

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. X — No. 21

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, MAY 25, 1946

401

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Trinidad Workers Hit Tennessee Terror

—See Page 3—

Steel Convention Upholds Union Democracy

By Art Preis

Staff Reporter, The Militant

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., May 18—Striking a powerful blow for trade union democracy, the rank and file delegates at the Third International Convention of the CIO Steelworkers of America climaxed their five-day sessions here this week by successfully defying USA-CIO President Philip Murray for the first time in the union's 10-year history.

This unprecedented defiance of Murray, who hitherto had been able to whip the steel workers into line for anything he proposed, came late in yesterday afternoon's session, when the convention rose in tumultuous revolt against Murray's proposal to drastically reduce rank and file representation at future conventions.

DRAMATIC PROTEST

This dramatic and uproarious protest against Murray's attempt to cut the number of convention delegates reflected a far more profound issue than the immediate question in dispute. By their action in voting down this proposal, the steelworkers for the first time crashed their mighty fist through the bureaucratic crust of the Murray machine. They demonstrated the growing resistance of the steel militants to the iron rule which Murray has always exercised over the union in order to stifle any opposition to his conservative and timid policies.

At this convention, Murray was not confronted by the largely inexperienced workers he had been able to dominate and intimidate at prior conventions. The 2,826 delegates, although they included hundreds of staff members on Murray's pay-roll, were nevertheless overwhelmingly composed of rank and file workers who recently had gone through the test of a great national strike. They were more experienced and self-confident. They were imbued with the consciousness that they had fought and sacrificed for the union and that control over its policies was rightfully theirs.

MURRAY FEARFUL

Thus, the climactic outbreak on the fourth day of the convention was no accidental event. It had been brewing throughout the three and a half days preceding the major conflict. The question of convention representation merely crystallized the resentment against the top leadership's bureaucratic methods. Murray had himself indicated his fear of such a development

Murray Fails To Support Miners

ATLANTIC CITY, May 18—The CIO Steelworkers convention concluded here today without taking any action in support of the struggle of the coal miners and railroad workers or backing their demands.

In the face of the vicious Big Business and government anti-labor assault on the mine and rail workers, CIO and Steelworkers President Philip Murray was entirely silent on the crucial struggles which so vitally affect the whole American labor movement.

when he unexpectedly eliminated at the start of the convention certain issues which he obviously feared might precipitate heated discussion and possibly strong opposition.

As the convention progressed, there was expressed bolder and sharper criticism of the conduct of Murray's district directors and international staff members. A strong sentiment was openly voiced against the undemocratic manner in which Murray had jammed through contracts without ratification by the membership. Further protest was provoked by Murray's obvious attempt to limit discussion and railroad through his proposals without proper consideration by the delegates.

Prior to the convention, the Murray machine had been preparing for a fed-baiting witch-hunt against "communists" and "reds" at the convention. On Murray's instructions, his lieutenants had been touring the steel locals in a big campaign to line up resolutions for repressive actions against anyone in opposition to Murray. Nearly 300 resolutions were jammed through local unions calling for constitutional amendments providing for various forms of special restrictions on "communists and socialists." Most of these resolutions called for prohibiting the right to hold any office by "communists and socialists" and some

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New Wage Raise Demand Voted By Packing Locals

By Barbara Bruce

(Special to The Militant)

SOUTH ST. PAUL, Minn., May 11—Representatives of 10,000 members of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers in this area voted unanimously last Sunday to open demands for wage increases to meet the rising cost of living. A general increase in wages—the second this year—will be demanded when present union contracts expire in August. This was the decision of a conference of delegates from UPWA unions in District 2, which includes Minnesota, northwestern Wisconsin, and North and South Dakota.

Packinghouse workers from 28 locals in the district voiced their dissatisfaction with the inadequate 16-cents-per-hour increase won last January in a nationwide strike. The amount of the new increase to be demanded will be decided later, but will be based on mid-summer price levels. Proposals for the raise in pay will be submitted for approval to the union's national convention in June.

Besides the blanket wage raise, the convention demanded a guaranteed annual wage, uniform wage rates for men and women, the union shop, elimination of compulsory arbitration and streamlining of grievance procedure, abolition of geographical wage differences, a uniform contract with all the big packers, as well as a list of other improvements in the national working agreements.

Solidarity with the mine workers was voted overwhelmingly in a resolution which supports the miners in their present struggle

Goldman Asks To Question Nazi Defendants

CHICAGO, May 15—Albert Goldman, attorney for Leon Trotsky and his widow, Natalia Trotsky, today sent to Sir Geoffrey Lawrence, Chief Justice of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, Germany, the following letter requesting the right to examine the Nazi defendants, especially Hess, in connection with the infamous Moscow frame-up trials.

The full text of the letter follows:

Esteemed Chief Justice: You have by this time undoubtedly received two letters requesting you to ask the Nazi defendants, especially Hess, certain questions calculated to elicit information as to whether or not any of the defendants ever entered into any agreement with the late Leon Trotsky, who was murdered in August 1940 by one of Stalin's hired assassins.

PROMINENT SIGNATORS
One of the letters is signed by prominent American citizens, among whom is Norman Thomas, James T. Farrell, Matthew Woll, and Dorothy Thompson. The other letter is signed by prominent English citizens, among whom is H. G. Wells.

In both of the letters you were informed that the indictments upon which the infamous Moscow trials of 1936-38 were based charged that Leon Trotsky and his son Sedov had entered into an agreement with the defendant Hess, acting as agent for the Nazi government, for the purpose of waging war against the Soviet Union and dismembering that country.

One of the chief defendants (or better, victims) of the Moscow trials, Pyatakoff, testified in support of the above allegation

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Putting Humpty Dumpty Together Again



Truman Lifts Conscription Age In Latest War Preparation Move

Wall Street's preparations for World War III were given a boost by President Truman on May 16 when he jumped the induction age of childless men into the armed

forces from 26 to 29. Truman's dictatorial decree came in direct response to the unbridled campaign of the imperialist warmongers to build the greatest military machine in all history in the United States. Truman's order coincided with the ominous try-outs in New Mexico of rocket-powered bombs, with the preparations for the \$500,000,000 atomic bomb show in the Pacific, and with the sinister diplomatic drive of Anglo-American imperialism against the Soviet Union.

Truman's order to raise the draft age followed Congressional passage of a "stop-gap" extension of the Selective Service Act. The Senate had rushed through in record speed a full extension, but the House of Representatives, facing the fall elections and fearing mounting public anger, amended the Senate bill and exempted the draft of 18 and 19 year olds.

In signing the extension bill, Truman characterized it as "bad legislation" and demanded that

Statement Of Trotsky's Widow On His Biography Of Stalin

Editorial Note: The Mexico City correspondent of Time magazine recently addressed a number of questions to Natalia Trotsky, the widow of Leon Trotsky, concerning the latter's biography of Stalin which has just been released by Harper & Brothers. The correspondent wished to know first of all the attitude of Natalia Trotsky on the injection of the translator's political views into the text of the book. He asked her if she recalled any anecdotes connected with the author's work on the biography, his purpose in writing it, and also inquired about her life in Coyoacan.

The text of her reply to these questions is as follows:
In general a translator cannot replace the author. A translator who exceeds the limits of a faithful translation violates the rights of the author. Since the publishers have not yet sent me a copy of the book I have not had the opportunity to read Malamuth's interpolations or the final chapter of the book which, I understand, is almost entirely his.

The publication of the interpo-

IN THE NEWS

Fruits Of Peace

ROCHESTER, N. Y., May 10—They are no longer victory gardens in this section.

Howard Kemp, gardening columnist, groping for a more suitable name for his own experimental plot, suggested that amateur gardeners adopt the title "famine gardens." (Associated Press).

Facing The Worst

The Security Council of the "United" Nations has graver problems ahead than the famine which threatens millions of lives.

A Sub-Commission has put on its agenda for further discussion, the remarks of U. S. delegate Lubin, who warned that "within a few years" the world would "again be faced with the problem of surplus goods." He wants studies begun at once to meet "the dangers of such a condition to world economy."

Slightly Startling

PARIS, May 15—When it was suggested at today's session of the Council of Foreign Ministers that Austria be included for discussion, Vyacheslav M. Molotov of the Soviet Union exclaimed "God help us!" to show how he felt about adding another batch of complexities to the agenda.

"Americans present said the remark had caused much amusement among all but the Russian delegates, who appeared slightly startled." (Cable to N. Y. Times).

Steel Barons Are Never Embarrassed

"The direct cost to the steel industry of the four-week strike in January and February of this year amounted to \$90,000,000, according to close estimates based upon reports of several companies, for the first quarter of the year. Thanks to the reserves for contingencies set aside by the industry during the war period, the industry has been able to absorb this loss without financial embarrassment." (N. Y. Times, May 5.)

Truman Backs Corporations With Strikebreaking Moves

By William F. Warde

The second great strike wave in the post-war upsurge of American labor reached a climactic point last week as the bitter assault of Big Business and its government against the coal miners and railroad workers mounted in ferocity.

Food Profiteers And Speculators Fatten On Misery

By Evelyn Atwood

Taking advantage of the most catastrophic worldwide famine in history, wealthy grain speculators and dealers, monopoly millers, feed manufacturers and a host of other greedy profiteers are hoarding huge stockpiles of wheat, corn and other grains in anticipation of higher prices and fatter profits. These capitalist vultures deal death to millions in order to become richer.

Alarming reports are pouring in regarding the desperate plight of the starving millions, victims of six years of imperialist war, chaos and devastation. There is only 30 to 60 days' supply of food in the famine areas of 27 different nations, admits Hoover, Chairman of the Famine Relief Committee. Unless the grain promised by the U. S. government for relief is shipped speedily and in sufficient quantities, millions must die in the next six weeks, and millions more will be malmed for life.

SHIPMENTS FALL

At the beginning of this year, the wheat needs of the devastated countries were officially estimated at the minimum of 17 million tons. The U. S. government promised to ship six million tons for the first half of this year at the rate of a million tons a month. Today, when the needs

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This colossal battle in two of the most strategic industries in American economy has produced a social crisis in the country and a political crisis at Washington similar to that witnessed at the beginning of this year when the CIO auto, steel, electrical and packing house unions were out on the picket-lines simultaneously.

VICIOUS DRIVE

In reply to that first powerful strike wave, spearheaded by the General Motors workers, the entire capitalist ruling class and its government agencies rallied around the corporations in their vicious drive to whittle down the demands of the workers and cripple the resistance of the striking workers. So today Big Business and its government agencies are backing up the coal operators and railroad magnates who are determined to deny the just demands of the workers.

The most deadly and treacherous blows against the miners and railroad workers have been delivered by President Truman himself. Truman first put pressure upon the UMW leaders to call off their solid strike for a two week period and then threatened to issue a government order seizing the mines in the event that the strike was resumed on May 25.

STRIKEBREAKING MOVE

On the eve of the scheduled walk-out of 275,000 locomotive engineers and trainmen throughout the nation, Truman commandeered the railroads in order to head off their strike action. This strikebreaking technique

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LOS ANGELES KKK BURNS CROSS AT NEGRO HOME

By Lois Saunders

(Special to The Militant)

LOS ANGELES, May 15—Ku Klux Klan elements made their first strike in Los Angeles last Sunday night when a fiery cross was burned in front of a Negro home. Significantly, the white neighbors on the same block have been waging a two-year court fight to evict the family, Mr. and Mrs. H. G. Hickerson, of 134 West 56th street. The weapon they have used in waging this fight is that able adjunct of Klanism, race restrictive covenants.

The outbreak of Klan activities in Los Angeles coincides with renewed boldness of Jim Crow elements throughout the country—in Freeport, Long Island; Columbia, Tennessee; Atlanta,

the firing of the cross. The Klan, or its henchmen, have struck here for the first time, but their terrorism and intimidation, unless effectively checked, will strike again, and again, each time with more ferocity.

SWP APPEAL
Myra Tanner Weiss, organizer of the Los Angeles section of the Socialist Workers Party, has issued an appeal urging the calling of a broad conference of all labor and minority groups to arrange for the defense of the Hickersons and any other individuals similarly threatened, and to adopt a sustained and systematic program designed to smash

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Georgia and elsewhere. In southern California, the vigilantes unleashed their first overt activity in Fontana against the O'Day H. Short family, whose home was mysteriously burned and whose family was wiped out two weeks after he received a threat.
Emboldened by the official whitewash in the Fontana case, the Klan began an open organizing campaign in Big Bear, burned fiery crosses there and in Palm Springs. Now the same vile symbol has appeared in the heart of Los Angeles.
This time the CIO Council, AFL unions, the NAACP, and Jewish organizations have better understood the significance of

Steel Union Delegates Assert Rights

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sought to bar radicals from union membership.

On the very eve of the convention, Murray had hastily called together his executive board, which at his order had been working diligently to build up a red-baiting drive, and instructed them to call the whole thing off. The highly-publicized campaign of red-baiting was for the time being shuffled off the stage on the first day of the convention, when Murray introduced a "Statement of Policy" on the question.

This "Statement of Policy," which was adopted without discussion by the convention, proposed no constitutional restrictions on radicals. It merely asserted that "this union will not tolerate efforts by outsiders—individuals, organizations, or groups—whether they be Communist, Socialist, or any other group, to infiltrate, dictate or meddle in our affairs."

At the same time, the statement insisted that "however, we will not permit any limitation on the free and democratic right of full discussion of trade union problems in our own ranks. We must not and do not seek interference with the free and democratic right of each member to harbor such views as he chooses, in his private life as a citizen. Our union has not been and will not be an instrument of repression. . . . As a democratic institution, we engage in no purges, no witch-hunts. We do not debate a man's thoughts or beliefs."

Murray's statement was not motivated by any genuine devotion to union democracy. He has carried through numerous bureaucratic expulsions of those who opposed him. His chief lieutenants Van Bittner and McDonald had personally helped put over a constitutional provision barring "communists" at the recent founding convention of the CIO Utilities Workers Union.

It was obvious that this statement was introduced to allay the fears of the steel workers that a purge of militants was being contemplated at this time. Although the original campaign of red-baiting resolutions had been designed as a weapon primarily against the Stalinists, there was all indication that the repression would be directed against the genuine militants as well. Murray's retreat was dictated in large part by his desire to maintain the appearance of "peace and harmony" at the convention.

SEEKS TO APPEASE

This was revealed in connection with other issues. There had been protest, for instance, against the failure of the union's policy to provide for district conferences of the steel locals for mutual discussion of policies and

the refusal in some instances of district directors to permit such conferences. Murray sought to appease the locals on this question with a special resolution introduced by his resolution committee providing for regular annual district conferences.

Also, there had been a move on foot before the convention to extend the terms of officers and district directors from two to four years. The opposition to this proposal to entrench the bureaucracy more firmly was obviously so great among the ranks that Murray wisely chose not to press it at the convention. To the surprise of everyone, when the Committee on Constitution came to the section of its report dealing with terms of office, it recommended no change in the present two-year terms.

But these concessions to alleviate the discontent with the top leadership's methods did not alter in any real essentials the undemocratic policies pursued by the Murray machine.

These were revealed in his conduct of the convention itself. Murray kept pressing the convention for "speed" and urging that discussion be cut short. His pay-roll stogoes on the convention floor, tried to block discussion by howling "Question!" almost as soon as any resolution or motion was presented. This brought sharp protest at several points from rank and file delegates.

At the same time, Murray consumed an enormous portion of the convention's available time with long-winded speeches on every possible occasion by himself, his chosen lieutenants and guest speakers. Not a single issue hit the floor without Murray quickly intervening with lengthy orations from the chair to "clarify" the question. In this manner, Murray personally consumed not less than 50 per cent of the convention's time—while he repeatedly urged the delegates to "expedite the proceedings."

