

The Degeneration Of The Communist Party

By James P. Cannon

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Workers Of The World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

9 More Miners Die In Explosion At Exeter, Penn.

Failure of Owners To Provide Oxygen Masks
Delays Rescue Crews In Gas-Filled Workings

By George Lavan

EXETER, Pa., April 11 — An explosion yesterday snuffed out the lives of nine miners and injured nine others. This explosion, in a privately operated anthracite mine, came 17 days after the Centralia disaster which cost 111 lives. This is the year's second major disaster for this area — an explosion in near-by Plymouth claimed 15 victims on Jan. 15.

Around 7 a.m., shortly after



V. R. DUNNE

Dunne To File For Mayor Of Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS, Apr. 13 — The Minneapolis section of the Socialist Workers Party will be represented in the coming mayoralty campaign by Vincent R. Dunne. It was announced here this week. At present National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, V. R. Dunne is a former organizer of Minneapolis Truck Drivers Union, Local 544-CIO. One of the leaders of the great strike struggles of 1934, he played a significant role in making Minneapolis a union town.

A campaign headquarters has been set up at 10 South Fourth Street with Grace Carlson as campaign manager. Plans have been made for a number of election rallies to be held at the headquarters. The keynote speech of the campaign will be given by V. R. Dunne at a public meeting on April 20 at 3:30 p.m.

Arrangements have been made for speeches over radio station WMIN on April 29 and May 6. Special election literature will be distributed throughout working-class sections of Minneapolis and will also be available at the campaign headquarters.

Value Of Escalator Contract Proved By Union Experience

DETROIT, Apr. 12 — In a letter to his union paper, Voice of Local 212, Harold Fox, a member of UAW Briggs Local 212, presents the following arguments on behalf of inserting escalator clauses in union contracts.

"A recent table showed the cost of living up 76 per cent over that of 1941. Everyone knows our wages haven't begun to match that. And this happened during an era in which corporation profits reached a fantastic all-time high.

"The Research Department of the UAW shows one local having such an escalator clause. It is Local 789, Michigan Tank & Furnace, a small outfit on the West Side. It inserted such a clause in their contract last February, 1946. It became operative as of April 1. In the first quarterly adjustment everyone received a flat 4 cent raise; in the second, following removal of OPA, a 13 cent flat wage raise, and in the third quarter, a 7 cent raise. This meant a raise of 24 cents in the last nine months of the year 1946. All this was in addition to a profit sharing plan and a general wage raise.

"This proves to me that the

Escalator Clause pays off, and that is what counts.

"This is the clause in their contract:

"On November 30, 1945, the cost of living index for the larger cities as computed by the U. S. Department of Labor was 1.31. This 1.31 cost of living index becomes fixed for the period of this contract.

"In the event the cost of living index rises, all men will automatically receive an hourly increase of one cent for every .01 rise in the cost of living index. The adjustment shall be made quarterly up or down as the U. S. Department of Labor cost of living index indicates. No downward adjustment shall be made below the 1.31 standard. Increases or decreases of less than .01 will be disregarded.

"I believe we should get such a clause inserted in our forthcoming contract negotiations."

A similar contract has been signed by the CIO Oil Workers International Union with the Sinclair Oil Company. Under this contract, which was signed last November, the Sinclair workers have already received an increase of seven cents an hour, in addition to the 18 cents an hour raise they won at the time the contract was signed.

PHONE STRIKERS BATTLE SLAVE LABOR LAW IN N. J.



Their Strike Too

Phone operators in Indiana, who had not joined the strike because of the state anti-strike law, were answering their long distance calls as follows: "The Indiana Public Utility Law is unconstitutional. We are working against our wishes. This is our strike, too. Whom are you calling, please?"

Sidelights On The Anti-Labor Plot

If New Jersey's new slave-labor law was literally enforced, the first ten days of the strike would cost each striker \$5,000 in fines and 10 months in jail. There are around 20,000 of them. That would make a grand total of \$100,000,000 in fines and 16,667 years in jail. (Not counting the \$400,000 that the four unions would have to pay.)

Governor Driscoll sent telegrams congratulating the two New Jersey unions whose leaders have been intimidated by his anti-strike law into ordering their members to cross the picket lines. They answered his telegrams by denouncing the law as leading to slave labor. Two days later they ordered their members to again respect the operators' picket lines.

The author of this law, Russell E. Watson, Driscoll's special counsel, not only served as a Bell director from 1935 until last week, after the law was passed, but has also been vice-president of the State Chamber of Commerce, and a representative of the railroad interests.

Another Driscoll aide in fighting the phone workers is State Mediation Board chairman Walter T. Margetts Jr., an office associate of the notorious Walter Gordon Merritt, lawyer for AT&T and for manufacturers in the Danbury Hatters case. Margetts was also an alternate member representing industry on the National War Labor Board.

Three statements of the Socialist Workers Party denouncing state strike-breaking appeared in the Newark press during the first week of the strike. Among other points, the SWP has demanded that "both Driscoll and Watson should be subpoenaed to public hearings to determine the full and shocking extent to which these vicious strike-breaking penalties were inspired by Bell and other monopolies."

EXPROPRIATE THE TELEPHONE TRUST

An Editorial

Under the robber rates extorted from them over the years, the American people have bought and paid for the telephone system fifty times over.

Why should a handful of greedy monopolists be permitted to keep a stranglehold on a vital public utility like the telephone industry? Why should the House of Morgan, Walter Gifford and his stooges have the power to deny decent working conditions to employees of a utility supposedly operated in the public interest? Why shouldn't the ownership and operation of this utility be taken away from them?

It is high time for this industry to be run in the public interest and without any tribute to the Wall Street pirates. How can this be done?

The telephone workers are 100% correct in opposing any fake "seizure" of the industry such as the government has practiced in the past.

All such "seizures" have had only one purpose — to break strikes. They have not altered by one iota the bankers' grip on industry, nor have they interrupted the steady flow of profits into the corporations' coffers.

The Militant, too, is resolutely opposed to such strike-breaking "seizures" and urges the fighting telephone workers to remain on guard against them.

At the same time we advocate permanent expropriation of the entire telephone system by the government.

Make the government take the industry over, once and for all. Kick out the clique of profiteers who gouge the public with high rates and deny the workers a living wage.

Let the telephone industry really, and for the first time, be operated in the welfare of the people who work in it and the people who use it.

To insure that the industry be operated in this manner, we also advocate that its workers shall have some say on how it is run. This can be done most effectively by placing the industry under the control of democratically elected committees of telephone workers and technicians.

By Alan Kohlman

At dawn on Monday, April 7, some 20,000 New Jersey phone workers joined fellow unionists in 41 other states in setting up picket lines and proceeding openly and with clear conscience to fight for their just demands.

At that same moment a conspiracy was organized against the phone workers. Men in high office and under company influence, banded together to plot the most odious crime which the labor movement knows — strike-breaking. That is the real meaning of the brutal offensive which New Jersey officials have hurled against the phone workers.

Who are these conspirators who seek to destroy one of labor's most precious rights? How did they operate?

The moment the strike was on, Governor Driscoll ordered state "seizure" of the phones under the Public Utilities Act of 1946.

This Act, which was unanimously opposed by all unions and the Socialist Workers Party at public hearings in Feb. 1946, provided for state seizure of any strike-bound utility. Under seizure the employees are ordered to work for the state.

However, compulsory arbitration and penalties for "violation" were knocked out of the Act by the heavy pressure of labor's spokesmen.

The phone workers ignored the state "seizure," recognizing it as only a legal pretext of the state to back up Bell and break their strike. On Monday night, Driscoll ordered police of all cities to enforce the law and "protect" all those seeking to cross the picket lines.

Tuesday the high-ranking conspirators sprang their plot. Driscoll sent to the Legislature drafts of laws to enforce arbitration. The proposed laws carried penalties as high as \$500

Force Federal Court Order Halting State Enforcement

NEWARK, N. J., Apr. 15 — With picket signs proclaiming "Neither Ma Bell Nor Pa Driscoll Can Enslave Us," New Jersey phone workers are standing firmly behind their unions in opposition to the state's new slave labor law. They took the full impact of the legislative knockout punch delivered to them by Governor Driscoll last week, they stayed on their feet and then they came back swinging.

NFTW Rejects Schwellenbach's Arbitration Plan

April 15 — Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach's new arbitration proposal was flatly rejected in Washington today by the National Policy Committee of the National Federation of Telephone Workers, which called on its members to continue with the strike. Representatives of AT&T also rejected the proposal.

Schwellenbach's new scheme provided for arbitration of five major issues, including a \$12 raise and wage differentials; and negotiation for 48 hours on five other issues, after which the ones unsettled would also be submitted to arbitration.

The NFTW leaders turned down the proposal because it did not guarantee a general wage increase and did not provide any settlement plan for companies outside the Bell system and striking unions not affiliated with the NFTW.

AT&T officials refused to turn over the issues to one national board of arbitration. They insisted on establishment of ten regional arbitration boards.

Meanwhile, as the strike enters its tenth day, the telephone unions have already shown what power lies in nationwide solidarity and united action. The mighty AT&T monopoly has been taught that it has a mighty adversary facing it.

Federal talk of "seizing" the phone system was earlier given a rude jolt by the fiasco this policy encountered in New Jersey. NFTW leaders have already placed themselves on record as opposing any fake government "seizure" that would be used only for strikebreaking purposes.

But the rejection of Schwellenbach's scheme raises the danger of a new move by the government. And the AT&T interests in Washington would undoubtedly like to have the government "pull a Driscoll."

The phone workers now occupy the advance front of labor's fight for better conditions. The outcome of their strike will have a strong effect on wage negotiations in other industries. For this reason alone they merit the support of all labor.

Their inspiring resistance paid off today when a federal judge granted a plea by their lawyers to temporarily enjoin the state from enforcing the new law until its constitutionality has been established in the courts.

After the law was signed on April 9, Mary Hanscom, arrested president of the girl operators, ordered full-scale picketing "until all our 12,000 members are in jail." This determined stand brought the wavering maintenance men back to their support and spread the strike to outlying Bell laboratories. There are a greater number now on strike than at the beginning of the walkout nine days ago.

Yesterday, the three arrested officers, Mrs. Hanscom, Virginia Wigglesworth and Elizabeth Ryan, waived preliminary hearings and were held over to the Grand Jury as the union prepared every possible legal defense to back up its militant challenge of Driscoll's punitive law.

The state administration has failed miserably in its first concerted effort to club the strikers into submission. It has been further discredited by the union's expose of its scandalous connections with officials of the New Jersey Bell Co. (See other article on this page, An Unholy Conspiracy Against The Phone Strike.)

For these reasons the state has been compelled to beat a

What They Say About N. J. Law

The National Policy Committee, National Federation of Telephone Workers: "It is the sense of this body that the law should be challenged in the courts as unconstitutional rather than be accepted through compliance... it is Fascist, unconstitutional and evilly-inspired."

William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor: "It is the worst anti-labor measure ever adopted by any State legislature."

Carl Holderman, President of the N. J. State CIO Council: "This is going to make a real strikebreaking agency out of the state. Such a law puts the state in the same class as a commercial strike breaking agency, except that it has more power."



Mary Hanscom and Elizabeth Ryan, president and secretary-treasurer of the Traffic Telephone Workers Federation of N. J., who are facing trial for challenging the state's new slave-labor law. See Page 2 for interview with Mary Hanscom.

—Federated Pictures

partial retreat for the time being. Afraid to further incense the workers, state officials say they have no intention of making further arrests, although Attorney General Van Riper this morning instituted a new suit against the striking maintenance union for \$200,000 fine.

Attempting to defeat the strikers by deception after repressive legislation had failed, N. J. Bell yesterday offered to abide by the new slave-labor law which provides for compulsory arbitration of all issues. It was the monopoly's original refusal to arbitrate which caused the strike.

The phone workers spurned this new offer. They recognize that it is just as necessary to defeat the strikebreaking law as to win a wage raise and the other union demands. They understand that the latter can be won and maintained only if they preserve labor's strike weapon against Driscoll's attempt to destroy it.

From all sections of the state come reports of rank-and-file CIO and AFL solidarity with the phone workers. This strong sentiment forced top-ranking officials to announce plans for a one-day statewide protest strike this week. Such a sympathy demonstration would sound the death-knell to any attempt to break this strike by force.

But the AFL bureaucrats, under pressure of Republican Party bigwigs and out of fear of genuine mass action, spinelessly buckled under and are now sabotaging these proposals. The CIO is attempting to organize statewide protest meetings.

workers to stand their ground pending a test of the new law's constitutionality.

