

AUTO UNION CALLS FOR 2-HOUR HALT

New York SWP Announces Slate For Elections

By George Clarke

NEW YORK, N. Y., July 14—Farrell Dobbs, editor of *The Militant*, will head the Socialist Workers Party ticket as candidate for Governor in the fall elections in New York State. His running mate for the post of Lieutenant-Governor will be Milton Richardson, World War II veteran and militant trade unionist.

The ticket will be rounded out, the announcement by the New York SWP office stated, by the following candidates:

For U. S. Senator: Joseph Hansen, former secretary to Leon Trotsky and associate editor of *The Militant* and *Fourth International*.

For Comptroller: William Kitt, Buffalo SWP organizer and veteran.

For Attorney General: Sylvia Blecker, former secretary-treasurer and organizer of Local 43, AFL Millinery Union.

MASS MEETING

A mass meeting to introduce the candidates to the working class public will be held on Wednesday evening, July 24, at Webster Manor, 119 East 11th St., New York City.

The Socialist Workers Party will present the only working class ticket in the 1946 elections. Despite all the loud talk and bluster about a "Third Party" following the railroad strike, the trade union bureaucrats and the



FARRELL DOBBS

politicians heading the Liberal and American Labor Parties are continuing the fatal game of supporting "progressive" candidates on the capitalist party tickets.

Once again the workers of New York see the sordid deals between Tammany Hall and the American Labor Party. Marcantonio who speaks for the

(Continued on Page 8)



JOSEPH HANSEN



MILTON RICHARDSON

40,000 Belgians Strike, Demand Workers' Control

(Special to *The Militant*)

LIEGE, Belgium, July 7—The social unrest which has shaken Belgium since April reached a new peak June 26, when 40,000 workers in the industrial basin of Liege stopped work. Starting in the great metallurgical works, the strike spread to the mines, the glass industry, street cars, and finally to the large stores.

The strike was launched by the powerful Liege metallurgical union. It was aimed, according to its leaders, against the government plan to set up caricatures of "factory committees" in the plants.

The government plan, elaborated by the reformist minister Trochet, called for committees composed of representatives of both bosses and workers to act as "arbitration commissions." The government aim was to do away with strikes.

In opposition to this plan, Liege union leaders proposed factory committees composed entirely of workers' representatives. These committees would discuss demands with the bosses but would also engage in "co-administration." This would mean active intervention of the committees in hiring and firing, control over raw materials and finished goods, organization of plant production, and supervision of company accounts. Thus the unions are demanding work-

response from thousands of advanced workers.

In the Belgian parliament on May 25, 1946, Prime Minister Van Acker accused the Trotskyists of being at the bottom of the recent strike wave in Belgium.

Pointing to the Conference of the Fourth International held in Brussels last April, he accused "foreign agitators" of having prepared the strike wave.

Instead of listening to Van Acker, however, the Belgian workers extended their strikes on a wider basis.

In reply to Van Acker, the International Communist Party issued a press release that was quoted in a half-dozen daily newspapers. The PCI pointed out that the "Socialist" Prime Minister's red-baiting now centered on the Trotskyists but would presently include all the trade union militants.

The struggles of the workers are not "instigated" by "mysterious agitators," said the PCI, but by the regime of hunger and privation. The PCI declared that although the Trotskyists had not "unleashed" the strike wave, it was not accidental that the slogans of the strikers were likewise the slogans of the Trotskyists. "Trotskyism," concluded the statement, "is nothing else but the conscious expression in our epoch of the class-consciousness of the working class."

SWP Names Candidates In Washington

Swett, Roberts Chosen For Election Campaign

SEATTLE, Wash., July 13.

— Marking the first time that the Socialist Workers Party has entered candidates on the Washington ballot, an enthusiastic Nominating Convention of the SWP held here last Wednesday selected Charles Swett and Don Roberts for the respective offices of U. S. Senator and Washington State Senator from the 31st district in the fall election campaign.

Charles Taylor, well-known militant in the local labor movement, made the nominations. Keynote addresses at the convention were delivered by Herbert Cappy, organizer of the Tacoma Branch of the SWP, who outlined the objectives of the campaign; Dan Roberts, Seattle organizer, who presented the proposed outline of the platform; and Clara Kaye, campaign manager, who reported on the perspectives of election activity.

Charles Swett is a young worker, a carpenter, who has seen service overseas. He was formerly a student at the University of Washington.

Dan Roberts is known in Washington labor circles as organizer of the Seattle branch of the SWP with a long record of leadership in the ranks of the working class movement for socialism.

SWP PROGRAM

The SWP election platform is based upon unrelenting defense of the workingman's standard of living against the vicious attacks of Big Business; full social, economic and political equality for racial and national minorities; firm opposition to U. S. imperialist policies; an independent Labor Party based on the trade unions, and the establishment of a workers and farmers government of peace and security. "This is the program of working class struggle against the wars, depression, fascist dictatorships, race hatred, poverty and low wages bred by the capitalist system."

A total of \$135 was collected in donations and unsolicited pledges, auguring very well for future financial drives. Many friends of the party signified their desire to aid in the campaign.

Just A Leaking Bucket



Rep. May Evades Investigation Of His Part In Arms Firm Fraud

IN THE NEWS

Just One Of The Gang

(AP)—Rep. Andrew J. May (D. Ky.), head of the House Military Affairs Committee, on July 12 defied the Senate War Investigating Committee's demand that he testify at the inquiry into frauds of the Illinois arms combine headed by William Garrison. Committee chairman Mead charged that May "did not furnish full, complete and accurate information" when testifying before the committee's executive session last month. He said May failed to answer accusations of using his influence to aid profiteers with whom he had business connections.

War Profiteers Can't Use Them, Army Can

"All men who are physically qualified between those ages (19-45) are subject to induction... during the war there were about 4,500,000 men deferred from military duty on the ground of essentiality in war industries... These men cannot be any longer deferred for military reasons because of the fact they are no longer engaged in production of munitions for war or war equipment." (Representative Andrew J. May, on June 25, explaining age provision in extension of draft act.)

Why Capitalist Politicians Go Wrong

"Crime is a product of our times and it cannot be divorced from our social order." (J. Edgar Hoover, FBI chief, on July 6.)

"All But Human"

"Today missiles are still relatively inaccurate, chiefly valuable for use in barrage fire or against area targets. Tomorrow they will be ocean-spanning and all but human."

Didn't Know Wall Street

"Pitifully enough, some Japs believed Hiroshima was not to be touched, either because many Japanese-Americans had come from there, or because it was a beauty spot and housed a number of Christian Japanese." (Christian Science Monitor, June 29)

When She Got There, Cupboard Was Bare

Robert R. Wason, National Association of Manufacturers president, on July 9 said housewives would be able to keep down prices because they would "temper their buying" and just "reach into their pantries" instead.

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May also obtained the aid of Secretary of War Patterson to secure benefits for the arms combine that started without plants, workers or funds, and wound up with \$78,000,000 in government war contracts. May himself was Kentucky agent for the Cumberland Lumber Company, which received \$48,634.07 from the combine for lumber never delivered.

Testimony last week by Patterson and Under-Secretary of War Royall told how May had approached each of them three times on behalf of the Illinois combine. Patterson, attempting to clear himself, protested that his responses were made "in the interest of war production." He admitted that they affected "cutbacks" in production, War Manpower Commission allotments of workers, and "unfreezing" of company funds during contract negotiations. Patterson also confessed he was "persuaded" to help Batavia Metal Products, one of the combine's firms, get an "E" award.

Garrison, testifying before the committee on July 12, blandly claimed May's aid to the combine "had no relationship whatever to the Congressman's position" as an agent for the firm. He complained about being made a scape-goat for methods used by his firms to get war contracts which were "very much the same as those of Sears-Roebuck, General Motors, Chrysler, and Bethlehem Steel."

This investigation lifts only one corner of the veil covering the vast fraud and corruption in the granting of war contracts. It draws attention only to relatively small-time crooks while ignoring the truly gigantic steals of the biggest corporations.

It is the 100 biggest corporations, which grabbed up anywhere from \$232,000,000 to General Motors 13.8 billion dollars in war contracts, which should be investigated.

May's Anti-Labor Record

Representative Andrew J. May of Kentucky, Chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, who is deeply involved in the fraud perpetrated by the Garrison arms-production combine, has voted for every anti-labor measure in Congress.

May was the co-author of the infamous May-Bailey "work or jail" bill introduced in January, 1945, which provided penalties of five years in prison, a \$10,000 fine, or both for any worker leaving his job "without permission."

He voted for the Case Bill. He supported the Smith-Connelly anti-strike bill on June 4, 1943, providing prison terms for strikers. He voted for the amendment to that bill prohibiting union contributions to campaign funds.

May is a fervent supporter of the anti-labor Dies Committee; he voted for its continuation, on February 10, 1943, and to make it permanent, on January 3, 1945.

He has consistently voted to maintain the poll-tax; on May 25, 1943, and again on June 12, 1945. He opposed the soldier vote bill, on February 3, 1944.

While attacking labor, May has also struck out at the small farmers, opposing the crop insurance bill and the rural electrification bill, on June 23, 1943.

800,000 To Stage Protest Against Rising Living Cost

JULY 15—Some 800,000 members of the CIO United Automobile Workers are scheduled to go on a one-to-two-hour nation-wide work stoppage at 3 p.m., Tuesday, July 16, as a protest demonstration against soaring living costs and to demand effective price control.

This huge stoppage demonstration has been called for the purpose of putting pressure on Congress to establish a "strong" OPA. But UAW President Walter Reuther told a meeting

in Chicago yesterday that "if our fight against increased prices fails we will begin a fight on the wage front."

Closing of the plants tomorrow has brought heated protests from the profiteering auto corporations who claim the union would be "violating its contracts" if UAW members walk out. The auto moguls conveniently forget that wages in these contracts were approved by the Wage Stabilization Board on the principle that prices would be kept under control.

RALLY PLANNED

However, UAW leaders in Detroit and elsewhere are proceeding with arrangements for the stoppage, which has the authorization of the union's International Executive Board.

A tremendous rally is scheduled for tomorrow afternoon in Cadillac Square, Detroit, to which the 300,000 Detroit auto workers, as well as members of other CIO and AFL unions, have been called.

The CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees union in Detroit has also proposed to close down retail stores for the day and picket them with the union's 10,000 local members.

Independent mass action, led by the unions, is spreading throughout the country as the only effective means to combat price-gouging and evictions.

In Philadelphia, for instance, the CIO Council, representing 155,000 members in 175 locals, is dispatching roving picket squads to picket "any store against whom we receive complaints of food profiteering, or chiseling landlords' offices and houses."

(See editorial statement on Price Control, Page Two.)

SENATE VOTES 62 TO 15 FOR INFLATIONARY BILL

Democrats and Republicans have joined together in Congress to show their complete contempt for the interests of the American people.

Once again the Senate, by a vote of 62 to 15 on July 13, has passed a "price control" bill so openly inflationary that Truman, who vetoed the previous similar bill, has been forced to threaten to veto the new measure.

But while Truman continues his "for the record" objections, his closest colleagues in the Senate helped push through the new bill to "legalize inflation."

Forty-one Democrats, including the Democratic majority leader Senator Barkley, voted for the "Compromise" bill. Only four opposed it—Senator O'Daniel, for instance, because he is against even the pretense of price control.

MONOPOLY TIES

Congressional action on extension of OPA has demonstrated the tie-up of most of the legislators with various special monopoly profiteering interests.

Most of the Senators were concerned only with pushing through amendments which would protect the interests of the particular group of profiteers they represent.

One amendment after another was speedily passed by the Senate last Saturday to exempt from price controls the meat trust, the dairy interests, the grain speculators, the tobacco monopoly, the oil trust.

The big real estate interests and rent-hogs got a break through an amendment on rent control which provides that federal control will not apply where

individual states establish their own rent control agencies. This will permit state governments, notoriously friendly to real estate interests, to legally boost rents or establish totally ineffective measures which would give landlords all the loopholes they need to hike rents.

ROLE CLEAR

It is clear that Congress and Truman have no intentions of reestablishing even the feeble measures of "regulated inflation" which existed prior to June 30. Truman proposes merely to palm off on the American people a measure differing slightly in detail, but not in principle from the Senate measure.

The only weapon available to the masses to combat inflation, price-gouging and evictions is their own independent mass action.

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Our Program To Fight Price Rises

By the Editors

Two weeks ago *The Militant* in a front-page editorial briefly reviewed the price situation following the expiration of the OPA and outlined a program to safeguard the workers' living standards in the face of rising prices. The *Daily Worker* of July 12 prints an article by George Morris, "R-r-revolutionary Fight on OPA," which pretends to be a "reasoned" criticism of our analysis and program. The purpose of Morris' article is to indoctrinate the readers of the *Daily Worker* against our program by distorting its content, while at the same time, covering up, the shameful role of the Stalinists in the fight against rising prices.

The "trick" in Morris' article is very simple. Our editorial said that Truman, the labor leaders and the Stalinists are trying to preserve the illusion that OPA controlled prices; and we warned the workers not to be deceived into believing that revival of the OPA would protect their living standards. Morris quotes part of our criticism of OPA—and says that this is the same as opposition to price control! Because we expose the OPA, we are really "sabotaging" the struggle for price control and using "seemingly revolutionary" demands to cover this up. Being a Stalinist, schooled in the game of distortion and falsification, he naturally does not indicate what our demands are.

What We Stand For

But we didn't equate OPA with price control in that editorial, and we don't do so now. Every worker and every housewife knows that the cost of living kept rising all the time under the OPA; that the OPA granted price rise after price rise to the corporations; that real prices climbed steadily upward through deterioration in quality, tie-in sales, black market operations, etc. Will Morris or anyone else dare to dispute the truth of these statements?

The Militant has been and is in favor of effective price control—that is precisely why we are against the illusion that the OPA controlled prices. The government never had any interest in the welfare of the consumers—all it was ever concerned with was protecting the profits of Big Business. It pretended to control prices through the OPA only in order to provide hypocritical justification for the wage freeze, to restrain the workers from demanding wage raises to meet the rising cost of living. This double-dealing was aided all through the war and since its end by trade union leaders and the Stalinists.

STOCK MARKET REPORT-1946



We want prices effectively fixed, controlled and policed—and we know that the OPA never did that and never will. Instead of pandering to illusions on this score, we insist on telling the workers the truth—which is that they can depend only on themselves and their allies, the poor farmers, the small shopkeepers, etc., to control, fix and police prices in the interests of the consumers.

Today, in many parts of the country the unions together with consumer organizations are conducting picket-lines and holding demonstrations to prevent price and rent rises. We Trotskyists are 100 per cent in favor of such action, we support it and we participate in it. This is a step in the right direction—the first efforts of the masses to take price control into their own hands.

In addition to hailing and participating in such actions, we call on the workers and consumers to extend this activity on a local and national scale; to give a permanent

character to such activity by creating mass consumers' committees which will intervene everywhere that the corporations attempt to gouge the people; to draw into this activity the small shopkeepers themselves, who are also the victims of the big profiteering trusts; to demand the expropriation under workers' control of the industries which persist in extorting price rises by withholding the commodities the masses need.

That is what we advocate on price control. And what do the Stalinists propose? Are they in favor of mobilizing the masses to take price-fixing out of the hands of Wall Street's agents in Washington? No, their answer is the OPA, glorified beyond recognition and dressed up as the kind of effective price agency it never was. And to revive the OPA, they call for—a buyers' strike!

To buy or not to buy—is that really the question now facing the workers? Shall we refuse to buy food for our children, or go without shoes, or move to tents in the park? What nonsense it is to advise workers to do without "unnecessary" items when their present income does not enable them to buy even the prime necessities to properly feed, clothe and house their families. Yet that is the reactionary, utopian program offered by the Stalinists. We denounce and expose that program at the same time we participate in the price control struggles of the workers and consumers, seeking to emphasize all the progressive features of that struggle and to raise them to higher levels. Not by "passive resistance" but by mass action and militant action will the consumers solve their problems.

Meanwhile, prices soar. And, since the debate in Congress is only over how much to let them rise, prices will continue to soar. What should the unions themselves do about the degradation of living standards through skyrocketing prices? Our editorial of two weeks ago gave the answer to this burning question too when it advocated a struggle for the sliding scale of wages.

This proposal *The Militant* has made a thousand times since the beginning of the war. Insert a sliding-scale-of-wages clause into every union contract, we said; establish a fixed minimum wage, and then every time prices go up, automatically adjust wages upward to compensate for the increased cost of living. This sliding scale of wages, of course, would not be based on the government's false price index, but on a reliable index worked out by the trade unions themselves.

This program is winning more and more support among

the unions as the workers come to see how they were hoaxed by the promise of "price-freezing" during the war. A number of auto, steel and rubber unions have declared their support for it in the recent months; the CIO packinghouse workers union is at this moment negotiating a new wage contract containing a variant of the sliding scale of wages in the form of a cost-of-living bonus.

But what about the Stalinists? Not a word from them. Both Morris and the unions under Stalinist influence are as silent as the grave when it comes to this fighting program for protecting the workers' living standards against the blows of inflation. Every member of the Communist Party and every militant unionist has the right and duty to ask why.

Another significant section of our brief editorial which Morris "neglected" to deal with was our proposal for united labor action against the menace of runaway inflation. We said:

"Now more than ever, all the unions — CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods — must join in united action. They must immediately convene a National Conference of Labor to put forward a program of joint action and mobilize the workers for a real fight . . . Forward to the United Labor Conference! Stop the profiteers by the independent action of the working masses!"

