators. One portion of the statement adopted by the meeting declared: "We go on record now as intending to hold work-stoppage meetings as often as is necessary to force settlement of our demands." These demands are similar to those advanced by the CIO National Maritime Union and call for "a six hour working day at sea and in port for all ratings; a 30 per cent cash increase in wages; and an increase in the overtime rate, ranging from 48 cents to \$1.20 an hour."

Although the leaderships of both the AFL and CIO maritime unions have been engaged in jurisdictional war, the AFL ranks at the meeting clearly demonstrated their desire to fight alongside all other organized seamen for their common demands and against the concerted government-ship operators attacks.

The seamen who had piled off the ships for the stop-work meeting attended in expectation of taking immediate strike action. Every suggestion of militant action was greeted with tremendous applause and cheers. A motion from the floor for an immediate strike referendum was adopted unanimously.

'NO LIBERTY'

Typical of the sentiments of the ranks at the meeting was the statement of one young seaman that "we were pushed around all during the war and they got away with this because we were supposed to be fighting for liberty. But now we find that there is no liberty for us when we ask for our rights."

Included in the statement adopted by the meeting was a warning against a possible betrayal of the seamen's demands by the Stalinist leaders of the CIO maritime unions, who are engaged in negotiations with the government agents in Washington. The Stalinists last week attempted to put over a sell-out deal for a nine per cent wage increase, but were repudiated by the NMIU-CIO members at a stormy meeting.

At the same time, certain AFL spokesmen, such as Joseph Ryan, head of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association, have attempted to lay the basis for breaking CIO picket-lines under the pretext of not recognizing "political" picketing.

The rank and file rejected such views. Their feelings were expressed by one SIU member who sharply differentiated between the Stalinist leadership of the NMIU and its militant rank and file. He stated: "We have no quarrel with the members of the NMIU. Their fight today is the same as ours. We cannot win our demands unless we have the full support of all unions, both CIO and AFL."

In response to the militant sentiment, leading spokesmen of other AFL maritime unions announced their support of any

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

To A Higher Court With the Same Judge

For the first time in its brief but hectic existence the "United" Nations was petitioned to step in and put a stop to the oppression of a minority group in one of its member countries. Trygve Lie, director general of the UN Security Council, was challenged by the National Negro Congress at its recent tenth anniversary Convention in Detroit to "check and eliminate . . . discrimination and other abuses" of the 13,000,000 Negroes in America.

The petition was presented under Article 71 of the Charter of the United Nations, which is supposed to permit minorities to seek assistance in "prevention of discrimination on ground of race."

The letter to Lie stated that the Negro people have "failed to bring relief from oppression through constitutional appeal" and consequently "find ourselves forced to bring this vital issue—which we have sought for almost a century since emancipation to solve within the boundary of our country—to the attention of this historic body."

"Negro citizens," the document continues, "find the present conditions intolerable and are therefore presenting their appeal to the highest court of mankind—the United Nations."

CITE EXAMPLES

An eight page document citing specific examples of oppression of Negroes was included in the appeal to the UN. This document was compiled by Dr. Herbert Aptheker, member of the American Historical Society and was entitled "The Oppression of the American Negro: The Fact."

Dr. Aptheker reaches the conclusion that 13,000,000 Negroes in America are restricted to second-class citizenship, and subjected to a brutal system of oppression and discrimination based upon the inhuman and unscientific Fascist theory of "racism."

Now, the fact that the 13,000,000 American Negroes are subjected to minority oppression on the basis of race is well known not only to the Negroes themselves but to many other sections of the population. It is also a well known fact that their efforts to rectify this situation by "constitutional" means has not solved the problem.

PUT 'UN' ON SPOT

Under these circumstances it is absolutely correct to put the UN on the spot. Let it show, in action, the value of its Charter which is dedicated to the high purposes of fostering security and equality for the oppressed

peoples of the world (the colonial slave areas, of course, not included). Let it demonstrate to the Negro people whether its Article 71, promising to assist in the "prevention of discrimination on ground of race," is the real thing or so much hogwash.