Then the state ordered the arrest of Mary Hanscom, Virginia Wigglesworth and Elizabeth Ryan, officers of the phone operators.

The conspiracy of the state administration with N. J. Bell, the legislative terror and all the propaganda lies of the boss press failed to break the phone workers' strike.

But the battle is not yet over. Three union leaders are on trial. Van Riper has also begun legal action to fine the unions. The conspirators are still plotting to smash the phone workers.

The magnificent battle of the phone strikers points the way to victory. All of organized labor must back them up in defeating the Government-Big Business conspiracy and winning their just demands.

An Unholy Conspiracy Against The Phone Strike

Meanwhile the kept press joined the conspiracy with a furious barrage of misleading scare headlines, such as: "Strike Bill Splits Ranks," and blazoned the "tough" features of the bill across front pages. All Wednesday every dirty trick of boss journalism, every pressure tactic of state officials was utilized against the phone workers.

On signing the bill, Driscoll urged all police forces to "proceed with the enforcement provisions." Here was the clear signal to turn loose club-swinging police on the picket lines. Attorney General Van Riper, who has been accused of black market operations and other criminal acts, immediately called on all county prosecutors to act against the strikers.

But the National Policy Committee of the National Federation of Telephone Workers in Washington urged the New Jersey

Heroic Women Teach Lessons To All Of Labor

By George Breitman

Almost a quarter of a million women and girls, renowned above all for their patience and politeness, passed from the Easter Parade on Sunday to the telephone workers' picket lines throughout the country on Monday. Many still wore their Easter bonnets, but now they were singing Solidarity Forever instead of psalms. Instead of exhibiting their holiday finery, they were now showing unsurpassed militancy, determination and heroism.

These women began on Monday by accepting the challenge of the huge AT&T monopoly and its Bell Company subsidiaries — a truly formidable opponent for workers relatively new to the labor movement. And by the end of the week 12,000 of them in New Jersey had also met and boldly answered the onslaughts of the state government and all its strikebreaking agencies. By the beginning of the second week the militant example of the embattled telephone workers had inspired plans for a state-wide 24 hour general sympathy strike by the rest of the labor movement.

HAS A HISTORY OF ITS OWN

A remarkable change has clearly taken place in the thinking and behavior of that section of the American working class represented by the telephone operators. What is the reason? What does it signify? What will it lead to?

This change has not taken place overnight. It has a history of its own, and one that is closely related to the development of the rest of the modern union movement.

Even in their most optimistic moments, the pioneer organizers of the labor movement never seriously considered the or-

ganization of such layers of the population as telephone operators (who, as a matter of fact, were finally organized through their own efforts and not by any organization drive of the official union movement). Along with school teachers, salesmen, clerks and other "white collar workers," they were classified at one time as part of the middle class — elements it would be virtually impossible to bring into the ranks of unions.

MONOPOLY SEEMED INVINCIBLE

Such conceptions are easy to understand. The great monopoly which employed them seemed invincible a short 15 years ago. It thoroughly dominated its workers by an intricate system of paternalism, favoritism and terrorism. It sweated them, overworked them, underpaid them, speeded them up, bribed them with pension and other plans and then threatened them with discharge and the loss of such benefits if they deviated in any way from the path of humble obedience.

But the very same methods which made the monopoly seem so imposing produced resentment, the desire for improved conditions and for the right to be recognized as free individuals rather than as mere cogs in a huge money-making machine.

When the workers in the basic industries began to organize in the years following 1933, the monopoly hastened to spike any such moves among its workers by itself organizing the Bell Employee Representation Plans — the name it gave to company unions. These outfits were wholly impotent, unable to do anything more than meet with the monopoly's representatives and listen to what they had to offer on a take-it-or-else basis.

Yet those same weak-as-water company unions, carefully broken up into hundreds of regional and craft groups and divided again in a dozen different ways so as to discourage the idea of united action, provided the basis for the powerful unions banded together today in the National Federation of Telephone Workers.

The monopoly's skillful use of intimidation and cajolery could delay the unionization of the telephone workers, but could not prevent it. The rise and growth of the CIO together with the strengthening of the AFL unions had a far-reaching influence not only on the millions of workers in its ranks, but on even greater numbers outside it. The telephone workers saw with their own eyes that unionism brought higher wages, shorter hours, security, seniority rights and above all the right of the workers to assert themselves as human beings.

HAVE BECOME THE VANGUARD

In a few short years those company unions were transformed into real instruments of the telephone workers. They came onto the scene later than the CIO unions, but they are no less militant and effective. In fact, by their struggle at a time of growing reaction, anti-labor legislation and cowardly retreats on the part of the official labor bureaucracy, they have stepped forward into the very vanguard of the union movement. The preparations for this strike demonstrated that these new unions are as democratic and responsive to the wishes of their members as the best of the unions in the heyday of the CIO — which is one of the reasons for the splendid solidarity shown in this strike. Their leaders are on the whole

young and limited in experience, but they are able to act militantly because they are free of the dead hand of the conservative, timid top hierarchy of the AFL and CIO; their counterpart in the AFL and CIO is to be found only in the lower ranks of the leadership.

The history of the telephone workers; the speed with which they moved into the front ranks of labor; the self-confidence and maturity which they exhibit in combat against the biggest of monopolies and the most rabid of government strike-breaking agencies; the nation-wide character and solidarity of their movement; the change in psychology which leads them to rebel against paternalism and to rely on their own organized strength — all these testify to the continued radicalization of the working class as a whole, even in the midst of the worst anti-labor offensive in decades.

The significance of this radicalization for the future of the American class struggle was soberly considered at the last convention of the Socialist Workers Party, held in Chicago last November. There the SWP adopted its Theses on the American Revolution, which declared in part:

"The workers entered the 1929 crisis as an unorganized, atomized mass imbued with illusions concerning 'rugged individualism,' 'private initiative,' 'free enterprise,' 'the American Way,' etc., etc. Less than ten per cent of the class as a whole was organized on the trade union field (fewer than 3 million out of 33 million in 1929). Moreover, this thin layer embraced primarily the highly skilled and privileged workers, organized in antiquated craft unions. The main and most decisive section of the workers knew unionism only as

'company unionism,' remaining without the benefit, the experience and even the understanding of the most elementary form of workers' organization — the trade union. They were regarded and treated as mere raw material for capitalist exploitation, without rights or protection or any security of employment.

RESENTMENT ACCUMULATED

"As a consequence, the 1929 crisis found the working class helpless and impotent. For three years the masses remained stunned and disoriented by the disaster. Their resistance was extremely limited and sporadic. But their anger and resentment accumulated. The next five years (1933-37), coincident with a partial revival of industry, witnessed a series of gigantic clashes, street fights and sit-down strikes—an embryonic civil war—the end result of which was a leap, a giant leap, for millions of workers from non-existence as an organized force to trade union consciousness and organization. Once, fairly started, the movement for unionism snowballed, embracing today almost 15 million in all the basic industries.

"In one leap—in a brief decade—the American workers attained trade union consciousness on a higher plane and with mightier organizations than in any other advanced country. In the study and analysis of this great transformation . . . one can find the key to prospective future developments. Under the impact of great events and pressing necessities the American workers will advance beyond the limits of trade unionism and acquire political class consciousness and organization in a similar sweeping movement . . ." (From

the new pamphlet, *The Coming American Revolution*, issued by Pioneer Publishers, 10 cents.)

And in commenting on this section of the SWP theses, National Secretary James P. Cannon pointed out in a speech at that convention (see same pamphlet) that "what has been seen up to now are only the preliminary movements, the promise and assurance of far greater movements to come. Next in order—and not far away—comes the political awakening of the American workers. That will be at the same pace and on the same scale, if not greater. The American workers will learn politics as they learned trade unionism — from an abridged dictionary." They will take the road of independent political action with hurricane speed and power.

"That will be a great day for humanity, for the American workers will not stop half way. The American workers will not stop at reformism, except perhaps to tip their hats to it. Once fairly started, they will go the whole way . . ."

TEACHING THE GREAT LESSON

The women in the Easter bonnets, no longer as patient as they used to be, are learning and teaching lessons important to all workers: The lesson of the workers' great power when they stand united and refused to be intimidated; the lesson that the fight against the capitalists requires a fight against the capitalist government too; the lesson that the workers can rely only on themselves in the fight for a better world. And the way they are conducting this strike is an inspiring token of the ability of the working class, when properly led, to achieve the better world of socialism.

Why President Mary Hanscom Is Not Afraid To Go To Jail

NEWARK, N. J., Apr. 11 —

"The New Jersey law is a combination of the worst features of the Virginia and Indiana laws," Mary Hanscom, president of the N. J. Traffic Telephone Workers Federation, told this reporter today shortly after she and two fellow officers were released on bail of violating the state anti-strike law. Her brown eyes flashing, she continued: "If it is not contested, there will be a similar law in the 48 states, and the utilities workers won't have a chance."

The energetic leader of 12,000 "hello" girls leaned back in her chair. "That's why I'm not afraid to go to jail."

"Most people are with us," Mrs. Hanscom added. "Only the editors of the daily press are against us."

Overnight Mary Hanscom has been catapulted into national prominence. The heavy strain of directing the New Jersey strike

front and bearing the brunt of state strikebreaking has not affected her even-tempered, decisive character. There is no change in her good humored, brisk nature. Nor has the threat of jail marred her jovial, round-faced smile.

Mrs. Hanscom was born 39 years ago in Edinburgh, Scotland and came to New Jersey at the age of 12. In 1925 she went to work for the Bell Company at \$14 per week. Quitting to return to school, she was re-employed in 1929. Long years of service with "Ma Bell" convinced her of the need for unionism. She was one of the first to join the union in 1941 and has been its president since that time.

Mrs. Hanscom lives in a four-room apartment in Kenilworth, N. J., and does her own cooking though, she added, "my husband

sometimes has to wait for meals."

How does Mr. Hanscom feel about the strike? Mrs. Hanscom turned around and pointed: "There he is; he told me to do whatever I think right, and he's been driving me around all day."

Emory Hanscom looked up from his paper. Extending from his rolled-up sleeves, his left arm bore heavy scars — the result of severe burning in the Hercules Powder Explosion several years ago.

After the explosion, the workers organized a union, and Emory Hanscom is vice-president of Local 1288 of District 50, United Mine Workers. "The girls are putting up a good fight," he said. "I'm backing Mary up solidly."

So are 12,000 phone operators in this state. The entire labor movement from coast to coast can do no less.

Phone Strikers Tell Off Scab



A scab crossing the picket line outside the Bell Telephone monopoly's Chicago exchange gets an earful from the striking telephone girls. Solidly behind the strike are 325,000 phone workers throughout the country. Federated Pictures

Monopoly And Plunder: The Story Of AT & T

By Dorothy Lessing

Since 1907, when the telephone industry was taken over by the Morgan financial interests, the AT&T has expanded to become the world's greatest monopoly—worth seven and one-half billion dollars. It was specifically exempted from prosecution under the anti-trust laws by the Graham-Willis Act of 1921. The Federal Communications Commission investigated this "untouchable" and reported in 1939 that "telephone rates could be reduced by 25% without interfering with present standard of service or present dividend rate." But no means has yet been found to force the AT&T, whose profits last year were more than \$191,000,000, to change its methods of doing business.

These methods have been dictated by a handful of men who control the AT&T and the business interests which they represent. Walter S. Gifford, the hand-picked Morgan President, is content with his salary of \$200,000 a year. The banks of the House of Morgan are satisfied with the millions they plunder yearly from the corporation's funds. They netted 40 million dollars between 1921-1936 alone.

The board of directors is composed of representatives of the biggest banking, life insur-

ance and other Big Business interests. The directors on the present board are directly connected with the following firms: Morgan's First National Bank, Rockefeller's Chase National Bank, Equitable Life Insurance, Johns-Manville Corp., General Mills, R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., Pullman Co. and U. S. Steel.

The overwhelming majority of the 700,000 stockholders have little or no say about the way AT&T is run. Control is in the hands of a small number of financiers who own 21% of the stock. And within this group domination belongs to the Morgan-Rockefeller and allied interests who own less than 4% of the stock.

The company's policy is summed up in its record of never paying less than \$9 in dividends on each share of stock. Come hell or high water, depressions or other "acts of God," the \$9 dividend is paid. They may lay off thousands of workers, or raise the telephone rates, but the dividend rate stays up where AT&T says it must.

The research department of this colossus is the Bell Laboratories—50% owned by AT&T; 50% owned by Western Electric. Bell Laboratories control thousands of patents and can hold or release them as best suits the AT&T.