UNDERLYING DISCONTENT

The first open expression of the underlying discontent existing among the steel workers and the fact they are no longer meek "hand-raisers" for everything Murray says, came on Wednesday afternoon, the second day of the convention. A heated debate developed over the issue of arbitration of grievances.

Resolutions had been introduced by several locals asking that the International Union share the heavy expenses connected with the arbitration procedure under the contract. These expenses are borne entirely by the local treasuries. Piled-up grievances, most of them accumulated during the war under the no-strike policy, confronted many

locals with the danger of bankruptcy.

When a voice vote was taken after Murray had spoken lengthily on the question, there was a very close division. Murray was forced to call for a show of hands, and the resolutions committee's report to reject the local resolutions on the question was finally carried, but with hundreds of hands raised in opposition. Up to that moment, it was the largest opposition ever displayed toward anything Murray had ever supported.

The next serious expression of opposition occurred at the beginning of the Friday morning session, when the resolutions committee introduced a resolution referring to the International Executive Board proposals by local unions for securing more rank and file representation on the Wage and Policy Committee and for ratification of contracts by the membership. A large section of the union, particularly from the smaller fabricating plants, was very dissatisfied with the provisions of the contracts foisted on them after their prolonged strike, which lasted many weeks after the settlement in basic steel.

Delegate Harvey, Local Union 1206, got a big hand when he opened the discussion by opposing the committee's resolution and called for wider representation of the local unions on the Wage and Policy Committee, advocating that this committee be composed of local union presidents. Murray immediately delivered a long speech "to correct the delegate."

"CORRECT MURRAY"

Several other delegates then took the floor "to correct Brother Murray." Delegate Kelly, Local Union 1833, introduced a new note which got a big hand from the convention when he demanded that the rank and file have a voice in approving all contracts. "You take the United Auto Workers, for instance," he stated. "They have the rank and file OK the contract. We should have that too. I appeal to the delegates that what the auto workers have, we should have."

This sentiment was a serious challenge to Murray's undemocratic policy on contracts. Assistant to the President Clinton Golden, then Murray, gave long speeches designed to beat down the opposition. In the course of Murray's talk, he took occasion to indirectly denigrate the leading role of the General Motors workers in spearheading the wage fight and claimed for his own policies the chief responsibility for "setting the wage pattern" won by the CIO in its strikes. What Murray did was to give away 40 per cent of the union's original wage demands even before the steel strike, while the GM workers were battling for a

30 per cent increase. He finally settled for an 18½-cent an hour increase while the GM workers were still battling to secure a government recommendation of 19 cents. Murray sought to halt further debate by reminding the delegates that "you have occupied exactly one hour in the discussion on this resolution"—although he himself had used most of the time. So strong was the voice vote opposition to the resolution committee's recommendation against changes in the Wage and Policy Committee set up that a hand vote was called for. The vote was about three to two in favor of the recommendation. The opposition was even larger than on the previously disputed arbitration issue.

The report of the Constitution Committee was not presented until late Friday, with the convention scheduled for but one more day. This served as a pretext for a "speed-up" drive by Murray, in the chair, and Committee Secretary Doherty. The delegates had received no copies of proposed amendments in advance, despite Murray's assurances to the contrary on the previous day.

HEATED OUTBURST

So rapidly were proposed amendments read, that it was impossible for delegates to grasp what was proposed. Time and again, delegates shouted out, "Slow down, slow down." At one point, a delegate in uniform secured the floor and heatedly denounced the fact that hundreds of paid staff members were sitting on the convention floor who were trying to prevent rank and file delegates from speaking by

continuously shouting "Question!" It was immediately following this outburst that the convention representation question was introduced. The Constitution Committee first reported its non-concurrence in a number of resolutions to reduce the votes of officers and staff members at conventions. It proposed instead that the existing basis of representation, one vote for every 100 members, be changed to one vote for every 500 members.

As soon as this proposal was drastically reduced the number of rank and file delegates was read, there were groans and shouts of "No!" from all over the hall. Scores of delegates were on their feet, frantically waving their hands for recognition and crowding around the "mike" in the middle of the center aisle. Such a scene was without precedent in the history of CIO Steelworker conventions.

FIERY DENUNCIATION

The first delegate to get the floor was Higgins of Local 3159. Indignantly he asserted, "It seems to me that the committee must have been out last night, when it brought up this proposition." A big shout of "Yeah!" came from the delegates.

The next speaker, a Negro delegate from Youngstown, Dillard of Local Union 1462, brought the convention to its feet with a fiery denunciation of this obvious move to curb the voice of the rank and file by curtailing the number of rank and file delegates. "Talk about democracy!" he said sarcastically, "I'm speaking against this resolution and call on the convention to vote it down." His concluding words

were met with a tremendous ovation and thunderous cheers. Murray, red faced and visibly shaken by this revolt, hastened to try to put it down. He first tried to assure the delegates that "it makes no difference to me how you vote on this question." But he then proceeded to talk at length on why smaller conventions would be a good thing, that big conventions cost a lot of money, that they wouldn't be able to find big enough convention halls, that anyway conventions should be "compact bodies." He received only a flurry of applause.

Immediately the floor was flooded with arm-waving delegates. Delegates Hahn, Local Union 227, and Czelem, Local Union 1229, secured the "mike." Just after Murray had spoken, there had been a lull. Every delegate was wondering if the others had again wilted under Murray's oratory and prestige. But the succeeding remarks of delegates brought such cheers that the ranks became fully confident. Hahn charged the proposal was designed "to concentrate the control of the conventions by a small minority." Czelem declared that the proposal would mean "we would have the same amount of staff members as delegates, but the rank and file will not be here."

After this speech, there was such a clamor for the question—this time by the rank and file majority—that Murray put the vote. A feeble "aye" sounded for the proposed change. Then the loudest "No!" ever heard in the convention hall—where the CIO auto workers had met recently too—shook the rafters. The steel workers had come of age. They had decisively asserted themselves for the first time against Murray and his machine.

The struggle over organizational policies and democratic practices was the dominant theme of the convention. It was primarily in this form that the dissatisfaction with Murray's general policies was expressed. On the broader questions of economic and political program, the convention went along generally with the major resolutions put forward by Murray.

At the same time, there were talks by various individual delegates on a number of resolutions that clearly demonstrated the spread of progressive and militant ideas among the steel workers. Many of the policy resolutions put forward by Murray revealed the pressure of these advanced ideas.

"POLITICAL ACTION" Obviously couched in terms intended to appease the growing sentiment for genuine independent labor political action, the important resolution on "Political Action" called for support of the CIO Political Action Committee by stressing its "independent political activity" and its character as "an independent force, without commitment to any major party."

The resolution wound up, however by repeating the bankrupt formula about giving "our support to the progressives of either major political party." In short, Murray proposed to repeat the previous fiasco of backing capitalist "friends of labor," rather than fighting to build an independent labor party which could provide an effective political instrument that could really combat Big Business reaction.

An important resolution was passed unanimously expressing opposition to peace-time military conscription. This brought forth several excellent statements from the floor. Tom Hood of Local 1330, a Youngstown delegate, who had spent 12 years in the Marines and been an aerial gunner in World War II, received big applause when he condemned peace-time conscription and asserted that building a big army was "like giving a man a machine, he will want to use

Steel Strike Victory Parade



The strike victory which won steel workers an 18½-cent increase was celebrated by these Lackawanna, N. Y. workers with a jubilant parade.

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it out and see how fast it will go, no matter who he knocks down. There are always generals who want to try out their machine."

He stated that conscription was intended to give the children of steel workers "training in a system that only breeds wars." He told how while he was in the air corps "we were forced to take part in the suppression of the people of Italy who were fighting for a little more bread."

Another delegate, Hirsch of Local Union 1206, still a member of the armed forces and in uniform, declared his opposition to peacetime conscription and charged that the army was based on a bureaucratic caste system that degraded the enlisted men and gave the officers outrageous privileges.

FOREIGN POLICY

One of the most spontaneous ovations was accorded Delegate Trbovich, of Local 1010 in East Chicago, Indiana, when he spoke on one section of the foreign policy resolution. Emphasizing that he was speaking only on the last section of the resolution calling for "encouragement and assistance to the people of the liberated countries and colonial peoples to exercise the right for self determination and to build their own democracy," Trbovich stated:

"It is the duty of the trade unions to see that our own country is brought into line on this question. In Indonesia, for instance, British troops with American weapons are shooting down the people fighting for their own government."

A sharp volley of applause greeted his statement: "We did not work to produce weapons of war to be used for shooting down other peoples fighting for their rights. If we are really sincere about fighting for oppressed people, we must see that our boys are not used for imperialistic purposes to put down people fighting for liberty in the colonies."

On the key issue of the mounting inflation which is robbing the steel and other workers of their recent wage gains, Murray offered no program other than begging the government to "save OPA" and dependence on the capitalist political agencies to "control prices." There was no proposal to combat inflation by fighting for higher wages.

On the contrary, the day before the convention opened, Mur-

ray issued a public statement that the union would "observe its wage commitments" in the present contracts even if the OPA was smashed and regardless of inflation.

But, there can be no doubt that the steel workers, along with the more advanced industrial workers generally, will come to realize that the most effective method to fight the consequences of price rises is by demanding in their contracts a sliding scale of wages, under a fixed minimum, that provides for the automatic increase of wages to keep pace with every rise in the cost of living.

In this spirit, a Youngstown delegate, Ted Dostal of Local 1330, voiced the sentiment of many militants during his well-received talk on the resolution calling for unemployment compensation to strikers. After pointing out that the unemployment insurance funds come out of the "unpaid wages of the workers," he asserted that the "OPA is full of loopholes and prices are bound to rise. We will have to fight for higher wages. We must prepare for real struggles in the coming days ahead. That is why we must see to it that the laws are amended to provide for compensation when workers are again forced out on strike."

Among the most gratifying features of the convention, was the large number of Negro delegates. They were among the most articulate and militant participants in all debates. They played a truly significant role in the deliberations and repeatedly evoked enthusiastic response from the overwhelmingly white audience. However, the Negro steel workers, a large section of the union, still have no representation on the union's leading bodies.

STALINIST ROLE

The Stalinists played a miserable role at the convention. On every possible occasion they cottoned up to Murray—who shortly before the convention had been prepared to open a red-baiting drive against them.

This morning, shortly before the closing of the convention, the Stalinists precipitated a scandalous brawl on the convention floor that nearly broke up the convention in a riot. In an effort to capture undisputed control of a section of the union, they brought forth a proposal to divide the largest district of the union, the Chicago-Calumet District 31, into two districts, one of which they hoped to seize.

In the midst of the controversy that followed, the Stalinists and District 31 representatives got into a physical scrap that threw the convention into an uproar for 15 minutes, and was only quelled with difficulty.

This convention will be recorded as an historic one. It has marked a great advance for the steel workers. While they have a long way to go yet in fully asserting democratic control over their union and in elaborating a militant, progressive program, the steel workers showed in this convention that they are on the road to big contributions to the future progress of American labor.

Having once demonstrated their determination to fight for democratic unionism, they will continue to hammer away for membership control over the steel union's policies. Their first victory over the Murray machine will encourage them to continue the struggle against the bureaucrats. With the increased militancy and self-confidence born of their recent great strike struggles and confronted with the continued attacks from the bosses and government, they will press forward for a fighting policy.

CORRECTION

In the article on the steelworkers convention in the May 18 issue of *The Militant* there was a statement of fact subject to misinterpretation. The article said: "They (the steelworkers) would like to be able to elect their own district representatives." District Directors are elected. The reference is to job classifications, and to allow union representatives to make time studies in rate disputes.

Goodyear Rubber Workers Strike In Los Angeles

By Dave Dreiser (Special to *The Militant*)

LOS ANGELES, May 16—In an inspiring show of militancy 2,000 members of United Rubber Workers Local 131 shut down the Goodyear Rubber Company here May 9, after the company repeatedly refused to arbitrate basic disputes.

The strike was authorized by the union's strike strategy committee after a walkout by 150 tire-builders when the company, contrary to the contract, refused a man his guaranteed operator's rate while starting on an unfamiliar machine, and then refused to negotiate the matter.

The Big Four rubber companies have been following a consistent policy of cracking the whip at every opportunity, thinking they can get away with anything since the payment of an 18½ cent increase last March.

This strike plainly shows where the workers stand regarding this policy. One picket, a veteran just back a few weeks from overseas said, "This fight is as important as anything we did over there. I'll stay out till the sidewalk falls in before I'll see 18½ cents chiseled down to 10 cents by the company's rate manipulations."

The union wants to make the corporation agree to arbitrate rate disputes and wage standards, to end unfair switching of job classifications, and to allow union representatives to make time studies in rate disputes.

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KARL TAYLOR and his RHYTHM BAND
Also
5—BIG ACTS—5
SATURDAY, JUNE 15
In The Spacious, Air-Cooled
ROYAL PALM ROOM of the
HOTEL DIPLOMAT
108 W. 43rd St. New York
Tickets at all branch offices and City Office
of Socialist Workers Party in New York.

Rail, Mine Workers Face Fierce Attack

(Continued from Page 1)

continued and duplicated Roosevelt's strikebreaking seizures of the mines and railroads during the war.

This time the capitalist administration could not camouflage its strikebreaking role behind the pretext that the strikes were interfering with the war effort. It was far more obvious that Truman's intervention was undertaken simply and solely to aid the coal and railroad magnates and stiffen their unyielding attitude toward the miners and rail workers. Nevertheless, the UMW head, John L. Lewis, and Whitney and Johnston, the leaders of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, yielded to the combined government - employer pressure. Lewis on May 10 agreed to the two-week truce demanded by Truman. Only a few minutes before the rail strike was to have begun on May 18,

both Whitney and Johnston agreed to a five-day delay and officially postponed the strike action.

But both the railroad workers and miners manifested their distrust of the government and even a measure of defiance of their own leadership when large numbers of them refused to observe the truces.

DEMONSTRATIVE WALKOUT The demonstrative walkout of the railroad workers in the face of the truce order tied up the entire transportation system from coast to coast for several hours. This action was a milestone in the history of this traditionally most conservative segment of organized labor in the United States. It was a token of the fighting temper which animates American labor today in its efforts to combat the soaring cost of living and the attacks of the employers.

The no less militant temper

of the mine workers is indicated by the fact that despite the orders of Lewis, over 25 per cent of the strikers in the key Western Pennsylvania area refused to return to the pits without a signed contract. How correct they were in distrusting the truce and Truman's promises that the mine operators had agreed "in principle" to the United Mine Workers' insistence upon a health and safety fund! No sooner did the truce go into effect than the conscienceless operators openly repudiated Truman's deceitful declaration.

ANTI-LABOR ACTS At the same time, Congress and other government agencies are preparing new vicious measures against labor. The Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act is not harsh enough for them. Congress is pushing the still more reactionary Case Bill now before the Senate.

The anti-labor views of Truman's top staff were most crassly voiced last week by John D. Small, Civilian Production Administrator, who urged Congress to enact legislation completely outlawing strikes for a period of at least six months. The convention of the CIO United Steel Workers passed a resolution May 17 calling for the resignation of Small and denouncing his proposed legislation as "involuntary servitude."

The frenzied character of this unbridled employer-government drive reflects the fear of Big Business and its servants at the growing power of American labor and the militancy in its ranks. The gains made by the workers during the first strike wave have enhanced their confidence and inspired other struggles of labor to similar struggles. They have paved the way for new organizing drives, notably in the still largely unorganized South. The capitalist class wants to stamp out this militancy, if possible, and to push back the unions.

