

# "THE HOLE"

A Short Story  
By Theodore Kovalsky  
—See Page 6—

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. X — No. 26

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JUNE 29, 1946

401

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

# RUNAWAY PRICE INFLATION LOOMS

## Biggest Steal In History

Big Business plans to swindle scores of billions of dollars from American workers and consumers through price inflation. Government officials admit prices will rise 25 to 50 per cent within the next six to eight months under the Congressional program for price "de-control."

The total annual increase on just seven commodities — meat, milk, butter and cheese, poultry, cotton, clothing and automobiles — will take eight billion dollars

more from the consumers' pocketbooks. Meat prices alone will jump 3 1/2 billion dollars, providing over 2 1/2 billions in added profits for the meat industry. Milk will cost another 900 million; butter and cheese, 1 1/2 billion; clothing, one billion.

The average family will have to spend from \$500 to \$1000 more a year for the same things they buy today. Or go without.

## Toledo SWP Candidates Placed On Ohio Ballot



PAUL WYLIE

### Trotsky School Begins June 30 At Summer Camp

A significant experiment in workers' education will be launched at the end of this month with the establishment of the Trotsky School for the training of working class political leaders. Its first term will begin with the opening of the Midwest School and Camp at Grass Lake, Michigan, on June 30.

"The Trotsky School, rightly named after the great teacher who founded and inspires our revolutionary socialist movement, will be a unique institution," said William P. Warde, National Educational Director of the Socialist Workers Party. "The teachers, teachings and student body in the existing schools of higher learning in this country are directly or indirectly dominated by the ruling capitalist class. The academic atmosphere is poisonously hostile to the working class and its interests. Their aim is not to teach the truth about our society but to train defenders and servants of the capitalist system."

#### CHAMPIONS LABOR

"Ours will also be a class institution, but of an altogether different kind. It will frankly champion the cause and viewpoint of the working class. All its teachings will be based upon the doctrines of scientific socialism as expounded by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, and will center around the problem of transforming decaying capitalism into the new socialist order. Its student body will be composed of workers who have already distinguished themselves as union leaders and party builders and are willing to devote their entire lives to the cause of the emancipation of labor."

#### FIRST STUDENTS

The first group of eight students at the Trotsky School include a railroad shop worker, two auto workers, one seaman, a woman organizer of the SWP, and three Negro comrades, including the acting organizer of the Harlem Branch of Local New York. Several of them are veterans. They constitute a representative selection of the younger leaders and candidates for leadership in the Socialist Workers Party.

These students who have come from factories, shops and ships will devote their full time to study for periods ranging from seven weeks to six months, free of all other duties.

### Malcolm Walker And Paul Wylie Named To Run For U. S. Congress And State General Assembly

By Harold Josephs  
(Special to The Militant)

TOLEDO, O., June 21 — The Socialist Workers Party in Toledo entered the fall election campaign by announcing it will run two candidates, Malcolm Walker for U. S. Congressional Representative (9th Dist.) and Paul Wylie for Ohio General Assembly.

This will be the first time that the SWP has entered candidates on an Ohio ballot. Complicated elections laws make it extremely difficult for minority parties to get on the ballot. Although Walker and Wylie will campaign as revolutionary socialists under the name of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), their ballot designation will be "Independent."

#### UNION MEN

Comrade Walker, a former merchant seaman and member of the AFL Seafarers International Union, is Toledo SWP organizer. He has participated actively in labor struggles.

Comrade Wylie has a long record of militant union activity in this area. He is a popular union steward in his department at the Spicer Manufacturing Company, where he has worked for more than 10 years.

The SWP candidates will be the only ones on the ballot who will truly represent the interests of labor. They are planning to conduct a vigorous campaign in Lucas and Ottawa Counties on a seven-point fighting program:

1. For an independent labor party.
2. Full employment and job security through the 6-hour day.

### "They Trained Us To Break Maritime Workers Strike"

By An Ex-Soldier  
(Special to The Militant)

I have just been discharged from the Army. That is why I am free to tell the story of how the Army was preparing to break the maritime strike on the West Coast.

During the railroad strike most

of the men in our outfit had been put on a strike alert. All it meant at that time was that we were restricted to the battalion area for 24 hours. When we were alerted ten days before the maritime strike deadline, however, we all packed up and moved together to a special barracks. There we were informed that we were to start special training that afternoon.

#### GREEN TROOPS

About 450-500 men were placed in this strike-breaking outfit. In some companies they asked for volunteers, but in most they just read off a roster of names. There seemed to have been no real effort to select men with the exception of the fact that the overwhelming majority were new draftees with only eight weeks of basic training; and practically none of them were ever in combat. In general, green troops with little training; very few had ever earned their living.

The aims of the training were to teach the men the methods of strikebreaking (especially military formations); raise and maintain morale and discipline, and impart to the men the seri-

ousness of the situation. The first point on the training agenda was political orientation. The officers told us: The sailors are striking against the government; we are the representatives of the government whose duty it is to "combat a lawless mob; it is necessary to protect life and property and maintain peace and order; the strikers are a lawless mob who have taken the law into their own hands, etc., etc."

At all times, it was stressed that the situation was very serious. "It's not a joke; it won't be easy." The toughness of the sailors and the longshoremen was stressed. Also, it was constantly repeated that a great number of them have been in the service and were better acquainted with military techniques than many of us.

The officers emphasized: The fact that the unions are well organized, well prepared. The fact that they are likely to have arms, dangerous weapons (cargo hooks), stones, clubs, etc. The fact that the strikers will be numerically stronger, the popular friendly to their cause.



MALCOLM WALKER

### Land Of The Free, No Homes For The Brave

The Veterans Administration on June 8 reported that 60 per cent of a sample of 3,000 married ex-soldiers were still looking vainly for homes or apartments three and four months after they were discharged. Meanwhile, most were living doubled up with relatives or friends, or in rooming houses or other overcrowded quarters.

#### Dynamic Progress Toward Breadlines

"The next three or four years will be lush advertising years... And then will come the bust—the biggest hangover we've ever experienced. And then, the revolution will be accomplished. You must work hard in these lush four or five years, to see to it that the faith in our method is strong enough to survive the inevitable depression that must always come in a dynamic and progressive economy such as ours." (William E. Robinson, business manager of the N. Y. Herald Tribune, on June 11, to conference of newspaper advertising executives in New York City).

#### 60,000,000 Dead Get Good News

"PARIS, June 19—The Kellogg-Briand Pact (signed 1928) outlawing war is still in force according to international law, Sir Hartley Shawcross, British Attorney General, declared in addressing Paris jurists in the Palais de Justice today." (N. Y. Times, June 20).

### Wall Street Sneak-Thief



## Wall Street Uses A-Bomb Control For Power Play Against USSR

### IN THE NEWS

#### No Authoritarianism—Except Toward Labor

"Senators who worked for this bill are, in my opinion, largely motivated by the idea that the OPA is interfering with our system of private enterprise and because they resent what they choose to call State authoritarianism." In my opinion they will be the very Senators who will try to sink the hooks the deepest into labor when it protests by strikes against the increased prices which will come about as the result of this bill. Then they will go all out for State authoritarianism in the field of labor relations." (Senator McMahon, of Connecticut, Congressional Record, June 13)

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Wall Street's power play with the atomic bomb is proceeding according to plan. In Paris Secretary of State Byrnes is bargaining with Molotov over the map of Eastern Europe and Eastern Asia. Byrnes is resorting to harsher language than in previous conferences. He has even issued an ultimatum that Anglo-American imperialism will carve up Europe without further consultation with Moscow if Stalin does not toe the line.

drawn by Wall Street. Byrnes can talk tough; he is backed by the atomic bomb.

Meanwhile Washington's propaganda machine is reinforcing Byrnes with a full scale campaign to popularize the Baruch plan of "controlling" atomic energy. The objective of this campaign is to place Washington's monopoly of atomic energy in a favorable light. If a breakdown in negotiations with Moscow occurs, Wall Street wants to throw the onus on the Soviet Union. This coincides fully with Wall Street's preparations for World War III.

At the same time in the far Pacific the Bikini demonstration is underway, deliberately timed to strengthen Byrnes' hand at Paris. The ships have been stationed at Bikini. A dummy bomb has already been dropped in a dress rehearsal of the \$500,000,000 demonstration of the power and frightfulness of the atomic bomb.

An ironic sidelight in this Ro-

(Continued on Page 8)

### Boston CIO Urges Unity

(Special to The Militant)

BOSTON, June 13 — The Greater Boston CIO Council tonight urged both the State and National CIO to take immediate steps to call a national conference of CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods for the purpose of combatting repressive labor legislation.

In a resolution proposed by CIO United Steelworkers Local 2431 and adopted unanimously, the Council declared that it was necessary to unite the entire American labor movement in order to smash the current anti-labor campaign.

Massachusetts unions are also facing the enactment of a state law that would seriously cripple all unions. The state's attorney-general with the support of the Associated Industries has initiated a referendum petition for an amendment to the state constitution prohibiting unions from making contributions to political campaigns. Falsely labeled an "anti-racketeering" measure, this notorious Barnes Bill seeks to deprive the labor movement of the means to conduct independent political action.

### Congress Plans Draft Extension, Huge War Funds

Congress this week neared two more milestones on the road to the Third World War.

The conference between representatives of the Senate and House agreed to set draft age limits from 19 to 44 inclusive. If Congress approves this agreement, the draft will be extended another nine months. The aim of this legislation is to build up the greatest peacetime military machine in American history. Wall Street wants a vast force of Prussian-minded troops to hold the bases and territories seized in World War II, to keep the occupation forces indefinitely overseas, and provide colossal military reserves in preparation for World War III.

#### AIMED AT STRIKERS

One of the principal excuses offered by the militarists for existence of the draft is to provide military training for the youth. They want to indoctrinate the youth, true enough, but that is not all. No man in the United States would be exempt from the draft until he reached the age of 45. The majority of the men above 18 and 19 have already received military training. Thus it is clear that the extension is aimed at strikers. Congress is deliberately putting American workers at the complete mercy of draft boards in case of strikes.

To finance Wall Street's enormous military camp, Congress began consideration of an appropriation of \$11,191,034,700 (billions) for the Army and Navy.

The size of this appropriation staggers the imagination. It is about \$1,000,000,000 (billion) more than Congress appropriated for the entire government for the fiscal year of 1937.

It is \$3,000,000,000 (billions) more than the entire stock of money in the United States in 1929.

The \$4,000,000,000 (billions) cost of the entire Civil War (1861-65) was, by comparison, far less than the cost of maintaining Wall Street's peacetime military camp for one single year.

## Congress Backs Profiteers In Drive To Gouge People

### Bowles Proposes To Shackle Labor With New "No-Strike" Pledge While Living Costs Soar

All competent observers are agreed that whatever happens on the question of OPA extension, the American people after July 1 face price rises of as much as 50 per cent in the next six to eight months.

Whether the final OPA bill being drafted by a Congressional joint committee contains the "booby traps" of inflation about which Economic Stabilization Director Chester Bowles warned last week, or whether OPA is extended with its present limited powers, a terrific price inflation looms.

"There is only one point of agreement among those watching the outcome of the battle between the Executive and the legislative branches of the Government. Prices are going to mount," states the authoritative N. Y. Times, June 23.

What gives some pause to the inflationary drive of the Big Business government is the fear of another great strike wave for more wages to meet the soaring cost of living.

Even conservative AFL President William Green warned last week that further price rises would "breed strikes." W. Willard Wirtz, Wage Stabilization Board chairman, admitted that price rises would compel reopening of 40,000 union wage contracts. "Labor," he said, "cannot be expected to pay uncontrolled prices with controlled wages."

To prevent the big strikes everyone predicts, administration officials are projecting the idea (Continued on Page 2)

One shop owner who served 44 months as a baker in the navy said, "I've seen breadlines all over the world but I have never seen anything like this."

The owner of a bakery said, "unless we get more flour we'll be forced to shut down." Many bakeries have already been forced to close down.

Sunday's breadlines were a magnified repetition of Saturday's conditions in supplies of meat and dairy products, as well as bread.

#### PRICES JUMP

Many merchants have already jumped the ceiling prices on meat and butter. Housewives said they had to pay a dollar a pound for lamb chops (40 cents over ceiling) and 85 cents for a pound of butter (29 cents over ceiling).

The news of breadlines in the nation's third largest city was reported by the capitalist press here merely as an event of curious news value.

### "No Meat, No Work" Miners Threaten

PITTSBURGH, June 22 — Coal miners in this area are threatening "No meat, no work."

John P. Busarello, president of District 5 of the AFL United Mine Workers, told Navy officials running the mines that coal production might "decrease rapidly" unless the miners get meat, bread and other substantial food to sustain them in their heavy work. "It won't be a walkout," said Busarello. "They'll just stay home because their work is laborious and they won't go to work without food in their dinner pails."

## FLINT SWP LEADS FIGHT TO DEFEAT TAX INCREASE

By Sol Dollinger

(Special to The Militant)

FLINT, Mich., June 19 — A second attempt by the corporate interests to put over an increased property tax on the Flint auto workers and other small-home owners was defeated yesterday when the proposition failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority of 25,000 votes cast.

The Socialist Workers Party here led the fight against the tax boost. It was the only organization which publicly opposed and exposed the measure, and its campaign had a great influence on the outcome of the vote.

An attempt was made to silence the SWP. 5,000 leaflets addressed to the General Motors and other workers for early election morning distribution were stolen by corporation stooges from the car of the SWP organizer the night before the vote.

Another leaflet was printed late that same night. Scores of local union leaders responded to an SWP call for aid in exposing the gross violation of the rights of a working class political organization.

#### DENOUNCE THEFT

Although not in accord with the views in the SWP leaflet, Everett Francis, president of the CIO United Auto Workers Fisher Body local, and Ben Woodward, president of the Buick lo-

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## What Do You Say?

**Question:** How have price rises affected you and your family since the end of the war?

**Place:** Brooklyn, N. Y. (Asked of AFL Cooks and Assistants Union members.)

**Frank Goliani, 515 W. 42 St., New York City.**  
I can't buy decent clothes and shoes on my wages with the prices as they are. A good suit cost \$65. I can't even go on a vacation in the country because I can't make ends meet.

**Al Seaman, 137 Keap St., Brooklyn.**  
My buying power has depreciated about 65 to 75 per cent and so has my wife's. The boss gives me a raise, but we get a much bigger return by jacking prices up in spite of OPA. The big guys want inflation to get all the money and keep it where it's always been—in the hands of a few people. But the workers are still treated like slaves. Why doesn't the government set up a special federal agency to arrest all black marketeers, punishable by jail sentences and not by fines?

**Lawyer Anderson, 110 Lenox Ave., New York City.**  
I have to deprive myself of decent clothes because of high prices. I saved up for an automobile but I can't spare the money now.

**Henry Ernst, Camp Lakeland, Hopeville Junction.**  
Everybody knows that prices went sky high. During the past year, I've had a wage increase, but prices went up so much higher, I didn't benefit from it.

**Jerry Coorrough, 102 South Oxford St., Brooklyn.**  
Wage increases since V-J day haven't amounted to much for restaurant workers. The other day I tried to buy a second-hand iron—price \$7. Prices like this are way out of line with my wage increase. The big fellows want to take in the money.

**George Brockington, former machinist, 1402 Pacific St., Brooklyn.**  
I'm not making as much as before the war. It goes without saying that prices are way higher than the money I make now. I can hardly make ends meet.

**William Sullivan, 84 Mid-dagh St., Brooklyn.**  
I live alone but price hikes hit me plenty. You pay 75 cents for mystery dishes in restaurants. You could get a bare room for \$4 a week a while ago. Now you pay \$7 for a telephone booth. If there weren't a small group of people with money who can afford to pay the limit to get what they want, the working people wouldn't have any black market problem.

**Richard Hebbard, 635 Fulton, Brooklyn.**  
I have a wife and five kids to take care of and if I didn't have this job that pays my rent, I don't think I'd be able to get along. Food and clothing are double what they were a few months ago, and besides you can't even get things like rice. The kids get the toughest deal—we can't afford to get them toys and they get ice cream maybe once a week on Sunday.

