

**Mr. Winchell--  
You Are A Liar!**

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# THE MILITANT

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## MINERS STAND FIRM IN REPUDIATING WLB

### Farrell Dobbs Starts On National Tour

**Speaks on Labor Party Prospects in His  
Coast to Coast Tour; Opens in Los Angeles**

The long awaited national tour of Farrell Dobbs, National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, opened in Los Angeles on May 9 with a highly successful meeting attended by many non-party workers who had come to hear Dobbs for the first time as he spoke on perspectives of the labor party movement.

Held at the new and enlarged headquarters of the Los Angeles branch of the SWP, 232 South Hill Street, the enthusiasm of the meeting was indicated when four workers joined the party immediately following the discussion period. Shipbuilding, maritime and auto were the industries represented by the new recruits.

Comrade Dobbs, fully recovered from a recent illness, spoke at length on the factors now making for the formation of an Independent Labor Party based upon the trade unions. He dwelt on the struggle of the miners' for a living wage and explained how their fight has given a great impetus to working class steps toward independent political action.

The Los Angeles meeting, and the San Diego meeting which followed it on May 16, were the opening guns in a three month tour which will bring Comrade Dobbs to all the major branches of the party from coast to coast.

Reports show that each city is eagerly awaiting his arrival, spreading word among friends and contacts, and preparing to utilize the meeting for the education of the advanced workers on the question of the labor party and to stimulate the party's recruiting campaign.

Comrade Dobbs is well known to worker militants throughout the country. His record as former international organizer of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, AFL, organizer of the great 12-state movement of teamsters in the middle west, and his role as one of the principal defendants in the Minneapolis labor trial means that he brings to the workers great experience and authority on the problems of the labor movement.

Comrade Dobbs came to the Trotskyist movement through the organization of the coal drivers in Minneapolis during 1933-34. He was then employed in a Minneapolis coal yard as a yard man.

He has been Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party since 1940, when he came to New York after a visit with Comrade Trotsky in Mexico.

#### Off to a Good Start



**FARRELL DOBBS**  
National Labor Secretary,  
Socialist Workers Party

His remaining tour dates follow:

DATE	PLACE
May 24, 28—San Francisco	
May 30—Portland	
May 31, June 3—Seattle	
June 7, 10—Twin Cities	
June 14—Milwaukee	
June 15, 18—Chicago	
June 19, 20—St. Louis	
June 23, 24—Flint	
June 25, 27—Detroit	
June 28—Toledo	
June 29, July 1—Cleveland	
July 2, 4—Akron	
July 5, 7—Youngstown	
July 8, 10—Buffalo	
July 11, 12—Rochester	
July 14, 15—Boston	
July 16, 17—New Haven	
July 18—New York	

Dates not yet announced for Newark, Philadelphia, Reading and Bayonne.

### Demonstrations in N. Y., Hollywood, At 'Mission To Moscow' Film

Socialist Workers Party branches in New York and Los Angeles led demonstrations at showings of "Mission To Moscow" last week to acquaint the public with the real facts about the film and the Moscow trials.

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party conducted a second protest demonstration against Warner Brothers' whitewash film "Mission to Moscow" last Sunday night. The purpose of the demonstration was not to prevent people from entering the theater but to call attention to the lies in the motion picture and to the truth about the Moscow frameups.

Thousands of copies of *The Truth—About "Mission to Moscow" and the Moscow Trials*, a four-page tabloid, were distributed. In this exposure of the lies and slanders contained in the film, the latter is branded as a "100% Stalinist lie" produced with "unofficial" government blessing.

The demonstrators carried placards calling for the defense of the Soviet Union and denouncing "Mission to Moscow" as a whitewash of Stalin's crimes against labor. The demonstration attracted the attention and interest of thousands of theatergoers and passersby. So great was the interest of the crowd that gathered to read the placards, that the theater management attempted to "dim-out" their effectiveness by extinguishing the marquee lights.

When this failed, the management tried to serve the demonstrators with cups of coffee in the hope that the passersby would thereupon construe the demonstration as an advertising stunt.

Stalinist plug-glies milled about the theater obviously seeking for a pretext to break up the action. They were prevented from using their customary hooligan methods by the disciplined and firm conduct of the distributors and placard bearers.

A warm reception was accorded the tabloid *The Truth*. Hundreds of people who had seen the picture or who had become acquainted with the controversy in the capitalist press around "Mission to Moscow" were eager to acquaint themselves with the Trotskyist analysis of the Moscow trials.

After the first demonstration of the Socialist Workers Party conducted against "Mission to Moscow" when it opened at the Hollywood Theater on April 29, many letters were received by the party's New York office, 116 University Place, asking for further information on the trials.

(Continued on page 2)

### The CIO and the Miners

**The CIO Executive Board Resolution Does Not  
Express the Sentiments of the CIO Membership!**

*An Editorial*

The growing gap between the great mass of the CIO workers and their top officials has been demonstrated in their contrasting attitudes toward the miners' fight.

The workers are for the miners. Their attitude was shown in the two big conferences of the United Auto Workers — the May 1-2 conference in Detroit of 1,000 delegates representing 350,000 Michigan members, and the May 6 conference in New York of 1,000 delegates representing all the eastern locals. Both by overwhelming majorities — only a handful of Stalinists in each case were the main opposition from the floor — adopted resolutions for all-out support of the miners' fight. Moreover, this was voted against the opposition of the entire UAW executive board!

These two conferences of the biggest union in the CIO undoubtedly expressed the sentiments of the rank and file of the CIO as a whole.

On the other hand the CIO executive board met last week in Cleveland and could find nothing more important to do than to denounce John L. Lewis.

Of course, ex-miner Philip Murray, CIO President, denies that he is attacking the miners, claiming only to be opposed to the "political vendetta" conducted against "our Commander-in-chief" by John L. Lewis. But the CIO board's resolution pretends to find a distinction between Lewis and

the rank and file miners exactly at the point where no distinction exists. Lewis' present policy and methods of struggle for a living wage are supported by the UMW membership to a man.

The workers are for the miners' fight because they understand that the miners are now the vanguard in labor's struggle for wage increases to compensate for spiralling price rises.

The CIO leaders, on the other hand — and this is equally true of the AFL executive board — are against the miners' fight because these leaders take their orders not from their members but from Roosevelt. As servile supporters of the administration, they are dragged along by it in opposition to the miners and all that the miners' fight stands for.

Murray and the other CIO leaders know very well that the rank and file of the CIO are for the miners' fight. That is why not one of the top CIO leaders has dared to put the issue up to a vote by the membership in the local unions. On the contrary, they are doing everything they can to stifle the pro-miners' sentiment of the CIO membership.

**The CIO workers must speak out! Let them  
follow the lead of the auto workers' conferences!  
All support to the miners!**

The CIO workers must see to it that their official leaders stop stifling the sentiment in the ranks which is for the miners. The fighting miners are the spearhead of labor's struggle. Every CIO worker owes it to them to find a way for his union to express itself in favor of the miners' fight.

### Truce Extended On Request Of Government Manager Ickes

**Miners Stay United On Right to Strike;  
Murray, Green Still Aiding Roosevelt  
In Attempts to Smash Miners' Struggle**

Standing firm as ever on the miners' wage demands, their right to strike, and their repudiation of the War Labor Board, the United Mine Workers scale committee announced Monday night that a second 15-day truce, ending midnight May 31, had been agreed to in response to a telegram from Harold L. Ickes, government manager of the mines.

Ickes' telegram came only a day before expiration of the first 15-day truce, and a few hours after the War Labor Board, presumably speaking for Roosevelt, had denounced John L. Lewis as "defying the lawfully established procedures of the government of the United States" by his "refusing to seek the approval of the War Labor Board" for the wage increases that the miners are demanding. In its vicious attack on Lewis the WLB did not dare, however, to attempt to answer his charges that it had prejudged the miners' cause in advance by its "Little Steel" formula which would bar the miners from any real increase in wages.

In its statement, the WLB insisted it would not step out of the controversy, and the mine operators simultaneously announced that the WLB had "forbidden" them to go to New York to reopen negotiations with the United Mine Workers as John L. Lewis had invited them to do.

