

THE MILITANT

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New Arms Program And the Inflation

— See Page 3 —

U. S. Rulers Plan To Use Germany As a War Base

War incitements are pouring out in a violent flood from the White House, State Department, the national military establishment and Congress.

Wall Street imperialism's "cold war" against Russia has flared up on another battlefield — Germany. The mounting conflict between the western powers and the Kremlin has led to an open split in the Allied Control Council.

At the same time, U.S. intervention in Italy and Greece has become more brazen and aggressive. Washington, working in alliance with the Vatican, is using every device of intimidation and pressure on the Italian people to prevent their voting for Communist-Socialist candidates in the April 18 elections. In Greece, American officers are directing a new offensive of the Monarchist forces in the civil war, including execution on the spot of captured anti-monarchist fighters.

WAR HYSTERIA

At home, the warmongers and militarists are resorting to fantastic propaganda to whip up a war hysteria and push through their program of military regimentation and expansion of the war machine. Their latest attempts to stampede the American people with fear of a Russian "attack" is the weird "red submarines" scare and the cooked-up clamor about "arms shipments" to Russia. The "arms" were about \$450,000 worth of plane parts sent last year under an old lend-lease arrangement and approved by the State and War Departments.

In Germany, the American rulers are putting in effect a program to rehabilitate the capitalist elements, build up military production facilities and convert the American-British-French zones in to a springboard for war.

Plans for setting up western Germany as part of the West European military bastion for the Allied imperialists were drawn

up at a three-power conference in London early in March. As a reply to this, the Russian delegates walked out of the Control Council.

On March 23, the White House announced that plans for the State Department, as a "civilian" agency, "to assume the responsibility for the non-military aspects of the Germany occupation" were scrapped. The Army would continue its military rule, in view of "the present situation," with Lt. Gen. Lucius D. Clay to remain as Military Governor and "Commander-in-Chief of United States forces in Europe."

Immediately thereafter, came further announcements that the denazification and decartelization programs would be virtually abandoned. Both orders came from Clay.

Among the followers of the Nazis previously scheduled for trial and now released are many capitalists. They are going to be given a clean bill of health and lined up as allies in the struggle of "democracy" against "bolshevism."

As the crucial elections approach in Italy, the full pressure of U.S. imperialism, including veiled threats of armed intervention, is being brought to bear on the Italian people. The U.S. government has declared it will cut off all economic aid to hungry Italy if the Stalinists win the elections. At the same time, the Italians are being offered a bribe in the form of a promise to restore Trieste and some African colonies to Italy.

Congress is speeding up action on the Marshall Plan bill, now including nearly a half billion dollars in more military aid to the dictatorships in Greece, Turkey and China. But the Administration isn't waiting for formal passage. An Associated Press dis-

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LABOR FACES DEADLY PERIL OF GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION

Paul Dollinger

April 2, 1912 — March 25, 1948

CHICAGO, March 27. — Memorial services for Comrade Paul Dollinger, beloved Trotskyist militant, were held here this evening by the Socialist Workers Party in accord with his request for ceremonies befitting a revolutionary son of the working class. Comrade Dollinger died of cancer in Milwaukee on March 23 at the age of 35. The services at the Adanmas Funeral Home, 4710 Northwestern Ave., were attended by Paul's fellow-workers in the Chicago labor movement as well as numerous party comrades.

Comrade Dollinger, or "Kujie" as he was familiarly called, participated in the Trotskyist movement from early youth since 1931. He was noted both for his tireless work in building SWP branches in different sections of the country and as an outstanding unionist. Chicago Local Organizer Manuel Terbovich gave an account of Paul's many-sided activities as an organizer in the unemployed movement of the early Thirties and later as organizer for the AFL Upholsterers Union and a union militant in the Chicago UAW-CIO. In New York City, Buffalo, Baltimore, Chicago, and Milwaukee, Paul brought many workers into the ranks of his party.

"In his own person, in his purposeful life, Paul gave us a convincing answer to those who doubt or deny the capacities of the workers," said William Warde, National Educational Director of the SWP. "He provided living proof of what one determined youth, one revolutionary American worker can be and do."

"Multiply the Pauls, extend their activities, organize their immeasurable strength—and the old world now rotting in its foundations will not look so imposing, or impregnable, and the new world will come within the grasp of the working people. That is why his life was so valuable, creative, inspiring. He taught how a worker can stand up against all the enemies of mankind and, with head held high in defiance of the snivelling skeptics, reaffirm in action and achievement his faith in the invincible power of the socialist cause."

In concluding the services, Comrade Arne Swaback paid tribute to Paul's record as a party-builder. "The revolutionary party is the indispensable instrument for liberating labor from capitalism and establishing socialism. The invaluable contribution of comrades like Paul consists in the creation of that political instrument."

"Paul represented the best qualities of all those activists who have carried our movement on their shoulders through difficult years. We say farewell to him, not with any despair which would be so alien to his spirit, but with pride that he fought in our ranks."

Messages were read from many SWP branches by Michael Bartell, Chicago Local Chairman. The services closed with singing of The Internationale.

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PAUL DOLLINGER

UN Farce On Palestine



Warren Austin, chief U. S. delegate to the United Nations, (r.) listens as other representatives discuss the American decision to dump the Palestine partition scheme. British delegate Alexander Cadogan is at his left. Federated Pictures

N. Y. COPS BRUTALLY CLUB PICKETS AT STOCK EXCHANGE

The New York police started one of the most savage attacks in local labor history on pickets at the Stock Exchange on March 30. Heads were smashed and faces beaten in by club-swinging cops, who went after all pickets in sight. So brutally did the police proceed with their clubbing that one paper reported that the police struck at everyone who moved. A plain clothes detective who was severely beaten about the head complained at the hospital that the police had mistaken aim for a picket.

Women, not on the picket line, were seized by the blood-maddened cops and beaten to the pavement. Maggie Brady, 19, a page girl at the Curb Exchange told reporters, "They pushed me right into where all the fighting was going on. The cops were swinging all over the place and they hit me with a club on the head and I fell down. I couldn't seem to get myself together, my head was aching so. I think I was on the ground 15 or 20 minutes, and then they dragged me into the police wagon."

Police tried to bust up the picket lines and arrested a girl picket. As soon as this happened a group of AFL seamen supporting the picket line rushed past the cops and sat down on the pavement before the Stock Exchange entrance. At this point the police started their general assault. Pickets sitting and lying defenseless on the ground were clubbed without mercy.

MANY INJURIES

After exhausting themselves in a half-hour of savage clubbing the police arrested 45 pickets, many of them needing first aid treatment. One picket had a broken arm, another a fractured

collarbone, many others sustained injuries.

Wall Street's nerve centers — the Stock Exchange and Curb Exchange — were struck March 29 by the AFL United Financial Employees, representing 1,100 workers. The UFE contract expired March 1 and in 28 days of negotiations the millionaire representatives of Wall Street refused to grant a satisfactory renewal. The strikers demand the union shop, a pay increase of \$9 for those earning \$40 and less per week, and a \$15 increase for those earning more than \$40.

This is the first strike on the Stock Exchange since it was founded. The young white collar workers' union is receiving magnificent support from the AFL Seafarers Union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific. These maritime unions have not only put their offices and facilities at the disposal of the UFE, but have mobilized their membership for picket duty.

The Maritime unions are providing a good example for the whole labor movement. If all the unions show their solidarity in the same militant fashion, with the striking Wall Street workers, the police brutality will be stopped and even the purse-proud Wall Street magnates will be forced to yield to union demands.

Such a union victory would be a shot in the arm for the morale of the whole labor movement. It would also be a good springboard for the unions to organize the tens of thousands of white collar workers in New York's financial centers.

CIO and AFL Heads Follow Do-Nothing Policy in Crisis

By Art Preis

Government by Taft-Hartley injunction threatens the American labor movement with the greatest menace in decades — although the CIO and AFL

leaders are lost in a fog of indifference, disunity and inaction.

The ugly face of the Slave Labor Law has been revealed in the sweeping strikebreaking injunction issued by a federal court on March 27 against the AFL International Typographical Union and its officers.

Machinery for invoking similar injunctions against the striking soft coal miners and CIO meat packing workers has been set in motion by Truman.

Far-reaching precedents that can and will be used against the entire union movement have been established in the ITU case.

DRASTIC RULINGS
In language that covered every conceivable action of the ITU by deed or word, Federal Judge Luther M. Swygert ruled in effect that:

1. ITU and its local unions cannot strike or take any other form of action to enforce demands which might be in violation of the Taft-Hartley Act, even though these are the subject of an unresolved dispute before the National Labor Relations Board.

2. The ITU and its officers may give no aid or encouragement in any form to local unions on strike for demands that might

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WARM RESPONSE

The Socialist Workers Party canvassers have received a uniformly warm response from the workers. People are thinking and talking politics, today, and are eager to meet and discuss their problems with others. Despite attempts of the Democratic and Republican ward-healers to intimidate the voters, particularly in Negro areas, SWP representatives have met many people who wanted to know why they haven't been around sooner.

Yesterday, one of the SWP canvassers approached two CIO Electrical Union members and asked them to sign. After learning about the SWP's candidate and program, they signed and asked why their union didn't put up candidates like these, instead of supporting the Democrats and Republicans.

Although SWP representatives have not been pressing for militant subs, because of the short time available for getting the necessary signatures, many people have bought copies of the paper, and a number have subscribed. Plans are being made to go back into these areas after the petition campaign is over, and sell subs.

Those wishing to participate in the campaign or desiring more information are urged to write Irene LeCompte, in care of the Militant Labor Forum, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Philadelphia 23, Pa.