**Edward Devenish, 1250 Myrtle Ave., Brooklyn.**  
Well, my grocery bill is \$10 more every week. Rents and clothing went up so high that where I got along on \$35 to \$40 before, now \$50 to \$60 doesn't even clear me. Things will get even worse if they throw out OPA. If housewives' committees controlled prices and could go after the real profiteers like Boback and Safeway, and not just the small retailers, I'd be for them 100 per cent.

# General Tire Workers In 3 Communities Shut Plants In First All-Company Strike

(Special to The Militant)

AKRON, O., June 21—A strike of 2,500 workers of the General Tire and Rubber Corporation shut down the Akron plant today. A militant picket line gathered in the early hours of the morning and prevented anyone from entering the plant.

In addition to the Akron plant, other plants in Waco, Texas, and Jeanette, Pennsylvania, were closed down by strikers. This is the first corporation-wide strike in the history of the rubber industry.

Joseph W. Childs, president of Local 9, General Tire here, issued the following statement this morning: "The executive board invokes strike action voted by the membership on May 29. The issues in dispute between the company and the union are wage payment plan, discharge in violation of bargaining contracts and contract renewal."

## JOINT ACTION

While the locals were bargaining for separate contracts, they agreed to work together in the event that no agreement could be reached with the company. They have agreed not to enter into separate agreements with the company until each local has reached an acceptable settlement.

The corporation-wide strike is extremely important because the northern locals are fighting to obtain equal raises in pay for the local in Texas. The corporation offered an 18 1/2 cent increase, identical to the "Big Four" agreement won last March by the Goodrich, Goodyear, Firestone and U. S. Rubber workers, to the two locals in the North, at Akron and Jeanette, but excluded the Texas local.

In Waco, Texas, the corporation offered 14 cents to the white workers and seven cents to the Negro workers. This offer was rejected.

## REJECT DISCRIMINATION

President O. C. Murphy of the Waco local reiterated his determination to carry through the CIO policy of no discrimination against Negro workers.

The Akron plant is 100 per

cent shut down. Only three men to maintain pressure in the boilers are being permitted through the picket lines. The company officials, perplexed by their inability to get into their offices, are reported to be scurrying around town looking for a new headquarters.

## Rents Will Soar Too, McMahon Tells Senate

"It is impossible to maintain rent controls in the United States if we are to do away with other types of controls." This admission was made in Congress June 11 by Senator McMahon, a Democrat of Connecticut.

"One of the crudest deceptions that can be perpetrated on the American people," continued the Senator, "is the idea that there can be an absence of price control on everything except rents."

The Senator explained why controls on rent have lasted longer than other controls: "Those who would like to do away with price control always have such a reservation on rents, because they know that if they try to take that off the people would really rise up."

Despite this warning, Democratic and Republican Congressmen have joined in a wild butchery of the last remnants of price controls. Senator Taft, a leading Republican of Ohio, proposed that "as costs go up, the rent-control figures must be raised somewhat higher."

And McMahon added that if rents were not raised while other prices skyrocketed it would "result in either the landlords going bankrupt or taxes on real property not being paid."

## "They Trained Us To Break Maritime Workers Strike"

(Continued from Page 1)

All these facts stressing the great difficulty of the task were made again and again for the purpose of steeling us for the nasty job we were being given.

We did a lot of drilling. The platoon leaders often pointed out that it was necessary to impress the strikers with military discipline and bearing to compensate for our young looks. The psychological factor was emphasized many times.

We were warned against fraternization with the strikers. "Don't talk to them." "Don't accept anything from them, water or coffee—in a word, keep away from them." We were warned especially against women "who are just as dangerous as the men," against the vets who might be wearing uniforms. We were told to overlook "insulting remarks"—scabs, tin soldiers, boy scouts, curse-words, etc. In general, to keep away from the civilian population and have nothing to do with it except in line of duty.

The training also included lectures and actual drills in military formation (wedge, diamond, right and left diagnosis), bayonet training, rifle practice and dismounted drill.

Severe warnings were issued to fire only when directed and then in the legs; to shoot to wound and also to be very careful not to provoke strikers except by order. We were threatened by court-martial if we did not wait for orders.

In general, we were told to

use the bayonet and the butt of the rifle. To use almost any means except actual fire and to aim in the most exposed and dangerous spots, especially groins. The platoon leaders in "off-the-record" talks of demonstrations urged the use of the most brutal methods, again short of actual rifle fire.

Besides rifle and bayonet, we were told we would have tear and vomiting grenades plus smoke-pots. Attached would be a communications squad, first aid detachments, and a great number of micks, jeeps, and so on.

The training was very realistic, serious, with very little unnecessary material. The officers took a lot of trouble to teach us everything carefully.

There were about 30 officers attached to the unit, approximately one officer to 15 men. In a regular outfit there is one officer for about 40-50 men.

I received my discharge a day or two before the training ended. After that the outfit was supposed to proceed to a West Coast port.

## Buffalo Readers

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

## Greek American Labor Solidarity



Seamen of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions, whose ships are in New York harbor, picketing the Greek Consulate in solidarity with the Greek labor movement's one-day general strike protesting oppressive measures recently enacted by the Royalist government.

## Akron Joint Labor Meeting Discusses Political Action

(Special To The Militant)

AKRON, O., June 21—The labor movement here took steps last week to establish a permanent committee for political action representing all sections of organized labor.

At a meeting which brought together for the first time committees appointed by the CIO Council, the AFL Trades and Labor Assembly and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, the following joint statement, signed by the chairmen of the three committees, was drawn up and released:

"The Joint Committees unqualifiedly condemn the action of Congress in passing the Case Bill. We condemn the unwarranted attack of President Truman upon the Brotherhoods of Trainmen and Engineers, and his request for strikebreaking legislation. We shall oppose to the utmost these and similar attempts upon labor's democratic rights and call upon all the affiliated Local Unions to do likewise."

The discussion which preceded the announcement of the joint statement revealed that the joint committee plans to meet within several days and elaborate its long-term policy and to plan activities in this area. Plans to draw all local unions into practical political work were discussed.

The main task facing the joint committee is that of discussing and coming to an agreement on policy. Some members of the committee favor cutting loose from the Democratic Party and running independent labor candidates. Others are committed to support PAC-endorsed candidates.

The question of what to do about Congressman Huber, the local Democratic, PAC-supported representative to Congress who voted for the Truman slave-labor bill, will undoubtedly come before the committee. Feeling on both sides of the "Huber Question" is running high here with many unionists ready to withdraw their endorsement and run an independent candidate in the fall.

Special credit must be given to local Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen who have persistently worked in the past few weeks to bring together all sections of organized labor for joint action.

The Militant was distributed at last week's joint committee meeting and was extremely well received. Many words of praise were spoken for the articles in it and especially for the cartoon showing the American workers standing in unity against their enemy.

## WHERE IS THE MEAT?

There is more livestock in the United States today than almost any previous time in history—81,000,000 head of cattle. And more beef is being processed than ever before. But where is the meat?

Omaha stock market figures provide a clue. In the first months of 1941 some 466,000 head of cattle had been received. Of this amount, 75 per cent were processed in Omaha.

In the first five months of 1946, some 732,000 head had been received. But of this amount, only 13 per cent were processed in Omaha's government-inspected plants.

What happened to the rest of this meat? According to an expose in the June 11 Congressional Record, about 10 per cent went back to feed lots. The rest was bought under the nose of government officials by "independent" killers.

These buyers send the meat into the black market or into storage awaiting higher legal prices. How high meat will go before the monopolists release it through legal channels can be judged from what the black marketeers charge. Their prices range from 50 cents to \$1 a pound above OPA ceilings!

## Runaway Price Inflation Looms

(Continued from Page 1)

of exacting a new "no-strike" pledge from the union leaders. Bowles on June 17 announced he is working on a plan to get such a pledge, with the promise in turn of keeping OPA in its present form.

How the promise of "price control" worked out during the war, is well known. Cost-of-living rose more than 50 per cent; wages were frozen. Now the administration—and some union leaders—are toying with the idea of another no-strike pledge on the deceptive promise of price control. OPA itself has eliminated more than 3,000 price ceilings and approved thousands of price increases in the last four months.

It is suicidal for labor to place any dependence on the capitalist government to control prices. This government acts solely from the standpoint of protecting monopoly interests and profits. But, as during the war, the ad-

## Phila. UE Local Backs Plea For Joint Conference

By C. Blake

PHILADELPHIA, June 21—By a unanimous vote, Westinghouse Local 107, CIO United Electrical Workers, went on record last week for a National Conference of Labor of the CIO, AFL, and Railroad Brotherhoods.

The local called for united labor action, because Truman has "demanded from Congress restrictive labor legislation that violates the very foundation of free labor." It further pointed out that in the "struggles to maintain a decent standard of living for the American worker and his family all sections of labor were involved."

The resolution cited and supported the public statements of President Walter Reuther and the CIO United Auto Workers executive board calling upon Philip Murray as president of the CIO to meet with representatives of the other unions.

It called upon the Philadelphia and Delaware County CIO Councils to initiate immediately, through the Philadelphia Trade Union Council, a regional conference to discuss and act on Truman's "double cross" of the labor movement.

The resolution is to be sent to Murray, William Green, Alvanley Johnson, A. F. Whitney, the Delaware and Philadelphia County CIO Councils and President Truman.

## Vet's Family Forced To Live In Phila. Park

By Alma Seton

PHILADELPHIA, June 18—Lewis E. Baggett, 28-year-old veteran of the Pacific battle area, his ailing wife and four small children were driven to the desperate measure of living out-of-doors in Fairmount Park here for a whole month. They were unable to find any housing.

Finally, in Mrs. Baggett's own words, "We became so desperate that I went to the Municipal Court and asked for some kind of haven for the children. The woman official I spoke to, told me that the weather was clear and I should take my children back to the Park."

This incident came to light when the Philadelphia Record, June 12, gave the Baggett's story publicly. This callousness of the Republican city administration, which has stalled for months on veterans' housing, was pounced upon by the Democrats. However, reports from other parts of the country, in The Militant and other papers, have shown similar failure to provide homes for veterans in Democratic-run communities.

Last December, after Baggett's discharge from the Army, the Baggett family had to move from North Carolina to Philadelphia, where he had worked before entering the Army. Despite diligent search, he couldn't find even two furnished rooms. None of the various social agencies would help him. Having no other alternative, the family was forced to spend its days in the park.

During this period, a friend of Mrs. Baggett permitted the family to sleep in her small apartment after her husband went to work on the night shift. Each morning, at 7 a.m., the Baggetts had to leave for the day. Then to the park, rain or shine, went the sick Mrs. Baggett and her children to pass the long day while her husband took up the futile search for rooms. Their daily food was mainly sandwiches and milk.

To make things worse, Mr. Baggett could not get back his job as a brakeman on the B. & O. railroad, nor would any other employer hire him while he lacked a home address.

On June 10, the finishing touch was added when the owner of the building in which Mrs. Baggett's friend lived, discovered that there were six extra people in the apartment, and threatened to evict all if the Baggetts didn't leave.

Immediately after the story of the Baggetts appeared in the paper, offers of assistance poured in. By the next day, the family had a home (temporary), and Lewis Baggett had a job.

One veteran has "been taken care of." But what about the thousands of others in Philadelphia, who to a greater or less degree have the same problem as Lewis Baggett?

# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Art Preis

## Packinghouse Union Seeks New Wage Boost

The most important action of the recent convention of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers of America, held in Montreal, Canada, was adoption of a report of the contract committee calling for a new "master agreement" with the Big Four meat-packing trust and the large independents.

Negotiations are to begin August 7, about six months after the UPWA won a 16-cent an hour increase by strike action. Truman tried to break the strike by plant seizures. The UPWA's principal demands, as voted by the convention, will be for a 12-cent an hour increase, a \$1 an hour minimum wage, a guaranteed annual wage and 30-hour week.

Another great labor struggle is shaping up as unions like the UPWA, which are being robbed of hard-won wage gains by price extortions, are renewing wage demands. If they want to put a real road-block in the path of the profiteering price-gougers, they should demand an escalator clause in the next contract providing a sliding scale of wages, under a fixed minimum, automatically rising in direct proportion to the rising cost of living.

## All Not Yet Quiet On The Strike Front

In the 30 days following June 18, there are more than 700 strikes scheduled by smaller unions, according to Department of Labor records. These involve demands for wage increases and shorter hours.

Labor Department officials predict that there will be at least 150 strikes going on at any time during the rest of the year, with an average of 30,000 to 50,000 out at all times.

This appears to be a very small figure in terms of the peak of the strike wave last January, when 1,750,000 were out at one time. Actually, it represents a several times higher average of strikes and strikers than during the pre-war period.

What has the corporations and their political agents most worried is the real possibility of big industrial strikes by this fall and winter, as those who won wage gains last spring find them shrunk to zero by price inflation.

## Guild President Lashes At Truman

The 250 delegates to the CIO American Newspaper Guild convention in Scranton, Pa., last week, heard Guild President Milton Murray keynote the deliberations with a scathing attack on Truman's labor policy.

"We find the most unhappy picture of petty advisors who have constituted a new Missouri gang surrounding the President of the United States and counseling him to invoke a draft law against labor, to put bayonets at the backs of workers, if necessary, to break strikes..." said Murray.

Murray's answer to Truman's

assault on labor is "to see that decent, proper legislation attend the halls of Congress so that sane and sensible legislation can be adopted."

First, it must be noted that Truman's draft-striker bill wasn't just cooked up by a "new Missouri Gang." It was originated by Truman's predecessor, Roosevelt, in his Congressional message of June, 1943. Truman's strikebreaking plant seizures are an exact duplicate of Roosevelt's, in the rail and coal industries specifically. As for using troops against American workers, memory recalls Roosevelt's breaking of the North American Aviation strike in June 1941—and he didn't get the advice to do that from Missouri, either. Truman is following, whether expertly or not, Roosevelt's labor policy in its fundamentals.

Secondly, labor has been voting for "decent, proper legislation" for 101 these many years. Unfortunately, these "decent, proper legislators," as they were represented by the union leaders in past elections, were also representatives of capitalist parties.

The only "decent, proper legislators" for labor are genuine labor representatives, put in office by a labor party.

## Sidney Hillman Looks Beyond The Case Veto

As this column noted last week, various union leaders are trying to cuddle up to Truman once more, using his veto of the Case Union-Busting Bill as a pretext for dusting off his "friend of labor" label.

The June issue of The Advance, organ of Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO, publishes a front-page editorial, "Beyond the Case Veto." It starts off saying, "It is not the province of The Advance to speculate on the why or wherefore of the President's veto of the reactionary Case Bill."

Any such speculation, of course, would embarrass Hillman's editors, since it would lead to the conclusion it wasn't done from pure pro-labor motives, but simple political expediency. Besides, in the same breath as his veto, Truman called again for a draft-striker law.

By some pretty tricky calculations, The Advance then tries to show that the voting on the Case Bill in Congress proves that the sole anti-labor forces that must be feared are the Republicans and "Democratic Tories" from the South. It concludes that the "record of the two parties still points to the importance of the workers in this country not being caajoled into supporting the reactionary Republican party because of the reactionary minority in the Democratic party."

There's no gainsaying that the Republicans are reactionary. But what "minority" in the Democratic Party passed Truman's "work-under-bayonets" bill in the House by a vote of 306 to 137?

## Labor Will Be Forced To Build Own Party, Says Union Editor

More evidence of the impetus given by the Big Business-government anti-labor actions to the campaigns for formation of a labor party, is contained in the May 31 issue of The Union Register, official publication of the Northwest Council of AFL Lumber & Sawmill Workers, representing 60,000 members.

H. K. Kendall, the Register's editor, writes a slashing indictment of the Truman administration and Congress, which he characterizes as "merely an 'executive committee' for the Big Business interests." His statement ends by pointing the way to a labor party. Kendall says in part:

"These politicians, including President Truman and most of the senators and congressmen, have shown themselves to be merely an 'executive committee' for the Big Business interests. That's why the miners and railroad workers didn't rush to work just because the 'government' took over. The politicians are merely fronts for the big anti-labor industrialists."