But it is also necessary that those of us who understand the class nature of this society explain to the Negro masses the true character of the UN and warn them what NOT to expect from it. This the leaders of the NNC did not do.

The UN, in reality, is overwhelmingly the instrument of Anglo-American imperialism. It is made up largely of members of the ruling capitalist classes and it speaks for these classes. Its fine documents about peace and security and equality are only camouflage to make the war-weary masses believe that some effort is being made to prevent future wars and to better the conditions of the people.

TOOL OF CAPITALISTS

The class which represents the capitalist nations in the UN is the same class that profits from continuing the oppression of the Negro and thus dividing the entire American working class. Under these circumstances the NNC appeal to the UN will have no result whatever in "checking or eliminating" racial discrimination. It will be about as effective as would an appeal by the rabbit community to a court of wolves for the wolf packs to cease devouring them, the rabbits.

The leaders of the National Negro Congress—and that means the Communist Party—did not explain all this to the Negro people. The reason for this, of course, is that the Communist Party enthusiastically hailed the formation of the UN and just a few months ago was helping to spread many of the illusions about it which it is our duty to destroy. While they are changing their tune somewhat at present, they have only half-changed it and they have no intention of changing it fundamentally.

It is necessary to expose the hypocrisy and reactionary role of the UN, but you cannot do that effectively without speaking the whole truth.

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers At these Local Activities of

The Socialist Workers Party

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

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

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

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

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

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

BUFFALO—Every Saturday night, Current Events Discussion and Open House; Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor.

CHICAGO—Visit SWP, 777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday, Tel. Dearborn 7562. Library, bookstore.

Classes every Wednesday, June 5-26, on "Nature of the Soviet Union." 8 to 9:30 p.m.

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

DETROIT—Open house every Saturday, 8 p.m. at 6108 Linwood. Office open daily 12 to 5. Phone Tyler 7-8267.

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

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

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

LOS ANGELES—Visit Militant Publishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.

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

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

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

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

Tues., 7:30—Basic Training class.

NEW YORK—CITY HQ, 116 University Place, GR. 5-8149.

Sat., 4:30 p.m., Tues., 7:30, rehearsal of Militant chorus.

Wednesdays at 8—Atomic Age speaker John G. Wright.

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

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

Reading room open Mon. to Fri., 7 to 10 p.m.

Current events discussion, Fridays at 8.

BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433.

Mon. Class — "Program of SWP," 7 p.m.

CHELSEA: 130 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.

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

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

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

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

SAN DIEGO—P. O. Box 857.

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

Friday Classes: "Introduction to Marxist Economics," 7:30-8:30. "Fascism," 8:30-9:30.

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

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

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

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

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

TOLEDO—Forums every Tuesday, 8:00 p.m., 213 Michigan St. Open evenings, 7-9.

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

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Diary Of A Steelworker By T. Kovalesky

THE HUMAN WRECKAGE OF AMES STREET

There was in my mind a picture: a flat, gray sky; a flat, gray beach; and a flat, gray sea. Mechanically the dull waves dissolved into foam, washing the shore, one after another. In the center of this desolation, half buried in the sand, lay part of a shattered boat, rotted and black wreckage.

I walked down Ames St., parallel to the mill. I was in a queer section, half comfortable, half poverty-ridden. Neat little houses, many with garden plots and garages, lined the street. They were quite well-kept, these little houses, for many of the steelworkers have learned to lay bricks and pour concrete. There are many who know how to paste wallpaper upon their walls and mend their porches. Their homes are neat and well-kept by their labor.

But for all the neatness you can see that poverty lives there, too. The little houses are dusted and stained with the brown outpourings of the blast furnaces. They are grayed with the smoke of the mills and open hearths. And something else looks out of the windows, something else speaks from the imitation bricks and says that poverty is here.