Thus, the type of phone in use today was invented back in 1878. But AT&T had a lot of money invested in the old type phones so they remained in use in this country until 1927. Up till then the operating companies rented their phones from Western Electric. But in 1927 it was decided that the operating companies had to buy their phones from Western Electric. An estimated \$15,000,000 was made on the sale of these old type phones. A short while later the new type handsets were made the standard, and the operating companies had to buy them. Through this control of patents and of operating companies, the new type phone was thus withheld for years, and in addition more

millions were later made on the change.

Every person with a phone in his home, every person who uses a phone, contributes to the gigantic profits of AT&T. It owns 100% of the Long Lines Co. which controls all long distance phoning. Long distance charges are hiked as high as possible and there is little interference with the rates set by AT&T. For this reason this branch of the monopoly yields a large part of the profits pouring in each year.

Theodore Vail, the first Morgan man to become president in 1907, is credited with foreseeing the vast financial possibilities in the monopoly of long distance wires. He picked his successor, who in turn picked Gifford, the present president. Through the years most of the independent companies in the field were absorbed into the AT&T. The few that remain in existence are in rural communities and do little business. Gifford continues the policies of running the world's largest monopoly, as under Vail, for the benefit of the Morgan interests, and not for the millions of telephone users in the country.

The 350,000 telephone workers now on strike are showing what they think of the methods of AT&T. For years this gigantic corporation has refused to pay its workers decent wages. They have instead a high sounding pension plan. At the end of twenty years service, if not fired before then, an average worker receives a weekly sum not much larger than that paid by unemployment insurance. These pensions are given at the discretion of the company.

On the other hand, President Gifford is guaranteed \$86,000 a year whenever he retires. Merit raises are given on the basis of how docile and uncomplaining a worker is. Supervisory jobs are held out as bait to keep the workers vying with one another. In brief, any and all paternalistic methods are used to keep the workers on the lowest possible wage level.

In the south, telephone employees start at \$22 a week; in New York at \$28. The top pay down South is \$31; in N. Y. \$44. AT&T took care of the mem-

Clicking Heels Tap Out 'Solidarity' On Phone Operators' Picket Line

By Mary Steele

NEWARK, N. J., April 15 — The clicking heels of thousands of girl pickets are tapping out "solidarity" on the sidewalks of this country. Having learned the need for united action, these phone operators are lined up solidly together with phone maintenance men, phone repair men, phone office workers and Western Electric manufacturing workers on picket lines throughout 42 states of this country.

Here in New Jersey, the girls have refused to be intimidated by the threat of jail sentences and heavy fines. They swelled the picket lines to their biggest size the day that Governor Driscoll signed his strike-breaking bill.

Nor were they moved when the Governor's agents arrested their three union officers. In a body they marched to the Essex County Court House, where their leaders were being held for the hearing, and there they picketed, refusing to leave despite the demands of the police.

Only when their union president came out of the Court House and instructed them to leave did they go back to the other picket lines in front of the phone exchanges.

All observers have commented on how punctual the girl pickets are in showing up for picket duty and how efficiently their picket lines are run, in good weather and bad. The Bell Company, which has always boasted in big ads about having trained its employees to be efficient and punctual, has remained quiet on their current exhibition of these qualities.

One example of their thoroughness was their picketing of manholes until some wavering maintenance workers, who had thought they could get away with working underground and out of sight, finally clambered out sheepishly and went home.

And their single-minded concentration on the job they have to do is illustrated in the following anecdote: A number of the girls going home by bus from picket duty were arguing animatedly about something until one of them said: "Oh, save your voice to yell 'Scab' tomorrow."

High in spirit, singing songs lustily, picketing eight hours a day, these girls, some of them barely out of high school, are writing new labor history and teaching the rest of the labor movement an effective lesson on how to answer union-busting legislation.

The Western Electric workers, who last year pointed the way, in their successful 65 day strike against this subsidiary of the Bell System, are out there fighting today, 20,000 strong in New Jersey. Whenever there is a picket line — of operators, maintenance or office workers — there you find the Western Electric pickets.

Their own plant in South Kearny shut down solidly, these workers are giving full support

bers of its happy family during the depression in the Thirties by laying off 185,000 workers. R. N. Danielian says, "Every dollar of dividends paid out of surplus in the depression year was paid at the expense of putting or leaving 18,000-20,000 telephone workers on relief."

In the phone workers unions it is now all for one and one for all.

More and more you hear people expressing this idea on the picket lines: "We'll remember all this when the next election comes. We need political action too. We'll stick together until we beat AT&T to its knees. Next fall we'll take on these strike-breaking politicians."

Our Program:

1. Defend labor's standard of living!

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

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

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

3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-breaking!

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

4. Build an independent labor party!

Tax the rich, not the poor!
Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes!
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

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

7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!

End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!

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

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

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

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

For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!
Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

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American Stalinism And Anti-Stalinism

James P. Cannon

3. Why And How The Communist Party Degenerated

(Ed. note: This is the third of a series of articles on Stalinism and anti-Stalinism.)

The degeneration of the Communist Party derives from the same source as the degeneration of their professional opponents, the labor fakers of the old school who are flanked by the New York ex-radical intellectuals and "Socialist" or ex-Socialist labor fakers. This source is the pressure of the capitalist-imperialist environment which they lacked the historical foresight and the moral strength to resist. The Stalinists and the anti-Stalinists equally share an awe-stricken prostration before the seeming invincibility of American capitalism and a corresponding lack of faith in the proletarian revolution, in the power of the workers to save the world by reorganizing it on a socialist basis.

This delusion — and it is the most tragic of all delusions — is the main psychological source of all varieties of opportunism in the labor movement. It transformed one-time opponents of capitalism into its agents and servants. The opponents of Stalinism, with the exception of those who fight it from a revolutionary point of view, suffered essentially the same degeneration as did the Stalinists, from the same basic cause, and the degeneration is complete in each case, as we hope to demonstrate in the course of these articles. This degeneration consisted in shifting their basic allegiance from one class to another.

The converted Stalinists campaign in every election, and all the year around, on their basic slogan: "Socialism is not the issue!" And if they have their way it will never be the "issue." The Social Democrats and the repentant ex-Communist and ex-Socialist intellectuals coyly refer to themselves nowadays as "liberals," although in truth they are not even very liberal. If they mention socialism at all it is only by way of satire, jest at those who still believe in it and still fight for it, and in sentimental recollections of the "foibles" of their younger days.

Lieutenants For Capitalism

As for the old-line labor fakers, if they didn't "degenerate" it is only because they have always been "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class," as De Leon called them, and didn't have to change much. But even many of them, if not the majority, began better than they ended. Not a few of them started out as trade union militants and picket captains who showed energy and courage in defending the immediate interests of the workers in struggles against individual employers. Lacking socialist consciousness, and any broad and comprehensive view of the class struggle as a whole, they succumbed to the pressure of the class enemy all the more easily than was the case with the ex-Communists and ex-Socialists; but the end result is essentially the same: The transformation of working class militants into conservative bureaucrats who view the conflict of labor and capital as a struggle without a goal.

It may be maintained that we over-state the case or over-simplify it by thus seeming to identify two currents in the labor movement — the Stalinists and the anti-Stalinists — who appear to be always at each others' throats in the fiercest antagonism. But this contention can be granted only conditionally, and within very narrow limits which do not encroach upon the essence of the question.

It is not even correct to say without qualification that the two warring factions of traitors to the working class serve different masters. True, the immediate allegiance of the anti-Stalinists is to America's imperialist government of the Sixty Families, while the Stalinists are undoubtedly the direct agents of the Stalin regime in the USSR. But the Kremlin gang is itself an agency, and the most important agency, of imperialism in the world labor movement. That is its most essential role. The Stalinists hate and fear the proletarian revolution more than anything else, and their unbridled demagoguery, their lies, their organized terror, their assassinations, and their organized mass murders have been employed to prop up decaying capitalism, not to overthrow it.

Both Serve Imperialist Master

The Stalinists and the anti-Stalinists serve the same master — world imperialism — in different ways. Every labor bureaucracy has a contradictory nature. The Stalinist bureaucracy has its own special interests and seeks to serve them first of all, and this frequently brings them into conflict with the imperialists, as is the case at the present time. But the anti-Stalinist bureaucrats also seek to serve first their own interests, and they also frequently come into conflict with the capitalist class which they serve fundamentally. The opposition of the entire American labor bureaucracy to the pending anti-union legislation in Congress is a case in point. But in the essence of the matter, in the great fundamental and irreconcilable conflict of historical class interests between the workers and the imperialists, both the Stalinist bureaucracy and the other bur-

eaucracy fight on the side of the capitalists and against the workers. The fierce struggle between them is a clique struggle, and not a principled struggle.

The anti-capitalist "ideology" of the radical intellectuals and the "Socialist" labor leaders and functionaries was scarcely more than skin-deep to start with. Their transformation from fellow-travelers of the proletariat into fellow-travelers of the bourgeoisie was accomplished so quickly and easily and smoothly, under the first squeeze of real pressure with the approach of World War II, that it was hardly noticed by anybody. They hardly noticed it themselves.

The degeneration of the Communist Party along the same lines, however, was a far more serious matter. Here it was a question of changing the fundamental nature of a party that was genuinely revolutionary into its counter-revolutionary opposite. This took a much longer time and was unavoidably accompanied by the most violent and bloody convulsions.

How Stalinism Originated

Stalinism originated in the Soviet Union after the death of Lenin, when the retardation of the expected European revolution on the one hand, and the subsequent temporary stabilization of capitalism on the other, raised doubts of the revolutionary perspective. These doubts, soon crystallized into a complete disbelief in the capacity of the workers in Europe and the rest of the world to overthrow capitalism. The privileged bureaucracy in the Soviet Union made this disbelief the basis of their policy. These Soviet bureaucrats felt impelled at all costs to secure their own privileges, enjoyed at the expense of the Russian masses, and decided to call that "Socialism in one country." Like every other crystallized labor bureaucracy, they wanted above all to be let alone in peace and comfort regardless of what happened to the masses of the people in one country or another, or in all countries put together. A conservative program of narrow-minded nationalism, and of collaboration with the world of capitalist imperialism, was evolved by the privileged bureaucrats to express their moods and serve their special interests.

The same doubts and sentiments infected a section of the leading staffs of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries at the same time, and from the same cause. The stagnation of the movement and the apparent — though only apparent — recovery and resurgence of the capitalist system from its war-time and post-war shocks and dislocations, seemed to empirical leaders to postpone the realization of the socialist program to the distant future. They mistook a temporary situation for an historical epoch. This created the conditions for the dry-rot of bureaucracy to set in, even among the leading staffs and the paid party functionaries and trade union officials of the most revolutionary parties history had ever known. They began to visualize careers for themselves as functionaries of a party machine which existed for itself, that is, for them, and not for the purpose of organizing and leading a proletarian revolution.

Fate Of Revolution At Stake

But the transformation of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries, as well as in the Soviet Union, could not be easily or smoothly accomplished. A section of the leading staffs everywhere, supported by the most militant proletarian elements in the parties, retained the long view; they remained faithful to the revolutionary program and tradition and resolutely fought the course of degeneration. They were the first to stigmatize Stalinism, to analyze and expose its real tendency and to declare irreconcilable war against it in the name of Communism. And they have been its most consistent, most uncompromising opponents ever since.

This struggle, organized and led by Trotsky and supported by other authentic communists in every country in the world, against the degeneration of the Communist Parties was a stubborn struggle, long drawn-out and irreconcilable, conducted with unexampled energy and courage. How could it have been otherwise? The fate of a revolution was at stake, and the leader of the fight was the greatest man, and the best man, of our troubled and stormy time.