That was one of the main points of our editorial. It has been one of our chief calls for action. This action has been supported by many sections of the union movement; conferences on a local scale have already been held in many areas. Where do the Stalinists stand? Every two or three weeks they have an article paying lip-service to the proposal for a United Labor Conference. But in the unions where they have influence they do not lift a finger in its behalf because to do so might bring them into conflict with Philip Murray who is against it. And they have the nerve to accuse us of sabotaging the struggle for price control!

Stalinist Smear Artist

George Morris is the *Daily Worker's* Trotsky-baiting smear artist. During the war he wrote a scurrilous pamphlet denouncing the Trotskyists for opposing Wall Street's imperialist war aims, for fighting against Jim Crow in the army, for opposing the wage-freeze and the no-strike pledge. If "under Browder" Morris denounced every progressive demand advanced by us as playing into the hands of the Nazis, then "under Foster" he continues the same poison-pen work under new conditions.

The Militant and the Socialist Workers Party stood out alone during the war in defense of labor's cause. We are doing the same work today. The inflation now scourging the workers and the middle class is the direct consequence of the war. These truths the Stalinists must conceal. Those who conceal the real causes of inflation cannot engage in a genuine struggle against it; they must hire scoundrels to lie about those who do engage in such a struggle.

Sidney Hillman--An Appraisal

By M. Stein

The death of Sidney Hillman became the occasion for glowing tributes — from President Truman as well as from William Z. Foster; from the Democratic National Committee as well as from the Communist (Stalinist) Party. Sidney Hillman is eulogized alike by clothing manufacturers, by labor leaders, by Democrats, Social Democrats and Stalinists. What was the true stature of the man who receives such wide acclaim? What were his views, his contributions? The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, of which Hillman was president from his birth in 1915, grew out of a split in the United Garment Workers Union, AFL. The rank and file of the United Garment Workers rebelled against the union President, Rickert, Gompers' right-hand man, an autocratic old-line AFL bureaucrat with a narrow craft outlook, uninterested in organizing the workers in the then barbaric sweat-shop industry.

The birth of the Amalgamated in 1915 was in many respects an anticipation of what was to come on a nation-wide scale in 1936 with the birth of the CIO. Many Socialists looked toward the Amalgamated with great hope. They saw in it an instrumentality for ridding the whole trade union movement of Gompersism, and thus revitalizing it. They saw in it the first important step in organizing the mass production workers. They saw in it the dawn of a new day for the American labor movement.

Other industries tried to emulate the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Thus, an Amalgamated Textile Workers Union was set up, an Amalgamated Metal-Workers Union, etc. But none of them had any real success; they failed to survive. Hillman thereupon set out to prove that his union is "respectable," that it maintains "good" relations with the employers, etc. In brief, he became a foremost advocate of business unionism.

The narrowness of his outlook was crassly exemplified by his acceptance of the prosperity of the early twenties as the norm of American economic life. This was the era when Hillman and other official labor leaders were positive that all problems, all contradictions, could be solved through compromise at a conference table; that the class struggle could be eliminated if only the workers bought shares in the corporations, set up their own banks and so on. All this, of course, seems ludicrous today in the light of the 1929 crash. But meanwhile many workers' hard-won earnings were lost in these ventures.

Hillman was among the foremost proponents of union-employers collaboration in efficiency schemes. Through greater efficiency in the plants,

through speed-ups, the employers would be assured of greater profits while the workers got a few extra pennies per day. These schemes gave rise to dissatisfaction in the young Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. A left wing came into existence. It was inspired by the ideas of the Bolshevik revolution; and it was led by the young Communist Party in this country. Here, too, Hillman was able to find a compromise.

Once the Russian Revolution proved successful, once it was firmly established and all its enemies were defeated in a bloody war, Hillman took a trip to the Soviet Union where he effected an agreement for the formation of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation. He set out to sell shares to workers in this country to raise funds for setting up clothing factories in the young Soviet Republic. To be sure, this was progressive, but this venture was short-lived. It lasted long enough to serve Hillman's purpose. It presented him in the eyes of the workers as a friend of the Bolsheviks and disarmed the Communist opposition inside the union.

Sidney Hillman returned to the AFL about three years before the formation of the CIO. He joined with John L. Lewis and David Dubinsky in spurring the organization of the mass production workers into industrial unions. The defection of Dubinsky and later of John L. Lewis from the CIO cleared the road for Hillman. Where as in the early days of the CIO he was overshadowed by the personality of Lewis, he now became a dominant figure.

Rose With Labor Movement

Hillman's meteoric rise in the labor movement and this country's political life was due not to his personal talents, but rather to the transformation undergone by the trade union movement, which greatly increased the specific weight of organized labor in all fields.

We would look in vain for any clue to Hillman's social outlook in his public pronouncements throughout his long career. The fact is that he had no guiding philosophy. He had no long-range goal. Whenever labor hatters, all the Rankins and the Bilbos, attacked him as a Communist, he could smugly point to his own union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, as proof that he, too, fought the Communists ruthlessly. Nevertheless the struggle of annihilation which Hillman did indeed carry on against Communist Party influences in the Amalgamated, did not prevent him from blocking up with the CP on several occasions.

William Z. Foster now tries to explain this away as follows: "Because of his (Hillman's) progressive role on many questions, it was possible for the Communist Party to collaborate with him



SIDNEY HILLMAN

on important economic and political issues confronting labor and the nation."

The truth is, however, that the collaboration between Hillman and the Stalinists was made possible not by Hillman's "progressive role" but by the reactionary role of the Stalinists. It is by no means accidental that the period of the closest collaboration between Hillman and the Stalinists coincided with the wartime "comradeship" between Stalin and Roosevelt and Churchill. The Stalinists embraced Hillman and leaned on him most heavily during the so-called Browder Era, which Foster himself characterized as a complete surrender of even a pretense of struggle in behalf of the workers. Foster now omits to mention this rather embarrassing detail.

Lacked Political Perspective

Hillman lacked any kind of social insight or political perspective. He was not an eloquent speaker, nor did he ever contribute anything as a writer or thinker. His skill was that of a trade-union boss. His method was compromise. He sought to find a way out of all difficulties through that method alone. The conference table was his panacea for all problems. In this he did not differ from other trade union leaders. But, he was distinguished by a certain boldness of method, which is often confused with the pursuit of bold objectives.

The deep social crisis resulting from the economic collapse in 1929 brought Franklin Delano Roosevelt to the fore. In behalf of capitalism Roosevelt sought to soften through compromise the social paroxysms engendered by the crisis. He found inside the labor movement his counterpart, Hillman, and so a "partnership" was formed. All the profits of this partnership went to the capitalists, thus enabling them to survive bankruptcy. The trade unions were thrown a few sops in the form of the Wagner Act, social insurance, public works projects, etc. Capitalism survived

the crisis with the aid of the Hillmans, just as it survived the war with the aid of the Hillmans. Drunk with power the capitalists now feel far less need of compromise or compromisers. As a matter of fact, they are now busily engaged in a vicious offensive against labor, seeking to take away even the meager gains of compromise.

When Roosevelt began to prepare in earnest for war he called upon Hillman to be co-chairman of the Office of Production Management. Hillman's talents were invaluable to Roosevelt in subordinating the trade unions to the war effort, in keeping them docile. Hillman helped put over the wage-freeze, the job-freeze, the no-strike pledge, and all the other measures that served to shackle the workers while the monopolists coined billions out of the war.

Role of the PAC

The organization of the PAC, of which Hillman was chairman and the moving spirit, was a perversion of the idea of an independent labor party. The workers wanted to assert themselves politically through their own party. The PAC frustrated them.

More and more the workers feel how limited is the scope of purely economic struggle. Trade unions — grown into powerful organizations embracing some 15 million members — find themselves powerless in the absence of their own political party.

The PAC set out to mobilize the political power of labor, but — for what purpose? It was not in behalf of labor's own candidates, but in behalf of President Roosevelt, running for a fourth term, and in behalf of Congressmen — "labor's friends" — running on the Democratic and Republican tickets.

Product of Compromise

Hillman rose to a position of prominence in the trade union movement and the political life of the country at the very time when the capitalist class found it necessary and possible to soften the class struggle through compromise. Capitalism prefers this method so long as it serves to keep the working class docile and dormant. The Sixty Families controlling the wealth of this nation, its production, its political parties, its newspapers and its radio are perfectly satisfied to rule through compromise, so long as their mastery remains unchallenged. But the American working class is awakening to a realization of its own power.

Once awakened it will rise up to its full stature and push to the fore leaders made of different clay from Hillman. Leaders who are not compromisers but fighters. Leaders who are not satisfied with crumbs but who genuinely safeguard and raise the living standards of the workers. Leaders who will organize the attack upon the citadels of the whole system of wage slavery and usher in a society of peace, freedom and plenty for all.

L. I. Council Votes "Relief" For Landlords

(Special to The Militant)

LOS ANGELES, July 10—The Los Angeles City Council last week passed a measure to "relieve" landlords by allowing them to raise rents 15 per cent. This supplemented a previous ordinance freezing rents at the June 30 level.

The original measure was passed after city rents had begun skyrocketing, rising as much as 300 per cent in some cases, and numerous evictions were in the offing. The amendment was passed when the City Attorney declared, with no apparent justification, that the original measure would be invalid unless landlords were permitted to raise their rents 15 per cent.

Food prices have increased on the average about 3 per cent in the last three days. Meat soared up 30 per cent over last week's levels, butter rose 21 cents a pound or 30 per cent. Another price increase of one cent per loaf for bread is anticipated. Together with the recent 20 per cent increase in the price of this important commodity this will mean a thirty per cent price

boost for bread in less than a month.

DETROIT
"War Preparations Against The Soviet Union"
Speaker:
Myra Tanner Weiss
Chairman:
CHARLES JACKSON
THURSDAY, JULY 25
6108 Linwood 8 p.m.

Locomotive Engineer's Views On Rail Union Consolidation

By Henry Adams



Robertson's strikebreaking order to members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen to get back on the job during the recent national railroad strike underlined for many railroad men the disastrous effects of the division of railroad workers among 21 craft organizations. Within four days after Whitney and Johnston were forced to capitulate, the railroad workers saw

the miners with a solid industrial union gain an outstanding victory: The long-standing desire of the men for amalgamation is beginning—after years of stagnation—to find new organizational forms.

One important move is the Consolidation Committee of Enginemen, which aims to unify two big operating unions — the Brotherhood of Locomotive Enginemen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. The sentiment behind this move is forcefully expressed in a letter sent out by an engineer on the Wheeling and Lake Erie Railroad, the General Chairman of the BLFE on the Wheeling Road. He writes in part:

"Within the last few days we have witnessed the tragic consequences of having many, instead of one railroad labor organization. As the last and final salute in this miserable fiasco, we have been invited by our International President to go out and scab against our fellow-workmen . . . This strike was being supported 100 per cent by the rank and file of the men in all organizations and not one train or engine made a move on the Wheeling and Erie, which proves that the men are loyal to each other regardless of the power hungry labor leaders that head our organization . . ."

OFFICER FOR YEARS

"I have been an officer in this organization for a good many years and while I have made many mistakes in the trial and error method of handling grievances, I have supported the Grand Lodge in every honorable movement that they have engaged in and I have been their outspoken champion on this railroad."

"I was raised in the coal mining country in southern Ohio and saw the many struggles the mine workers had to endure and out of this bitter experience of being hungry and without shoes and proper clothing, I was trained to be a union man and not a damnable scab."

"When our International President signed his name to that telegram that you all received on Saturday, May 25, he wrote the blackest pages that have ever

been written in the history of the American Labor movement; he actually ordered you and me and all the members of this honorable organization to go out and scab against honest, honorable union men that were out on strike for better wages and better working conditions . . ."

DIVISION SPELLS DISASTER

"Under the capable leadership of Mr. John L. Lewis the United Mine Workers at the same time and under identical circumstances and conditions got \$11.75 per 6-day week increase for the coal miners, while our stupid overpaid boneheads got us a total of \$8.88 for the 6 day week. All of which proves that in the labor movement division spells disaster."

"Having regard for the miserable failures produced because these brotherhood heads are fighting among themselves while the men pay the bill and take a beating, what are we going to do about it?"

"Here is what I am going to do about it. I am going to make application for membership in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Enginemen. I am going to use what time and effort I can to promote the CONSOLIDATION COMMITTEE OF ENGINEMEN, headed by R. R. Walker, Organizing Director, 1101 Hippodrome Building, Cleveland 14, Ohio. I am asking every local Chairman to assist me in this movement; I am going to ask every member of the BLE and the BLFE on the Wheeling and Erie to join in this movement to consolidate both these organizations into one."

TIME TO UNITE

"We have taken a beating too long now. It is up to every one of us to get into the Consolidation Committee of Enginemen and compel the consolidation of the two organizations into one. . . . The time to strike against personal prestige and internal destruction is now. . . . With one organization, we can move forward in dignity, justice and in peace."

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Where is the Soviet Union Going? Role Of The Masses Since End Of War

By Ernest Germain

The old generation of the Russian proletariat lost its revolutionary potential during the years of revolution and civil war; the next generation which grew up after the civil war was decapitated by the Thermidorian terror; it was affected by all the terrible defeats of the world proletariat, and could be considered therefore as incapable of a serious movement of revolt against the bureaucratic dictatorship.

Competent observers expected a reawakening of the Russian proletariat by 1940-1945. By then, according to them, the improvement of living conditions in Russia, the appearance of a new fighting generation, and the change of the relationship of social forces on the world arena would give hope of a renewal of activity on the part of the proletariat.

INDEPENDENT ACTIVITY

But in 1941 the possibility of such an evolution was abruptly—and not accidentally—removed by the outbreak of the Soviet-German war. During the first months the attitude of the proletariat was hesitant and somewhat passive. When it realized the real nature of the Hitler war—a war of pillage, of destruction of everything progressive that the October Revolution had brought about, of a return to capitalist exploitation—it threw itself into the struggle with all the ferocious energy of which it was capable.

There is considerable evidence of the independent activity of the masses during the war. During the defense of Odessa and Leningrad, workers' militias made their reappearance. This was especially illustrated by the spectacular reconquest of Rostov in 1941, ending the 1941 campaign. The manual of the French Military Academy, edited by Vichy in 1943, flatly declared that it was "the intervention of the civilians in Rostov which changed the course of the war."

Is it necessary to insist on the bitterness and implacability of the partisans' struggles whose formations often bore names more than indicative of the moods which animated them, such names, for example, as "For the Power of the Soviets?"

DISCONTENT BREAKS OUT

But if the Soviet masses were willing to bear the worst Hitlerism, they observed with resentment which became more and more marked that speculation, good food, the most shameless privileges were flaunted openly behind the front, while millions of workers were killed together with their wives and children. Once the country was free, this discontent found numerous ways of expressing itself. The number of deserters-marauders increased rapidly. In a sensational speech Kalinin admitted that working class wives asked, "Why do you wear boots when we haven't any?"

Contact with the higher standard of living in central and western Europe, completed the awakening of the Soviet worker. And since the end of 1945 there is only one cry heard from the proletariat: "More bread! More clothes! More consumers' goods!" These cries penetrate into the

Soviet press very clearly; the whole "electoral campaign" was centered about them. The rapid demobilization measures, the abolition of rationing, as well as the "left turn" on the industrial plane which characterizes the beginning of 1946, were certainly imposed in a large measure by the pressure of the masses.

PERSPECTIVES OF MASS STRUGGLE

The third generation of Soviet workers was certainly struck hard by the war. But these blows are not defeats. Quite the contrary. There are many indications that the Russian masses are showing a renewal of confidence, assurance and faith in their own powers, after victory against Hitler.

In the present circumstances, so long as the police terror keeps weighing on them more heavily than ever and so long as they are still unable to find open forms of struggle, an inspiring example of a striking victory of the workers abroad remains without doubt the necessary condition for stimulating and coordinating mass movements.

But Stalin's very fear of the proletarian revolution is the best guarantee that the role of the Russian proletariat is still far from finished. Stalin hastily withdrew his troops from Czechoslovakia where the working class almost raised itself to an understanding of its historic role. All over Germany GPU troops are replacing the regular army. These are eloquent signs that permit us to look to the future with hope.

Since 1937 Trotsky considered that the role of the bureaucracy, which historically consisted of introducing the advanced technology of the capitalist countries into the backward workers' state, had reached its end; the tempo of industrial development became slower and slower. The war interrupted this process and made the bureaucracy appear as the "agency empowered to conduct the defense of the land of socialism against Hitler."

At present they draw upon a new prestige from the undeniable successes of reconstruction. But this role is approaching its end. To the extent that the reconstruction is achieved, the bureaucratic management will come more and more into contradiction with the further growth of the productive forces. Violent social crises will result from this by the time when the class struggle will attain its peak in Asia, in Europe and undoubtedly also in America.

The Russian proletariat will see itself no longer isolated. There is reason to believe that it will attempt its first decisive showdown with the bureaucracy even before imperialism launches an open attack against Stalin. (The sixth and final article in this series by Ernest Germain will be printed in next week's 'Militant'.)

International Notes

Palestine

Among the thousands arrested by British troops in Palestine were not only so-called Jewish "extremists" but also leaders of the moderate Zionist Jewish Agency and Histadruth, trade union organizations. The offices of the latter and its paper *Dawar* were reported sacked by troops and in a state of shambles. As the Paris *Le Monde* said on July 3rd:

"Lately Histadruth has shown a definite tendency toward common interests, in a word: trade unionism. The recent strikes, in which Jewish and Arab workers united in their demands, are significant. Why then is this moderate element attacked, if not because it constitutes an instrument for those who, be they Jews, Christians or Moslems, want to demonstrate that the real Palestinian problem is of a social and not a racial nature?"