## BOTH THE SAME

"Now Brother Worker, don't be naive and say that a Republican president wouldn't have done the same thing. You know full well any president—either Republican or Democrat—would have done the same thing. You know that BOTH the Republican and Democratic parties are basically anti-labor, because they are BOTH set up to keep the people under the thumb of Big Business. They are Tweedle-Dee and Tweedle-Dim..."

"Yes, the PEOPLE will be forced to organize their own political party and vote themselves into power, so that we will have a genuine democratic government which will honestly represent the PEOPLE—including the WORKERS—and not a 'government' that acts like an 'executive committee' of the big employers."

"We predict that a nationwide move in this direction will be started immediately following the passage of the vicious anti-labor legislation that Big Business politicians in congress are already rushing through. It is up to organized labor to take the LEAD in this political rebellion of the PEOPLE. Let's forget partisan politics for a change. Let's forget about being either Republican or Democrat, and show our true colors by being what we really are—LABOR!"

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## Where Is The Soviet Union Going?

## The War Strengthened Pro-Capitalist Forces

By Ernest Germain

Superficial observers frequently insist that the USSR has emerged from the second world war "strengthened." Like authors of kindergarten primers, they measure "victory" or "defeat" by the number of "cities taken" and "battles won." We have tried to apply more serious criteria.

Thus, we have shown that the international situation of the Soviet Union was more precarious at the conclusion of the second world war than at its beginning, in view of the fact that a single imperialist power has now completed its encirclement of Russia. We will try to show that even inside Russia the war has considerably strengthened elements hostile to the economic base inherited from the October revolution. In this sense, the internal situation as well reveals itself to be much more precarious in 1945 than in 1940.

## RICH FARMERS

The pro-capitalist tendencies became accentuated during the war, above all, in the domain of agriculture. The disappearance of the tractors as a result of Hitler's conquests; the psychological consequences of the partition of the land by German imperialism; the extreme scarcity of the most elementary tools and the general disorganization of the economy acted to destroy the material and subjective basis for collectivization in Western Russia. Individual exploitation remained, for all practical purposes, quite prevalent even after the liberation of the territories.

Even in the Soviet press, voices were raised demanding an implacable struggle against the pro-capitalist elements in the countryside. In the other Russian territories, the scarcity of prime necessities, the spread of the black market, the intensification of speculation, created conditions favorable for the crystallization of a new exploiting stratum within the collective farms (kolkhozes).

## "INDEPENDENT" SPIRIT

Many peasants succeeded in accumulating hundreds of thousands if not millions of roubles. That was shown clearly at the time of the individual purchase, more or less compulsory of State loans which frequently amounted to the above mentioned sums. As their riches increased, the spirit of independence of the well-to-do farmer elements (kulaks) in the countryside, likewise increased. Numerous complaints appeared in the Soviet press about this or that kolkhoz which not only did not take into consideration the plan quota for the bread grain crop assigned to it, but even refused to make its grain deliveries to the state—that is to say, which began living independently of the Soviet economy.

Finally in March 1945, a decree effected changes in the law of inheritance so as to eliminate for all practical purposes any limits to the number of legal heirs. Now any Soviet citizen can draw up a will and make any other citizen his legal heir. To the extent that this permits pro-capitalist elements to transform numerous poor peasants into convenient figureheads who can be used to get around the limita-

tions on the amounts of money or goods one can inherit, this decree constitutes an important concession to the kulaks and an accelerating element to primitive accumulation in the countryside.

## CONDITIONS IN INDUSTRY

During the whole war period, industry worked without a general pre-established plan. In heavy industry this resulted in an increasing independence of different state trusts, which more and more tended to make agreements between themselves without consulting any intermediate central bodies. In light industry it led principally to an increasing decentralization, with the local authorities occupying themselves more and more with the production of very limited articles of consumption, often on a handicraft basis. Even in 1945, the local and regional authorities were told "Get along by yourself" in providing for the construction of new lodgings for the millions of homeless.

Finally, the "policy of forced savings" which was followed to prevent a runaway inflation during the war resulted in the accentuation of the tendencies toward independence in the domain of the banks. The banks have tended to follow their "own policy," that is to say, to fix an interest rate determined by their own balance sheet, and no longer a general one for all of Russia. This inevitably causes a differential in investment policy and is also a serious step toward the dissolution of the Soviet economy as such.

## CONCESSIONS TO REACTION

We know that the caste of ranking officers received important concessions from Stalin at the beginning of the war: the re-establishment of indivisible command, abolition of political commissars, the reestablishment of the use of orderlies, the extension of officers' rights (among others, the right to shoot deserters on the spot). Later the inequalities in the army became even more accentuated. The officers and enlisted men were lodged separately, messes separately and the relative differences in pay became very much greater than those in capitalist countries.

Meanwhile the vilest chauvinism triumphed in the field of propaganda. The Greek Orthodox Church under the patronage of the government accumulated immense riches. It even succeeded in bringing about an official reconciliation between Stalin and the White Guard Russians in Paris and Shanghai. That is how Soviet society emerged from the Second World War, menaced internally and externally.

(The above is the third in a series of articles on the Soviet Union, translated from La Lutte Ouvrière, Belgian Trotskyist paper. Future issues of The Militant will print additional articles in this series.)

## U. S. Domination Of Philippines Is Not Halted By "Independence"

OUT



UMBERTO DEPOSED IN ITALY

## Allies Supported Italian King To Very End

The Anglo-American authorities supported the monarchy until the very end—even after a decisive majority of the votes on June 2 was cast for a republic and against the House of Savoy.

## REFUSED TO GO

King Umberto refused for several days to abdicate, even though the outcome of the elections was known to the whole world. He even accused the government of an illegal act in appointing Premier Alcide De Gasperi as provisional chief of the republic. His pretext was election irregularities—although all the levers of control, occupation authorities, army, police, etc., were on his side. Meanwhile, royalist forces were mobilizing all over the country in an atmosphere of civil war, filled with provocations such as the burning of the Communist Party headquarters in Naples.

Here, as in the past, the monarchy received the support of the occupation officials. Admiral Ellery Stone, Allied commander in Italy, publicly announced that in his opinion "the king is on legally firm ground." Needless to say, this was welcome support for the monarchist mobs.

## STRIKE THREAT

The procrastination of the government in declaring the republic was finally ended by the threats of general strike by the workers in northern Italy, and the demonstrations in Milan and Rome.

Umberto left Italy, but the authorities have shown by their record that they can be expected to continue to give support to the most reactionary elements. Anglo-American imperialism remains an obstacle to progress for the Italian masses.

## New Military Code Foreshadows Revival Of Purges In Red Army

By George Breitman

More purges are on the order of the day in the Soviet Union, and they are coming — if they have not already begun — in the armed forces of the USSR. That is the political conclusion to be drawn from the new disciplinary

code for the Red Army, Navy and Air Force signed by Stalin and reported by the official army newspaper Red Star on June 19.

The new code, according to this paper, has the following special features:

1. Even more rigorous military discipline than in the past, with greater emphasis on saluting, etc., with an injunction to officers that "not a single offense or act of misconduct by subordinates should go unnoticed."

2. The necessity and duty to report to the highest officials "the stealing or wasting of military property, unlawful spending of money or any misconduct in handling food supplies to troops" and "insubordinate acts

Soviet Union. It is discovered that stricter discipline is needed for peace time."

There can be only one answer: This stricter discipline is not needed to strengthen the Red Army, but to strengthen the bureaucratic grip over the Red Army, which the Kremlin had to relax somewhat during the war.

A rift must be taking place between the Stalinist bureaucracy and a section of the officer caste.

If this was not the case, Stalin would not take the grave step in effect publicly reprimanding the officers and implying they have been guilty of military offenses.

The new code is a warning to the officers. At the same time under cover of talk about embezzlement, corruption and insubordination, it prepares Soviet public opinion for a general assault against all oppositional elements in the armed forces.

See Editorial Page 4

rule on breaches of discipline unworthy of officers and contrary to the "understanding of the ethics and morality in the Red Army."

How does it happen that after the war, after the Red Army has been hailed as the savior of the

## Bureaucrats In Control At Laborite Conference

(Special To The Militant)

LONDON, June 13—The 45th annual conference of the British Labor Party is now being held in Bournemouth. The conference has been attended by 1,179 delegates representing over 3,000,000 organized workers. On the two most

important questions facing the conference—the application for affiliation by the Communist Party (Stalinist) and the foreign policy of the Labor government—the leaders of the Labor Party have scored a victory.

The CP affiliation proposal was rejected by 2,678,000 votes against, 468,000 votes for. A motion to amend the Labor Party constitution to forbid any further application for affiliation by the CP—or any independent organization—was carried by 2,413,000, against 667,000 votes.

This victory for Transport House followed upon months of intensive campaigning by the leaders of the Labor Party, led by Harold Laski (chairman of the LP). Using all the methods at their disposal—silencing oppositions, threats and horse deals—the bureaucrats were able to reverse the situation which existed last March, when the CP affiliation proposal had the support of some of the largest unions, and the declared support of a million workers.

Almost 50 resolutions criticizing the foreign policy of the Labor government were tabled for the conference. Typical of these resolutions is the one from the Lewisham division which "views with grave concern the continuance of a Tory foreign policy," and the one from Newcastle-under-Lyme which condemned the government's policy in relation to Greece and Indonesia.



BEVIN

Ernest Bevin, foreign secretary, won the day with a speech which contained not even a single socialist phrase.

The explanation for this victory of the Labor leaders lay largely in the fact that the all deciding power at LP conferences is in the hands of half a dozen big unions who between them command almost four-fifths of the total votes. Nothing had been left to chance in this conference. The whole LP and trade union machine had been geared to suppress any criticism and opposition.

## TREMENDOUS DISSATISFACTION

However, the feelings and the criticisms of the workers of the ten months of Labor in office found its reflection in the criticisms made by Will Lawther, National Union of Mineworkers' leader, of the Labor government's nationalization policy, which has not produced the slightest improvement in the conditions and wages of the mine workers.

Lawther, who is as guilty as any labor bureaucrat of reactionary attacks upon the rank and file, went so far as to threaten strike action if the miners were not given better conditions and shorter hours of work. This indicates the tremendous dissatisfaction and pressure of the miners and workers in the nationalized industries.

## U.S. News Broadcaster Is Muzzled By BBC

LONDON, June 20—The British Broadcasting Corporation has refused permission of a special broadcast here by Howard K. Smith, American news commentator and author of the well-known book, "Last Train from Berlin."

While declaring that the United States and Russia have emerged from the war as "the only two expansionist nations," Smith had insisted on pointing out in the script of his speech that "while Russia has expanded its influence over 12 countries, the United States has expanded its power and influence over 56 new countries, islands and territories."

He added: "Russia has established its most distant base 600 miles from its border, while the United States is establishing bases 6,000 and 7,000 miles from its shores." When he refused the censor's demand to delete these passages, BBC cancelled the broadcast.

On July 4 the U. S. government will go through a highly publicized and showy ceremony to deceive the world into believing that it is granting independence to the Philippine Islands. In reality as the July issue of Fourth International points out, behind the pomp and pageantry Wall Street, through its political servants in Washington, will tighten its greedy grip upon the Filipino masses in order to further enslave and despoil them.

Twelve years after the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act in 1934 by Congress, the

## OLD JOB, NEW TITLE



McNUTT

Philippine Commonwealth will become the Philippine Republic. But behind the new form, the content of colonial slavery remains the same. There is no change even in the figure assigned by the U. S. government to the task of keeping the Filipinos in bondage to Wall Street. Paul V. McNutt, the U. S. High Commissioner to the Philippines, will go. But Paul V. McNutt, the U. S. Ambassador to the Philippines, will carry on the same imperialist job.

## TIGHTEN GRIP

What does Wall Street's "independence" mean economically for the 18,000,000 Filipinos? First, the Philippines are compelled to amend their constitution to permit American business men and American capital to enter the Philippines on the same terms and with the same rights as Filipino businessmen and capital. The Philippine peso is to be pegged to the U. S. dollar. American Big Business thus fastens its grip on the country's national economy with enforced constitutional guarantees.

The Philippines will receive \$625,000,000 from the U. S. as aid in reconstruction, but the materials, technical services and personnel will be placed in the hands of U. S. administrators. Moreover, none of the money will become available unless the Philippine government accepts the provisions of the Philippine Trade Act of 1946. This provides that Philippine exports to the U. S. shall continue to be duty free until 1954, and subject to a progressively increasing tariff during the 20 years thereafter.

Exports, limited by quotas, are to be allocated, as the U. S. specifies, among Philippine exporters, mainly Americans, who were in business before the war. Thus in every way, and on a vast scale than ever before the rich-

## Behold German For Opposing Rule

(Special To The Militant)

LONDON, June 13—An indication of the criminal policies of the British Labor government in the German zone of occupation is the recent Associated Press report: "Kurt Rogener, found responsible for issuing anti-British posters in the British zone of Germany, has been beheaded for inciting the populace to rise against the occupying authorities."

The politics of Kurt Rogener are not known, but it is clear that all forms of German left wing organizations which fall foul of the occupying authorities are in danger not only of suppression but of the barbarism of British reaction, sanctioned by the Labor government.

as of "independent" Philippines will continue to be siphoned off by the Wall Street profiteers. For the masses, the Philippines will remain a collection of plantations with a few factories processing profitable export crops. The economy will remain backward, the people poor and enslaved.

## MILITARY BASES

With the granting of this fraudulent "independence" all the decisive powers will continue to remain in the hands of the U. S. imperialists. Last year the U. S. government demanded the right to establish its own military bases in the Philippines and to maintain them in perpetuity—that is, forever. Both Sergio Osmena, former Philippine president, and his successor, Manuel Roxas, readily agreed. A treaty specifying locations of military bases, facilities, transit rights and personnel is to be negotiated between the U. S. and the Philippine Republic after July 4. Thus, with the connivance of the native capitalist tools of American imperialism, the Philippine Republic will be thrust under more extensive American military control than ever before.

How fearful the native capitalists are of the reaction of the Philippine masses to this fake "independence" was revealed in Washington on June 14 by the Philippine Resident Commissioner Romulo. He appealed before Congress in the name of the Roxas government for U. S. intervention through the quick passage of the "Republic of the Philippines Military Assistance Act." "It is important that this bill be approved before the advent of independence," he urged. There are in the Philippines today more than 300,000 firearms in the hands of people who have no right to hold them... to have peace and order we must get assistance from the U. S. government as provided in this bill... Don't forget that our security is also America's security... You are helping us so that we can help you."

The Roxas government represents the wealthy landed capitalists, who during the war willingly collaborated with the Japanese imperialists in order to protect their own profits and privileges. Today they are betraying the independence movement in return for the same protection by the U. S. imperialists.

## FEAR REBELLION

The landowners are frightened by the angry rebellion of the peasants who rose and threatened to topple the whole parasitic system. They tremble with fear before the rising agrarian movement led by the fighting Huk-balahaps. Thus the native capitalists are more than willing to serve as junior partner of the American imperialists and share with Wall Street the exploitation of the Philippines.

In this, the native capitalist class of the Philippines differs in no respect from the native capitalist class in India. Both are betraying the struggle for genuine independence in return for whatever concessions they can extort from the imperialist rulers. For in the Philippines, as in India, a genuine struggle for freedom would mean independence not only from the imperialists but from their native betrayers as well.

## READ

Fourth International

## New Marxist Paper Issued In Norway

Optakt, a new organ for revolutionary socialists, made its first appearance in Norway on May 1 of this year. Its publishers are a group of Marxists who during the German occupation had issued several illegal papers taking up the struggle against the capitalist hegemony of the resistance movement. Participants in the group are members of both the Norwegian Labor Party and the Communist Party.

The new publication is dedicated to the restoration of Marxism and to a socialist orientation for the labor movement.