If the labor movement has displayed great power and fighting spirit in these two strike waves, it has also revealed glaring weaknesses. The most obvious is the lack of unity and coordinated action in the fight against Big Business. When the GM workers were forced out on strike, many AFL leaders refused their aid. John L. Lewis even publicly indicted the heroic struggle of the GM workers.

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Death And Burial Of The Comintern

(Translated from the May 4 'La Lutte Ouvriere,' organ of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, Belgian Section of the Fourth International.)

By C. Ermatte

The "official" dissolution of the Third International took place, as is known, in 1943. We stated then that the Third International long before ceased to be what it had set out to become at its foundation: a revolutionary general staff of the world proletariat.

But it now appears that the "dissolution" of the Third International corresponded not only to the diplomatic needs of the Kremlin, but reflected the growing state of affairs produced by the war and the great wave of chauvinism which swept the Stalinist parties in different countries.

LASHED BY LENIN

Lenin lashed this betrayal in the most violent manner, characterizing these facts as the death of the reformist International, and launching from that moment a call for the creation of a new Communist International.

At present we are witnessing the death of the Third International, already officially "dissolved" three years ago. In fact, for the first time the Stalinist parties of different countries have begun systematically to set themselves against each other, declaring themselves in "solidarity" with the interests of "their" bourgeoisie.

Thus a few weeks ago the press review of the INR published extracts from Pravda violently criticizing the politics of the Swiss Stalinist Party, the so-called "Labor Party".

BACK CAPITALISTS

Shortly before this, the German Stalinist Party took a stand against the Polish and French Stalinist parties on the question of the Ruhr.

capitalist rulers for the detachment of the Ruhr from Germany, the German Stalinist Party declared, through the mouth of its vice-president, Ulbricht, that "the Ruhr is and will remain German, 'ours,' that 'we' cannot live without the Ruhr," etc.

The latest instance is a letter from the Secretariat of the Italian Stalinist Party addressed to the Central Committee of the French Stalinist Party on the subject of the question of Trieste.

"In view of the authority of the French Communists, the Secretariat of the Italian Communist Party believes it would be useful for the former to reestablish the contacts which would permit it to understand the motives for which the Italian democrats, unanimous in their struggle against any rebirth of Italian nationalism, are nevertheless equally unanimous in their desire to find a solution to the question of Trieste different from that proposed by the French Communists."

4TH INTERNATIONAL AND ITS PROGRAM

In the face of this miserable bankruptcy of the Third International, the success of the recent international conference of the Fourth International is of extraordinary importance. Despite the long isolation of certain sections, despite the immense material difficulties, despite numerical weakness and extreme poverty, despite uninterrupted persecution of most of its leaders, the Fourth International succeeded in a short time not only in reestablishing "contact" with all the member parties of the globe, but also and more important, in verifying with pride the spontaneous uniformity of its politics on the five continents.

Expressing the interests of the world proletariat, who are one and indivisible throughout the entire world, free from any ties with any government or capitalist camp, the Fourth International rapidly formulated a common political line, even on the most current and immediate tactical questions. This line was inspired by one leading thought:

The defense of the interests of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world, unrelenting struggle against world imperialism which is dragging humanity toward atomic destruction, the preparation of the world Communist revolution and the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe and of the world.

Trinidad Workers Protest Jim-Crow Reign Of Terror In Columbia Tenn.

NEGRO WELFARE CULTURAL & SOCIAL ASSOCIATION

Public Mass Meeting

ON TONIGHT

AT 7.30 p.m.

AT

Woodford Square- PORT-OF-SPAIN

COMRADES, and Fellow workers, the above named Association calls your attention to the facts of the Tennessee White Terror...

Full text of the leaflet is as follows: COMRADES and Fellow workers, the above named Association calls your attention to the facts of the Tennessee white ruling class, who unleashed their savage warfare of a Nazi type on February 25th against the entire Negro section of Columbia, Tennessee.

Philippine Peasants Wage Civil War Against Rulers

By Mike Cort It has been reported that 20,000 armed peasants are at this moment waging civil war in the Philippines. They are revolting not only against their U. S. imperialist masters, but also against the native capitalists and landlords who for years have enslaved and exploited them.

In an inspiring demonstration of international working class solidarity, the Negro Welfare, Cultural and Social Association (Trinidad, British West Indies) held a mass meeting in Port of Spain, Trinidad, during the middle of May, to protest the savage clubbing, imprisonment and murder of Negroes by state and local police in Columbia, Tennessee.

In a letter to The Militant, Rupert Hannibal, Assistant Secretary of the Association, indicates that the action was taken after reading accounts of the Columbia atrocity which were printed in The Militant.

The resolution adopted by the mass meeting states: "We the workers and inhabitants of the Islands of Trinidad and Tobago vigorously protest the outrageous, wholesale atrocities and violations of civil rights committed by local police and state troops against the peaceful Negro community of Columbia, Tennessee."

CONDEMN POLICE The resolution angrily assails the Columbia outrage. The police, acting "like Nazi Storm Troopers blasted every Negro dwelling and business place with machinegun fire."

"All these facts prove," the resolution goes on, "that the invasion of the community by your troops was a calculated move to terrorize the entire Negro community of the South" and to force them into submission to the so-called "master race."

VALIANT STRUGGLES Directing their indignation at President Truman and Governor McCord, the Trinidad workers' resolution concludes: "We hold your administration primarily responsible."

The workers of Trinidad, a British colony in the West Indies, have long suffered brutal exploitation by arrogant white slave-masters. In their struggle for freedom from imperialist rule they have conducted many valiant struggles and suffered their own casualties.

TRINIDAD WORKING CLASS LEADER HAILS 'MILITANT'

Editor of The Militant, Dear Comrade, I am a member of a political organization, the Negro Welfare, Cultural and Social Association, Trinidad, British West Indies. Sometime last year I began reading The Militant and it was through a member of the Socialist Workers Party, I must indeed say that from then to the present The Militant has been a great source of information to my organization and me on the international and American working class struggle.

Long live the workers of the world!

Fraternally yours, Rupert Hannibal, Ass't Secretary Negro Welfare, Cultural and Social Assn., Trinidad, British West Indies

Spokesman For Indo-Chinese Describes Freedom Struggle

PARIS, May 4—In an interview with a reporter of La Verite, a spokesman of the official Viet Nam delegation here for negotiations with the French government, replied as follows to the question: What has happened to Ta-Tu Thau?

Chiang's War On Chinese People Armed By U. S. The long and bloody arm of imperialism today reaches into China to fan civil war, just as in 1936 it reached into Spain. Franco's war on the Spanish people was made possible by arms supplied by Hitler and Mussolini; Chiang Kai-shek's war on the Chinese people is made possible by guns and planes supplied him by American imperialists.

STRAFED BY U. S. PLANES Crack troops of Chiang's new Fourth Army are now assaulting the Manchurian capital city of Changchun. These are troops who have been equipped and extensively trained by the United States army. And even before Changchun fell to the "Communists," 4,000 regular Nationalist troops were flown to the city in American planes.

PEOPLES COMMITTEES "During the Japanese occupation, in most localities, people's committees were formed illegally. During the uprising, they expanded and grew, encompassing the whole tolling section of the population. These committees took power and occupied themselves with all matters of local organization as well as with military organization. The government of the Viet Minh grew out of these committees."

Asked whether these committees are still in existence after the agreement signed by the Viet Nam with the French colonial administration on March 6, he answered "Yes." The spokesman further confirmed the fact that, innumerable atrocities were committed by French troops in the course of the struggle, and stressed particularly the mishandling of Indo-Chinese prisoners of war. However, being very conscious of the diplomatic role of his delegation, he was very guarded in his answers.

Important Lessons Of Strike Wave In Palestine

By T. Cliff (Special to The Militant) (The first half of this dispatch appeared in last week's "Militant.")

JERUSALEM, April 25 — Notwithstanding the great militancy in the ranks of the workers and employees, the strike movement which swept Palestine these past two weeks revealed some grave weaknesses which were fully exploited by the government. They were:

1. The fact that the Second Division employees, the Post and Telegraph workers and the railway workers each negotiated separately with the government.
2. The fact that the Second Division did not call on the daily workers of the government to join the strike.
3. The fact that the employees of the railways and Post and Telegraph were represented by the delegation of the Second Division, while the workers in these departments were represented by the two other delegations. And so when the Second Division council decided to end the strike, they almost forced the railway workers and the Post and Telegraph workers not belonging to the Second Division back to work.

It is not yet clear what the actual results of the strike will be, as many points have not yet been affirmed by the Colonial Office in London. Furthermore, neither the government nor the leaders of the Second Division made it clear if the agreement affects not only the employees but also the workers of the various government departments. The outcome of some of the demands is, however, known.

The railway workers also received a rise in the minimum basic pay from \$1.20-\$1.60 and a corresponding rise in all other grades; two weeks' paid holiday; overtime pay. It was also agreed that aged workers could not be dismissed unless according to a doctor's advice. The particulars of their other demands have not yet been published.

WHAT STRIKE PROVED The strike proved conclusively the fallacy of the Zionists' contention that the Arab masses are backward and primitive, that they are mere pawns in the hands of the reactionary feudal and bourgeois leadership, and that it is the Zionists who will enlighten and advance them. It gave the lie to the fable which imperialism, Zionism and the reactionary Arab leadership try to bolster up, that unity of the Arab and Jewish masses is impossible to achieve.

It proved that while there are not a dozen Arabs who support Zionism, there are tens of thousands of Arab workers who are ready to stand shoulder to shoulder with their Jewish class fellows for the defense of their common class interests.

Imperialism was compelled to make concessions, fearing that the strikes, demonstrations, etc., would produce a resounding echo in the neighboring countries. The Revolutionary Communist League, Palestine Section of the Fourth International, was absolutely correct in thus appraising the position in the leaflet in Arabic and Hebrew that it distributed among the strikers.

It proved that while the strikers but also to the fact that Jewish workers are in the main employed not by the government and companies of foreign capital but by Jewish capitalists in the closed Zionist economy, and to the fact that they enjoy some important advantages over the Arab workers.

As far as the Arabs are concerned, the Arab workers' leader who stated that this strike has pushed Palestine forward 20 years, was indeed close to the truth. This strike was not the last and we must expect many others to follow in its wake. The unity of the trade unions of the Middle East proposed by the Palestinian and Egyptian Trotskyists which received some echo among the workers now stands on the order of the day.

In the few days since the end of the strike, other minor strikes have been breaking out in all parts of the country, and a wave of organization has been spreading everywhere. Of this we shall write you later.

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THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

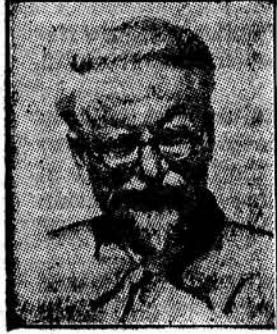
Vol. X—No. 22 Saturday, May 25, 1946

Published Weekly by THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York 2, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-9230

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorial.

Subscriptions: \$1.00 per year; \$5.00 for 6 months. Foreign: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Single copies: 5 cents.

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



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

—Leon Trotsky

Stalinist Gangsterism

Last February, Political Affairs, monthly magazine of the American Trotskyists, printed a grim threat to "oust the Trotskyites from the labor movement." The author of that threat, Max Weiss, a leading official of the Communist (Stalinist) Party, added: "In all districts a properly planned campaign must be worked out to guarantee the realization of this objective."

This campaign is now under way. In the past two weeks in Buffalo, Pittsburgh, New York and San Francisco, Stalinist strong-arm squads have brutally attacked men and women distributing The Militant at union and Communist Party meetings.

This campaign of physical violence is the typical answer of Stalinism to progressive points of view in the labor movement which it is otherwise incapable of meeting. It apes the murderous methods used by dictator Stalin to silence all political opposition by the workers to his police regime in the Soviet Union.

The Stalinists have begun by assaulting the distributors of The Militant. But these foul methods are directed against other opponents as well as the Trotskyists. If they are not halted at the start, they can spread like gangrene until they end with the disruption of labor's ranks and the destruction of democracy in the labor movement. Only the worst forces of reaction can gain from the campaign of physical violence organized by the heads of the Stalinist party against their political opponents.

But let these initiators of the fist and black-jack think twice. We shall hold the leaders of the Communist (Stalinist) Party and their stooges in the trade unions accountable for any casualties to those distributing The Militant.

The Trotskyist movement in the United States began 18 years ago in struggle against the Stalinist betrayers of the program of socialist revolution. The campaigns of physical violence against the Trotskyists that were attempted from time to time have in every instance proved a boomerang. We have grown stronger throughout the years despite all attempts to terrorize us into silence. We will not be intimidated this time either.

We call on the workers in all the unions and localities where the Stalinist goon squads have disgraced the labor movement by their actions, to rally in defense of the distributors of The Militant.

Protect these loyal, self-sacrificing advocates of Socialism from physical assault!

Safeguard the elementary right of every member of the labor movement to express his views!

The Stalinist assault on union democracy and freedom of speech must be nipped in the bud!

Paris Conference

The patent failure of the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Paris emphasizes once again the contention of The Militant and the Socialist Workers Party that in a world of imperialist greed and rivalry there can be no peace. The Paris conference, unable to produce even a draft of the peace treaties, can well prove to be another milestone along the road leading to the third world war.

Except for agreeing to revise the still secret terms of the Italian armistice, the conference failed utterly to reach an accord. The Anglo-American and Soviet representatives glared and snarled at one another over the disposal of the Italian colonies and the Italian fleet and every other issue that came before the conference. Antagonism and distrust flared up on every point in the discussions.

The London Spectator summarized the results of the conference by declaring: "It is hardly possible to exaggerate the seriousness of these sustained disagreements, for while they continue Europe remains economically and politically paralyzed, no longer in a state of actual war, but not in sight of anything like peace. Nor can any end of the paralysis be predicted."

And the "usually super-cautious British Broadcasting Corporation," reports the N. Y. Times, "is now beginning to talk openly of the possibility of a conflict between Britain and the Soviet Union."

The main source of the antagonisms between the big Powers, their inability to reach agreement and establish the era of peace which they promised would come out of the impotent-

ist war, is not to be found in the bad intentions of this or that statesman. It flows from the very nature of the robber capitalist system which the Anglo-American representatives uphold, plus the profound and ineradicable conflict between the capitalist world and the nationalized property relations in the Soviet Union.

In a ruined world wracked by growing economic crisis, the victorious imperialists are fighting over the spoils of war, striving for economic advantages, and preparing their positions for war against the Soviet Union. Destruction of the socialized economy of the Soviet Union, the return of this vast land to the orbit of capitalist private property and exploitation, has become a life and death question for decayed capitalism.

It is now clear for all to see: if the world working class does not destroy capitalism, then capitalism will hurl mankind into the horrors of a third world war.

Restrictions On Relief

To cover up their own guilt in creating the world-wide famine and then refusing to provide enough food supplies to alleviate the catastrophe, the spokesmen for the capitalist class are trying to unload the blame upon the American people by condemning them for "overeating." Fiorello LaGuardia, the plump head of the UNRRA, recently flung this taunt: "These people, why they simply have no hearts at all. Belly Americans, that's what they are!" The American people indignantly refuse to be made the scapegoats for the crimes committed by their capitalist rulers. The workers here have genuine feelings of solidarity for their starving working-class brethren abroad. Many of them have relatives and friends in these famine-ridden countries. They are eager to share what they have.