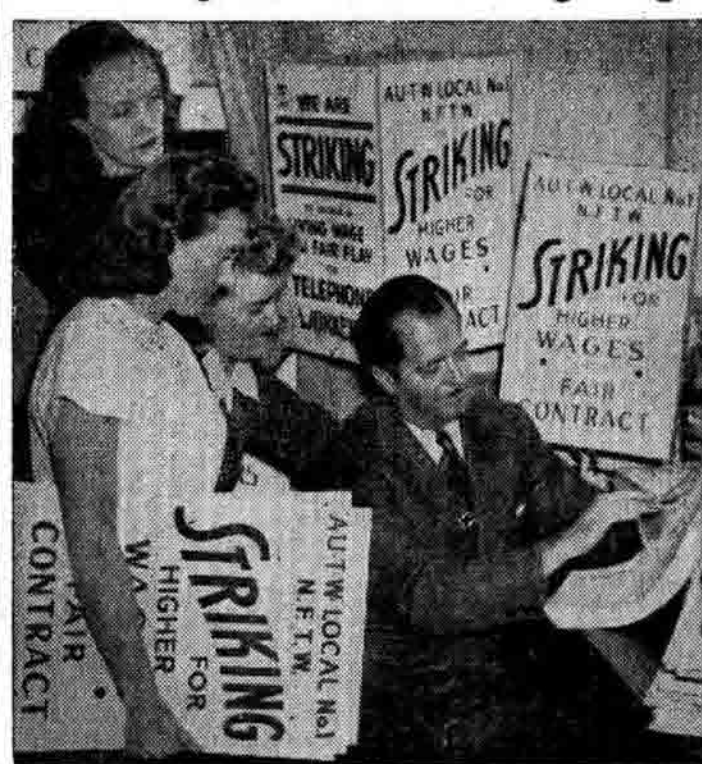
Before they could succeed in substituting an essentially reformist program for the original program of proletarian revolution, and transforming the nature of the Communist parties accordingly, the Stalinist bureaucrats who had seized the apparatus of the Russian state and of the Communist parties, had to resort to every kind of method alien to socialism and alien to the means required to serve the socialist end. They misrepresented everything, turned every question upside down, pictured the Left Opposition of Trotsky as counter-revolutionary and themselves as defenders of the Leninist doctrine. They slandered the Oppositionists in the press, which they had monopolized, and deprived them of the opportunity to answer. They abused the principle of party discipline, designed by Lenin to insure united action against the class enemy and turned it into a trap for the Communist workers, a device to suppress critical opinion and free discussion within the party. They corrupted the parties by advancing subservient careerists and removing the independent-minded revolutionists from party posts. They abused the good-faith of the communistic workers everywhere by confronting them with accomplished facts, and then compelling them to ratify the actions under penalty of expulsion as counter-revolutionaries and enemies of the Soviet Union.

All this did not suffice. The opposition could not be terrorized and could not be silenced. One step followed another on the reactionary course with a fatal logic. Next came the wholesale expulsions of the leaders of the Opposition in Russia and in all the parties of the Comintern. After the struggle had raged for five years, the great majority of the original leaders of the Communist Parties in almost every country, those who had founded the parties and carried them on their shoulders through their most difficult years, had been expelled. In place of the independent-minded revolutionary fighters who had created the movement in struggle, a new type of leader was installed, the type of functionary who looks to some power for instructions and does what he is told.

All this was not enough to complete the degen-

Survivors Of Mine Explosion Tell Story To "The Militant"

Picket Signs Demand Living Wage



"We are striking for higher wages" read many of the picket signs gathered together by the New York telephone workers' picket captains at their strike headquarters. Prepared for a long strike, George Myerscough, strike committee chairman remarked: "Supervisors are moving into operators jobs. But they're not used to hard work; our strikers will outlast them." Federated Pictures

Flint Labor Party Committee Scores Success In Election

By Sol Dollinger

FLINT, Mich., Apr. 12—Flint workers in response to the call of the Labor Party Committee of Chevrolet Local 659 successfully defeated the proposed property tax increase by 7,044 to 6,123 votes at last Monday's election.

Although the total vote dropped in half over the previous year, the vote against the tax increase carried a majority for the first time since November, 1944. This election marks the sixth attempt by Big Business interests in Flint to increase property taxes on homeowners.

In their first campaign for independent political action, the Labor Party candidates laid a solid foundation for future electoral activity. Jack Palmer, Vice-President of the Chevrolet Local, ran eighth in a field of 17 candidates with a vote of 1,497. He was followed by Carl Johnson in tenth place with 1,312 votes, while Lawrence Jones received 1,026 votes.

Although the worst flood in its history divided Flint into two parts, the Labor Party Committee succeeded in covering almost half the precincts with slates. The vote cast for the labor candidates in these precincts was definitely above that in the precincts the Labor Party Committee was unable to reach.

Labor Party slates, advocating "Vote for Representation—Not More Taxation," were sharp and clear in pointing to the glaring disparity between low tax assessments on the huge GM property holdings in contrast to the high assessments on small homes. Hundreds of voters carried the slates to the polls with them.

Thousands of workers voted against the tax increase and then proceeded to vote for capitalist candidates who favored the increased property tax. This indicated that these workers did not tie up the Labor Party candidates with the Labor Party program.

In spite of this, votes were cast for the labor candidates in every precinct. In three precincts Palmer received more votes than the winning candidate, a representative of General Motors, and tied him in another.

Apparently the Chamber of Commerce and representatives

of the business community in the entire history of the world labor movement was produced by the Opposition in that period, primarily by Trotsky himself. In 1933, after ten years of unceasing struggle, came the great and final test, and the turning point in the tactics of the Trotskyists. The Stalinists surrendered the German working class to the Nazis without a fight — the greatest and most criminal betrayal in all history. Then it became finally clear beyond dispute that the Stalinist Comintern was corrupted to the core, and that its reformation was impossible. The Stalinists had gone over into the imperialist camp, as had the bureaucracy of the Social Democracy in 1914, only even more shamefully, more brazenly and more criminally. The Left Opposition thereupon raised the banner of the Fourth International. The mortal struggle still goes on, no longer as faction against faction but as party against party. Since 1933 the Trotskyists have conducted their struggle on a world-wide scale as a completely independent movement, irreconcilably hostile to Stalinism as well as to capitalism. This is the most important struggle in the world, for its goal is nothing less than the socialist reorganization of the world.

Next Week: The Crimes and Betrayals of American Stalinism.

By George Lavan

WYOMING, Pa., Apr. 11 — Joseph Kolesar, one of the miners who got out of the Exeter mine disaster alive, heroically went back in without a gas mask to aid in the rescue of his comrades. He was afterwards taken to the Pittston hospital.

I visited Joe Kolesar the day he was released from the hospital. He looked through a copy of *The Militant*, saw what kind of paper it was and said he was glad to give me an interview.

Kolesar is a handsome, wiry man of 38 with black curly hair. His three young children played around us in the kitchen as we talked.

He described the disaster: "Me and my buddies were in the chamber just beginning to work. We had just had an argument with the boss who wanted us to work in water. A few weeks before my crew had got a two-day layoff because we refused to work in water over our boots. The boss stepped out around seven o'clock and we were just beginning to drill. Suddenly there was a swishing sound and a big puff of white smoke. My buddy said, 'It's a gas explosion.' I thought it was a rock fall. We went out to the gangway. It was all filled with smoke. I saw a cap. It belonged to a friend of mine. He had been carrying a keg of powder; the keg was there, too, but there was no trace of him. Back in our chamber the air was still good. Another crew came through a crosscut into our chamber. That made eight of us all told.

A voice hollered out, 'Joe, Joe, I'm hurt.' It was Gene — Eugene Vivalda — he's dead now. We went out and pulled him in. He was all burned. We got him some water. I asked him, 'Gene, how do we get out of here? How did you block the crosscuts?' He tried to tell us but that way was so thick with gas we couldn't do it.

"Then I said, the only way out is right where the explosion took place. Three of us volunteered to take a 'suicide chance' of getting through. That was me, Andy Goryl and Benny Fuglia. We told the others we'd send back for them if we got through. When we got to where the explosion was we saw the dead and injured lying all around. We had to put our shirts over our heads and feel the way with our hands. When we got out we met the boss and brought out some of the men still living. All the others were left behind in the chamber are dead — killed by the gas. Then they took me to the hospital."

Andrew Goryl, another survivor of the mine blast, invited me into the parlor of his modest home. I was introduced to his wife, his mother and his three year old son. Throughout our conversation he played with his youngest. Delivered from his fear he would never see his boy again he wanted to hold him every moment.

In answer to my question of how the mines could be made safer, he gave me the following example. "The fire department once had a test out here of a new aluminum ladder. They raised it straight up and a fireman was going to climb up. A big crowd went to watch and I remember how they had all preparations in case anything went wrong. They had a first aid tent and nurses and all that stuff. That's how it should be at the mines in case something happens. After the explosion in the mine they had to send all over for oxygen masks for the rescue men to go in. Now the gas isn't going to wait until these masks arrive. If they had masks there they could have put one on me. I'd have known just where to go for the others and we could have got some of those men out alive."

He added: "The company should listen more to the miners about safety. We talk lots of times how something should be done this way or that way. But if you talk too much, they'll squeeze you out of your job."

Goryl didn't think too highly of the state and federal inspections. He pointed out, "There's a telephone system through the mine. When an inspector comes around the boss calls up on the phone. He says, 'The inspector's coming down your way, get this and that fixed up, put this here and so forth.' But after the inspector's gone, the boss doesn't care how things are."

COMPANY ROBBERS
His mother broke in saying, "Sonny, I don't want you going in the mines no more, I've suffered too much." Then she went on to tell how the companies were not interested in safety but getting coal. "They're robbing everything," she cried. "They just want coal, coal, coal. Everything is caving in. This house is caving in."

Her son went on to explain that the companies were taking out the pillars of coal previously left as supports. As a result streets and houses throughout the district were settling.

"They're pulling out the pillars and not filling," he said.

When asked if he were going back to mine work, Goryl replied, "I'm 33 now and if I don't quit while I'm still young I'll never get out of the mines. Ten more years and I try to quit — it wouldn't be possible. I see lots of kids in their teens in the mine. I tell them, for Christ's sake what are you doing down here? Get out while you can, get some other job."

"There's an old man at the mine. It's a crime he's working when he's so old. He can hardly breathe. Keeps gasping for air all the time. That's me ten years from now if I don't get out now."

"Where I work with my buddy, he's only a few feet away. But all I can see of him is the blur from his lamp — the dust is so thick. If you want an idea of what it's like in the mine, go down the cellar and keep throwing handfuls of dust in the air. That dust gets you. You can't go breathing it all the time and working hard. You get like that old man — gasp, gasp, gasp."

"The papers talk about how much the miners make. You ought to see what a miner gets. Especially trying to support a family with the prices going up. And we're outlaws when we go on strike — like during the war."

Mine Explosion Kills 9 More In Year's 2nd Big Disaster

(Continued from Page 1)

couldn't "put his finger on a thing."

However, the miners and survivors were reluctant to be quoted by name. As one of them stated, "We've got to live here and work here and if we get in bad with the company it can be mighty tough." This is the anthracite district referred to as "the depressed area" during the depression. Anthracite is the sick part of the coal industry and unemployment is a real and immediate threat.

Four survivors of the explosion pointed to the following probable causes of the explosion:

The explosion did not occur in the chambers where the men work, but on the gangway. For gas to collect in such an area where the air is generally kept moving means that the ventilation must have been blocked.

Along this air course there was a dip that had been blocked before, by being filled up to the roof with water, and it very likely was blocked at the time of the explosion.

The company had installed a pump to keep the water down at this dip. However it was not always kept running. It would be run for a while and then shut off. Three of the survivors said that the pump had not been running for several days. One stated it had not been running for a full week. With the circulation of air blocked in this fashion, the gas could easily have accumulated. The mine is officially designated as a gassy mine, and the deserted old workings are filled with gas that could readily seep down to the scene of the disaster.

PROBABLE CAUSE

As to the question of what had ignited the gas, the men were quick to point out a probable cause. The explosion hap-

pened right next to the hoisting engine, which is set on one of the highest points in this part of the mine. And as every miner knows, methane gas rises.

This noisome engine has an electric motor that is sealed airtight. However, the controller box of this engine is not airtight and the men have seen it sparking frequently in the past. Most of the bodies of the victims were found near the engine. The men stated they were sure the controller box was not permissible equipment by the Federal Bureau of Mines standards.

There were other safety defects. Some mines have regular full-time bratticemen (these are the men who direct the current of air and keep it flowing. One survivor pointed out that in this mine "the bratticeman was Tom, Dick and Harry of all jobs. He did everything beside trying to keep up the ventilation. He was rock unloader, car unloader, pipe man and a hundred other things."

There was no regular fire-boss in the Marcy vein. The fire-boss is responsible for testing for gas with the permissible flame safety lamp. There was an acting fire-boss but he wasn't paid for this job. He had other jobs to perform. He very often would come in long after the men had started work, although a fire-boss is supposed to test the area before the men begin work.

Another safety measure neglected both at Exeter and Centralia was a supply of oxygen masks. Without masks, rescue workers could not reach the trapped men who survived the explosion. The deadly gas seeped in and suffocated them. Had there been masks at the mine these men might have been saved.