WOODRUFF RANDOLPH

Packinghouse Workers Stand Firm in Strike

By Barbara Bruce

SOUTH ST. PAUL, Minn., March 31. — With picket lines solid, members of the CIO Packinghouse Workers have successfully blocked every attempt of company officials in the South St. Paul area to break the 2-week-old meat packing strike. The union, representing workers at Armour, Swift and Cudahy, have turned a series of company maneuvers into an attack on the anti-union program of the big meat packers. A motor brigade of office employees was turned back at the Armour plant yesterday when 200 pickets held their ground. This defeated the most recent attempt of packers to open the picket lines.

Failing in their efforts to bring office workers into the struck plants, managers of the three packing companies appealed to Governor Luther Youngdahl to call out the National Guard to enforce restraining orders issued in Dakota County to bar picketing at plant entrances. But the packers' appeal was turned down with a statement from the Governor that the Guard "is not a law enforcement body."

An offer was made by the union to let office personnel go through the picket lines on the following conditions:

1. That office employees be allowed to leave the plants at night and not sleep on the premises;

2. That plant foremen, who have been living in the plants since the strike started March 18, discontinue the practice and leave the premises daily.

Spokesmen for the packing companies rejected the union's offer, stating they were "not interested."

Although the packing companies have accused the union of lawlessness, coercion and violence, picketing has been peaceful since the strike began. Restraining orders have been served on union representatives of locals at Armour, Swift and Cudahy and two independent companies, Superior and Bartusch. However, workers at Bartusch and Superior have gone back to work with a 12-cent an hour increase and an agreement by the two independent packers that they will engage in "genuine collective bargaining" to negotiate the difference between the 12 cents and the union's demand for a 29-cent hourly wage increase.

In a series of daily radio broadcasts over station WMIN, entitled "On the Picket Line," CIO representatives are presenting the union's program in the strike. Milton Siegel, UPWA Field Representative in District 2, is chief spokesman for the union. In his March 26 broadcast, he pointed out that it is the packinghouse workers who, under dangerous and unhealthy conditions, supply the nation with meat.

"It works out however," Siegel stated, "that certain officials of the packing trusts can then sit in soft, swivel chairs with expensive rugs under their feet and spend their time working out ways and

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SUPPORT OF TRAINMEN
Although pickets were ordered to move off railroad property, a picket sign extended by a cane fishing pole over the railroad tracks is being honored by engine crews on a strike-bound switch engine in the Armour yard. H.R. Halvorson, Great Western superintendent, announced last Saturday that the trainmen, members of the railroad brotherhoods, "have strong respect for union organization and will not cross picket lines." Engine crews have been reporting for each shift, sitting in the cab, and leaving at the end of their eight hours. The engine has been tied up since the first day of the strike, when company officials attempted to haul some cars of meat from the plant.

GPU Concocts New Forgery to Smear Leon Trotsky

By George Breitman

Stalin's GPU murder machine, which could not destroy the stainless revolutionary reputation of Leon Trotsky and the Fourth International even though it resorted to the Moscow Trial frame-ups and the assassination of Trotsky, last week launched a new frame-up in the form of a crude forgery called "Trotsky's secret political testament."

The purpose of this forged document, every line of which is covered with the political fingerprints of the GPU, is to spread the slander that in the final months of his life the great Marxist leader renounced "all the ideas and all the conceptions which he had formerly held." It seeks to discredit the world Trotskyist movement, which represents the most serious threat within the working class to the

domination of Stalinism; and thus to prevent the adherence to the Fourth International of leftward moving groups formerly belonging to the Social Democracy, especially in France and Italy.

This crude forgery, while written by the GPU, was naturally not released in the name or in the official press of the Stalinists, because that would have destroyed its effectiveness. Instead, it was planted in the weekly France Dimanche in Paris and, according to this paper, also in the Swiss Die Wochen Zeitung. France Dimanche boasts of its "customary objectivity" in the article containing the alleged "testament," but as seen below, this is not the first time it has been hired by the GPU for its dirty work.

"Thanks to an incredible combination of circumstances," the March 21 leading article in this

paper begins, "the political testament which Leon Trotsky wrote just before he was assassinated, has arrived in Europe. . . This document, so extraordinary in every respect, has remained secret for eight years. It was believed to have been destroyed. It was written by Leon Trotsky on May 20, 1940 at the time when Hitler was winning the battle of France."

Why did it remain secret? Who believed it to have been destroyed? The people who never heard of its existence, or the people who had it and therefore knew it wasn't destroyed? These are questions never answered in the article.

OBTAINED FROM WHOM?

"Toward the end of July 1940 a Soviet agent succeeded in securing a copy of the testament which Trotsky had entrusted to one of his intimate friends and

the document was transmitted to Moscow." From whom did France Dimanche obtain this information? The only possible source was the GPU itself. This is a convenient preparation for a possible future "confirmation" of the frame-up by the Kremlin itself. And again—who was this un-named "intimate friend"?

"On July 20 Trotsky was assassinated by one of his collaborators, Jacques Mornard." That is the signature of Stalin himself. THE WHOLE WORLD NOW KNOWS THAT MORNARD (ALIAS "FRANK JACSON"), FAR FROM BEING A COLLABORATOR OF TROTSKY, WAS AN AGENT ACTING UNDER THE ORDERS OF THE GPU.

Only last year this fact was confirmed by Louis F. Budenz, former managing editor of the New York Daily Worker, who admitted in his book, This Is My

Story, that he had worked with the GPU in the preparations for devising an entry for "Jacson" into the Trotsky household in 1940. (Incidentally, "Jacson" murdered Trotsky on August 20, not July 20.)

"Three copies of the testament remained in the hands of a personal friend of Trotsky's. . . Victor Serge. . . It is one of his (Serge's) friends to whom he had entrusted one of the copies, who has just brought it to Europe."

Thus we come to the one and only name used to corroborate the incredible history of this "testament." Serge died a few months ago, and so cannot defend himself from the GPU fabrication. There are sufficient facts known, however, to rip the fabrication to shreds.

Far from being a personal friend of Trotsky's, Serge was a political antagonist and was so designated in all of Trotsky's

many references to him during the last years of his life. Why should Trotsky entrust his last testament (in three copies) to such a man and not to Trotsky's loyal wife or his trust-worthy political collaborators? And what was the name of Serge's friend who brought it to Europe?

MOREOVER, SERGE DID NOT ARRIVE IN MEXICO UNTIL AFTER TROTSKY'S ASSASSINATION — IN SEPTEMBER, 1941. HOW COULD TROTSKY HAVE GIVEN HIM HIS "TESTAMENT"?

The GPU authors of the article naturally do not provide answers to these questions, nor to the even more numerous ones raised by the text of the alleged document itself.

WHY A SECRET?

Why, for example, should Trotsky, the most prolific poli-

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Packing Workers Hold Firm Against Strikebreaking

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means by which they may further rob the public, and prepare radio speeches in which they deliberately cloud up and confuse the issues."

The first of the union radio programs dealt mainly with Swift and Company, since A. I. G. Valentine, Swift general manager in South St. Paul, made an attack on the union in a broadcast last week. In answer to Valentine's charges of Communism, Siegel said:

DIVIDE AND RULE

"Reference has been made that 40% of the Swift employees, represented by a company union and an AFL union, accepted a 9-cent an hour wage increase without the threat of a strike. The fact remains that 60% of the Swift employees are out on the picket line. Where is this so-called democracy that Mr. Valentine inferred in his broadcast and his talk about Communist tactics? The old company game of divide and rule reeks of these tactics."

"And as long as we're on the subject of Communism, let's see. We always thought that Mr. Valentine was a meat packer, but it seems that since the strike he has gone into the fish business in order to drag out the old red herring. Not being able to present a convincing argument against his employees who are out on strike,

he attempts to picture a sinister, dark plot, being provoked by some foreign agents. The packinghouse workers who are fighting on the picket line for a decent living for themselves and their families will not be taken in by this age-old bunk."

The "Armour Formula" was the subject of the union broadcast on March 29. "Armour and Company is embarrassed about its high profits and low wages," Siegel stated. "If it were just a question of debating the issue of high profits and low wages, the company knows full well that the public would soon begin to see the gross inequality that has developed — if the waters were not muddied by other issues. Armour is attempting to save itself from public embarrassment by seizing upon a secondary issue — a little piece of paper called an injunction. This is just a small part of the Armour Formula."

"FORMULA" IN ACTION

Other aspects of the Armour Formula were brought into play in Tifton, Georgia, where 18 UPWA members were tear-gassed; in Sioux City, Iowa, where Armour truck drivers are under instructions to drive through the picket line in second gear at 35 miles per hour; in West Fargo, N. D., where the superintendent of the Armour plant admitted on the witness stand that he "knew of no occasion when Armour's re-

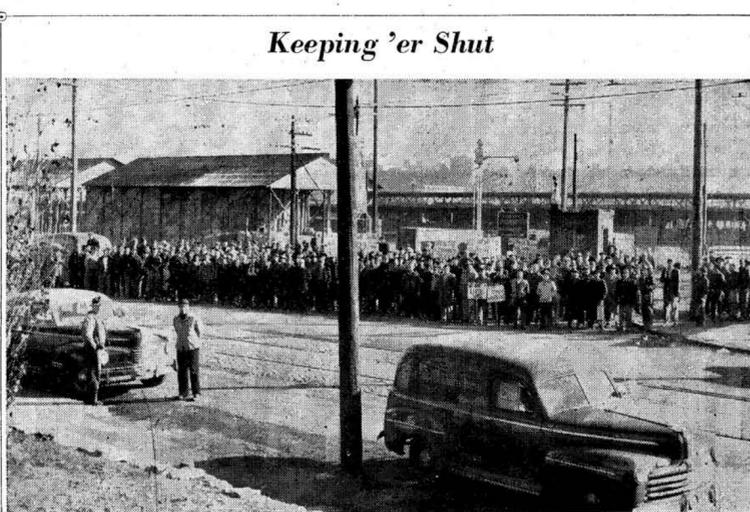
quest for deputization of Armour management employees was denied by the sheriff of Cass County."