But the same capitalist administration which refuses to force out of hiding the huge stockpiles of grain being hoarded by the profiteering speculators, places all kinds of obstacles in the way of free and unlimited individual shipments of relief. Those Americans who have relatives and friends in Germany, Austria and other countries are not permitted to send any packages to them at all.

Moreover, the sending of relief packages to other famine-stricken countries are hedged about with a multitude of deliberate restrictions and red tape. For example, the maximum size of each package is restricted to 11 pounds, including the weight of the packing case. Only one package a week can be sent to a person. Through private export companies a case of relief supplies may be sent, but this involves much higher expense, and has been found to be less reliable in reaching its destination.

If the administration were really so concerned as it pretends to be about shipping maximum relief to the hungry peoples abroad, it would not impose and maintain all these restrictions upon the sending of relief.

The truth is that the government agents of Wall Street are primarily interested in concentrating control of relief supplies in their own hands for political purposes. They use food as political blackmail by which they aim to prop up reactionary regimes and bludgeon into submission the starving masses.

The unions and all progressive organizations should demand the immediate lifting of all restrictions upon the sending of individual relief packages abroad.

Readers of The Militant who want to aid working-class victims of famine are urged to contribute food, clothing and funds to the American Committee for European Workers Relief, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Stop The Klan!

The appearance of the Ku Klux Klan in Los Angeles with the burning of a fiery cross before the home of a Negro family in that city, following upon the recent revival of Klan activity in Georgia, furnishes dramatic evidence of the mobilization of the forces of reaction in this period of growing social crisis.

It is significant that the Klan has stepped into the limelight once again at a time when the labor movement, both CIO and AFL, is opening a great drive to organize the unorganized workers in the South, at a time when the working class throughout the country is engaged in a titanic struggle to hurl back the offensive of Big Business against the workers' standard of living.

On the West Coast, as in the South, the immediate targets of the Klansmen are the Negroes. At the beginning, as the drive against the Jews in Germany demonstrated, fascism always selects a weak and defenseless minority as its first scapegoat and victim. But the Negroes are mostly workers and those already organized in labor unions are joined with their white fellow workers in the battle against reactionary Big Business. Who can doubt that the Klansmen, if permitted to attack Negroes with impunity, will soon enlarge their activities into organized violence against the labor movement as a whole?

The rapid intensification of the social crisis, marked by the sharpening of the class struggle, provides fruitful soil for the growth of fascist reaction. The fight against the Klan, against Gerald L. K. Smith, and against each and every manifestation of fascism is as vital to the working class as the battle on the picket lines against the moguls of Big Business.

The two struggles are in reality one, for the ties between Big Business and the sprouting fascist organizations are well known. Big Business plans to utilize the Klan and similar gangster outfits to aid in the drive against labor, to terrorize the workers and force them into submission.

Organized labor can stop the fascists. The time for action is now, before they have grown strong. By defending the threatened Negroes against Klan terror today, organized labor will be building up the defense of its own organizations tomorrow.

The burning of fiery crosses in Atlanta and Los Angeles is a dire warning signal. It must not be allowed to go unheeded.



"What with the grain shortage I've given up rye—but of course we're all happy to sacrifice for the sake of the starving millions."

BOOKSHELF

I CHOSE FREEDOM, by Victor Kravchenko, published by Scribner's, 1946, 496 pp., \$3.50.

The author of this book spent his whole life from early youth until the age of 38 in the service of the Stalinist regime. He rose through various party and industrial engineering posts close to the top ruling clique surrounding the master of the Kremlin himself. During the mass purges of 1936-38, when he himself was caught in the grip of the GPU, Kravchenko became secretly hostile toward the Kremlin. He maneuvered to be sent abroad to the United States in 1943 as a member of the Soviet wartime Purchasing Commission in Washington, and seized the opportunity to escape from the clutches of Stalin's secret service and publicly break with the regime.

In his autobiography, Kravchenko gives a first-hand account of the horrifying crimes Stalin and his henchmen have committed against the workers and peasants of the USSR over the past 15 years. He presents authentic evidence of the monstrous lies, treachery and violence by which the Kremlin maintains its rule. He reveals the growing gulf separating the greedy and brutal bureaucrats loyal to Stalin, from the impoverished and subjugated masses of Soviet people.

Kravchenko tells about his role in the forced collectivization which led to the Kremlin-created famine of 1931-1933, when millions "died like flies." He describes the ruthless measures by which the Russian workers are shackled to the factories, their inhuman speed-up under the Stakhanovist system, the wretched conditions in which they live. He gives eye-witness accounts of the battalions of slave laborers scooped up by the GPU in the vast purges and the frightful prison camps into which they are herded.

Through his own experiences Kravchenko discloses the methods of operation of the espionage system which blankets the entire country and terrorizes

every individual from top to bottom.

Kravchenko exposes the infamous Moscow frameup trials which held the center of the stage during these purges as follows: "If anyone in Russia honestly believed in the fantastic 'confessions,' I, for one, did not meet him. Not until I went abroad many years later did I discover that foreigners, in particular 'liberal' Americans had swallowed the macabre hoax, hook, line and sinker." He condemns the "stupid and illiterate" American film "Mission to Moscow" as a vicious fabrication.

EXPOSES MOSCOW TRIALS

"Stalin killed off the founders of the Soviet State," he writes. "This crime was only a small part of the larger blood-letting. The terror and blood-letting engulfed in recent times up to 20 million Russian victims," he states. "But in the Davies-Warner Brothers film all this horror was reduced to a petty opera bouffe. . . . A political event which makes the St. Bartholomew's Eve Massacre and the French Terror and the Armenian atrocities look like street-corner brawls was here trimmed down to the dimensions of a parlor farce. . . . Hollywood kicked the corpses around and helled the murderers."

Superficial observers have assumed that the Stalinist regime stabilized itself precisely through these super-purges. Kravchenko's book shows how these catastrophic purges sapped the industrial and military strength of the USSR and caused tremendous loss of lives and territory in the war.

Kravchenko does not understand or refuses to acknowledge that these same trials and super-purges were part and parcel of Stalin's criminal betrayal of the Russian and world working class revolutions. He maliciously presents Stalin as a world revolutionist, instead of the enemy and gravedigger of Lenin's work and ideas. He is able to sustain this lie only by suppressing entirely from his

book the heroic struggles of the Trotskyist Left Opposition against Stalinism and in defense of Leninism.

"GILDED YOUTH"

Kravchenko presents his life story as that of "one typical Russian." But in reality he typifies neither the ordinary worker or peasant nor the genuine proletarian revolutionist, but the direct opposite. Kravchenko belongs to that privileged section of the Soviet "gilded youth," which, after the death of Lenin and the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy, became the pets and instruments of the Kremlin.

Ignorant of the real traditions of Lenin's party, the careerist Kravchenko became a genuine pupil of the Stalinist School. In his book he admits that the Russian workers and peasants do not want to replace the hated totalitarian regime of Stalin with a restoration of landlordism and capitalism. The Russian masses instinctively understand that they alone can guard the conquests of their revolution against their class enemies; that they themselves must undertake the task of eliminating Stalin and his parasitic gang.

Now that he has wound up as a graduate of the Stalinist School, Kravchenko reveals that he still has nothing in common with the Soviet workers and peasants. For when he escaped the Kremlin, he fled into the arms of the "democratic" imperialism of Wall Street. He sees in this bloody imperialist colossus the "liberator" of the Russian masses from Stalinism. But this capitalist giant is interested only in "liberating" the Soviet peoples from all that remains of the victorious socialist revolution of 1917.

From a willing tool of Stalinism, Kravchenko has now become converted into a conscious tool of U. S. imperialism. The value of his book is not in its poisonous politics but in its account of the internal life of the Stalinist police regime.

Reviewed by Larissa Reed

Congressmen At Work

Wall Street's Congressmen are able to hang onto their lush-paying jobs year after year only at the price of eternal vigilance. Among the lookouts assigned to watch the public is Representative Clarence Cannon of Missouri, one of the smoothest, slickest, cagiest politicians ever kept in office by the capitalist class. This cunning political operator recently sounded the alarm. Congress, it seems, faces the greatest danger in the history of parliamentary politics.

The danger is as great, he claims, as in the days of the English revolution when "Oliver Cromwell, in proroguing the English Parliament, pointed his sword at the mace lying upon the table of the House of Commons and cried, 'Take away this bauble!'"

The danger is as great as at the time following the French revolution when "Napoleon, stalking into the French Chamber of Deputies at the head of his grenadiers, cried, 'Follow me. I am destiny. I am the divinity of the day.' As his bayoneteers drove out the representatives of the people, some of them climbing through the windows to escape, they drove out civil and religious liberty."

The danger is even as great as when "Hitler, endeavoring to seize the reins of government in Germany, as the first step toward world domination, burned down the Reichstag Building, so that Germany's House of Representatives, unable to meet, was



scattered in confusion." Representative Rankin of Mississippi, one of Cannon's best Negro-hating, Jew-baiting, anti-labor friends, immediately joined in the alarm. He eloquently described the nature of the peril to Congress: "What these critics on the outside are 'beefing' about is that Congress has not capitulated to them. What they are raising sand about is that they cannot nose in here and those subversive elements that want to destroy Congress cannot nose in and browbeat Congress into doing what they want done."

Underlining the deadly character of the threat, especially as it affects the coming election, Cannon described the onslaught on Congress: "Effort has been made to convince the American people that something is so wrong with Congressional procedure that dire disaster menaces the country." As one example of what these dark hosts are doing to Congress, Cannon quoted a most frightening passage from

Pageant magazine as follows: "The trouble with Congress is, briefly, Congressmen. Their two main interests have been getting reelected and lining their pockets. Short of everything else they are lazy and overpaid. They have it soft. The lobbyists write our laws, and in a way that is fortunate for Congressmen are numbskulls, they are windbags, obstructionists, and worse. Only a vigilant press deters them from raiding the treasury."

Imagine the effect of such criticisms on the voters! What can the "old duffers" especially say who have already been accumulating "from year to year inevitable opposition?" But with such vigilant tribunes of Wall Street on guard as cagey Clarence Cannon, the bosses can rest assured their representatives won't be ousted easily from public office. Facing a fate worse than death, the capitalist politicians intend by hook or crook to outwit the foe.

BROOKLYN
Militant Carnival
Sat. May 25
SWP Headquarters
Food-Entertainment
Dancing
SWP Headquarters
635 Fulton St.
From 8:30 p.m.

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

Legion Heads Fight Labor Posts

Another in a long, unbroken series of rabidly anti-union actions, unmistakably showing the reactionary character of the American Legion top leadership, was reported in the May 15 PM. John Stelle, National Commander of the Legion and former Illinois governor, owns the Brick and Shale Co. of McLeansboro, Ill. A trial examiner's report recommended that the NLRB find the firm guilty of unfair labor practices.

The report, issued in St. Louis, recommended the reinstatement of 27 men with back pay to May 1945 and the recognition of the AFL Hod Carriers Union as collective bargaining agent for the employees.

Stelle's anti-union attitude will not surprise anyone familiar with the Legion leadership's record of vicious hostility to the labor movement. Least of all will it come as a surprise to the National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires, a caucus composed of labor posts formed within the Legion in 1938.

The Conference has declared that its aims are defense of the unions, improvement of the standard of living of the workers, the stamping out of Jim Crowism and anti-semitism, and action to solve the housing crisis.

By last summer the Labor Legionnaires had increased the number of affiliated posts from two to 127 and the membership to more than 25,000. But their seven years of activity has had little, if any, influence on the policy of the Legion's national leadership.

Despite their efforts to tone down the Legion's anti-labor policy, one national commander after another has denounced labor in the long-standing tradition of the labor-hating Legion bureaucracy. Here are but a few of countless examples:

The 1943 Executive Committee approved a proposal to accept \$20,000,000 from corporations for an "Americanism program" and, in return, agreed to campaign for laws outlawing closed or union shops.

The National Commander in 1943, Warren Atherton, suggested electrocuting leaders of striking unions!

The Legion rulers recently appropriated \$25,000 to campaign for General Hershey's anti-labor superiority ruling, a ruling condemned by the entire labor movement as an attempt to drive a wedge between veterans and non-veteran union workers.

In addition to fighting the Hod Carriers Union, Commander Stelle denounced the "get-us-home" GI demonstrations and decorated William Randolph Hearst as the "outstanding American."

These incidents add the whole record of the American Legion leadership stand as irrefutable proof that the aims of the "King Makers" are identical with those of Big Business. They are among the bitterest foes of organized labor.

The top leadership of the American Legion keeps the organization in a bureaucratic straitjacket, making reform by the membership impossible. The Le-Brass Hats have so far permitted the Labor Legionnaires to function only so that they could ensure union men and provide a safety valve for liberal sentiment in the Legion.

However, with the prospect of the Labor Legionnaires becoming a real force in the Legion, the "King Makers" have refused to grant charters to new labor posts. They "investigated" the Conference, claim it is permeated with radicals, and are preparing to crush it before it can become a serious threat to their control. It is reported that their next move will be to order the dissolution of the Labor Legionnaires.

This bitter hostility of the Legion bureaucracy toward the Labor Legionnaires provides further proof that only an organization formed by the union movement and unfettered by any ties with Wall Street can advance the real interests of the unions and worker veterans. That is why the Socialist Workers Party fights for trade union organization of the veterans.

How Capitalism Misuses Mechanized Cotton Picker

Half a million families in the South will be jobless and destitute within a few years when their labor is displaced by the mechanized cotton picker and other machinery, a recent report by the U.S. Department of Agriculture has revealed.

The first hundred cotton pickers put into commercial use during the past few years have demonstrated that these machines could pick more than 1,000 pounds of seed cotton in an hour, compared to an average of 15 pounds an hour by a human being. On one 4,000 acre plantation last year 40 skilled workmen operating these machines displaced 130 families consisting of 600 to 700 men, women and children.

The improved mechanical cotton picker is twice as effective. It displaces not 700, but 1,500 farm workers. Thus eight out of ten of the estimated 1,500,000 farm workers today employed in cotton farming will be made jobless when these machines are installed.

"Of course," states the Birmingham, Alabama Weekly Review, these machines will be hailed as "emancipation for the thousands of Negro and white workers from the poverty and drudgery of the rural South." But in reality, it is "creating one of the most, if not the most critical problem facing our nation."

These machines are displacing the most shamelessly exploited and lowest income group in America. Prior to 1942 the average annual income of a family of five persons gravitated around \$480. In many localities the sharecroppers are virtual peons. On 13 plantations in the lower Mississippi Delta, the average annual net income for sharecroppers was \$38 per person, or slightly more than 10 cents a day.

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.

Report On AFL Pennsylvania State Convention

I think your readers will be interested in an account of the 44th Annual Convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, which I attended as a delegate. It was held in Philadelphia May 6-10.

The first day's session presented the governor and state senators. The governor agreed that workers have the right to strike, etc., BUT "this should be used as a last resort" and labor should "sit down and arbitrate by all means" before using strike action. The state senators followed the same line. All their talk can be easily understood in the light of the fact that elections are due this year.

The following day too was consumed by speakers — not only capitalist politicians, but various others who in no way can or will ever do labor any good. One of these was a commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, who attacked communism and gave an anti-Soviet speech.

On May 8 AFL President William Green endorsed the UMW. His speech was welcomed wholeheartedly by all the delegates. He told the convention he was glad the miners had "come home again" to the AFL.

This unification with the miners however has worried the officials of the State Federation, who are now trying to make their positions secure against any action by the miners in the next state convention. The Executive Council of the Federation submitted to the law committee a resolution to amend the Constitution to enable the president and secretary-treasurer to hold office for four years instead of the present two years. Vigorous opposition was raised in the committee. Those who favored the proposal made remarks about the re-affiliation of the miners and showed their fear of these militant workers. Finally the committee reported non-concurrence. On the convention floor, the resolution had to be voted on three times. It finally passed by a small margin.

