

THE MILITANT

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After The 15 Cents Wage Settlements

By George Clarke

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STALIN'S GUILT

Budenz Book Supplies Link In GPU Murder Of Trotsky

By Natalia Sedov Trotsky

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



NATALIA TROTSKY

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

This found its confirmation in attempts which at that time assumed the guise of accidents, but which were nevertheless very suspicious. Thus in 1924 in Kislovodsk where L. D. was recuperating, we happened one night to be returning in a hand-car from a hunting trip together with Muralov and our guards. The hand-car suddenly jumped the rails and fell down the embankment. We escaped with only contusions. But we never received a plausible explanation of what caused the derailment.

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

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

Even the legal exile of L. D. was not managed successfully by Stalin; it was broken up by a huge demonstration which took place in Moscow in 1929. (Continued on Page 3)

24-HOUR PROTEST STRIKE ADVOCATED BY FLINT CIO

Urges Calling Nation-Wide Work Haltage

By Henry Robinson

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

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

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

Several speakers took the floor in favor of the resolution. No one was in direct opposition. Among those speaking for the resolution were Lawrence Jones and Everett Sides from Local 659. Jones stated: "We among the ranks of the workers must build a fire under our top CIO leadership and force them into action."

It is becoming clearer every day that Congress represents only the Wall Street bankers and not the workers. No amount of letters or petitions to Congress will halt its ruthless, union-busting legislation. Only the most determined uncompromising all-out struggle by the labor movement can stop this vicious drive.

Workers elsewhere should complement, reinforce and accelerate the action taken in Detroit, Iowa, Chicago and New Jersey. Militant action taken now can stop the anti-labor drive.

Greek-Turkish Despots Continue Repressive Acts

On the same day that the U.S. Senate voted in favor of the Wall Street-Truman doctrine, a dispatch from Turkey gave further proof of the dictatorial nature of the government there which Truman is backing.

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

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

Three days later a report from Greece again underlined the reactionary character of the regime backed by Truman in that land. Following up its long and bloody campaign of torture, arrests, and shootings, the Athens police issued an order banning all May Day public meetings, parades and demonstrations. Here too, the Greek monarchy continues its campaign of dictatorial suppression and violence against the workers and flagrantly demonstrates its reactionary nature by denying the Greek workers the most elementary democratic rights.

How To Put Them On The Run!



500,000 Join In Detroit Protest Against Congress

DETROIT, Apr. 24 — In the biggest demonstration of labor's power in this industrial citadel, more than 275,000 white and Negro workers, men and women from office and factory, led by the CIO, but including many members of AFL, railroad unions and independents marched into Cadillac Square this afternoon, jamming all the streets for blocks around.

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

SHUTDOWN COMPLETE

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

Blaring union sound trucks organized the multitudes marching into the square in military formation. Their numbers and their spirit showed that the workers are willing and prepared to fight to defend their unions and living standards.

Veterans of picket lines, wearing union buttons and overseas hats, carried large banners denouncing the Congressional anti-labor bills and the savage attacks on labor's living standards. Shutting down the most powerful corporations — Ford, General Motors and Chrysler — the workers through this massive demonstration voiced in mighty numbers their determination not to tolerate the corporation plots to destroy their unions either on picket lines or through Congressional actions.

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

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

Tax on Incomes Up To \$5,000." "Tax the Greedy Not the Needy."

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

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

DENOUCE GOVERNOR

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

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

position to destruction of American living standards."

Rally Chairman Richard T. Leonard, UAW vice president, said the bills pending in Congress "will cut the heart, the foundation and the effectiveness of our unions into a thousand tattered bloody pieces."

The massive demonstration was imbued with the consciousness of the great need for labor unity to hurl back employer attacks. Many placards called for "Labor — CIO, AFL, Independent Unions — Fighting Together." One of the biggest omissions came after a reference to the need of unifying all labor. Recognizing this need, other placards supported the coal min-

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Origin of Detroit Rally

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

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

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

United Action Needed To Combat Slave Bills

By Farrell Dobbs

Editor of THE MILITANT

Mass demonstrations from coast to coast mark the rising tide of working class resistance against Wall Street's drive to smash labor with repressive legislation.

In city after city workers have downed tools to protest the savage anti-labor bills now in Congress and in State legislatures. A state-wide demonstration occurred in Iowa, the first of its kind in the history of the country. More than 500,000 stopped work in Detroit to stage the mightiest single protest demonstration this militant union city has ever seen.

The workers are eager to mobilize their full fighting power against Wall Street. They fear the loss of union gains won in decades of costly struggle. They are bitter over profit-s gouging, the steady rise in living costs, and the ominous signs of another depression. They are alarmed over the ruthless way Big Business has turned on the labor movement since the close of World War II. They are profoundly uneasy over the open preparations for another world slaughter.

MILITANT ACTION

When the political representatives of Big Business passed the Hartley measure, the union ranks pressed for militant struggle against the cynical gang of Democratic and Republican politicians in Washington. They decided that writing letters and maintaining a lobby to button-hole these political hatchmen and plead for mercy was woefully inadequate.

The workers acted to let Congress know how they felt in terms of Wall Street's representatives would more clearly understand. They marched into the streets by the hundreds of thousands, roaring their protest at the attempt to crush the labor movement by legislative means.

But Big Business, attempting to strangle militant unionism in America as part of its preparations for World War III, has



FARRELL DOBBS

given no indication of halting its anti-labor drive. A majority of the Democrats in the House joined the Republicans in passing the Hartley bill. In the Senate, the Republican machine boss, Robert A. Taft, announced that he intends to go right ahead with the blueprint calling for the most repressive anti-labor laws in years.

Obviously it is necessary to increase the pressure on Congress. It is necessary to extend and intensify the actions already begun by the union ranks.

The Flint CIO Council has already indicated the next step by its call for a nation-wide 24-hour general strike to hit back against the power-drunk union busters in Congress.

A simultaneous 24-hour protest action from the Pacific to the Atlantic and from Canada to Mexico — a single concentrated blow from the mighty fist of American labor — would prove immeasurably more effective than scattered demonstrations, no matter how excellent these demonstrations have been as a starter. A 24-hour strike would draw millions of workers into the battle.

Cowardly union bureaucrats will oppose a 24-hour strike. They will plead for "sanctity of contracts" while the bosses are striking hammer blows at the unions through their hirelings in Washington. They will plead for "labor statesmanship" while Wall Street employs the "statesmanship" of brutal assaults on the workers' organizations. But even union bureaucrats can be forced to go along. A hot fire must be built under these prophets of despair who can only whine and beg Wall Street not to hit the unions too hard.

Start the ball rolling in every local! Support the Flint call to action! Organize a 24-hour nation-wide protest strike against the anti-labor bills!