Testimony was taken at a hearing in West Fargo when Local 73, was hauled into court last week to show cause why an injunction should not be issued against the union. During the hearing, the union introduced as evidence an Armour blackjacket — a 12-inch piece of solid copper cable wrapped with a thin layer of friction tape — and a "walking stick" used for herding livestock. Witnesses testified that these weapons are carried by Armour deputies, ready for action against the pickets.

In South St. Paul, packing company officials have let loose a barrage of criticism of city, county and state officials for having failed to open up union picket lines. Dakota County Sheriff Norman Dieter has been accused of not "deputizing enough persons to enable him to perform his duty." Dieter has subsequently requested the Dakota County Board of Commissioners to authorize pay for additional deputies to enforce the restraining order against pickets at Armour and Swift plants.

STRIKERS' RELIEF

Applications for relief for packinghouse strikers are pouring into the Ramsey County and Dakota County welfare boards.



The picket line at Armour's plant in South St. Paul.

While refusing to pay their employees the week's wages that are still due them, Swift and Company has reached an agreement with welfare agencies by which strikers who are in need of aid can collect a portion of their paychecks at an office of the company

set up in the St. Paul Hotel. Last weekend, Glenn Chinander, UPWA field representative, in a telegram to Swift and Armour officials, requested that the locked-in foremen be allowed to leave the plants to spend Easter with their families. "These men

are being denied their legal moral and religious rights as individuals in being required to remain in the plants 24 hours a day," the telegram stated. But the request was rejected by company officials as "an insidious piece of propaganda."

Keeping 'er Shut

Events on the International Scene

By Paul G. Stevens

Indomitable Spirit of German Trotskyism

This week No. 4 of the mimeographed journal *Unser Weg*, organ of the Fourth International in Germany, reached our desk. Published "somewhere in the former Reich," the rich contents of this January 1948 number are testimony to the intense intellectual life of the German Trotskyists, who are rebuilding their organization against almost unbelievable material handicaps. Within its meagre 14 pages, *Unser Weg* manages to include an excellent analysis of "Dollar Diplomacy," a rounded study of the "Problems of the New Revolutionary Party in Germany," a keen criticism of the policy of the CP, SP and other parties toward the immediate questions confronting the German workers.

An especially inspiring example of the indomitable spirit of these Trotskyist fighters, who have gone through the hell of Hitler's concentration camps and today operate under the very noses of Stalin's murderous GPU, is an editorial entitled, "Through Victory and Defeat — On To The Fourth International." We quote the editorial in full:

"For a number of years the political leaders of the capitalists have been announcing triumphantly the decline of the political labor movement. They blare their slogan about the bankruptcy of Marxism, and attempt to lend it the appearance of a reasoned argument. The capitalists succeeded in putting up a barrier against the powerful proletarian mass movement following the first world war, which reached its peak with the victorious Russian Revolution. More than that, they succeeded in smashing the Marxist and Communist movement in the capitalist countries as an organized force; in unleashing a second, even vaster and more terrible world war; in concluding this war with an imperialist peace after stifling the beginnings of a mass movement for proletarian democracy."

"This successful capitalist reaction began with Italian fascism and was later extended by German Nazism. The most conscious banner-bearers of the idea of socialism were subjected to the most brutal persecution. Many once devoted fighters in the working class struggle have gone astray in their aims and seek their salvation in the enterprises of the reactionary victors as tools of a fraudulent imperialist democracy. Relatively extensive and deep knowledge, great courage and strong determination is required to uphold the idea of irreconcilable class struggle in spite of all the defeats, catastrophes and betrayals.

"In this situation knowledge of the past history of social struggles, and of the labor movement especially, is particularly valuable.

"Looking into the past teaches us that the ruling classes celebrated many a victory over the toiling masses, but that after every reactionary triumph the workers have arisen more mightily and more powerfully than ever before. Every time the proletariat formed its ranks anew.

Every time, on an historically higher basis.

"The defeats of the spontaneous movements of the machine-wreckers were followed by the revolutions of 1918. The lesson of the impossibility of these bourgeois democratic revolutions to go through to the end led to the creation of the First International. The crushing of the Paris Commune, which showed the inadequacy of the First International, was followed by the creation of the great German labor movement as the core of the Second International. After the failure of the Russian social-revolutionary (Narodnik) movement, came the first uprising of the Russian proletariat in 1905. It showed that the period of revolutions was far from ended.

"In this period the Russian proletariat developed new forms of struggle adapted to the new epoch of imperialism. These were: first, the Bolshevik party; second, the mass strike and third, the Soviets.

"This first big offensive of the Twentieth Century was beaten down by the counter-revolution. The defeat and the failure of the parties of the Second International to absorb the lessons of 1905 led to their internal disintegration and to the first imperialist world war. But this war ended in the first successful proletarian revolution in Russia in 1917, which stirred into action the oppressed of the entire world.

"The defeats of the labor movement in the period between the two world wars led to the isolation and degeneration of the first workers' state, to the victory of Fascism and to the Second World War. And out of this deep defeat there arises now, not merely as a further development, but as the highest development of the combat organization of Marxism — the Fourth International as the organizer of the proletarian world revolution. It is no longer a sum of national parties, but the world party of the victory of the proletariat.

"From this past we who fight under the Fourth International draw courage for the heavy tasks of the present, and our absolute certainty of victory in the future. The lessons of the past are the basis and the tools of our present activity. They give us the conviction that our cadres in the Fourth International are a link in the historic process of the struggle for socialism, which must in the end lead to the realization of the victory of the working class, in spite of all the defeats and betrayals. This victory will decide once and for all the alternative 'Socialism or barbarism' and smash all the fond hopes of the capitalists for the bankruptcy of Marxism."

READ

Fourth International

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

- AKRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 7 to 9 p. m.; Branch meeting Sun. 8 p. m.; Socialist Youth Club meeting Sun. 3 p. m.
- BOSTON—70 Stuart St., Sat., 1:30 p. m., Tues., 7:30-9:30 p. m.
- BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 628 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MADison 3389, Every afternoon except Sun.
- CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Phone DEARborn 4787, Daily except Sun., 11 a. m.-5 p. m. Library, bookstore.
- CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m.; Book Store, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).
- DETROIT—6108 Livewood Ave. Phone TY 7-8267, Mon. through Sat., 12:30 p. m. FLINT—215 E. Ninth St., Daily 7:30 p. m. Open house, Sat. eve. Forum, Sun. eve.
- LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., 3165 W. First Blvd. Phone Richmond 4644, Daily, 12:30 p. m.
- SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Room 214.
- WATTS—Militant, 1720 E. 97th St.
- LYNN (Mass.)—4 Central St., Rm. 11, Sat. 1:30 p. m. Discussion, Tues., 7:30 p. m.
- MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone Broadway 9645.
- MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781, Daily except Sun., 10 a. m.-6 p. m. Library, bookstore.
- NEW BRITAIN (Conn.)—Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p. m. Militant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).
- NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8-10:30 p. m.
- NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone HIGHLand 3-2774, Reading room, week nights, 7-10 p. m.
- NEW YORK CITY (Que.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR 5-8149.
- EAST SIDE—257 E. Houston St. 1st fl. Phone HARLEM 103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23 Phone MO. 2-1866, Open discussion, Thurs., 8 p. m.
- BROOKLYN—1634 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LI 7-9101.
- BROOKLYN—435 Fulton St. Phone CH 2-7433.
- CHELSEA—139 W. 23rd St. Phone CH 2-9434.
- OAKLAND (Cal.)—Write P. O. Box 1351, Oakland 4.
- PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone STEVENSON 4-5820, Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.
- PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Open meetings, 1st & 3rd Sun., 8:30 p. m. Marxist Study Class, Thurs., 7-9 p. m.
- SAN DIEGO (Cal.)—For information write P. O. Box 857.
- SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone SF 6-0410, Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m.
- SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., South & Washington, Phone Main 9278, Mon. through Sat., 12:30 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.
- ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312, Forum, Thurs., 7:30-10 p. m.
- ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St. Phone GARfield 1157, Open daily. Bookstore, Forum, 3rd Sun. every month, 3:30 p. m.
- TACOMA (Wash.)—Write P. O. Box 1079, Meeting, Wed., 8 p. m., Odd Fellow Hall, 6th & Fawcett.
- TOLEDO—113 St. Clair St., 2nd fl. Open daily.
- YOUNGSTOWN—315 E. Federal St., Phone 302, Phone 3-1155, Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p. m.

GPU Concocts New Forgery to Smear Leon Trotsky

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tical writer of modern times, have confined his change in opinion to a secret document, whose authenticity would certainly be questioned — to counterbalance the hundreds he had printed on behalf of a contrary view?

Unfortunately for the GPU authors of this clumsy forgery, the Fourth International, on the very day that this "testament" is supposed to have been written, was holding an international Emergency Conference, "somewhere in the Western Hemisphere" (May 19-26, 1940), one of whose main actions was the adoption of a Manifesto on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution (Pioneer Publishers), which reaffirmed the Marxist program in the most decisive manner. The author of this Manifesto was none other than Trotsky himself!

Furthermore, why in the entire "testament" is there not a single reference to the Fourth International, to the building of which Trotsky devoted the last 17 years of his life, and why does the only reference to a new revolutionary international carry the implication that it wasn't even formed?