In the law committee there was also opposition to a resolution to raise the salary of the president and secretary-treasurer, but the

Tells Need For Immediate Aid To Suffering Workers Abroad

Editor: I should like to make an appeal to all readers of The Militant, for clothing for the American Committee for European Workers' Relief. Its drive was announced recently in The Militant.

We have hundreds of comrades in many of the countries of the world that can be reached by mail. These comrades, many of them, are without the bare necessities of clothing, and none of them have enough. We, their co-thinkers in this country, although we too may have little, still have so much more than they.

Maybe many of you are from the stricken areas; or like me, your fathers and mothers were; or perhaps you are just human beings, with a feeling of internationalism. Whatever the case, don't fail to spare whatever you can to help clothe and feed these people, who are often discriminated against by so many agencies.

Remember, this is one small way in which you can make the cause of internationalism a real living thing, and not just words. Our friends and comrades over there will never forget, and in their desperate straits will give a boost of morale far outweighing the little it costs you.

You can be sure that the drive of the American Committee for European Workers' Relief, however, means that everything contributed will help to save the lives of our class brothers.

And it is that serious, friends. Since the collapse of Germany, very little coal is reaching Italy, Belgium, Holland, and other countries. In order to keep from freezing to death, the workers in these countries have to add on more pieces of clothing. So, if an item of clothing is a little worn, don't be afraid to send it; just send it clean and mended. People forced to live from hand to mouth can do wonders with what they can get. Many of you know this first-hand.

The situation in general is bad enough, but for our co-thinkers it is even more desperate. Give and ask your friends to help. You'd be surprised at how many people in all walks of life and of all beliefs will give you something that may keep a fellow internationalist from freezing this spring and next winter.

David Kraus Cambridge, Mass. (Editor's Note: We urge Militant readers to send clothing, food and funds to American Committee for European Workers' Relief, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y. Winter clothing will be sent beginning in July to reach its destination by fall.)

Readers Invited To Join New York 'Militant' Chorus

Editor: One of the most enjoyable and inspiring features of the May Day Meeting in New York was the new Militant Chorus. Our new director, who is responsible for the growth and development of the chorus, received his Master's Degree of Music from the American Conservatory of Music. His compositions have been published and played in South America and the United States. He has written monographs on modern music.

He was, therefore, well-equipped to whip the Militant Chorus into shape. And he himself arranged the stirring revolutionary and labor songs sung at the May Day meeting.

The biggest obstacle our director had to hurdle in building the chorus was the reluctance of many to join. Almost everyone said, "But I can't sing." His assurance that "if you can open your mouth and make a sound, you can become a full-pledged member of a chorus," finally won. We learned that individual voice quality is of little importance—the blending of voices into one instrument is the thing to be achieved. As proof, our present chorus is made up largely of people who insisted they had "terrible voices," or "couldn't carry a tune." Yet it gave an enthusiastically-received performance on May Day after but six weeks of rehearsals.

Now we aim to double the size and effectiveness of our chorus in the next few months. Militant readers and friends are invited to join us, no matter what the range or quality of voice. Our next scheduled appearance — the Militant Ball on June 15. Rehearsals, which last an hour or so, are held Tuesday evenings at 7:30 and Saturday afternoons at 4:30, at 116 University Place (corner of 13th Street). If you can't attend both sessions, one rehearsal a week will suffice. You will be warmly welcomed.

M. Jackson New York

Capitalist-Inspired Terror In Georgia



When the CIO announced its drive to organize the South, fiery crosses were burned by Ku Klux Klan terrorists. This scene was taken as the Klan gathered on Stone Mountain to initiate new members, in a resurgence of labor-hating activities. The State Legislative Council, composed of AFL, CIO and unaffiliated union members, demanded an investigation by the Treasury Department and the FBI.

Victim Of Terror In Tennessee Describes Hours In Columbia Jail

Editor: Recently I heard a first-hand account of the anti-Negro terror in Columbia, Tennessee, told by Reverend Lockridge, who was one of those arrested by the Jim-Crow cops. His report was given at a protest meeting held April 25 by the Youth Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Reverend Lockridge exposed the real truth of what happened to the defenseless Negro people. He pictured the state police and city police riding into the segregated section of the city, provoking wherever possible, and then launching a smashing, wrecking, and clubbing barrage in the peaceful neighborhood.

"The people were treated like dumb animals, in fact worse," he related. "Over a hundred victims had been thrown into the little city jail and were housed in three small cells. We were so closely packed that we couldn't move and then when we were fed there never was enough to go around. Two of our people had been taken out of their cells and led away; a little later we heard a couple of shots and couldn't tell what to think; we didn't know who was going to be next."

"When we were released on bond, we had discovered that the NAACP lawyers, who had started on the case immediately, weren't permitted to interview any of us. But with the organization on the job the authorities finally had consented to let the lawyers speak with some of the defendants and make arrangements for bail, etc. Only when we were released did we find out that the two shots we heard were fatal for two of our jail mates. The whole thing was horror to see and you can't understand it unless you are right there."

Following Reverend Lockridge's account of the terror, Carl E. Beck, speaking for the CIO of Youngstown, stated labor's support of the victimized Negro people. He described how the labor movement has brought the workers together and has done much to bring about greater understanding between workers, by uniting them to fight together for their common interests. He pledged that he would push for financial aid to assist the defendants in Columbia, Tennessee.

A Reader Youngstown, O.

Youth Group Activities

NEW YORK—For information on the Trotskyist Youth Group send name and address to 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y. Open Forum: Every Friday, 8 p.m., at 116 University Place. Dancing and refreshments follow.

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

PHILADELPHIA—Youth Forums held every Saturday, 8 p.m. 1303-05 W. Girard, 2nd floor.

LOS ANGELES—Write to SWP headquarters, 318 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. For information on Youth Group activities.

Watch this column for further announcements of youth activities.

Election Petition Campaign Pushed By Jersey SWP

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT NEWARK, N. J., May 22 — With a week remaining before the filing deadline, comrades and friends of the Socialist Workers Party are busily engaged in collecting the balance of 3,000 signatures to place the four SWP candidates on the ballot for the November elections in New Jersey.

The four prospective SWP candidates are: George Breiman for U. S. Senator; Alan Kohlman for Governor; William E. Bohannon for Congress, 11th District; and Arlene Phillips for Congress, 13th District.

In his first public statement Alan Kohlman, SWP candidate for Governor, today said: "The real issues in the 1946 gubernatorial campaign are dictated by the actual conditions in which New Jersey workers find themselves.

"In the Newark area alone, there are 115,000 unemployed, including 30,000 veterans. The scandalous housing crisis worsens through the do-nothingness of the administration.

"The recently concluded State Legislature affords another lesson in what the workers can expect from further boss-controlled administrations. The Republican Edge administration stands exposed as a typical do-nothing-for-labor administration. Almost a year ago the State CIO urged Edge to call a special session of the legislature to adopt a program for aid to returning veterans, provide jobs and security, protect rent control and provide adequate housing, etc.

"The AFL presented 26 bills dealing with immediate and necessary measures. To these proposals of organized labor, Edge turned a deaf ear. He refused a special session, and then the CIO AFL proposals were buried in committee by the regular session of the Legislature.

INFAMOUS BILL S-91 "On the other hand, Edge moved to push through his infamous S-91 bill outlawing strikes in public utilities. In the face of united opposition from the entire labor movement, as well as the vigorous protest of the SWP, Edge boasted of this anti-labor law as the 'greatest law of his administration.'

"To these 'do-nothing-for-labor' policies of the boss parties the SWP will counterpose effective measures to defend and protect the workers' living standards and political interests."

Stalinist Leadership Incites Attacks On 'Militant' Agents

(Continued from Page 1)

workers from accepting our paper they planted stooges down the street to "warn" workers against taking the proffered Militants. Failing in this, they organized a "book burning" demonstration. Stalinist hacks took copies of The Militant, crumpled them and tried to build a pile of discarded papers before the entrance. Workers already familiar with The Militant from past distributions, however, continued to accept our paper and greet our comrades.

Several workers, when urged by Stalinists to discard the paper, pointed to the headline "Halt The War-Makers" and kept a firm hold on their copies. Finally in desperation the Stalinist leaders decided to put a stop to the distribution.

Concentrating on one of the girls (they refrained from jumping our young Negro girl comrade since the meeting was held in a Negro neighborhood)—a gang of a dozen men and women began punching, pummeling and strong-arming her, intent upon destroying the papers and terrorizing the distributors. The struggle continued for about 10 minutes—until the Stalinists became aware of the crowd that witnessed their bullying in consternation.

When workers from the neighborhood and from their own audience which had crowded out of the hall, began to voice protests from all sides, the attackers backed down. Before the gaze of the crowd the Stalinists literally cringed.

Our comrades proceeded with the distribution. The only interruption from then on was that of workers who asked about the scandalous action of the Stalinist leaders.

The Pittsburgh branch of the Socialist Workers Party is proud of the grit of our comrades under attack. We condemn the use of gangster tactics on the part of the Stalinist leaders because such tactics, borrowed from the fascists, spread division and demoralization in the ranks of the workers only help the bosses. The Stalinist leaders here will continue to pay for their mistake for some time to come.

Ask Your Shopmate To Subscribe to The Militant



The feature articles and news reports championing the miners' struggles that have appeared in The Militant are deeply appreciated by that section of the working class. These stories are a sharp contrast to the vicious slanders against the United Mine Workers perpetrated by the coal operators and the capitalist press.

An account of the warm response with which the miners received the May 4 issue of The Militant which contained an "on the spot" report of the McCoy, Va., mine disaster, is given in the following communication.

From Pittsburgh, Eloise Gordon writes: "We went to Coverdale, Pa., with the May 4 issue of The Militant. We decided to sell the paper instead of distributing it, and in about an hour and a half, three of us canvassing house-to-house sold over 70 copies to the miners and their families. Almost everyone in Coverdale knows The Militant by sight now. In fact, the few sales we didn't make were to miners who had on a previous occasion taken subscriptions and are receiving the paper through the mails.

"The response to The Militant is most gratifying. These workers accept it as an authoritative spokesman of their interests almost on a par with their union journal. Several workers asked us to renew subscriptions that had expired, although we didn't make any efforts to seek renewals at this particular time, since the strike has dug deep into their pocketbooks. All the men speak bitterly of the hysterical campaign the capitalist press is carrying on against their union.

"We have one subscriber there who has received The Militant since he first became acquainted with it in 1943. This man is a real Militant agent for our paper. No less than a half dozen men remarked that they read The Militant at his home every week. Without a doubt The Militant has a substantial group of real supporters in this little coal miners' community. We only wish time permitted us to cover other mine centers. As it is, we have sent several copies of this issue to our most enthusiastic subscribers in various towns down the valley with the request that they pass copies on to their friends."

From the Newark branch of the Socialist Workers Party we received the following note: "One of our new subscribers became acquainted with The Militant when we were distributing at a Communist (Stalinist) Party meeting where Foster was speaking. As he got his copy he was told to tear it up, not to read it. This made him more curious. He took The Militant home, read it carefully, and then clipped the coupon and mailed it to the office for a one year subscription."

A number of our Militant literature agents have written advising that they plan renewal campaigns shortly, and have outlined various methods of work they intend to follow. We would like to urge more of our comrades to send in their methods for publication in order to share their experiences and results with all our branches.

Anne Alexander of San Francisco sent the following plan: "We have organized our recall work on a campaign basis. A system of points has been set up whereby each house visited, whether or not the subscriber is found at home or renews, counts for a point. Then the points are graduated in accordance with length of subscription, combinations, etc. The winner with the highest number of subscriptions will receive a set of Lenin's 'Collected Works.' New and inexperienced comrades who go out with an experienced comrade will receive full credits for achievements. In this way we encourage everyone to do recall work.

"The new Oakland Branch is doing a good job and we are very proud of its work."

BRONX
Weiner Roast
Saturday, May 25
Refreshments!
Entertainment!
1034 Prospect (near 163d)
Beginning at 8:30 p.m.

OUR PROGRAM:

- 1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!**
A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!
A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!
Government operation of all idle and government-built plants under workers' control!
Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!
- 2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!**
No restriction on the right to strike!
- 3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!**
- 4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!**
Down with Jim Crow!
- 5. Build an independent labor party!**
- 6. Tax the rich, not the poor!**
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
- 7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!**
Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!
- 8. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!**
For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!
Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!
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"Stalin: An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence"
Speaker:
JOSEPH HANSEN
Former Secretary of Leon Trotsky, who was with Trotsky at the time of his death.
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New York Militant Forum 116 University Pl.

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'MILITANT' FUND DRIVE HITS \$11,102

74 Per Cent Mark Reached In Ninth Week Of Campaign

By Justine Lang
Campaign Director

The sustained week after week contributions of over \$1,000 to our Militant Fund Drive is a positive indication of the importance our comrades of the Socialist Workers Party, readers and friends place upon guaranteeing the continued appearance of *The Militant*.

Their determination to achieve the \$15,000 goal which is needed to support our press is reflected in the pace the fund drive has maintained since its inception nine weeks ago. From the bang-up beginning to the present date we have obtained \$11,102, which amounts to 74 per cent of our quota. This puts us in advance of schedule by 10 per cent.

Our scoreboard this week reveals new developments.

The New York Trotskyist Youth Group, leading the country nationally, has achieved a quota of 229 per cent! Evidently their statement made several weeks ago about "surpassing even the 200 per cent mark, and the sky being the limit" was not just idle bragging. These young fighters for socialism are clearly resolved to show what can be done when one understands how important it is to support *The Militant*.

St. Paul now joins the eight other branches of the Socialist Workers Party which have fulfilled or gone over their respective quotas. St. Paul jumped from eighteenth place last week by sending in an additional payment to complete its \$250 quota.

St. Paul has been one of our most dependable sources for the attainment of our \$1,000 weekly goal, and we're proud to add it to our "100 per centers" category. With so many other branches in the 70, 80 and 90 per cent category, it will be just a short time, we are confident, before many more cities reach the 100 per cent classification.

However, we want to urge those branches below 60 per cent to make every effort in these next few weeks to mobilize their forces and obtain the necessary funds so they will not be excluded from the 100 per cent listing on June 15.

Our mailbag contained the following interesting items which

Jim Crow Rink Fails In Trick To Evade Law

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT
CHICAGO, May 12—Howard M. Fox, and Robert Michel, manager of the White City Roller Skating Rink have violated the agreement they made to end discrimination at the rink starting May 1. On that date they did admit Negro youth to skate, but charged two prices; 50 cents for all who held membership cards in the so-called White City Roller Club and \$1.80 to all others, both Negro and white.

The obvious aim of this was to discriminate against Negro youth of the community and prevent their attendance at the rink by a prohibitive price. Use of the "club card" device is a direct violation of the agreement Fox signed on March 9.

When the case against Robert Michel for violation of the Civil Rights Law of Illinois came up for trial last Friday, Judge J. Schiller sharply castigated Fox and Michel for charging two different prices. He branded their action a "subterfuge." The case was continued until Monday, May 6, and Fox verbally agreed that after midnight Sunday the rink would be open to the general public at a single price and no club cards would be required.

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we want to pass on to our readers:

Jeanette Kirk of Detroit writes: "We have collected a lot of money in the drive from United Automobile workers in the Briggs Local 212 plant. One of the comrades approached a fellow worker for a donation, and here's the answer he received: 'I get *The Militant* every week. Bargaining in the plant would be much easier if everybody read *The Militant*. It proves that discrimination hurts us all. And it keeps pounding away on how powerful the working class would be if they stuck together like they should. Here's a dollar.'