I walked down Ames St., and I saw four quiet men. Two were very old and sat motionless on a porch in their rocking chairs. A young man with a heavy cane moved very slowly, experimentally across the lawn, as though he were trying to see just what his bad leg could do. The fourth was just . . . a man: neither old nor young, fat nor thin. He sat on the steps of the porch smoking his pipe and looking.

Above and before them loomed the corrugated gray bulk of the open hearth and its empty, smokeless stacks under a flat, gray sky. The old men who would never work again, sat very still in their chairs and looked at the stacks. The young man who tottered across the grass testing his leg, looked at the stacks, hungrily. The man with the pipe sat on the steps and patiently, re-

signedly stared at the stacks, black and empty under the sky.

There was no smoke in the stacks of the open hearth. They stood naked and desolate. And something was lacking in the men whose eyes looked out from that yard toward the steel plant. They were like the wreckage on a flat, gray beach where monotonous waves moved dully in to dissolve one after another in tired foam.

There was another man, who swung his way slowly down Ames St. on crutches. He no longer tested his leg to see what it would do. He knew; so he stepped on the pavement with one leg and let the other one dangle between the crutches as he came down Ames St.

I never knew this man, but the other day on Ames St. I heard him talking to a friend outside the grocery store.

"He no hurt me," the man said. "I no feel him at all."

As he spoke, I saw the satisfaction in his face. "They pay me," he said to his friend. "I no worry no more, will plant close down, will boss like me. Every month I get check."

It was good not to worry, not to fear. For his security, he had paid one leg as the price. But it doesn't hurt him, he says; he doesn't feel it at all. He has come to know his pittance of security. If the stacks are naked and empty of smoke under the flat, gray sky, it is no concern of his. If the black and white and brown-red vapors of the open hearths fan out from the stacks and spread over the steel town, it does not matter to him. It is all one.

For he is like a shattered boat half buried in the sand of a lonely beach where the dull waves come in one after another, mechanical and persistent as the flapping of a pulley belt. He is like a piece of wreckage under the sky.

The picture was very strong and clear in my mind as I walked down Ames St. parallel to the mill. I could see the beach and the sea and the sky; I could feel myself there.

And I looked at the stacks, too, to see if they were still naked and empty of smoke.

Atomic Bomb Demonstration In The Pacific Is Calculated Step Toward World War III

Physicist Tells Horror Of Bomb At Nagasaki

What is the effect of atomic explosives upon cities? What will the people face in World War III?

A partial answer to these important questions was given by Philip Morrison, a physicist who headed the group of scientists investigating the effects of the atom-bomb on Nagasaki. Here is what he told a Senate hearing on April 15:

"The atomic bomb is a weapon of saturation. It destroys so quickly and so completely such a large area that defense is hopeless. Leadership and organization are gone. . . . With the fire stations wrecked and firemen burned, how to control a thousand fires? With the doctors dead and the hospitals smashed, how to treat a quarter million injured?"

BALL OF FIRE

"When the bomb is detonated in the middle of a city, it is as though a small piece of the sun has been instantly created. There is formed what we have called the ball of fire, which is a hot, glowing mass something about one-third of a mile across, with a temperature of about 4,000,000 degrees Fahrenheit in the center. There is a sudden expansion which pushes away with terrible violence, the air that once occupied this region. Behind the wave of pressure, which travels rapidly through the air, there come great winds, 500 to 1,000 miles per hour, winds which damage and destroy all structures.

"Houses and buildings for a mile in all directions are totally destroyed. Brick buildings, and even steel-frame buildings with brick walls, are extremely vulnerable.