Norway today has a labor government; but, alas, it rests content with the continuation of capitalism. Its main slogan has become that of all European social reformers, Stalinists included: "Increase production." Simultaneously, the workers are informed that the standard of living must be reduced. One of its first acts, following the "liberation," was the establishment of a Wage Labor Board to have final authority over all wages.

STALINISTS JOIN

The Stalinist leaders have joined the team. In fact they carried the ball. When the first board decision went against the national labor federation, they admonished the workers:

"Wages are not everything to us. We have a labor government; we have a labor majority in Parliament... We must tighten the belt and put the shoulders to the wheel. It is for Norway, for Norway's future, for the future of our children; let them not be ashamed of us... Speed up the work tempo. Make an end to laziness."

At the May Day demonstration in Oslo, Prime Minister Ger-

goal: a world freed of all suffering and oppression; a new world based on social justice.

It was not only Roosevelt and Churchill who promised that through the Atlantic Charter, Labor's own leaders supported the illusion, the Communist as well as the Social Democrat. And the people believed it, even after Roosevelt had declared that there was no Atlantic Charter.

In collaboration with "the progressive section of the bourgeoisie" we were to destroy reaction and open up the road to socialism.

In this manner the capitalists succeeded in establishing their control over the resistance movement and infusing it with their ideology. The best youth from the labor movement fought for "king and fatherland" and laid down their lives without being permitted to voice their own objectives. Those who dared to bring forward revolutionary perspectives were stamped as provocateurs.

The workers faced the "liberation" with illusions and with hope; but without leaders who could give them an outlook and a program. And ensuing events took cruel revenge. They have given the Labor Party a majority in Parliament and the power of government. But this labor government does not feel itself as a labor government. It solidarizes itself with the capitalist state, which it administers and with which it remains content.

Maybe it is not so easy to understand these political developments in Norway; but economically the workers feel it from day to day through the lowered standard of living. That is why they react with cynicism, dis-

appointment and passivity.

This is a dangerous development.

It can end in fatalism in face of a new (camouflaged) Nazism, and in the face of a new war.

There is only one way in which we can meet this danger.

The Norwegian labor movement is built upon two foundation stones:

An independent trade union organization for the daily struggles for the standard of living of the workers and a revolutionary socialist program based on the theoretical concepts of Marxism.

## OUR PROGRAM

These are the values which were today in the danger zone and which we must unitedly defend. In the first instance this is a defensive program. But it is the only one which can give us the strength to again open up the offensive for socialist objectives. And this time we are not permitting anything or anybody to stand in the way. We shall make the analysis so clear and pose the objectives so sharply that nobody shall be able to swindle them away.

This is going to be our program for May Day 1946.

## NEWARK

'The Crimes Of Big Business In War And Peace'

Speaker:

MAX GELDMAN  
FRIDAY, JUNE 28  
423 Springfield 8:30 p.m.



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



Labor representatives in Congress would demand effective government policing of the market. They would fight for full exposure of profiteering and black marketeers. They would

Thus Stalin's new code, like the military regulations he put into effect before it, serves the effect of not only alienating support for the Soviet Union but also of justifying the regime of "barracks discipline" in the U. S. Army.



life insurance company representative, and every railroad em-

The bewildered management threatened to sue the union for misappropriation of funds. But, apparently on advice of higher-ups who feared the consequences in the tense atmosphere of class conflict pervading France at present, they retreated and granted all the most important demands. After the settlement, the premises were turned back to the owners.



# WORKERS' FORUM

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

## Union Hiring Hall For All Workers

**Editor:**  
The June 15 issue of The Militant contained an interesting article by F. J. Lang entitled "Notes of a Seaman," in which the system of Union Hiring was defended and its advantages to such workers was explained.

It is nice to know that Union Hiring halls guarantee fair and equal job opportunities for all seamen, and that it insures that all working rules in the Union contract are respected by the operators and thus the Union mentioned has not abused its control of hiring.

At this moment I am wondering whether it would be an advantage for all unions to have the control of the hiring of workers instead of the hiring being controlled by P. and L. Business and the government through the United States Employment Service.

After all, the hiring of any worker can easily be influenced by various organizations and even individuals. However, all workers who belong to a Union are more or less under the control of that Union, and they guard their seniority privileges.

A. S.  
Toledo, O.

## Demands Government Act On Cancer Research

**Editor:**  
To say that cancer is a dreadful disease would be to put it mildly. Research is the keynote and the only hope for those unfortunate people who suffer from cancer.

To find the answer to this medical problem the government should immediately appropriate half a billion dollars and conduct the research program with the same speed and effort that went into atomic research.

It goes without saying that millions of people are doomed to death needlessly if a real program of cancer research is not undertaken immediately. It is very obvious that the government has the money, resources and the scientific talent for this program.

Failure on the part of the government to act immediately can only be interpreted as neglect of duty on purpose. It can and must be answered by mass action.

H. K.  
Newark, N. J.

## Praises Good Work

**Editor:**  
I am sending you \$1 for the renewal of my Militant subscription for one year. Sorry I could not send it to you before. I want to tell you I appreciate very much the good work you are doing to enlighten and clear the mind of the workers so they will be able to understand their economic interests in this confused world.

H. A.  
Chicago, Ill.

## "QUESTION FROM TARAWA..."

Can crosses lift their arms and beckon,  
Do dead men speak? I sometimes wonder—  
Is that the surf that I hear rumbling,  
Or voices raised in outraged thunder?  
"Where now, this brave, new world we fought for?  
The Peace and Plenty overwhelming,  
The Golden Horn of Cornucopia,  
The dazzling dream that died aborning?  
What now, you pompous, braying donkeys,  
What platitudes have you to proffer?  
What saraband of sleazy phrases,  
Or empty bag of tricks to offer?  
Atomic bombs and shattered cities,  
The come of your civilization!  
With babies' bodies blown to dust, as  
A symbol of its coronation..."

Eddie Dumaine

## Reply To M. A. Wagner On What "Militant" Fights For

**Editor:**

M. A. Wagner said in his letter last week that he "read The Militant carefully for the past six months" and that "not once have I seen one constructive suggestion to make this world a better place in which to live."

Maybe he doesn't think socialism is constructive. Does he think capitalism is constructive when it's getting ready to heave the atom bomb? I'll take socialism which is what The Militant is fighting for.

The Militant is calling for a rising scale of wages that goes up every time prices go up. Does Brother Wagner have a better program for defending the workers from the inflation caused by the profiteers? I think that's constructive. I also think it's constructive when The Militant calls for the 30-hour week and government operation of idle plants under workers' control to fight unemployment.

He says that The Militant is full of "worn catch phrases." Is building a labor party and setting up a government run by the workers and farmers for the interests of the big majority just "worn catch phrases"? Or does he prefer the "new" catchphrases like the "Four Freedoms" which the sixty richest families who rule this country put out to fool the people?

How does he figure that The Militant is trying to "incite" the "complete breakdown of our social and economic structure with resulting chaos"? Capitalism is already doing that for us with its depressions, inflation, fascism and two world wars in 25 years. Now they're getting ready for another world war with the atom bomb and germ warfare.

He can't see why The Militant attacks the corporation owners on one page and the union leaders on the next. As far as I can see, it's all part of the same fight. The Militant is helping labor when it shows that its leaders are not putting up a strong enough fight. How can the workers win if their leaders play ball with capitalist politicians and fold up under fire?

I don't know what he means

by the word "carefully." If he read The Militant carefully even once he would have seen on Page Five where it says: "Our Program." That's got some points that are a good starter for a constructive program. I don't mean constructive for the rich. But constructive for the people who do the work.

A. L. P.  
New York

## How Trotskyist Youth Raised Funds For 'The Militant'

**Editor:**  
The New York Trotskyist Youth Group finished The Militant Expansion Fund Campaign at the top of the scoreboard with 253 per cent of its \$50 quota. Readers of The Militant will be interested to know where this money came from. The pocketbooks of the 15 to 18-year old members of the Youth Group are very slim indeed. Some get a small allowance of spending money each week from their families. Many work part time after school. Some contribute to the support of their parents.

It took financial sacrifice to raise the money they did for the support of The Militant. Each week they contributed money on their pledges. The dimes, quarters, and dollars piled up. Not a week went by that the Militant Fund Director did not receive some money from these young fighters for socialism.

These young Trotskyists take their ideas seriously. Talk is not enough. The job of building the party takes work and takes money.

These young comrades proved they could do both. And a note of this kind would not be complete without the mention of our 15-year-old campaign director, Comrade Grace Wayne who did so much to put the youth on top of the scoreboard.

R. A.  
New York

## Why Migrant Workers Struck



Migrant workers tricked by promises of "good pay and comfortable quarters," went to work at the Starkey farms, Morrisville, Pennsylvania. They found one barn and one outside pump provided for the living, washing and cooking needs of over 50 families. Now organized into the AFL Meat and Cannery Workers Local 65, they are striking for higher wages and better conditions.

## Readers Tell Of Weeks At Mid-West Vacation-School

**Editor:**

I would like to say a few things about the Mid-West Vacation School and Camp which is about to reopen June 30.

First I would like to comment on the classes. Never in my life have I had the opportunity to attend classes under such delightful circumstances.

Imagine a beautiful setting of tall trees and rich green grass with groups of workers loitering in camp chairs or lying on the ground, their bodies absorbing good old vitamin D while their minds are drinking in knowledge imparted by a staff of very capable teachers. If the day happens to be rainy, the class is held on the pavilion, where you can idly watch the rain drops dancing across Little Pleasant Lake, while you listen to the lecturer explain Marxian economics, Historical Materialism, etc. Can anyone think of a more delightful way to learn the things a Marxist should know in order to carry on the fight for a Socialist world?

What did I learn at the school? Did it help me in any way? When I went to camp last summer I was practically a new member of the Socialist Workers Party. I was completely lacking in trade union experience. I was too timid to even ask a question at a union meeting. Just sitting there like a bump on a log not possessing the necessary self assurance to make myself heard.

Oh, I often felt the urge to say something, do something. Yes, I often wanted to stand up and cry out against a system that kept workers in a virtual state of bondage while it provided plenty for a very small portion of society. I instinctively knew that the union was the place to do something about it. But what could I do about it? What weapons did I have to fight with?

To be able to get up in a union meeting and say something I must first have something to say. To make my arguments against this damnable system of capitalism stick, I realized I must have something better to offer in its place. My problem was to find that something better and find a method of selling it to my fellow worker.

V. Foley  
Cleveland, O.

## Offers Week At Mid-West School

**Editor:**

The ads in The Militant of the Midwest Camp make my mouth water! I want — no end — to be there again this summer. But there is just no chance, it seems. I have been under doctor's orders for the past six months and it will be several more before I get out from under. Anyhow I imagine that the reservations will be coming in faster than you can take care of them this year... and I feel that it is more important that some young worker comrade should have the opportunity — than for myself.

So I am enclosing a check for \$25 for someone who should have the education and opportunity for closer contact with the party — someone who might not be able to afford it. I am sure you know of some such person.

I know from my own experience at the camp last year that one can obtain much more "education" from one week's classes there than is possible in a six-weeks' course of classes in a local school. Perhaps one absorbs some of it from the atmosphere! Anyhow one has a much better opportunity to concentrate and a day after day schedule is much more conducive to study. Also the concentrated courses make the subject much easier to grasp than when there is a week between classes.

I've been thinking — ever since last summer at Midwest Camp — what a wonderful educational uplift it would give the Socialist Workers Party if ways and means could be worked out for every comrade to attend such a summer school.

A Reader

**BROOKLYN**  
Watermelon Social  
Saturday, June 29  
Socialist Workers Party  
635 Fulton St. 8:30 p.m.

## Pioneer Notes

Off the press only three weeks, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International" has already sold more than 2,000 copies. Out of print a year, this historic document now appears as No. 1 of Pioneer Pocket Library, which will include various outstanding Marxian and Trotskyist works in a convenient uniform size and design.

"A beautiful jacket for a series," agreed several New York buyers, "and just what we've been needing: a uniform pocket size of the classics."

This work was formerly part of "The Founding Conference of the Fourth International," published in 1939. It comprises the transitional program adopted by the Founding Conference, as written by Leon Trotsky.

Trotskyist works are in demand in the farthest corners of the world. Most of the readers would not be permitted to send money to America even if they could spare it, but Pioneer has tried to supply as many requests as possible.

"My joy is indescribable," writes a reader in Athens, acknowledging a shipment with apologies. "I regret I cannot help you by sending money. Now I shall be able to understand the great and serious facts taking place in the last years. Accept, please, my warmest thanks and gratitude."

Other recent requests have come from Ceylon, Shanghai, Jerusalem, Cairo, several South American cities and South Africa, besides central Europe.

From Lancashire, England, we are informed: "This area, outside Merseyside, is virgin territory for the Trotskyists so we will be sending now to London for more classics of the Fourth International. I am glad to hear you are centralizing orders through the RCP (Revolutionary Communist Party) in London. I will certainly help to plan the sales so books can be directed to areas at present desperately short of material."

"THE DEATH AGONY OF CAPITALISM AND THE TASKS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL," Pioneer Pocket Library edition, 25 cents. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

## Youth Group Activities

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

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

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

**PHILADELPHIA**—Youth Forums held every Saturday, 8 p.m. 1303-05 W. Girard, 2nd floor. **LOS ANGELES**—Socialist Youth Club meets every Thursday, 8 p.m., at SWP headquarters, 318½ 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.

## Stalinists Fail To Halt 'Militant' Distribution

**Editor:**

Another evidence of the campaign by the Communist (Stalinist) Party to prevent distribution of The Militant to trade unionists occurred here last night, June 7, in front of the local CIO hall. The business agent of United Steel Workers Local 1778 attacked and knocked down a Militant distributor when the latter refused to give up his democratic right to distribute the paper to any worker who wanted it.

The distributors explained to the workers who had collected because of the disturbance that the issue at stake was freedom to distribute The Militant, and that no official of a union has a right to deny this freedom because he happens to disagree with the ideas presented by the Militant.

It was reported later that inside the hall the Militant was passed from hand to hand and even Stalinist sympathizers were reading the article on Browder's "Mission to Moscow."

A. C.  
Oakland, Calif.



The Militant is read today by workers in almost every section of American industry, as indicated by a few of the subscriptions sent in this week.

A. Field of Minneapolis sent five subscriptions from railroad workers.

E. Brent mailed in subs for Detroit auto workers, commenting that the response the paper "is receiving from GM workers is very good indeed, that most of them who subscribed for six months while on strike are now paying for one year."

Irene James of Portland, Oregon, forwarded \$1 contributed by a subscriber "who also brought in a half dozen subs for friends—all lumber workers—and promised more subs in the near future." She goes on to say that "this is the kind of subscriber who will make The Militant a mass paper in the coming period."

We have many subscribers who are enthusiastic about The Militant and want their friends to read it too.

B. A. Barstow of Cleveland sent in subs for two of his friends.

A. C. Booth of Branscomb, Calif., asked us to send a sub to a young man "who is open minded and introduced himself as 'maybe pretty red.'" This new subscriber is a woodsman.

Albert Krause of Star Junction, Pa., renewed his own sub and sent a sub for a friend.

Mrs. Helen Cameron of Santa Monica, Calif., mailed in a sub for her sister.

A friend of The Militant in Washington, D. C., sends money almost every week for copies of the paper to be sent to various friends of his.

The Militant is not only being introduced to workers through the efforts of individual subscribers, but is being widely circulated by our comrades in various branches throughout the country.

The Cleveland Branch has sent in four or five batches of subs within the last few weeks, the last one containing 18 subs. George Grant reports that "Cleveland has rolled up 202 renewals since April 1."

Buffalo has started a two-

month sub campaign, with the comrades in auto challenging the rest of the branch. The auto comrades enthusiastically promised 50 subs by the end of the first week. This is the first week's report from Libby Jones: "I am sending in 64 subs. These are the subs from the auto team which exceeded their promise of 50 by 14 subs during the first week. The city-wide team is way behind with 18 subs, but we will catch up. Our work is slower as it is mainly door-to-door work, but we will stick at it."