Release Of Jailed Indian Trotskyists Demanded By SWP

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

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

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

A full report of this strike by another Madras Trotskyist, Comrade Manickam, is printed on Page 3 of this issue. Comrade Manickam too was arrested shortly after writing it.

Another dispatch from Madras, sent on April 16, the same day that new arrests took place, reported that the textile strike was still going on. It also revealed that on April 8 a demonstration of women and children, attempting to get an interview with the Madras premier to ask the release of Comrade Antony Pillai, was heavily tear-gassed five times. Many of the demonstrators were also clubbed and whipped by the police.

Additional steps to protest these outrageous attacks on civil liberties in India are being planned in this country by the Socialist Workers Party and other friends of the Indian labor movement.

Telephone Strike In Fourth Week

By Alan Kohlman

APRIL 29 — The nation's phone workers tightened their ranks in the fourth week of their strike and rejected the AT&T's "divide and conquer" offers one after another. The huge communications trust still is proceeding with its arrogant tactics to starve out the phone workers, weaken their coast-to-coast unity and attempt to split their ranks by making piddling regional offers.

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

ed overwhelmingly to continue support of the strike.

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

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

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

It becomes increasingly clear that all government "arbitration" efforts, both on a federal and state level, are in concert with the starve-'em-out and divide-and-rule tactics of the AT&T. After the smashing defeat of New Jersey state strikebreakers, the federal government held back on force against the strikers. Its "arbitration" efforts reduce themselves to passing on the AT&T proposals to split the union.

The same thing is true in states like New Jersey, where Driscoll now is stalling arbitration and in Minnesota where Governor Youngdahl passed on the company's \$2.50 offer. Here is another proof that all forms and types of government inter-

vention and arbitration invariably favor the corporations.

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

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

Notebook Of An Agitator

Think It Over, Mr. Dubinsky

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

The four men — Arnold Ames, Charles Nemeroff, Irving Kotler and Emanuel Brownstein — had been suspended from Local 10 for periods of three to five years on charges of circulating defamatory literature against David Dubinsky, the highly-touted president, and other officers of the garment union. Their appeal to the court was denied by the judge, who denounced them as "Communists" in a 40-page decision. Emil Schlesinger, attorney for the ILGWU, hailed the decision as a "milestone in the defense of American labor against Communist deceit and treachery."

Mr. Schlesinger, according to the press reports, expressed certainty that the ruling would serve as a precedent in future cases affecting "communist penetration of trade unions" and applauded "the determination of the courts to prevent totalitarian forces from using democratic institutions as a weapon in their efforts to overthrow democracy."

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

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

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

the job and, consequently, the denial to the victims of the right to make a living at their trade, it is a brutal injustice, a murderous abuse of power. The whole business makes a mockery of this same "democracy" which Mr. Dubinsky and his fellow Social Democrats seem to preach better than their practice.

The first place where the workers have to win the battle of democracy is in their own organizations. Suspension or expulsion from the union is a penalty fit for strikebreakers or violators of union discipline in struggle against the bosses. But not for dissidents and critics, Mr. Dubinsky. Such a rule reverses to the theory that "the King can do no wrong," and makes less majestic a capital crime. That is not democratic. It is very easy to be agreeable to those who agree with us. Stalin accepts that formula, and so did Hitler in his time. But real democracy begins only when those who disagree and criticize have the right to live and breathe in the union and enjoy full rights of membership, including the right to make a living, as long as they observe the union rules and discipline in the conflicts with the employers.

It may be argued that in spite of everything, a critic gets a much better chance for his white alley in the ILGWU than in any Stalinist-controlled union. That cannot be gainsaid. But in this case under discussion the leaders of the ILGWU are making serious concessions to the Stalinists by imitating the methods they have made notorious. Of course, this is only one incident resulting from what was doubtless a great provocation, but it points in the wrong direction. It is not only wrong in principle for leaders of workers' organizations and minority groups to encourage, by example, the stultification of democracy. It is also dangerous from a practical point of view. Such actions serve to feed the general trend of reaction in the country, which is running too strong already, and they might be the first victims.

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

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

J. P. C.

After The 15c Settlement

By George Clarke

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

The coming economic crisis will reveal the grim

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

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

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

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

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

SMALL PRICE TO PAY

Fifteen cents was a small price to pay for the results Big Business expects from the settlement: a year or two of peace on the labor front while Congress cripples the unions with anti-labor legislation. No strikes in the United States to interfere with Wall Street's plans for the Third World War. No workers' action in the U. S. to give hope and inspiration to the rebellious colonial peoples or the workers' struggles in Europe. The fifteen cents settlement was a real bargain sale buy for America's 60 richest families. But what about the workers? Are their "economic questions" settled by this agreement? The 15 cents raise—and it will be lower when it gets around to weaker unions in other industries—will hardly keep the wolf from the door. A year ago, workers in the basic manufacturing industries received raises amounting to an average of 14.7 cents per hour. This in no way compensated for the 30% cut instituted with the elimination of wartime overtime, downgrading, etc.

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

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

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

NOT THE WHOLE STORY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Detroit Workers Rally Against Labor-Haters



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

Anti-Labor Bills Arouse Giant Protest In Detroit

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

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

Mrs. Frances Smith, speaking for the striking American Federation of Telephone Workers, told how fire hoses were being used against the telephone girls. She informed the demonstrators that this was the 18th day of their tough battle against the world's richest corporation. She reported how in Indiana, vicious state laws have prevented telephone workers from striking for decent wages; and denounced attempts to reduce labor to servitude.

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

Militant workers were fully conscious of the purpose of red-baiting. A common trick of the employers is to denounce union militants as Reds in order to divide and destroy unions. Many carried placards: "Red Baiting Is the Bosses' Weapon to Destroy Labor."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Camden CIO And AFL Rally Behind Telephone Strikers
By Max Goldman
CAMDEN, N. J., Apr. 23 — CIO and AFL workers in this area demonstrated their solidarity with the striking telephone workers and their hostility to the Driscoll Slave Law at an afterwork rally in the Camden City Hall Plaza yesterday.

The demonstration was backed by the AFL Camden Central Labor Union and the CIO South Jersey Industrial Union Council. More than 2,000 workers marched from their shops to City Hall Plaza to cheer the striking telephone workers and pledge their aid for a finish fight against the vicious state and federal anti-labor laws.

Union officials declared that the size of the rally was affected by the refusal of the city administration to permit sound trucks to tour the main industrial plants in the area and notify the workers of the rally.

But the workers present were little daunted by the attempts of the city administration to sabotage their rally. They responded enthusiastically to appeals by union officials for all-out AFL and CIO aid to the telephone workers. They contributed generously to the collection cans dir-

as well as the slogan "Call Emergency Mass CIO Conference in Washington To Stop Anti-Labor Drive." The failure to give voice to this sentiment and need for the labor party demonstrated the inability and unwillingness of the official leaders to point out the most effective method of struggle.