#### WLB LOSES PRESTIGE

Whatever the final form of settlement of the mine controversy, the miners have dealt an irretrievable blow to the War Labor Board. In its eighteen months of existence this Board has been the principal weapon used against the labor movement, thanks to the participation in it of the AFL and CIO leaders (and,

until recently, we do not forget, the UMW secretary-treasurer, Thomas L. Kennedy). Even if the WLB somehow manages to survive the mine fight, its prestige and power of intimidation will never remotely approximate what it was before.

This is implicitly admitted by the WLB members in their frantic efforts to save something from the wreckage. All their energies today are centered on staying in the mine controversy. Everything else—cases, hearings, etc.—has stopped for the time being, for the WLB well knows that if the miners are decisively victorious the WLB will have to close up shop for good.

#### ICKES AVOIDS SHOWDOWN

The WLB and operators' statements inspired a renewed lynch campaign against John L. Lewis and the miners, radio reports and press headlines and editorials branding Lewis as an "outlaw." Apparently the stage was being set for a new showdown, with the press and radio incitement against the miners being designed to

#### Miners Pleased With "The Militant" Story Of Their Struggle

PITTSBURGH, May 18 — Distributors of "The Militant" among Western Pennsylvania miners during the last two weeks report the friendliest reception.

One distributor says: "The miners liked the paper immensely. This is the only paper I have seen that is supporting us. Why don't others tell the truth about us? This story is good. That's what we need. These are some of the comments they made about 'The Militant'."

Another reports: "Even high officials of the UMW district here acclaim 'Militant' coverage of the strike. The whole press has damned them to hell and you have no idea of how pleased they get to see a fair write-up in a paper."

All reports from the mine fields agree that the rank and file miners have every determination to hold out until their demands are met.

Justify bloody repressions as the miners went on strike.

But the showdown did not come. Roosevelt was thus saved another moral defeat like that of his ultimatum-telegram of April 29 which called on the miners, over the head of their leaders, to stay at work.

Moreover, whatever illusions Roosevelt and the American capitalist class may have had on the eve of the May 1 deadline, concerning how the miners would act, there were no longer such illusions on the eve of the May 15 deadline. Unlike last time, no newspapers sent reporters into the

(Continued on page 4)

## Lenin's General Staff of 1917

**Stalin Destroyed It By His Moscow Trial Frameups**

(See "Stalin's Crimes," Page 4)



**RYKOV**  
Shot by Stalin



**BUKHARIN**  
Shot by Stalin



**SVERDLOV**  
Died



**STALIN**  
Sole survivor



**ZINOVIEV**  
Shot by Stalin



**KAMENEV**  
Shot by Stalin



**TROTSKY**  
Killed by Stalin



**LENIN**  
Died



**KOLLONTAI**  
Purged by Stalin



**URITSKY**  
Died



**KRESTINSKY**  
Shot by Stalin



**SMILGA**  
Shot by Stalin



**NOGIN**  
Died



**DZERZHINSKY**  
Died



**BUBNOV**  
Purged by Stalin



**SOKOLNIKOV**  
Shot by Stalin



**LOMOV**  
Purged by Stalin



**SHUMYAN**  
Shot by Churchill



**BERZIN**  
Purged by Stalin



**MURANOV**  
Purged by Stalin



**ARTEM**  
Died



**STASSOVA**  
Purged by Stalin



**MILIUTIN**  
Purged by Stalin



**JOFFE**  
Suicide



# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Michael Cort

The National Labor Relations Board voted 2 to 1 on May 11 to exclude foremen and supervisory employees from the provisions of the Wagner Act. The decision means that organized foremen cannot demand an NLRB election to prove that their union represents the men involved.

The haste of the NLRB to cut the ground from under the foremen followed the demand of the United Mine Workers that foremen be admitted in their union, and by the fact that foremen are now organizing in many key plants throughout the country.

While the Stalinist-dominated National Maritime Union (CIO) has been attempting to incite a lynch spirit against Lewis and the miners, the major AFL seamen's unions have voiced full support for the miners in their fight for a living wage.

The Sailors Union of the Pacific voted unanimous support for the miners at its May 4 headquarters meeting. The Atlantic & Gulf District of the Seafarers International Union has not taken an official position but the Seafarers Log, official organ of the union, wrote editorially on May 14: "The miners' struggle against the WLB, a court packed against labor, is all labor's struggle. A miners' victory over the WLB and the Little Steel Formula, would be a victory for all union men from coast to coast."

The Todd Erie Basin Drydock in New York has developed a new and airtight (they hope) method of dealing with militant members of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, Local 39, CIO. Last week a Coast Guard lieutenant fired two members of the union, one for "disobedience of orders" and the other for being "asleep on post."

When the union went to the management, it refused to discuss the matter on the grounds that the Navy had discharged the men. However, a PM reporter discovered that the lieutenant who was doing the firing is (by Navy admission) responsible to the management.

The sentiment for an Independent Labor Party based upon the trade unions is rapidly mounting throughout the country. The latest resolution was recently adopted by local 351 of the UAW-CIO, in Detroit.

The resolution reads, in part, "That Local 351 instruct its delegates to the Labor's Non-Parti-

san League Convention to work for the establishment of such a labor party and for unity with the AFL, Brotherhoods, and such liberal groups as the Farmers Union, in the building of a workers' party."

This resolution has been sent to all locals of the UAW-CIO in Wayne County, and further endorsements are expected within the month.

Michael J. Quill, Stalinist head of the Transport Workers Union, CIO, has been busy this week breaking strikes in his own union. The bus and street car workers in Akron struck on May 13 and 14, to protest WLB stalling on wage increases.

Quill's pressure forced the men back to work, but did not break their militancy. They announced that if the WLB does not reach a decision on their case within 15 days, they will again take action.

Fleetwood Local No. 15 of the UAW-CIO has condemned the so-called incentive pay plan. It passed a resolution instructing the national negotiating committee of the General Motors UAW-CIO Council to "take a firm and decisive position against any and all forms of the so-called incentive pay plan."

Senator Pepper's State of Florida is again pioneering in the field of repressive labor legislation. On May 11 its House passed overwhelmingly a bill providing for strict governmental (that is, employer) regulation of all unions and their functions.

The bill would: Prohibit initiation fees, dues, fines, assessments which would "create a fund in excess of the reasonable requirements of such unions";

Force all unions to open their records for governmental inspections;

Require union elections every year;

Prohibit contributions to political parties.

## In Detroit, Mich.

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**FAMILY THEATRE  
NEWSSTAND**  
opposite the theatre

# Akron CIO Sets "Labor Holiday" For June 2 As Anti-WLB Protest

## Militant Action Is Opposed By Pres. Dalrymple

AKRON, May 12—The growing resentment of the mass production workers against the anti-labor policies of the War Labor Board made itself heard in this rubber center this week when the Akron Industrial Union Council, representing 100,000 CIO workers, called for a one day "Labor Holiday" on June 2, in protest against WLB delays and wage-freezing program.

This action has precipitated what may develop into a major union conflict between the local unions of the United Rubber Workers and the International President, Sherman Dalrymple.

Dalrymple, in a press statement, condemned the CIO Council call as a violation of the "no-strike" pledge, and as a violation of the URW constitution.

### GOODRICH RESOLUTION

The "Labor Holiday" resolution was initiated by Goodrich Local No. 5 of the United Rubber Workers-CIO, which chose June 2 because it is the first "anniversary" of the certification to the WLB of Goodrich workers' wage demands. The WLB has made no decision on the case, nor has it granted the wage demands, pending for almost a year, of the rubber workers in all major plants, despite the fact that a WLB panel several weeks ago recommended an 8-cent general increase.

The Goodrich Local, best organized and most powerful local union in the URW, with a militant history, will no doubt bear the brunt of Dalrymple's attempt to stifle the rising militancy of the rank and file rubber workers who are fed up with wage freezing and WLB run-arounds while living costs spiral upwards.