Ann Alexander reports on the sub campaign organized by San Francisco: "30 subs enclosed. All these came from our recall work. As I wrote you once before, we have organized our recall work on a real campaign basis with full mobilizations every Sunday morning. Those who cannot go on Sunday get folders and go out on their available time, usually in the evening. There will be a prize for the one with the highest number of subs, new and renewed. The prize is a set of Lenin's Collected Works. So far Joan Wakefield is the highest scorer with 181 points."

Minneapolis too has organized its sub work. A. Field writes: "We are putting our call-back work on a campaign basis. The campaign will end Sept. 1 and we are offering literature from the Labor Book Store for first, second and third prize to the comrades who get the most renewals."

Al Cutler of Boston writes that "the summer months coming along makes it more difficult to do as much door-to-door work." But in spite of summer the Boston Branch sent in 18 subs in this same letter and 16 in a letter just received.

It is heartening to know that our comrades in Holland are doing a good job in distributing The Militant. We quote an excerpt from their letter: "We take care that your Militant is sold in the busiest paper shop in the City of Amsterdam and it finds there a good sale. The owner of the shop informed us that most of the buyers are American and English soldiers, including Negroes."

## OUR PROGRAM:

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

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

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

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

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

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

No restriction on the right to strike!

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

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

Down with Jim Crow!

### 5. Build an independent labor party!

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

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

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

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

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

For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!

Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

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

## Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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

I would like:

- ☐ To join the Socialist Workers Party.
- ☐ To obtain further information about your organization.
- ☐ To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

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CITY \_\_\_\_\_  
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## Fourth International

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## NEW YORK 3 Public Meetings STALINISM OR LENINISM

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### The Fruits of Stalin's Foreign Policy

Speaker: DAVID WEISS

### Stalinism: The Betrayal of Leninism

Speaker: M. STEIN, organizational secretary, SWP

#### This Week:

<b>BRONX</b> Friday, July 5, 8 p.m. Joseph Hansen 1034 Prospect	<b>CENTRAL</b> Friday, July 5, 8 p.m. M. Stein 116 University Pl.
<b>HARLEM</b> Thursday, July 11, 8 p.m. M. Stein 103 W. 110th, Room 23	<b>BROOKLYN</b> Thursday, July 11, 8 p.m. Joseph Hansen 635 Fulton St.

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

Season June 30-Aug. 17 Adults \$25 week, Children \$15  
QSCAR 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 \_\_\_\_\_



# THE HOLE --

## A Short Story

### By Theodore Kovalsky

Paul threw away the match and inhaled deeply, expanding his chest and leaning his head back against the dirt-encrusted brick wall of the cast house. It would soon be time.

He watched Slim pack the sand against the bleed-out gate and saw Cramer, the boss, saunter over toward one of the spouts and lean on the rail, signalling with his hand to the switchman to get the ladles spotted correctly. Paul slumped back against the wall feeling the weakness in his legs and the soft turmoil in his stomach. "Jesus Christ," he told himself, "this ain't nothing. This ain't nothing at all next to the shells and bombs!"

He glanced furtively at the hand that held his cigarette. He could feel the tremor, but it wasn't evident. He dropped his hand to his thigh, letting it rest there. Then he raised it swiftly to his mouth, resting a couple of his fingers on his chin. Nobody was going to see that he had the jitters. He drew on the cigarette and once again dropped his hand to his lap, quickly so that none of the gang would see if it should shake.

Deep inside his stomach was a terrible emptiness, a void of quivering fear. Old Matt walked toward the trough, adjusting his goggles. That simple motion threw Paul into a fresh paroxysm of terror. If the tapping hole blew out on you when you were drilling it, the goggles would protect your eyes from the molten iron and the blinding white rush of the flame. Oh, fine! Your eyes would be OK... but what about the rest of you? What the hell did a dead man want with eyes?

#### Jud Wilson Got It

Jud Wilson had been second helper up on Number Four years ago, three-four years before Paul was drafted. Paul remembered all about Jud. He didn't see it happen, but the whole department had talked about it in the locker rooms and in the blast furnace shanties. Men from other departments had walked up to him at the bar in Emil's place and asked him, "Hey, how'd that guy get burned up over in blast furnace yesterday?" He himself had asked Pete, "Jeez, how'd Jud get it?"—so he knew.

He knew how the tapping hole had been wet when they drilled it out. The gang didn't know it at the time, but everybody knew it afterward. Everybody knew Steve, the keeper, and Jud had drilled too far, and the iron had come out on him. Funny, Steve should have caught it worse than Jud, but Steve just got his arm pretty badly burned, and Jud!—Christ, he got knocked right off the sheet irons into the trough with that goddam gas blowing right over him and the iron covering him up!

Couldn't have hurt him much, Paul mused. He never let out a peep. He must have got burned so bad it killed him right away before it had time to hurt much—like the guy that fell in the ladle once. He never let out a peep, either.

What the hell! If it don't hurt... You got to go sometime, and when that time comes you're gonna go, even if you're just laying in bed home or getting a shot at Emil's, and if it don't hurt none, then you're lucky.

Paul reasoned it all out, but there was no comfort. He didn't think his time had come, and he felt that maybe somehow there'd be a mistake and the tapping hole might blow out and burn him up like it did Jud, even if his time hadn't really come yet. And maybe it would hurt. It might hurt like all hell with the gas burning every inch of your face and body (even if the goggles saved your eyes), and the hot iron shooting and spraying all over you, cutting into you like bullets, burning you full of holes. For all he knew it might feel just like when you catch a spark inside your glove, and it burns a little hole in the side of your hand. Only this would be a couple million times worse. This would be your whole body, both your hands, all your fingers, your stomach, your...

Paul recalled once when he was a kid tight-rope walking along an iron rail fence and he fell, straddling the rail. He remembered the thick gas that rolled heavily from his mouth when he had tried to yell in his agony. He remembered lying curled up on the sidewalk, his bowels packed with a creeping pain, wishing he could die. And he thought of the flying, molten iron. Christ, what if it didn't burn you all up, what if a big splash of it just caught you there, like getting socked with a ten pound sledge and burned with acid and fire and hot tar all rolled up in one?

Sweat gathered under Paul's armpits and overflowed down his sides, tickling like crotches, making him think of the army again. Once more he told himself firmly, desperately, "This ain't nothing next to Normandy." He tried to drag his mind back to the invasion, back to the terror of the bombings when he had crouched in his foxhole, certain that the next one had his name written right across the side of it.

#### Now It Was Time

He leaped up from the board he was sitting on at the sound of a rumbling explosion. He stared excitedly around the furnace floor, looking to see what had blown up. Then he sat down again feeling foolish and hoping nobody had seen him. The sound had been only an engine banging into a couple of mud cars on the siding near the gas washer. "Them damn cars," he thought to himself with irritation. "They always sound like the whole blast furnace is blowing up!"

Slim was drying the sand now. Paul knew it was time, but he didn't move. He knew the boss would tell him to get started drilling out the hole with old Matt, and he knew Matt was standing there at the trough glaring at him. But still he sat there, pretending not to notice, stalling, staying away from that hole a few seconds longer, staying alive a few precious moments more.

"Let's go, Paul," Cramer said to him, a little surprise in his voice, because he knew Paul knew it was time. "What are you, day-dreaming?"

Paul grinned a little sheepishly and got up, fastening his furnace coat. The company gave you the coats, and they were supposed to be non-inflammable, that is, you could hold a match to them, and they wouldn't go up in flames. Only, if that hot iron ever hit them, it would



go right through, like sticking a knife through a piece of newspaper.

"Come on, come on," Matt was bawling, standing there on his side of the sheet irons, holding up his side of the drill.

"Take it easy, you old Hunkey bastard," Paul retorted. "We got eight hours here." He pushed his goggles down over his eyes and pulled on his gloves.

"Ah, I thought maybe the army make a man out of you," the old man muttered in surly banter. "You still no --- good, just like before you go away."

Paul stepped across the sheet irons that formed a temporary bridge over the trough and took his side of the drill handle.

"Hole dry?" he asked with forced nonchalance over the whirling of the drill.

"I de know," mimicked Paul, trying to get into the old spirit of kidding. "Take that hunk of tobacco out of your mouth, and maybe you can talk English."

The old man spat. The tobacco juice lay on the sheet iron, glowing amber in the dull glare of the lights, which hung forty or fifty feet above them from the steel beams of the east house roof.

#### You Never Knew

Paul pushed on the drill handle, tensely watching the hole. You never knew how deep the hole was. One time the guys over on Number Two only got a foot and a half in when the iron came out. Only it came slowly, and they both got out of the way without getting burned.

The drill began to grate on something hard. Paul looked at Matt, but Matt kept his weight on the machine, his bent old body swaying slightly with the turning of the drill.

"We on the iron?" Paul finally asked.

"Naw. Lump."

Paul wondered fearfully how the old man could be sure. Perhaps they were drilling into the crust. Perhaps in a moment they would break through, and then...

The grinding stopped, and again the drill began moving steadily through the tapping hole. Paul repressed a sigh of relief. He raised the back of his glove and wiped it across his dripping forehead. "Hot, up there," he said lightly to the keeper.

Matt didn't answer. Steadily, mechanically, he leaned his weight on the handle and spat once more.

The anguish rose up again inside Paul. The relief of finding they weren't drilling the crust had passed. Every inch brought them nearer to the iron. They hadn't hit it that time, but there was no telling how close they were to it. Besides, you didn't always feel it. Sometimes the crust was soft, and you could drill right into the middle of the damn furnace without knowing any better. And there was about eighteen pounds of pressure per square inch inside there, trying to push that iron and fire out at you!

Matt and Paul were leaning forward now, the front of the electric drill almost under the splashers. Matt pulled back, swinging the machine out of the way. Paul stood at the side of the trough a moment, waiting for the clay dust to clear away. You never knew for sure if it was just dust. There might be some smoke; and if there was any smoke coming out of the tapping hole... look out!

The dust sifted away into the air. Paul stepped onto the sheet irons, grabbed the long, spearlike drill with both hands, and pulled. It was stuck. He braced one foot against the splashers and pulled again. He jerked it back and forth, and it moved about six inches. Paul braced himself again, yanking frantically, panic soaring blindly through him. He was right in front of the hole. He couldn't see what was down there. It might come any time, and there'd be no way in the world for him to get out of the way. Finally, he wrenched it loose and carried it, exhausted, over to the rack.

Matt pushed the air pipe into the hole. Paul turned the valve handle, and a great, gray cloud poured from the hole. The keeper banged the pipe against the end of the hole. He hit it again and again. "Christ!" Paul thought hopelessly, as he heard the thump, thump of the pipe. When you got to the end of the hole the pipe would bang on the crust; but when there was more clay in there, it would make a dull thumping noise. That meant you had to get the longer drill.

He turned off the air at Matt's signal and went back to the rack for the other drill. Then he remembered! In his general excitement, he had forgotten to notice whether or not the drill was wet!

He examined the drill. It looked smeared, but he couldn't be sure. The clay in the tapping hole was always hot, hot as hell, and if the drill had been wet, the heat had dried it by now. He picked up the long drill, cursing himself for not having noticed. Now he didn't know what to expect.

He tried to think, "Oh, well, if I looked at it and it was wet, I'd feel a hell of a lot worse," but it didn't work. He knew he couldn't feel any worse. He was scared. He was yellow. He was a lousy, yellow bastard! But that didn't work either. He couldn't work up any self-contempt. He was just plain scared, and he couldn't help himself.

The machine began to whirl again. He wondered if old Matt would take it easy, but, looking over, he saw the keeper pushing against the handle with all his weight. They were in a long way now. The iron had to be pretty close. It might come out any time.

They said the third helper ran up to the trough that time the iron got Jud. They said he ran up there in all that fire and tried to pull Jud out, but when he pulled at Jud's arm... the arm came off! Then the gang got long hooks and

pulled the rest of Jud, what was left of him floating and burning on top of the iron, out of the trough.

They said you could smell burnt flesh on Number Four for a week.

(The gang would come up for the next shift. Maybe they wouldn't know about it. Somebody would say, "Jesus! What stinks?" If Cramer was still there, he'd probably look kind of pale. He'd say, kind of hoarse, "Paul got burnt up!" They'd all jump and holler, "How'd it happen?" "Him and old Matt drilled into the iron. Wet hole. Matt's in the hospital. Don't know how bad he's burned yet. Ain't much left of Paul.")

#### The Last Step...

The drill bored steadily into the tapping hole, inching closer to the iron, closer to danger, closer to death and agony. Sweat streamed down Paul's back. He could feel little rivulets trickling down his legs into his socks. A couple of gondolas crashed together again down on the tracks. Paul didn't jump outwardly this time, but a terrible, jarring shock rocked his intestines. Silently he moaned. It was too much. Let the goddam iron come, only get it over with!

Matt drew back again, pulling the machine with him. A couple of the other guys unhooked the cable and carried the electric drill over to its

rack. Paul looked. He saw the long bar protruding from the tapping hole. He knew the diamond-shaped cutting end was close to the iron, if not right against it. Maybe when he pulled it out...

With dull hopelessness replacing his former panic, he reached for it. Vaguely he wished he had looked at the other drill to see whether or not it was wet. If the hole was dry, he'd be all right. Iron didn't blow out of a dry hole like it did a wet one. Iron and water don't mix, somehow.

But he hadn't looked in time. If the hole was wet, he didn't know it. He had to pull the drill out so Matt could blow out the hole. Then they'd burn it the rest of the way with oxygen, that is, if it didn't blow out first! God, he thought, if he got through this all right, he'd be okay until tomorrow, and then he'd have it all to go through again.

He put both hands on the drill. At the end of the hole was the iron, molten iron and fire, and eighteen pounds of pressure per square inch. The drill might be through the crust. When he pulled it out, everything might come with it... and him right in front of it all, with not a chance in the world to get out of the way.

Paul braced his foot against the splashers and pulled...

(The End)

## \$855 Pledged At N. J. Dinner For Election Campaign Of SWP

NEWARK, N. J., June 21—A high mark in the activities of the Socialist Workers Party here was the enthusiastic Election Campaign Dinner held at SWP headquarters last Saturday. It ended with a total of \$855 being pledged for the Party's activities in the 1946 campaign.

Seated around the decorated banquet table, the members and friends of the Party were served a delicious four-course meal, prepared by an all-male committee headed by Jack Reid, Russell Roberts and George Holley.

#### CANDIDATES SPEAK

Alan Kohlman, SWP organizer, introduced the after-dinner speakers. First to speak was William E. Bohannon, candidate for Congress in the 11th District. He scored the postwar unemployment and the lack of decent housing, which have hit the Negroes first and heaviest. Bohannon declared:

"I am doubly proud to be a candidate of the SWP. First, in order to champion the program of the party and the cause of the workers; second, to speak out boldly as a representative of the Negro people."

The second speaker was Arlene Phillips, candidate for Congress in the 13th District. Pointing out that the SWP participates in election campaigns in order to bring our ideas more effectively and dramatically to the workers, she said:

"While wages have been cut and unemployment rises, prices keep climbing higher and higher. Only the demand advanced by the SWP for a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living can combat these cuts in the workers' living standards."

The chairman announced that George Breitman, candidate for U. S. Senator, had sent his regrets at being unable to attend the Dinner because of illness.

Alan Kohlman, who is the

## SWP Branches In Minnesota Hold Convention

By Barbara Bruce

(Special To The Militant)

ST. PAUL, Minn., June 23

—Minnesota branches of the Socialist Workers Party will hold a state convention on Sunday, June 30, in the St. Paul headquarters of the party. Candidates for congressional and senatorial posts will be chosen to run in the state elections this fall. A campaign platform, embodying the program of the SWP, will be adopted.

Comrades in the Minnesota section of the party plan to run candidates for Congress in the third and fourth districts which cover the greater part of Minneapolis and St. Paul.