"Another Briggs Local Hi-Lo Driver said: 'The paper is damn good. And when you people get up on the union floor and say those things to all the union members I go for it. It's the truth — and that's what hurts the company and their stooges. Here's ten bucks.'

From Pittsburgh, Eloise Gordon writes: "Am enclosing \$11 towards our Militant Fund Pledge. \$5 of this amount was obtained from one of our new readers who volunteered to give the contribution to spur Pittsburgh's slow progress in the campaign. I hesitated to ask him as he doesn't make much money and is the father of three small children. However, he gave me the \$5 bill with the remark that he couldn't do much but he did want to indicate his support of our efforts."

"The remaining \$6 was contributed by six steel workers who last pay day took up a collection in their mill where one of our comrades works. They too have been watching our progress closely in the campaign, and made their contribution to help speed Pittsburgh's score."

FOLLOWED BY WORKERS
"Every worker who reads our paper studies the campaign page very carefully. This is something I hadn't noticed particularly before, but it certainly drives home the conclusion that *The Militant* and campaigns conducted in it are great aids to local branch work."

Mary Clark of Akron writes: "We have found that the Militant Fund Drive has stimulated interest in all the financial questions of the organization with a resulting added efficiency in payments of pledges, etc. Instead of acting as a drain on our resources, it seems to have stepped things up. We plan to have a big party to finish off our quota, and are confident we'll make our quota."

Ruby Parker of the Harlem Branch in New York writes: "Here is a most inspiring incident, and shows the wonderful spirit of our comrades in their desire to help sustain *The Militant*. One of our newest comrades, Comrade Kelly, had obtained money on a Militant Collection List from a number of his friends and contacts. But for several weeks he had been unable to bring the collection list and the money in to the Harlem headquarters."

"Finally last Sunday he came to the building where our hall is located but because of his recent illness he was unable to climb the stairs to come up and see us. But that didn't stop him — he sent his son, who was with him, to go up and ask us to send someone down and get the money from him! The Harlem branch is really proud of this new comrade, who showed how seriously he takes the campaign."

With determination such as this incident reveals, we are sure that the rising weight will be hitting that bell very soon!

\$15,000

Ring the Bell!



Turn Indignation Into Action By Aiding 'Militant' Campaign

By Grace Carlson

In his "Principles of Psychology" the well-known American scientist William James, offers his readers some very sound advice on the way to build up good habits. There must be a close connection between thought and action, writes psychologist James. The person who is always filled with noble thoughts which he never translates into action is in danger of losing his "effort-making capacity," he warns.

"Never let a fine glow of feeling evaporate without having some practical consequence" is the way William James puts it. We pass this advice on to the readers of *The Militant*. We think that it's good psychology.

'MILITANT' EXPOSES CAPITALIST CRIMES
Week after week, you read your copy of *The Militant* and are filled with righteous indignation at the stories that are not found in the daily papers. You read of the latest mine disaster in McCoy, Virginia, in which 12 workers lost their lives and are outraged at the greed of the mine operators who value profits above human life.

And you read each week in Charles Jackson's column of the brutal indignities that are inflicted on America's Negro people—the latest being the Columbia, Tennessee, outrage.

When you read these weekly recitals of poverty and misery, suffering and oppression, you shake your head in anger and

ART PREIS SPEAKS IN PHILADELPHIA

By C. Blake

(Special to The Militant)

PHILADELPHIA, May 1—The Philadelphia branch of the Socialist Workers Party tonight held a successful May Day rally protesting imperialist plans for World War III. Art Preis, associate editor of *The Militant*, delivered the main address.

James Price, Business Manager of CIO United Electrical Workers Local 107, gave a message of May Day solidarity. Melvin Johnson spoke on behalf of the oppressed peoples of the world, and exposed Jim Crow as a capitalist tool against the working class. Representing the Trotskyist Youth Group, Jack Spiller told of the origin of May Day.

SCOREBOARD

CITY	QUOTA	PAID	PER CENT
NEW YORK YOUTH	50	114.52	229
PORTLAND	25	27.00	104
ROCHESTER	50	50.00	100
BALTIMORE	25	25.00	100
READING	100	100.00	100
BOSTON	400	400.00	100
YOUNGSTOWN	400	401.00	100
CONNECTICUT	100	100.00	100
ST. PAUL	250	250.00	100
Flint	100	92.00	92
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	65.00	87
Milwaukee	100	86.05	86
Buffalo-Lackawanna	500	432.00	86
Minneapolis	500	421.00	84
San Francisco	1000	827.00	83
St. Louis	50	40.50	81
Newark	300	240.40	80
New York	3500	2766.07	79
Pittsburgh	100	69.75	70
Cleveland	250	175.00	70
Los Angeles	2000	1410.50	70
Philadelphia	500	344.71	69
San Diego	100	65.00	65
Detroit	1250	746.16	60
Chicago	1500	724.10	48
Bayonne	75	34.50	45
Philadelphia Youth	25	10.55	42
Akron	300	128.25	42
Cincinnati	25	10.00	40
Toledo	200	69.66	34
Los Angeles Youth	75	30.19	30
Seattle	500	149.50	30
General	575	696.59	121
TOTAL	\$15,000	11,102.00	74

LOS ANGELES KKK BURNS CROSS AT NEGRO HOME

(Continued from Page 1)

every restrictive covenant in this area.

Comrade Weiss further proposed that the conference should set up immediately a defense organization, with flying squads available for instant duty, and should launch an independent investigation into all ramifications of the Ku Klux Klan and vigilantism.

Comrade Weiss also pointed to a vital fact in the case, which has heretofore not been fully grasped — that Klan terror is a logical outcome of restrictive covenants. The vigilantes and race-baiters who are now leveling their main attack against the Negroes will, as the crisis of inflation and unemployment increases, expand their scope to include other minorities, and finally the organized labor movement.

OUR MAILBAG

Those who have demanded that the authorities make a thorough investigation have stressed the urgent necessity of putting on the mat every signer of the restrictive covenant that

New York Readers!

Hear Joseph Hansen, former secretary of Leon Trotsky, speak on Trotsky's biography, "Stalin: An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence." Sunday, May 26, 8 p.m., 116 University Pl.

At The Mid-West Vacation Camp And School



Students and teacher enjoying an outdoor class at the Grass Lake, Michigan Midwest Vacation Camp and School.

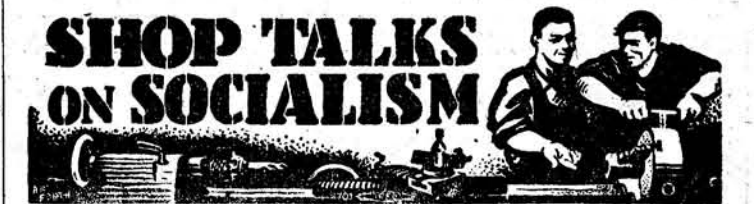
Here on the beautiful shoreline of the sparkling lake, William F. Warde leads a discussion on Marxist philosophy.

MID-WEST VACATION CAMP AND SCHOOL PLANS

Many glowing reports have been made on the Mid-West Vacation School at Grass Lake, Michigan, which will open for its third season on June 30. Among these was an article by William F. Warde, associate editor of *The Militant*, who will be educational director of the school this summer.

"Some comrades may have wondered," wrote Comrade Warde, "whether it would equal their expectations. The first sight of the camp buildings on the wooded rise overlooking the blue waters of Little Pleasant Lake sixty miles from Detroit was reassuring. Then came the warm greetings, the eager questions from the staff and the previously-arrived guests... you felt at home."

Workers from all parts of the country and from all kinds of backgrounds mingled in friendly fashion. "It did not take long to discover how different the atmosphere of this working class camp was from the profit-gouging enterprises and 'restricted'



SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM

The Profitless Poker Game

By V. Grey

The capitalists do not grow richer by cheating each other. Nor do they merely gain from the others' losses. It would be as if there were 10 men in a poker game, each with a million dollar stake. If they played with a one dollar limit, the chances are they would all play for years and still each have their million at the end. Each would gain from the other only to lose to the other.

Yet if each put his money into a business—shares of ownership stock in U. S. Steel, for example, he would have about a million and 50 thousand at the end of one year.

Even suppose the general law of chances didn't work out in the poker game and one capitalist won millions of small pots constantly, cleaned the others out and made 10 million. The fact remains that there was only 10 million to start with, and there was only 10 million at the finish—even though differently divided. But if the whole 10 million had been put into U. S. Steel, it would have increased to 10 million, 500 thousand at the end of the year. Even if it were put into savings banks it would have increased 200 thousand or so.

If you look over the income returns, you will see that the capitalists as a whole get richer and richer every year. Where do all their riches come from? If they don't cheat other capitalists out of it, maybe they cheat the poor people out of it when they sell to them?

That can't be true either. Take the steel producer. He sells only to capitalists. He can't cheat them, as we have proved (yet he makes 5 percent profit). The steel producer would look at the automobile producer who sells directly to the working man. He'd say, "To hell with selling steel to a man I can't cheat. I'll get in the auto business, where I can sell to the working man and cheat him to death. Thus I will make more profit." But he doesn't do this. For both heavy steel and light cars are sold at their value, and there is a profit in both of them.

Then, too, the rich are 7 billion dollars richer than they were last year. But the poor, though poorer, are not 7 billion dollars poorer. The seven billion didn't come by the capitalists gypping each other out of it, and it didn't come by their overcharging the consumers for their products.

The 7 billion is 7 billion dollars worth of new wealth. It is something that did not exist before. It is new factories, new limousines, and warehouses full of products. It is the product of the labor of the working people.

The working people did not give their employers warehouses full of goods and newly built factories by passing them over the counter in a sleepy trade. No. It was not a gesture of trade but a labor—a constant labor of millions and billions of hours on their part, that created this wealth.

The working peoples' labor made all their own food and prepared it—it built their homes, made their clothes in the factories, and all their other necessities, as we have seen. In addition it made 7 billion dollars worth of other things they didn't get.

The capitalists get their wealth directly out of the labor of the people who work for them. When the capitalist owner of the factory takes the products you have made and gives you wages in return, he has already made his profit. The products turn into money as they go out the door of the factory into the trucks of the merchant who pays for them.

Naturally, the capitalists and their stooges do not agree with this. And when you show them that new wealth cannot be created by trading everything back and forth (buying and selling), they pull their ace-in-the-hole. "Why capital makes its own profit! All you do is invest it. Money itself breeds money!"

(Next Week: The Parent Without A Child.)

I Want To Help!

To The Militant:
116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

I like *The Militant* because it tells the truth. I know that it depends entirely upon workers like myself for support. That is why I want to do my part in contributing to *The Militant's* \$15,000 Fund Campaign.

- I enclose \$..... toward your work.
- I want a contribution-list to circulate among my friends and fellow-workers, so they can help *The Militant*.

Name
Street Apt.
City
Postal Zone No. State

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

Seasons June 30-Aug. 17 Adults \$25 week, Children \$15

OSCAR COOVER, Manager
116 University Place

Reserve accommodations for below from..... to.....
Family Couple Single (check one)

List all who will attend:
Name

List Children and Age

Name of Applicant

Address

City & Zone State

Most Monstrous Purges In History Exposed Falsity Of Moscow Trials

By Joseph Hansen

(This is the first of a series of articles on Stalin's Moscow Frameup Trials and their significance.)

The conduct of the Stalinist contingent of the Allied prosecutors and judges at the Nuremberg trial has once again underscored the frame-up character of the infamous Moscow Trials. Throughout the Moscow Trials, it will be recalled, the Stalinist prosecution hammered on the theme that the entire generation of Bolsheviki leaders who had constituted Lenin's general staff in the October 1917 Revolution were "fascist mad dogs" in league with Hitler.

The Stalinist prosecution claimed that such great figures of the Bolshevik Revolution as Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Muralov, Smirnov, Radek, etc., under order of Leon Trotsky had made a pact with Hitler in order to facilitate a military attack on the Soviet Union. Trotsky specifically was even brazenly accused of having met with Hitler's lieutenant, Rudolf Hess, now held by the Allies in the prisoners' dock at Nuremberg.

Consequently, political observers expected that the Stalinist contingent now participating in the Nuremberg trial would be keenly interested in extending and deepening the Moscow Trials frame-up in collaboration with their imperialist allies and the utterly unscrupulous Nazi defendants who would no doubt agree to any kind of foul deal that would save them from the hangman's noose.

QUESTIONS NOT ASKED

But throughout the long dreary months of the Nuremberg farce, the Stalinists have not attempted to ask the Nazi prisoners a single question in any way connected with the Moscow Trials, Leon Trotsky or the Bolsheviks executed by Stalin.

Not even the campaign started by the British Trotskyists, and widely supported among European and American labor and liberal circles, to permit a legal representative of Natalia Trotsky to question Hess and the other Nazis, has as yet elicited any response from the Nuremberg judges and prosecutors.

Today the tragic spectacle of the Moscow Trials is growing dim outside the USSR. It has therefore become one of the tasks of the Trotskyist movement to recall to the workers of the world details of those monstrous frame-ups and to keep fresh the

memory of the great revolutionary figures who perished in them.

The three Moscow Trials of 1936-38 shocked and horrified the entire international labor movement. These macabre exhibitions, in which Lenin's former comrades sweated under Klieg lights before microphones that broadcast the incredible and revolting "confessions" assigned to them, were absolutely unprecedented for sheer insanity of the charges, depths of degradation forced upon the defendants, and the unspeakable cruelty and blood-thirstiness of the monster in the Kremlin who wrote the scenario.

The universal suspicion during the first two trials that the charges were nothing but a tissue of lies was later confirmed to the hilt by the findings of the impartial International Commission of Inquiry headed by John Dewey. After exhaustive examination of the evidence, this Commission on September 21, 1938, brought in a unanimous decision which was summarized in the last two sentences of its report: "We therefore find the Moscow Trials to be frame-ups. We therefore find Trotsky and Sedov not guilty."

The frame-up trials, however, were only the most spectacular incidents in the great wave of purges that swept the Soviet Union during an eight year period — 1934 to 1942. The trials involved a relatively small number of people, carefully selected and "processed" in the dungeons of the GPU for a long period before they staggered from their cells to "confess" precisely those "crimes" needed by Stalin to "justify" the purges and sanctify his firing squads.

Kravchenko, a former Stalinist official who lived through all these purges, estimated in his recently published book, *I Chose Freedom*, that the total number of victims condemned to the slave labor armies of the GPU amounted to some 20,000,000. This figure does not include the hundreds upon hundreds of thousands who were executed,

or the countless victims who simply "disappeared." Nor does it include the tens of millions who were hounded and persecuted, nor the still vaster number cowed into silence by the unbridled terror.

The sheer size of these monstrous purges alone blows sky-high the Stalinist lie that the Moscow Trials involved a conspiratorial plot between alleged Soviet traitors and Hitler's Gestapo. By way of comparison, the number of purge victims condemned to slave labor approaches half the popular vote cast



LEON TROTSKY

Autographed photograph given by Leon Trotsky to an American correspondent in 1924, when he was still head of the Red Army.

Referring to the blockade of the Soviet Union maintained by Wall Street, Trotsky inscribed on the photograph: "It is not our fault if as yet normal relations between us and the United States of America do not exist." Washington did not recognize the Soviet Union until nine years later, in 1933.

in the United States in the presidential elections. If Hoover in 1932 had decided to stay in office by the means employed by Stalin, and had "purged" every "conspirator" who wanted a change in Washington, the total casualties would have been about the same as those in the Soviet Union in the purge years.