This most massive workers' demonstration in Detroit's history adjourned with the singing of the union's traditional song, "Solidarity."

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

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

Demonstration In Newark Protests Slave-Labor Law

By Ruth Franklin

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

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

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

NO LOUD-SPEAKER

But the city administration here showed where its sympathies lay by refusing at the last minute to permit the use of a loud-speaker at the rally.

Since this made it impossible for speakers to be heard, a spontaneous decision was made to picket the New Jersey Bell Telephone building across the street from the park, and then to march downtown in a body to City Hall to protest Commissioner of Public Safety Keenan's dictatorial action on the loud-speaker.

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

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

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A sliding scale of wages — an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!
Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!
Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers' control!
- 2. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!**
For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours — reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!
Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control!
Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!
- 3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-breaking!**
No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!
No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!
- 4. Build an independent labor party!**
- 5. Tax the rich, not the poor!**
Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes!
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
- 6. An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!**
- 7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!**
End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!
- 8. For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!**
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!
- 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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The Stalinist Bureaucrats And The Other Bureaucrats

By James P. Cannon

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

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

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

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

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

Fight For Their Privileges

The pickings of the conservative American labor bureaucracy are the richest in the world, and their consciousness is determined accordingly. When they fight it is always mainly for the defense of these privileges. Whether it is a fight to smash a rank and file revolt one day, by any and every dirty means of demagoguery, expulsion and brutal violence; or another day against anti-union legislation which threatens the existence of the unions and therefore their own basis of existence; or a third day against another union in a jurisdictional quarrel — their primary motivation is always the same: the defense of their pickings.

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

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

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

Sought To Restrict Unionism

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

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

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

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

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

Both Serve Labor's Enemies

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

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

And this applies to the so-called "progressive" labor leaders of the CIO as well as to their more stolid brethren of the AFL. Visualize once again the unforgettable picture, drawn by Art Preis in *The Militant*, of the convention of the United Automobile Workers in 1944. Thomas and Reuther and Addes and Leonard, the whole administration in all of its factions, were lined up solidly on the platform in fraternal unity with the Stalinists to beat down the rank and file revolt against the no-strike pledge. The transitory leaders thrown to the top of the first great wave of the new unionism represented by the CIO, are showing a marked inclination to imitate the AFL fakers and a tendency, like them, to grow fat, especially around the ears. They strive constantly to consolidate their positions in official machines, permanent and secure, and independent from all control, on the pattern of the AFL — and to constrict the membership in a bureaucratic straitjacket. If they have not succeeded — as they have not and will not — it is by no means due to the lack of ambitions in this respect, but primarily to the power of resistance that resides in the rank and file of the new unions of the mass production workers; to their alertness, and their mighty striving for democracy and for an aggressive, militant policy.

The Foreign Power In Washington

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

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

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

100,000 Workers Protest Arrest Of Trotskyist Leader In Madras

By Manickam

MADRAS, India, Apr. 5 — The British-owned Buckingham and Carnatic Mills at Madras is the biggest textile mill in India. Its 14,500 workers are 100% unionized into the Madras Labor Union. The MLU president is S.C.C. Antony Pillai, member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India.



C. S. S. ANTONY PILLAI

He is also a member of the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress and president of the 7,000 strong Perambur Workshop branch of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Union. In June-July last year, he led to partial success a 48-day strike of the B&C Mill Workers — a strike which made him undoubtedly the most prominent and popular labor leader in Madras.

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

The amount thus returned to this company totaled over 11,000,000 rupees. Yet the management actually offered the workers a paltry half a million ru-

pees during negotiations. Among the other union demands was a bonus equal to six months' wages — a demand recently won by the textile workers of Coimbatore, Madras Province; reinstatement of all dismissed for striking during the August 1942 uprising of the Indian masses; payment of a cost-of-living allowance at four annas per index point (the present amount is less than two annas), etc.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

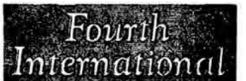
The prisoner must be subjected to a supplementary cross-examination in order to clear up the following points:

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

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

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

READ



The Guilt Of Stalin

(Continued from Page 1)

place at night in the railway station. The stormy crowd set up a large portrait of the leader of the October Revolution on one of the cars, hailed it enthusiastically and halted the train as it started moving. But Trotsky was not on it. The departure had been cancelled. Here too, Stalin was obliged to resort to deception and to a secret train in order to effect the exile.

THE EXILE OF TROTSKY

The year spent by L. D. in Central Asia was one of intense discussion by correspondence with co-thinkers. The entire exile stirred with the greatest activity: in Moscow and Leningrad sympathy for the Opposition grew. The experience of that year brought Stalin to the decision to exile Trotsky abroad. His choice fell on Turkey. Stalin calculated that after he had succeeded in completely blackening Trotsky in the eyes of the entire country, he would then be able to obtain from the friendly Turkish government the return of Trotsky to Moscow for the final settlement of scores.

The question came up for discussion in the Political Bureau. Stalin said: "Trotsky must be exiled abroad in the first place because he is providing here the ideological leadership to the Opposition which keeps growing numerically; secondly, in order to uncrown him in the eyes of the masses as soon as he turns up as an ally of the bourgeoisie in a bourgeois country; thirdly, in order to uncrown him in the eyes of the entire world proletariat; the Social Democracy will exploit his exile against the USSR and come to the defense of the victim of Bolshevik terrorism—Trotsky; and fourthly, if Trotsky comes out with exposures of the leadership we will brand him as a betrayer. All this shows the need to exile him." (We had at our disposal the minutes of the session of the Political Bureau at which the foregoing arguments were enumerated.)

On December 16, 1928, from an ultimatum which came from Moscow that he cease and desist from revolutionary activity, and a still worse one? Isn't it the cynical instrument of the monopolists and profit hogs, serving their interests against the interests of the American people? Isn't it an anti-labor, strikebreaking government, owned lock, stock and barrel by the Sixty Families of monopoly capitalism?

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

The united front of the workers of America really need is the united front of the rank and file, who have no privileges, who serve no foreign powers, who have nothing to lose but their poverty and insecurity, and have a world to win. This united front must be directed at the capitalist system, and thereby against both of its servile agencies—the Stalinist bureaucrats and the other bureaucrats.

(Next Week: Is The Communist Party A Working Class Organization?)

for obtaining the deportation of Trotsky from Norway, i.e., his being in effect handed over to the GPU. To this end, Stalin staged the Moscow Trials. Cringing before the threats, Norway resorted to the internment of L. D. Trotsky. It seemed as if the possibility of obtaining a visa to another country was completely out of the question.