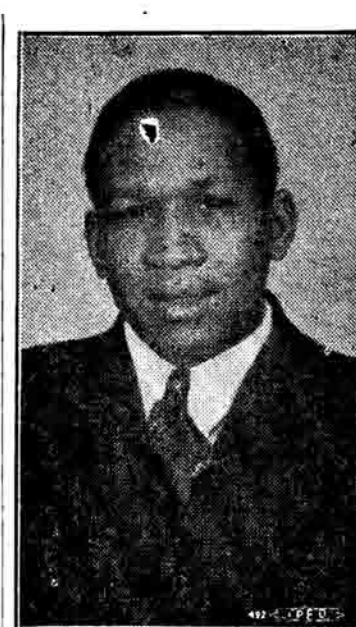
William J. Gallagher and Frank T. Starkey, so-called labor congressmen from these two districts, are running for re-election. Both representatives, elected with the endorsement of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party two years ago, voted for President Truman's anti-labor bill following the railroad strike. Hundreds of workers throughout the state, disillusioned with these "labor" representatives, are looking for bona-fide spokesmen for the cause of labor in the coming elections.

It is expected that an SWP candidate will also be chosen to run for U. S. Senator. One of the candidates already in the field is Governor Edward Thye, nominated through the influence of former-governor Harold Stassen, author of the infamous Minnesota Labor Act. This union-busting legislation has been termed the State Slave Act by Minnesota workers.

Party candidate for Governor, then outlined the campaign plans of the SWP. He concluded by noting: "The opportunity now presents itself clearly to expose and to prove to the hilt the rottenness of both boss parties. It is our duty to spread our program far and wide through radio, meetings and tens of thousands of printed leaflets. The scope of our campaign and its effectiveness depends primarily upon you, the members and friends of the SWP."

#### MAGNIFICENT RESPONSE

Those present responded magnificently to the chairman's appeal for funds to finance the campaign. It was significant that of the \$855 pledged a great percentage came from new members and friends of the Party. One worker made a pledge and then joined the Party. A. Winters, organizer of the Bayonne SWP, pledged financial support of this branch to the campaign. The spirit of comradeship which showed itself at the banquet and in the fine response in pledges, continued through the rest of the social evening.



WILLIAM BOHANNON

## Court Hearings Held On L.A. Race Covenants

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, June 22 — The court room in the state building here was jammed with approximately 250 people, about evenly divided between white and colored, as the California Supreme Court heard appeals on a dozen restrictive covenant cases last week.

Most of the suits concern Negroes who are fighting through legal channels for the right to live in their own homes. Also affected, however, are Chinese, Japanese and others, since the covenants uniformly seek to bar occupancy to "non-Caucasians."

Decisions on the cases are not expected for several months. Defense lawyers based their cases largely upon the broad issues involved, namely that covenants violate specific constitutional guarantees. Attorneys for the plaintiffs for the most part relied upon previous court decisions upholding the restrictions as valid contracts between individuals.

Many of those in the courtroom, including some from Riverside and other nearby towns, are themselves involved either in the suits now up on appeal, or in other similar suits.

#### VIOLATE CONSTITUTION

Attorney Loren Miller, representing seven cases grouped into one suit, centered his plea on the grounds that the covenants, entered into by two or more people to limit the rights of a third for reasons of race and color, violate the 14th amendment of the United States constitution, and also the constitution of the State of California.

Charles J. Katz, representing the Laws family, who face a jail sentence for contempt of court for refusing to vacate their home, pounded away at the important legal point that the injunction issued in this case to "uphold the dignity of the court" is an action of the state, and unconstitutional. Courts heretofore have frequently held that covenants are private contracts between individuals and do not involve state action.

#### LET RICH PAY!

The strong working class vote against the measure shows the workers want to put the "burden" where it belongs" right now. They are anxious to raise the teachers' pay, but they want the wealthy corporations and big real estate interests to pay for it.

For the first time in years, a city commission has been elected which appears to be completely dominated by Big Business representatives. But the Flint workers could easily break the corporation stranglehold and solve such problems as local taxation through a labor party.

The major auto and CIO locals here are on record for a labor party. With a real effort, they could build a labor party and sweep all political offices.



## SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM

Labor Power and Productive Labor

By V. Grey

"Well, it's a dirty deal," you might say, "and a tough situation when your labor produces so much and your labor power gets paid so little. But after all, why does your labor produce so much? You couldn't do it without the capitalists' machinery and factories. You couldn't do it without the inventions of Edison and other smart men. You're just a laborer after all—even if a little bit skilled. If you sell your labor power for its full value and get a decent living wage—that's really all you're entitled to."

Without modern factories and techniques we are helpless, all of us. That is true. But who made the factories? Did the capitalist, with his millions? Did even Edison, with his brains?

Ages ago the factories did not exist. And more ages before that there was no difference between labor and labor power that could be separated and exploited like it is today. And strangely enough, there were no millionaires.

At the dawn of humanity, the cave-man, or even eons later, the primitive Indian living in groups or tribes could barely produce enough from the unwilling earth even to keep alive. His labor power could not be bought and sold even if there had been someone around to buy it from him. There would have been no profit in it. For if part of the product of his labor were given to someone else, he would soon die of starvation.

But today human labor can produce thousands of times what the caveman could. For many, many centuries people have been improving their working tools, and thus increasing the productivity of labor.

No one knows who invented the wedge, the lever, the pulley, the wheel or axle. Long before writing existed, these existed. Ages before patent offices were invented, these were invented.

Yet they were tremendous advances for mankind. They made man's labor more fruitful. Labor could produce more with these elementary tools and mechanical devices. And in the last few hundred years these tools and devices have become transformed into extremely complex machines. Inventors long dead and forgotten made axes, nails and chisels from the wedge, and wagons, waterwheels and mills from the wheel. In the last century they learned to harness steam and electricity to the machines.

The physical and mental labor of our fathers and grandfathers has produced the factories, railroads and other riches that lie around us. But generations upon generations of our remotest ancestors produced the things that made our fathers' labor more productive too.

The tools and technique we have today, the accumulated capital of the past and the rightful heritage of all humanity, these are the things that make our labor so productive. Our brains, too—finer and more subtle instruments than our ancestors had, enable us to work more efficiently, to produce better things.

#### Our Heritage Turned Against Us

But still, we as laborers have only ourselves to sell—only our labor power. All that we produce—all that we labor to make—belongs to the buyers of our labor power.

Our ancestors built up such a tremendous storehouse of tools and knowledge, such a magnificent productive system, that it is impossible for each worker to own the tools that make his labor so productive.

We cannot work alone. We must work in common with hundreds of others, in order to make the kind of things and amount of things that are made today. We must work in huge factories.

Our heritage is turned against us. The capitalist, who owns the means of production—the instruments of our labor, finds us disinherited in the market place, with nothing to sell but our labor power. While our labor creates our work places and his pleasure palaces—our labor-power is rewarded with slave's bread, masquerading under the name of a "Living Wage."

Next Week: Surplus Value

## Article On China Today Featured In July "F.I."

The Civil War raging in China "is an old struggle which has been going on with varied degrees of intensity for 18 years," writes Li Fu-jen in the July issue of *Fourth International*, now on sale. "What is new—and this is something the capitalist press has consistently failed to report—is the re-emergence of the working class movement in the cities."

Tracing the wave of strikes sweeping the big cities of China, and the class strife today drawing in the "most diverse strata of the exploited and oppressed," the author declares that the movement of the masses "may well prove to be the preparatory stage of the Chinese Revolution."

#### NO LONGER ISOLATED

He studied the growth of the working class in China since 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek, with the treachery of the Stalinists, established the Kuomintang dictatorship on the ruins of the Chinese revolution. The working class dispersed from the seaboard cities during the war, has gained strength in Southwestern China. Thus it is no longer isolated geographically from the peasant movement.

The importance of the agrarian struggles, their potentialities and the maneuvers of the Stalinists to divert the peasant struggle into mild "reform" channels, are dealt with in detail by Li Fu-jen. He lays bare the fallacy of the Stalinist policy, based upon attempts to play "good" capitalists—the relatively smaller capitalists—against the big capitalists.

The unfolding struggle of the Chinese masses is today overlaid by Wall Street's onslaught against the Soviet Union. Only by understanding the fundamental conflicts on the world arena as well as on Chinese soil, can one follow intelligently the current reports of the Civil War. Li Fu-jen's Marxist analysis gives the reader this firm foundation.

Other important articles in the July issue of *Fourth International* include *Myth of Full Employment Under Capitalism* by Warren Creel, which analyzes the Henry Wallace and Beveridge plans, and an exclusive report on *Conditions in Egypt Today* by J. Damien.

The editors' *Review of the Month* discusses such major developments as the French Elections, Philippine Independence, Japan Today, and Truman and the Strike Wave.

Two discussion articles, written by Felix Morrow and Pablo, deal with perspectives of the European Revolution.

Single copies of *Fourth International* can be obtained for 25 cents, yearly subscription \$2, by writing to: Business Manager, *Fourth International*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

## BROOKLYN FORUM

### "A Program To Defeat Truman's War On Labor"

Speaker: HARRY RING

Socialist Workers Party Organizer

THURSDAY, JUNE 30, 8 p.m.

SWP Headquarters 635 Fulton St.

## BALTIMORE

Sunday Forum

JUNE 30

"Significance of the Miners' Struggle"

Speaker: MAX GELDMAN

21 W. Preston St. 8 p.m.



# How Moscow Trial "Confessions" Revealed Frameup Of Defendants

By Joseph Hansen

This is the sixth of a series of articles on the Moscow Trials and their significance.

When the Moscow Trials were exploded on the basis of incontrovertible evidence as nothing but frame-ups, the Stalinists resorted to an evasion. "What about the confessions?" they asked. For a decade this has constituted their sole defense and explanation of the horrible and sickening purges of the generation that founded the Soviet Union.

The unfortunate victims who "confessed" impossible crimes in one trial were branded as liars by the "confessors" in the next trials. But this, naturally, has not prevented the Stalinist slander machine from repeating, "What about the confessions?"

The liberals reacted to the "confessions" of Kamenev, Zinoviev and the others in two ways. One school disregarded the evidence and maintained that the confessions were true. They held that all the leading Bolsheviks except Stalin suffered moral collapse, organized a "Fifth Column" in league with Hitler and resorted to terrorism.

The other school admitted the confessions were lies from beginning to end, but then asked, "What led them to confess?" A wide current of petty bourgeois political thought held that the Bolsheviks suffered a moral collapse and willingly lied in the trials. This current of belief produced a number of books and articles speculating about the psychology of the victims in the Moscow Trials and seeking the seeds of their moral collapse in the alleged bad methods of the Bolshevik party before the October 1917 revolution.

## MILLIONS DISAPPEAR

Yet the soil of these shocking confessions is so exposed to view it seems impossible to avoid the correct explanation. First of all millions of people were hounded by the tremendous purge. Out of these millions, those who refused to capitulate to the Stalinist regime were lined up and shot or disappeared in concentration camps and prisons.

Only those who gave in to torture, threats to their families and persistent cajoling were selected for the trials. The prisoners who appeared in the limelight for public view were the product of long processing. Most of them had capitulated over the years a number of times to Stalin's demands. Step by step they were led from "confessing" one deviation to confessing a worse one, until finally these rotting hulks of men were in such a mental state they could be forced to recite any script the GPU wrote for them.

The role of torture must not be overlooked. Just as our age has returned to the type of politics studied by Machiavelli during the decline of the feudal system, so it has returned to the Inquisition. The stake has been modernized. It is now a gas chamber. And Hitler is not the only one to resort to these methods. Stalin's GPU has been in the forefront streamlining the Inquisition.

Two types of defendants sat in all the trials. (1) Obvious GPU agents. These were the obscure, unknown figures used largely to link more prominent defendants with Trotsky. (2) Seasoned capitalists. These were men, once Lenin's comrades, who made the fatal error of supporting Stalin. In every instance, such defendants as Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, etc. had spent years slandering Trotsky and praising Stalin in language a sewer rat like Stalinist columnist Mike Gold might well envy.

Not a single genuine Trotskyist appeared in any of the Moscow Trials. There was a good reason for this. They would have blown the whole fragile structure sky-high by telling what was behind the "confessions" of the other defendants.

Instead of substantiating the guilt of the defendants, the confessions do quite the opposite. They are constructed around a monstrous lie and this lie shapes the confessions, revealing itself

in countless phrases. The records of the trials might well be handed to students of scientific psychology as raw material for exercises in discovering how truth can be revealed in false confessions and false charges.

Similar imprints of the frameup appear on every page of the "confessions" of the defendants, shortened and condensed though they are by the GPU that printed and edited them.

## DEADLY EVIDENCE

One of the deadliest evidences of the frameup character of the trial is the fact that the confessions of the "criminals" follow the identical psychology pattern of the speeches of the prosecutor. They sing hosannas to Stalin and the genius-like correctness of his policies, while denouncing themselves as the most vile, stupid and dangerous enemies of the state.

In Prosecutor Vyshinsky's speech at the first trial a psychologist can point out where the frameup left its imprint, much as a paleontologist might point to impressions in stone showing where a reptile passed in some prehistoric swamp. These imprints are of three types.

First, orations to Stalin such as: "With great and unsurpassed love, the toilers of the whole world utter the name of the great teacher and leader of the peoples of the USSR—Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin!" Why this prayer in an alleged criminal trial?

Second, highly emotional cursing of the defendants: "Liars and clowns, insignificant pygmies, little dogs snarling at an elephant, this is what this gang represents!" Cursing of this sort completely replaces production of evidence.

Beside these delicate tracings is the more obvious third type—the clear tracks of the frameup in Vyshinsky's summary: "Perhaps this is all a pack of lies, an invention, the irresponsible chatter of the accused who are trying to say as much as they can against the others in order to mitigate their own ultimate fate!"

Here is another imprint: "This perhaps is one of the most striking cases in history when the word mask acquired its real meaning: these people put masks on their faces, adopted the pose of repentant sinners..."

## "NO ONE WILL BELIEVE"

Again, "Zinoviev and Kamenev performed not at all badly in one of the scenes of their cunning perfidious masquerade..." Such words as "clownish farce," "mask," "lies," "invention," and "hypocrisy," permeate Vyshinsky's speech like a guilty conscience trying to register itself.

"We know that in your defense speech you will curse Trotsky," says Vyshinsky. "But no one will believe you."

Confessions are the very poorest type of evidence. How dependable they are can be judged from the historically famous case of Galileo. Under pressure from the Catholic Church (it is not certain whether physical torture was used) this great scientist made the following "confession": "... I abjure with a sincere heart and unfeigned faith, I curse and detest the said errors and heresies... that is, of having held and believed that the Sun is the center of the universe and immovable, and that the Earth is not the center of the same, and that it does move."

We leave to petty bourgeois politicians the question whether the psychological seeds of this abysmal "confession" lay in the amoral methods followed by Galileo.

Prosecutor Vyshinsky himself is on record as to the worthlessness of unsupported confessions. A textbook on Soviet law edited by Vyshinsky declares:

"Under the system of formal proofs the admission of guilt by the accused was considered 'the best proof extant,' the sovereign proof of proofs. Nowadays faith in the absolute correctness of the defendant's admissions has been in a large measure destroyed. The accused might be pleading guilty falsely (for example, in a desire to shield another person or, by pleading guilty to a minor crime, to evade the accusation of a grave crime.) Therefore, the admission of the accused, like any other evidence, is subject to verification and evaluation in the sum total of the circumstances in the case." But it was precisely verification which was lacking in the Moscow Trials.



NATALIA TROTSKY

## STALINISTS AT NUREMBERG FEAR WIDOW OF TROTSKY

The questions of Natalia Trotsky, widow of the martyred Leon Trotsky, are feared by the Stalinist prosecution at Nuremberg. She demanded that her legal representative be permitted to cross-examine the Nazi prisoners. Such questioning would serve to further expose the infamous Moscow Frameup Trials in which Stalin vilely slandered Trotsky. Among other monstrous charges, Stalin claimed that the founder of the Red Army made a deal with Hitler through Rudolph Hess, one of the defendants now in the dock at Nuremberg.

Natalia Trotsky's demand has been widely supported by labor leaders and liberals in England, the United States, France, Belgium, Holland, Canada, Italy and other countries. Although she made her request months ago, studied silence has been the only response of the Allied prosecution and judges at Nuremberg. This highly significant silence constitutes still another damning admission of the frameup character of the Moscow Trials.