Why, if Trotsky changed the ideas of a lifetime on May 20, did he continue—in the scores of articles he wrote and interviews he held from then until the day of his death three months later—to reaffirm with his characteristic vigor all of the ideas which he had allegedly "secretly" repudiated? This single discrepancy is sufficient proof that the so-called "testament" is nothing but a forgery of the GPU.

The so-called "testament" states that Trotsky expects to be killed by Stalin because Stalin "judges a Russo-German war as inevitable." Notice how neatly that fits into the Kremlin lie that Trotsky was an agent of Hitler: Stalin supposedly seeks to murder Trotsky not because the latter is the last great representative of the Bolshevik leadership, but because a Russo-German war is inevitable (and therefore imposes on Stalin the need to eliminate all Hitlerite agents.)

ACTUALLY, OF COURSE, WHILE TROTSKY PREDICTED A RUSSO-GERMAN WAR, AND WARNED THE SOVIET UNION TO PREPARE FOR IT, STALIN AT THIS TIME WAS STILL CUDDLING UP TO HITLER IN THE ILLUSION THAT THE HITLER-STALIN PACT GUARANTEED PEACE.

The forgery then has Trotsky describe his life-long devotion to the working class ("I found myself as if fascinated by the splendor of the magnificent conception limned by Marx and Engels") and his hope that the working class would emancipate both itself and the whole of humanity.

the document states, did not fulfill this hope.

The conception flies in the face of everything Trotsky ever actually wrote or said. Ever since the beginning of the degeneration of the Soviet Union under Stalin, Trotsky fought against those who designated the Stalinist bureaucracy as a new "ruling class." Trotsky demonstrated the erroneousness of this designation, showing that the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia was not a ruling class, but a bureaucratic clique without solid foundations, which was able to seize

of the proletarian revolution were set in motion primarily in time of war when the repressive machine of the capitalist state found itself weakened by blood-letting and by economic difficulties and was no longer in a condition to resist the revolutionary forces." The war had entered its second phase, and "it is possible to expect that in a little while Soviet Russia and the United States will become involved in it."

"The working class of the Soviet Union ought to profit from this war in order to open up fierce hostilities against Stalin's Bonapartist bureaucracy. We ought to exert here the same furious energy that Lenin showed in opposing himself to Kerensky during the First World War... even if it is bound to assist it [fascism] in gaining temporary military successes."

This is one of the biggest lies in the whole Stalinist fabric of falsification. As is well known, Trotsky was an advocate of a political revolution against the Soviet bureaucracy, with the aim of restoring working class democracy and returning the Soviet government to the path of internationalism. BUT AT THE SAME TIME THAT HE FOUGHT THE STALINIST BUREAUCRACY, HE WAS ALSO THE MOST DETERMINED DEFENDER OF THE SOVIET UNION AGAINST ALL ATTACKS BY IMPERIALISM. Both before and after May 20, 1940, he explained again and again:

"We must formulate our slogans in such a way that the workers see clearly just what we are defending (state property and planned economy), and against whom we are conducting a ruthless struggle (the parasitic bureaucracy and its Comintern). We must not lose sight for a single moment of the fact that the question of overthrowing the Soviet bureaucracy is for us subordinate to the question of preserving state property in the USSR; that the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR is subordinate for us to the question of the world proletarian revolution." (In Defense of Marxism, P. 21.)

In other words, Trotsky's approach to the defense of the Soviet Union (a degenerated workers' state) against the attack of imperialism was necessarily different from that of Lenin's approach to Kerensky's war to defend Russia in 1917 (when it was a capitalist state).

Trotsky is then quoted as declaring that he had long believed that a revolution in "the progressive capitalist countries" (whatever that may mean) would "necessarily lead to the downfall of Stalin's clique and the regeneration of Soviet democracy. I consider it necessary to say openly to the workers of the world that I no longer hold this opinion." If Trotsky supposedly deems it necessary to state his change of opinion "openly to the workers of the world," why didn't he do so, instead of incorporating it in a secret "testament"?

Unfortunately for the GPU liars, Trotsky wrote in his "Letter to the Workers of the USSR," written the same month as the so-called testament, "The present

war will spread more and more, piling ruins on ruins, breeding more and more sorrow, despair and protest, driving the whole world toward new revolutionary explosions. The world revolution shall re-invigorate the Soviet working masses with new courage and resoluteness and shall undermine the bureaucratic props of Stalin's caste."

FANTASTIC LIES

From this point on the falsifications grow wilder and more fantastic. Trotsky is presented as giving up not only the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack, but even the idea that the workers are capable of achieving socialism:

"The victory of this Stalinist bureaucracy over the forces of workers' democracy will open the doors for the darkest period in history ever known by mankind. This will be the epoch of a new exploitive class, born from the Bonapartist bureaucracy of Stalin."

"It will then be necessary to recognize that this bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union brings with it proof of the congenital incapacity of the proletariat to become a ruling class and that the Soviet Union will become the precursor and embryo of a new and terrible exploitive regime on a world scale."

The real authors of this "testament" must have guffawed with satisfaction as they composed this section. Because it repeats some of the phraseology actually written by Trotsky in an article in September, 1939, called "The USSR in War" published in the book *In Defense of Marxism*. The "trick" is that Trotsky is here presented as affirming what he specifically denied!

But, it may be asked by some people not acquainted with Trotsky's views in his last months, perhaps something happened be-

tween September, 1939 and May 20, 1940, when this "testament" presents him as saying: "I am a veteran of the revolution who in the last hours of his life finds himself compelled to revise all the ideas and all the conceptions which he had formerly held. I firmly believed in the regeneration of mankind through the proletarian revolution. I begin to doubt that the class on which I had placed all my hopes is capable of attempting the colossal task which history wants to assign to it."

Yes, something happened in that period—Hitler broke through his western front and began the drive which ended in the fall of France in June. BUT AT THE END OF JUNE, 1940, TROTSKY WROTE AN ARTICLE ON THE VERY PROBLEMS RAISED BY THIS IMPORTANT EVENT. ITS TITLE INDICATES ITS CONTENTS: "WE DO NOT CHANGE OUR COURSE." PRINTED IN THE OCTOBER, 1940 FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

And Trotsky's dying words, after the GPU assassin had struck him down and he knew that he was actually uttering his last testament, were:

"Please say to our friends that I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward."

But France Dimanche's article does not end with the end of the "testament." As if wanting to guarantee that all informed readers will recognize that the whole thing was a GPU job, it continues by recalling that a "special envoy" of this sheet had had an interview with Stalin's assassin, Mornard-Jacson, printed in its Dec. 8, 1946 issue.

The substance of that interview is then reprinted: Mornard repeats the long-demolished alibi put in his mouth by the GPU and adds a few newly-invented details

Militant Army

Election Activities Net New Subscriptions

Election activities by a number of Socialist Workers Party branches are producing subscriptions indirectly. Workers who sign election petitions to put the SWP on the ballot in the presidential campaign naturally ask questions and become very interested in the party, its program and press.

As Philadelphia reported on the last seven subs sent in, "six of these just fell into our laps, so to speak, while we were on election work." A sub drive is planned when the petition campaign ends.

MINNEAPOLIS held a mobilization Sunday to launch a one week sub drive. It was the first opportunity for such work after the recent arctic weather. Results were not in for this issue.

An Ohio reader sent in a bonus check — awarded for a money-saving suggestion in his plant — to pay for gift subs to 10 other trade unionists.

"Enclosed please find \$10 (Canadian, \$8.50 in U.S. currency)

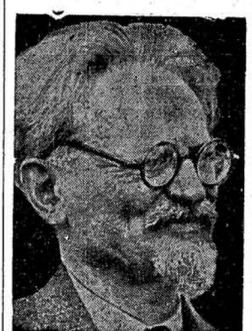
for my Militant pledge and to renew my subscriptions to The Militant and Fourth International." — J. B., Alberta, Canada.

Lynn (Mass.) sent four subs obtained from "four out of five persons seen last Sunday."

Ninety-six new and renewal subscriptions in New York City the last four weeks well exceeded the 82 March expirations here. At least seven other areas have also already exceeded expirations, and complete returns for the month will certainly show many others on the black side of the ledger.

Areas which have already sent in more subs than the March expirations in their areas are Lynn, Minneapolis, Cincinnati, Toledo, Philadelphia, Reading and West Virginia.

One of the hardest-hit sections is Allentown-Bethlehem, March and April expirations will wipe out most of the subscriptions there and so far there have been only three renewals. How about it, Allentown-Bethlehem readers? Why not renew and send in a friend's sub with your own?



LEON TROTSKY

Subscriptions: \$1 per year: 50c for 6 months. Foreign: \$2 per year. \$1 for 6 months. Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879.

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TROTSKY

"On Feb. 10 [1940], President Roosevelt warned the American Youth Congress against radicalism, advising it to improve the existing institutions, little by little, year by year. Such a procedure undoubtedly would be the best, most advantageous, most economical, if... it were realizable. Unfortunately 'the existing institutions' in the entire world are not improving year by year but deteriorating. ... The liquidation of the private ownership of the means of production is the central historical task of our epoch and will guarantee the birth of a new, more harmonious society. The act of birth, daily observation teaches us, is never a 'gradual' process but a biological revolution." —Leon Trotsky, Interview with St. Louis Post Dispatch, 1940



LENIN

Wall Street's Labor Salesmen

If Wall Street and its government hired hands stood alone in propagandizing the Marshall Plan, the American workers would not give a nickel's worth of support to this project for propping up dictatorships in Europe and Asia.

But Big Business and the State Department have recruited a crew of sharp salesmen from the CIO and AFL top bureaucracies. These volunteer hucksters are trying to palm off the Marshall Plan as a prize package of "humanitarianism," "peace" and "democracy."