But the government of the Republic of Mexico in the person of Lazaro Cardenas issued a visa to Trotsky—this was in the days when Mexico had no diplomatic relations with the USSR. Stalin's plans fell to pieces, nothing else remained for him except to prepare the terrorist act. For his part Trotsky awaited with certainty an attempt against his life. In March 1940, the congress of the "Communist" Stalinist Party of Mexico proclaimed a course toward the "annihilation of Trotskyism."

On May 24, 1940, took place the armed assault upon our house, which was led by the painter David Alfaro Siqueiros, former member of the Stalinist party of Mexico. Robert Sheldon Harte, one of Trotsky's young collaborators, was kidnapped by the Stalinist bandits and murdered. We escaped unharmed thanks to a fortunate accident, despite the painstakingly prepared strategic plan of the GPU.

THE ARMED ASSAULT

After the death of L. D. Trotsky the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition wrote: "To this failure (of the attempt led by Siqueiros) we owe the most dramatic document of modern political literature; in it a man explains to us why he must be killed and lays bare all the threads of intrigue which tighten more and more closely around him..." (The reference here is to Trotsky's article, "The Comintern and the GPU" published in November 1940 issue of Fourth International.)

David Alfaro Siqueiros, freed on bail of 10,000 pesos, prohibited to leave the country where he had committed a capital crime, nevertheless fled from Mexico, not without the assistance of prominent individuals. His trial was suspended, without any explanations. Several months later the press reported the theft of all the documents in his case and the impossibility in view of this of continuing the trial. Not so long ago, he applied for readmission to the Stalinist Party from which he was in his day expelled. The complete violation of legality by Siqueiros demands his immediate arrest.

NEW INQUIRY NEEDED

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

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

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

Detroit Appeal

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Smash the Republican-Democratic conspiracy to destroy organized labor! Break with company unionism on the political field! Build the Labor Party NOW!

Failure At Moscow

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

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

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

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

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

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

And in this obscene game of power politics,

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

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

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

Grooming Truman

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Palestine And The UN

A new fraud is being perpetrated on the tortured peoples of Palestine. The General Assembly of the United Nations is now "considering" the Palestine question. This new thieves' kitchen will talk, debate, maneuver, declaim, set Arab against Jew. But the United Nations will no more settle the fate of Palestine than did its defunct predecessor, the League of Nations.

During the two decades of its existence as a tool of the imperialist powers, the League "considered" Palestine. The present conditions in that country, with its brutal British military rule, the tragic division between Arab and Jew—these are the results of League of Nations "consideration."

He who expects the United Nations to do anything else is either the victim of pitiful self-delusion or is consciously deceiving the people. The whole fraud is made even more clear by Great Britain's warning that it will not be bound by any decision of the UN which affects continued British domination.

Does a solution perhaps lie in the Zionist demand for Jewish autonomy and control of Palestine? This would be a most flagrant violation of the democratic rights of the Arab masses. Or, do the spokesmen of the Arab landowners have an answer when they demand the exclusion and expulsion of the Jews? This again only serves to maintain and intensify the division of the Arab and Jewish masses.

Nor is the answer to be found in a bi-national state. This would only formalize the existing division between Arab and Jew, sharpen this division and leave them weaker against the common British oppressor.

There is only one effective answer: Unity of the Arab and Jewish masses against their common enemy! Drive out the foreign oppressor! Withdraw all British troops from Palestine! Let the Arab and Jewish masses decide their own destiny!



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

BOOKSHELF

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

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

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

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

As he says at the end of a tragicomic story, refusing to tell the reader his unhappy ending because he prefers laughter to tears, "Laughter is healthful. The doctors bid us laugh."

The best stories in the book are those which concern Tevye. Tevye is a simple, loquacious person with pretensions to scriptural learning. He sometimes wonders if it is right that he should be so poor while the

wealthy occupants of the surrounding summer-homes live in such affluence. But then he tells himself that it must be right, because God made it so. Moreover, God may will it that things change. "A Jew must always hope, must never lose hope. And in the meantime, what if we waste away to a shadow? For that we are Jews—the Chosen People, the envy and admiration of the world." Thus his religion gives him strength by holding out hope, at the price of his giving himself up to passivity and resignation.

But winds bearing new ideas of which Tevye had no conception, were blowing from the Russian cities and penetrating to the smaller towns. Tevye's daughter Hodel rejects a rich match to marry a young man who, while personable enough, engages in mysterious activities and has the most peculiar ideas, such as that the world should belong to the workers. He is finally sent far away and Hodel goes to join him. Tevye, bereaved by his loss, remains unable to understand the actions of the two young people.

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

—Paul Schapiro

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

Architects of Ideas is a valuable book because it gives the reader a clear idea of what a scientific theory really is. To do this, Trattner describes the historical background of several basic scientific concepts. The book tells of previous ideas that people held on the phenomena concerned. It shows the effect that the existing situation had upon the theorist, and finally, it recounts the exhausting struggle that was carried on against previous concepts

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

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

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

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

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

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

—Dick Carlson

Congressmen At Work

The Senate Votes On Greece

The 23 Senators opposing S. 938, the bill authorizing Truman to carry out his war policy in Greece and Turkey, fell into three groups. First, the economists such as McClellan (D., Tenn.) and Byrd (D., Va.) They contended the government could not afford the program.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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WORKERS' FORUM

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

A Gruesome Crime In Mississippi

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

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

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

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

D. Cooper
Cleveland, Ohio

Sidelights Of Rally In Cadillac Square

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

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

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

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

The Socialist Workers Party distributed leaflets calling for a

If I Should Die

If I should die before I live,
Think only this of me;
That in the class struggle I
had to be.

And in a gutter should I fall,
To stain the roadway red;
For that glorious tomorrow
have I bled.

If there is but one crimson banner,
In the world that is to be;
You'll know I've died to set
men free.

Subscriber
New York

Labor Party. They were well received.

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

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

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

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

Chuck
Detroit, Mich.

Praises 'Militant' For Telling Truth

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

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

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

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

Differs With M.E.C. On Support Of War

Editor:
In last week's *Militant*, M.E.C. maintained it was correct to support imperialist war. I should like to ask him some questions.

Were Lenin and Trotsky wrong as leaders of the young workers' state in opposing the first imperialist war? Was Debs wrong? Aren't all capitalist countries potentially fascist? In other words isn't fascism only a more repressive form of capitalism? We're internationalists and state our opposition to imperialist conflicts wherever we are able to raise our voices.

True, the "communist" parties have been able to gain tremendous influence in Europe. As a matter of fact, in some countries, i.e., France, Italy, most of the workers are in the Stalinist party or sympathetic to it. This reflects the desire of the European masses for socialism.