## 'Fourth International' Drive Tops 500 Subscription Goal

By Constance Locke  
Campaign Director

Fourth International's two-month campaign for 500 new readers went over the top with 551. A worthy achievement for the theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism!

Socialist competition gave high spirit to the campaign. Philadel-

phia, Youngstown and Newark—each with a quota of 20—ran a close race. Newark nosed the other two competitors out of the field with a high score of 24. Similarly, San Francisco outstripped Minneapolis (each had a quota of 25) with a total of 28.

Campaign Directors and friends have carried the enthusiasm of the campaign into their daily work. Subscriptions are still coming in from Reading, Milwaukee, Chicago, San Francisco, New York and Detroit.

People troubled and perplexed by the economic and social crisis, found in *The Militant* the only paper that tells the truth about today's burning problems. Having discovered the value of Trotskyism in providing the key to these problems, they are now proceeding further. Fourth International handles the same key issues as *The Militant* but with a wealth of additional material and more rounded analysis.

This campaign is the first step in bringing this valuable magazine to the much wider circle of readers it deserves.

## San Diego Picnic Held To Aid Workers' Relief

By Ann Cope

(Special to *The Militant*)  
SAN DIEGO, Calif., June 19—The San Diego branch of the Socialist Workers Party held its first picnic last Sunday to raise funds and food for the relief of European workers.

The picnic was a tremendous success socially and financially, with a large attendance of adults and youngsters. Entertainment took in everything from baby races to boxing matches and baseball. Numerous bakeries and delicatessens had gladly donated soft drinks, cakes and bread. \$57.45 in cash, and scores of cans of food, were collected on behalf of the American Committee for European Workers' Relief.

Subscribe To  
*The Militant*  
Use Coupon On Page 2

## TWO KINDS OF JUSTICE AT THE LICHFIELD TRIALS

The Lichfield atrocity trials, now in their seventh month, are a perfect example of the charge that there are two kinds of justice in the U. S. Army—one for enlisted men, another for officers.

These trials have proved conclusively that at the Army's prison stockade at Lichfield, England, U. S. soldiers were beaten and tortured with clubs, fists and rifle butts—at the orders of the officers and in line with the general policy to make things so unbearable at the stockade that the prisoners would prefer to be at the front.

But when the trials began, the enlisted men who as prison guards had carried out the brutal "beat-them-to-the-ground" orders of the officers were placed on trial first.

When a protest was made against this on the basis that the guards had been merely carrying out orders and that the officers were the responsible parties, Undersecretary of War Kenneth C. Royall held a press conference in Washington in order to defend this procedure.

It was being followed deliberately, he said, and "for sound legal reasons." (N. Y. Times, Apr. 9.) It would expedite the courts-martial of the officers, he declared, because after they had been tried, the enlisted men could not refuse to answer questions on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

The fraudulence of this argument has now been demonstrated to all.

The first enlisted guard to be tried was sentenced to jail for three years, reduction in pay and dishonorable discharge. The second enlisted guard was given a six months sentence.

Last week the first officer to be tried, 1st Lt. Granville Cudage, was found guilty of "authorizing imposition of unauthorized punishment, which punishment consisted of striking prisoners with clubs, forcing them to stand with nose and toes against the wall for protracted periods," etc.

For this, he was given a reprimand and fined \$250.

The reprimand could not have hurt one-tenth as much as a single blow from a club, and \$250 is roughly one month's pay.

So it turns out that the War Department's procedure did not expedite the trial of the guilty officers after all. In fact, by starting with the enlisted defendants and meting out the stiffest punishment to them, it helped to whitewash the officers and make them appear least guilty.

That is what is known as military justice.

representatives of unions, the Socialist Workers Party and civil liberties attorneys spoke. When a delegation of parents invaded his office the next day, Principal Dougherty blandly assured them it was all an "error" and that the suspended youth were reinstated without absent marks.

Stallist leaders of the American Youth for Democracy and Mobilization for Democracy not only failed to defend the victimized students but called the principal to explain they were against the leaflet distributions.

## PROTESTS FOUR IN

Indignant protests speedily poured into the Board of Education by early afternoon. Telegrams, telephone calls and personal delegations flooded the Board's office from unions, civic groups, churches and synagogues and hundreds of individuals. The American Civil Liberties Union investigated and promised action for violation of free speech.

By mid-afternoon, the shaken Board issued a press statement claiming that no students had been suspended!

Last week, just before the anti-KKK rally, the United Front Action Committee conducted another big leaflet distribution. This was followed by a meeting of the distributors, the suspended students, their parents and other friends. Rep-

resentatives of unions, the Socialist Workers Party and civil liberties attorneys spoke. When a delegation of parents invaded his office the next day, Principal Dougherty blandly assured them it was all an "error" and that the suspended youth were reinstated without absent marks.

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## The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

## News and Comments

COMMERCE, GA.—Just as in the Columbia terror case, it has been revealed here that the police are not impartial when it comes to attacks on the Negro people. You generally find them in there swinging their clubs not against, but with the mobs assaulting Negroes.

Assistant State Attorney General Dan Duke told a civic group here that a recent meeting of Klan Post No. 1 in Atlanta was attended by 38 police officers in uniform.

He also reported that an Atlanta policeman had told the Klan it would be allowed to "handle any race riot" and that such a riot was expected before the state primary on July 17. This same policeman told another Klan meeting that "if there is ever any trouble, the Klan will be permitted to do its work before the police are called out."

In Germany the workers learned that if you depend on government officials to fight fascism, then fascism is sure to win. The American workers and the Negro people must learn to depend on their own organized strength here, or results can be just as disastrous.

MARYSVILLE, Mich. — The Rev. John Safran, white, addressed the high school graduating class. He centered his talk around the report of a survey made by an inter-racial committee investigating the conditions of the 1,500 Negroes who live at the edge of that peaceful and beautiful town. He revealed that the two main plants in the area—Gar Wood Industries, Inc., and Chrysler Corp.—had refused consistently to hire any Negroes despite age-old orders from the FEPC to do so.

He further stated that all those who "countenance such discrimination and denial of the right to work share in the responsibility" of the deplorable conditions under which Negroes in the segregated ghettos are forced to live.

The very next day after this frank little talk, the trustees of the church had an emergency meeting and voted 11 to 1 to give Rev. Safran his walking papers. They said that liberalism was "all right" but that Safran was "going too far." To these "Christian" trustees it is "going too far" in the direction of brotherly love to advocate giving all citizens the right to earn a decent living and support their families in some sort of comfort and cleanliness.

Discrimination in employment has long been a favorite method

TOPEKA, Kans. — The Supreme Court has called discrimination in labor unions unconstitutional. In a suit started here to enjoin the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America from allowing Negroes to join only auxiliary lodges to the union, the high court made this far-reaching decision against the conservative Brotherhood.

Any day now we may expect to hear that this August body has also discredited and outlawed as "unconstitutional" the country's most open, most rigid and most vicious practice of discrimination in public conveyors, in restaurants, in theaters and in employment—which takes place in the nation's capital, the center of all Federal Government and home of the Supreme Court, Washington, D. C.

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

AKRON — Visit The Militant Club, 406-6 Everett Bldg., 39 East Market St., open daily except Sunday, 2 to 4 p. m.; also Wed., 7:30-9:30. Public Forums—First Sunday each month, 8 p. m.

ALBANY — BETHLEHEM — Open meeting every Thursday, 8 p. m., at Militant Labor Forum, S. E. corner Front and Hamilton Streets, Albion. Public Forums—First Sunday each month, 8:15 p. m.

BALTIMORE — For information write Box 1593, Baltimore 3, Md. Monthly forums to be announced.

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

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

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

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

DETROIT — Open house every Saturday, 8 p. m. at 6108 Linwood. Office open daily 12 to 5. Phone Tyler 7-6287. Monday, 8 p. m.—Class on "Program of SWP."

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

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

LOS ANGELES — Visit Militant Publishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p. m. Phone Richmond 4644. SAN PEDRO, Militant Publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

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

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

NEWARK — Branch meeting every Friday at 423 Springfield Ave., at 8:30. Reading room and office open Mondays to Thursdays, 4 to 10 p. m. Tues., 7:30—Basic Training class.

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

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

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

Current events discussion, Fridays at 8.

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

Sat., June 30—"Cooling Off" Watermelon Party, 8:30 p. m. CHELSEA: 130 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.

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

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

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, Friday, 6:30 to 9:30. Sat. 2-6. Sundays at 3:30, "Militant Discussion."

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

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

SAN DIEGO — P. O. Box 887.

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

SEATTLE — Visit our Headquarters, 1919½ Second Ave. Open Saturdays 12 to 5, Sunday 7:30 to 10, Wednesday 7:30 to 10.

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

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

ST. PAUL — 540 Cedar St., St. Paul 2, Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily 2:30-9:30.

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## Detroit SWP Asks For Books

The Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party, improving its facilities for friends and visitors, is now enlarging its library. All types of books, including fiction as well as revolutionary literature, will be available. Readers of *The Militant* who have books, magazines, pamphlets or other material which they can spare, are urged to donate it to the Detroit SWP library where it can be used by increasing numbers of comrades and friends. The literature, or information concerning it, should be sent to the Socialist Workers Party, 6108 Linwood, Detroit 8, Michigan.

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White Bear, Minn.

Thursday afternoon, July 4

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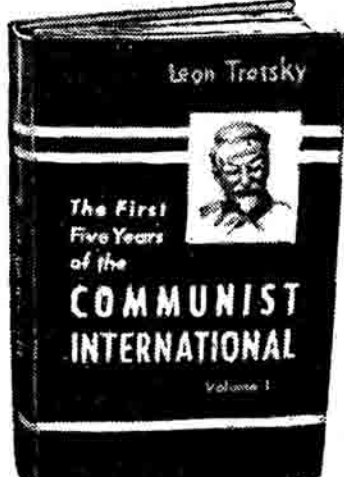
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## Diary Of A Steel Worker On The Little Island Of Bikini

By Theodore Kovalesky

There was once an island . . . in fact, there is an island which is called Bikini. But soon it may not exist.



There were on this island of Bikini dark skinned people who lived in peace and under primitive conditions until the great gray boats came, and the white men told them that they must leave their little homeland, because it was to be wiped from the face of the earth.

The island and the people are part of a great tragedy . . . a tragedy that may become the greatest in all the dark history of the world's suffering.

The uneasy dead of World War II, as it is cynically known, are but a short time in their graves. Their torn and twisted bodies have had but little time to rot. And yet, the drums of capitalism rumble again, the war clouds hover, heavy and black where sea and sky come together.

Propellers churn the blue water on the searoads to Bikini. Grim gray boats move through the Pacific (through the ocean whose name means "peaceful"), and they carry as cargo the most horrible instrument of death ever perfected by the madmen of imperialism — the atomic bomb.

At Bikini, the war-lords of Wall Street will flaunt before all the world the power that is theirs. "Look," they say, "See the force that is ours! We serve notice that from this day forward, WE are the rulers of the earth. We shall speak, and you will obey."

At Bikini will be half a billion dollars worth of ships and planes. (A quarter of a million men like you and me sweat on the furnaces and

in the mills and shops for a whole year, and at the end of that time we have earned — and spent — half a billion dollars.) And these ships and planes will be destroyed that American capitalism may display, may brandish the atomic bomb. In a world racked with poverty and need, half a billion dollars worth of value will be wiped out.

The threat of an atomic war and the wanton destruction of a vast fortune . . . these, too, are part of a tragedy. But there may yet be more . . . much more.

It has been said by men of science that an atomic bomb exploded beneath the surface of the sea might crack the ageless crust of the earth and fling the waters of the Pacific into the fiery center of the globe, upsetting the natural order of things, striking a blow into the very vitals of nature. And, it has been said, nature might strike back with the wild ferocity of the elements gone mad.

And other scientists have wondered whether such an explosion — or others — might not set off a chain of still more atomic explosions until all the atoms, all the liquids, gases, and solids of the earth — that is, everything — were disintegrated . . . until the entire earth and all upon it were demolished? The war-lords of Wall Street are little concerned with these possibilities. They long to own the earth — and to that end are willing to risk destroying it.

And what of those human beings on board the gray ships churning the ocean waters on the way to Bikini? What are their thoughts as they draw near to the time and place of the atomic bomb experiment?

There must be many white faces and hunted, fearful eyes. Seven sailors escaped before it was time to sail. How bitterly they must be envied!

Time moves forward, and the propellers churn. How great will be this tragedy?

# Incendiary Bomb Assault On Negro Widow Covered Up By Chicago Cops, SWP Reveals

By Robert L. Birchman  
(Special to The Militant)

CHICAGO, June 21—The conspiracy of silence that had surrounded the incendiary bombing of the home of Mrs. Grace Hardy, Negro widow, on the night of May 1, was broken this week. All Negro papers in Chicago except one carried the story. The daily press, however, still remains silent about this terrorist act of "white supremacists" trying to drive Mrs. Hardy from a "white" neighborhood.

All stories in the Negro press credited the Socialist Workers Party here with first exposing the facts.

Mike Bartell, Chicago organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, last Tuesday, presented the facts in the case to the meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They unanimously decided to take immediate steps to defend the right of Mrs. Hardy to her home, see that an investigation is carried out, and that the anti-Negro arsonists responsible for partially burning Mrs. Hardy's home and seriously injuring her are apprehended and punished.

Evidence uncovered by the Socialist Workers Party disclosed conclusively that the Police Department failed to conduct an investigation into the crime. The record of the bombing was no longer in the files of the neighborhood Police Station. Every policeman at the station, however, knew of the crime and referred to it as that "accident on Garfield Boulevard."

The record was found in the Bureau of Records in downtown Chicago. It was made out on a form entitled "Copy of Accident Report." The following words, "Was burned by torch that was thrown through her kitchen window by some unknown person," appear in the space for "Description of Accident." Beyond brief questioning of Mrs. Hardy at the Englewood Hospital, on the night of the bombing no police investigation has been carried out.

But the report of the Fire Department, found buried in files at a different station than the one in the neighborhood, states: "INCENDIARY BOMB thrown through window — 1st floor. Fire went to 2nd floor." (Our emphasis.)

A preliminary investigation by the Socialist Workers Party of the more than 40 similar crimes in the past two and a half years reveals a whole pattern of threats and violence that have accompanied attempts of Negroes to break down the segregation walls that enclose them in the South Side "Black Ghetto."

The record is one of bombings, arson, vandalism, breaking of windows, shooting into the homes of Negroes. There has been extensive destruction of property, numerous cases of burns and other injuries, and deaths of the victims of these acts of race terrorism.

**PATTERN OF YEARS**  
The Chicago CIO Council at its meeting last night endorsed the fight to apprehend the arsonists and protect the right of Mrs. Hardy to her home.

Representatives of the CIO Council, the NAACP and the SWP will meet this week preparatory to the organization of a united action around the case by the trade union movement, Negro organizations, working class political parties and other progressive groups.

**DEFENSE COMMITTEE**  
A special Grace Hardy Defense Committee was established. The committee and Mike Bartell interviewed representatives of the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations, who promised to conduct an investigation. Police Commissioner John C. Prendergast has refused a conference with the special NAACP committee.

In letters to both Commissioner Prendergast and Thomas H. Wright, director of the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations, NAACP Attorney Sidney A. Jones stated:

"The most serious aspect of this case is the utter failure of the Chicago Police Department to take any action whatever to attempt to solve this heinous crime. What is even worse than doing nothing is apparently, from our information, the efforts of the Chicago Police Department to completely suppress the news and records of this crime."

**CIO BACKS FIGHT**  
"Negroes cannot feel safe in Chicago with such horrible crimes as this occurring, and the fact that they are taken so casually by the Police Department. There has not been one arrest and no apprehension of any person in connection with the bombings and actions of this kind which have occurred in Chicago for the past few years."