### ROOSEVELT'S TOOL

Dalrymple has shown himself in this situation to be one of the most servile tools of the Roosevelt administration. His attack against the Akron rubber locals has aroused the anger of the URW membership. Unlike the International officers of the UAW-CIO, and even of the top CIO and AFL leaders, Dalrymple does not even pay lip service to the current rise of discontent in the membership. He apologizes for the crumbling WLB, stating: "Assurances have been received recently that all the (rubber) cases are on the board's agenda and will be acted upon as expeditiously as possible." But the rubber cases have been on the WLB agenda, along with tens of thousands of other demands for a year!

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## British Soldiers Awakening To Politics, Parliament Bars Them From Participating

England's rulers have taken alarm at the growing political awakening of the British soldiers, and Parliament has called for rigid enforcement of army regulations barring men and women in uniform from participating in political life, it is reported by a mid-April supplement of the *Socialist Appeal*, a British Trotskyist monthly.

By a vote of 195 to 33, Parliament on April 7 rejected a motion which attempted to relax the restrictions. The motion read: "...that taking part in political controversy while off duty should not be deemed conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline."

Thus a large section of England's citizens was told that whatever controversy there may be concerning the application of the "Four Freedoms," they certainly do not apply to these people. They are now to be barred from all participation in their country's political life by actual enforcement of King's Regulation Paragraph 541 which reads:

"No officer or soldier... is permitted to take any active part in the affairs of any political organization or party, either by acting as a member of a candidate's election committee, or by

speaking in public or publishing or distributing literature in furtherance of the political purposes of any such organization or party or in any other manner..."

### STILL OTHER CURBS

During the debate in Parliament over the motion to relax this restriction, Maj. Henderson, Financial Secretary to the War Office took the occasion to explain that in addition to this sweeping restriction, there are others. Said the Major:

"If a soldier was on leave and in mufti and there was an election in his constituency, in my view he would have the right to ask the candidate perfectly proper questions."

"But if he went to a party political meeting at other times

and asked controversial questions he might be regarded as taking an active part in that meeting and that would be forbidden."

In other words, if no by-election occurs (in his or her constituency something which happens rather rarely) the rank and file in uniform would have to wait five years (the time of the regular election) in order to attend political meetings and ask "proper questions"—provided also, he or she happened at the time to be "on leave and in mufti."

But even this one-day-in-every-five-years "right" is still further restricted by the fact that Parliament since the war has been extending its life for so many years that a large part of the army have yet to experience its first election.

This vicious repression of the democratic rights of the English masses is administered with the assistance of Labour Party flunkies, as indicated by the ridiculously small vote in favor of even the above-cited inadequate motion.

## V. R. Dunne Got 793 Votes In Primaries

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., May 14—Although the vote in last Monday's primary election was the lowest in Minneapolis history, the official election returns released here yesterday showed that 793 workers had cast their vote for V. R. Dunne, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor.



V. R. DUNNE

Votes for Dunne were recorded in every ward in the city, but were heaviest in the working class wards, where the program and record of the Socialist Workers Party candidate were best known. Harry DeBoer, campaign manager, commenting upon the election returns, pointed out that the vote cast for V. R. Dunne in the 1943 primary election, represented a larger percentage of the total vote than that received by him as candidate for the same office in 1937. In contrast, the percentage of the total vote received by the Central Labor Union-endorsed candidate showed a decline over the 1937 vote.

Hubert Humphrey, the candidate endorsed by the Central Labor Union (AFL) in this election, was nominated along with Marvin Kline, present Republican mayor. Slightly more than 16,000 votes were received by Humphrey; this represented 22% of the total vote cast. In the 1941 election, T. A. Elde, then the endorsed candidate of the CLU, received 34% of the total vote. This year, Elde, running as an independent with the slogan, "A Business Man for A Business Administration," received only 13,000 votes.

Even though Humphrey was an unknown figure, running for office for the first time, and did not campaign on a fighting working class program, Minneapolis workers voted for him because he had the endorsement of the labor movement. This is proof of the fact that workers favor independent political action by the trade unions. Even in an election campaign marked by general apathy and confusion, the endorsement by the Central Labor Union was enough to place on the ballot for the final election a man with no political or trade union record. All of the aldermanic candidates as well as the candidates for the school board who were endorsed by the Central Labor Union were nominated in the primaries.

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## Demonstrations in N. Y., Hollywood, At "Mission To Moscow" Film

(Continued from page 1)

### SWP Leaflets at "Mission To Moscow" Opening in Hollywood

LOS ANGELES, May 13—"Mission To Moscow" opened in Hollywood last night and was greeted with a Socialist Workers Party demonstration.

A banner recalled to moviegoers and passersby the condemnation

of the Moscow trials as frameups by the Dewey Commission of Inquiry in 1937. A leaflet was distributed to those who entered or left the theater, explaining to them how the film continued Stalin's frameups.

Aside from a few slanderous remarks by Stalinists, the crowd was sympathetically interested in the banner and the leaflets. A studio worker asked for extra leaflets, saying "The boys at the studio will be glad to see this."

## A RUSSIAN MENSHEVIK TURNS TO STALIN

By A. ROLAND

It is the strange fate of some would-be leaders of the masses to take the wrong road at every turn in history.

The October revolution was the greatest event in all history. Despite its degeneration under the dictatorship of Stalin, it has left its stamp on our entire epoch. At its inspired height under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, it could attract and kindle into revolutionary flame workers from all lands—but not the Russian Mensheviks! The Abramoviches and the Dams preferred capitalist exile to the living revolution.

They were wrong again on the bitter struggle between revolutionary Marxism under the banner of Trotsky, and revisionary "socialism in one country" under the GPU-aegis of Stalin. The Mensheviks interpreted it entirely in the sense of an internal, personal struggle for power. Nevertheless, many Mensheviks found it to their liking to move in the direction of Stalinism. Many, like Vyshinsky, became his henchmen, aiding him to exterminate ruthlessly the Old Bolsheviks who might yet serve to lead the proletarian revolution at its next stage.

### URNS TO STALIN NOW!

One might suppose that the crimes of Stalin in carrying through the bloody purges, his reactionary policies that strengthened a privileged caste in the Soviet Union at the expense of the masses of workers and peasants, his foreign diplomacy that weakened the international proletariat and made capitalism stronger—all this would hardly be likely to attract anybody to Stalinism at this late date. The Menshevik leader, Theodore Dan, teaches us differently.

Dan from the beginning not only supported the Allies in the war, but agitated that the Soviet Union must enter the war on the side of the "democracies." Dan and his supporters called the second world war not just a war, but a war-revolution. Correctly enough in one respect, Dan says that the Soviet Union can play a decisive role in aiding the socialist revolution in Europe. But what about the Stalinist leadership? Ah yes, says Dan, the leaders of the Soviet Union must reform and find a new road. Let us quote the words that, if given credence and support by the workers, could lead to nothing but new defeats:

"The moral-political capital accumulated for twenty-five years of the Russian Revolution, is so great that up to now it was more than sufficient to cover all the defects, inherited from the past, but which have long outlived themselves. In the chaos of the military, diplomatic and revolutionary storms which the Soviet Union is facing, it will be ever more difficult to live on the old capital. The coming storms are already making such gigantic demands on it that the creation of new revolutionary and socialist values becomes for it a law of self-preservation. All the elements for creating them exist in Soviet reality, because all those survivals of the past which threaten to press with such a heavy burden on the Soviet Union were not engendered by any creative impotence of the Russian Revolution but merely by the difficulties of its development under the conditions of extreme backwardness and isolation which themselves are receding into the past."

"This suffices to make it easier for the leaders of the Soviet State themselves to begin the liquidation of all that which has lost all rights to existence, and for the issuance to new roads where all the detachments of the working class can meet for a united struggle for peace, freedom and socialism. At any rate, this suffices for us Russian socialists so that with an unshakable faith in final victory we should also invest all our forces, and work in order that in the epoch of the coming storms the Soviet Union should find itself at the height of those gigantic tasks which history places upon it as upon the powerful support of the toilers of the whole world in their struggle to the death against fascism and for socialist

democracy." (Novy Put, May 1943.)

### WHAT DAN CONCEALS

Dan does not enumerate those "defects" that marred the Stalinist leadership of the Soviet Union. Dan's opinion, it seems, is that Stalin in the past twenty-five years "accumulated" moral-political capital instead of completely dissipating it. The tasks of the future are so great that this Menshevik is ready to overlook all the peccadilloes of Stalin's conduct of the past. Here we see the danger to those workers who may be misled by Dan's complete failure to analyze the real meaning of Stalinism.