INTERNAL HEMORRHAGES

"Of these people within a thousand yards of the blast, about one in every house or two escaped death from the blast or from burns. But they died anyway from the effects of rays emitted at the instant of the explosion. This radiation affects the blood forming tissues in the bone marrow. The blood does not coagulate but oozes in many spots through the unbroken skin, and internally seeps into the cavities of the body. The white corpuscles which fight infection disappear. Infection prospers and the patient dies, usually 2 or 3 weeks after the exposure.

"It is probable that an atom-bombed American city would be as badly damaged as a Japanese city, though it would look less wrecked from the air.

"In Japan the wreckage burned clean; in a western city, the rubble would stand in piles in the streets, but the city would be just as ruined and the people of the city as dead."

The "active material" in the Nagasaki bomb weighed no more than 25 pounds. Since then new bombs have been developed which are reported to be many times more destructive.



Nagasaki after the explosion of a single atomic bomb. This populous city had been unscathed by the war until the American militarists marked it for annihilation. New bombs have since been developed, according to report, so destructive that by comparison the Nagasaki bomb will seem like a "firecracker." Atomic bombs are being manufactured and stored by the Truman Administration in feverish haste for World War III.

Atomic Energy Can Build A New World—If Developed For Peace

While Washington monopolizes atomic energy as a war weapon, a few hints of the vast peacetime possibilities of this revolutionary source of heat, power, light, electricity, etc., have come from authoritative scientists. For example, Dr. Joyce C. Stearns, associated with the development of the atomic bomb, had the following to say recently:

"In the case of plutonium, man is making synthetic fuel. It is estimated that within ten years we could produce 20 tons of plutonium, which would produce as much power per year as we used a year before the war. . . . This nuclear power, which within 15 years could be equal in amount to all other power combined, is unique in that:

"1. The pile which produces nuclear power is a source of radiation. . . . Since the unit is such a prolific source of such varied radiation, it may be used for large-scale radiation therapy. Many types of rays are available and many patients could be treated at the same time.

IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS

"Also this radiation can be used for many important scientific experiments in the fields of biology, chemistry, metallurgy, and physics.

"2. The release of nuclear power is accompanied by the formation of radioactive chemicals which are in great demand for medical, scientific, and industrial use. Enough of this material has already been produced at Hanford to supersede all the radium in the world. . . .

"3. The release of nuclear energy requires no oxygen so it would be possible to drive a submarine under water by means of a steam turbine. Such a ship could travel under water at high-

to produce heat, forms ashes of great medical and scientific value, and at the same time converts some very inferior fuel which is more plentiful than coal into a high-grade coal. A plant may be built to produce plutonium and the power used as a byproduct, or the plant may be designed to produce power and plutonium and radioactive isotopes be considered byproducts." (Congressional Record, April 15.)

Experts See No Scientific Value In Bikini "Test"

In the first part of July the Truman Administration will drag the United States a few steps closer to the Third World War. The occasion will be the explosion of another atomic bomb. The place—a small atoll in the Pacific, Bikini. The excuse—a "scientific experiment."

The bomb will be exploded despite protests voiced in Congress, and despite the warning of scientists that no scientific value whatsoever will accrue. The demonstration is nothing but a brutal display of American militarist power. It is a demonstration designed to terrorize the entire world.

The cost to the public of this calculated maneuver in Wall Street's power politics is staggering. \$400,000,000 worth of ships will be anchored within the atoll as targets. All types are included, from small craft to the largest battleships and aircraft carriers. Brand new freighters and 139 airplanes are earmarked to be blown skyhigh.

But not even this is the total cost. The prodigal militarists in charge of the "experiment" will spend another \$100,000,000 in preparations. Included in this figure is the cost of the bomb itself and the wages of the 42,000 men needed to organize this vast job of peacetime destruction of public property.

NO SCIENTIFIC VALUE

Officially the demonstration of Wall Street's military might is designated as a "scientific experiment." But this excuse has been punctured by leading atomic physicists.