Algeria

Press reports from Algiers indicate that Messali Hadj, leader of the Peoples Party of Algeria, has been set free after being imprisoned for his opposition to French imperialism under the Daladier, Petain, de Gaulle and Gouin governments, ever since 1939. The reports quote Governor-General Chateigneau of Algeria as replying to Fehrat-Abbas, member of the "Algerian Party of the Manifest" that he "could see Messali, who is at present free." No further information is given as to the latter's whereabouts. The party of Messali Hadj demands his complete

freedom, its full legalization and the convocation of an Algerian Constituent Assembly.

Indo-China

Continued clashes between Viet Minh and French forces in Hanoi and at Huynh Zhuo Khang have caused the Minister of Interior of the Viet Nam government to issue an appeal to the local inhabitants "to preserve the peace." The minister, who heads the government in the absence of President Ho-Chi-Minh, requested that armed clashes be avoided pending the outcome of negotiations between Viet Nam and French governments. These negotiations—which will begin soon at Fontainebleau—will include among other disputed questions the attempt of French imperialism to set up an "independent" Cochinchina government.

Even as President Ho-Chi-Minh was being received in Paris by the French government, troops of the latter invaded hills south of Hanoi and north of Ban-Me-Thuot in the Viet Nam republic, in violation of previous agreements. Bloody battles were reported in progress.

Egypt

In its attempt to impose a new, reactionary military pact with Great Britain upon the indignant Egyptian masses, the Egyptian Cabinet has launched a ferocious campaign against "subversive" ideas through mass arrests and the dissolution of 11 labor, political, cultural and educational organizations.

Anti-Soviet Aims Pursued Inside Japan

"Some staff officers close to General MacArthur have been indiscreet in expressing their abhorrence of Russia to prominent Japanese, including former members of the military. The impression has taken firm hold in certain Right-Wing Japanese quarters that the Supreme Commander's policy rests on the assumption that war with Russia is inevitable and that the Japanese military machine, therefore, must be regarded as a potential ally of America.

"This startling conclusion is also voiced by some American members of the occupation forces. One brilliant young officer at GHQ declared to me: 'It is only realism to keep in power in Japan the men who can convert her quickly into a military ally—and our present occupation policy doesn't make sense on any other grounds.'" Robert Peel in the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Martin Widelin--Our Martyr

A Heroic Trotskyist Leader In The German Underground

By Marguerite Baget
(Special to The Militant)

PARIS—Almost two years after "liberation," the trial of one of the most important bureaus of the French Gestapo, the SPAC (Anti-Communist Police Bureau), also called the SRMAN (Bureau for the Repression of Anti-National Plots), has finally been opened before the Seine Court of Justice.

Only 31 of the torturers appeared in the defendants' dock. The others, less conspicuous, have been given positions in the various bureaus of the new "Republican Police."

"Thousands of men and women have fallen martyrs to the SPAC. I myself, was tortured in the sinister cells located on the rue de Monceau. This was on July 13, 1944. I was arrested together with



MARTIN WIDELIN

he was picked up by two agents at the edge of the Vincennes woods, his head and chest pierced by two bullets, and was taken to the Pitie hospital. Our comrades, informed by a sympathizer, wished to organize his escape. But it was too late. Two hours after his arrival at the hospital, the Gestapo again seized him and finished him off this time for good.

ORGANIZED YOUTH

Born in Berlin, Comrade Widelin entered the workers' movement at the age of 15.

For five years he was an organizer among the youth in Berlin. After Hitler's assumption of power, under cover of sports organizations he continued indefatigably to propagate socialism. He laid the basis for an illegal organization. Hounded by the Gestapo, he was compelled to leave Germany illegally in November, 1938, and go to Belgium. Here he came into contact with the Belgian section of the Fourth International, to which he brought all his revolutionary devotion.

From August 1940, after the debacle, Widelin took part in the illegal reconstruction of our Belgian section. He won the esteem and confidence of all the comrades, who elected him to their Central Committee in June 1941.

He was placed in charge of the revolutionary propaganda among the German troops. About June 1941 he issued a manifesto in German lashing Hitler's attack against the Soviet Union.

He traveled illegally through France and Belgium and succeeded in establishing a special group of militants trained for work among the soldiers. In February 1944 he organized a virtual liaison network among the various revolutionary cells spread across Germany and Austria.

Then Widelin launched our illegal newspaper, *Arbeiter und Soldat* (Worker and Soldier). From this time on the police did their utmost to capture him. Finally the SPAC arrested him. Let those who have not understood the heavy sacrifices our party made for revolutionary communism ponder this example! What a symbol—the German Widelin tortured and killed by the French-German Gestapo.

(Translated by John Garrow from the June 21 issue of *La Verite*, French Trotskyist weekly.)

Chinese Students Urge U. S. Withdrawal



At a rally in Shanghai, Chinese students carried banners appealing to the American troops: "U. S. Army, Go Back to Your Sweet Home." The soldiers, however, still remain, kept there by Wall Street's policy of intervention in China.

Grave Crisis Grips Italy 3 Years After Duce's Fall

By Carlo Bivanco
(Special to The Militant)

ITALY, July 5—The third anniversary of Mussolini's fall from power finds Italy in the grip of a profound economic and political crisis. A whole month has passed since the elections of June 2 and the defeat of the monarchy, but there is still no sign of a relatively stable government emerging.

The three major political parties—Christian Democrats, Socialists and Stalinists—are jockeying for positions in exactly the same way as they have been doing during the many governmental crises which marked the three years of "liberation."

While the party leaders squabble over ministerial posts, the condition of the masses is deteriorating sharply. During the summer months, with vegetables and other farm products relatively plentiful, life is still endurable. But the coming winter will find the workers and peasants faced with a very real famine. The declining economy finds its reflection in the sharp downward plunge of the lire, which now fetches around 420 to the dollar on the black market, as compared with the official 225 to the dollar.

FASCISTS ARE DRILLING

In this situation the monarchists and neo-fascist forces are biding their time and preparing for the moment when they can go over to the offensive. The narrow victory for the republic, and the passivity of the left leadership have encouraged their hopes of upsetting the verdict of the polls through armed action. Soviet foreign policy is playing straight into their hands, and over the issues of Trieste and

preparations the dying embers of chauvinism are being fanned to white heat once more.

On the Church estates, displaced fascist functionaries, demoralized ex-POW's and other declassed elements are drilling in preparation for "the day of renaissance." Armed bands of hoodlums roam the streets of Naples and other cities of southern Italy, attacking the premises of working class organizations and assaulting individual Communists and Socialists. In Naples it is dangerous to be seen wearing a red tie! The monarchists openly declare, "The Republicans have won the referendum but we have conquered the streets!"

TROTSKYIST GROWTH

Only the organized strength of the working class stands in the way of an immediate attack from the right. But the militant mood of the workers is being rapidly dissipated by the Stalinist and reformist leaders, who reply to the acts of provocation by calling on the workers to "keep calm." Nothing has been learned from the tragic histories of the Italian, German and Austrian working class!

Throughout and since the electoral campaign the Communist Workers Party (POC), Italian section of the Fourth International, has put forward the only realistic policy. Calling on the workers to rally to the republic and to vote for the working class parties, it urged them not to place any reliance in the "law and order" of the capitalist state but to build their own defense squads and to meet fascist and monarchist provocation with their own armed might. It warned that the monarchists would

PROPOSE GREEK UNITED FRONT

ATHENS, Greece, June (Delayed).—The Joint Committee of the Trotskyists and the Political Bureau of the Archemarxist Party have addressed an open letter to the Greek Communist Party and Socialist Party, proposing the creation of a workers' alliance to fight the monarchist reaction.

Through the fraudulent elections of March 31, which resulted in an arch-reactionary parliament, the capitalist forces are trying to legalize the regime of terror and prepare for the return of the king.

The letter calls for extra-parliamentary struggle to achieve its demands. These include new, free elections, overthrow of the government, against return of the king, for political and trade union rights, dissolution of fascist bands, workers' control of production, self-determination, with occupation troops fraternization, and peace without indemnities.

This letter aroused such interest among the Greek workers that the Stalinists were forced to make a formal reply in rejecting the proposals.

not abide by the referendum result if the republic emerged victorious.

This policy is winning the best elements in the working class to the Trotskyist banner. Right in the midst of the election campaign, the first branch of the party in Milan was founded. Its steady growth in the heart of the industrial north is the best augury for the future.

TRIESTE ISSUE UNSETTLED DESPITE 'BIG 4' DECISION

(Special to The Militant)

PARIS, July 5—While the capitalist press everywhere said, "Trieste Issue Settled by Big Four," the workers in Trieste downed tools in a general strike which paralyzed life in the city.

It is true the strike did not come because of the decision of the Foreign Ministers Conference here, but in reply to the latest fascist provocations. Nevertheless, it served notice that the fate of this Balkan seaport—as of Europe as a whole—will not be settled by diplomatic maneuvers in the Luxembourg Palace; that the working class will contribute its own solution to this as to other "problems."

The manner in which the Council of Foreign Ministers dealt with the Trieste problem is typical of the cynical attitude which these representatives of the western "democracies" and the Kremlin regard their own honeyed words in the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Charter.

While the ministers wrangled and bargained, there was no thought of consulting the people most directly concerned—the workers and peasants of Venezia Giulia. Self-determination was an abstract principle to be applied only when it served the interests of the "Big Four."

For the Kremlin, a Yugoslav Trieste represented an outlet in the Mediterranean and a convenient counter to use in wresting concessions from Anglo-American imperialism. Britain saw her "life-lines to India and the East" threatened by a Soviet-controlled Trieste. The final solution, which places Trieste under the direct control of the "United Nations Organization," represents a considerable victory over its Soviet "ally."

In actual fact, there can be no solution to the "Trieste problem" on purely ethical grounds. While the majority of the population is Italian, there is a considerable proportion of Slavs among the working class, and the surrounding country is almost entirely Slav. But economically, Trieste is part neither of Italy nor of Jugoslavia.

Before the war it served primarily as the chief port for the countries in the Danube basin. All the most important Danubian railway lines terminated in Trieste, and 60 per cent of the railway traffic from Trieste was destined for the Danubian countries.

Trieste is a living symbol that the old national frontiers and racial demarcations are hopelessly out-of-date; that they act as a brake on further economic and cultural development. For Trieste, the Socialist United States of Europe has long ago ceased to be an academic question. It is the most practical politics for it is the only program which can provide a genuine and "ultimate" solution.

Why The Gestapo Tracked Him Down

By George Breitman

Martin Widelin—member of the European Executive Committee of the Fourth International, assassinated by the French-German Gestapo in Paris two years ago on July 22—was one of the great figures of the revolutionary movement of our time.

A German himself, he was a lifelong foe of German capitalist reaction and fascism. He fought against the Nazis before they came to power and then afterward, both inside Germany and in the countries occupied by them. He was a living refutation of the foul slander that the German working class was responsible for Hitlerism. As such, he inspired both Belgian and French workers and German soldiers to struggle against Hitlerite oppression.

Opposition to Nazism was not unusual in Europe. But the antifascism of Widelin and his comrades was something unique. For their opposition was conducted throughout in the spirit of internationalism.

They did not unite with the agents of Allied capitalism around the national slogan of "Death to the Boche!"—as the Stalinists and "Socialists" did. On the contrary, Widelin and his co-workers in all countries sought to unite the masses of the occupied countries with the German soldiers in the occupying armies in a joint struggle against their common oppressors. Fraternization was their method, for they knew that only through fraternization could the struggle against Hitlerism have a successful revolutionary outcome. As a consequence, the Gestapo placed a higher price on the head of Widelin than it did on many an Allied general.

Widelin's work was exceedingly dangerous. It was far easier to stick a knife between the ribs of a German soldier on a dark night than to meet that same German in the daytime, win his confidence and enlist him in the ranks of the revolutionary fighters against fascism. But difficult though this work was, Widelin carried it out with growing success until the day of his death.

In close cooperation with French and Belgian Trotskyists,

he helped to establish a network of Fourth Internationalist cells within the Wehrmacht. This work was so effective that the Gestapo dispatched a special commission to Paris to destroy the Trotskyists. In one German unit alone, more than 30 soldiers were executed as Trotskyists after a stoolpigeon had been introduced into their midst.

Widelin's greatest achievement was *Arbeiter und Soldat* (Worker and Soldier), illegal German paper which he founded and edited under the direction of the European Secretariat of the Fourth International.

To be caught with a copy of this paper meant horrible torture and certain death. Yet it circulated from France where it was printed in the underground all the way back through Belgium into Germany itself. And—as the British Trotskyist paper, *Socialist Appeal*, reported recently—copies made their way to the distant German garrisons in Italy. (Despite many raids, the Gestapo never discovered the press on which *Arbeiter und Soldat* was printed.)

Among Widelin's other contributions was the role he played in helping to prepare the historic European Conference of the Fourth International in February, 1944, to which he was a delegate and by which he was elected as a member of the European Executive Committee.

Widelin's murder was a great blow to the Fourth International and above all to its German section. If he were ALIVE today, we know that he would again be inside Germany, fighting to end the Allied oppression of that country. But not in any nationalist spirit! He would be passionately organizing the German workers for independent struggle, he would be actively working among the Allied soldiers trying to win their sympathy and support. His method would still be fraternization. His slogan and goal would still be the one for which he gave his life—the Socialist United States of Europe and the whole world.

Why India Starves

British Colonial Rulers Cause Famine In India

By Kamlesh Ray

India is often talked of as an over-populated country, whose economic salvation lies in keeping the population down to a proper level. Yet, considering the population density on each square mile of land area, India is better off than other more advanced countries. Thus Germany is 30 per cent more congested than

India, while England has more than twice as many people per square mile. From the agricultural standpoint, India raises annually about \$18 worth of agricultural products per capita, while England produces \$20 worth. This does not explain India's chronic starvation and Britain's normal dietary situation—India cannot feed herself but she feeds others, as we have seen. India can be said to be "over-populated" only in the sense that she has to feed many souls other than her own.

The food problem is only a part of the entire economic problem of the country. The starvation of India is due to two reasons: first, the present government's bungling and its draining of available supplies; second, the general low economic level of the people, for which the government is likewise responsible. We now consider the latter.

India's per capita national income is about one-tenth of the average income of other civilized nations. To improve the situation, the national economy of India should be properly planned. It has always been stressed too much, particularly by the present government, that India is primarily an agricultural country and her agriculture should be improved in order to avoid starvation of the nation.

This is wrong, and utterly misleading. For, it has been shown here that India's food deficiency actually amounts to a small fraction of her requirements. Further, agriculture plays a subordinate role, while industry plays a major role in a national economy. India, it is true, has been an agricultural country, but she has tremendous industrial resources, too. Her industrial possibilities are not less than her agricultural possibilities—in fact, greater.

To compare with other countries, America's industrial production is worth (in dollars) now more than 10 times her agricultural output; Britain's industry is about seven times as impor-

tant as her agriculture; while India's industrial economy is far richer than her agriculture.

Industrialized Britain can feed her people by purchasing more than double the amount of local food production, while the Indian people cannot afford to buy the foodstuffs which they produce on their own soil. In 1929, the United Kingdom made a balance import (i.e., over her export) of foodstuffs of about \$2,300 million, which meant \$50 per capita of her people; in 1931 it was about \$35 per capita.

It was estimated that the minimum daily requirement of a 2,600-calorie diet for a person costs in India at prewar price level, about \$25 per year, which is barely the average per capita income. This figure immediately tells us that the people of India cannot afford to buy even half of their daily meals since they have to meet such other necessities of life such as housing, clothing, fuel, medicine, etc.

The price of rice, the most staple food grain of Bengal, has been fixed by the government for the last two years at 300 per cent higher than normal (16 rupees in place of 4 rupees per Maund) with the result that the food grain is inaccessible to most of the people. The average cost of living in India for the past three years has gone well above 100 per cent over the normal level, whereas national income has hardly increased 20 per cent during this period.

To sum up: India's food problem is not an outcome of her natural condition. India does not need a reduction of population for her economic rehabilitation. She does not need to worry about increasing food production to prevent death from starvation, but rather about the fact that she is denied what she already produces. She could certainly plan to produce more food crops to raise the standard of national diet provided she were free to control and consume the product. In other words, India's food and general economic situation can never be brought up to a satisfactory level under British rule.



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

—Leon Trotsky

The SWP's Greatest Election Campaign

This summer and fall the Socialist Workers Party is conducting the greatest electoral campaign in the 18-year history of the American Trotskyist movement.

SWP branches in five states are running candidates for Congress, governor and other posts. These campaigns, in New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Minnesota and Washington, will bring the Trotskyist message of revolutionary socialism to new hundreds of thousands of workers.

These campaigns have more than local or state-wide significance. They are of national and international importance. The Trotskyist candidates everywhere will be advancing a program of struggle designed for the whole American working class. The success they achieve in these five key states will influence powerfully the future political development of American labor.

By supporting and voting for the Trotskyist candidates and program, the workers in these five states will be able to record their desire for genuine independent working class political action through a workers' party and candidates.

One of the main planks of the Trotskyist election program in each state calls for the building of an independent labor party. By voting for Trotskyists, the workers will be voting for the formation of a labor party and for the only genuine labor candidates now in the field.