Dan leaves out the key fact that Stalin was able to gain control of the Soviet Union only in a period of decline and reaction, and that he is wholly incapable of giving leadership in a period of advance, above all in the period that will mark the new rise of the revolutionary wave.

Dan has managed after a whole decade to grasp a few ideas of the Trotskyist movement. Give him credit for desiring to defend the Soviet Union against any attack by capitalism, whether of the Axis or the Allied variety. What he still has not learned is one elementary lesson: that Stalinism and the Soviet Union are not only not identical, they are antithetical.

### WHY THE 4th INT'L

Just ten years ago the Trotskyists created the Fourth International precisely because there remained not the faintest hope that the Soviet bureaucracy could be reformed. The history of those ten years of Hitler's power in Germany has confirmed at every turn the conclusion then reached by the Trotskyist movement.

Far from pinning any hope in a reform of the Stalinist bureaucracy, and in the possibility that the gravediggers of the October revolution can become the leaders of the workers in the renewal of October, every worker must learn that Stalinism stands within the working class as the greatest obstacle to achieving socialism. Dan shares the superficial opinion of the capitalists and their spokesmen, like Davies, that Stalin will emerge from the war with enhanced prestige. We do not share that opinion. The masses of Russia have excited the admiration of the entire world by their grim and steadfast defense of the first workers' state—but they have fought courageously in spite of, and not because of, the Soviet bureaucracy.

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## The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

### Problems Facing the Negro Conferences

The delegates to the coming conferences of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and of the March-On-Washington Movement can learn a good deal from the current mine struggle.

The government, the coal operators, the press and the radio threw everything they had at the miners. They threatened them, they coaxed them, they appealed to their patriotism, they exerted every form of pressure they had at their disposal. But they did not shake the miners.

If the miners win, it will be because they asserted their independence of the government and followed a policy based on their own needs. If they had listened to all the false arguments of the administration and the press and the labor fakers and the Stalinist betrayers, if they had succumbed to the demands for "national unity" with themselves at the bottom and the coal operators on top, if they had let themselves be talked out of the use of their strongest weapons—then surely they would have gained nothing.

This is of decisive importance to every Negro fighting to achieve equality and to every organization working to abolish Jim Crow. For the enemies faced by the miners in their fight are substantially the same forces standing in the way of Negro advancement. In peacetime these forces are always exerting pressure against the labor movement and the Negro people; in wartime they exert a hundred times as much pressure, and intervene more openly in the affairs of labor and Negro organizations, hoping to dominate them and stifle all militant struggles.

It isn't that Roosevelt calls Walter White or A. Philip Randolph to the White House and tells them that they can't do this or they can't do that. (Although he did virtually that in the case of the proposed March-on-Washington that was scheduled to take place in July, 1941.) The administrative intervention into the affairs of Negro organizations is usually a lot more subtle than that. It exerts its pressure less directly, but just as effectively.

"We must have national unity in time of war," says the administration. And while it is saying it, Negroes are being segregated in the armed forces; the Fair Employment Practices Committee is deprived of whatever little effectiveness it ever had; Negroes are being lynched and terrorized in the South, discriminated against in jobs and in housing.

What is this "national unity"? Well, if you abide by what is going on and don't do anything to change things, that's national unity. And if you denounce these things and speak with determination against them and appear to be serious about ending the second-class citizenship status of Negroes, then you are "threatening" national unity and you are accused of stimulating race antagonism and inciting race riots and helping the Axis and betraying your own brothers in the armed forces, and the capitalist press will call you all kinds of nasty names. (If the capitalist press forgets to call you a few names, the Stalinists will step in and supply them.)

As a result you may lose your job if you are a worker, and you may lose whatever "friends" you have in Washington if you are a leader. All of this exerts tremendous compulsion on the Negro leaders who don't want to lose influence with what they call the "humanitarian" administration in Washington. And so although Roosevelt doesn't tell these leaders what to do and even does not object to petitions and occasional demonstrations which help to blow off a little steam, there are certain things that will be frowned on and disliked in the White House and, in nine cases out of ten, the labor and Negro leaders just don't do them.

The delegates to the NAACP and MOWM conferences will have to make up their minds. Either they will continue to permit their organizations and leaders to be subservient to the administration—or else they will assert their independence, as the miners did, and break the grip of Roosevelt's domination over their organizations and policies and activities. Either they will work out a program based on the needs of the Negro struggle and go ahead on the road to equality—or else they will permit their organizations to continue to function in such a way that Roosevelt and his Southern Democratic supporters will be satisfied.

The lesson to be learned from the miners' struggle and from the state of the Negro organizations today is that the basic requirement for a successful struggle against discrimination and segregation in wartime is a policy independent of the administration's desires and unspoken dictates.

In our column next week we intend to discuss this further and to make it somewhat more concrete.

## Kelly Postal Week Closes With \$250 Take at New York Social

The appeal of Kelly Postal's conviction is scheduled to be heard before the Minnesota Supreme Court on May 17th.

Kelly Postal, militant trade union leader, with a long and honorable record as Secretary-Treasurer of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO, was sentenced to from one to five years in prison on the trumped-up charge of "embezzlement." He is the victim of Teamster President Tobin's unceasing attacks upon Local 544 and its leadership since the membership voted at a regular meeting to disaffiliate from the AFL and go into the CIO, taking their union funds with them. This transfer of funds by order of his membership is Postal's "embezzlement!"

The Civil Rights Defense Committee is conducting a national campaign to help defray the heavy legal expenses involved in fighting for this union leader guilty of nothing except loyalty to trade union democracy. Last week was designated as Kelly Postal Week. The response of all

the local committees throughout the country has been splendid.

The New York Local Committee held a very successful Spring Social to wind up its Kelly Postal Week. Two hundred and fifty dollars was raised at this affair, held in the hall of the New York School of Social Science, 116 University Place. The social featured an exhibition and auction of contemporary American paintings and modern French reproductions, donated by friends of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. There was a large attendance and much spirited bidding for the paintings.

Trade unions all over the country continue to send in their financial and moral support. A generous donation from Brewster Union, Local 205, Minneapolis, Minn. accompanied a letter in which it was stated:

"We here in Minneapolis feel very much in sympathy toward Kelly Postal as we are well aware of the circumstance in which his conviction was obtained. At our meeting the membership voted to send you a contribution and we do hope that justice will prevail in his case."

From Allis Chalmers, Local 248 West Allis, Wisc. came another substantial donation with hearty good wishes: "Local No. 248 membership is one hundred per cent behind you in your fight for the rights of labor." Similarly from United Electrical Radio, Local 1104, St. Louis, Mo.: "We sincerely hope that this contribution will aid this militant brother's case. We extend our best wishes for a speedy and victorious settlement of this case."

Among this week's other contributors are: UAW-CIO Local 250, Detroit Mich.; UAW-CIO Local 264, West Allis, Wisc.; UAW-CIO Local 686, Lockport, N. Y.; UAW-CIO, Local 217, Cleveland, Ohio; United Steelworkers of America, Local 1502, Monterey Park, Calif. Liberal circles likewise responded to the Kelly Postal appeal, among them the Harvard Teachers' Union of Cambridge, Mass.

**WHY we Defend The Soviet Union**  
By ALBERT GOLDMAN  
Pioneer Publishers  
116 University Place  
New York City

# Mr. Winchell Is A Liar

We reproduce this item from Walter Winchell's syndicated column as the week's example of the Stalinist slander factory which gave him this "inside" dope. The day after it appeared the Stalinist *Daily Worker* reprinted Winchell's item to show that others repeat its lies.

Like all practical liars, Winchell uses one kernel of truth: *The Militant* has been deprived of its second-class mailing privileges. Not, however, for fascist connections, as Winchell lyingly claims, but for the exact opposite reason. The persecution of *The Militant* is a continuation of the persecution which began in the famous Minneapolis labor trial, in which eighteen trade unionists and Trotskyists were convicted because they are followers of Lenin — i.e., they are revolutionary Marxists, the opposite of fascists.