But instead of advocating the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the Stalinists are entering coalition governments with the capitalist parties, i.e., France. This policy of the "Communist" party shows quite clearly how far the "Communist" — now "Stalinized" party — has degenerated. Instead of conducting a militant policy, their ministers supported and the deputies "abstained" in the vote for arms to shoot down the Indo-Chinese in their struggle for liberation.

In Greece the Stalinists in the EAM told the workers to hand control of the factories to lay down their arms and to halt the "liberating" British armies. But instead of peace and the "Four Freedoms," they brought starvation, repression, terror and death.

This phenomenon — that is, the growth of the European Stalinist parties since the end of World War II — is due to the fact that the European workers associate the present Stalinist parties with the Bolshevik party that established the dictatorship of the proletariat during the October revolution.

They pay lip service to the class struggle but in reality they are pliable instruments of Stalin's foreign policy. In order for one to understand the zigzags and shifts in "Communist" party line one has to know the class character of the Soviet Union.

So I would suggest that M.E.C. drop around to the Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party and there obtain literature that deals extensively with this question.

In reference to the Socialist Workers Party running Trotskyist candidates; well, this is done for purposes of clarification in order to distinguish ourselves from the Socialist Party or the Socialist Labor Party who also run candidates in elections.

Bob Carlson
New York

Failure At Moscow Conference Underlines Imperialist Drive For Another World War

By Jean Paul Martin

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

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

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

VETO DEMANDS

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

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

It is not difficult to see why

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

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

PRESSURE ON USSR

Their refusal on the question of reparations accentuates the economic pressure against the USSR. Furthermore, Marshall has raised the question of revising the Polish-German border. Though Molotov categorically refused this demand, it is nevertheless clear that the U.S. and British imperialists have passed to a general attack aiming to obtain maximum concessions from Moscow.

The position of the French is dominated on the one hand by the coal question and on the other by the fear of seeing a new Germany of pre-war strength. So they propose a policy of continued looting and political division which would keep Germany in a state of semi-paralysis as long as possible.

Despite these differences with France, the other imperialist powers at the conference were able to make progress in the consolidation of a Western Bloc,

with France following the Americans and British more closely than before and moving further and further away from the USSR.

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

INTERVIEW WITH STALIN

Shortly after realizing that the conference had really arrived at an impasse, Marshall had an interview with Stalin in the Kremlin for an hour and 50 minutes. Although nothing about this talk has been made public, people around Marshall have declared that the latter particularly impressed upon Stalin "the anxiety with which the present situation in the world is viewed by the American government, as well as the determination of the latter to take 'drastic' measures, as has been the case with Greece and Turkey."

Throughout the conference the general course of the Americans, aided by the British, was clearly designed to bring the greatest possible pressure to bear on the USSR for important new concessions. While this pressure does not seem to have attained its aim, what has resulted at the very least is a great isolation of the USSR and a regrouping of the reactionary forces in the entire world, galvanized as they have been by the "firmness" of Yankee imperialist diplomacy.

"The coming six months," the people around Bevin are saying, "should bring about a decisive turn in relations among the Big Four. In the course of this period they will have to choose between close cooperation or a defense policy with all the consequences entailed thereby."

In other words, and more clearly, the USSR, will have the choice between a policy of concessions or the threat of war.

Why The Wallace Program Cannot Bring Lasting Peace

By Joseph Hansen

Henry Wallace declared in Stockholm on April 18: "I am not a Communist, I am not a Socialist, I am only an American capitalist — or as I told the House of Parliament in London — I am a progressive Tory who believes it is absolutely essential to have peace and understanding with Russia."

This significant statement furnishes the key to understanding the program Wallace outlined in his speeches in England, Scandinavia and France. Like General Marshall, Wallace supports the capitalist system. His aim is to preserve that system and stave off its inevitable doom as long as possible.

Wall Street's program is to convert the entire world, including the Soviet Union, into Wall Street's empire. General Marshall is generally recognized as the architect of the military part of this power-drunk program of conquest.

FLEXIBLE PROGRAM

But Wall Street also understands that the tactics required to achieve world domination must remain highly flexible, with occasional retreats a certainty. In the event the Kremlin grants sufficient concessions, Wall Street is even prepared to sign "friendship" pacts of longer or shorter duration before driving the sword home.

Here is where Wallace comes in. When Marshall flew to Moscow to play the role of the hard cop, Wallace followed, after a decent interval, to play — at a respectful distance — the role of the soft cop. While Marshall hammered on the table with the mailed fist, Wallace extended the open hand of friendship to the Kremlin.

Wallace maintained that to gain the Kremlin's confidence, "We must talk with Stalin." When reminded of Marshall's visit to the Generalissimo, Wallace responded: "Do you think he could dissipate distrust with the men who surround him?"

"Toughness breeds toughness," said Wallace. How well he understands the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy can be judged by his approval of shootings, frame-ups, censorship, secret police, slave labor, and horrible blood purges of the Kremlin: "I believe Russia is committed by her history of cen-

turies of czarist tyranny to the use of repressive measures as an essential element in holding the Soviets together . . ." He maintained that "communism should prosper in Russia." By "communism" he means of course the Stalinist bureaucracy.

He advocated a loan of 10 to 17 billion dollars to the Soviet Union and echoed Stalin's long-ago exploded contention that capitalist economy and Soviet economy can exist peacefully side by side for an indefinite time. And he recognized the Kremlin's present demands at the conference tables: "I believe Russia is committed by both Czarist history and geography to push continually for free access to the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles."

DANGEROUS AGENT

What makes Wallace particularly dangerous is his exploitation of the anti-war sentiments of the mass of the people through his criticisms of the Truman war "doctrine." Wallace tells a number of truths about this doctrine in order to gain a wide popular following. Without this following he could exercise no influence in his own right as a political leader.

Wallace understands the yearning of the people for peace and their disillusionment with both the Republican and Democratic parties. He understands their desire for some kind of international instrument to achieve enduring peace. Consequently as a demagogue, following in the tradition of Roosevelt, he pays lip service to these feelings of the people.

The reactionaries who attack Wallace are impatient to get ahead with the war drive on the Soviet Union. They don't want to waste time on detours. That is why, as reported previously in *The Militant*, they have shouted "treason" at Wallace and are now trying to muzzle him.

But the inner circles who exercise the dominant voice do not fear Wallace's demagoguery. They know that as a capitalist poli-

tician Wallace will inevitably end up playing the Judas goat. Like all the past demagogues who have made a program out of pacifism, when World War III begins he will join the warmongers and utilize his prestige as a pacifist to lead his duped followers into the slaughter pens.

Similarly with the Soviet Union. When the Wall Street imperialists decide the time is ripe to strike, Wallace will be with them. As he explained, "I am only an American capitalist . . . a progressive Tory."