It is a tribute to the enduring sound program of Trotskyism and to the consistent, uncompromising struggle the SWP has waged in the interests of the working class, that the party has grown to the point where it is able now to make this great advance.

This reflects the growing influence of the SWP among the workers, the Negro people and all sections of the oppressed. It demonstrates that despite all obstacles the ideas of Trotskyism are penetrating deeper and deeper into the masses.

Every reader of The Militant is urged to rally behind the candidates and program of the Socialist Workers Party. Sign and circulate petitions to get the SWP candidates on the ballots. Help in the organization of campaign meetings. Spread the SWP literature. Contribute funds. Join the Socialist Workers Party.

Politics Of Reaction

On July 9 Molotov demanded that the German people be forced to pay ten billion dollars in reparations to the Soviet Union. This is in addition to the 14 billion in resources already seized. Molotov insisted that occupation armies be quartered in Germany until this astronomical sum is paid in full. That would mean in practice the partitioning of Germany.

In the days of Lenin and Trotsky the Soviet Government and the world Communist movement denounced the demand of the Allied bandits for reparations and annexations. In March 1919, in the "Theses on the International Situation and Politics of the Entente," the First Congress of the Communist International explained to the workers of the world:

"The policy of reparations has been pushed to the point of complete pillage of the vanquished. Not only are bills presented to the vanquished mounting into billions upon billions, not only are all the methods of war inflicted upon them — but the Entente countries also take locomotives, railways, ships, agricultural instruments, gold reserves, etc., etc. In addition the prisoners of war are forced to become slaves of the victors. Under discussion are proposals for forced labor from the German workers. The Allied powers intend to convert them into miserable, starved slaves of Entente capital."

These words might have been written about the postwar situation today, including the counter-revolutionary role of the Kremlin. The founding Congress of the Communist International continued: "The policy of nationalist incitement is carried to the extreme by a constant barrage against the defeated nations in the Entente press and by military occupation authorities, as well as by the hunger blockade, condemning the peoples of Germany and Austria to extermination. This policy leads to pogroms against the Germans, organized with the support of the Entente — by chau-

vinist Czech and Polish elements, and to pogroms against the Jews which surpass all the vile deeds of Russian Czarism."

In sum, declared Lenin, Trotsky and their comrades at this historic Congress, "The 'democratic' States of the Entente follow a policy of extreme reaction."

The Bolsheviks ended their 1919 document with a grave warning: "The continued domination of finance capital, can lead only to the complete destruction of civilized society through the intensification of exploitation, the growth of slavery, political reaction and armaments, and finally the eruption of new destructive wars."

This warning of 27 years ago received the most tragic and terrible confirmation in the Second World War. Today the words of Lenin and Trotsky apply with redoubled force. Unless the workers intervene and establish socialism, the politics of "extreme reaction" will lead inevitably to a Third World War. The Kremlin with its demands for reparations and the partitioning of Germany is aiding world imperialism in preparing the ground for that war.

Victims Of Inflation

During the war, the workers were pressured into buying billions of dollars worth of government bonds. Glowing propaganda was poured forth about the wonderful "investment" war bonds represented. Just think, for an \$18.50 bond, a worker could eventually get back \$25. But the same thing is happening to the interest and principal of the bonds bought by the workers as is happening to their pay envelopes. Their pay envelopes are being robbed through inflation and soaring prices.

Today, \$25 is worth less than \$15 in terms of 1942 purchasing power. And day by day, the value of currency is shrinking. Those workers who may be "lucky" enough to hold on to a few bonds until they mature, may get back "\$25" that will be equal in purchasing power to \$10 or \$5 of what they originally invested in a bond. Most workers, however, are being forced to cash their bonds before maturity. The \$18.50 they get back represents only about \$10 in former purchasing power.

This is only part of the sharp slash in purchasing power and standard of living which the capitalists and their government are perpetrating through inflation.

Old folks living on pensions, the sick and disabled on compensation, those receiving unemployment insurance, veterans drawing \$20 a week jobless compensation, find their standard of living rapidly declining.

When Congress passed the GI bill it said veterans needed a minimum of \$20 a week for mere subsistence at the prices prevailing several years ago. That \$20 today will buy only what about \$12 could when the bill was passed.

What those on small fixed government incomes are receiving is a piece of paper bearing the same figures as before. But the worth of these pieces of paper has shrunk tremendously, and is shrinking more with each passing day.

Like the wage-earners who are beginning to demand a sliding scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living, old-age pensioners, the unemployed and the veterans forced to live on compensation should fight for a sliding scale of pensions and compensation that rises automatically with the cost of living.

Get The Big Crooks!

Why is Senator Mead's War Investigating Committee putting on its big exposure of the Illinois arms combine which started with nothing and ended up with \$78,000,000 in government contracts through the friendly offices of Rep. May, head of the House Military Affairs Committee?

Everybody knows, or pretty well suspects, that what these small-fry crooks grabbed was peanuts compared to the tens of billions looted from the U. S. Treasury by the really big corporations. Comptroller General Warren, for instance, charged in April, 1944 that the "graft" on the war contracts would amount to 50 billion dollars.

If the Mead committee were really interested in investigating war fraud and corruption it would ferret out first of all the facts about the 117 billion dollars in war contracts handed out to the top 100 corporations which secured almost 70 per cent of all war contracts.

But Senator Mead isn't at all interested in exposing the big crooks. He is just making a bit of favorable publicity for himself in preparation for the elections next November. He is being pushed by the Democrats as an opponent of Dewey, New York's Republican governor and highly-touted "gang-buster." What better opponent to run against Dewey than a "war-profitteer buster"?

So the administration has picked out one gang of relatively small-time crooks who managed to break into the munitions racket and a political scape-goat in the form of Rep. May. They are the fall-guys for the build-up of Mead in his gubernatorial campaign.

But this very investigation and hubbub about the Illinois arms combine serves the additional purpose of diverting attention from the big-time corporation crooks and their agents in the very summits of the government. With this investigation, the administration hopes to satisfy the people that it is "going after" the war profiteers.

There is still buried in Washington a scandal bigger and dirtier than the world has ever seen. It would involve every capitalist politician from top to bottom and every big capitalist and corporation in the United States.

The exposure of the Illinois arms combine and Representative May gives a tiny hint of the monstrous steal engineered during the war by Big Business and its government.

But the full facts of that steal will never be brought to light by capitalist politicians like Senator Mead. It will only be uncovered when genuine labor representatives, put into office by a labor party that has no ties with Wall Street, are sent to Congress.



"You'd think if people must keep dogs, they'd have the decency to feed them!"

Workers BOOKSHELF

VETERANS AND LABOR by Charles Carsten, Pioneer Publishers, 24 pages, July 1946, 10 cents.

Capitalist books, magazines and newspapers are filled with expert "analyses" of veterans problems. Thus, instead of jobs, homes or bonuses, veterans are deluged with an abundance of "advice." It is increasingly evident, however, that none of this "advice" offers the veteran a real solution to his problems.

Pioneer Publishers' newest pamphlet, Veterans and Labor, is a program of action for those countless veterans who are seriously looking for an answer. Unlike the capitalist experts, the author of this pamphlet, himself a veteran, doesn't treat the veteran as a unit in a table of statistics, or as some sort of temporary freak.

He states: "The veterans have sacrificed years during which they might have learned a skilled trade and fulfilled the educational requirements for decent employment. . . . They return to civilian life forced to take the lowest paid, least skillful, most monotonous jobs. They are in need of special benefits to help them overcome these war-incurred handicaps."

When we were in the army, even the most skeptical of us looked at the elaborate handbook of our privileges as veterans and thought perhaps things would not be so bad after we were discharged. All of us who are veterans, can now look back at these false promises made by the War Department and compare them with the actual situation today.

But the major value of the pamphlet lies in its practical answer on what to do about the plight of the veterans.

It is only through the most militant and concerted struggle, together with the whole labor movement, that the veterans can win any sizeable concessions

for themselves. Existing veterans organizations cannot and will not wage such a struggle because they are led by stooges for Wall Street. Thus the organization of the veterans by the trade unions is necessary to guarantee a successful outcome to their demands.

Reviewed by Alvin Royce

FREEDOM ROAD by Howard Fast, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944, \$2.50.

One of the most important and interesting chapters in American history is the story of the Reconstruction Period. This is the story—long hidden—of the events which followed the defeat of the slave-owning Southern aristocracy in the Civil war.

Freedom Road by Howard Fast is a novel which deals with this hidden historical chapter. It is the story of how former slaves and poor whites united in an effort to realize the fruits of the Northern victory.

The author, after considerable research, chose South Carolina as the background for his revealing picture of how scheming politicians and reactionary remnants of the land-owning Southern Bourbons established by force and terror the Jim Crow system so familiar to all.

Immediately following the defeat of General Lee, Commander-in-Chief of the Southern Armies, the entire population, including freed slaves and poor whites, were given a chance to vote for or against state constitutional conventions. By an overwhelming vote the Negro and white voters declared in favor of such conventions to reorganize the South along Northern patterns. Negro and white delegates were elected to represent the masses.

The novel describes in graphic scenes the struggle of the Negro and poor white delegates to establish free public education for all and a democratic system of

justice. Gideon Jackson, the hero and central character, had been a slave on the Carwell plantation. He learned to read and write and to speak for his people. A leader of men, he rises to great heights in the Convention and is elected to serve in the State Legislature. By constant study and contact with the various types to be met in political life, Gideon soon realizes that freedom cannot be won or held by the ballot alone.

In an effort to revive the southern economy Gideon Jackson and his fellow freed slaves unite with poor whites to establish a co-operative agricultural community and a free public school system.

Behind the scenes the author depicts the intrigues and plots entered into between the old land-owners and the Northern politicians to strip the Negro of his newly-won right to vote, own land and gain an education.

The climax of these reactionary days is the promise by President Hayes to withdraw the Northern Armies in return for the political support of the Southern ruling class. Once the military might of the North is removed, the secretly organized instrument of terror, the Ku Klux Klan, is free to burn, loot and kill without restraint. All is destroyed. The homes, crops, schools and democratic institutions built by the ex-slaves and impoverished whites are completely wiped out while the leaders, Negro and white, of the people are beaten, branded and killed.

The book deserves the serious attention of all workers, Negro and white. It is a truthful and powerful example of how Negro and white workers at that time united against powerful odds—and it is a living proof of how they will unite again against their common enemy.

Reviewed by Bill Morgan

Congressmen At Work

The Debate Over OPA

The differences in Congress over price control are purely of a tactical order. All Wall Street's political representatives agree in principle that price controls must be ended—the only obstacle being the danger of the voters retaliating at the polls next November.

A few like the Texas Democrat, Senator W. Lee ("Pass-the-Biscuits-Pappy") O'Daniel, wanted to do away with the last remnants of price control at once. The majority, however, wished to taper off, spreading "decontrol" to as long as a year on some items.

In the debate over which month the last shadow of controls over particular commodities should be given the axe, some very revealing facts on OPA came to light. The Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry reported a survey made in "11 representative cities throughout the United States." OPA before its death was so ineffective, says the report, "that at least \$1,250,000,000 a year in excess of ceiling prices is being paid by the consumer for meat." On top of this, "approximately \$750,000,000 of meat subsidy per year is being indirectly paid for meat by the taxpayers in this country."

Thus in one commodity alone, the capitalist government permitted the profiteers to gouge the public to the tune of \$2,000,000,-



000 (billions) a year in excess of official ceilings.

Senator Kenneth Wherry, Republican of Nebraska, revealed June 27 "that the so-called markets which buy the cattle on the hoof and are killing the cattle which finally come into the black market are known by the Government, they are licensed by the Government, and in many cases the Government even pays them the subsidies."

This admission indicates to what extent Wall Street's government winked at the black market.

Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican of Ohio, explained why "OPA during the war was essential." He thought that "anyone who calmly examines the question must conclude . . . if we are going to incur annually a \$50,000,000,000 deficit to con-

duct a war, it is necessary to have price control."

But in practice, the cost of living climbed steadily during the war through deterioration of quality, substitution of standard labels by new brands at higher prices, diversion of goods to the black market, and numerous other shady methods.

In the cause of an imperialist war and billions of dollars in profits, Congress was willing to pass price controls—in return for wage-freezing and failure to enforce price ceilings. But now the desire of the people for effective price controls to help maintain the standard of living is nothing less than subversive in the eyes of Congress. One after another, Congressmen attacked any attempt to control prices as "Communist."

"By the grace of the Almighty God," declared Senator O'Daniel, "let us not permit them to bring Russia over here and force communism upon the great and good people of America."

The Democratic Senator placed stacks of telegrams into the Congressional Record approving his filibuster against the bill later vetoed by Truman. "Thank God," reads one of the typical messages, that "there is a real American still in the Senate who does not fear the 15,000,000 CIO, PAC Comities in these United States."

IVAN THE TERRIBLE —KREMLIN VERSION

By Joseph Hansen

According to a July 7 Moscow dispatch, Sergel Eisenstein, the famous film director, is suffering a heart attack. The sudden seizure came just after he had finished cutting the second part of a film on Ivan the Terrible. By strange coincidence, the Stalinist authorities reveal in the same dispatch that the picture has been condemned.

"Oddly," continues the dispatch, "heart attacks seem to haunt those interested in the life of Ivan the Terrible. Alexei Tolstoy suffered a heart attack just after he had finished the second volume of his trilogy written around Ivan's life, and Nicolai Khmelo, the actor portraying Ivan in the play written by Tolstoy, had a heart attack on the set one day."

What is the reason for this extraordinary epidemic of heart attacks among Stalinist artists assigned to depict Ivan the Terrible?

The Kremlin censors offer no explanation for Eisenstein's collapse. They confine themselves simply to a lofty defense of art and history and a carefully-worded explanation for the dooming of Eisenstein's film. Says Culture and Life, speaking for the Central Committee of the Communist (Stalinist) Party:

"Contrary to historic truth, Ivan the Terrible has not been shown as a progressive statesman, but as a maniac and like a scoundrel who behaves in a crazy manner, surrounded by many young cutthroats he has assembled. It is clear that this film is anti-historical and anti-artistic and could not be released for distribution."

This statement, however, instead of shedding light on the wave of heart attacks, only deepens the mystery. Why is Stalinist officialdom so sensitive about the history of the 16th century? Moreover, what caused Eisenstein to lose his head and become "anti-historical" and "anti-artistic" in filming precisely the historical period of special interest to Stalin? Hasn't Eisenstein faithfully trimmed his films all these years according to the pattern of history furnished by the Kremlin?

The solution to this bizarre mystery, strangely enough, can be found in the coldly factual pages of the Encyclopedia Britannica. "Ivan IV, called 'The Terrible' (1530-1584) . . . had a neurotic strain in his character," declares the Encyclopedia. "He grew up in a brutal and degrading environment where he learnt to hold human life and human dignity in contempt." The mystery begins to clear. Is it possible that the Soviet people sitting down to enjoy a film of Ivan the Terrible might get the hero mixed up with the beloved genius now in the Kremlin?

In the first part of his reign Ivan consolidated Muscovy and extended his territories on a wide scale. Then, continues the Encyclopedia, "Ivan entered upon the second and evil portion of his reign." After the death of his wife, he became "infuriated" against "God and man." During the next ten years (1560-1570) "terrible and horrible things happened in Muscovy. The tsar imagined that every man's hand was against him."

ENIGMA UNRAVELS The enigma is unraveling before our eyes. Obviously no Stalinist official in his right senses could permit the people to see a true picture of Ivan the Terrible. The parallel with the present day tyrant is too obvious.

Ivan the Terrible strangled Phillip "the saintly metropolitan of Moscow" and murdered "St. Philip" of Tver, the Encyclopedia informs us. "In 1570 Tver had to endure, for some reason now difficult to understand, the vengeance of Ivan the Terrible, who ordered the massacre of 90,000 inhabitants of the principality."

This should make it apparent why Eisenstein was hauled away to a "hospital." The audience would have mistaken such scenes for a newsreel of a purge under Stalin. Let us hope that the Kremlin physicians do not poison Eisenstein as their predecessors poisoned the great writer Gorky in June 1936.

Now we come across still more remarkable facts in the Encyclopedia about the bloody despot who had himself crowned the first tsar. He set out to "destroy the second wealthiest city in his tsardom—Great Novgorod. A delator of infamous character, one Peter, had accused the authorities of the city to the tsar of conspiracy; Ivan, without even confronting the Novgorodians with their accuser, proceeded at the end of 1569 to punish them. After ravaging the land he entered the city on Jan. 8, 1570, and for the next five weeks, day after day, massacred batches of every class of the population. Every monastery, church, manor-house, warehouse and farm within a circuit of 100 miles was plundered and left roofless, all goods were pillaged, all cattle destroyed."

The Encyclopedia continues its calm recital of Ivan's ghastly purge almost four centuries ago: "No fewer than 15,000 were massacred at Novgorod alone (60,000 according to some authorities). A famine ensued, and the district of Novgorod fell into utter desolation. Thousands of families were transported to Moscow, Nijni-Novgorod, and other towns of the principality of Moscow."

How the eyes of the Stalinist censors must have bugged when they saw such scenes in the preview of the film! What was Eisenstein trying to do, pull their leg, running in documentary shots of the great purges under Stalin?

The Encyclopedia reports other nasty little items about Ivan like killing his own son "in a fit of ungovernable fury." And then concludes with nice restraint that "His brutal and vicious manners prepared the way for the horrors of the Great Anarchy."