As for the rest of Winchell's lies, Jacques Doriot is not and never was a Trotskyist — he was a Stalinist leader before he became a fascist; Quisling's wife may be a "Ukrainian Party leader," but not of a Trotskyist party; and the only connection between Norwegian Trotskyists and the Nazis is that any Trotskyist caught in Nazi-held territory or in Germany is executed or imprisoned — our list of such martyrs is unfortunately all too long.

Winchell's reference to the Ford Instrument Co. workers is a dead give-away of the Stalinist source of his "information." The Stalinists advocated a compulsory day's-pay assessment in UE Local 425, and the membership turned it down almost unanimously. Those workers, victimized by rising prices and



## Walter Winchell In New York

Capital authorities allege that Trotskyites over here are responsible for some of the obstructionists in Washington. "The Militant," one of their supporters, recently lost its mailing privileges because it was allegedly seditious. At the Ford instrument plant in Long Island City, Trotskyites are blamed for stopping workers from donating one day's pay to United War Relief. Jacques Doriot, leader of the Fascist bloc in France, was and still is leader of the movement there, it is said, and Quisling's wife is a Ukrainian Party leader, who got him his connection with the Nazis through the Norwegian Trotskyites.

frozen wages, decided that charity begins at home. Winchell, rolling in wealth, would never think of that explanation.

We Trotskyists were fighting and dying in the struggle against fascism when Mr. Winchell thought that fascism was the latest dance step from Cuba.

# 'Jacson' Verdict Says He Came To Mexico To Murder Trotsky

By Walter O'Rourke

MEXICO CITY, April 20 (By Mail). — On April 16, nearly two years and eight months after commission of his crime, "Frank Jacson" was sentenced for the murder of Leon Trotsky. The penalty imposed on the GPU agent was 20 years — Mexico does not have capital punishment or life sentence for murder.

The lengthy written verdict constitutes a forceful rejection of all the lies employed by the GPU in its defense of Jacson. The judges rejected (1) Jacson's story that he was sent by a "member of the Fourth International" from Paris to serve as secretary to Trotsky; (2) Jacson's pretense that he was a "disillusioned Trotskyist"; (3) Jacson's attempted retraction of his earlier statements as to the cowardly manner in which he struck down Trotsky from behind; (4) Jacson's "new version" that, after provoking him with threats to a struggle, Trotsky attempted to draw his gun before Jacson struck him down. (5) Finally the court rejected the slanderous attack made by Jacson's attorney against Trotsky and his guards in a vain effort to discredit their statements in court. It rejected them by implication by citing these very statements as proof.

sequences in the political activities of that same political party, and that without a background in the work of the party he should be permitted to be at the side of the persecuted politicians."

### CAME TO KILL TROTSKY

Further on this point, the verdict analyzes how the murderer came to Mexico and sums up: "... false passport, change of name, also false statements about his past, his work and means of livelihood. All these are made deceitfully and are clear proof that he did not come to Mexico to fulfill the mission of secretary or aide to Trotsky nor for any other work near him; but rather he came for a different and unconfessable mission that became known when he perpetrated the murder."

### COURT SAYS HE LIED

The verdict says, concerning the assassin's claim that he was sent by a "member" of the Fourth International to serve as Trotsky's secretary: "That affirmation is inadmissible, for it is illogical that an individual like Mornard [one of Jacson's aliases] who according to his own confession took part in no activity of that party, who did not even belong to it, who worked as a sports writer living a life of luxury and who had only given trifling financial assistance to the party and this together with [his wife] Sylvia Ageloff, was sent to be at the side of the chief of this party and even more inadmissible is his statement that he should be held in such confidence with tasks of notorious con-

From this and other details, the verdict rejects Jacson's GPU concocted story that he was "chosen by Leon Trotsky, a person who, according to the accused, was 'discreet and very cautious,' to fulfill a dangerous, very important and highly compromising mission." Thus it dismisses Jacson's story that Trotsky asked him to go to Russia to commit sabotage.

### COLD-BLOODED MURDER

During the early questioning of Jacson, he was so preoccupied in covering up his GPU connections that he admitted quite frankly that he had given Trotsky something to read in order to stand in an advantageous position behind and above his victim. Later, however, Jacson attempted to retract these damning admissions. The court deals with this attempt in these words:

"Only after nearly ten months of the trial have passed, or on the 21st of June 1941, in the court record it appears that by instruction of his lawyer he refuses to say anything" about his previous statements.

The verdict rejects this retraction "since there exists no reason whatsoever, not even a pretext presented by the prisoner or his attorney to explain the cause of this retraction and thus to enable a study of it by this court. The multiple, persistent and reiterated confessions of the accused must remain completely unaffected."

As for Jacson's "new version" that he was provoked by Trotsky into struggle and murder, the court writes that it "has no support at all in the evidence and on the contrary, from the study of the evidence and testimony it appears that the homicide in question was committed without any prior struggle."

Once again in connection with this point the verdict states: "The court has to declare that the trip of Frank Jacson or Jacques Mornard to Mexico was undertaken with the sole object of killing Trotsky."

This is precisely what Natalia Trotsky, Trotsky's guards and supporters as well as the entire revolutionary movement has declared since the murder.

Unfortunately the court did not take the final logical step in this line of argument and brand Jacson as an agent of the GPU. It mentions that Trotsky's widow as well as other persons have so branded Jacson but the proofs, it says, do not bring "legal conviction" of this fact. One can imagine that diplomatic considerations of the "United Nations" of which Mexico is one played a part in this formulation.

### APPEAL IS ANNOUNCED

Immediately following the reading of the sentence, Jacson's lawyers announced that they would appeal. The case will go first to the Superior Tribunal and then, assuming the defense loses and continues its appeal, to the Supreme Court. These appeals may well run into another year and a half of litigation. Jacson's lawyers are spending great sums of money — we can easily guess where they come from, for he has no visible income.

Natalia Trotsky, of course, will continue to exercise her right of participation in each of the steps during the appeal procedure.

# Totalitarian Diplomacy -- A Recipe for Deception

By M. Stein

No one but the gullible would ever think of associating capitalist diplomacy with sincerity, frankness or honesty. But it remained for totalitarian diplomacy to scale new summits of falsehood and perfidy. Totalitarian diplomacy has been able to bring into play all the power and resources of the state—including the press, the radio and the movies—in the cynical game of deception. Germany has given us some choice examples of this prior to the outbreak of the war in September 1939.

By the methods of totalitarian diplomacy, Hitler was able to gain his first objectives—the militarization of the Rhine, the Saar plebiscite, Austrian Anschluss, the annexation of Czechoslovakia—without a war. Complete control of all the channels of public expression in Germany, made it easy for Hitler to concentrate all his venom against his intended victim of the day and at the same time to swear eternal love for the country marked for destruction on the morrow.

On September 30, 1938, eleven months prior to the outbreak of the war, and one day after the Munich pact had sealed the fate of Czechoslovakia, Hitler and Chamberlain, the then British Prime Minister, issued a joint communique as follows:

"We regard the agreement signed last night and the Anglo-German naval accord as symbolic of the desire of our two peoples never to go to war with one another again."

And as if this deception was not monstrous enough to put over on the people of all countries yearning for peace, the British Prime Minister broadcast that same night from the balcony at No. 10 Downing Street the following words: "My good friends, this is the second time in our history that there has come back from Germany to Downing Street peace with honor. I believe it is peace for our time."

While the Prime Minister could lie just as brazenly as the Nazi Chancellor, he could not lie as effectively for he did not have Hitler's totalitarian power over the entire press, radio and the movies. It is true that the multitudes believed him at the time, but that was because in their dread of the consequences of war they were ready to accept anything that promised peace.

However, anyone looking for a chemically pure specimen of totalitarian diplomacy would find it in the Stalin-Hitler pact. No one was really shocked by the Munich pact. It was not out of line with traditional British diplomacy when Czechoslovakia was thrown to the Nazi wolves for the sake of the Empire. The Stalin-Hitler pact, on the contrary, violated all the popular beliefs about the Soviet union and Nazi Germany.