New SWP Branch In Lynn Built On Firm Foundations

By S. Brooks

LYNN, Mass., Apr. 26 — A new and stronger branch of the Socialist Workers Party has been established once more in this highly industrialized city of Lynn. Before the war the Trotskyist movement contributed no little share to the strengthening and leadership of the trade union movement in Lynn. The Trotskyist militants were widely known and respected in the local labor movement.

It was an active, flourishing working class branch with many friends and sympathizers. With the advent of war, the Lynn Branch suffered the full impact of war-time dislocation. The most experienced, leading members were drafted into the armed forces, and still others found work in war industries in other sections of New England and the country. Under such handicaps and loss of personnel, the branch necessarily could not function as before.

The end of the war brought the gradual return to Lynn of the demobilized veteran comrades, their socialist convictions hardened and reinforced by their wartime experiences. The work to reconstitute the Lynn Branch and to re-establish Trotskyism as a force in the local working class movement began.

The job of rebuilding our Militant subscription list was our first big task. This took months of hard but rewarding door-to-door work in the working class sections. More than 200 new subscribers to the Militant was our reward, the great majority of the subscribers being trade-unionists in the electrical, leather and shoe industries. (In Lynn, the high General Electric River Works Plant employs 15,000 workers alone.)

Today, we have a branch we believe the party can take pride in. It is a 100% working class branch, 90% of the comrades are militant members of CIO and AFL locals. The remaining 10% are working class wives and mothers whose household duties and children do not deter them from being our best party activists.

It is a youthful branch, young in age and young in spirit, full of energy and enthusiasm. It is significant that, while the other working class parties in Lynn have faded from the scene altogether or are lurking in the shadows, Trotskyism alone has forged ahead. We have an office in the heart of the city, open and "ready for business." And a thriving healthy business at that.

On the other hand, the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party to all intents and purposes have evaporated into thin air. The Communist Party, except for a public meeting some months ago, has maintained a dead silence. Locally, the Stalinists are dormant and demoralized.

It is a tribute to the power of our program and to the tenacity of the comrades here that the Trotskyist movement alone could build and advance, while the other working class parties in Lynn stagnated or died.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Report Brisk Sales Of Single Copies



It is easy to sell individual copies of *The Militant* when it features material affecting the struggles of workers in your area, the Newark Branch informs us. As proof the comrades of that branch point to their experience in selling copies of the issue which featured the phone strike.

"We ordered an extra large bundle when it was reported that the AFL and CIO were planning a 24-hour stoppage in solidarity with the phone workers," says Brothly Lessing. "The AFL leaders backed out and the stoppage did not take place, so the results weren't up to our expectations. But they were very satisfactory anyhow. Here are some examples:

"The AFL called a conference at the Newark City Hall. We sold 75 there in a few minutes; close to 1000 were present. The next day there was a rally of 500 in defense of the Phelps Dodge UE workers who were jailed last year and whose case is still pending. There we sold 88 copies.

"In addition we did some street sales. The results convince us that you can sell the paper if you only organize for such sales."

The comrades in Philadelphia are also getting good returns from single copy sales of *The Militant*. Max Goldman, the branch organizer, reports: "Last Sunday's mobilization netted 8 subs plus the sale of 35 single copies of *The Militant*. Since both the subscriptions and the single sales were in areas where we have not been before, we consider that it was a fair return. The comrades found the going tough, but, in compensation, when they did get a subscription, the subscriber showed genuine interest in our ideas."

Although B. Rosen does not indicate in her letter the number of copies sold she states that the Chicago comrades "sold the Militant bundle out today to the telephone workers." The branch requested an additional 200 copies of the paper for its "subscription mobilization this Sunday."

El Snyder, Militant Director of the Flint Branch, sent the following write-up: "Enclosed are 9 more subs. And this ends our Militant campaign drive. Due to the set-backs we have had — snowstorms, floods, etc. — we were unable to reach our goal. But nevertheless, we did obtain around 175 subscriptions in the 5 or 6 mobilizations we had. The campaign lasted for 10 weeks."

Three Militant boosters—Louis Torok of Lincoln Park, Mich.; Margaret Turner of San Francisco; and S. L. Bolinger of Greenville, Pa.—have each suggested that we send a copy of *The Militant* to a list of friends. H. M. Sherven of Redding, Calif., sent in a six-month sub for a friend in Tacoma, Wash. F. Kietz of Lynwood, Calif., wants three of his friends to read *The Militant*, so he sent in a 1-year sub for each.

I. Isaksen of Minneapolis, Minn., sent in 1-year subs for two friends, with the following comment: "We can have no peace so long as Wall Street is our headquarters of government, so long as they elect our president with their campaign money. They made all their wealth out of nothing and they should be paid back with nothing."

Eight cloth-bound volumes of Lenin's Collected Works was the prize awarded to the highest subscriber for the campaign. Winner of the prize was El Snyder with 34 subs and following closely behind was Sidney Bannon with 32."

"Two weeks remain of Milwaukee's 6-week Militant Campaign," says Fred Martin, Militant Manager, "and we have obtained 75 subs toward our quota of 100 subs by May 3. The two leading teams are running a close race with the Red Lions holding the lead at present with 26 subs. The Red Quartet follows closely on their heels with 24 subs. Comrade Gregory leads the way as the highest individual sub-getter with 16 subs. J. O'Connell is in second place with 13 subs. One friend in Kenosha, Wis., helped us out with two subs for friends of his in Indiana and Florida. . . . The new subs we are getting look very encouraging with workers of many nationalities and trades represented. Despite the intensity of the red-baiting drive in Milwaukee, the average worker has not been scared or taken in by all the mud-slinging."

Detroit's literature agent, E. Brent, mailed in 25 subs obtained by the comrades of that branch. She writes: "With the union elections over, Ernest Drake is setting the pace on subscriptions, and it is a good one. He is doing a wonderful job on subs. Even though I have said that before, I'll say it again and again . . . Our Militant subscription drive is starting about the 15th of May for both new and renewal subs. I'm looking forward to this."

The Boston comrades sent in five 6-month renewals obtained during the week.

The comrades in St. Paul secured 5 renewal subscriptions on Sunday.

Charles Carlson mailed in 9 subscriptions for Buffalo, stating: "Seven of these 9 subs were gotten in the shops by the comrades working in the shops."

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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, 316 1/2 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: all GR 5-8149 for information. For information about Queens Youth Group, write M. Kevin, 16 University Pl., N. Y. 3.

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

SEATTLE
Benefit Dance
Gala Floor Show
Games — Refreshments
Sat., May 24, 8 p.m.
1919 1/2 Second Ave.
Auspices: American Committee For European Workers Relief

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

AKRON—2nd floor, 8 S. Howard St. Open Mon. through Friday, 4 to 6 p.m.; Saturdays 2 to 4 p.m.

BAYONNE—62 W. 23rd St. Open house 2nd and 4th Saturdays.