Dr. L. A. DuBridge, who directed the Radiation Laboratory at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, points out in the current Review of Scientific Instruments that none of the major scientists who participated in the New Mexico tests will be present. "No military or scientific value" will result from the Bikini maneuvers, this scientific authority flatly declares.

The Council of the Federation of American Scientists has confirmed Dr. DuBridge's opinion. In a statement issued June 3, the Council declared: "Whether or not these tests, involving the expenditure of millions of dollars and tens of thousands of man hours, are justified is not a question which scientists are qualified to decide. . . . Scientists expect nothing of scientific value, and little of technical value to peacetime uses of atomic energy as a result of these tests."

Form Committee To Fight Against Los Angeles KKK

By Lois Saunders (Special To The Militant)

LOS ANGELES, June 6—A united action committee to combat Ku Klux Klan terror was set up here last week at an all-day conference called by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The committee includes labor, veteran, minority and liberal organizations and will have a war chest to finance a concerted fight against Klan violence and restrictive covenants in this area.

Among the organizations represented on the committee are CIO United Auto Workers Council No. 5 and General Motors Local; CIO United Rubber Workers and CIO Shipscalers and Painters, San Pedro; CIO Longshoremen; AFL Musicians Protective Association Local 767; American Veterans Committee Area Council; Socialist Workers Party; AZA (Jewish Youth group); Socialist Club. No official representative of the Communist (Stalinist) Party appeared.

Recent terrorist acts against minorities here include the slugging of Richard Aubrey by two white men. A week earlier a cross had been burned at the home of Aubrey's brother, who is fighting eviction from a "restricted" area. KKK signs have been painted on a house occupied by Jews, swastikas have been scrawled on a synagogue wall, and a threatening letter sent to Rabbi Max Nussbaum.

Notes Of A Seaman

By F. J. Lang

THE SYSTEM OF UNION HIRING

Any general maritime strike in this period will be the result, in good part, of government provocation. Such questions as wages will be but one of the major issues. But an equally vital issue will be the control of hiring. Above all, the government is driving to destroy union control of the hiring halls.



President Truman's repeated threats to use the Army, Navy, Coast Guard and War Shipping Administration as strikebreakers in the threatened maritime walkout on June 15 are aimed at effecting a long-standing government program for house-breaking the maritime unions. Apparently Truman thinks that now is the opportune time to carry out this anti-labor policy as outlined in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. This policy provides for control of hiring by the Big-Business government, acting as the agent for the shipping interests.

The most important gain seamen won from the great 1934 maritime strike on the Pacific Coast was the union hiring hall. The rotary system of shipping which today prevails in all maritime union hiring halls guarantees equal job opportunity for all seamen, outlaws blacklisting, affords protection against speed-up, and insures that all working rules in the contract are respected by the operators.

Since the union hiring halls were established and the rotary system of shipping was instituted, seamen have not been forced to tramp the waterfront from one company office to another looking for a job. They have not been forced to bribe company shipping masters in order to get signed on a ship. They have not been blacklisted because they complained about rotten food or rebelled against overtime work without

pay. All this was changed after 1934 when the unions won complete control of hiring.

Today a seaman goes to his union hall for a job. All ships that need replacements must call the hall for men. Every job that comes into the hall goes on the blackboard and is called out on the hour. Men who are ready to ship can bid for any job for which they are qualified. The man with the oldest shipping card, signifying he has been out of work longest, is shipped.

These shipping rules were drawn up by the rank and file seamen themselves in their union meetings and are subject to change only by a vote of the union membership. Seamen elect their own union shipping dispatchers. These elected dispatchers cannot violate the shipping rules because they are subject to constant check-up by the members, who jealously guard their shipping rights.

Seamen have come to accept this system of hiring as the normal practice in the maritime industry, yet it has been in effect scarcely more than 10 years.

The ship operators and the government, on the other hand, have never reconciled themselves to union control of hiring. They have accepted it because they had no choice in the matter after the unions won the 1934 and '36-'37 strikes. For 10 years they have been scheming and preparing to abolish the union hiring halls.