Meaning Of The Truman Doctrine

The Truman-Marshall Doctrine marks a new stage in the preparations of U.S. imperialism toward World War III. states the main editorial in the April issue of *Fourth International*. The period of the diplomatic armed truce has now been succeeded by the diplomatic "war of nerves."

In addition, brazen moves are under way to "consolidate strategic positions, to mobilize the forces in Europe, and to intensify the war propaganda."

The Truman-Marshall doctrine "speaks the language of unbridled militarism. There is a deadly parallel between this doctrine and the doctrines of all militarists in modern times." The editorial points out that the end result of this policy can only be a new war.

The editorial explains why Truman by-passed the United Nations. This was "not a careless oversight but a thinly veiled warning to all governments, including UN members, that now they had to choose between tagging along with U.S. imperialism or passing into limbo."

The insurgent masses of Europe and Asia stand as obstacles in the path of U.S. imperialist ambitions to rule the world. "With all their capitalist rivals lying prostrate, the U.S. imperialists are still unable to pluck the prize of prizes, the colonial East." Thus, intervention in the Near East, they hope will pave the way for successful intervention in the Far East.

Wall Street is moving into Greece and Turkey in order to bolster up the dictatorial regimes and fortify European reaction. In the United States the ruling class has set into motion an "unprecedented wave of reaction" as part of its plans for world conquest.

But, states the editorial, "the unfolding economic crisis will spur the masses at home, in Europe, in Asia, throughout the world to ever fiercer resistance to the attempts by American capitalism to saddle them with all the burdens of decaying capitalism." Instead of conquering the world, the U.S. imperialists will "detonate revolutionary explosions at home and in the world."

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"Against a bounding rise in prices . . . one can fight only under the slogan of a sliding scale of wages. This means that collective agreements should assure an automatic rise in wages in relation to the increase in price of consumer goods."

Leon Trotsky

"Criminals"

When Governor Driscoll of New Jersey signed the anti-strike law during the telephone strike, he created 20,000 "criminals." These "criminals" now walk the picket lines under threat of \$500 fines and 30-day jail sentences for each day they stay off the job. Their unions face \$10,000 a day fines. Three women leaders of these 20,000 "criminals" are already under arrest.

What are the "crimes" of these telephone operators? They organized unions. They asked the company to bargain. The company refused. They asked the company to arbitrate. The company refused.

So they joined more than 300,000 other phone workers in strike action to enforce their just demands against the arrogant 7 1/2 billion dollar Morgan-controlled AT&T Bell Trust.

Their list of "crimes" rapidly grew longer. The Governor, with a Bell official as his right hand advisor, "seized" the phones and ordered the strikers back to work like so many slaves. But these American workers, the majority of them young women never before on a picket line, refused to bow their heads before the Governor's legislative whip.

The State of New Jersey then called on its courts to impose the savage penalties of the new law upon the "criminals." Now came another "crime" of the 20,000 phone workers. They refused to be scared or intimidated by fines or Governor Driscoll's jails.

In brief, their "crimes" are defending labor's right to organize and strike against one of the most powerful trusts in the land and resisting a State Administration that has acted as the compliant tool of this trust.

According to Governor Driscoll and the capitalist press, they are criminals. According to all that organized labor holds dear, the 20,000 phone workers are NOT criminals but heroic defenders of the labor movement now battling in the front lines against Wall Street and its political agents.

The New Jersey phone workers must be defended to the hilt. From coast to coast, the entire labor movement must raise its voice in one concerted shout of solidarity: Full support to the New Jersey phone workers!

Defeat the real criminals—Big Business and its government strikebreaking agents!

The Workers' Mood

If ever there was a time for American workers to be fighting in defense of their living standards and democratic rights, this is it. Their real incomes have been drastically slashed since the abolition of price controls last year, and in Washington Congress is busy on bills to cut the unions to ribbons and leave the workers helpless to protect themselves.

But despite the great power lodged in organized labor, the unions on the whole appear passive and unprepared for defensive action on a large scale against their enemies. Why is that?

According to the explanations privately offered by some union leaders, the American workers are in no mood for struggle at the present time; they have been discouraged by the government's defeat of the mine strike last winter; they are afraid of anti-labor legislation if they strike now, etc., etc.

But this is a thoroughly false and distorted picture of the reason for the labor movement's apathy, and there is no better proof of it than the current telephone workers' strike.

That strike is a truly authentic example of the American workers' readiness to engage in militant defensive struggles even in the face of a hostile administration and a rampantly anti-labor Congress. It proves that even today, when the unions are led by officers with backbone, independence and spunk, the work-



ers are willing to take on not only the most powerful monopolists but the governmental agents of the monopolists as well.

It's not the workers who are reluctant to fight, but their comfortably-situated, lily-livered top leaders. No one can point to a single instance since the end of the war when union leaders called on the workers to fight and the workers did not respond.

The union leaders who spread stories about the passivity of the workers do so only to cover up their own timidity and cowardice. Let the leaders of the steel, auto, electrical and other mass unions summon the workers to resist the aggression of Big Business and arm them with a militant, effective program of struggle, and the workers throughout the land will fight with the same courage, energy and determination now demonstrated by the embattled telephone workers.

The Price Spiral

Every housewife knows how prices have soared. A \$5 bill doesn't go any further in the grocery store today than a \$2 bill went a few years ago. Even the conservative government statisticians admit that food prices have about doubled since 1939.

In the light of these facts, it is instructive to recall what the capitalists said when they smashed price controls. They claimed that once controls were ended, industry would quickly produce in such quantities that prices would be brought down. If prices did soar "slightly," it would prove only temporary.

Prices soared alright. Not slightly nor temporarily. The capitalists and their press and political agents then blamed this on wage increases. But with all quiet on the labor front for some months, prices continued to shoot up like a V-2 rocket on its way through the ionosphere.

What was happening is shown by the figures the White House released April 12. The Council of Economic Advisors appointed by Truman declared that profits in 1946 were 30% greater than in 1945. As you study that figure, ask yourself if your wages in 1946 were 30% above 1945.

But this is only the beginning. Profits in the last quarter of 1946 were 30% higher than the year as a whole. Wages in that three month period were marking time.

On top of this, in the first quarter of 1947 ending March 31, profits were 30% above the rate for the last quarter of 1946!

In cold-cash figures, profits after taxes for the first quarter of 1947 were at an annual rate of 15 billion dollars compared with a 1946 level of 12 billion dollars. By comparison, profits in 1929, the last of the fabulous boom years, were 7 billion dollars.

Truman's solution to the price spiral is to put "moral suasion" on the profit-gouging monopolists to slash prices voluntarily. But as one Washington correspondent observed, the "general futility" of this approach is "all too evident." Big Business will not pay the slightest attention to such "moral" pressure.

The only fear of these capitalists is the swiftly approaching depression which will cut prices the way the depression of the 30's did. Many of them simply shut their eyes to the writing on the wall, hoping to get theirs while the getting is good.

A Sample Poll

With Congress preparing to rush through rubber-stamp approval of Truman's demand to open up the sluices of the U. S. public treasury and Army arsenals for the brutal dictatorship in Turkey and the blood-thirsty puppet monarchy in Greece, the capitalist press has turned its editorial loudspeakers on full blast, claiming that the American people wholeheartedly approve this new "doctrine."

They have been singularly slow, however, about publishing any polls of public opinion on Truman's steering America straight down the highway to World War III. What the public really thinks, however, can be judged from the first returns in a sample poll taken by the Mutual Network.

Truman's proposal was discussed in the program, "Opinion-Aire." A 12-man jury panel from the audience voted 11 to 1 against the Truman plan. The first batch of mail from the listeners showed 2,354 against and only 467 in favor.

These sample letters from voters in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Pennsylvania show why the usual assortment of polls that generally appear after a big turn in policy have been missing from the press. The facts give the lie to the claim of the capitalist editors that the people favor Truman's get-ready-for-war policy.

American Gestapo

We have long been pointing out in The Militant that the Federal Bureau of Investigation, glorified as the "gang-busters" in the movies, on the radio and in the press, is steadily being transformed into an American political police no less sinister to the American people than was Hitler's Gestapo to the Germans.

The latest, and among the most brazen examples of this process is the April 13 announcement from Washington that the FBI "will make an undercover check to determine whether the United Mine Workers Union faithfully complies with the Supreme Court order ending the coal strike."

We recommend that the mine workers make a check of their own—not "under cover" but out in the open—to publicly investigate, expose and condemn every one of these Gestapo rats wherever he may be found.

Watch out, miners, for another dirty frame-up like the one that sent coal-miner William Patterson to jail in 1945 as the first victim of the savage anti-labor Smith-Connally Act.



"Imagine! I had to fly all the way up from Florida because I couldn't get you on the phone."

BOOKSHELF

COLOR BLIND by Margaret Halsey, Simon and Schuster, 160 pp., 1946, \$2.50.

Color Blind presents a vivid and realistic picture of the canten in which the author worked during the war years. Because this canten carried out a no-discrimination policy, the author had some very useful experiences in a practical program of social equality. They have led her—in the main—to some progressive conclusions. However, her proposal that the North open its door to Southern Negroes in order to relieve "tension" in the South is completely unrealistic. Adequate economic and social opportunities must be made available to ALL people in ALL sections of the country.

One can agree with Margaret Halsey that the elimination of segregation and ghettoes is a much-needed reform. But, we must go further than that. We must tear down the filthy, disgraceful, disease-breeding hovels into which Negroes are herded, and replace them with modern houses.

We can certainly agree with the author that the "Negro problem" is primarily economic. We can also agree that the use of the bogey of "rape" is a "sexual red herring" to obscure the real cause of discrimination. The statistics which the author presents on the low incidence of real rape cases are a good answer to those misled white workers who oppose social equality because of a supposed "sex problem."

Although the author states that the real problem is economic, she does not point to any practical way out. The only REAL solution to the race problem lies in the elimination of the profit motive—and this, in

turn, means the end of the capitalist "divide and rule" policy. We must substitute a Workers Government in which all men have equal freedom and equal opportunity.

—Norma Christiansen

STALINISM ON THE WATERFRONT by Art Preis, Pioneer Publisher, 31 pp., 1947, ten cents.

The Communist (Stalinist) Party has had undisputed control over the National Maritime Union for the past decade. They have had every opportunity to carry out their full program. But at the present time the Stalinists within the NMU are fighting a desperate battle to hang on in the face of widespread popular revolt against their leadership.

The reason for this lies in their shameful record especially during wartime. It is a record, pure and simple, of betrayal.

Pioneer Publisher's new pamphlet, *Stalinism On The Waterfront*, documents this record of betrayal. Written by Art Preis, labor editor of The Militant, it is a factual chronicle of the crimes committed by the Stalinists.

Although the facts of the Stalinist record are fairly well known on the waterfront, there is considerable confusion about the reasons for this betrayal.

Many workers repelled by the Stalinists fall victim to the false conclusion that Stalinism represents revolutionary working class politics. The capitalist propaganda seeks to identify Stalinism and Communism and thereby discredit genuine Communism. Therein lies the major crime of Stalinism.

In its wake Stalinism leaves a wide trail of demoralization and

confusion. There is only one way to conduct an effective and progressive struggle against this — by laying bare the political roots of Stalinism and exposing its reactionary character.

Art Preis demonstrates how the acts of the Stalinists flow directly from their political program. They became the most zealous champions of the war — for this reason the most elementary interests of the worker on the job were sacrificed by them. During the war the Stalinists became the political police in the service of the war machine. These are the abysmal depths to which the politics of Stalinism led inexorably.

Preis shows on the contrary the role of the Trotskyists during the war. True to revolutionary politics the Socialist Workers Party fought vigorously to defend the interests of the working class. The Trotskyists on the waterfront fought for the independence of the maritime unions from government control and regimentation. The Stalinist slogans of shipowner-seamen unity and the permanent no-strike pledge are now being paid for in the current struggle inside the NMU. What the Trotskyists said and did during the war stands as a proud record of militant working class loyalty.

The rule of the Stalinists has brought the seamen's unions under their control, perilously close to disaster. It becomes an elementary act of self preservation for these unions to repudiate and destroy Stalinist control and influence.

Art Preis' pamphlet will help accomplish that end. We welcome this newest sharp weapon to our arsenal.

— Art Sharon

Congressmen At Work

Blueprint For World War III

Senator George W. Malone (R., Nevada) is what is known as a "freshman" in Congress, having been elected only last November. Perhaps that accounts for the freedom with which he spoke on March 25 about the plans for World War III.

He explained that "there are two great world powers in the world today . . . Russia and the United States." The other powers, England, France and China, "we are simply leading by the hand."