The whole world stood aghast at the spectacle of these two mortal enemies in a loving embrace. The Nazi movement came into existence on a program of struggle to the death against the Soviet Union. Hitler hardly made a speech prior to that time without a denunciation of "Bolshevism." In "Mein Kampf" Hitler spoke openly of war against the Soviet Union over the Ukraine.

Stalin for his part had just completed the series of purges and frameup trials at which he had charged his political opponents with being in Hitler's pay for the purpose of dismembering the Soviet Union. There was this half-truth at the basis of the frame-

ups: Hitler did wish to dismember the Soviet Union. Stalin utilized this fact, the knowledge of which was widespread, as a prop for the monstrous frameup and murder of the whole generation of Bolsheviks who had made the Russian revolution.

But despite all these known facts, and despite the equally well known fact that the quintessence of Soviet diplomacy under Stalin prior to the signing of the pact with Hitler was in a scheme of "collective security" that would isolate Germany, and tie the Soviet Union to the fortunes of England and France—despite all this, Stalin and Hitler having totalitarian power over the two respective countries, were able in a short time to create a diametrically opposite impression.

All the institutions of public "enlightenment" of the two countries were given the order by their respective masters to turn on the faucets of love for each other and a steady stream of sugary, nauseating words began to pour out immediately. Stalin was prepared to go to any extreme to please Hitler, and Hitler for his part knew how to repay affection.

Fascism, the masters of the Kremlin informed the world, is "a matter of taste," and the "friendship" they declared after the division of Poland, "has been sealed with blood." The Stalinists, outside of the USSR suddenly discovered that England and France were really imperialist countries undeserving of an honest man's support and that the most meritorious men in America were the isolationists. (This included the German-American Bund.)

So imposing was this display of totalitarian "friendship" that, outside of us Trotskyists, everybody was impressed with the belief that it was genuine and lasting.

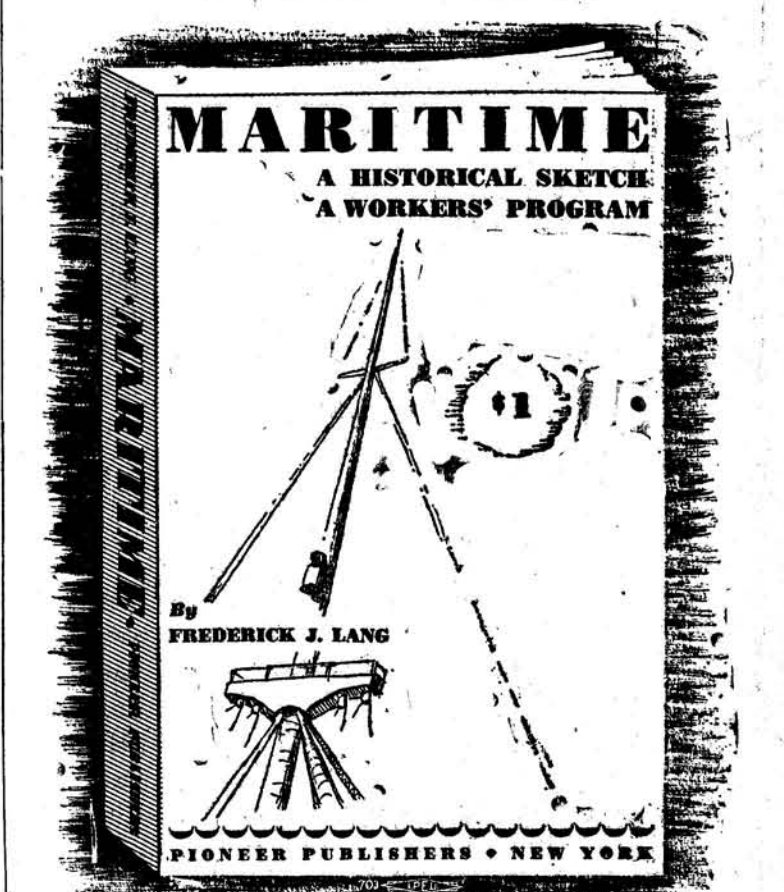
A characteristic incident in this totalitarian diplomatic game is related by William L. Shirer in his book "Berlin Diary." Under the date of February 4, 1940 he reports:

"A big German film company completed last summer at the cost of several million marks a movie based on the exploits of the German Condor Legion in Spain. It was a super-film showing how German blood had been shed in the holy war in Spain against Bolshevism, Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, Himmler, saw it, praised it. Then came the Nazi-Soviet pact last August. The film is now in storage. It was never shown to the public."

This brings us to another film—not withheld from the public in the interests of totalitarian diplomacy, but, on the contrary, recently released amid great fanfare. Essentially, "Mission to Moscow" represents an American attempt at totalitarian diplomacy, through the use of films in the diplomatic game of misrepresentation, distortion and deception.

Some one once described an ambassador as a man sent abroad to lie for his country. This formula is too old fashioned and one-sided for our times. Nowadays there is another side to an ambassador. He not only spreads the lie abroad but returns home to lie about his mission. Woven into books, into films, into the press, and with the "unofficial" blessing of the authorities, this web of lies takes on a sinister and totalitarian character. It is a significant symptom of the general trend toward reaction under decaying capitalism.

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— LEON TROTSKY

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5. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.
9. Defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

## Fortress Europe

With the termination of the North African campaign, the curtain is about to rise on the incomparably greater military efforts involved in an assault upon the European continent itself, where Hitler's full might stands assembled. There appears to be nothing "soft" about the Nazi military position either in the "underbelly" in the Balkans or anywhere else along the coastline of Europe.

Somber intimations of what really lies ahead seep even into the comments of columnists who have been peddling the cheapest optimism in connection with the Tunisian successes. The perspectives are indeed somber: Hitler has at his disposal approximately 20,000,000 German, Italian and other troops; behind this colossal force is the productive power of continental Europe geared to war economy; internal lines of communication guarantee to the German High Command the possibility of quickly shifting large bodies of troops and equipment to any area under attack. In short, the bloodiest and most destructive battles in history impend. The costs in human lives and accumulated wealth of centuries will make all previous wars pale by comparison.

There is only one way in which this holocaust could have been averted: through revolutionary uprisings in Hitler's rear and in Germany itself. But despite the news of sporadic disturbances, authoritative sources in London and Washington warn against any speculations on an early Nazi collapse.

Why does this revolutionary road remain barred? What sustains the bestial system of fascism in the fourth year of the Second World War?

The answer is clear: the only revolution possible in Europe and in Germany in particular is the socialist revolution. The suffering masses will rally to no other program, for no other offers any real hope or a way out of the terrible crisis.

The "democratic" capitalists, of course, neither desire nor are capable of inspiring mass revolutions. They are capable only of Darlanism.

But the Soviet Union could inspire the European revolution. Had the Soviet government issued the summons for such a revolutionary struggle, Hitler would have been overthrown by now. Therein lies one of the greatest crimes of Stalin. This betrayer of Bolshevism bears the responsibility for the continued danger to the Soviet Union and for the prolongation of the slaughter of the flower of the world's population.

## The "Roll-Back" Fraud

After much beating of the drums the "roll-back" went into effect on May 18. This widely publicized measure was intended by the administration to cut the ground from under the miners' demand for higher wages to meet increased living costs. The miners (and other workers) were told in effect: "You won't need increases because prices will be reduced to meet your present wages."

This was the program behind which Murray and Green and the entire top AFL-CIO leadership rallied instead of emulating the example of the miners and fighting for wage increases.

What were the very first consequences of the operation of the roll-back? Have prices been reduced even on the few items placed under the roll-back? Just the contrary has taken place. Here are the facts:

The OPA ordered a 15 to 25 per cent reduction in the price of vegetables. With the new crops coming in the seasonal decline of vegetable prices would be much greater than this. The OPA order thus actually limits the seasonal drop in vegetable prices and thereby increases the costs of these items.

So far as meats are concerned, the announced reduction of 10 per cent simply didn't take place. To begin with, the new OPA price ceilings were openly boosted 3 to 5 cents a pound on B and C grades of meats, that is, the cheaper cuts bought by the workers. And then dealers proceeded deliberately to conceal labels, selling C meat at B prices, and in some cases at A prices, not to mention the black-market prices.