Now, the bosses and their government agents are preparing to unleash their long-planned offensive against the union hiring halls as the major front in their war to cripple and ultimately destroy the maritime unions.

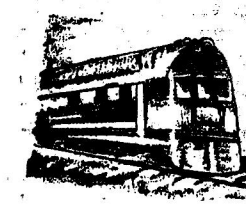
But Mr. Truman has yet to reckon not only with the militant seamen, but with 15,000,000 union men and women who today are saying "NO!" to government strikebreaking.

On The Railroads

By John Russo

ROOSEVELT AND THE RAIL WORKERS

Last week's column described the effects of the Railway Labor Act of 1926 on the wages and working conditions of the railroad workers over the past 20 years.



The railroad workers were so shackled by government mediation and arbitration that between 1935 and 1945 their wages had declined from the top to the bottom rank in comparison with other leading industries.

Twice during the years of the Second World War, the rail workers were given the "dirty end of the stick" through the operations of the Railway Labor Act. It is very instructive to review what happened to them in 1941 and 1943.

As a consequence of the soaring prices brought on by the war in Europe, the leaders of the 16 non-operating rail unions in June, 1941, served notice on the carriers for demands of a 30 cents per hour wage increase and a minimum wage of 70 cents per hour.

On August 11, 1941, these demands were turned over to the Railway Mediation Board, which on September 4 announced it could achieve no settlement. Roosevelt, using his powers under the Railway Labor Act, then appointed an emergency board. On November 5, this board came out with a recommendation for a nine-cent an hour raise. This was rejected by the union leaders, who requested a further hearing. This was held at the direction of Roosevelt. On December 15, 1941, a week after Pearl Harbor, the submissive union leaders signed an agreement for a 10-cent raise, one cent more than the original recommendation.

The railroad workers boiled with resentment at this miserable deal, but they were held in the vise of compulsory arbitration and the servile attitude of their leaders toward Roosevelt and the government. Ten cents an hour was all they could get after six months of mediation, fact-finding and emergency board arbitration. This increase was eaten away so quickly by rising prices, that nine months later, on Septem-

ber 25, 1942, the rail unions served demands for a 20-cent an hour raise, a 70-cent an hourly minimum wage and for a union shop.

Again the railroad workers were put through the wringer of the Railway Labor Board and the National Mediation Board. Eight months later, in May 1943, they were finally granted—nothing. This raised such a storm, that Roosevelt set up an emergency board to tie the rail workers up in more red tape and stalling. Late in May 1943, this board recommended an increase of eight cents an hour for the non-operating unions.

The humping union bureaucrats were ready to accept the increase. The operators, rolling in the greatest profits in their history, had agreed to a contract. Then Roosevelt's Economic Stabilization Director Fred Vinson—last week appointed Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court for his services to Big Business—ruled out a general eight-cent increase. He based himself on Roosevelt's "hold-the-line" wage-freeze order.

He proposed instead a differential increase of four to 10 cents an hour—the latter rate to apply only to the lowest paid categories getting 43 to 46 cents an hour. Again more mediation and arbitration. By August 7, 1943, nearly a year after the original demands were made, the government made a new offer of a paltry nine cents, but with all other demands turned down.

This time, the pressure of the ranks was so great, that the rail union leaders were forced to take a strike vote. In the operating unions, including the trainmen and locomotive engineers who went on strike recently, the vote was 97.5 per cent for strike. A strike date was fixed for December 30, 1943, fifteen months after the original demands were made.

Roosevelt, setting the pattern for Truman's recent strikebreaking, ordered the army to take over the railroads before the strike. Seven heads of railroad corporations, were commissioned as army colonels to run the railroads. The union leaders wilted and settled for nine cents, five of which were "in lieu of claims for time-and-a-half pay for time over 40 hours and for expenses while away from home."