If Eisenstein included such facts, small wonder Stalin decided the film had better be classified as "anti-historical." After all, if the Soviet people are comparing Stalin with Ivan the Terrible, it's politically advisable for him to prove the comparison is really flattering. What better way than to show a film of Ivan the Terrible as "Generalissimo Ivan the Progressive"? And by the way, who's responsible for the failure to expurgate the Encyclopedia Britannica?

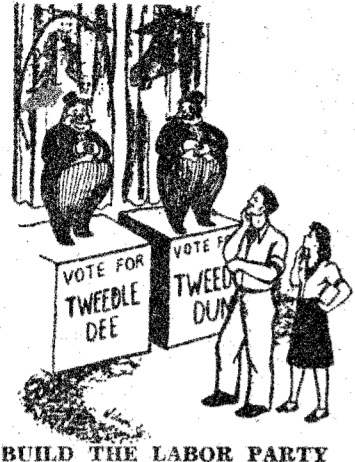
NEW YORK
Hear SWP Candidates
 in the
1946 N. Y. State Elections
First Election Rally
WEDNESDAY, JULY 24, 8 P.M.
 Speakers:
SYLVIA BLECKER, for Attorney-General
JOSEPH HANSEN, for U. S. Senator
FARRELL DOBBS, for Governor
WEBSTER MANOR
Songs by the Militant Chorus
 119 E. 11 St. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Editor Praises Column

Kovalesky: Steelworker's Militant of May 4, fragments of life, saw a cemetery of soldiers who profits of Wall Street.



BUILD THE LABOR PARTY

Canadian Worker Calls 'Militant' Favorite Paper

Editor: Enclosed is a dollar for a one-year subscription to your labor paper. I saw a copy or so and decided I would like to study it; The Militant is my favorite newspaper.

W. M. Canada: Any reader who is not regularly receiving his copy of The Militant should immediately write to Business Manager, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y., who will immediately check any complaint.

In Defense of John L. Lewis

Editor: I saw the article on John L. Lewis on your editorial page (a review of Wechsler's book, Labor Baron). If you know anything about the United Mine Workers Union you should know that the miners instruct John on what they want, or instruct the delegates they send to the convention. That is why they refused to go to work when the government ordered Mr. Lewis to send his men back to work.

S. T. Detroit, Mich.: Have you figured out why Congress and the Senators always want to help the farmers? Most of them, and other wealthy men, own the best farms in the country and get in on the gravy. They squawk about the black market, but they are running it. There wouldn't be any black market if it wasn't allowed.

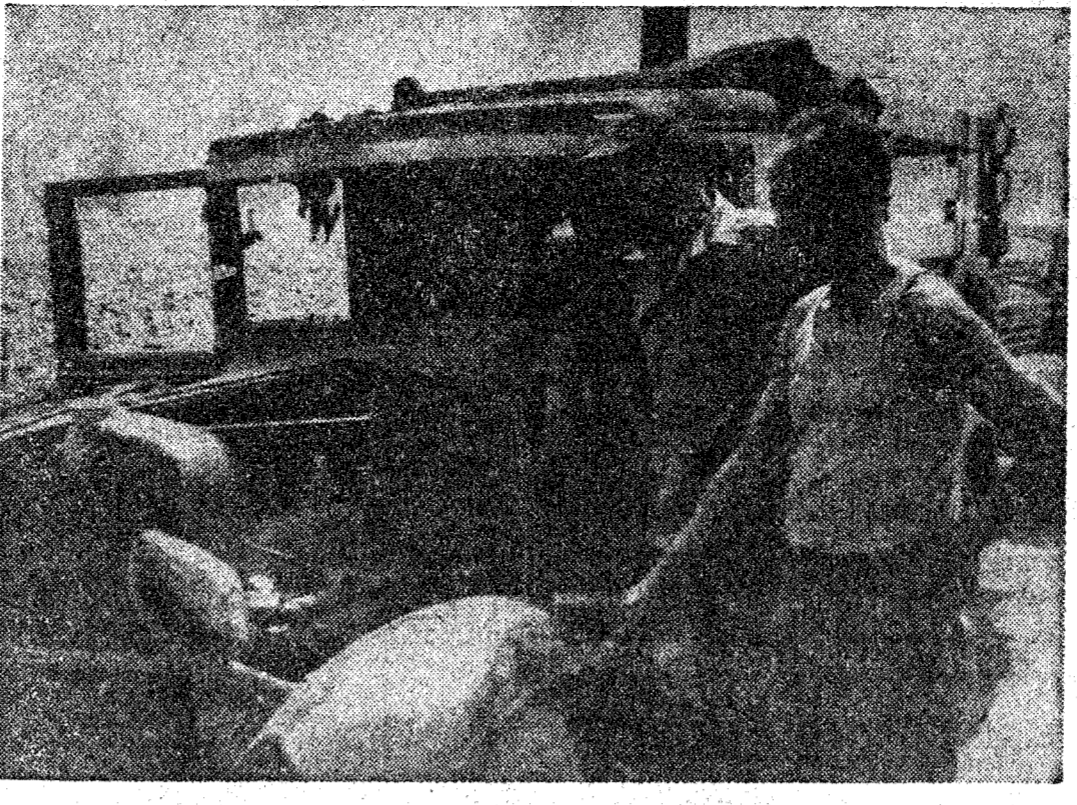
All Writers Opposing Stalin Are Slandered

Editor: Your defense of Trotsky's evaluation of Stalin brings to mind a review appearing in the same issue of New Masses on a book by James T. Farrell, Bernard Clare.

Mr. Farrell's latest endeavor was used as an excuse by the reviewer, and no doubt by the magazine itself, to go off on a verbal drunk against the author, whom they have no love for. Not only is he a bad author, but he never was any good, in fact he had and has no talent whatsoever. Now why do you suppose he has earned the scorn of a literary critic? Can you guess? Because he is an enemy of the Soviet Union! Just the same as the friends of the Soviet see no socialism there and no hopes of it under Stalin, therefore he becomes an enemy of the Soviet.

Norman Johnstone Westville, N. J.

Cannery Strikers' Truck Smashed By Scabs



Wallace Koontz and Joseph Brown, members of AFL Meat Cannery and Farm Workers Union, Local 56, look over the remains of a truck which had been used to bring food and supplies to the pickets. The truck was smashed by strikebreakers in the employ of the Starkey Farms at Morrisville, Pennsylvania. The food barons, extorting billions from the workers by high prices, use methods like this to keep their workers slaving at substandard wages.

New York Farmers Conducted Historic 10-Year Rent Strike

Editor: The current proposals for rent strikes to fight the real estate profiteers, reminds me of an incident in American history that isn't taught in school. It was a rent strike of poor farmers that lasted a decade, from 1839 to 1850.

In January, 1839, a wealthy landowner named Stephen Van Rensselaer died. He owned most of the territory around Reidsville, New York (near Albany). He had allowed tenant farmers to accumulate their rental debts for years—but willed that on his death, the full payment must be made to his creditors.

PRICES SKYROCKET, WAGES LAG

Editor: I enclose a page from a Reading, Pennsylvania paper which gives a clear picture of prices in August 1939 as compared to today's exorbitant figures. Living costs soared from 100 to as much as 500 per cent in seven years.

The best way to answer the phony BLS statistics on living costs is to take the boss stooges on a shopping tour, or show them the list below, taken from the boss press itself.

Table with 4 columns: Item, Aug. 1939, OPA Average July 1946, Per Cent Increase. Items include Ham, Chuck, Pork Loin, Flour, Cheese, Chicken, Hamburger, Peaches, Watermelon.



John Russo Reading, Pa.



S.S., a Militant booster in New Castle, Pa., sent in four subscriptions with this modest note: "Here are a few subs from New Castle. Hope to have more in the future."

Another Militant booster in Lewes, Del., paid for a sub to be sent to his friend in San Francisco.

Our anonymous friend in Washington, D. C., has again asked us to send issues of The Militant to a list of his friends.

Jarvis Dusenbery of Perry, N. Y., contributed \$10 to the Militant Fund. This is the second contribution within a few weeks.

Comrade Jarvis and S.S. of New Castle, together with the Militant boosters in Lewes and Washington, are out in the forefront getting their friends to read The Militant.

Goldie Goldman of Philadelphia, while hospitalized, thought about The Militant. And so while waiting for an operation she sold subs to the other patients. That's the spirit of the Militant Army! We hope you have a speedy recovery, Goldie.

We welcome Leon Forth, new literature agent for Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party. Letters indicate this branch is a beehive of activity.

Detroit Branch continues to send in subs at a good rate, despite the fact that E. Brent reports "this call-back work is going slow." In the last 10 days she has sent in 25 subs.

Yetta Fine of San Pedro Branch

The initiative of the San Diego Branch will undoubtedly increase newsstand sales. Jerome Williams reports: "We are making our own stands for grocery and drug stores that already have The Militant for sale. On the stands we post the placard advertising the paper. We intend to follow the procedure of approaching new stores with this specially-made stand to insure a good display of the paper."

Akron Branch obtained two one-year subs by following a lead. Milt Genevin writes: "We visited Mr. Carmichael last night after hearing from the Socialist Workers Party that he had clipped and sent in an interest coupon from The Militant. He is planning to join. The other sub was taken by his brother-in-law."

Eloise Gordon of the Pittsburgh Branch reports that "the layoffs in steel have been very protracted and hard on the workers financially. An example—three of our steel contacts have had their phones removed. But soon there should be a pick up and we will go to town on renewals."

E. Jarvis of Cincinnati, Ohio, covered the NAACP Convention with The Militant. He sold six subs to the paper and states: "I spoke to many people who already subscribe to The Militant and a few more people have now become interested in our literature."

PHILADELPHIA Open Forum "Growth Of Progressive Unionism" From Gompers To The Present Day FRIDAY, JULY 26 Militant Labor Forum 1303 Girard 8 p.m. Admission Free

OUR PROGRAM:

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

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 116 University Place New York 3, New York I would like: [] To join the Socialist Workers Party. [] To obtain further information about your organization. [] To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city. NAME (Please Print) STREET CITY POSTAL ZONE STATE

Large Crowd At Mid-West Classes And Sports

By Myra Tanner Weiss: Mid-West Vacation Camp and School on Little Traverse in Michigan has a weekly capacity of 50 vacationers over the July 4 holidays, we somehow managed about 70 comrades and friends. They had Chicago, Youngs, Toledo, Detroit, Philadelphia, and many other

Some of our comrades in the UAW came up from Detroit and Flint. We arranged a special conference on July 4 in the dining room to hear reports on the new developments in the trade unions with the growing inflation. As a follow-up, Comrade Ward gave a very excellent lecture Friday night on causes of inflation, the OPA, and our fighting slogan of the Sliding Scale of Wages to meet the Rising Cost of Living.

Monday night was very warm so just before bed time we had a swimming party. In the dark warm water we could float on our backs and watch the stars. We climaxed the evening's swim with our usual songfest and story-telling on the raft.

NEW YORK Public Meetings STALINISM OR LENINISM Thursday, July 25, 8 p.m. HARLEM The Fruits of Stalin's Foreign Policy Speaker: DAVID WEISS 103 W. 110th, Room 23 BROOKLYN Stalinism: The Betrayal of Leninism Speaker: M. STEIN, organizational secretary, SWP 635 Fulton St.

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. Every Sunday: Beach Party at Brighton Beach between Bay 7-8 (take BMT to Ocean P-way). Open Forum: Every Friday, 8 p.m., at 116 University Place. Dancing, refreshments follow. Brooklyn: Class on "Struggle for Negro Equality." Instructor: Harry Robinson. Every Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. at Brooklyn headquarters. SWP, 635 Fulton Street. Dancing, refreshments. Queens — Open forums every Wednesday at Odd Fellows Temple, 160th St. and 90th Ave., 8 p.m. PHILADELPHIA. — Youth Forums held every Saturday, 8 p.m. 1303-05 W. Girard, 2nd floor. LOS ANGELES. — Socialist Youth Club meets every Thursday, 8 p.m., at SWP headquarters, 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Educationals 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.

Mail This Blank For Your Reservation At Mid-West Vacation Camp And School Season June 30-Aug. 17 Adults \$25 week, Children \$15 OSCAR COOVER, Manager Grass Lake, Mich. Reserve accommodations for below from to Family [] Couple [] Single [] (check one) List all who will attend: Name (Mr., Mrs., Miss) List Children and Age I enclose \$ (as deposit) (full payment) Name of Applicant (Please sign) Address City & Zone State

World War II And The Monopolies

Big Business Grows Bigger

By Art Preis

World War II didn't bring the promised "four freedoms." It didn't bring lasting peace, plenty and security. But it did make American Big Business bigger. It did increase the concentration of wealth and economic power in the hands of the giant monopolies.

These monopolies—owning most of America's industries, transport, raw materials, food processing and distribution, financial institutions—are controlled by a tiny oligarchy of America's sixty richest families. They own most of this country. They rule it. And it is their armed forces and economic penetration which are reaching out to rule the whole world too.

How much of this country this ruling oligarchy owns and how much they have increased their ownership and control through World War II, is the subject of a recently-published report prepared for the Senate Small Business Committee by the Smaller War Plants Corporation (SWPC), entitled Economic Concentration In World War II. Packed into the 358 pages of this report are facts which confirm to the hilt the contentions of The Militant and the Socialist Workers Party that the war was inspired by and benefitted only Big Business.

"Economic Royalists" Get Fatter

Roosevelt, at the start of his presidential career in 1933, promised to "drive the money-changers from the temple" and assailed the "economic royalists." But, as the conclusive evidence of this Senate report shows, the "economic royalists" fattened during his peacetime regime and during his wartime rule grew to unprecedented wealth and power.

"The relative importance of big business particularly the giant corporations, increased sharply during the war, while the position of small business declined," the report demonstrates. In September 1939, start of World War II, the value of all usable production facilities in the United States was about 40 billion dollars.

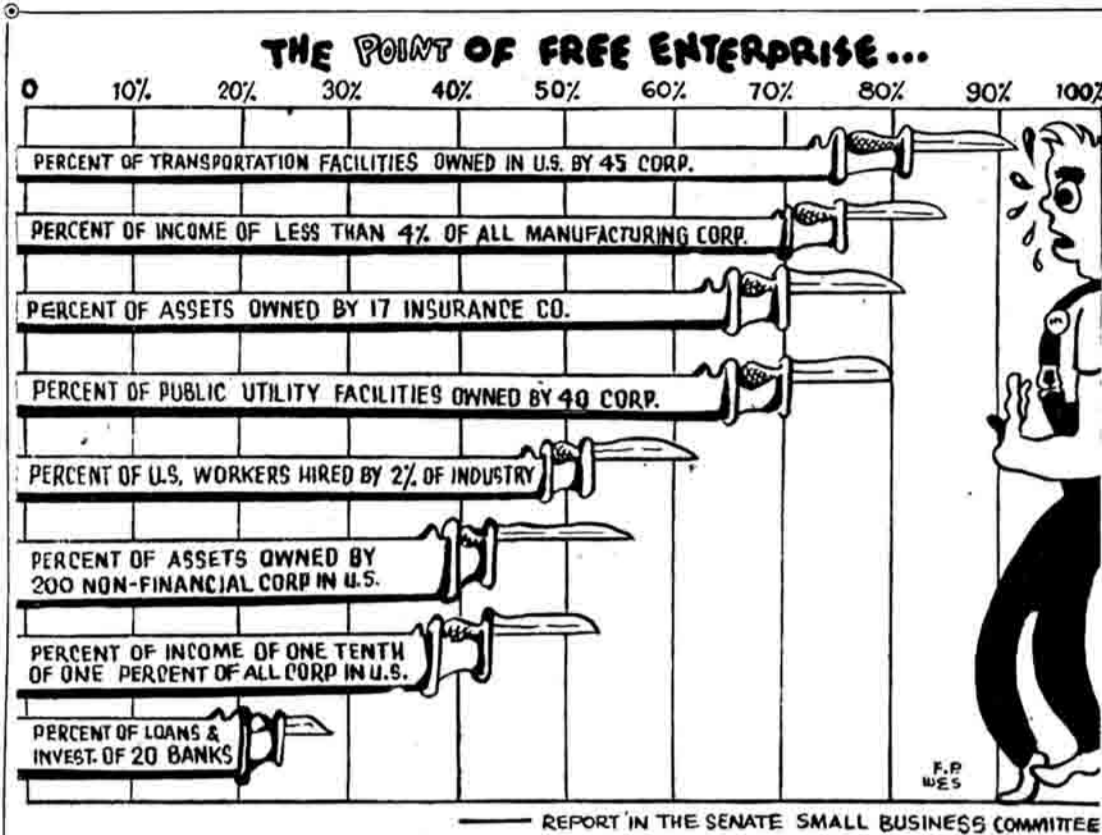
BUT—just 250 of the largest corporations had 25.9 billion dollars of these capital assets—65.7 per cent!

During the war, 26 billion dollars of production facilities were added—two-thirds from the pockets of the American people by way of the U. S. Treasury. Of these facilities, says the report, "about \$20,000,000,000 of the \$26,000,000,000 wartime plant is usable for the production of peacetime products either immediately or after only minor conversion." Thus, there is today "a total of some 60 billion dollars of postwar usable facilities."

"Who then controls this vast productive plant?" asks the report. "The answer to these questions may be obtained by examining the holdings of the Nation's 250 largest manufacturing companies—31 of which are controlled by five financial interest groups."