"Our own generation," Malone continued, "has experienced two devastating world wars. Our people were never properly informed of the approach of either of them, or of the great principle and policy upon which the decision to enter them was made. This time they have a right to know."

The decision to engage in a Third World War has already been made: "The President of the United States has sounded the warning note. He has said that the time has come for a show-down . . . our own President . . . has made this decision — we here have only the right to accept or reject."

Malone then outlined the "great principle and policy" that is taking the U.S. into World War III. It is called the "containment" plan. The first step is the "military-economic backing" proposed for Greece and Turkey. "Korea will be the next country to be helped in the same way. It is understood China will follow Korea, and that we intend to build a great naval base at Singapore, probably also at other points along the China coast or the Asiatic waterfront."

The freshman Senator then spilled the news that "The plan



and still unorganized and poorly equipped and therefore is not able at the present to fight." Malone likened "these thoughts" to the "philosophy of the surgeon" but "in reverse." "The surgeon tries to operate while the patient is still strong. In this case we would operate while the patient is still weak."

How long before the military "operation" on the Soviet Union takes place? "The thought seems to be" that the Soviet Union if left alone could recuperate from World War II "within 5 or 10 years, the military here says 5 years and the people abroad say 10 years." So the war would have to be launched before that time according to the "containment" plan.

Malone outlined some of the immediate domestic consequences. "It will, and is already, recreating a war economy . . . It is inevitable that we will restore wartime controls with a war economy. . . . It is inevitable that the armed services will buy enormous quantities of many materials and equipment. This means new United States industrial mobilization."

Malone also declared that "some people" confronting "the present situation with Russia" have reached "the conclusion that since some form of war is apparently inevitable that now is the time to deliberately offer Russia the alternative of fighting, or confining her communistic activities to their own sphere of influence as laid down by your plan of occupation." This means that Wall Street is serving an ultimatum on the Kremlin either to grant major concessions in opening up the Soviet sphere to American dollars or to face the consequences of atomic war.

War Dept. Considering Factory Military Units

Secretary of War Robert F. Patterson, it is said in Washington, will soon discuss with leading industrialists a "factory unit plan" of organized reserves for the armed forces. The plan calls for "genuine marching and drilling units" among factory workers throughout America. Veterans of World War II would play a leading role in these factory military units.

What should be labor's attitude toward this proposal? The correct answer can be found only by considering the plan in relation with labor's struggle against a Third World War.

The catastrophe of an atomic war can be avoided only if labor succeeds in organizing its own political party and putting a Workers and Farmers Government in power in Washington. Such a government would end the rule of the capitalists and reorganize the economy along socialist lines, integrating America's industries according to a general plan and thereby ending the economic cause of war.

If one lesson of history is clear, however, it is the reluctance of a predatory minority to give up its privileged position. In the United States we saw how the Bourbon slave-holders refused to bow to the will of the majority and organized rebellion, plunging the country into civil war. The working of the same general political law was observed more recently in Spain where the military caste headed a rebellion against the lawfully-constituted government of the majority.

Looking ahead, therefore, the labor movement would do well to take this contingency into account and prepare accordingly. This means it should not reject training in military subjects. It would be especially valuable to have labor units thoroughly skilled in these arts. In case native fascism should threaten to take over in America, they could play an invaluable role in saving us from the fate that befell the Italian and German workers.

But there is a catch in the plan as outlined by spokesmen of the War Department. Under the control and supervision of the brass hats, these units could be utilized as a most dangerous anti-labor force. At least the capitalists would undoubtedly count on using them to break strikes.

To forestall this possibility the labor movement must insist on having control and supervision over these military units. A thoroughly practical plan would be to place them under control of the trade unions so that they constituted an auxiliary force to the labor movement.

Since they would be performing a public service in training themselves for emergency use in case of a fascist threat or other danger, they should be financed by the government and at the full trade union scale of pay.

This seems to us the answer to the proposed plan that best accords with the interests of the labor movement.

Truman Plan Sets Off All-Out War In Greece

The Truman "doctrine" began paying off in blood April 9 when the fascist-minded Greek government launched large-scale operations to wipe out armed partisans in the northern part of the country.

The puppet monarchy installed by the Allied powers at the close of World War II began the blood bath as soon as Wall Street flashed the green light with Truman's announcement that Washington intends henceforth to intervene openly in behalf of reaction on a world scale.

British-trained troops under orders to "crush the insurrection" moved swiftly against the partisans who refuse to recognize the monarchy kept in power by Allied bayonets. Villagers were warned to stay in their houses. Anyone stepping outside would be automatically considered an "insurgent" and shot without warning.

Staying inside, however, is no guarantee of safety. Anyone taken by the Allied-supplied troops will not even be granted the treatment accorded prisoners of war but will be turned over to drum-head courts-martial empowered to pass and execute sentences on the spot.

Supported by artillery, tanks and airplanes, the troops of King Paul I were freely using bombs and rockets on the guerrillas. With America as an arsenal and 250,000,000 American dollars assured by Wall Street's political representatives to help in the civil war, King Paul I appeared confident of stamping out all resistance to his rule.

In the Larissa area 600 paratroopers, armed with rifles, pistols, grenades, and heavy machine guns bailed out on the rocky hideouts. It was not reported whether these arms were made in England or the U.S.A.

Near Frangista in a single battle 116 "rebels" were reported killed, 95 wounded and 75 captured. Casualties in other battles were laconically indicated as "severe."

The present strife marks another stage in the civil strife begun by the British in December 1944. As the Germans retreated, the Greek people began setting up their own government. Stalin had made a secret deal, however, with Churchill and Roosevelt marking off Greece as a British sphere of influence.

In accordance with this foul secret agreement, the Stalinist heads of the EAM (National Liberation Movement) welcomed British troops to Greece and hailed their entry into Athens. When the British had landed sufficient military supplies they launched civil war on Dec. 3, 1944, firing on a demonstration that included women and children.

Churchill admits in an article in the April 11 N. Y. Times that he sent a telegram about 2 in the morning of December 6, 1944, personally ordering the British General Scobie to launch warfare on the Greek people.

The consequent blood-letting shocked everyone who had taken the promises about "Four Freedoms" for good coin.

On Jan. 15, 1945, the Stalinist heads of the ELAS (Greek National Liberation Army) signed a truce with the British. It was the opinion of The Militant at the time that the British would use this truce to consolidate their position and then proceed with the policy of blood and iron. On Jan. 20, 1945, we said: "Although the truce went into effect January 15, the British are still mopping up in the Athens area. When they have consolidated their positions, they will probably move against the area to which the ELAS retreated. The civil war provoked by the Allies is far from ended."

The British waited until they had the monarchy firmly in the saddle, had equipped and trained monarchist troops, and then with the announcement of the Truman "doctrine" proceeded according to plan.

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.

Public Opinion and The Telephone Strike

Editor:
The phone strike has been upsetting a lot of preconceived notions about public opinion. For three days running the local press in New Jersey has been screaming in front-page editorials that the "Public Demands Compliance" with the new slave labor law. But many people who previously accepted the newspaper as gospel are now beginning to form different opinions.

In my shop the steel workers solidly support the strike and are discussing how best to fight the strikebreaking laws being passed by anti-labor congressmen.

On the buses to and from work, discussion generally revolves around the phone strike, with more and more people showing an understanding of the strikebreaking political conspiracies between Big Business and the government.

The average theatre lobby is another open forum on the militancy of the phone girls. In the last week or so, wherever I have come into contact with workers, I have heard nothing but praise and support for the strikers.

The newspapers howl about the public demanding compliance with the law, but these howls are having no effect on the growing consciousness of the workers in the state. They are forming their own public opinion. The proposed statewide sympathy strike is an example of this.

Charles W. Newark, N. J.

Describes Conditions In Pennsylvania Mines

Editor:
I was at the Miners' Celebration in California, Pa. I listened to the speakers of the United Mine Workers and others. They painted a glowing picture of what John L. Lewis has done for the miners in getting them higher wages. It seemed to me that all they were doing was boosting the leadership of John L. Lewis, because all of them that spoke were on his payroll, and ten to one they were appointed, not elected officials of the Lewis machine.

Before the mechanization of mines a few years ago, I as a miner made \$4,000 a year as a loader. After mechanization I made \$2,600 because there is only day labor and all the tonnage is gone.

So the only ones who got a raise were the mining officials; while the miners took a loss. Conditions in mines are much worse at present than they were before the mines were mechanized.

There are two reasons. First, due to the noise, you are unable to hear the slate about to fall. Second, due to the machines there is too much dust and bad air.

Therefore, the miner is worse off now than he was several years ago. Living conditions are much higher and wages are down instead of up. A few day men got raises, but machine men and other miners got nothing.

Karl Miner California, Penn.

Trinidad Prisoners Send Thanks For Aid

Editor:
We have received your postal orders and were very glad, as our funds are almost exhausted.

One of our leading comrades, "Mondziele," who is also a member of the Seamen & Water-Front Trade Union, along with three others who are not members of our organization, is committed to the Supreme Court which is the highest in the land.

We again thank you for making known our struggle and we ask you on our behalf to convey our sincere appreciation to the comrades of the Boston and Bronx branches.

Long live the unity of the working class!
Long live the Socialist Workers Party!

Down with world imperialism!
Comradely yours,

Amy Dowers
Negro Welfare, Cultural & Social Association
No. 1 St. Paul Street
Port of Spain
Trinidad, B.W.I.

Editorial Note: This letter refers to the brutal police attack upon unarmed and sleeping men and women oil workers on strike in Trinidad. The arrested strikers face prison bars. The March 1 Militant carried full details about this shocking case and published a letter from the Negro Welfare Cultural & Social Association appealing for funds to help in the defense of the prisoners.

Favors Compulsory Military Training

Editor:
I don't see why you make such a fuss about compulsory military training.

Till now it was only the sons of the poor who were forced into the army through lack of any other means of sustenance.

If the bill passes, the wealthy snobs will be compelled to mingle with honest working-men's children, share their work, and come to realize that there are other values besides money.

Tom Hynes
Somerville, Mass.

Louis Kisner's Vote In Los Angeles

Editor:
Louis Kisner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for councilman in District 15, Los Angeles, polled a total of 728 votes in the April 1 elections. That was 4% of the total vote.

In San Pedro, a working-class harbor city, we gathered votes in 82 of the 88 precincts!

But, more inspiring than this, in one precinct, which covered a war-housing project, the Trotskyist candidate polled more votes than any of the three capitalist contestants. This fact has not gone unnoticed by the local press. Somewhat startled by the Trotskyists, one reporter asks "Why?" "How come?"

The obvious explanation—that most of the workers in that project are Negro, and in voting would certainly respond with enthusiasm to a revolutionary socialist candidate with a fighting program against discrimination, for full equality—fell on deaf ears. Still unclear as to "how we did it," they remarked in their paper of the "landslide" vote for the SWP candidate.

During the last period of our campaign, when the City Council voted in favor of outlawing the Communist Party, with the headlines full of the national red-baiting drive, we took to the streets with a car decorated with militant slogans, and a loud speaker touring the city, constantly explaining our program to the workers.

This method of publicity served, not only to acquaint thousands of workers with our program, but was evidence of our determination to continue the war against capitalism in spite of the efforts of the government to terrorize minority groups into passivity.

Cynthia Rogalin
SWP Campaign Manager
San Pedro, Calif.

The Real Power

Editor:
I think the editorial in the April 12 issue called "The Real Power" is very good, and should be emphasized over and over. The real power, it points out, are the "vast masses who work for a living." The "evil men" who rule society today are "only a tiny minority."

In the United States this minority is composed of 60 richest families and their periphery. Certainly they wield a power that is fantastically out of proportion to their numbers. But they are able to do so only because the vast majority doesn't yet know where the real power lies. The main job as I see it is to awaken these millions to their real power—and show them how to use it.

E. R.
New York

SWP Candidate For Mayor Of Chicago Hits Vote Fraud Against Minor Political Parties

By Hayden Perry

Martin Kennelly, Democratic candidate for Mayor of Chicago, won an easy victory over his Republican rival, Russell Root. Kennelly polled 922,967 votes while Root received 647,285. A major factor in Kennelly's victory was the endorsement a large number of union leaders gave this representative of the labor-hating meat trust.

Election officials brazenly misrepresented the vote for write-in candidates. Only five votes were recorded for Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor; 16 for Albert Goldman, Workers Party candidate and 62 for Gil Green, Communist Party candidate.