Philip Murray heatedly denies that the Marshall Plan is part of a "Wall Street plot." He claims it is just a "civilian economic rehabilitation job." He indignantly repudiates the suggestion that there is anything "political" about the Marshall Plan or anything designed to "interfere in the internal affairs" of other countries.

The very next week, CIO Secretary-Treasurer Carey threatens the Italian workers that if they vote the Communist-Socialist ticket in the April 18 elections, "they can hardly expect to share in the benefits of the ERP."

A few days later AFL President William Green sternly warns the Italian workers over the State Department's "Voice of America" broadcast that anyone who tells them "that a vote for the Communists will not cut off help from the United States" is "not telling the truth."

What is this but the use of the Marshall Plan for political purposes and interference in the internal political life of another country? What is the State Department doing when it waves the bludgeon of "no aid" over the Italian workers and threatens them with starvation if they don't vote for the Vatican-backed candidates of the capitalist parties? The top labor leaders lie in their teeth

when they say that the Marshall Plan is meant to "feed the hungry" and "safeguard democracy." It is, in fact, intended for an exactly opposite purpose: TO BOLSTER CAPITALIST TOTALITARIANISM AND FASCIST DICTATORSHIPS.

The proof? 1. The House of Representatives on March 30 passed, by a vote of 149 to 52, an amendment to the ERP bill to make Fascist Spain — under the Franco dictatorship — eligible for Marshall Plan funds. Will the butcher of the Spanish republic and the Spanish labor movement use Marshall plan funds for democracy, perhaps?

2. Incorporated in the present Marshall Plan bill is nearly half a billion dollars for MILITARY SUPPLIES to the monarcho-capitalist dictatorship in Greece, where the firing squads are working night and day slaughtering labor opponents of the regime; to the military dictatorship in Turkey, where all labor organizations are banned and labor leaders imprisoned without trial; to Chiang Kai Shek, whose bloody dictatorship is so rotten that the very Senate committee which recommended arms for him had to admit the unspeakable foulness of his regime.

The union leaders who are trying to sell this bill of goods to the workers of America and Europe are not blind, deluded and misinformed. They know the score. They are conscious liars, who have traded their very souls to the State Department. These conscienceless labor lieutenants of capitalism — in their blindness and opportunism — are selling the American and world labor movements down the river to capitalist totalitarianism and barbarism — the end-product of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan.

Admit the War Refugees!

American imperialism's sellout of the Jews and scrapping of the partition scheme for Palestine calls to attention once again that the Zionist program to create a Jewish state in Palestine is not only reactionary but also unworkable.

Nevertheless, the plight of European Jewry and other displaced persons is a tragically real one. 850,000 men, women and children remain in the DP camps, facing a future with no perspective or hope.

The Washington statesmen have, on numerous occasions, shed pious tears about these victims of Nazism and the war. But their record of action on this question is no less reprehensible than their conduct on Palestine.

During the war, on Roosevelt's initiative, the Evian Conference was held to take up the problems of the Jewish refugees. Then the U. S. delegation to the UN took the initiative in insisting that sanctuary be found for the Displaced Persons. And yet three years after the war these same U. S. leaders have not

taken one single practical step to provide asylum for these war refugees.

In the House the totally inadequate Stratton Bill, which would admit 400,000 DP's over a four-year period has been pigeonholed in committee for nine months. Now Senator Wiley (R., Wisc.) has introduced a bill into the Senate which would further whittle down the number to 50,000 DP's a year for two years. And even this bill has little chance of passage unless strong pressure is exerted on its behalf.

The time has come for the Jewish people to stop depending on the slippery imperialist statesmen for help. Let them call upon the labor movement to inaugurate an aggressive campaign to let down the immigration bars into the U. S. and permit the entry of the Displaced Persons. Such a campaign would be ten times more progressive and has ten times greater chances of success than the fantastic scheme of setting up a Jewish state against the desires of the whole Arab population of the Near East.

CIO Leaders on Labor Party

It looks like the union bureaucrats are scurrying from the sinking Truman ship. Two weeks ago Max Zaritsky, head of the AFL Millinery Workers, started the stampede. Last week, Louis Hollander, head of the New York State CIO ran for the nearest port-hole.

Like Zaritsky, Hollander suddenly discovered that Truman is unfit for the high office of United States President. He appealed to the Democratic Party to find a better candidate — by which he means a winning candidate.

This is part of the campaign of the "labor statesmen" to get a "Draft Eisenhower" movement going. They know that the Democratic Party under Truman hasn't the ghost of a chance in the 1948 elections. So they are throwing their weight around and working overtime to pump new oxygen into this expiring organism.

This gives the lie to their previous propaganda that "now is not the time" to build a Labor Party. This proves that so far as they are concerned, the "right time" will never come.

Hollander, like the other union leaders, knows there is another — a real — alternative. He stated this just last week — not di-

rectly to the CIO workers — but in an interview in the March 29 Labor Leader, organ of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

"Some day we will have a real independent Labor Party," says Hollander. It won't be any "third party" like Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose, La Follette's Progressive Party and Wallace's movement "built by individuals from the top down." It will be "a real Labor Party, built from the bottom up," that "won't have to call itself 'the third party.' It will be the second, or even the first party."

That's fine. But what are Hollander and the other labor leaders waiting for? What better time will there be than now to build a real Labor Party from the bottom up.

Labor won't touch the Republican Party with a ten-foot pole. The Democratic Party is falling apart with rotteness. But for the fatheads who pass themselves off as "labor statesmen" this is still not the right time.

This demonstrates that the movement for a Labor Party — if it is to get going — must start from below in the shops and plants and mines. That's the way the industrial union movement started in 1934. That's the way the Labor Party movement will have to start today.

New War Preparations Threaten Further Inflationary Price Rise

By Arthur Burch

After two months of uncertainty the American economy is faced with the prospect of another inflationary cycle. The precipitous decline in the commodity markets, increasing resistance of the consumers to high prices and the gradual filling up of supply lines foreshadowed the imminence of a new depression. It was at this point that the important Key West conference of Big Business, Big Brass and the Administration took place, out of which emerged the new preparedness program which promises to give the economy another shot in the arm. This was reflected by the steep rise in the stock market following the Saint Patrick's Day speech of President Truman.

While Truman centered his talk around the need for universal military training and the re-institution of the selective service draft, the stock market advance, led by aircraft, copper, chemical and steel served notice that much more was involved. Gradually the full program is being divulged.

First, Secretary of Defense Forrestal informed the Senate Armed Services Committee that the present arms outlay of 11 billion dollars had to be boosted by another 3 billion dollars.

But Forrestal further admitted that even a 4 billion dollar boost would only take care of the present 55-group air force. But the Air Force Big Brass is demanding a 70-group force as "essential" for a minimum striking force. Forrestal estimated that a military program of this magnitude would cost around 18 billion dollars. Later it appeared that a 2 billion dollar lend-lease program to Europe was also being contemplated. Thus even with a 55-group force, for the time being, the arms budget would have to be increased from 11 billion dollars to 16 billion dollars.

THE POOR WILL PAY

There is every likelihood that some such budget increase will be passed by the Republican-controlled Congress with little difficulty since the two leading contenders for the Republican presidential nomination, Taft and Dewey, are the most ardent advocates of an enlarged air force. Although this additional outlay will more than eat up the anticipated budget surplus, Congress passed the tax reduction measure which eased the burden on the wealthy by as much as 67% while increasing the take-home pay for the average worker by

only 4%. Thus the full burden of the enlarged war program will fall upon the poor in the form of increased prices.

American capitalism, but yesterday on the brink of an economic crisis, is again looking forward to a period of astronomical profits. It is ready to utilize any piddling wage increases granted to the workers as an excuse for another steep increase in prices. The re-establishment of aircraft plants and those producing other military equipment will once again bring about shortages in many consumer goods, continuing the sellers' market which has prevailed since the war. The tendency to unload inventories which began with the commodity decline will very likely be halted, and may give way to continued hoarding, which will induce further shortages and price increases.

While employment may increase, the workers' standard of living will continue to decline as Big Business revels in its inflationary orgy of unproductive and government-financed "free enterprise." The veterans will be asked to forego new homes for an indefinite period. And for that matter, why build new homes when soon you may have to fill fresh graves in the arctic snow? The working class will be asked to submit to more vicious slave labor control and wage freezes while profits continue to soar.

Of course the day of reckoning for Big Business draws closer as the result of this reckless spending for the tools of destruction. Further large increases to the already huge government debt must eventually lead to bankruptcy.

DANGER OF INFLATTON

The new armaments program of the government brings to the fore the renewed danger of inflation. This imposes on the labor movement the need to re-invigorate its fight for an adequate wage program.

How can the workers protect themselves against a new inflationary wave? They must insist on an adequate wage rise to compensate for the big rise in prices in the past year. Then they must protect their purchasing power for the duration by demanding a cost-of-living bonus to compensate them for any and all additional price increases after their contracts go into effect. That would guarantee the workers against reduction in their living standards. Otherwise any wage increases will be wiped out by continuing price increases.

All Labor Faces Injunction Menace

(Continued from page 1)

be prohibited by the Taft-Hartley Act.

3. The court, in a further unprecedented move, arrogated to itself the authority of deciding what can and what cannot go into the union contract.

Under peril of imprisonment and ruinous fines, the ITU officials, headed by Woodruff Randolph, are in effect, ordered to negotiate contracts that will eliminate the traditional closed shop.

Now, the United Mine Workers' representatives, whose union has already felt the weight of one federal injunction and a \$710,000 fine for "contempt," have been ordered by a federal judge to appear at hearings of Truman's hand-picked, pro-employer "fact-finding" committee.