"If these 250 industrial giants finally acquire the 8.9 billion dollars of usable federally financed facilities on which they generally hold purchase options, their facility holdings will come to 38.5 billion dollars, 66.5 per cent of total usable facilities and almost as much as the entire 39.6 billion dollars held before the war by all of the more than 75,000 manufacturing corporations in existence."

250 GIANT CORPORATIONS OWN 2/3 OF MANUFACTURING PRODUCTION FACILITIES IN AMERICA TODAY.



World War II And The Monopolies

WHO OWNS AMERICA

The following are extracts from Economic Concentration and World War II, the report of the Senate Small Business Committee:

The relatively few giant corporations of the country which have come to dominate our entire economy are, themselves, largely owned by a few thousand stockholders and are controlled by a mere handful of huge financial interests . . .

The National Resources Committee was able to determine upon eight more or less clearly defined large interest groups. Each of these exercise common influence and control over many of the giant corporations . . .

The control of these eight interest groups over the 250 largest corporations represented approximately 29 per cent of all non-financial and banking assets. Together the eight interest groups controlled 106 of the 250 largest corporations and nearly two-thirds of their combined assets. No attempt was made to include the assets of smaller corporations falling under their control, though there are many of them . . .

The largest of the eight interest groups is that known as Morgan-First National . . . J.

P. Morgan & Co. and the First National Bank of New York . . . The group includes 41 of the 250 large corporations, 10 of which had two or more directors in common with J. P. Morgan & Co. It is made up of 13 industrial corporations headed by the United States Steel Corporation . . . 12 utility corporations, including the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. . . 11 major railroads or railroad systems . . . and five financial institutions . . .

The Kuhn-Loeb group . . . includes 13 major railroads or railroad systems, the Western Union Telegraph Co., and one bank.

Three interest groupings derive principally from family interests well established in the industrial field—Rockefeller, Mellon and du Pont. The largest of these, the Rockefeller group, includes six large oil companies and one bank—Chase National Bank, the largest in the country. The Mellon group includes nine industrial corporations, one railroad, two utilities, and two banks . . . The third family group, du Pont, includes four of the Nation's largest companies—three industrials and one bank . . .

CLEVELAND GROUP, OWN THESE 31 CORPORATIONS.

The direction in which Big Business has been heading—aided by two bonanza world wars—has been shown by other illuminating figures. Corporations with manufacturing assets of

more than \$50,000,000 each—"the giants of industry" as the report calls them—in 1934 controlled 37 per cent of all such assets in the country. By 1940, these "economic royalists" controlled 44 per cent. In 1942, blessed by war, these 205 corporations owned 49 per cent of all corporate manufacturing assets.

The bigger the corporations, the increasingly bigger proportion of all profits gravity they have been lapping up. The report states: "The largest income recipients—those receiving \$5,000,000 annual net income and over—have grown steadily in importance. For example, in 1918 they accounted for 34.2 per cent of the total net income received by all manufacturing corporations. During the depression the largest income recipients declined in importance. SINCE 1934, HOWEVER, THE LARGEST INCOME RECIPIENTS HAVE INCREASED THEIR POSITION, AND IN 1942, THE CORPORATIONS WITH \$5,000,000 AND MORE ANNUAL NET INCOME ACCOUNTED FOR 50.7 PER CENT OF THE TOTAL." (Our emphasis)

Own 49 Per Cent of Assets

By contrast, the small businessmen, those whom Roosevelt and Truman after him promised to save, are being forced more and more to the wall. "The smallest income recipients—those with annual net income of less than \$250,000—have shown a decrease in importance over the years. In 1918, this group received 23.4 per cent of the total net income of all manufacturing corporations. Their proportionate share had decreased to 19.1 per cent in 1929 . . . and by 1942 their share had decreased to only 11.6 per cent."

The only group which improved its relative position in the economy as a whole consisted of the largest firms, with 1,000 or more employees. In 1939, these firms employed 30 per cent of all wage earners. "By 1943, these figures had risen to 44 per cent."

But those "few giants" employing 10,000 or more, "accounted for 13 per cent of total employment in 1939, and for fully 31 per cent of the total in 1944."

Thus the war gave the big monopolies not only a greater share of the wealth and productive facilities—it gave them an immeasurably greater direct control over the lives of the working people.

Deadly Blow At "Little Man"

At the same time, the war struck a deadly blow at the little business men. "The record of the war years shows a constant increase in the importance of big business and a constant decline in that of the little concerns. This was due, in part, to the COMPLETE DISAPPEARANCE OF HALF A MILLION SMALL RETAIL, SERVICE, AND CONSTRUCTION FIRMS." (Our emphasis)

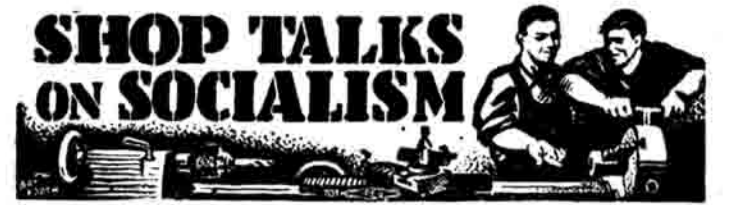
The same tiny gang who owned most of America and ruled it in 1919 and 1939, own more of it today.

Only 10,000 persons (0.008 per cent of the population) owned one-fourth, and 75,000 (0.06 per cent of the population) owned one-half of all corporate stock in 1939.

The top one per cent of shareholders owned 60 per cent of the outstanding stock of the 200 largest non-financial corporations.

Just eight families and interlocked financial groups—including the Morgans, Mellons, Rockefellers, Du Ponts and Kuhn-Loeb—controlled outright 106 of the 250 largest corporations and two-thirds of their combined assets.

They are the ones who own most of America. The war was good to them.



Workers Produce All Wealth

By V. Grey

The wealth of the rich is made up entirely of surplus value produced by the poor. All profits, rents, interest, dividends, etc., are produced by the working people. They all come from the surplus over and above their own food, clothing and shelter, which workers also produce.

For one rich man there are many poor. And so, the argument is often heard that none of us would be much better off if all the wealth in the world were divided "evenly."

The Woolworth millions were made from billions of five- and ten-cent purchases. The labor of thousands of stock-girls and stock-handlers was necessary to transfer this fortune into the Woolworth hands. It does take many workers to make one capitalist, and many small contributors of surplus value to make one huge capitalist. Why all the fuss about the ten, twenty or thirty dollars a week that each worker gives his capitalist in profits? That ten, twenty or thirty dollars would not make the worker rich. Why should we socialists write books, organize parties, and spend our lives in the effort to abolish this system for just a matter of ten, twenty or thirty dollars a week more income?

Of course, even this small amount of extra money would make a tremendous difference in the worker's life. Some of the people who got well-paid jobs during the war managed to get out of debt for the first time in their lives. That was something!

But it is still not living as human beings should—to ride flivvers when fine cars can be made, or to live in tumble-down houses when modern insulated, air-conditioned homes can be provided. If the rich can live in luxurious homes today, why should not the poor have comfortable homes tomorrow? But an extra few dollars a week would not accomplish this for the worker.

The whole point is that Socialism would not just divide up the wealth, but would increase the production in order to divide up the things that are produced.

There were 45 billion dollars in corporation profits during the war. This would go pretty far toward buying groceries if the working people had it. But it would still be only a drop in the bucket compared to the more than 300 billion dollars worth of war goods that was produced. The workers produced food, clothing and shelter—such as they were—for themselves, and instead of producing nice things and luxuries besides, they made 300 million dollars worth of smoke.

Profits alone do not reveal how great a surplus product is produced. The example of the war production proves that. And what is even more important, war production figures do not fully reveal how great a surplus can be produced. For the profit system has its slack times when things cannot be sold, and workers cannot be put to work creating surplus values—or any values at all.

Had there been no war, there could never have been all the production there was—under capitalism. Unemployment would have been tremendous. Only the war could put capitalism to work. And yet if peacetime goods could have been produced if only to the same extent as the goods of war, what a wonderful age we would all have said it was!

We produced 300 billion dollars worth of materials over and above our own necessities and the capitalists' luxuries. Three hundred billion hours of working time were spent making things to go up in smoke.

Suppose now, that we could have spent those hours making the things to make life better instead of worse. Suppose the factory doors are flung open for the poor to enter and make what their hearts desire. Would anyone go ragged or hungry? Not in the whole world. In fact we all could live like human beings.

(Next week: How much is Three Hundred Billion?)

Wages, Prices And Profits

Rising Prices Do Not Result From Wage Costs

By Warren Creel



WARREN CREEL

The newspaper and radio spokesmen for the capitalists, in making their drive against wages, talk as if the employers had free choice on the prices they charge. They say if the workers get more wages the employers can and simply must raise prices. They will do this and pass the cost on to the consumer. That implies that the employer is free to raise prices when he wants to. Or to put it another way, it means that prices come, not from market conditions, but from the employer's free choice.

Looking at it from the other direction, if prices come from market conditions then an employer is not at all free to pass on to the consumer the cost of a wage raise. The rise in his wage payments will not change market conditions, so he'll have to keep on selling at the old price. It will still be the best price. Therefore he will have to take the cost of the raise out of his profit margin. He will not be able to pass the cost on to the consumer.

Something else follows if prices come from market conditions. We see today that the employers are anxious to raise prices. That only means that they know that the market conditions will allow higher prices. They see a chance, under these conditions of an inflation market, to take more money and make more profits. That's all it means. This rush to raise prices does not at all mean that they are pushed by higher wage costs.

It also follows that under the market conditions we have today they are going to raise prices anyway. They are only doing it slowly from political caution, to keep from arousing the workers by a too sudden increase. All their efforts to blame wage increases for higher prices are just a smokescreen. They are raising prices to get high profits, and they can get even higher profits if they can keep wages down.

The furious way the bosses fight against wage raises is the best proof that the raise comes out of the employer's profits, and not out of the consumer. They wouldn't care at all about a cost that really went on the consumer.

As Karl Marx said in the pamphlet Value, Price and Profit, on this same question of wages and prices, "The will of the capitalist is certainly to take as much as possible. What we have to do is not to talk about his will, but to enquire into his power, the limits of that power, and the character of those limits."

We can start this inquiry by looking at the facts of today. Does the demand for higher prices come because of high wage costs?

During the war the government promised to freeze both wages and prices. The government's Bureau of Labor Statistics put out a cost of living index, called by its initials the BLS index. Through this the government claimed all through the war, and still claims, that prices were kept down. But such government statistics are faked to serve the employers. When the government statisticians put out statistics for business men they sometimes need to come closer to the truth.

In the February, 1946 issue of the Survey of Current Business, put out by the U. S. Department of Commerce, they comment (page 26) that the BLS index shows only a 44 per cent increase in food prices from 1940 to 1945. Yet, they say, in 1945 consumers spent almost twice as much money for food as in 1940, and there was only just about the same amount of food to buy. So food prices really went up 100 per cent, they conclude, "the average consumer obtained very little more in 1945 than he did for half the expenditure in 1940."

In clothing the BLS index shows only a 33 per cent rise. Yet the same Survey reports: "Consumer expenditures in 1945 for clothing were more than double those in 1940.

Again the available evidence suggests that there has been very little increase in physical volume." In fact they must admit the records show "an actual decline" in the amount of clothing that people got for twice the money.

Yet the clothing manufacturers, the meat packers and other food processors, who have cashed in on a 100 per cent rise in prices, are pressing for still higher prices.

The Department of Commerce report showed, by clear evidence, that in 1945, "Prices were ample to cover costs and leave a satisfactory margin of profit." Figuring everything on the employers' side, still it is clear that any wartime increase in wages "is appreciably less than the actual increase in prices paid by consumers." They conclude that there is enough room in the employers' profit margin to pay wage raises without any increase in prices. Instead, prices could be reduced, "bringing these prices more nearly in line with the official index."

Clearly, it is not the wage cost of production that leads the employers to seek higher prices.

(The above is the second in a series of articles on Wages, Prices and Profits. The first appeared last week, with the author's name omitted through an unfortunate typographical error. The third, "High Productivity Doesn't Raise Wages," will appear next week.)

Akron CIO Launches Fighting Drive Against Price-Gougers, Rent Hogs

(Special to The Militant)

AKRON, O., July 13. — Several hundred people attended a mass meeting here last night called by the CIO Council and supported by many other organizations including the American Veterans Committee, the AFL, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen to officially launch a campaign against the rising cost of living.

Speakers reported that a runaway inflation was hitting this area and that many families were threatened with evictions by gouging landlords.

Prior to the rally, the CIO Council had voted unanimously to re-install in their homes any tenants evicted for non-payment

of increased rents. Many calls are coming into the CIO office reporting rent gouging by landlords. The Akron workers are preparing to utilize the effective methods of the 1930's when flying squadrons of unionists came to the aid of many families threatened by eviction.

MANY RECOMMENDATIONS I. H. Watson, president of CIO United Rubber Workers Firestone Local 7, explained to last night's meeting how many commodities were being withheld from the market by the money-stuffed trusts holding out for higher prices. He stated that this was one of the principal causes of the present inflation. The meeting adopted a series

of recommendations made by the committee in charge. These included the launching of a campaign to get written pledges from local citizens not to buy any-

Philadelphia 'Militant' Picnic All Day SUNDAY, JULY 28 Burholme Park Food . . . Sports Take northbound No. 50 car marked Fox Chase which goes out Rising Sun Ave. Walk from end of line. Admission Free

thing but absolute necessities; to call upon the local judges to declare a moratorium on evictions until some form of rent control is instituted; to organize a mass demonstration at the next City Council meeting to demand a rent control law; and to establish committees to visit retail merchants who are charging exorbitant prices and picket stores that do not cooperate in keeping prices down.

The sentiment of the meeting was to take militant action where necessary, and on the broadest possible scale. Picketing of stores with the use of sound trucks, radio broadcasts and newspaper advertising will be used in developing the campaign.

Memorial Meeting At School Honors Antoinette Konikow

(Special to The Militant)

LITTLE PLEASANT LAKE, Mich., July 10—The students and the staff at the Mid-West Vacation School paid tribute to the memory of Comrade Antoinette Konikow at a memorial meeting held at sundown on the shores of Little Pleasant Lake last Wednesday evening.

The principal speaker, William F. Warde, director of the School, pointed out the unique position which Comrade Konikow occupied in our movement. Her ties reached back to the first group of Russian Marxists who formed the Social-Democratic Labor Party out of which the Bolshevik Party grew. As honorary member of our National Committee she was the living embodiment of the best revolutionary traditions in European socialism.

JOINED TROTSKYISTS In the United States she participated in the left wing of the Socialist movement from 1893 on. One of the most heroic chapters in her life of service to labor was her anti-war activity during World War I when she braved persecution and patriotic hysteria to tell American and foreign-born workers the truth about Wall Street's imperialist and reactionary character. "Comrade Konikow's defense of the ideas of international socialism in wartime during 1917-18 directly inspired the similar stand taken by our Socialist Workers' Party leaders in World War II," said Warde.

"She was vindicated in her stand with the victory of the workers in the Russian Revolution of October 1917. She subsequently became one of the founders of the Communist Party in the United States. She was always in the vanguard of the vanguard defending Marxism against all who abandoned it. When the first Trotskyist leaders were expelled from the American Communist Party for defending Lenin's program she was among the first to join them in 1928.

"Since that time, despite her advanced age, she served tirelessly as an organizer and educator of our party. When we achieve the socialist society for which she fought so self-sacrificingly, an honored place will be reserved for the memory of Antoinette Konikow."

Myra Tanner Weiss, organizer of the SWP in Los Angeles, who is attending the Trotsky School, spoke on Comrade Konikow's great inspiration to all women who aspire to participate in the fight for socialism. Oscar Coover and C. Thomas gave their personal reminiscences of Comrade Konikow.

The memorial meeting sent a message of condolence to her family and fittingly closed with the singing of the "Internationale."

MEMORIAL MEETING

1869—Antoinette Konikow—1946

In honor of her six decades of service to revolutionary socialism

Newark

Friday, July 19 8:30 p.m.

Speaker: GEORGE WEISSMAN Friend and Co-Worker of Antoinette Konikow SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 423 Springfield Ave.

Stalin's New Blood Purge Recalls Frameup Trials Of Ten Years Ago

By Joseph Hansen

The present purge in the Soviet Union and the Balkan areas under Stalinist domination does not seem to have excited much surprise anywhere. Concentration camps, prisons, firing squads and the pickaxe to silence political opposition are now universally recognized as one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Kremlin regime.

But a decade ago it had not yet become common knowledge that Stalin's rule represents a complete break with the Marxist program and tradition of Lenin and Trotsky. Thus the second Moscow Frame-up Trial, like the first one, created a world-wide sensation. Only a few months before, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov, Ter-Vaganyan, etc., after making the mistake of supporting Stalin's faction, had received a bullet in the brain. Now a second group of Lenin's comrades who had made the same mistake were headed for the GPU slaughter house.

FIGURES IN FRAME-UP

The Stalinist prosecutor, Vyshinsky, was a Menshevik during the Civil War days. Facing this former opponent of the Bolshevik regime were figures who had played a heroic role in founding the Soviet Union:

Pyatakov, one of the outstanding Bolshevik leaders in the Ukraine in 1918; Lenin considered him one of the most competent administrators in the party.

Serebriakov, former secretary of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party.

Muralov, hero of all three insurrections in Moscow — 1905, February and October 1917. Military governor of Moscow under Lenin.

Sokolnikov, in 1917 member of the Central Committee and editor of Pravda together with Stalin. Later People's Commissar of Finance, then ambassador to London.

Kadek, one of the most brilliant journalists the Soviet Union has produced.