FRAUDULENT COUNT

These completely false totals show that hundreds of votes cast for these candidates were fraudulently ignored. Both the SWP and WP are securing affidavits from voters declaring they wrote in the names of either Bartell or Goldman, and that their votes were not counted.

With these affidavits as evidence the American Civil Liberties Union is preparing to go before the Board of Election Commissioners, to demand a recount. They intend, not only to defend the rights of minority parties and voters, but to use the case to expose the undemocratic character of Illinois election laws.

The fact that the Republican Party, which ran a last-minute write-in campaign in one ward, is also protesting the count will make it difficult for the Election Commissioners to ignore the protests of the ACLU and minority parties.

The campaign for Michael Bartell for Mayor included three radio broadcasts, presentation of the SWP program on housing conducted by the Emergency Housing Committee of the City Council, distribution of thousands of leaflets at major industrial plants and door-bell ringing in working class neighborhoods.

In the last broadcast on election eve the Socialist Workers Party candidate was interviewed by Helen DeVova, member of the UAW-CIO.

Commenting on the support given to Martin Kennelly, by union officials on the grounds that he is a "good employer," Bartell said, "Kennelly is a dictator of Wilson and Co.'s meat trust. If he is such a good employer, why did his packing house workers have to go on strike for a living wage? Why are the packing house workers among the lowest paid in all

them. A workers government would value human life above profit. Since coal barons can make a profit only at the expense of miners' lives, the mines must be taken away from them. They must be nationalized and operated under the control of the mine workers. The Centralia disaster would never have occurred if the miners union had the power to enforce its recommendations made a year ago."

Asked about the Socialist Workers Party, Bartell said, "The Socialist Workers Party is composed of men and women dedicated to the fight for socialism. The majority of its members are workers and active trade unionists. Our party campaigns in the interests of the working people 365 days a year... We fight on the issues of today, and for the socialist society of tomorrow."

ENTHUSIASTIC RESPONSE

The broadcasts received enthusiastic response throughout the area. One listener wrote: "Dear Sirs: I turned on accidentally and found someone telling the TRUTH about what the USA is going to do in Greece. It was so welcome to hear honesty after all this deception and falsehood, that I want your speech if possible."

Another wrote, "I heard Mr. Bartell's speech over the radio today and thought it was excellent... the best thing that has come out of this election so far."

Gains Recorded In New York SWP City-Wide Convention

NEW YORK, Apr. 12 — The annual two-day convention of the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party convened last Saturday with the largest delegated assembly in the history of the local. Seven branches were represented by 38 regular delegates, 15 fraternal delegates and 25 alternates.

In the number of delegates and the character of the deliberations this gathering marked a new stage in the development of the Trotskyist movement in the metropolitan area.

The steady progress of the organization in the past year was outlined by the City Organizer, George Clarke. Among the achievements he cited was the recruitment of 203 members and the establishment of two new neighborhood branches.

FREEPORT CAMPAIGN

Among the campaigns singled out for special comment and analysis was the one organized around the Freeport case. The party's ranks were mobilized last spring in protest against the brutal police murder of two Negroes, the Ferguson brothers, in Freeport, Long Island. Hundreds of Negro and white workers were drawn into the campaign through mass rallies and street meetings. As a result of this campaign, many workers were recruited into the party.

Another important achievement was the state-wide election campaign, the first of its kind in the history of the New York organization. Despite the limited forces of the local, and the legal obstacles created by the Wall Street-dominated parties and judges, the election campaign gave the party an opportunity to reach new layers of the working class.

These and other campaigns plus consistent activity in the trade unions and neighborhood organizations brought into the ranks of the party workers from the most exploited and oppressed layers of the working population. Both the high percentage of trade unionists as delegates and the analysis of the membership clearly indicated the improved proletarian composition of the local.

Increasing influence in the

THE MILITANT ARMY

"Icebreakers" Leading In Milwaukee Campaign



Socialist competition among comrades of the Milwaukee Branch has put steam behind their Militant Subscription Campaign. "There is some lively competition going on among the four teams to get subscriptions," reports Fred Martin, Milwaukee's Militant Manager. "The Icebreakers are leading the way with 16 subs. The Red Stars and Go-Getters are close behind with 11 subs per team. Comrade O'Connell is tops so far with 8 subs and Comrade Gregory is only one behind with 7 subs. Comrade Burns is in third place with 6 subs... We have reached the half-way mark in the 6-week sub drive. If we keep up the present tempo, the comrades can surely attain the goal of 100 subs by May Day."

Mildred Johnson tells us about the method Minneapolis Branch uses in getting the addresses of subscribers who have moved. "We sent out a mailing to our entire list of subscribers using a special envelope for which the post office agreed to supply us with any forwarding address they were able to get. I am enclosing 16 cards which give new addresses."

Comrade Johnson also tells us that Minneapolis is "beginning a subscription campaign in another week or two" and that the comrades are going to "get to work on renewals."

We welcome into the Militant ranks Comrade Angie Travis who is taking over the literature work in Lynn and Comrade S. Silk who will be in charge of literature for Calumet Branch.

Anne Chester of San Francisco sent in 6 subscriptions. She writes: "I believe this is an excellent beginning for April, starting off the first week with 6 subs. Three of them were brought in by a friend from Hawaii."

The Chicago comrades mailed in 12 subs they obtained during the week.

"Now that our sub campaign is over," writes L. Morris of Connecticut State Branch, "we intend to return to our routine—calling on the new subscribers, renewing expirations, etc. The New Britain comrades will mobilize."

lize a few times for renewal work in Hartford."

Rena Breshi comments about two of the subs sent in from Boston: "Belle Montague got the new subs. She generally meets new people while visiting friends and she talks up the paper, which has proved very successful."

Militant boosters are "on the job" in getting their friends to read the paper.

Mrs. Adolph Dostal of Olivia, Minn., renewed her own sub and sent in an extra 50c to cover the cost of sending sample copies of The Militant to six people.

A. J. Pire of Cleveland, Ohio, asked us to send the paper to several friends.

S. A. Martin of Portland, Oregon, also asked us to send sample copies to six of his friends.

Freddie McGee of Portland, Oregon, wrote: "This is to say that I am sending in the name of a person who I think will be interested in this paper. I asked you to mail him a copy of the paper and let him see what it is like. And send the full information on how to go about securing it."

Norton Sorsby of Los Angeles sent in a \$2.50 contribution with his subscription.

Youth Activities

AKRON. — Socialist Youth Club meets Fridays, 7 p.m. Followed by refreshments, dancing, 8 South Howard St., 2nd floor.

CHICAGO. — Youth meeting Fridays at 8 p.m. Discussion on pamphlet Socialism On Trial. Games and refreshments. 777 W. Adams, 2nd floor.

LOS ANGELES. — Socialist Youth Club meets every Tuesday, 8 p.m., at SWP headquarters, 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Educational after every meeting. Refreshments served.

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

Saturday Nite House Parties: call GR 5-8149 for information.

For information about Queens Youth Group, write Mr. Kevin, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3.

PHILADELPHIA. — For information call ST. 4-5820, from noon to 6 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA

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April 25

Speaker: Joseph Hansen

116 University Place at 13th St.

Celebrate May Day With The Socialist Workers Party

YOUNGSTOWN

Speaker: BERT COCHRAN

Former CIO Leader

Sunday, April 27, 8 p.m.

35½ South Ave.

LOS ANGELES

Speaker: MURRAY WEISS

Thurs., May 1, 8 p.m.

Embassy Auditorium

South Hall

517 West 9 St.

AKRON

Film Showing: "FROM CZAR TO LENIN"

Sun., May 11, 8 p.m.

Painters Hall

290 S. Main St.

PITTSBURGH

SYLVIA BLECHER

Sun., May 4, 3 p.m.

1418 Fifth Ave.

NEW YORK

May Day Rally

Thurs., May 1, 8 p.m.

Beethoven Hall

Fifth Street & 3rd Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS

Speaker: VINCENT R. DUNNE

SWP Candidate for Mayor

Thurs., May 1, 8 p.m.

10 South Fourth St.

ST. PAUL

Speaker: V. R. DUNNE

SWP National Labor Secretary

Friday, May 2, 8 p.m.

540 Cedar St.

NEWARK

Speaker: Mary Steele

Saturday, May 3, 8:30 p.m.

423 Springfield Ave.

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Tragedy of Jews Part of World Crisis

A Letter To Elizabeth

It doesn't pay to sell the human race short. Up till now they have successfully resisted every assault on their right to live on this planet and reproduce their kind. Their instinct to survive, and even to make life more bearable and better, is still running strong, reactionary people-haters and weak-willed pessimists to the contrary notwithstanding.

Take this morning's news, for example. American reaction, which has been exceptionally aggressive and truculent of late, has met a formidable challenge from a section of the working population of the country which had hitherto seemed to be the weakest and the easiest to push around. We refer of course to the 350,000 telephone workers who are standing so valiantly in the breach today; and, in particular, to the all-woman union of 12,000 telephone operators and their woman officers, who looked New Jersey Governor Driscoll in the eye and told him to go to hell and take his slave-labor law with him.

The brightest news we have read for many a day was the report in this morning's paper. The three women officers of this all-woman union of telephone operators had appeared in court to answer to the charge that they had openly challenged and violated the slave-labor law. This law was drafted by an agent of the telephone company and rushed through the New Jersey Legislature in the record time of two hours. The law was intended to break the telephone strike. But the corporation hirelings, with Driscoll at their head, overlooked a trifling detail. They overlooked the fact that women telephone operators do not want to be slaves; they think they have certain inalienable rights. And they have leaders at their head who dare to assert these rights and flinch not from the consequences, law or no law.

The best touch of all was the report in the paper that the Secretary-Treasurer of the union, Miss Elizabeth J. Ryan, arrested and taken into court together with her two colleagues, the President and Vice-President, had calmly notified the judge that he would have to hold up the proceedings for a while. She explained that she had some important personal business to take care of, to wit: she intended to get married the following Sunday, and she and her husband would need a little time after that, all to

themselves, without any intrusion from policemen and politicians.

Bless your heart, Elizabeth. I am really sorry that I can't be present at your wedding; and I daresay millions of people who read your story in the papers feel the same way on this bright morning. It would be a real pleasure to see you step out of the picket line, with the consent and good-will of all your associates, to get married. It would be nice to throw rice and old shoes at you, and wish good luck and happiness, and health and prosperity, and freedom, to you and your husband and your children, when in due time they come along.

I am not acquainted with your husband but he must have plenty of merit to be able to win a girl like you, and plenty of manly courage, too, to step up and claim his bride on the very day that Governor Driscoll haled you into court and tried to brand you as a criminal.

You make one feel good all over about the prospects of the world. You make one recollect once again what a wonderful country America is, and what fine people are in it; how brave and unselfish and light-hearted they are; and how easily they will be able to fix up everything that is wrong when they get mad enough, and realize that things need fixing. The country is O.K., Elizabeth, and the people are O.K. too. The only trouble is that the country has fallen into the control of a little handful of selfish rascals who think their profits and privileges are more important than human lives and human rights. They have got to be given their come-uppance. They have got to be told off and put in their places. And it is people like you that are going to do it.

You and your worthy associates in the leadership of the union, and the brave girls on the picket-line whom you represent and symbolize, have set an example to all America. You are lifting up the hearts of the workers everywhere with new hope and new inspiration.

So good luck, and the top of the mornin', and thank you kindly, Miss Elizabeth Ryan, soon to be Mrs. Pasquale Siciliano. You and your kind are the real America, the America of Tom Paine and Valley Forge, and the Declaration of Independence, and the Bill of Rights, and John Brown at Harper's Ferry, and Abraham Lincoln and the Battle of Gettysburg. You are the U.S.A. And that ain't hay.

J. P. C.

The Negro Struggle

The Negro Worker's New Status

By Larry Carter

The telephone strike provides another example of the militant role played by Negroes in the labor movement. At the big Kearney, N. J., plant of Western Electric, the AT&T subsidiary, 40% of the pickets on the line during the strike's first week were Negroes, although they represent approximately only 5% of the workers employed there. Here is a clear indication that the Negro people support the phone strike even though the number of Negroes employed in the industry nationally is very small.

Today the employers can no longer look to the colored worker as a means to weaken the unions as they did during the great steel strike after the first world war. At that time most white workers had not yet learned the importance of recruiting Negroes into the unions. This neglect made it easier for the steel trust to break the strike by importing thousands of backward and uninformed Negroes as scabs. This and similar tragic experiences began to open the eyes of many workers to the crucial need for unity of all workers against their common exploiters.