BOSTON—30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Tuesdays and Fridays, 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone Madison 3960. Open every afternoon except Sunday.

CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 4787. Library, bookstore.

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

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave., phone TY. 7-6267. Open Monday through Saturday, 12 to 5 p.m. Current events forum and open house, Saturday from 8 p.m.

FLINT—215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3, Mich. Open Monday through Friday, 5 to 9 p.m.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publishing Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.

Friday, 8 p.m. — Militant Workers Forum, 466 E. Vernon.

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

LYNN, Mass., 44 Central Square,

Room 11. Discussion every Tuesday 7:30 p.m.; open Saturdays 1-5 p.m.

MILWAUKEE — Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5 St., open 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily except Sunday. Tel. Main 7781. Library, bookstore.

Sunday Forums, 3:30 p.m.

NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open 1st and 3rd Monday, 7:30-9:30 p.m. Sunday forums, 2nd and 4th of month, 8:30 p.m.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Library and reading room open week nights, 7-10 p.m.

Friday night forum, 8:30.

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

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

Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.

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

Discussion on the SWP Program every Wed. 8 p.m.

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

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

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

PHILADELPHIA — 1308-05 W.

Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 5820.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor. Office hours: Wed. 7 to 9:30 p.m., Sat. and Sun. 3 to 9 p.m. Open forums Sun. 3 to 9 p.m. Tel. Court 6060.

PORTLAND, Ore. — Write to Socialist Workers Party, c/o C. M. Hesser, P.O. Box 3711.

SAN DIEGO—Headquarters 623 Sixth Ave., open 7 to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday.

SAN FRANCISCO — School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., cor. of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor. Open from 12 noon to 4:30 p.m., daily except Sunday. Phone EXbrook 1926.

SEATTLE—1919 1/2 Second Ave. Open Monday through Saturdays, noon to 6 p.m. Tel. SE-0543. Library, bookstore.

Friday forum—8 p.m.

ST. LOUIS — 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Room 312, open Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 7:30 to 9 p.m. Forums Thursday, 3:30 p.m. Phone Jefferson 3842.

ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St., St. Paul 2, Phone Garfield 1187. Open daily 2:30-9:30.

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

The Secret Of The Cities

By Theodore Kovalesky

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Negro Struggle

NAACP Aims At A Million

By William E. Bohannon

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



The NAACP has shortcomings and faults, which have been discussed previously in this column. But even so, no one can deny that it has been an effective and aggressive agency in challenging Jim Crow laws and customs in the courts and in defending victims of lynch terror and violence.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Fountain Of Youth

By Grace Carlson

It was in 1512 that the Spanish explorer, Ponce de Leon set out on his futile search for the Fountain of Youth. Over 400 years later, Columbia University's Professor Henry Sherman has announced that the search has been completed.



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

Milk and milk products — butter, cheese, ice cream — are extremely important sources of Vitamin A, says Dr. Sherman. If human beings double their consumption of foods rich in Vitamin A, another decade may be added to the life span. Here are the typical words in which Dr. Sherman reports his scientific findings:

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

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

becomes longer because it is lived on a higher health level throughout. The apex of attainment is higher, the period of the prime is longer and, in human terms, there is a smaller percentage of years of dependence."

Dr. Sherman urges that people get their increased Vitamin A by eating vitamin-rich food rather than in pill form. Vitamin concentrates should never be taken except on the advice of a physician, he warns.

The commonly accepted daily allowance for Vitamin A is 5,000 international units for average adults; 8,000 for pregnant women; 8,000 for nursing mothers. Here is a list of foods and the amount of Vitamin A which they contribute to the diet:

Food	Amount	Vitamin A Units
Milk	1 quart	1880
Butter	1/4 pound	4440
Cheese	1/4 pound	3500
Ice cream	1 cup	1200
Liver	3x3x3/4 ins.	8775
Carrots	1/2 cup	2045
Egg	1	720

Now all that working class housewives have to figure out is where to get the money to buy this vitamin-rich — but very expensive — food for their families!

Notes From The News

Rev. Kenneth R. Williams, Negro veteran, minister and teacher, won the Democratic nomination for city councilman in Winston Salem, N. C. He had the support of the United Labor Committee.

Carlton Werkau, strike director of the National Federation of Telephone Workers, announced an investigation in Washington, D. C. "to determine whether strikebreakers were recruited through government channels or by the company."

Walter S. Gifford, president of AT&T, was paid \$100.00 per hour for a total of \$209,650 last year, according to figures released by the Securities and Exchange Commission.

The Illinois Legislature's committee investigating the Centralia Mine Disaster refused to hear testimony that the state mine inspectors were shaking down mine owners for contributions to the Republican Party campaign fund. Four Democratic members of the committee promptly resigned.

Donald Harrington, chairman of the Workers Defense League, protested the action of the Ford Motor Company in docking their workers for the compulsory workless day of mourning the company proclaimed following the death of Henry Ford.

The Pennsylvania State CIO convention banned Communists from holding office and voted two-to-one against a one-day stoppage of 600,000 state CIO workers to protest anti-labor bills.

Paul Robeson, banned from a concert hall in Peoria, Ill., has also been prevented from giving a scheduled concert in Albany, N. Y.

Gerald L. K. Smith, leading American fascist, says that he will support Truman for re-election if the President continues his anti-Soviet policy and his program of purging leftist government employees.

UMW officials plunked down a \$100,000 "loan" in the telephone strike headquarters one hour after the courts had returned the balance of the three and one half million dollar fine to the miners.

Frederick Umhey, executive-secretary of the ILGWU, announced the union-sponsored Unity Broadcasting Corporation was opening six FM radio stations. The first station to begin operating will be in Chattanooga. Others will be located in St. Louis, Los Angeles, Boston, Philadelphia and New York.

The U.S. Senate has voted to change the name of Boulder Dam to Hoover Dam in honor of the former president.

THE MILITANT

Voters Show Left Trend In Ex-Axis Countries

By George Breitman

In the first important elections since the announcement of the Truman Doctrine, the people in the three former Axis countries went to the polls last week and showed that they are still moving leftward in their political thinking and sympathies.

In Japan the Socialist Party emerged as the strongest party in the new House of Representatives, the lower chamber of the Diet which was elected for a four-year term on April 25. It received 6,600,000 votes out of 25,800,000 cast and elected 143 representatives out of 466.

The conservatives, organized in the Liberal and Democratic Parties, retained a majority in the House, electing 132 and 122 deputies respectively. But this marked a considerable set-back for the conservatives, who had an overwhelming majority in the Diet elected last year and have been losing strength steadily ever since, as mass discontent rose over black marketing and the rising cost of living.

The Japanese Communist Party got a total vote of 870,000 but elected only four members of the new House, as compared with six a year ago.