An incident in the life of defendant Drobnis exemplifies the background of these men. He was condemned to death twice by the White Guards during the Civil War. One time he was stood up before a firing squad and shot. The bullet did not prove fatal however. When the Red Army captured the town and examined the heap of corpses, they found Drobnis still alive. Stalin's firing squad proved more efficient.

These men were accused of conspiring to bring back the capitalism they had helped overthrow, of plotting to kill Stalin and his associates and of betraying the workers' state to Japanese and Nazi German imperialism. Alongside these world-famous former Bolsheviks were utterly unknown creatures of the GPU who were included as in the first trial, to bolster the frame-up and link the principal figures with Trotsky.

TROTSKYISTS UNDERSTOOD
The general amazement at this new trial was not shared by the Trotskyists. They were not only prepared for another frame-up but one of their leaders, Walter Held, had even predicted its main outlines. Held was a German



STALIN

Trotskyist whom the Nazis had pursued from country to country until like Trotsky he found exile in Norway. On September 30, 1936, shortly after the first Moscow trial, Held summarized the frame-up of Zinoviev, Kamenev and the rest as follows:

"Considered in the mirror of public opinion, the Moscow trial is a terrible fiasco. Not for nothing was the yesterday still omnipotent head of the GPU, Yagoda, degraded to the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs. The task of his successor in the direction of the GPU, Yezhov, consists in staging new attempts at assassination, 'conspiracies,' etc., in order the better to motivate the accusations against Trotsky. Undoubtedly efforts will be made to shift Trotsky's 'terroristic base of operations' from Copenhagen to Oslo."

The first frame-up blew up, it will be recalled, when it was proved that the Copenhagen "Hotel Bristol", where defendant Holtzman "confessed" meeting Trotsky's son Leon Sedov, had been torn down years before the alleged meeting.

Walter Held explained that "the reference to Copenhagen as the place where Trotsky met the 'terrorists,' one of the weakest points in this extraordinarily fantastic edifice, has meaning only as a parallel or a prelude to Oslo, that is, as a means of pressure and menace against the Norwegian government. No hundred percent success has been attained thus far. The task of the new chief of the GPU therefore consists in producing an Oslo-amalgam."

Held's prediction was borne out the very first day of the second trial. On January 23, 1937, Pyatakov "confessed" what was politically required by the Stalinist frame-up artists. While on a mission to Berlin for the Soviet government in the "first half of December 1935," declared Pyatakov; "we got into an airplane and set off. We did not stop anywhere, and at approximately 3 p.m. we landed at the airfield in Oslo." From there he was whisked in an automobile "for about 30 minutes" and came to

STALINIST HACKS KEEP SILENCE ON NUREMBERG

"Trotsky was an agent of German fascism," asserts Samuel Sillen in the July 7 Worker. With this slander, Sillen proves once more that the favorite weapon of a Stalinist hack is muck.

Here is how Sillen tries to "prove" his slander: Max Eastman was a "translator" of some of Trotsky's works. Eastman in turn wrote an article for the Reader's Digest in 1943 "attacking Russian war relief." Then Gerald L. K. Smith "praised" Eastman's article. So "the Axis radio summarized it for an anti-United Nations propaganda broadcast to Asia."

You still don't believe this makes Trotsky "an agent of German fascism"? All right, Sillen lets go with the works: "The proof is in the files of the Columbia Broadcasting Company, which recorded the broadcast."

If this makes Leon Trotsky "an agent of German fascism," what was Stalin when he signed a pact with Hitler which the Nazis triumphantly broadcast throughout the world?

Yet the "proofs" submitted by Sillen are precisely the kind submitted by the prosecution in the notorious Moscow frame-up trials. It is self-evident how quickly they would collapse under the slightest honest examination.

Small wonder the Stalinists are discreetly silent about Natalia Trotsky's demand to the Nuremberg court to permit her attorney to cross-examine the Nazi defendants such as Rosenberg and Hess. In the Moscow Trials Hess was alleged to be the contact man between Trotsky and Hitler. The lie was an essential part of the frame-up. That is why the Stalinist prosecution, throughout the entire eight months of the trial, at Nuremberg, has not breathed a word about the Moscow trials.

The Stalinist sewer rats know that a Trotskyist attorney at Nuremberg would once again demonstrate to the hilt, as the Dewey Commission did, that the Moscow Trials were frame-ups from beginning to end.

a "small house" and "there I saw Trotsky."

A "CONFESSION"

Pyatakov "confessed" they talked "about two hours." Trotsky "told me," continued Pyatakov, "that he had conducted rather lengthy negotiations with the Vice-Chairman of the German National-Socialist Party — Hess." In accordance with this "agreement" with Hess, Germany and Japan were to get economic and territorial concessions in the event of the defeat of the Soviet Union in war. Meanwhile Pyatakov was to return and start wrecking and murdering activities. And so, having been instructed, Pyatakov flew back to Berlin in the airplane.

How fantastic this confession sounded, can be judged from the fact that Pyatakov had been a loyal Stalinist and bitter opponent of Trotsky since 1928!

Trotsky from his Norway exile demanded that the prosecutor should cross-examine Pyatakov on his alleged airplane trip. What name did he use on his passport?



NATALIA TROTSKY

What happened at the customs—What hotel did he stay in after the alleged visit? And so on.

It would not take many answers on such specific points to expose the frame-up. Pyatakov, for instance, had already said it took 30 minutes to reach Trotsky's house. Yet Trotsky lived about 45 miles from Oslo over difficult snow-bound roads that could not even be climbed without chains.

Naturally, Vyshinsky, who was closely adhering to the script prepared by the GPU for the frame-up, made no response whatever to these specific questions. His job was to cover up the frame-up, not expose it. The press however made an investigation in Oslo and discovered a most startling fact. No foreign airplane at all had landed at Oslo in the whole month of December!

This fact made such a sensation that virtually every newspaper outside the Soviet Union gave the story front-page prom-

inence. On January 29, the Arbeiderbladet, organ of the Government Party in Norway, proved that no foreign airplane had landed at Kjeller airdrome "from September 1935 to May 1936."

Pyatakov's "confession" was thus exposed as a lie while the trial was still going on! Konrad Knudsen, a member of the Norwegian Parliament, wired Vyshinsky directly, calling his attention to the exposure which was being headlined throughout the world. Everyone waited to see how the prosecution would respond to the collapse of the frame-up. Would the defendants be freed?

Stalin, however, has his own way of reacting when caught red-handed. Trotsky told the press on January 29: "I am very much afraid that the GPU will make haste to shoot Pyatakov in order to forestall further disconcerting questions and deprive the future international commission of inquiry of the opportunity to demand further clarification from Pyatakov."

Trotsky proved correct. The very next day the trial was brought to a hasty close. And on February 1, two days after

the wire to Vyshinsky, Pyatakov was precipitately killed. Dead men tell no tales.

But it was already too late. Pyatakov's "confession" had become an indelible part of the record, unshakable proof of the frame-up. Stalin liquidated Pyatakov but he could not liquidate the "confession" Pyatakov had made. The second Moscow trial had become another damning indictment of the Stalinist regime.

EXPLAINS SILENCE
In the light of these facts it is easy to see why the Stalinist prosecution at Nuremberg today has never so much as mentioned the slanderous charge about an alleged deal between Trotsky and the Nazis, although this constituted the principal accusation in the Moscow trials. Likewise it is easy to see why the Stalinist prosecution has remained silent about Natalia Trotsky's demand that her attorney be permitted to cross-examine Rudolf Hess and the other Nazi defendants.

The Stalinists understand very well that such a cross-examination would only serve to call world attention once again to the innocence of Trotsky and the guilt of Stalin.

Chicago Terror Against Negroes Fought By SWP

By Robert L. Birchman

(Special to The Militant)

CHICAGO, July 12—The reign of terror against Negroes living in "for whites only" restricted covenant areas continues here unabated. Two more bombings and vandalism in which the plate glass window in a Negro-owned tavern was smashed, in addition to the attacks on the home of Dr. Cooper, took place within the space of one week.

The latest victims of the reign of terror are the Revs. Wilfred McKinley, 5758 Wentworth Ave., and Lillian Engelia McCain, 5762 Wentworth. Both of these bombings took place within a few blocks of Mrs. Grace Hardy's home, which was bombed twice, on the night of May 2 and June 25.

The fire bombs were hurled on the morning of July 4, after the vandals had been stopped in two previous attempts on the night of July 3. Rev. McKinley's garage was destroyed and the windows in his home smashed. Rev. McCain's garage, with a second floor flat, was also demolished by flames.

Rev. McKinley charged that the buildings were set afire while under police protection. There have been numerous attempts to oust Negro residents from this area where anti-Negro prejudice has been inflamed to an explosive point.

Mrs. Lillian Hill, who operates a tailor shop at 5754 Wentworth Ave., states that her windows have been broken several times. "My husband caught two white men after they had broken the windows in my store," she declared. "They were locked up. When brought to court at Stock Yards Police Station, they were dismissed after a fine of \$8.50, cost of the window."

W. Isaacs, owner of a restaurant at 5730 Wentworth, reports that his windows have been broken twice.

A gasoline bomb was found in the yard of Mr. and Mrs. Perry Roberts, 5528 Wentworth, a week after vandals bombed the home of Mrs. Hardy.

Negroes who live in the area claim that police squads assigned to watch their homes and places of business, merely ride by. When they have passed, the terrorists begin their attacks.

On Saturday morning, July 5, the Stanton Avenue Police Station received a call to send a squad car to 3122 Wentworth Ave., where a plate glass window in Canary Inn, operated by Clement Hestor, was smashed by a hurled brick. Despite two policemen on duty and the arrival of the squad car, the terrorists in an old black coupe sped past the Canary Inn three times, bent on destruction. Finally the two youths in the car were arrested, Frank Nardi, 25, 240 West 24 St. and Nathan Chiairelli, 245 West 24th Place, Nardi is a pol-

ice character with a long record, including an attempt to murder for which he is now on probation. In the past several years, numerous cases of bombings, fires, shooting and destruction of property of Negroes in the vicinity between 22nd and 33rd Streets and from Wentworth to Princeton Avenues have occurred.

Eight months ago a restaurant at 3106 Wentworth, owned by a Negro, was destroyed. A church at 30th and Wells St. has been forced to have police guards for several years.

Police officials ignored the bombing of the home of 59 year-old Henry Thomas, Negro owner of a grocery at 2902 Wentworth Ave. in October 1945, despite the fact that it was the third incendiary attempt upon Thomas and his wife. A number of race-hating whites in the district boasted that "niggers will never live in that building in peace," according to the Chicago Defender.

Call Conference In Chicago

CHICAGO, July 12—The Conference to Combat Terrorism Against Minority Groups will be held on Wednesday, July 24, at the Parkway Community Center, 5120 South Parkway. The Conference was called by the Steering Committee elected at the preliminary conference on June 24, with representatives of the NAACP, Socialist Workers Party, Chicago CIO Council, Committee on Racial Equality, Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, and Urban League.

A conference call is being sent to all local unions, minority organizations, Negro and progressive organizations and working class political parties. The purpose of the conference is to mobilize the broadest possible forces for a campaign against the continuous wave of anti-Negro terrorism. This terrorism has received virtually no notice in the daily press, and is ignored by the police and public officials.

The conference will establish its own investigating committee to prevent official whitewashing of race-hating vandals by public officials. It will organize a united defense organization of Negro and other minority groups and the labor movement, to protect the lives and property of the Negro residents.

Youngstown CIO Council Asks Labor Nominee For Governor

(Special to The Militant)

YOUNGSTOWN, O., July 13—The Mahoning County CIO Council went on record unanimously last week urging the Ohio CIO Council to run an independent candidate for governor of Ohio.

At the primaries in May, Democratic Governor Lausche and Republican Herbert were nominated. Herbert's reputation and political bedfellows are so rotten that labor can't give a thought to supporting him. Governor Lausche has turned a deaf ear to all of labor's pleas.

During the steel strike last February, the largest union meeting ever held in Youngstown demanded unemployment compensation for striking workers. Lausche was invited to appear and explain his policy, but instead he sent a sarcastic letter saying that workers had no right to be paid for striking because it was employers who paid for compensation (from profits sweated from the workers, he failed to add).

Then a CIO Council committee from Youngstown went to Columbus and requested Lausche to call a special session of the state legislature to amend the compensation act; but he refused.

Three weeks ago Lausche called a special session of the Legislature, with 20-odd items on the agenda, not a single one of which would benefit labor, veterans or Negroes.

At this point even the less politically advanced CIO Council members saw it would be ridiculous to endorse Lausche. The Council therefore made the first important, though small, move toward a labor party, the campaign for independent labor candidates.

Resistance to this move is expected on the part of the Ohio CIO Council at its executive meeting July 14, which PAC County Chairmen will attend. Success or failure of the Youngstown move will depend almost entirely upon whether or not other County CIO Councils in Ohio also press for an independent candidate for Governor.

Most labor leaders here are very vigorous in their support of the goal of an independent candidate for governor. They know what a progressive step this is. Many feel that independent labor party results will not be far off.

Youngstown CIO In Rally Against Soaring Prices

By C. Peters

(Special to The Militant)

YOUNGSTOWN, O., July 10. — Meeting on the public square last night, 1,500 CIO members and sympathizers demonstrated their determination to find a way of keeping down prices. The rally was organized by the Mahoning County CIO Council, with its president Carl E. Beck acting as chairman.

The main speakers were Robert Lamb, Washington legislative representative of the CIO United Steelworkers, and Tom Downs, Ohio PAC legislative representative. Their statements pointed directly to the need for a labor party, yet they ended up weakly by proposing support for such discredited Democratic Party politicians as U. S. Senator Huffman and anti-labor Governor Lausche.

Their only proposal on fighting inflation was to send letters to Congressmen. This proposal called forth little enthusiasm from their listeners.

The meeting was highlighted by the remarks of C. B. Howard, president of the Youngstown Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which had informed the CIO Council of its hearty support of the mass meeting and its purpose. Howard, who is also president of his AFL local in a railroad shop, pointed out that the Negroes are the first to have their standard of living lowered by price increases. He said that therefore the unions can depend upon them to enter fully into the struggle against the rising cost of living.

DEPRESSION STRUGGLES
In the coming struggles against the landlords, however, the workers have a tremendous advantage over previous years: powerful labor organizations capable of effective, militant action. If the CIO, AFL and Railway Brotherhoods form joint action committees against evictions, the real estate interests will find it difficult to enforce the tremendous thefts they now plan.

month to a year because of constant rent strikes—22 were recorded for the Bronx alone in that period.

While the workers were determinedly fighting against the rent gougers, Richard O. Chittick, executive secretary of the Real Estate Board of New York, tried to cajole them: "Sensible tenants understand that rents must be high in these times." He chastised the courts for delaying evictions, saying "others should not be encouraged to array themselves against the landlords."

Aided by the courts which awarded "gradual" increases, real estate owners raked in ever-higher profits. Rents soared until 1925, three years after other costs had begun to drop in the postwar "recession."

During the terrible misery of

Unions Propose "Flying Squadrons" In The Struggle Against Rent-Gouging

By Ruth Benson

In a quick and militant answer to the greedy landlords who are jacking up rents throughout the country, AFL and CIO unions in Detroit and Flint, Michigan, last week proposed using the auto workers' "flying squadrons" to aid union members threatened by evictions.

This immediate response to the needs of the workers has grown out of a long experience with the gouging real estate interests. The anti-eviction fights of the depression and the stormy conflicts of the months following the First World War have not been forgotten.

POSTWAR LEAP
During the First World War, rents did not soar as rapidly as other living costs, largely because with millions of men in the armed forces, demands for housing were not acute. As soon, however, as the soldiers returned and housing needs increased, the real estate profiteers began to "make up for lost time."

The government itself, in a bulletin entitled "Housing After World War I," issued in 1945, states that rents soared even faster than other prices in 1919-20. It cites as causes, "sales to speculators who immediately raised rents and resold the properties at a price based on the new rent schedule," and "Professional lessees who paid a bonus to owners . . . for the privilege of collecting rents, then increased rents and thereby realized a substantial profit." It de-

scribes how owners of homes put the squeeze on their tenants, using "the threat of rental increases to compel tenants to buy" at outrageous prices.

RENT STRIKES COMMON
These practices and huge increases, says the bulletin, "created much public resentment. RENT STRIKES WERE COMMON (our emphasis). In the larger cities, mass meetings were held and protective associations were formed to curb 'rent profiteering' and prevent wholesale evictions."

Such rent-control laws as were enacted under pressure of this mass action, however, were mostly "declared unconstitutional within a few months." And "practically all the rent control measures applied to only present occupants and permitted reasonable rental increases."

In other words, the "rent-control" measures were fraudulent, passed only to allay the workers' wrath temporarily. The "reasonable" increase, according to the N. Y. Times of August 27, 1920, was "customarily" 25 per cent. However, the increases were often delayed from one

month to a year because of constant rent strikes—22 were recorded for the Bronx alone in that period.

While the workers were determinedly fighting against the rent gougers, Richard O. Chittick, executive secretary of the Real Estate Board of New York, tried to cajole them: "Sensible tenants understand that rents must be high in these times." He chastised the courts for delaying evictions, saying "others should not be encouraged to array themselves against the landlords."

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During the terrible misery of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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SAN FRANCISCO — Visit the San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., corner of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor; open from 12 noon to 4:30 p.m., daily except Sunday. Phone EXbrook 1926.

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

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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.