Food Prices From 1941-46 In Typical Industrial City

Judith Goodman, a CIO member (in Akron, O.) took her shopping bag and a five-year-old newspaper and went out to see what inflation had done to the cost of living. The newspaper listed the prices of certain foods sold by a chain store in April, 1941. At the time these foods cost a total of \$2.47. To purchase the same foods from this store in April 1946, Miss Goodman had to pay out \$4.32.

These figures demonstrate the falsity of the Bureau of Labor Statistics' claim that food costs have risen only 41.8 per cent in the past five years. The actual rise—on the basis of the twelve essential items listed below—is 75 per cent.

	1941	1946
Butter (lb.)	\$.35	\$.50
Eggs (dozen)	.29	.45
Coffee (2 lbs.)	.27	.41
Sugar (10 lbs.)	.39	.70
Broilers (1b.)	.25	.42
Mackerel (1b.)	.12	.23
Potatoes (10 lbs.)	.25	.50
Tomatoes (1b.)	.15	.35
Onions (2 lbs.)	.05	.15
Carrots (2 bunches)	.07	.15
Fresh Peas (2 lbs.)	.19	.29
Farina (package)	.09	.11
TOTAL COST	\$2.47	\$4.32

(Reprint from LOCAL 5 AIR-BAG, Akron, O.)

WAGES MUST KEEP PACE WITH RISING PRICES

(The following article, reported in last week's "Militant," is the lead story in the May issue of "Air Bag," official publication of Goodrich Local 5, CIO United Rubber Workers, Akron, Ohio. We consider it of sufficient significance to re-publish in its entirety.)

It is clear to everyone that the recently won wage gains are going to be stolen from us by the simple device of blowing the lid off prices. The process has already begun. The soaring cost of living and the threat of runaway inflation confronts labor with a serious crisis.

The OPA which all during the war was supposed to have frozen prices was a fraud. Prices were not frozen during the war; on the contrary the cost of living went steadily upward from 1941 on. Open and hidden increases in the price of basic commodities mounted while wages were frozen. Now even the ineffectual OPA is being torn to shreds by a reactionary Congress in order to create super-profits for Big Business.

What can Labor do? Certainly we cannot depend upon a broken down OPA to do the job. It is up to us to do the job ourselves. If properly used, the independent strength of the union movement can protect the living standards of the workers and discourage the inflationary process which reduces our purchasing power.

LABOR COMMITTEES
We believe that Labor must demand in all its contracts with the corporations a provision which would specify that wages shall automatically increase as the cost of living increases. To assure that a dependable and honest survey of the cost of living is made, the labor movement should set up regional cost-of-living committees to constantly check the prices of all essential commodities in the area. We could no doubt enlist the aid of small business men, farmers and housewives to assist in this job.

Thus armed with unassailable facts we could go to the company and say:
"As you know, our contract provides that wages shall go up as the cost of living rises. Our Cost-of-Living Committee finds that in Akron the price of basic commodities has gone up 5 per cent. We, therefore, expect an immediate 5 per cent increase in wages."
Such an ironclad agreement would soon discourage the big

monopolies, who actually control the supply of all basic commodities, in their campaign to make super-profits by inflationary price rises. Instead of the price increases providing super-profits, it would immediately be taken away from the companies in the form of wages. The brakes would be effectively applied to runaway prices.

MAKES SENSE
If Labor can find a willing Congressman or Senator it would be well to introduce a bill which would make it the law of the land that employers shall be obligated to increase wages, to meet any increase in prices. Congress has passed laws to protect the incomes of the rich. Now is the time to protect the incomes of the poor.

While the search is going on for this Congressman or Senator to propose such a completely just and necessary bill, we must fight this matter out directly with the companies.

There has been much talk about wages and prices but this program seems to us to be the only one that makes sense. It is certain that prices are going up; let us make it certain that wages will not lag behind.