That was partly why a different story can be told about the great labor struggles of the 30's and 40's. When production revived after the worst depression years, Negroes held jobs in many factories and mills as unskilled workers and were therefore directly in the path of the big CIO organizational drives. The unions offered them membership this time, and the Negro

workers responded magnificently in the big strike struggles. Even white workers fresh from the South were able to learn that the Negroes were indispensable allies in the fight against the corporations.

The new status of the Negroes in the unions paid off splendidly for all the workers. The fight between the United Auto Workers and Ford, the great open-shopper, was a good example. The popular saying was that Ford could never be organized, and that anyhow it would be out of the question for the union to get the Ford workers' support against Ford. After all, Ford was among the first capitalists to hire Negroes, and he went to great pains to cultivate outstanding professional Negroes as his stooges in colored communities. But when the chips were down, the overwhelming majority of Ford's Negro workers lined up with the union and clinched its victory over Ford. That proved the employers could no longer use Negroes as strikebreakers, and they have never since that time seriously tried to do so.

By their very position in society Negroes have more to gain and less to lose than other workers; that is why they instinctively rally to the support of such struggles as the phone strike and show the strongest kind of solidarity with their white brothers and sisters. It behooves the white workers to remember this and to join, in self-interest, in wiping out all discriminatory practices which still bar Negroes from their rightful place in the phone and other industries.

A Case Of Political Escapism

By George Breitman

The desire to escape from the ugly realities of life is very strong under the capitalist system, and naturally grows stronger as this system, already in its death agonies, moves toward destruction through atomic warfare. This accounts in part for the great public interest in two recent cases involving escapism in the metropolitan area.

Interest in the pathetic Langley Collier case was great enough last week for most of the New York press to take the phone and mine strike headlines off the front page when Collier's body was finally found under a pile of rubbish in the fantastic Harlem mansion where, he and his blind brother had tried to build a little world of their own.

And millions of people read with sympathy and a touch of envy the saga of the Bronx bus driver, William Cimillo, who suddenly decided one day, after 16 years on the job, that he was sick of the routine and, on an impulse, started south and kept whizzing past people waiting for a bus until he reached Florida.

Some people have complained that the Colliers were crazy and should have been committed to an insane asylum. The bus company Cimillo worked for has brought charges of grand larceny against him. It's too late to do anything one way or the other about the Colliers now, and from the hero's reception Cimillo got on his return it appears that public pressure may quash the charge against him.

But if people want to get worked up about a really dangerous case involving escapism, I have one for the record which has got practically no publicity at all.

The week after Truman made his March 12 speech setting forth the government's goal of world subjugation, Freda Kirchwey, the editor of the liberal weekly, The Nation, wrote an article criticizing the Truman doctrine and contain-

ing the following statement: "The Russians know we do not intend to fight them with arms. . . . This raises a few questions. Does Freda Kirchwey read her own magazine? Does she believe what it regularly reports about the growing militarization of the government; about the huge expenditures for the military forces; about the ever faster production of atomic bombs and other weapons of destruction; about the drive for universal conscription of the youth? Or does she use The Nation the way the Colliers used the press — to make bigger and better junk-piles?"

I don't know why Freda Kirchwey thinks the government is spending all these billions of dollars for war preparations. But I contend her statement is as far out of this world as the wildest fancies of Langley Collier.

And a lot more dangerous. After all, the Colliers never really bothered anyone and never hurt anyone but themselves. Cimillo may have offended his employers' notions about the sacredness of private property, but the only effect he had on most other people was a cheering one. While Freda Kirchwey, insofar as she has any effect in influencing people, is misleading them and disarming them in the struggle against war. And that is about the greatest disservice any one can commit today.

"A Little Too Radical"

U. S. State Department officials were recently preparing a package of literature for Nepal, India, including copies of the U. S. Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. Drew Pearson reports. Suddenly one official, Mr. Chester Charrand, in charge of cultural relations for Southeast Asia, objected: "I'm afraid the Declaration of Independence is a little too radical for people over there. We'll send the Constitution, but not the Declaration of Independence." And that's what happened.

THE MILITANT

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

SATURDAY, APRIL 19, 1947

Strike Of 100,000 Protests Jailing Of Trotskyist In India

By V. Karalasingham

COLOMBO, Ceylon, Apr. 8—While Bombay and Calcutta and other cities in India are in the throes of communal clashes, the class struggle in Madras reached a new dramatic height today when over 100,000 workers downed tools in protest against the Congress Government's arrest and detention of Comrade Antonypillai, Trotskyist President of the Madras Labor Union. Comrade Antonypillai, who is a member of the Central Committee of the BLPI, is also a member of the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

Panic-stricken by the magnificent unity of 14,000 Buckingham and Carnatic Textile Mill workers who are on strike since March 11, and anxious to appease the European owners of the mills and to demonstrate to the imperialists the willingness of Congress to defend imperialist interests, the Congress Ministry sought to break the strike by arresting the President of the Union, Comrade Antonypillai.

On March 28 Comrade Antonypillai was arrested because he had, in the words of the government communique, "fomented an illegal strike, challenged the authority of the government and defied against the law requiring the immediate return to work of the strikers."

INSULT TO INJURY

The Madras Minister, Congressman Ramasami Reddiar, followed this up with an appeal to the strikers to return to work. This was adding insult to injury. The infuriated strikers immediately set out to galvanize the other unions in the city to protest against the arrest of their strike leader. The Stalinists tried to sabotage this move by playing for time but were caught in the whirlwind of mass indignation. Unwillingly they were swept into this massive strike action.

Despite the frantic appeals of the Congress bosses, including the Prime Minister who made a special appeal over the radio, well over a lakh of workers (100,000) joined in the protest strike. The protest strike embraced the entire City Transport services, trams, buses, trains, haulage workers in the harbor, tannery workers, municipal and shop employees, MSM Railway Workshop workers (Comrade Tony is also president of this union) and engineering workers.

IMPERIALISTS HOWL

Monday, March 31, the day of the General Strike, was quite reminiscent of the August 1942 days. Armed police at every ten yards, Gurkha troops and motorcycles with machine guns, armed trolleys, patrolling railway lines. This was the Congress answer to a protest of the masses.

The protest strike raised a hue

and cry in the Congress press. The Conservative "Hindu" called for special legislation to legalize strikes of this nature. There was not a single bourgeois paper in Madras that did not denounce the strike. This howling found a feeble echo across the Palk Strait, in Ceylon where the imperialist Times of Ceylon traced the source of all trouble to "the export of Ceylonese Bolsheviks to India!"

Despite the unmistakable mass protest of a one-day general strike, the Congress Ministry has so far not yet released Comrade Antonypillai. The strike of the textile workers still continues. The Madras Provincial Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress has given notice to the government that if Comrade Antonypillai is not released, steps would be taken to organize a general strike in the whole of the Madras presidency. This will bring the government to its knees.

Detroit Unions To Hold Rally Against Anti-Labor Drive

DETROIT, Apr. 12—Over 800 UAW stewards and local union officers gathered here today to organize a great mass demonstration on April 26 in Detroit's historic Cadillac Square in protest against the anti-labor drive.

A motion by John Anderson, UAW Local 15 President, to shut Detroit's auto plants down at 2 p.m. on the day of the rally was unanimously accepted. Speaker after speaker rose to express the burning need to turn labor's defensive role into a militant offensive against the profiteering corporations.

Unanimous and fervent support was given to a motion calling for an end to the factional wrangling in the UAW and for a giant united effort to set the labor-baiters and profiteers back on their heels.

Active support was unanimously voted for the striking telephone workers. A vote of solidarity was given to the miners and the unanimous recommendation was made to invite a representative of the Centralia miners to speak at the rally in Cadillac Square on April 26.

New Jersey Cops Aid Strikebreakers



An arrow points to the feet of picket Frances Webber as she gets trampled by strikebreakers escorted by police in Newark, N. J. The cops got the green light from Governor Driscoll's new slave-labor bill. Federated Pictures

Five Labor Candidates Elected In So. St. Paul

SOUTH ST. PAUL, Minn., Apr. 14—Delegates from District No. 2 CIO Packinghouse Workers meeting in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, March 22-23 unanimously adopted a resolution for an independent political organization, devoted to the interests of all working people.

Voicing complete disgust and dissatisfaction over the attempt of Big Business to legislate organized labor out of all its gains, numerous delegates went on record to dump the political representatives of Big Business monopolies and elect people who will support labor and the working farmers and pass legislation for their benefit.

CANDIDATES FROM RANKS

To carry out the intent of the resolution, local unions affiliated with the UPWA-CIO in the South St. Paul area endorsed and ran candidates directly from the ranks. In the April 1 municipal elections, they were successful in electing: Mike Verdrossa, from Local 167; Joe Moser, from Local 160, Stockhandlers; and Donald L. Swanson, member of the AFL. These candidates replaced company foremen who had held these aldermanic positions for the last several years.

Following the same procedure in the elections for members of the School Board, local unions elected Matt Sames, Vice-President of Local 167, Swift Local, for a four-year term in the

Aid Indo-Chinese Through Boycott Of French Ships

LONDON, Apr. 1—Eight trade unions in Singapore met on Jan. 30 and passed a resolution to organize a boycott of all French ships with respect to loading and unloading them.

All these eight unions are either directly or indirectly connected with the loading and unloading of French ships. Among them are the Singapore Dockers Union, the Singapore Seamen's Union, the Charcoal Workers Union, the Rice Transport Workers Union and the Lightermen's Union.

This magnificent solidarity with the Indo-Chinese struggle for freedom sets an example to the workers of the West. It is the duty of the working class of all countries to boycott the sending of goods to the imperialists attempting to drown in blood the fight for independence on the part of the colonial peoples.

State Ownership Of Utilities Urged For N. J. Constitution

By Alan Kohlman

NEWARK, N. J., Apr. 15—The drastic strikebreaking attack of the state government on the phone workers in New Jersey gives pointed emphasis to the Socialist Workers Party's demand for Constitutional Revision recognizing labor's unconditional right to strike. (See last week's Militant.)

We now raise a second demand to amend the Constitution: State expropriation of all public utilities, and their operation by the state under workers control.

The importance of this matter is sharpened by the week's developments in the phone strike: by Gov. Driscoll's savage new strikebreaking law, which was written in part by his personal counsel Russell E. Watson, while he was serving as a director of the N. J. Bell Telephone Company.

PRESS PROSTITUTION

The kept press, like the Evening News and the Star Ledger, is howling about "public interests," the "authority of the State" and the "impartiality" of the laws. The editorial hacks even go to the fantastic lengths of claiming that the "law actually is a great advance in behalf of public utility workers!" A man who can write that could sat his own vomit.

The workers are not deceived by this kind of editorial prostitution to the corporations. Every worker knows that state "seizure" consisted of sending Labor

SWP CANDIDATES

for the New Jersey Constitutional Convention from Essex County
William E. Bohannon
George Breitman
Alan Kohlman

Commissioner Harper down to the office of N. J. Bell, where they only dusted off a chair for him.

Meanwhile Bell's actual management continues to function — and continues to seek 10½ million dollars in rate increases! Users of dial phones will get their bills payable as usual to the Company. And all profits will continue to go to the Company.

So all that state "seizure" means is re-inforcement of the arrogant AT&T and Bell trust in its attempt to destroy the phone unions. State "seizure" means that the police will break up picket lines, as Attorney General Van Riper has ordered them to do. State "seizure" means that phone workers face heavy fines and jail sentences.

The "impartiality" of the state is thus shown to be a masquerade for strikebreaking. The "authority of the state" means a policeman's club to smash the unions. All talk of "public interest" is a smokescreen to conceal the fact that this is a battle between the working class "public," who constitute a majority of the population, versus one of

the most bloated profiteering monopolies of the handful of Sixty Families.

Private monopolies like AT&T, the huge Public Service trust, the railroads and other utilities, operate under state franchise and wring millions of dollars profit from the wage labor of their workers. Republican and Democratic politicians show themselves time and again to be the political agents of these big trusts.

USES THE STATE

Thus Big Business utilizes the State government to maintain its stranglehold on public utilities and beat the workers in the head with brutal anti-labor laws.

This stranglehold must be broken. The fight against entrenched monopolies and their vise-like grip on state government is a part of labor's fight. It must now be carried into the Constitutional Convention.

The Convention has the legal right to end state franchises to private monopolies, to expropriate these parasites, and to establish state ownership under workers' control.

A convention of Republicans and Democrats would shake in their boots at such a proposal. But labor can make its voice heard — by supporting this proposal for delegates to the Convention. (This is the third in a series of articles on issues facing the New Jersey Constitutional Convention to be elected in June.)