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

TOLEDO — Visit our headquarters and bookstore at 213 Michigan St. Open Monday through Friday, 11 to 5. Saturday, forum 8 p.m. Open house 9:30-10 p.m.

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

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Diary Of A Steel Worker

A Worker's Child Is Born

By Theodore Kovalesky

The earth is parched and ore-stained near the steel plant. The earth has the look of poverty and barrenness; but with each spring the green things push their way through the scarred crust and shove upwards toward the sun. And the joy of birth is in the air of spring-time.



A door slammed, and I looked up to see my neighbor, Tony Gordini, coming out of one of the blistered, warped, rusty wooden houses. "What are you doing down here, Tony?" I asked. "That's where my sister Anna lives," he said. "She's going to have a baby."

"Yeah, I gotta tell ma to get ready." We walked up Ames St. side by side not slowly, not quickly. I saw the expression of calm joy upon the face of Tony, my neighbor. He had four kids of his own and loved them. His sister, Anna, already had two and now was about to have her third. I caught myself wondering why it was that we, who have nothing other than the power of our two hands to earn us our scant ration of life's necessities, should rejoice at the coming of other little bellies to be fed, other little bodies to be clothed and looked after and guarded from disease and hardship.

Veterans' Problems

Why Congress Can Kick Vets Around

By Alvin Royce

When you follow the runaround the veteran has been getting in Congress, you can't help but wonder why the legislators haven't made some small concessions, at least, with the elections coming up in the fall. The GI Bill of Rights has turned out to be woefully inadequate. H. R. 6811 which would increase pensions and dependency allotments by 20 per cent has been kicked around and shoved aside. Eighty per cent of the disabled vets are jobless and receive less than \$60 a month in pension.

Just to make sure that everybody knows with what contempt they treat the needs of the veteran, these stooges of Wall Street have now decided the veteran must wait five years to receive his terminal pay. During the war these "representatives of the people" would appropriate billions of dollars at the drop of a hat to stuff the pockets of the war millionaires. However, when it comes to a veteran buying a new suit and extra pair of shoes, these gentlemen suddenly become worried about inflation.

Why has Congress refused to grant any real concessions? Because the veterans organizations haven't put up any real struggle. Three major veteran organizations have convened within the last couple of weeks and none of them has seriously dealt with the needs of the veteran. The AVC, which poses as the most liberal of the veteran organizations, refused to take a

stand on the bonus. Of course the issue of decent jobs at decent pay is a more important question, but that is no reason for ignoring the issue of the bonus. With the \$20 a week compensation running out this fall and jobs becoming increasingly scarce, the bonus is not a luxury, as the capitalist press pretends, but an immediate necessity for the veterans.

Three main points were discussed at the convention of the Catholic War Veterans. A resolution opposing a loan to the Soviet Union and another opposing socialized medicine were passed while a third resolution supporting military conscription was also adopted.

The convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars was taken up in great part with vicious and hysterical red-baiting. The fact that five out of six of the officers elected at the convention are World War I veterans shows that the old bureaucracy is still firmly entrenched. The past record of this leadership indicates pretty conclusively that they will not lead a militant struggle in the interests of the veteran.

At none of these conventions were the real desires or needs of the rank and file reflected on the floor. Wall Street fears the potential strength of a militant veterans' movement. But its fears won't affect its policies as long as the veterans' organizations are tied to the apron strings of Big Business.

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Mr. Truman and Mr. Dooley

President Truman last week reaffirmed the administration's support for an "international police force." In an address to the American Council on Education's conference on postwar emergency problems of education and training, he said:

"We don't believe in wars any more, of course, but I do believe that if we can implement the United Nations Organization with a police force behind it sufficient to make its mandates stand up, we can have world peace."

This question of an international police force is not a new one. In fact, it was analyzed in considerable detail over 40 years ago by Finley Peter Dunne's eminent old philosopher of Archey Road, Mr. Dooley.

The Russian Czar had proposed the settlement of all disputed problems through an international court at the Hague. Mr. Dooley said that at first he had regarded this as an excellent idea.

He had looked forward to the day when, if a king, emperor or czar started a roughhouse, the blue bus would come clanging down the streets and they'd be hauled off to Holland for trial. He had expected to see the U. S. Senate

pulled every month or two; and all the officers of the navy fugitives from justice; and great war editors, correspondents, statesmen and other disturbers of the peace walking around in lock-step behind bars; and the wagon backing up in front of the parliaments of the world; and the bullpen full of international grafters, get-rich-quick operators and strong-arm men; and the Monroe Doctrine condemned as a nuisance, and so on.

But it hadn't worked out that way, Mr. Dooley admitted. Perhaps, he said, the reason was that the court didn't have any police force to back it up. After all, one good copper with a hickory club is worth all the judges between Amsterdam and Rotterdam. He would like to see, when the German Kaiser and the British king were preparing some kind of raid, a big policeman step up and say: I want you, Bill, and you might as well come along quiet.

However, Mr. Dooley supposed, the international police force would turn out to be the same as it is now in real life. How's that his friend asked. All the biggest crooks would get on the police force, said Mr. Dooley.

Atom Bombs Or TB Cure?

By Evelyn Atwood

A sure cure for the dread disease of tuberculosis, which rose to a new high during the five war years, can be speedily effected. "It is simply a matter of dollars and cents," stated Dr. Benjamin Freedlander of Mt. Zion Hospital to 500 physicians from all over the world at a preliminary convention session of the American Medical Association held in San Francisco on June 28.

"If we spend \$10,000,000 I have no doubt that we can have a cure for tuberculosis in two years," said Freedlander. "We have the techniques, the ideas and methods of evaluation. All we need is the money to put more men to work on the problem."

Today there are 50,000 known active cases of tuberculosis in the United States, and many more unknown. It costs about \$2,000 for each case every year for hospitalization, and the economic loss for each is about \$3,000 a year. This, said Freedlander, "represents a \$250,000,000 annual loss to the community and it would be worthwhile to spend a little money to end the drain."

But the U. S. capitalist government has its own ideas about what is "worthwhile" spending money on. It poured out 350 billions in its imperialist war to conquer and enslave the

world. Even today it is spending half a billion a year to pile up atom bombs and tens of billions more for bigger and more destructive bombers, rockets and other instruments of death. This same government cannot and will not provide the money or men necessary to conquer tuberculosis, one of the worst scourges of mankind.

The wartime research program set up to find a cure for malaria, Dr. Freedlander pointed out, proved successful at a cost of only two million dollars. While there are only 50 persons engaged in tuberculosis research, "against malaria the government put 30 large organizations — about 1,000 men — to work. Within two years they had evaluated 12,000 compounds and came up with two good ones which are effective against malaria."

But the government's interest in the cure for malaria was simply part and parcel of its whole wartime program. It was necessary in order to maintain U. S. troop and U. S. power in the numerous mosquito-infested island bases in the Pacific and elsewhere. But this same government has no more interest in finding a cure for tuberculosis, the poor man's disease, than it has in eliminating the filth, squalor and hunger which is the capitalist social soil out of which tuberculosis breeds.

Atomic Bomb Blasts Upon Guinea Pig Fleet Underline Wall Street Drive For New War

New York SWP Names Dobbs To Head Ticket

(Continued from Page 1)

ALP has given his endorsement both to Democrats and Republicans. The ALP is primarily concerned with capturing Democratic nominations, employing for this end a policy of the most crooked horse-trading. The Stalinists trail behind like faithful lapdogs, snapping at anyone who speaks of honest, independent working class politics.

Under these conditions the contest between Dewey and Mead, the most likely Democratic nominee, can be nothing but a sham battle, with the real interests of the workers ignored, and the victory of Wall Street and capitalist reaction assured in advance.

SWP PROGRAM

The program of the Socialist Workers Party will give the only genuine answers to the most vital problems facing the workers of New York in the elections: rising prices and the threat of rising rents, anti-labor legislation, race discrimination, the housing shortage, the preparation for a third world war. In brief it will be a fighting program to combat the attempts of Big Business to make the working people pay the immense debt and interest resulting from the second imperialist war.

The entry of the ticket for the coming campaign marks the first time the SWP is engaging in electoral activities on so broad a scale in this state. The first task before the party will be to overcome the innumerable stumbling blocks written into the statutes to make it as difficult as possible for a minority party to be listed on the ballot. Signatures are required from each of the 62 counties, including the most sparsely settled, in the state. The time for obtaining these signatures is restricted to a minimum.

Nevertheless the New York organization is embarking on the campaign with every confidence that it will be able to overcome these obstacles so that the workers of New York may have the opportunity of voting for a workers' ticket in November. Friends and sympathizers of the party are invited to participate in the campaign to gather signatures, which formally opens on July 27.



WILLIAM KITT



SYLVIA BLECKER

Candidate Outlines SWP Anti-Inflation Legislation

NEWARK, N. J., July 12—"As a member of Congress, I would vote against the new OPA bill now being debated in Washington. Then I would introduce a wages and prices bill that would really grapple with the threat that inflation presents to the working people of this country," said George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator, in a statement to the local press today.



GEORGE BREITMAN

"The new OPA bill is a fraud," Breitman continued, "It has as many price-raising provisions as a Swiss cheese has holes. Its result, like the result of the old OPA, will be a steady rise in the cost of living, and a steady sag in the workers' living standards."

"Furthermore, it will be administered by the same government officials who demonstrated again and again in the last four years that they cannot be depended on to control prices in the interests of the working people, farmers or small businessmen. If price-fixing is left in their hands, prices—and profits—will continue to soar."

"For these reasons I would vote against the OPA bill," Breitman declared. "For these same reasons I would introduce another measure. This bill would have three principal features:

"First would be a recognition of the principle of the sliding scale of wages, based on a fixed minimum, to meet the rising cost of living. This would protect

the wage-earners by automatically adjusting their wages upward every time there is a rise in prices. Price rises would be estimated not on the basis of the Bureau of Labor Statistics' phony index, but on the basis of a reliable price index to be set up by the union movement.

"Under this bill, all workers employed by the government or by employers working on government contracts would immediately receive the benefits of the sliding wage scale. This in turn would be an invitation to the trade unions to write such provisions into all their contracts.

"In addition, the sliding scale would be applied to all veterans and workers receiving unemployment compensation, pensions, etc.

"The second main feature of our bill would be a recognition of the fact that the bureaucrats in Washington have no interest in protecting the consumers. Consequently, this bill would turn over the fixing and control of prices to the consumers themselves.

"It would provide for the creation of committees of housewives, workers, farmers and small shopkeepers on a national and local scale. These democratic mass consumers' committees would have a real interest in combating the profiteers and black market operators. For the first time, prices would be policed effectively and in the interests of the majority of the people.

"The third feature of our program would be the expropriation of the food industry. Since the profiteers who dominate the food trusts have shown they are interested only in profit and not in providing food at prices the working people can pay, we would have the government take over these industries and run them under the control of committees democratically elected by the workers in those industries.

"Even more than a legislative program, this is a program of immediate action," Breitman concluded. "Its successful application does not depend merely on its introduction into Congress. Far more it depends on the degree to which the unions and consumer organizations support and fight for it in their daily struggles on the economic and political fields."

Seattle Machinists Ask 40% Raise

(Special to The Militant)

SEATTLE, Wash., July 10—The independent Machinists Union Lodge 79 today formally demanded a 40 per cent wage increase for 2,500 of the union's 6,500 members, in negotiations with Washington Metal Trades, Inc., one of the employers' groups under contract with the union.

Two weeks ago the union asked a 15 per cent increase when it reopened negotiations. It upped the demand another 25 per cent because of the soaring cost of living.

Union business agent I. A. Sandvigen declared that the 40 per cent increase demand is "fully consistent with living costs as predicted by responsible government authorities."

Even before the end of OPA, Sandvigen said, this city had the highest cost-of-living rate for any large city in the country. He cited Stanford University studies which showed that to maintain minimum health and decency standards for a family of four, a wage earner must make at least \$1.45 an hour for a 40-hour week.

The Truman administration is methodically continuing its demonstration in the Pacific of the most frightful weapon of war yet produced by capitalism—the atomic bomb. As a curtain-raiser, Washington exploded bomb No. 4 in mid-air over a \$400,000,000 guinea-pig fleet. Now the militarists will explode bomb No. 5 under the surface of the sea among the ships anchored inside Bikini atoll.

American imperialism had already demonstrated at Hiroshima and Nagasaki that a single bomb is capable of destroying an entire populous city. The present costly show is designed to remind the rest of the earth, particularly the Soviet Union, that Wall Street is continuing to manufacture and store these bombs. The Bikini demonstrations are being held under guise of "scientific experiments." But leading scientists have denied their value and labelled them as nothing but military tests.

In the June 15 issue of Foreign Policy Reports, Dr. Harold C. Urey, one of the scientists who worked on the atomic bomb, paints a frightening picture of the future as Washington attempts to maintain its present monopoly of atomic energy. "The consequences," he says, "will be an armaments race in the production of atomic bombs, and a feverish development of new modes of destruction, perhaps even more effective than atomic bombs. The end of that race can only be an atomic war."

In his opinion "international relations" with atomic bombs stock-piled by the big powers and their satellites "will be qualitatively very different from a world in which the great powers maintained large armies and navies." Every diplomatic crisis "will make government officials as well as all average citizens of each country wonder whether an unannounced attack by atomic bombs will not start at any moment."

Although he does not believe a "completely rational" official would "wish to plunge his country into an atomic bomb war," still the "fear itself would destroy the probability that rational behavior would occur."

Urey sees "the Soviet Union" as "the most probable enemy of the United States in the event of another major war." He calls attention to the fact that strangely enough the Kremlin is playing down the atomic bomb. He speculates on the reasons: "The Soviet press has paid very little attention to the new weapon, presumably because it does not wish to discuss a subject so dangerous to Russia under the present circumstances." He wonders if "Soviet pride has also been injured by the fact that America succeeded in producing the atomic bomb first." Then he adds ominously, "Moscow's policy of constructing a ring of buffer or satellite states since V-E Day may mean that the reality of the atomic bomb has not yet become fully clear to Russia's political and military leaders."

Wall Street must smile cynically at that helpless proposal. Wall Street can readily agree to the proposal, knowing that it is absolutely meaningless except to delude the people and blind them to the danger. Even Hitler as part of his war preparations proposed "disarmament."

FREEPORT PROBE HEADED BY REPUBLICAN STOOGES

Bill Morgan

New York, N. Y., July 13—After six months of silence Governor Dewey, facing the coming elections, has appointed a political stooge of the Republican machine to hold "public" hearings on the murder of Charles and Alfonso Ferguson, Negro brothers shot down in cold blood by a Freeport, N. Y., cop last February.

Dewey by-passed the Ives-Quinn Law which provides for public hearings conducted by a committee of trade unionists and representatives of minority groups. Instead, State Investigator Lawrence S. Greenbaum, an appointed office holder, will decide who shall testify and what evidence will be accepted.

The Ferguson case is the story of four Negro brothers, three of them veterans, who were denied a cup of coffee in a public lunch room and then lined up against a wall by a race-hating cop and deliberately shot down in Nazi-like fashion. This shocking murder aroused the working class and Negro people to immediate action. Protests and delegations demanding justice. Despite the action of a lily-white Grand Jury which upheld the action of the Freeport officials and whitewashed the killer, the Army and Navy were forced to exonerate Charles and Joseph Ferguson. The officials of Freeport then "re-considered" their earlier action and exonerated Joseph Ferguson completely.

Demands were made for the indictment on a murder charge of the killer-cop and the removal from office of the Nassau County officials who covered up and

whitewashed the crime. But the Governor and his Republican machine attempted to hush up this side of the case. The murderer still walks his beat with a gun. The corrupt officials continue to hold office. SWP DEMAND The Socialist Workers Party has demanded a complete investigation of the conditions which inspired this application of lynch law in Nassau County. More than five thousand signatures were signed to petitions demanding that the State Commission Against Discrimination conduct open and public hearings on Jim-Crow conditions in Nassau County. The Socialist Workers Party further demanded that the policeman, Joseph Romeika, be indicted for murder and that the Nassau County officials who covered up and whitewashed the murder be removed from office and tried for violating the law. Governor Dewey's latest move is an obvious attempt to "clear the record" for the coming elections. By appointing a reliable henchman of the Republican machine to conduct a hearing he hopes to apply a second coat of whitewash to camouflage his support of the gang of officials in Nassau County and their kill-



The attitude of the Kremlin toward the atomic bomb, however, follows consistently from its world view. Since he seized power, Stalin has preached that the Soviet Union could live peacefully in a capitalist world, quietly constructing "socialism in one country."

The Nazi invasion disproved this thesis. And now the atomic bomb proves even more conclusively — if that is possible — that socialism must be built on a world scale as advocated by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, or civilized man will perish. But the Kremlin is incapable of shifting to the policy of building world socialism, for this would mean furthering revolutions of the working class in the very heart of the capitalist world.

The Kremlin rejects this policy because such revolutions would quickly find their reflection inside the Soviet Union and unsettle the privileged caste which keeps Stalin and his gang in power. Thus the Kremlin is utterly incapable of advancing world socialism as the only real alternative to a Third World War. That is why it buries its head in the sand. That is why it has resurrected the completely unrealistic slogan of the pacifists, proposing, as the July 2 Daily Worker puts it, that "this weapon must be outlawed and all atomic warfare must be outlawed."

Wall Street must smile cynically at that helpless proposal. Wall Street can readily agree to the proposal, knowing that it is absolutely meaningless except to delude the people and blind them to the danger. Even Hitler as part of his war preparations proposed "disarmament."