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## Negro Home Bombed In Chicago



The shattered and burned kitchen walls of Mrs. Hardy's home are pointed out by Mike Bartell, Socialist Workers Party organizer, who broke the conspiracy of silence in the Chicago anti-Negro outrage.

## GM Not So Stingy To Its Big-Shots

General Motors, which forced its workers to strike 123 days for an 18½-cent an hour raise, really isn't as stingy as it seems. The U. S. Treasury's preliminary report on the 25 highest-salaried people in the country for 1944 lists one-third — eight of them — as GM executives.

GM President Charles E. Wilson raked in \$362,954, nearly a thousand a day. GM vice-president Ormond E. Hunt, handed \$287,745, was almost tied by GM vice-president Albert Bradley with \$276,020.

Charles F. Kettering got \$244,187. From there on, salaries petered out — Mervin E. Coyle, \$240,215; John Thomas Smith, \$232,671; Donaldson Brown, \$232,571; Edward F. Fisher, \$224,437.

GM's Harlow H. Curtice didn't even make the top 25, because he just got a trifle over \$200,000.

Sure they earned it — didn't they do their best to keep down the workers' pay?

## Who's Going To Buy The New Autos?

Who's going to buy the new autos, refrigerators, radios, houses and \$5 shirts? We've heard a lot about the huge "back-log of savings" that the American people are supposed to have piled up during the war. But who has it?

The Federal Reserve Board last week made public a survey of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. It showed there are about 80 billion dollars in savings. SIXTY PER CENT of this sum is owned by the TEN PER CENT of families in the HIGHEST income brackets. Only THREE PER CENT is owned among the 50 PER CENT of the people in the LOWEST income brackets.

The families in the LOWEST THIRTY PER CENT of income earners have NO SAVINGS at all. Those in the HIGHEST THIRTY PER CENT own EIGHTY-SEVEN AND A HALF PER CENT of savings. The remaining ELEVEN AND A HALF PER CENT of savings is owned by the THIRTY PER CENT of the middle income group.

The survey also showed that those who own most of the savings intend to hold on to them. They can still buy all they want out of their big current incomes. On the other hand, the majority of the population have little or no savings to spend. They will get less and less necessities as prices rise.

## H & M Strikers Win Demand For 18½ Cents

(Special to The Militant)

NEW YORK, June 22—The 24-day strike of 700 engineers and trainmen of the Hudson & Manhattan Railroad electric line between here and North Jersey ended today in victory for the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and Locomotive Engineers.

After forcing the workers out for more than three weeks by denying the 18½ cents an hour increase provided in the national railway settlement, the company finally accepted a decision of Truman's special "fact-finding" board which upheld the union's demand.

The company was also compelled by the unions to reinstate 50 maintenance workers fired for alleged violation of a "no-strike" clause in their contract because they refused to cross picket lines.

## NOT INTIMIDATED

The striking unions had refused to participate in the "fact-finding" proceedings. Union officials made public evidence of a former "fact-finding" board's hearings and decisions to fully substantiate their just claims. The union officials said that under no conditions would they accept less than the 18½ cents.

Instead of cracking down on H & M which was obviously trying to chisel out of the national agreement, Truman tried to put the heat on the workers to end their strike. His special "fact-finding" body prior to its wage decision, called the strike "illegal." But the workers would not be intimidated and the board was compelled to acknowledge the correctness of their demand.

## Court Upholds All-White Jury In Frame-up Of 31 Negroes

By Larissa Reed

Despite unassailable testimony from 223 witnesses regarding the Jim-Crow jury system prevailing in Columbia, Tennessee, Judge Joe M. Ingram ruled on June 19, after four weeks of hearings, that the all-white grand jury which indicted 31 Negro citizens on a frame-up charge of "attempt to commit murder" was "duly impaneled according to law."

This cynical decision was based on state testimony that 10 Negroes had been summoned for jury service in the county during the last 50 years. But the 1,000 pages of testimony reveal that not one of these ever actually served as juror. Moreover, the mass of testimony is a blanket indictment of the Jim-Crow social customs which have enforced second-class citizenship on the Negroes for decades and which resulted last February in the murderous mass assault against the entire Negro community in Columbia by Tennessee's white LILY-WHITE.

This lily-white grand jury, upheld by the Judge, after a two-and-a-half-month "investigation" failed to find any evidence of civil rights violation against the Negro citizens last February. In fact, the 3,900-word report handed down by this jury actually praises the 1,000 Tennessee

storm troopers in state uniforms who smashed through the Negro community, destroying homes and businesses, machine-gunning and terrorizing the population, arresting over 100 and shooting down two Negroes in cold blood in the jail.

The Jim-Crow court also overruled the plea of the defense attorneys provided by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to abate the "attempt to murder" indictments. It likewise turned down for a second time a plea that 25 of the indicted Negroes be given separate trials.

**LYNCH ATMOSPHERE**  
Now the Negro defendants, 10 of them war veterans and leading members of the Negro community, are ordered to stand trial in the Columbia court, in a lynch atmosphere which grows more hostile and venomous every day.

NAACP attorneys are now preparing a mass of evidence showing that the lives of defense attorneys, defendants and supporters of the defense have been openly threatened. In an effort to obtain a change of venue, the defense attorneys will present documents and evidence of the mounting race-hatred and hints of further violence which make it impossible to pick an impartial jury to try the case.

## Wall St. Uses A-Bomb Control In Power Play Against USSR

(Continued from Page 1)

man holiday was the Senate's approval of the demonstration. Up to June 14 the Senate had not yet acted. On that day Senator Huffman of Ohio observed, "today for the first time the resolution comes before the Senate of the United States for its approval or disapproval and the Senate is asked to act as a rubber stamp in placing its approval on this mighty atomic bomb show."

The Senate, of course, rubber-stamped the show. As a matter of fact, a number of Congressmen were already at sea, winning and dining out of the Navy's well-stocked larders on their way to see the big flash and column of smoke at Bikini.

The Baruch plan to place "control" of atomic energy with the UN was countered by a different plan offered June 19 by Gromyko. Gromyko called for outlawing atomic weapons, prohibition of their production or storage, and destruction of all existing atomic bombs within 90 days after his proposal went into effect. To prevent "unlawful" use of atomic energy in the future, Gromyko asked for a "system of sanctions."

Both the Baruch plan and the Gromyko plan are nothing but variations of the ancient pacifist slogan to make war impossible by "disarmament." This slogan has proved of help only to the warmongers. Although it is revived after each slaughter, the

next conflict demonstrates that it accomplished nothing but lulling the people into a false sense of security.

In the debate between Baruch and Gromyko the capitalist press has made much of Washington's alleged willingness to submit control of atomic energy to the UN if other nations would give up their veto over inspection of plants, etc. This is sheer demagoguery.

In the first place, the Anglo-American imperialists dominate the UN, thus control would remain in Wall Street's hands. Secondly, Washington would not give up any of the production secrets of atomic energy even to this puppet organization until some distant unspecified date when Washington feels its demands have been met. Thus Wall Street actually retains veto power over proposed UN control.

Wall Street spokesman Walter Lippman openly admitted this in the June 20 N. Y. Herald Tribune: "While the Baruch plan's words imply that the U. S. is opposed to the principle of veto, the American proposal is founded on the American veto . . . the treaty . . . must satisfy us or we shall veto it. There can be no international control of atomic energy without our consent. The power to prevent something from happening by withholding consent IS the veto."

## Indonesian Seamen Victims Of American-Dutch Deal

By Evelynr Atwood  
(Special to The Militant)

NEW YORK, June 20. — One hundred and seventy-eight Indonesian seamen, sent on June 7 from Ellis Island to San Francisco for immediate deportation to Java, may be the victims of a treacherous deal made between the U. S. authorities and the Netherlands government.

This fear was expressed by John Andu, president of the Indonesia League of America, after receiving an ominous letter last week from Attorney-General Tom Clark concerning the fate awaiting these seamen. They were scheduled to be herded aboard the SS Marine Lynx at San Francisco and deported on June 11.

Last October these Indonesian seamen walked off Dutch ships in New York harbor, refusing to transport arms and ammunition intended for use against their own countrymen in Indonesia. They were imprisoned on Ellis Island for six months preceding the deportation action. Following the storm of protest raised in their behalf, both the U. S. State Department and the Dutch authorities gave assurances that no reprisals would be taken against them.

**DEPORTED "DESERTERS"**  
At the U. S. District Court, Foley Square, today I saw the official documents in this case, including the cable and letter written on May 16 by the Netherlands Consulate General. The cable gave absolute "assurance to fear no prosecution nor any other reprisals on the side of the Netherlands authorities." The letter was "positively confident" that the action of the seamen did not come under the ruling of the penal code with regard to desertions of seamen. Instead, it was a "case of unilateral breach of labor agreement." As such, "the only punishment which might possibly take place would be the exclusion of the right to sign on Netherlands flag vessels for the period of one year."

However, Attorney-General Clark's letter baldly states that after inquiry at the State Department, "I have been informed that while it is not known what punishment may be meted out to the deserting seamen on their return to Java, it is not believed that such punishment would be harsher than what would be given in any ordinary case of ship desertion."

Thus, Clark admits that these heroic fighters for the freedom of their country will be treated as "deserters." What this means can be judged by the fact that Dutch concentration camps in Borneo and New Guinea are today filled with tens of thousands of Indonesian fighters for independence. These 178 seamen, together with many Indonesian residents who were rounded up in the U. S. before the ship was scheduled to sail, are apparently going to be delivered over for punishment to their greatest enemies by the U. S. government.

This underscores the dangers facing Indonesian residents in this country who are today being threatened with similar deportations. The Indonesia League is proceeding with the formation of a national defense committee to help protect them against similar injustices.

**STALINISTS ATTACK BIOGRAPHY BY TROTSKY**  
After ten weeks of silence, the Stalinists have finally appeared in New Masses with a hatchet-like job review of Leon Trotsky's book on Stalin.

Next week's Militant will feature an article analyzing this review.

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## Veterans' Problems Vets Bitter As They Sweat It Out

By Alvin Royce

The self-styled veteran experts who write for the capitalist press might write more honestly if they had to spend a few hours on one of the innumerable lines that a veteran has to sweat out after he becomes a civilian.

In the army we waited in line for chow, at the movies, for work and for pay and for just about anything our CO was kind enough to let us enjoy. Now as civilians we wait on lines just as long as the USES and the Veterans Administration. On the chow line, however, we would get at least Spam; but nobody will guarantee any reward for sweating out the line at the Veterans' Administration.

The other day, on one of those lines, I met a fellow who was about to "blow his top." He said, "I took off the ruptured duck the day I got out of the Army and I haven't put it on since. Everytime someone looks at me I'm sure he's going to yell, 'Sucker.' If anyone asks me what branch of the service I was in, I tell them 4-F or conscientious objector."

"You know," he went on, "many people make wonderful jokes about the 52-20 clubs. I wonder if any of those people have had somebody at an Employment Agency offer them a job as a shipping clerk for \$19 a week. And they didn't even smile when they made me the offer. Sure, the papers say there are a million vets that aren't seeking employment. However, those papers left something out. We aren't looking for employment at \$19 a week."

I later asked him if he thought the war he fought in was an imperialist war. "If you mean that the only people who gained by the war were the people who stayed behind to make profits out of our sweat and blood," he replied, "well, you don't have to be very bright to figure that out."

This vet had never read The Militant and he had never heard of the Socialist Workers Party but as he stated quite plainly, you don't have to be very bright to see that all the cards are stacked against the veteran under capitalism.

Yank magazine used to run many cartoons and articles describing the postwar life of the GI. We used to read about the job opportunities waiting for us, the sharp clothes and modern prefabricated homes we would have.

The truth is virtually no clothing is available because the clothing manufacturers won't produce unless they are guaranteed fabulous profits. The vast majority of the veterans haven't a decent home because of the greed of the real estate interests and the indifference of the government. When and if clothes and homes do become available, nobody has revealed where the vet will get the money to pay for them. According to official sources unemployment among the vets will reach the 4,000,000 mark this fall.

All capitalism offers the veteran is broken promises. No wonder that more and more veterans are beginning to sound angry and bitter.

## You Paid For It — U. S. Steel Gets It

By Art Preis

During the war, the U. S. government took \$203,000,000 of the American people's money and built a tremendous steel plant at Geneva, Utah. The operation of this plant was turned over to the U. S. Steel Corporation which made high guaranteed profits from government contracts.

Last week, Attorney General Tom C. Clark approved the War Assets Administration's sale of this \$203,000,000 government-built and owned plant to U. S. Steel for \$47,500,000—that is, a fourth of its cost.

Of course, there was "competitive" bidding. If any of our readers, or all of them together, had made a fair offer of \$47,500,001, they could have been the proud owners of a brand-new super-de-luxe steel plant.

It might be argued that our readers and the rest of the workers did own this plant. Well, it's true they paid for it—but they never owned it. The U. S. government owned it; and it's a capitalist government.

Since this government is a great defender of "free enterprise," and since U. S. Steel had \$47,500,000 to pay for a \$203,000,000 plant, Benjamin Fairless is now the president of a

steel empire owning 32.7 per cent of national steel capacity, instead of 31.4 per cent as in 1945.

There is, of course, a trifling matter of anti-trust laws and further expansion of private monopoly. Even the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice had to concede that. The Anti-Trust Division advised Attorney General Clark against the gift to U. S. Steel.

Clark opined that "I do not view the sale, as such . . . as a violation of the anti-trust laws." He piously added that this did not constitute approval of "the conduct of practices of the U. S. Steel Corp. in its use of property."

That doesn't worry U. S. Steel. It has the plant. The modest cost—for U. S. Steel—can be defrayed through tax rebates and tax deductions. It can even afford to junk the plant entirely. After all, it just wanted to keep the plant from competitors.

The plant could have been operated by the government under workers' control. "Free enterprise" has dictated, however, that U. S. Steel must increase its monopoly over national steel capacity by 1.3 per cent even if it means robbing the working people who paid for the plant.

## Japanese Labor Shows The Way

By Joseph Hansen

Japanese labor is surging forward. In a powerful struggle for higher wages and better conditions, the Japanese workers are utilizing one of the most effective weapons in the arsenal of the international labor movement—workers' control of industry.

How this weapon operates has been dramatically illustrated in the Tokyo chemical plant of the Mitsubishi. Last spring the workers demanded a wage boost of 300 per cent. Despite the skyrocketing cost of living, the owners refused. On March 1 the workers informed the management that until it came to terms they were setting up control over the plant.

As their first act, the workers ordered the wage increase of 300 per cent put into effect. Then they continued operating the plant as previously.

For three months the owners have not shown up, yet the plant continues to produce with perfect efficiency. There has been no violence, no trouble, no squabbles. The workers pay themselves their own wages and whatever is left in the form of profits is banked to the credit of the company.

Should prices continue to skyrocket, these workers will undoubtedly automatically increase their wages at the expense of profits in order to maintain their standard of living.

The Japanese puppet government, kept in office by MacArthur and his occupation troops, is opposed to workers' control. But so far this government has not been able to stop the spread

of this powerful means of struggle against the capitalists. MacArthur, in carrying out Wall Street's aim of maintaining the capitalist system in Japan, will undoubtedly do his utmost to force the workers back into the straitjacket in which they were bound before the war. If American troops were withdrawn, the Japanese workers would be free to continue along the road to socialism.

The capitalist press calls workers' control in Japan a "new and unorthodox labor weapon." However, this is a falsehood. The Bolsheviks in the days of Lenin and Trotsky advocated workers' control in Russia before the October 1917 revolution. And within a month after the successful workers' uprising, the Bolsheviks proclaimed workers' control on a national scale.

The Bolsheviks viewed workers' control as a step toward full management of industry by the workers and the ending of boss rule. The Bolsheviks not only inspired and organized committees to operate workers' control in individual plants, but they coordinated these committees on a city, regional and nation-wide scale.

In a few plants in Russia the management proved cooperative and greatly facilitated a peaceful change-over from the capitalist set up. In most plants, however, the management resorted to sabotage in a desperate attempt to halt workers' control. The answer of the workers in such cases was swift expropriation and the filing of charges against the saboteurs before peoples' courts.