The purges affected every walk of life. Scarcely a family in the Soviet Union remained unscathed by this dread political scourge.

RED ARMY DECIMATED

The Red Army was decimated from top to bottom, the principal victims being those who had fought in the civil war under Leon Trotsky and defeated the imperialist armies sent to crush the young workers republic after the First World War. The entire leading staff of the Red Army was shot without so much as the pretense of an open trial on the fabulous accusation they had conspired with Hitler.

Managers and officials of the factories, the transportation system, the collective farms dropped by the thousands before Stalin's smoking rifles.

The educational system, the arts and sciences were not exempt. Great educators, scientists, scholars, engineers, physicians, musicians, playwrights, novelists and propagandists were condemned, imprisoned without trial, died of mysterious causes, or simply "disappeared" without a trace.

The terror conducted by Stalin's secret police, the GPU (now the NKVD), swept up great masses of workers among the levels most capable of militant struggle—and those who were not lined up against the wall were crammed into cattle and box cars for deportation into the GPU slave labor camps. Whole towns and sections of the population were thus uprooted and dispersed.

Even the summits of the bureaucracy were not exempt. Officials throughout the entire government apparatus perished. The Communist (Stalinist) Party in the USSR was shaken to its foundations as the nation-wide witchhunt sought out all those who might be suspected of retaining an active memory of the revolutionary principles taught by Lenin and Trotsky. In the process many of the butchers in the first years of the purges fell victim in subsequent years of the slaughter. Yagoda, for instance, the chief of the GPU who organized the first Moscow Trial, was shot in the third Moscow Trial.

The terror was not confined to the borders of the Soviet Union. Political opponents of Stalin's regime were hunted down by his trained assassins throughout the world. In Switzerland, for example, Ignace Reiss, who broke from the GPU and revealed Stalin's plan to murder Leon Trotsky, fell before a blast of machine gun fire. In Paris, Rudolph Klement, Secretary of the Fourth International, was decapitated and his body tossed into the Seine. Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov,

sufficiently. The translator's interpolations represent not merely a violation of the author's rights in the abstract, but constitute a distortion of his viewpoint. It is well-known that the author and the translator were in political disagreement.

The author had in mind several books he wished to write. The biography of Stalin was not included in his original plans. For example he planned a work on the Red Army, based on careful research and analysis. He was also absorbed with plans for a book on the friendship between Marx and Engels. He considered it a great historical gap that the friendship between these two men had never been properly described. He was disturbed by this as if by an unpaid debt. He had a great personal interest in this friendship. He was also disturbed by the fact that he had not yet finished his biography of Lenin.

Trotsky had other works in mind that were of greater interest to him than the Stalin biography. He considered a study of the relationship between Anglo-American thought and the development of the dialectic method to be of importance to modern thinkers. The way in which the best representatives of Anglo-American thought had in practice often departed from their own avowed methods and unconsciously followed the dialectic method was, in Trotsky's opinion, very instructive.

Another project was a comparative study of the American Civil War and the Russian Civil War. The founder of the Red Army and leader of the military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist intervention at the end of the First World War considered that the civil wars in America and Russia had many striking resemblances. If permission had been granted him to visit the United States he hoped to utilize part of the time for a first-hand examination of the Civil War battle fields.

On the eve of the Second World War, Trotsky wished to push all other work aside in order to make a survey of world politics. The publishers, however, insisted he complete the Stalin biography.

The publisher's proposal that he write a biography of Stalin came unexpectedly in the first place. This theme was never in his mind. Consequently he refused. The publishers, however, persisted, promising to consider his book on the Red Army after publishing one on Stalin. The stubborn insistence of the publishers on this biography coupled with the straitened financial position of the author, finally forced him to accept the publisher's proposal.

Even though the agreement with the publishers was drawn up in 1938, the actual work on the book did not start until several months later. He forced himself to read all the published biographies of Stalin. The contradictions, distortions and lies he found in them, the need for verification of facts and their critical appraisal absorbed him. He worked slowly and with interruptions. Current political questions distracted him from work on the book. Early in 1940 he promised the publishers the work would be ready in May, but the outbreak of the war and the role of the Soviet Union in the war made it necessary for him to deal with these questions. His writings in this connection were printed by Pioneer Publishers as a book, *In Defense of Marxism*.

Then on May 24, 1940, a GPU gang headed by Siqueros made an attempt on his life. This interrupted his work once more. The analysis of the GPU attack produced another book, *The Gangsters of Stalin*. Thus the biography was not completed. What followed is well known. The biography of Stalin was left unfinished.

Statement Of Trotsky's Widow On His Biography Of Stalin

(Continued from Page 1)

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OTHER PROJECTS

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The NEGRO STRUGGLE by CHARLES JACKSON

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

Every once in a while it is good to turn back the pages of Negro history and look over the role that the Negro has played in the class struggle in America. It is not only interesting but instructive, for we can only win a battle if we know who the real enemy is, where he is to be found, and his customary maneuvers.

From the time the Negro was brought here up to the present, he has been used by the ruling economic class as a pawn in their constant struggle to continue and advance their position astride the backs of the toiling people.

The Negro was snatched from his tribal or communal existence in Africa and brought to this country to be sold into chattel slavery so that Southern planters could have labor.

This brutal and bloody practice was sanctioned by the church. The judges, law officers and other agencies of the state also sanctioned this slavery which was so profitable to the planters and they employed force during the hundreds of slave rebellions to see that the practice was protected.

With the rise of industrial capitalism in the north and the relative decline of the slave system in the south the relationship of forces gradually changed. The rapidly expanding northern ruling class whose system was to employ and exploit wage labor had been looking with dripping saliva at the millions of enslaved blacks in the south. Their liberation, they realized, would flood the field with a great reserve of cheap labor. Ostensibly from a humanitarian point of view but in reality to advance their own economic and political welfare, they reluctantly consented to free the slaves.

The industrial capitalists, demonstrating their historic superiority over the slaveholders, were victorious in the Civil War. Chattel slavery was abolished. Their enemy, the southern Bourbon, was brought completely to his knees with an "unconditional surrender" which included a promise of complete equality for the former slaves.

For a short period after the Civil War during which the two ruling classes were still at odds, this equality was enforced by military power in the south. During this period there was amicable intermingling of the races in schools, work, social gatherings and the political field.

The northern capitalists soon found out, however, that they needed the help of the southern landowners to further their plans for exploitation. The Bour-

bons, whose wings had been clipped by the loss of their former position as slave-masters, wanted only the opportunity to handle the Negroes in "Their own way."

As far as the northern business interests were concerned, to sell the Negroes down the river was a small price to pay for the millions in profits which they stood to reap. Consequently they made a deal right after the Tilden-Hayes election whereby the southern Bourbons, in return for their economic and political cooperation, were to be assured a free hand in dealing with the former slaves.

After the consummation of this deal the Bourbons, through their sadist lackeys in the Ku Klux Klan, proceeded to terrorize, brutalize and lynch the Blacks to the point where practically all of the rights which they had been granted in the 14th and 15th Amendments were washed away. The northern ruling class, as per agreement, was conveniently looking out the window. That sell-out agreement between these two sections of the American ruling class remains in rigid effect today.

The northern monied interests still exploit the cheap labor of the south and keep the masses, white and black, in poverty. The possessing class of the south still rules by oppression of the Negro with the tacit consent of the national government.

As long as this deal remains in effect, i.e., as long as America retains its present economic set-up, just that long will we see oppression of the Negro people. It is a barter arrangement profitable to both parties.

Race prejudice is not spontaneous but artificially fomented. That is proved by the fact that the poor white and the poor Negro at one time got along in neighborly fashion. The open-minded, not indoctrinated white worker does not fear social contact with the Negro.

Unless we wake up to the fact that through this deal it is the capitalist ruling class of the north that is just as much responsible for conditions in the south, we will be neglecting to fight the most potent flank of our real enemy.

Historical facts as well as day to day events prove that we must fight not only prejudiced individuals and not only the most reactionary sections but also the entire exploitive system of capitalism.

Historical facts as well as day to day events prove that we must fight not only prejudiced individuals and not only the most reactionary sections but also the entire exploitive system of capitalism.

Extent Of Purges In USSR During The Pact With Hitler

John G. Wright, authoritative analyst of Soviet affairs, followed the development of the purges in the USSR very closely from year to year as they were reported in the Russian press. In the December, 1941, issue of *Fourth International Comrade* Wright describes one of the purges organized by Stalin on the very eve of Hitler's invasion. The report of this one purge gives a good idea of what was repeated again and again in the period 1934-42:

"The signal for this purge came with the call for the Eighteenth Party Conference which convened in Moscow in February, 1941.

"A partial list of the People's Commissariats that were decimated during the 'discussion period' in the months prior to the Conference follows:

- "The People's Commissariat of Ferrous Metallurgy
- "The People's Commissariat of Coal
- "The People's Commissariat of Oil
- "The People's Commissariat of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy
- "The People's Commissariat of Light Industry
- "The People's Commissariat of Defense Industries
- "The People's Commissariat of Ship-Building
- "The People's Commissariat of Transport
- "The People's Commissariat of Building Industry
- "The People's Commissariat of Communications
- "The People's Commissariat of State Planning
- "The People's Commissariat of Domestic Trade
- "The People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade
- "The People's Commissariat of Health
- "The People's Commissariat of Justice
- "The People's Commissariat of Cinema
- "The People's Commissariat of Art, etc., etc.

"At the Conference itself six members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party ... 15 alternates and 9 members of the Central Au-

diting Commission were expelled on the charge of 'incompetence' and 'failure to fulfill their duties.' The People's Commissariats of Agriculture, Medium Machine Building, Timber and Defense Industry were purged. Immediately after the Conference the ax fell on the Commissariats of Aircraft, Munitions, Electrical Industry, Chemical Industry, Marine Transport, River Transport and Fishing Industry.

"All this was only the beginning. The Moscow press, issues of which are finally available, reveals conditions that verge on the incredible. Pravda from March 2 to March 27 reported further 'reorganization' in the following Commissariats:

- "The People's Commissariat of State Control
- "The People's Commissariat of Medium Machine Building
- "The People's Commissariat of Munitions
- "The People's Commissariat of Defense
- "The People's Commissariat of State Control, Personnel Division
- "The State Planning Commission
- "The Council of People's Commissars
- "The People's Commissariat of Timber Industry
- "The People's Commissariat of Oil Industry
- "The People's Commissariat of Non-Ferrous Industry
- "The People's Commissariat of Electrical Industry
- "The People's Commissariat of Agriculture
- "The People's Commissariat of Electrical Industry
- "The People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (the GPU)
- "The People's Commissariat of Textile Industry
- "The Kremlin's average during this period was approximately a Commissariat a day. Many of the Commissariats were purged several times during the month of March alone."

LEON TROTSKY'S

Classic Analysis Of

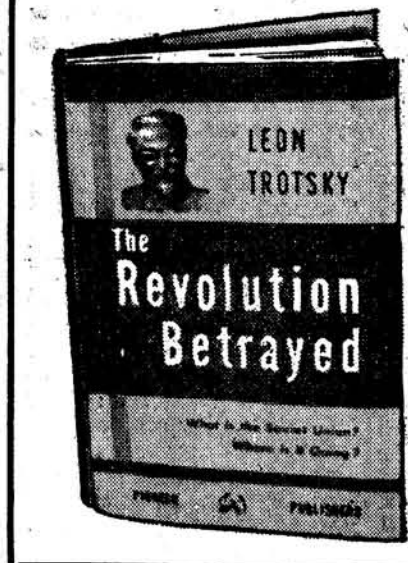
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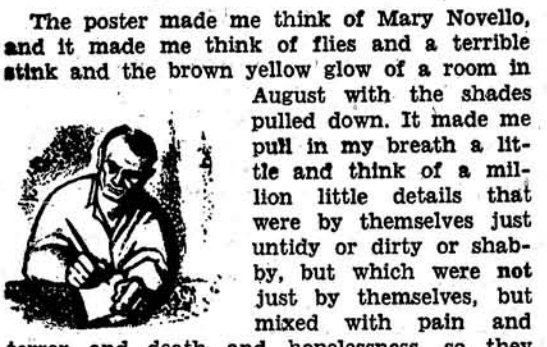
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Diary Of A Steelworker By T. Kovalsky

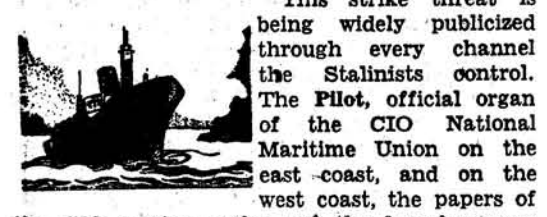


The poster made me think of Mary Novello, and it made me think of flies and a terrible stink and the brown yellow glow of a room in August with the shades pulled down. It made me pull in my breath a little and think of a million little details that were by themselves just untidy or dirty or shabby, but which were not just by themselves, but mixed with pain and terror and death and hopelessness, so they weren't just untidy and all that any longer, but were much more: they were horrible and tragic!

he was pathetically glad to see us. With Pete I went into the bedroom to meet his wife. Mary Novello lay on the rumbled bed, a wisp of a woman, her face so terribly emaciated that it resembled a skull with two bright little sparks where there should have been eyes. By the bed sat their oldest girl, Carmela. Flies buzzed through the room, and there was a deep, heavy stench like nothing that I had ever smelled before. The woman lay there wringing her bony hands above the sheet. Pete was saying something about the stomach. "Cancer, Pa," Carmela helped him. "Yeah, yeah, yeah, Cancer!" For some time she had suffered from pain in her stomach. Soda hadn't done her any good. Nor had the other "stomach pills." She wouldn't have the doctor. "Too mucha mon." They couldn't afford one. Little Luigi and Angelo clattered into the room. "You go out!" Pete whispered savagely, and they crept out carrying with them the slight and smell of death. Finally, when she could no longer eat or sleep, with a bright pain flaring within her, Pete did call the doctor, but it was too late. Mary Novello would die. What would become of the children? That no one knew. All that was known was that Mary Novello would die. And, finally, that's just what she did, leaving behind her the children and Pete and the horrible brown-yellow bedroom and the buzzing flies and the insistent flaming agony of her rotted body. But... what of the handsome, well-tailored President of the Chamber of Commerce? Did anyone ever invent words that he could have used in that bedroom? What would he have said if Pete had told him that in this steelworker's household there was not enough money to spend on a doctor? And how could he have answered the question, "What will become of the children?" The President of the United States Chamber of Commerce is a clever man. He has many words, and he knows how to use them, so I suppose he would have had an answer of some kind. But not until the working people of the whole world have thrown off their chains of poverty will the right answer be given to such questions.

Notes Of A Seaman By F. Lang

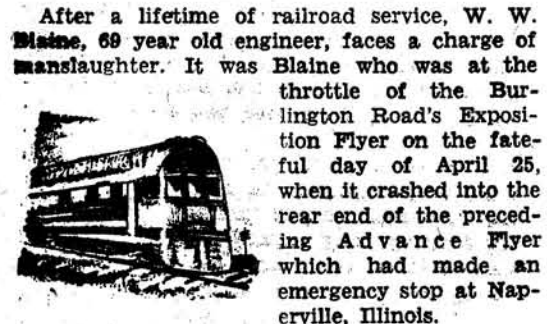
The May 6 CIO maritime "unity" convention in San Francisco announced a nation-wide strike for June 15.