At the hearing, Lewis insisted that he had not ordered a strike, that the men had walked out spontaneously under the "able and willing" clause of the contract which the mine operators have "dishonored." The miners, he said, are angry because they have been "goldbricked" by the operators in the matter of the union's health and welfare fund, from which they have not drawn a penny.

While another Truman "fact-finding" committee is clearing the legal path for an injunction against the CIO Packerhouse Workers, local judges are mass producing anti-picketing restraining orders at the behest of the "Big Four" meat packers. Such injunctions have already been issued in Omaha; St. Paul; Fargo, N. D.; St. Joseph, Mo.; Tifton, Ga.; and Mason City, Iowa.

In this hour of deadly peril for labor, the leaders of the CIO and AFL are displaying a criminally sluggish attitude. Not only as between the CIO and AFL, but within these two major organizations there is a total lack of unity of purpose and action.

The AFL top hierarchy has hardly lifted a finger in the ITU

case. The CIO chieftains are permitting the packerhouse union to stand isolated. Neither group has so much as said a word against the government's intervention in the miners' strike.

TWO YEARS AGO

Only two years ago, organized labor was aggressively on the march, battling on a hundred picket lines. Today, the government is contemptuously clubbing the unions around while the union leaders sit passive and paralyzed, watching labor's most cherished rights being trampled upon. They are too busy carrying out State Department chores to bother about mobilizing the workers to defend the very life of their unions.

These leaders thought they could "come to terms" with the Taft-Hartley Act. They thought by capitulating to the Taft-Hartley "yellow dog" oaths and playing deaf and dumb maybe the unions could ignore the Taft-Hartley Law. But it isn't ignoring them.

GREAT DANGER

Unless the whole labor movement joins forces in action around a unified program of struggle, the unions are in great danger. The injunction against the ITU, the government's moves against the miners and packerhouse workers, are a LATE warning. There is no time to lose.

A Congress of Labor, with full rank and file representation of the CIO, AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and independents, must be summoned as speedily as possible. A unified program and strategy of action to fight the Taft-Hartley Law, to halt government by injunction for a unified wage fight must be mapped out. The union ranks must demand that their leaders stop peddling the Marshall Plan patent medicine and get on the job of leading labor's fight for existence.

Paul Dollinger -- A Model Revolutionist

By Sol Dollinger

March 25th was a sad day for the Trotskyist movement. After long suffering from cancer, Paul Dollinger, better known as Paul Kujac, passed away at the youthful age of thirty-five.

Despite his youth, Paul had faithfully served in the revolutionary army of Trotskyism almost from its inception. His adherence to the movement in 1931 at the age of 18, and his 17-year struggle symbolized the intransigent battle of American Trotskyism to become the bone and sinew of the American working class.

All through the years, with great singleness of purpose, he gave unstintingly to build the Party which meant so much to him. Inspired by the goal of Socialism, he adopted a pattern of life for all Trotskyists to emulate.

In his lifetime of service, we can witness the metamorphosis of Trotskyism from an ideological grouping on the road to a mass party. In his service we can understand the source springs of the tremendous vitality of our movement, its ability to bridge all obstacles and its unconquerable spirit.

Leaving home at the age of sixteen, Paul moved around the country during the last depression. He found employment on sharecroppers' farms in Georgia, fruit orchards of Florida and cattle ranches in the west. He returned to New York City looking for a solution to the terrible crisis of U. S. capitalism — which had made an indelible impression on him.

While working in a small millinery sweatshop he made his first contact with the Party through a Trotskyist sympathizer. Paul soon made his decision to join in the struggle. Never once did he falter in his decision. It shaped his whole future life and in turn he helped to shape the development of our Party.

How fondly he would recall those pioneer days. Ours was a party with a membership of only one hundred throughout the country but with unexampled conviction and determination. The Party and its leadership was consecrated to the sole purpose of hammering out its ideological program in preparation for penetration into the mass movement. All that American Trotskyism then had in its arsenal was its program, but Paul Dollinger valued this more than size and numbers. He was firmly convinced that the tools of Marxist ideas would be the Open Sesame to the building of a mass party.

The rise of Hitler to power marked the graduation of Paul Dollinger from the Spartacus Youth League to full adult membership in the Party. Paul was on call at any time to serve his party in any capacity. His personal life was subordinated completely to the fuller and richer life of building an officer corps of revolutionary socialists to help lead the social emancipation of the human race. He passed every test of demands of the Party with flying colors.

STRIKE STRUGGLES

The strike struggles of the textile workers in Paterson, N. J. opened up possibilities for the Party in this area. The numerically small party needed comrades to bring its program to the striking workers. Without hesitation Paul quit his job, when jobs were hard to get, to do his part in winning the fight and advancing the ideas of revolutionary socialism.

From the middle Thirties on he worked in the

Unemployed Councils, the Workers' Alliance, and other unemployed organizations. He led hundreds of demonstrations, hunger marches, protests and sitdown strikes.

Slowly but surely he saw his party grow. And many workers found their way into the Party ranks as a result of the work and guidance of Comrade Kujac.

The expanding war economy of the late Thirties brought an end to unemployed work. Paul became a volunteer organizer for the AFL Upholsterers Union. In this work he introduced many new tactics in the organization of small sweatshops.

PARTY ORGANIZER

At this time the Party found opportunities of expansion into new cities. The Party sent Paul to Buffalo to organize a new branch with the aid of a few comrades. Throwing themselves into the work with great energy, their successes began to mount. The climax was reached with the Lackawanna Steel strike where for the first time Bethlehem Steel buckled to the CIO. Kujac and the newly organized unit of the SWP played a memorable role in this epic struggle of industrial unionism's rise.

With the first war draft of 1940, Paul was called into the Armed Forces. Released from the Army temporarily because of age, he was soon recalled. It was then he first became aware of his physical ailment. Hamstrung by bureaucratic disregard of the individual, the Army did not release him until he had become seriously handicapped physically.

Upon release from the Army he carried on intermittent activity as his health permitted. In 1944 he was third high nationally in obtaining subscriptions to The Militant. For several months he was organizer of the South Side branch in Chicago. In this post he led many a battle against Jim Crowism.

From 1945 on he had to battle with the cancerous growth that was ravaging his body. On his death bed he confidently told his close friends and comrades, "I shall not live to see the day of Socialism but you will see it in your lifetime."

While immersed in the activity of the class struggle, he always found the time to wage ideological struggle to uphold the clear program of Marxism. He had nothing but contempt for the skeptics, revisionists and retrogressionists. At every stage of the struggle to build the Bolshevik party in this country he fought to keep the ideas of Trotskyism intact.

Everywhere, where Trotskyism lives there is a part of Kujac. Everywhere where revolutionary socialists band together in uncompromising struggle for social emancipation, lives a part of Paul Kujac. Wherever the unconquerable spirit and stubborn pursuit of mankind's goals for socialist emancipation continue, there you will find living testimony that Paul Kujac did not die in vain.

It is only fitting and proper that his final resting place should be in Waldheim Cemetery, Chicago, close by the martyred Haymarket victims of 1886 and the ashes of Big Bill Haywood — fighters for social emancipation of another day.

As we pause in tribute to this Trotskyist warrior, in full justice to his contribution, we can only redouble our own efforts to bring about a world wide socialist society. This will be a fitting monument to his memory.

WORKERS FORUM

'Mass Man' - A New European Type

Editor:

As world capitalism sinks deeper by the minute, individual capitalists and their stooges find themselves fleeing to assorted philosophies of despair. Some like James Burnham turn to "Caesarism" — a la Nietzsche and Spengler — all-out justification of American imperialism with no ifs, ands, or buts. Others can't stand such brutal balderdash straight, so they mix in a little religion. Certain scientists with bank accounts in the higher figures like Robert Millikan and the Compton brothers are adepts of this sort.

In addition to the above there are other schools of thought, but out here in LA we have something unique, a minority of one. This is Manchester Boddy, publisher of the Los Angeles Daily News. Last year while traveling in Germany, Boddy discovered "Mass Man." Mass Man, he tells us, is "a new type of human being," peculiar to Europe and Asia, who is "leaderless" and presumably incapable of leadership or of being led.

You guessed it. Mass Man is none other than the European and Asiatic worker in revolt against capitalism. Boddy likes to hearken back to the capitalism of a hundred years ago when gentlemen were gentle-

men and masses were masses and furthermore "stayed in their places."

Now that the old picture postcard Europe has fallen apart, he can see only "anarchy" there. He says that neither British socialism, Russian communism, nor American capitalism can save Europe from chaos and uses the old "too many people — not enough to go around" hooey to justify this statement. He discreetly fails to refer to Trotskyism.

C. Grant Los Angeles

The Marshall Plan — A War Program

Editor:

Truman's message to Congress on Mar. 17 calling for passage of the "European Recovery Plan," Universal Military Training and a resumption of the Selective Service Draft has lifted the fog and mystery that surrounds the Marshall Plan.

In his talk Truman linked the three measures together as a military program against Russia. No longer does the halo of humanitarianism surround the Marshall Plan euphemistically called the "European Recovery Plan." One can now, for the first time since the plan was initiated, condemn the "M" Plan as a WAR PROGRAM without being labeled a

"Commie." In this respect, Truman has unlocked the real intentions of the American capitalists by putting things out in the open and above board.

War and the preparation for war has been the main point of discussion in the plans. No worker wants war. The experience of the last one is too close. Besides, they understand that the present inflation — which is forcing many to work two jobs or putting the rest into debt — is a result of the high cost of the last war. The cost of the next war in lives and money is beyond imagination.

There is still confusion on the necessity of military preparedness. This is easily dispelled by the simple fact that this country is not on the defensive, IT IS AN AGGRESSOR, when it sends troops and military equipment into China, India, Korea, Japan, Greece, Germany, Turkey, Persia, South America, etc. In short, American troops cover the world and its battlefields are beginning to patrol it. What's more aggressive than to have the U.S. influencing the free Italian elections?