Within six hours of the roll-back deadline on May 18, this new price gouging scandal broke in New York City. Reports have not come in as yet from other urban centers but there is little reason to believe that there will be any essential difference in conditions elsewhere. According to the survey of markets made by the N. Y. Daily News on May 18, "the worst offenders... are shops on the fringes of the shabbier neighborhoods." This is a euphemistic way of saying that the workers' living standards are again taking a beating. The price gouging was not confined to meats but extended to "several hundred grocery items" as well. The only places any roll-back in meat prices were even claimed to be functioning was in the expensive shops where choice cuts were quoted at ceilings for Grade A quality.

All of which means that the workers are not even back where they started, but worse off, with the worst still to come. While Messrs. Green and Murray exert themselves in agitating for the roll-back, living costs continue to skyrocket and wages continue to remain frozen.

Not only the miners should receive wage increases but other workers as well.

For the workers there is no possibility of any relief without a determined fight for a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living. The miners have shown the way.

## Stalin's Crimes

The Davies whitewash film, "Mission To Moscow," tries elaborately to convey the impression that the victims of Stalin's Moscow trials and blood-purges were scoundrels, degenerates, traitors, etc. It also tries by implication to create the impression that Stalin and his clique represent the genuine continuation of Bolshevism. These are among the most outrageous falsifications of Davies-Warner Brothers and Co., perpetrated with the "unofficial" blessing of the State Department.

Bolshevism, the banner bearer of the proletarian struggle for socialism, is the polar opposite of the reactionary system of ideas and methods by which Stalinism tries to perpetuate the power and privileges of the ruling Kremlin bureaucracy. So profoundly opposed are these two systems that Stalin, the Judas of Bolshevism became also its Cain: He drew a line of blood between Stalinism and Bolshevism. The front page of this issue of *The Militant* carries a photographic record of Stalin's monstrous crimes — the record of what happened to Lenin's General Staff of Bolshevism who led the Russian workers, soldiers and peasants to victory in 1917. These were the men and women who by their deeds inscribed into the annals of modern history the most glorious, heroic and titanic pages yet recorded. Of these men and women, there now remains only one survivor — the executioner Stalin, who destroyed not only the Leninist Old Guard, but also countless others from among the next two revolutionary generations, that of the Civil War and the generation which bore the brunt of Soviet reconstruction and industrialization and raised Stalin himself to power.

No amount of falsifications and crimes, both by the GPU and Hollywood, will ever succeed in deleting or altering these historical facts.

# WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of *The Militant*. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.

## Possible Use of Force Against USSR

Editor:

The AP recently carried a dispatch about a Chicago meeting at which Father B. R. Hubbard, the "glacier priest," stated that "either by force or by consent of the Russian government, the United States will obtain use of Russia's Siberian air bases to bomb Japan." He did not indicate when the Siberian bases might be acquired, "but he declared that America now is in a position to 'get tough' about them."

I happened to hear Father Hubbard speak at a meeting on a different topic recently, where he said he was speaking with the full consent of the War Department although they had not censored his speech. I don't know if his Chicago speech was approved by the War Department, but he evidently speaks with a certain amount of authority when he suggests the possibility of the U. S. using "force" against the Soviet Union. This might be an important sign of things to come.

J. T. Flint, Mich.

## Protests Against P.O. Attack On This Paper

Editor:

Somebody has put my name on your mailing list. I am writing this letter to express my appreciation of the material I have received.

Our local union is financing the publication of a labor newspaper which will appear every two weeks. I am to be one of the editors, when we start publication (in about a month). I should be pleased if we could work out an exchange arrangement.

I have written Attorney General Biddle protesting the persecution of *The Militant*. Best wishes for a successful outcome of your fight to get full mailing rights.

A. Winters

Bayonne, N. J.

## Labor Party Polls Vote in Bayonne

Editor:

The United Labor Committee's candidate for Commissioner of Bayonne, Chester Nadrowski, Jr., running on an independent labor ticket, polled 3,062 votes in the election just concluded. This was about 10% of the total vote cast.

The United Labor Committee had the support of the AFL and CIO. Among the unions supporting the labor candidates were 5 UE unions, ILGWU Local 160, IUMSWA Local 16 and Local 44, and the United Steel Workers.

Many of the workers were presented with the idea of voting labor for the first time in their lives. They were told to stop

questionably they would like to avoid a general coal strike if possible. Unlike the AFL and CIO leaders, however, the miners' leaders have given nothing away in the name of "statesmanship" and "avoiding strikes." On the contrary, the miners' leadership will not settle for the face-saving formulas which are enough for the craven AFL and CIO leaders. They will accept nothing, they have demonstrated, except genuine concessions to the pressing needs of the 500,000 miners of this country. A coal strike remains as a genuine threat unless bona-fide negotiation open and real concession to the miners come out of them.

With the friendship of the workers back of him, Lewis can well afford the enemies he has simultaneously made. This goes not only for the open enemies of labor—the rabid press and radio, the bosses in all industries, the administration—but also the labor "leaders" who are vilifying him.

Readers of *The Militant* may also be interested to learn that Pioneer Publishers has already sent to press a new pamphlet by Albert Parker and John Saunders, and that Parker is now working on an article, "Negroes In The Post-War World," for the June issue of the monthly magazine, *Fourth International*.—Ed.)

Grace Carlson  
St. Paul, Minn.

## "Parker Knows What He's Talking About"

Editor:

A few days ago one of the leading members of the NAACP in St. Paul, who has been reading *The Militant* for some time, informed me that he always cuts out Albert Parker's column every week.

"Parker knows what he's talking about," he said. I've had other Negro friends tell me substantially the same thing.

# Miners Standing Firm On War Labor Board Issue

(Continued from page 1)

mine fields to dig up miners who would scab at Roosevelt's request and oppose the strike call of mine union leadership. May 1 had demonstrated even to the blind that the miners were 100% for the demands and the militant methods of getting them that the mine union Policy Committee was voicing.

So the showdown was avoided for the time being. Instead Ickes came forward with his telegram to John L. Lewis, which stated: "Since I have been charged with the responsibility of operating the coal mines of the country, and having further in mind that since taking over the mines the employees are now working for the government, I would appreciate your giving me assurance that members of the UMWA will continue to work without interruption at midnight tomorrow, May 18. I express the hope that by this action the way will be opened for immediate collective bargaining conferences."

## MINERS WANT NEGOTIATIONS

The miners' leaders took Ickes up on his "hope"—Ickes had made no reference to WLB control of negotiations—and replied:

"We are impressed with the fact that... you hope to be able to institute immediately the collective bargaining conferences which we have long been awaiting."

The miners' answer to Ickes further expressed the "hope" that the "government will now, without further delay, instruct the coal operators of the industry to engage forthwith in collective bargaining conferences so as to insure the making of an agreement in the period again allotted for that purpose."

## UMW STANDS FIRM

The UMW Policy Committee has demonstrated, however, that it does not base its strategy on "hope." It knows that the administration continues machinations to force the miners into the jurisdiction of the WLB and its "Little Steel" trap, where the miners' cause would be doomed in advance. The UMW leadership knows that the last-minute scurrying to "roll back" prices is a fraud which will not cut the living costs of the miners but is merely designed to try to confuse public opinion.

Ickes' letter of May 18, in answer to the union telegram extending the truce, and in which the government manager declared that any contract must have the approval of the WLB, was thus only further evidence of Roosevelt's continued hostility to the miners. As a matter of fact, Ickes' letter closed one of the few doors still left open for a possible reconciliation.

The UMW leaders nevertheless agreed to a second truce. Un-

questionably they would like to avoid a general coal strike if possible.

Unlike the AFL and CIO leaders, however, the miners' leaders have given nothing away in the name of "statesmanship" and "avoiding strikes." On the contrary, the miners' leadership will not settle for the face-saving formulas which are enough for the craven AFL and CIO leaders. They will accept nothing, they have demonstrated, except genuine concessions to the pressing needs of the 500,000 miners of this country. A coal strike remains as a genuine threat unless bona-fide negotiation open and real concession to the miners come out of them.