This strike threat is being widely publicized through every channel the Stalinists control. The Pilot, official organ of the CIO National Maritime Union on the east coast, and on the west coast, the papers of the CIO marine cooks and the longshoremen, are given over entirely to a big campaign for strike. A special slick-paper pictorial magazine called "Pork Chops" has been issued. Pamphlets and dodgers agitating for the strike and against any voice of opposition to the Stalinist policy keep the presses working overtime. Everything is designed to create the impression that serious preparations for a strike are under way. A strike referendum has been conducted, a special "unity" convention called, machinery for a national strike committee rigged-up, the strike deadline fixed... June 15, 1946, at 12:01 local time. And what will happen then? Their "statement of policy on joint strike action" which came out of the San Francisco convention gives the whole Stalinist show away. This statement of policy says that "when the strike takes place all ships will be struck with the exception of a) troop ships; b) relief ships, if agreement is reached with either government or private employers to operate such ships under fair and equitable conditions; c) questions affecting whether or not ships will be struck for other reasons besides those listed above shall be decided by the committee established to handle and coordinate national strike action." Ordinarily the idea of a strike is to tie up operations until the employers agree to union conditions and a living scale of wages. Apparently not this "strike," however. The Stalinists announce in advance that they have no intention of tying up "troop" ships or

"relief" ships. These represent more than 75 per cent of all vessels now in operation. Every ship running foreign can carry at least a few tons of "relief" cargo. Those carrying passengers can book at least one "key relief personnel man." Small groups of "miscellaneous troops" can be scattered aboard freighters and passenger ships alike. This announced policy to sail transports and relief ships is palmed off by the Stalinists as super-slick strike strategy. It is the same tactic the Stalinists tried to introduce in the 1936-37 maritime strike on the west coast when they argued to accept the employers' demand that the unions move "perishable cargo." At that time the striking unions of the old Maritime Federation of the Pacific voted down this strikebreaking proposal. It was the turning point in the strike. If the Stalinist policy had been accepted in 1936, strike-bound ships on the west coast would have been discharged of bananas, corn, wheat, etc. And after that, machinery and even steel rails in the cargoes would have been declared "perishable" and a big cry made by the boss that the unions were not living up to their agreement. As it was, a high-pressure campaign was launched in conjunction with the "perishable cargo" issue to get ships discharged so as to carry "relief" to the peoples of Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands. But west coast maritime workers rejected all this boss-inspired propaganda as an attempt to break the strike. The unions won in 1937 because they stood firm for a solid strike until their basic demands were granted. That was nearly ten years ago. The memories of the 1934 strike struggle were still fresh in the minds of the west coast longshoremen and seamen. It was militant strike tactics that won those battles in '34 and '36-7. But in this year 1946 the Stalinists have improvised "new" and "improved" methods. By means of a propaganda broadside they propose to win a "strike" which allows 75 per cent of the ships to sail.

On The Railroads By C. Gustafson



After a lifetime of railroad service, W. W. Blaine, 69 year old engineer, faces a charge of manslaughter. It was Blaine who was at the throttle of the Burlington Road's Exposition Flyer on the fateful day of April 25, when it crashed into the rear end of the preceding Advance Flyer which had made an emergency stop at Naperville, Illinois. The following night in the switch shanty we were looking at the pictures of the demolished coaches where 45 persons had met their death. My 4 man remarked, "That engineer will have an awful lot of questions to answer, and I'm willing to bet he hasn't the faintest idea how it happened." One of the older heads cut in, "I can picture how that wreck happened. The two trains leave Chicago running side by side. Near Naperville the tracks converge. The faster Advance Flyer is out ahead. When the Exposition Flyer is fairly close behind, the engineer is accustomed to getting some warning signals till the Advance gives enough to give the following train a clear indication. This time, instead of getting a 'clear board' as he had expected, it was red. By the time the engineer applied the air, it was too late. At 85 miles per hour it didn't take long to get into the rear end of the stopped train." The 4 man joined in again in the familiar vein of the younger 'rails': "I can't see why these old guys don't take the pension. Why, look at Jim Burke and some of the other 'hog heads' running passenger out of here. They are so old and feeble they can hardly climb up into the cab. If they haven't got it made now, they never will." We then mentioned the ages of the pilots in the air forces during the war. "You know," he said, "there they wanted kids in their early

twenties, because they are more alert, and their reflexes are quicker. Yet, we have men in their sixties running these streamliners, with a couple of hundred passengers depending on them for their safety." The 'old head' came back doggedly, "Still, if the facts really came out, you'd find in most of these wrecks that the main cause is worn equipment, in need of repairs and operated at too fast a schedule for the system of signals on the line. Would this wreck have been prevented had a younger man been at the throttle instead of one aged 69?" Can anyone operate a high speed train safely over a system that had its signals laid out for much slower movements? Do you remember that smashup on the Great Northern near Michigan, North Dakota, where so many were killed and hurt? Why they didn't even have any block signals on that piece of track. The trains operated by guess and, by golly, 'til that wreck happened. "It's like driving a car down a 30 mile an hour boulevard at 80 miles per. You're all right as long as the signals are with you or until someone pulls out in front of you." The yardmaster stuck his head in the door, and wanted to know when we were going to start work. As the 'old head' got up from the bench, he went on, "You mentioned Jim Burke. Did you know that his wife had a long and costly illness before she died? Or that he has been supporting his daughter and her three children since her husband was killed in the war? He can't afford to retire." He picked up his lantern and mitts, and as he started for the door, he directed a parting shot at the rest of us. "I know you young fellows want every one to retire as soon as he hits 65, so you can gain some seniority. Well, what you'd better do is to fight for a better pension plan, one high enough to make it possible for us all to afford to retire when we are eligible."

Ranks Cheer Strike Deadline Announcement At CIO Maritime Conference On West Coast

Butter-Hungry Thousands Wait Hours In Vain By C. Blake

PHILADELPHIA, May 9—An army of 6,000 butter-hungry housewives and shoppers were deceived and turned down after waiting more than six hours in lines that stretched for blocks about the Reading Terminal Market where they had hoped to obtain allotments of butter at OPA and not black market prices. Through exaggerated publicity in the local press, 10,000 housewives spent carfars and came from all sections of the city and suburbs, including Camden, N.J., expecting to be able to obtain at least one of the publicized "12,000 lbs. of butter." After waiting for hours in the longest line this city has seen, three out of every five were turned down because the N. J. Egg Producers Cooperative put only 4,000 lbs. for sale. For the past few months this city has seen very little butter on its open markets. The farmers in the Great Lakes District halted shipments here when they discovered that the greatest portion of butter shipped was being sold on the black market. Today's turn-out was a good example of what the local population would do in order to obtain butter on the open market and break the local black market. However, this first attempt by the N. J. Farmers Cooperative has failed because they had so little to put on the open market. Disgust at the way they had been deceived was evident from conversations on the line. "I come home from a day of waiting in lines with my hands empty and haven't even the strength to feed my family," was the complaint of one mother. "Things were even better during the war. Lines were never as long and we weren't duped into believing that there's enough of scarce articles for everyone." "Rationing would be better than this," cried another woman. Many complained of having spent 20 cents carfare in the hope of having the first pound of butter on the family table in months, only to be deceived into wasting a day waiting in a line that offered them nothing. Just one week ago 1,500 pounds of butter, plus other scarce foods were dumped from a ship in this city and burned, not by accident but by directives of the government. The same local press which suppressed this story, published in the May 11 Militant, helped to put over this fraud on the housewives.

Police Aid Scabs



State troopers attack striking workers in an attempt to get scabs through a picketline of the CIO United Electrical Radio & Machine Workers at the Pratt & Whitney plant in West Hartford, Conn. The union demanded that the legislature condemn Governor Raymond E. Baldwin for using troopers as strikebreakers.

Pioneer Publishers Mark 15th Anniversary In May

Pioneer Publishers this month celebrates the 15th anniversary of its establishment as an organization devoted to publishing literature on socialism and the labor movement. It is timely to recall the beginnings and the growth of this organization which has contributed so much to spreading the ideas of the world Trotskyist movement. Fifteen years ago, in the midst of the depression, the Communist League of America—the pioneer organization of American Trotskyism and forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party—was embarking on a party expansion program. The Militant for February 15, 1931, published a resolution adopted by the National Committee of the CLA calling for the raising of a \$2,000 fund to carry through a program of expanded activities. The fund was to be used, among other things, to establish The Militant on a regular weekly basis, to publish a theoretical magazine, and to organize a publishing company which will insure the regular and systematic publication of Marxist classics at a price which will put them within the reach of workers. In the following issue of The Militant, the present National Secretary of the SWP, James P. Cannon, hailed this decision "to establish a publishing concern which will expand and systematize our publishing activity" and wrote that "if we work wisely and harmoniously the plan will surely be realized in life." The plan was "realized in life" in short order. The May 1, 1931 issue of The Militant announced: "We have now accomplished the first step in bringing the program of expansion forward. Pioneer Publishers has been launched... and a large advertisement was carried on 'THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION' by Leon Trotsky—the first book to be published by Pioneer Publishers." GREETED BY TROTSKY This same issue quoted from a letter from Leon Trotsky dated April 4, in which he greeted the expansion program and stated: "The educational work which you are carrying on and which you are about to extend further, appears to me to be excellent. We cannot seriously approach the masses without steeling our cadres theoretically in the process. For my own part, I shall do everything to come to the assistance of your publishing program in its development." In the fifteen years since these beginnings, Pioneer Publishers has established a record of rapid growth and notable achievements. Most important in the list of Pioneer publications are 26 works by Leon Trotsky—10 books and 16 pamphlets. Among these are two of Pioneer's most recent publications—The First Five Years of the Communist International and The Revolution Betrayed. Many of these works by Trotsky have for a long time been out of print, and Pioneer has now embarked on a program of reprinting these as rapidly as possible. The Permanent Revolution, the first book to be issued by Pioneer Publishers, 15 years ago, is in process of production and will be available in several months. In addition to the works of Leon Trotsky, Pioneer has published seven other books and some thirty to forty pamphlets on socialism and the American labor movement. Among the books are The History of American Trotskyism and Struggle for a Proletarian Party, by James P. Cannon. In the long list of pamphlets are such popular items as Socialism on Trial by James P. Cannon (the official court record of the famous Minneapolis Labor Trial), American Workers Need a Labor Party, by Joseph Hansen, and A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow by Charles Jackson. Pioneer Publishers estimates that it has published some 300,000 pieces of literature in the fifteen years of its existence—300,000 pieces of literature each one of which brings the ideas and program of authentic Marxism to the American workers and the workers of the entire world. It is fitting that Pioneer should mark its 15th anniversary by the publication this week of the basic programmatic document of the world Trotskyist movement—The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International. This is the famous "Transitional Program," which was adopted at its Founding Conference in 1938 and has just been officially reaffirmed by the April 1946 International Conference of the Fourth International.

NATALIA TROTSKY'S ATTORNEY DEMANDS TO QUESTION HESS

(Continued from Page 1) ly known as the GPU (the Russian Secret police) includes experts in the art of frame-up. We know that the NKVD can easily forge documents which they deem necessary for their purposes. While we support the request for an examination of the defendants and of any documents produced by the Russian prosecutors, we insist that we be given the right to cross-examine any witness who testifies on this question and to examine any documents that might be produced by the Russians in support of their frame-up. Mrs. Trotsky has authorized me to represent her at the trials and to examine and cross-examine any witness. I realize that the overwhelming probability is that the Stalinist prosecutors and judges will object strenuously to any proposed examination of the witnesses on the subject of their alleged relationship with Leon Trotsky. Once more would the Moscow trials be shown to be frame-ups. I submit, however, that it is your duty to go ahead with such an examination in spite of the objections of the Russians. Should you decide to proceed with the examination, please let me know and I shall leave for Nuremberg immediately.

Food Profiteers, Speculators Exploit World Wide Starvation

(Continued from Page 1) of the starving have risen to 21 million tons, almost one-third of the promised shipments have not been sent, and prospective shipments are falling off each week in a swift decline. The deficit in the first week of May, according to Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary of State, meant 330,000,000 loaves of bread, enough for a week's minimum ration for 71,500,000 famine victims. And the shipments continue to fall off just at a time when they are needed most. Blame for grain shortages is placed by the capitalist press and politicians upon the farmers who, they claim, get higher prices for feeding the grain to livestock. But the truth is that the grain speculators are hoarding it for higher prices. The May issue of Fortune states: "In three months a near-record of 341 million bushels (of wheat) had 'disappeared' from the U. S. stockpile." Admitting that only a portion of this had been used for feeding livestock, it indicates the real criminals who traffic in the lives of masses of human beings. "The piffing rises in grain prices that were authorized in March... had virtually no effect on bringing grain to market." In March, while spokesmen for grain profiteers were demanding 25 to 35 cents increase on each bushel of wheat, the Department of Agriculture tried to appease them by boosting the ceilings on wheat by three cents

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By R. Chester (Special to The Militant)

SAN FRANCISCO, May 12 — Representatives of six CIO maritime unions plus the independent Marine Firemen's Union completed a six-day conference yesterday for the avowed purpose of preparing for coming waterfront strikes against the shipowners. Major decisions made by this Stalinist-dominated "convention" were the setting up of an organization named "The Committee for Maritime Unity," and naming June 15 as the date of joint strike action for five of the participating unions. Announcement of the strike deadline was the high point of the sessions. When Joseph Curran, president of the CIO National Maritime Union, announced that they would "hit the bricks" the delegates applauded, shouted and whistled for 20 minutes in a genuine burst of enthusiasm. This demonstration clearly indicated that the maritime workers realize that they will not be able to wring adequate gains from the shipowners without a real fight. Every attempt of the men to negotiate their demands has met with arrogant refusals or stalling tactics by the employers. While the temper of the delegates clearly reflected the willingness of the ranks to enter into serious struggle, the Stalinist CIO leaders indicated that they hoped the mere threat of a nation-wide maritime strike would force a compromise out of the bosses. BRIDGES FEARS STRIKE Harry Bridges, CIO Longshoremen's Union president, indicated this during the third day's session when the projected national strike was being discussed. "My experience in strikes is that they are dangerous things..." he said at one point. Later he added, "if we can reach agreement with these people (the shipowners), if we can compromise our difficulties, there will be no strike." He emphasized his views on this more than once: "I don't like strikes. I am afraid of them, frankly; afraid of them."

NO UNITY OF ACTION

"Our immediate objectives locally will be to go out and regain locals that have been raided by the CIO. And we intend to step out and bring as many new locals as possible into the AFL-Marine Division." The "convention" made no serious attempt to try to achieve unified action with the AFL. Instead of establishing a basis for practical cooperation in the fight against the shipowners, the "convention" first tightened the organization of the CIO unions and then made demagogic appeals to the ranks of the AFL to come over to them and achieve "unity." Only on the last day of the sessions was a letter to AFL unions drafted asking for conferences with them to discuss possible joint action. Delegate Uran of the Marine Firemen posed the danger to the "convention." "What I fear in the maritime industry," he said, "is the outbreak of major jurisdictional war. The smaller jurisdictional beefs that we have hitherto so far, smaller in that sense, are to me a storm signal of what we may have but which I hope we shall not have. My position is that I shall be opposed to any jurisdictional beefs on the part of any union in the maritime industry. I do not want to see any union cut to pieces in such a war." His speech was met with stony silence. Pending ratification of the program by referendum vote of the participating unions, the Joint Strike Coordinating Committee will act as executive organ of the new organization. Bridges and Curran were elected co-chairmen and Eugene Burke of the Marine Cooks as honorary chairman. Louis Goldblatt of the ILWU was elected executive secretary.

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NEW YORK CHELSEA Workers' Center SOCIAL Saturday, May 25 130 West 23 St. Refreshments, Dancing