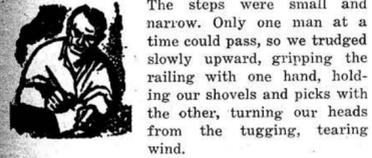
Every sovereign nation has the right to elect whatever government it wishes, without the interference of the U.S. All American and Russian troops should be withdrawn from foreign territories.

B.K. Cleveland, Ohio.

The Private Kingdom

By Theodore Kovalesky

Down in the furnace yard we scarcely felt any breeze at all, but after we had climbed part way up the steps we had to hold on to the iron handrails to keep from being blown off.



It's a rotten job, cleaning a furnace top. Some men will tell you it's the worst job in the world, but it isn't that. There are a lot of other jobs in the blast furnace department that are just as bad and worse. Still, some men can't clean a furnace top at all. When they climb halfway to the top, or even farther, they suddenly realize that they are seventy-five, a hundred, a hundred and twenty-five feet above the furnace yard on a little narrow stairway with low handrails, that they have to lean forward to grasp (and if they lean backward, they can tumble off the stairway and down to the brown-red ore dust below, far below), and they crouch on the steel steps and hug the railing with a death grip, so that two men have to help them back down to the ground again. Most of us aren't like that. . . but none of us like to clean furnace tops.

Jimmy and I were putting in a double shift so we could get a few extra dollars to squander on food and rent. The turn foreman had told us we could get a shift if we wanted to clean furnace tops, so half an hour later we were with a gang on our way up to the top of Number Four.

It must have been about an hour later that I looked up from the caked flue dust we had been hacking and shovelling from the top of Number

Four. The wind was all around us, whipping the dust into our faces and eyes until we were all of the same color. I put down my shovel and leaned my elbows on the rail at the edge of the platform. Far below me, about a hundred thirty feet, an engine was pulling a line of scalloped cinder ladders, and as they swayed on the uneven tracks the molten slag flashed at the sides of the hardened crust. Then I looked around.

I saw the line of blast furnaces stretching away with brownish spume seeping up into the smoky sky from the bleeders. A million and a half dollars, wasn't it, to build a blast furnace, I mused. "Jimmy," I called, "Look at this!"

Behind us was the slip with lake freighters tied up in it. Soon the company's ore boats would be steaming in and out. Beyond that lay the coke oven with its batteries and stacks and a geyser of steam billowing from a heat that was being quenched, and farther out another slip for the coal boats. We could see the great bridge crane with their little cabs moving back and forth and the buckets rising and falling like fat spiders.

Looking the other way we saw the huge open hearth sheds and their tall slender stacks, and the mills, longer and lower with smaller stacks. Jimmy and I stood without speaking, looking over the private kingdom of the steel plant. How many millions of dollars were here? And this place was owned, owned by men, human beings like Jimmy and me, men who made other millions of dollars out of the sweat and sometimes the blood of this gang cleaning the furnace top hundred thirty feet above the ground, of the gangs in the open hearths and mills, the coke ovens and blast furnaces!

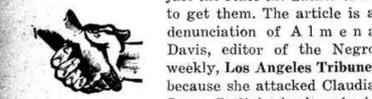
Then, as an afterthought, we turned and looked out beyond the mills at the dirty little town where we lived under the smoky shadow of the plant. We looked a moment, shook our heads, and began shovelling the flue dust again.

The Negro Struggle

Why Stalinists Slander Us

By Albert Parker

If readers of the Communist Party's Worker of Mar. 28 were confused after they finished reading Benjamin E. Davis' column, then they were in just the state the author tried to get them. The article is a denunciation of A. L. M. E. N. A. Davis, editor of the Negro weekly, Los Angeles Tribune, because she attacked Claudia Jones, Stalinist leader who is



threatened with deportation to the West Indies, and cynically expressed "indifference" to her fate.

Then, suddenly, Benjamin Davis switches over into an attack on Trotskyism, making the fantastic (and familiar) charge that it "is a synonym for corruption, political degeneracy and service to reaction and fascism," and inventing a new lie—that the "Tribune is a net of Trotskyism" and that Almena Davis is a Trotskyist!

Readers of The Militant know that we Trotskyists, despite our opposition to the Stalinists, have strongly protested the deportation campaign against Claudia Jones, and her associates and have called on labor to put an end to the government's witch-hunt campaigns. And readers of the Los Angeles Tribune know that it has nothing in common with the Trotskyists; for example, the Tribune supported the recent imperialist war (as the Stalinists did) while we opposed it from beginning to end.

Why do Benjamin Davis and the other Stalinists resort to such monstrous (and easily dispro-

ved) slanders against the Trotskyists? Because that's the only kind of "answer" they can give to our political arguments and program. Because they are afraid to let the Negro people know that the Socialist Workers Party program is the only way to end capitalist wars, fascism and race prejudice.

A reader says: "After reading your laudatory remarks about Caste, Class and Race by Oliver C. Cox, I naturally wondered what your criticism of it was. You say that 'some of the points Dr. Cox tries to make are not acceptable to Marxists.' Why didn't you indicate what they are?"

We are concentrating for the time being on calling attention to the virtues of this book, in order to help it get the kind of audience it deserves. But we obviously did not seek to hide the fact that it has shortcomings and weaknesses.

On the political field, for example, the author's attempt to "simplify" Marxism leads him to numerous serious errors in discussing recent political developments, especially in his treatment of Roosevelt and the New Deal. Dr. Cox is by no means a Stalinist, but his apparent lack of acquaintance with political labor problems and strategy causes him to accept many of their estimates which are in direct conflict with Marxism.

We repeat, however, that the book's positive qualities and contributions to an understanding of race prejudice far outweigh these and other faults.

"Freedom of the Seas"

By Art Preis

Don't look now, but there's a red periscope peeping above the waterline in your bathtub. Russian submarines, equipped with schnorkels too, are being sighted faster than flying saucers these days.

It all began at the hearing of the Senate Armed Service Committee on March 25. The Big Brass and Gold Braid were basking in the spotlights and smiling at the senators. The senators were nodding and smiling back. It was a wonderful spring day—just right for another big raid on the U. S. Treasury by the military.

Into this idyllic scene burst the submarine scare. Secretary of Navy Sullivan made the sensational announcement that undersers craft "not belonging to any nation west of the Iron Curtain have been sighted off our shores."

The panic was on. Two august senators fell off their chairs simultaneously. A stenographer swallowed her gum and nearly choked to death. One reporter required emergency hospital treatment after being trampled in the rush of newspapermen to the nearest telephone.

Not another word would Sullivan speak—for "security reasons," of course. But it didn't take the kept press more than two hours to dig up the details. By mid-afternoon disaster-type headlines trumpeted the red sub menace and why we need UMT and the peacetime draft.

Th usual "informed sources" and "anonymous naval officers" supplied the usual "reliable information." In all, seven "purported" Russian submarines had been spotted "recently." Five

of the seven lurking "off our shores" were vaguely placed as "off the Aleutians"—about 9,000 miles from Seattle and less than 400 miles from Siberia. Two of the reports came from unnamed merchant ships. One saw a "periscope" just "200 miles from San Francisco"—"at night."

Immediately after Sullivan's "revelations," Admiral Louis E. Denfield, Chief of Naval Operations, blandly admitted the U. S. has 35 submarines in the Pacific and 41 in the Atlantic. Four are en route to Turkey as part of the "European aid" program. 12 U. S. destroyers and three aircraft carriers in the Western Pacific are guarding "our shores" a few hundred miles from Siberia. American warships are at Trieste; 17 are in Greek waters.

But as Admiral Halsey said, "We'll send our ships any damn place in the world we please." And Air Forces Secretary Symington, following Sullivan at the Senate hearing, boasted that American bombers from Alaska "could bomb any part of Russia and return to American bases."

So you see why we need universal military training, peacetime conscription and more tens of billions for the Army, Navy and Air Forces, not to speak of the atomic bomb development. By God, these Russians are going too far. What do they mean operating submarines in "our" Pacific Ocean? Don't they know we've already fought two world wars for "freedom of the seas"?

month signed a bill, passed by Congress, authorizing military units of Southern states to carry the Confederate flag along with the U. S. flag.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE—A 14-year-old Negro boy in North Carolina was last week sentenced to 30 years in jail for the alleged theft of a flashlight.

Notes from the News

INDEPENDENT?—The Independent Progressive Party of California is supporting primary candidates running for Congress in 21 of the state's 23 districts. Of these, four are running on the IPP ticket only, while 16 are running on the Democratic ticket as well, and one is running on the Democratic ticket alone.

"CIVIL RIGHTS" PROGRAM—Truman last

THE MILITANT

Wallace Endorsed by Handpicked Conference of The California IPP

Washington Plans To Turn Germany Into Base for War

(Continued from page 1)

Dispatch from Washington on March 27 reveals that "the first ship carrying Marshall Plan aid for Europe may dock in a foreign port two days after President Truman signs the bill." The dispatch adds: "It is possible the initial cargo... will go to Italy about 10 days before the critical election test."

ANOTHER BRIBE

The State Department itself, on March 26, publicly announced — pointedly claiming no intention of influencing the Italian elections — that the U.S. government has ordered the distribution of 300,000 packages of cigarettes in Sardinia. These cigarettes would be an inducement to "contentment, as every smoker knows," the State Department said. With the approval of the State Department a special short-wave broadcast on the Italian elections is being beamed daily to Italy from Boston over station WRUL.