## UMW WINS PRESTIGE

By his masterly conduct of the miners' battle Lewis has won greater support from the miners than he has ever had during the past twenty years. Even more important, the miners' leadership has won during the past months the undisputed moral leadership of the trade union movement for the immediate period to come. The great mass of the CIO workers are not only standing with the miners—as the recent Detroit and New York conferences of the United Auto Workers demonstrated—but are looking toward the United Mine Workers for a general lead for the whole labor movement.

## Where You Can Get THE MILITANT

Boston—Adelman's Newsstand  
284 Tremont St.

Chicago—Socialist Bookshop,  
Room 421, 160 N. Wells St.

Minneapolis—Shinder's News Agency, Hennepin Ave. and 6th St.; Pioneer News Agency, 238 2nd Ave. South.

Newark (Downtown)—Newsstand, 11 Springfield Ave., near Court House.

New Haven—Nodelman's News Depot, 106 Church St., near Chapel.

New York (Harlem)—Newsstands north west corner of Lenox Ave. and 125th St. and at the northeast corner of Lenox Ave. and 135th St.  
New York (Manhattan)—14th St., between 4th and 7th Aves.; Newsstands on 42nd St., between 4th and 6th Aves.

San Francisco—Duncans Smoke Shop, 1986 Sutter St.  
Ray's Smoke Shop, 1174 Sutter St.  
MacDonald's Book Shop, 867 Mission St.  
Golden Gate News Agency, 81 Third St.  
Fitzgerald News Agency, 21 Fourth St.

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## ROLE OF MURRAY, GREEN

In siding with the government and the operators against John L. Lewis, the AFL and CIO leadership may have been thinking only of preserving their own posts and privileges against the competition of Lewis. In reality, however, in joining the attempt to isolate the miners they have served the ultra-reactionary campaign to keep labor hog-tied and handcuffed.

What is more, the AFL and CIO leaders have failed doubly. They have failed to isolate the miners. Despite all the outcries of their "leaders," the masses of the AFL and CIO have swung to the support of the miners. Secondly, the AFL and CIO officials have failed to maintain their leadership—a leadership which really rests on a whipped and submissive membership. Never was their prestige lower among their own members.

If the AFL and CIO leadership could not control their members on this issue, still less will they be able to do so in the much greater battles that lie ahead, when the price rises and frozen wages finally drive the workers as a whole to fight for a living wage. The mine fight has brought much closer the day when the leadership of the trade union movement will slip out of the hands of these cowards and lickspittles, and the unions will march forward under leaders more akin to the militant spirit of the workers.

## TOWARD UNITED LABOR

In winning a great moral prestige among the workers, the Miners Union and its leaders have also been confronted with new responsibilities and opportunities. The miners' fight is not yet over, and the fact remains that, although the workers in general are for the miners, few unions officially are backing them.

Here the fact that the miners have no organizational connection with the rest of the labor movement is weighing against them. The miners can break through the barrier of their organizational isolation by calling a conference of all unions — AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods and the miners — for the single task of a united front against Roosevelt's "hold the line" order of April 8 and the "Little Steel" formula of freezing wages. Regardless of the attitude of the top AFL and CIO union officials toward such a conference call, such a campaign, if pushed with the vigor the miners have displayed in the mine controversy, would provide the basis for unified action of the whole labor movement.

## Vice-President Wallace Blurts Out Two Truths

By Ralph Johnson

It was once remarked that language was created in order to enable people to hide their real thoughts. This rather cynical observation certainly applies with full force to capitalist diplomats and statesmen. But precisely because language serves the end of transmitting not only lies but the truth, the latter does occasionally creep through even the pronouncements of the most expert dissemblers, hypocrites and the common garden-variety of liars.

Vice-President Henry A. Wallace, who has been doing a lot of talking lately, is an excellent case in point. Speaking before the state executive committee of the New York ALP, and referring to the problem of employment under post-war conditions, Mr. Wallace said:

"With unemployment, it would be impossible for Stalin himself, no matter how hard he tried, to stop the growth of communism." (N. Y. Times, May 17.)

In these words there is more truth than meets the eye at first glance, and far more than Mr. Wallace must have originally intended.

For one of the things he let slip is that Stalin's "democratic" allies are depending on Joseph Stalin to assist them in trying to "stop the growth of communism."

Their expectations and confidence are not exactly misplaced. They are backed by Stalin's whole record of never hesitating to use the world labor movement as so much small change in his diplomatic deals with capitalists, whether fascist or "democratic." Any militant in the labor movement knows that here Mr. Wallace refers to something that experience itself has borne out and continues to bear out every day. Stalinists are scabbing not only on the spread of socialism and its ideas but even on the attempts of workers to preserve their elementary organizations, the trade unions, and their standard of living. The Stalinists are playing the bosses' game all the way down the line.

The second significant revelation in Wallace's remarks is: at what straws the capitalists themselves clutch to preserve faith in the perpetuation of their completely decayed system. To be sure, the Vice-President became so indiscreet, only because he feels confident that employment can still be assured under capitalism. No doubt he is sincere in his conviction. The trouble, however, is that there is not the slightest basis for it in reality. He and his colleagues could not assure employment in the richest country in the world in the period of peace, certainly not during 1929-1940 in the United States, and nowhere else since 1918. How then can they, assuming they remain in power, do it after this war which has already left the whole world including the United States far more devastated and infinitely poorer?

The answer is they can't and they won't. Only a Workers' and Farmers' Government can do it. That is why Wallace and Co. even with the aid of Stalin will not prevent "the growth of communism."

## The N. Y. Times' Silence On 'Mission To Moscow' Lies

By John C. Wright

Not the least shabby of the records set by the metropolitan press in connection with the "Mission To Moscow" whitewash film is that of the N. Y. Times, the most authoritative organ of America's Sixty Families. This newspaper pretends to the highest standards (moral and otherwise) in news reporting.

Here is the Times' record on "Mission To Moscow": On April 30 Mr. Bosley Crowther, after prefacing his remarks with an observation that the film was sure to be "controversial," proceeded in his review to leave no doubt as to where he stood in the "controversy" by characterizing it as "a generally faithful screen version" of current historical events therein depicted. Then he commends the "Moscow 'purge' trials" as "briefly but effectively played" with this addition:

"It puts into the record for millions of movie goers to grasp an admission (by whom? where? when?—JGW) that the many 'purged' generals and other leaders were conspirators in a plot—a plot engineered by Trotsky with the Nazis and the Japs. . ."

One would have to look, as a rule, in the columns of the Daily Worker for filthier lies. And, as a matter of fact, Mr. Crowther's comments were among those singled out with ill-concealed glee by the Stalinists (Daily Worker May 2).

If, on May 9th, the Times opened its letter columns to a communication from John Dewey and Suzanne La Follette, it was not out of choice but from necessity. It could not very well have refused without scandalizing public opinion.

In this letter John Dewey correctly denounced the Davies' film as "the first instance in our country of totalitarian propaganda for mass consumption—a propaganda which falsifies history through distortion, omission or pure invention of facts. . ."

This statement by itself, coming from a man of Dewey's standing and integrity, would have under "normal" conditions evoked comment from the editorial offices, not of the Times alone. Instead, these gentlemen continued to maintain editorial silence, and to print the next Sunday, May 16, three full columns of an alleged reply to Dewey, written by one Arthur Popham Pope. This notorious Stalinist stooge assumes the task of trying to challenge the integrity and verdict of the Dewey Commission of Investigation by brazenly asserting that this body is "without status, competence or authority." This is something that Pope's task masters in the Kremlin never had the gall to do previously. He further attempts the moth-eaten Stalinist trick of using the successes of the Red Army as a cover for the corpses of Stalin's countless victims, among them the Red Generals who made these successes possible. Slimier stuff than this has never appeared in any but Stalinist organs.

At the same time, the editors of the Times refused to publish the letter of protest from Natalia Sedov Trotsky, widow of Leon Trotsky, and mother of the late Leon Sedov, the two chief defendants at all the Moscow trials.

The Times still maintains editorial silence, unmindful even of its own condemnations of Stalin's frameups and blood-purges at the time these were perpetrated. Such are the morals of the most moral of capitalist newspapers.