Returns in the April 20 election of the House of Councilors, the Diet's upper chamber, were generally similar to those in the House of Representatives.

General MacArthur hailed the elections in Japan as a victory for democracy, a rejection of communism, a defeat for the extremes of both the right and left, etc. But such a statement cannot conceal the political fact that the extreme right — the reactionary capitalist forces propped up by MacArthur since the beginning of the occupation — has lost much popular confidence and backing during the last year though it remains in control.

Elections for a regional autonomous Parliament were held on April 20-21 on the island of Sicily, traditionally a stronghold of reaction in Italy. Most observers predicted a sure victory for the rightist parties — the monarchists, Quelinquists and Social Fusionists, who showed great strength on the island in last year's elections.

But these predictions were far off the mark. The Popular Bloc (Communist and Socialist Parties) increased its vote 72% over last June and came out on top with 29 of the Parliament's 90 seats (22 for the Socialists, 7 for the Communists). Their coalition partner, the so-called center party, the Christian Democrats, lost the most ground, winning only 20 seats. The Rightist Coalition received 15; the Monarchists 9; the Separatists 8; Republicans 4; Italian Workers Socialist Party 3; National Democratic Union 2.

A similar trend was shown in the election of the three new Landtag (state assemblies) in the British occupation zone of Germany, where the Christian Democratic Party was expected to win a clear majority.

On a zone-wide basis the Social Democrats turned out to be the strongest party, receiving 3,131,127 of 8,500,000 votes. But the only state legislature where they won control was in Schleswig-Holstein.

The Social Democrats also led in Niedersachsen, but here the Christian Democrats and other conservative parties could unite for a majority of the legislature.

In the most important state, North Rhine-Westphalia, which includes the Ruhr, the Christian Democrats received the highest number of seats and control of the legislature by a coalition with the Center Party.

The Communist Party made important gains, receiving 891,026 throughout the three states to become the third largest party in the British zone. The Christian Democrats polled a zone-wide total of 2,747,715.

Thus the trend continues unmistakably to the left in Japan, Germany and Italy just as in most European and Asiatic countries. The harshness of occupation rule and the cowardice of the traditional workers parties have served to stunt and stunt this leftward movement, but have been unable to crush it.

Superficial observers during and after the war threw up their hands, writing off the working class in the former Axis countries as hopeless and helpless so far as revolutionary activity went, for several years at least. But the masses in these countries, despite their experiences under the occupation and under native capitalist dictatorship — or rather, because of these experiences — express their revolutionary aspirations by supporting the parties which they still associate with the struggle for socialism.

Their present confidence in these parties — the Socialist and Communist Parties — is based on an illusion, the illusion that they stand for the overthrow of capitalism. In that illusion lies the weakness of their present leftward movement. But their groping and growing desire for a party that will express their anti-capitalist sentiments is a guarantee of revolutionary struggles to come.

Detroit Strikebreaking Cops Slug Phone Workers



Club-swinging Detroit police wield their weapons on the heads of strikers outside the Bell Telephone Company's main building. Trying to make a path for scabs the cops went to work with a vengeance against the peaceful pickets. A number of telephone operators were injured and 20 were arrested.

Police In San Francisco Beat Telephone Strikers

By R. Chester

SAN FRANCISCO, Apr. 25 — Police today broke up a peaceful demonstration of telephone workers, injuring at least one striker seriously and arresting 27 others.

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

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

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

the police to charge and break them up.

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

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

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Anger against police brutality in San Francisco is mounting. Picket lines remain firm with spirit high. One telephone worker on the picket line in front of

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

Another picket, who has been employed by the company for over 30 years, berated the police force. "I do not think that San Francisco will stand for this," she said. "It was a terrible action. We have at least as much right to the streets as the Shriners and American Legion. They took over the town and the police did nothing. We wanted to peacefully demonstrate and they brutally attacked us. All the strikers are very angry."

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

New Jersey Constitution And The One-House Legislature

By Alan Kohlman

NEWARK, N. J., April 29 — The Socialist Workers Party, as we reported last week, advocates revising the State Constitution to establish proportional representation as the basis for election of members of the State Legislature. Hand in hand with this proposal, the SWP calls for abolition of the two-house Legislature and establishment of a single house (unicameral chamber).

At the present time there is a Senate consisting of one member from each of the state's 21 counties. This means that 11 downstate farm counties, firmly in the grip of the Republican agents of Big Business, have control of the Senate. Yet, their combined population is only 828,749, while Essex, with a heavy concentration of industrial workers and a population of 837,540, has only one Senator.

The situation is even more complicated in the lower house, the Assembly, which has 60 members based on a crazy-quilt system of population. Under this system, Cape May County has one assemblyman representing 28,919, while Burlington has one representing 97,013. This means that one vote for Assembly in Cape May is worth 10 in Passaic County, 14 in Bergen, 22 in Hudson and 28 in Essex.

Such a system of election obviously deprives the industrial workers of their democratic rights and weights the scales in favor of the smallest, most reac-

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tionary and politically backward areas. But this is only part of the evil; the root of it lies in the whole system of two houses, of the "check and balance" method of state and federal government.

The two-house system flows from the federal constitution. When the "Founding Fathers" drafted it, their chief concern was to establish a strong national state with power in the hands of the propertied classes — the merchants and capitalists of the North and the slaveholders of the South.

One of these check and balance methods was the two-house system. The whole idea was to enable the owning class to maintain the power, while slowing down and checking the pressure and authority of the "democratic rabble" (as the workers, artisans and poor farmers were characterized).

Every one knows how this system operates in Congress. How pro-labor bills can be killed in committee; and even if passed in the House, can then be killed in Senate Committee, or on the floor of the Senate. The same thing applies in the State Legislature. Over 26 bills sponsored by the AFL died in committee

in the 1946 session. Just last week the CIO and AFL-supported bill for state sickness compensation was killed on the floor.

When labor, the majority of the population, wants a bill passed the two-house system makes it easier for the bosses to weaken labor's voice, and in most cases, to stifle the bill. On the other hand, when the bosses want something, the two-house system engages in "lightning legislation" — as they did in passing Driscoll's slave labor law in less than two hours.

It is obvious that the two-house system is a boss instrument. The two-house system must go. A single chamber of the Legislature, elected by proportional representation, on a strict population basis, is a necessary democratic reform which must have the full support of the entire labor movement.

To be sure, such a democratic reform does not change the nature of the state government, nor could it end boss class domination. But it would enable labor to exert its full legislative strength, and swing its full legislative weight; it would strip the capitalists of one of their deceitful methods of legislative operation and force them out into the open; it would thus be a more exact expression of the class forces in the legislature as well as a democratic reform to facilitate labor's legislative struggles.

(This is the fifth in a series of articles on the issues facing the New Jersey Constitutional Convention.)