U.S. intervention in Greece has long since been in the "hot war" stage. Every dispatch from Greece makes it clear that the monarchist forces are being not only armed and trained, but ordered and led by the American military mission. For example, a March 30 United Press dispatch from Salonika reports the opening of the spring offensive of the monarchist army "supported by waves of fighter bombers." It adds, "The offensive was completely planned by the Americans."

The dispatch reports that Dwight Griswold, head of the U.S. mission to Greece, has announced the calling up of conscripts to the Greek army's National Defense Corps, including "the number to be drafted. Griswold assures us the mobilization was 'proposed by American advisers' and 'approved by the U.S. State Department.'"

Meanwhile, the threat of military totalitarianism becomes more ominous in this country. The big parade of top military officials, joined by leading representatives of Wall Street and Big Business, continued last week to pressure the Senate Armed Services Committee for universal military training and the peacetime draft.

JUST A STARTER

The heads of the National Defense Establishment, which includes all the departments of the armed forces, and the secretaries of these departments, put in their second appearance within a week. This time Forrestal demanded, in addition to UMT which will cost four billions annually, the immediate draft of up to 345,000 youths between 19 and 25. He made it clear that this is just a starter.

The hearings were climaxed

Victims of War



Staring hopelessly into space, these three youngsters typify the war-ravaged children of Europe. This scene is from The Search, a film telling the story of these children, which recently opened in New York.

with statements of Bernard Baruch, Wall Street's direct adviser to two wartime administrations, and General Electric's president C. E. Wilson. Both demanded quick passage of UMT and the draft. Baruch also called for "total mobilization", a wage freeze, and an anti-strike "work-draft" law.

RECORDING READY

The Militant Chorus makes its first recording this week. It should be ready for May Day meetings. The single 12-inch record at \$5 will contain Go Forward, Whirlwinds of Danger, The Tarrier Song and The Locomotive. Send cash orders to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

George Clarke speaking on:

The Political Crisis In the United States

Schedule of Clarke Tour	
Pittsburgh	Saturday Apr. 3
Akron	Tuesday Apr. 6
Cleveland	Thursday Apr. 8
Toledo	Saturday Apr. 10
Chicago	Sunday Apr. 11
Milwaukee	Tuesday Apr. 13
Twin Cities	Friday Apr. 16
Flint	Tuesday Apr. 20
Detroit	Thursday Apr. 22
Youngstown	Friday Apr. 23
Buffalo	Saturday Apr. 24

PRESENT COST OF MILITARISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Here are the estimated Federal Government expenses for 1947-48. Note how future wars, past wars, and war preparations account for more than 71% of the total budget.

FUTURE WARS ...	\$10,776,000,000	
(War Department, Navy Department, Terminal leave for enlisted personnel, Stockpiling of strategic materials, etc.)		29.0%
PAST WARS	\$12,294,000,000	
(Veterans' services, Pensions, Insurance, Re-adjustments, Benefits, Hospitals, Other services, Administration, Interest on public war debt, etc.)		33.0%
WAR PREPARATIONS: PROPPING UP WAR ALLIES	\$3,617,000,000	9.7%
WELFARE, HEALTH, EDUCATION, INTERNAL EXPENSES, ETC.	\$6,989,000,000	18.8%
OTHER	\$3,517,000,000	9.5%
(General government, Refunds, Reserve, etc.)		
TOTAL BUDGET	\$37,193,000,000	

SAN FRANCISCO, March 21. — 175 handpicked delegates attended a meeting of the State Organizing Committee of the Independent Progressive Party of California, endorsed Wallace and Taylor and approved a Wallace program for the party. Through this session, the top committee has been able to tighten its grip upon the party apparatus.

The session had been announced early in March as a broad, democratically organized meeting at which the ranks of the petition gatherers and other supporters of the organization could make their wishes heard. However, two weeks before the date of the meeting, all mention of this was dropped. Those attending were members of the Organizing Committee plus three representatives from each county, who in the main were appointed by the state executive committee. All other IPP members were permitted to attend only as observers.

STALINISTS TOOK OVER

The heavy hand of the Stalinists was evident throughout the proceedings. Immediately after the meeting opened a motion was made to transform the Organizing Committee into a temporary State Central Committee and to elect all State officers. Passed unanimously. A preamble was read which committed the organ-

ization to the support of Wallace and Taylor. Passed without discussion. By-laws were adopted to restrict membership to "registered voters who accept IPP principles . . ." Passed unanimously.

Discussion took place only around the party platform but the differences were mainly on minor corrections and wording. The program includes removal of military and financial leaders from policy-making posts in the State Department; opposition to the draft and UMT; a \$1 minimum wage; State and Federal veterans bonus; \$100 old age pensions for all over 60; roll back prices to 1945 and recreate the OPA; public ownership of essential utilities; bigger taxes for higher income brackets; lower ones for the lower brackets; repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law. The assembly also approved a platform on peace to be achieved through the UN.

Thus the Stalinist pro-Wallace program has been foisted upon the IPP without the ranks having any opportunity to discuss it. Candidates for the primaries will be chosen by consultation between the hand-picked county representatives and the State Executive Committee. In many cases the IPP will support Republicans and Democrats who will be labeled "progressive."

A special handbill, was distributed to the gathering, signed by four unionists from the CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards, Steel workers, Longshoremen, and AFL Painters Unions, all registered members of the IPPC.

It declared that "since the IPPC has already become part of the Wallace-third-capitalist-party machine it can no longer merit our support. We will continue to fight to build a genuine Independent Labor Party."

Behind Petrillo's Ban on Recordings

By Dick Jones

James C. Petrillo, president of the American Federation of Musicians, knows there is good reason for the newspapers being so opposed to him: The country's radio stations are owned by the big newspaper corporations. (According to the FCC they own 508 of the 886 stations in the United States.) And he knows that when he attempts to make these corporations pay decent wages they put up an awful fuss.

After Petrillo announced that musicians would no longer make records after Jan. 1, the boss press launched an especially bitter campaign against him.

The big recording bosses know—if their pen pushers don't—that the recent recording ban is really a strike against the Taft-Hartley Law. In 1942 the musician's union went on strike and forced the recording magnates to agree to pay a 2% royalty to the union treasury to be used as a welfare fund for musicians. The Taft-Hartley Act outlawed this royalty. Petrillo then told the union members to stop making records. He knows that when the recording and broadcasting companies use up their supply of records they'll have to send for their lawyers and get them to figure out some way of getting around the Taft-Hartley Law. The N. Y. Times quoted a recording official as saying, "What we face is the fact that a law designed to help us is being used by the union to put us out of business. The only way we can stay in business apparently is to find some way to circumvent the law."

There is an economically sound reason for the musician's union demand that the recording companies pay a record royalty to the union treasury. When a person writes a book, he can collect a royalty on each copy sold. Band leaders and soloists are likewise in a position to bargain for royalties on the records they make. The individual musician, however, receives only the union wage for the time spent in making the recordings.

It would be impossible to pay each member of a band a royalty on each record he makes. The personnel in musical organizations is changing constantly. The expense of the bookkeeping would amount to more than the worth of the records. What Petrillo proposed was that the royalty be paid to the union treasury. The fund collected from the royalties would be used to provide free music for people who could not afford to attend concerts. At the same time this would provide employment for musicians who were thrown out of work by technological developments. The AFM had to go on strike for 27

months before the big recording companies finally agreed to pay this royalty. Now the Taft-Hartley Law has forbidden the payment.

The press claims that Petrillo is holding up progress by not letting recording and broadcasting companies function freely. What the union is really trying to do, however, is to get back some of the money made on music—for the musicians who make that music.

THE "BIG FOUR"

The gross income of the "Big Four" in the recording industry—RCA-VICTOR, Decca, Columbia, and Capital—amounted to approximately 110 million dollars in 1946. Yet the musicians who made the records received only 2,500,000 dollars or about 2 1/2% in wages. A year's fee for the average musician employed by RCA-Victor, the largest of the companies, is only about \$450.

"We cannot stop canned music," Petrillo says. "We don't want to. But we want the musicians of America to share in the profits it makes for other people."

In their pretended role as defenders of the public interest, the gentlemen of the press charge that the musician's union is harmful to the culture of music. These editorial writers complain because union members consider wages more important than the art of music. Where do they think the art would be if all the musicians would starve to death?

The AFM, as a matter of fact, has promoted musical culture. The union has sponsored many free concerts all over the country, especially in Chicago. Petrillo says, with justifiable pride, "I've made Chicago the greatest music city in the world. Where else can you hear Lily Pons and the Chicago Symphony for nothin'?"

The big recording and broadcasting corporations aren't actually afraid that Petrillo is going to ruin music or hold back progress. What these corporations fear is that the musicians are going to get part of the profits that rightly belong to them. Furthermore, these corporations and their press are afraid that other workers are going to notice what the musicians are doing and get the same idea.



JAMES C. PETRILLO

N.Y. Painters Urge Political Action

By Raymond Rice

NEW YORK CITY. — With two-thirds of the union painters in New York unemployed or working part time, progressive members of the union are demanding political action to compel landlords and real estate operators to paint and repair apartments, offices and factories.

Local 892, the largest painters local in the N.Y. district, heard a full discussion of the problem and voted overwhelmingly to call upon the union district council for immediate action. The painters demand that the NY authorities begin a rigid enforcement of the sanitary and building laws.

A number of buildings have collapsed in recent months with the tenants barely getting out in time. Cornices and stone copings have fallen into the streets from many of the old dilapidated structures still occupied as homes and factories.

Progressive speakers pointed out that if these conditions are to be remedied, it will be necessary to present the unions' views to the voting public in the coming election. These speakers pointed to the necessity of strict enforcement of the sanitary and building codes. They called upon the union to examine the possibilities of running a number of union candidates for office, and expressed the opinion that it would be possible to mobilize the union membership for active support of such a political campaign.

