

Antoinette Konikow Mourned By Comrades

By Joseph Hansen

BOSTON, Mass., July 3—At 9:15 yesterday morning, Antoinette Konikow, one of the great pioneer builders of American revolutionary socialism, a founder of the Socialist Workers Party and an Honorary Member of its National Committee, died of a heart attack. One of the best-loved champions of the labor movement, the suddenness of her death came as a shock to thousands of workers in Boston and throughout the country. She was almost 77 years old.

Thus close a most valiant career of self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of world socialism. Antoinette Konikow was born November 19, 1869, in Czarist Russia. Almost six decades of that life—since 1888—were spent in the battle to end capitalism and build a better world.

Although ill for some time, Comrade Konikow had been in excellent spirits. Never had she felt more confident of the final victory of socialism. In the morning, her daughter, Edith Konikow, had persuaded her to stay in bed while breakfast was prepared. When Edith called upstairs some ten minutes later, the old revolutionary did not answer. The end had come swiftly and painlessly. Neither artificial respiration nor the pulmonary of the emergency squad could revive the heart which had beat so long in the cause of the oppressed.

Funeral services were held today at 11 a.m. in accordance with wishes of the immediate family.

Laid To Rest

In charge was the Workers' Circle. Comrade Konikow was one of the founders of this workers' benefit organization. All her life had been spent in the cause of the working class. Now in death, the workers laid her tenderly to rest.

The services were simple—the plain casket of a worker and the words of close friends and comrades to bid her farewell. The most eloquent tribute came from the Boston workers who loved her. They banded flowers around her casket. Red carnations, the flower of working class revolution, and red roses. The floral offering that epitomized the life of Antoinette Konikow was a hammer and sickle with a "4" to represent the Fourth International. That tribute came from the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party in token of the sentiments of the whole world-wide movement which is now advancing Leon Trotsky's program of revolutionary socialism as the only way

(Continued on Page 2)



ANTOINETTE KONIKOW
1869—1946

Revolutionary Leaders Send Sorrowing Tributes

We print below the messages sent by James P. Cannon, Rose Karsner and Natalia Trotsky to the family of Antoinette Konikow.

Farewell Antoinette Konikow. Your unceasing and devoted loyalty to the cause of the working class remains our heritage and an inspiration to our youth. Your death is a great loss to us. Your heroic spirit lives on. Farewell Antoinette.

James P. Cannon
Rose Karsner

I share with you the bitterness of your loss.
Natalia
Coyoacan, Mexico

SWP National Committee Expresses Grief Of Party

The Socialist Workers Party mourns the passing of one of the leaders of the Trotskyist movement.

Antoinette Konikow was one of our living links with the founders of Marxism. Frederick Engels headed the revolutionary socialist movement when Antoinette became a Socialist in 1888. She saw the rise of the Second International and then its decline. She participated in the founding of the pioneer Communist movement in this country and of the Third International. When the Third International died as a revolutionary force she helped found the Fourth International.

She was with Plekhanov, the founder of the Russian Marxist movement. She was with Lenin, the founder of the first workers' state in history. She was among the first to rebel against Stalinism. And she fought side by side with Leon Trotsky in the great historic struggle in defense of the conquests of the October 1917 revolution. For almost sixty years Antoinette Konikow stood in the revolutionary vanguard of the world working class.

This incomparable wealth of experience became part of the revolutionary heritage of American Trotskyism.

As a youth Antoinette Konikow rebelled against the injustice, the vile prejudices, the exploitation and the degradation that belong to capitalism. She set out to build a better world. Taking her place with the revolutionary socialists, she gave her best energies to overthrowing the dying economic system that breeds depressions, unemployment, hunger, war and fascism. No one could swerve her from that path.

She fought against the First World War and she remained a consistent internationalist in the Second World War. Up to the day of her death she was still doing her part with that magnificent selflessness and devotion so characteristic of her. Antoinette lived the full life of a revolutionary.

Many times she told young people who came to her with their problems that there is no better way to live than joining in the great task of ending the nightmare of capitalism and reshaping the world on socialist foundations. Antoinette has left us, but her spirit continues to march in our ranks.

Her example and memory provide the real inspiration for the youth of today. She never faltered in the supreme hope and confidence that this generation will solve the historical tasks of the world working class.

It was the great fighters like Antoinette Konikow and her generation that built the granite foundation of our movement. She lived to see the formation of those detachments that will surmount all obstacles on the path to the Communist future of man. Let it be repeated her confidence and faith in that future never wavered.

As we dip our stainless banner over the grave of Antoinette Konikow, we say goodbye to a leader and teacher who hands on to us the torch of revolutionary socialism from the founders of the movement in the last century. We shall carry forward that torch as you would wish it, Antoinette, courageously and with all our energy.

National Committee of the
Socialist Workers Party

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New OPA Bill Will Not Halt Run-Away Prices

Detroit Unions Urge National Labor 'Holiday'

By Al Adler
(Special to The Militant)

DETROIT, July 5. — Over 1,200 officers, committeemen and stewards from the United Automobile Workers and other CIO unions at a meeting here Tuesday night vigorously applauded the program outlined by UAW President Walter Reuther "to re-open all wage contracts if a new and better OPA is not passed by Congress."

This meeting representing the leadership of the workers in the plants, enthusiastically supported every militant proposal presented.

LA VOR HOLIDAY

The meeting called for a national labor holiday demonstration to protest the runaway inflation hitting the basic standard of living of the American workers. It further instructed the local unions to re-organize their flying squadrons "so that the furniture of evicted workers may be put back into their homes as fast as the courts and police put them on the sidewalk."

After many delegates had spoken of the need for immediate action rather than adoption of well-sounding resolutions, chairman Richard T. Leonard, UAW vice-president and head of the Michigan PAC, was forced to promise that a proposed Cadillac Square demonstration and coordinated national demonstrations protesting the slashing of

(Continued on Page 6)

Jim-Crow Judge Aids Frame-up In Trial Of 25

By order of presiding Judge Ingram, 25 Negro victims of the February reign of terror by state troopers in Columbia, Tennessee, will be forced to stand trial in Lawrenceburg, where race-hate is even more rampant than in Columbia itself.

This is the answer of the Jim Crow judge and State's attorney Paul F. Bumpus to requests by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for a change of venue. After cynically denying that race hatred exists in Columbia and refusing to transfer the trial, the court has finally agreed—to a new site which will still further endanger the Negroes who face frame-up charges of "attempt to commit murder."

Defense attorneys underscored the fact that the lynch atmosphere in Lawrenceburg exceeds that in Columbia. But Judge Ingram over-ruled a defense motion that the trial remain in Columbia rather than be moved to the even worse lynch atmosphere of Lawrenceburg. The frame-up is thus scheduled to proceed.

Meanwhile NAACP attorneys will open pleas of abatement in Columbia this week in the case of two Negroes indicted separately on charges of assault with intent to commit murder in the first degree. As in the case of the 25, the NAACP asks that the indictment be quashed because Negroes were barred from jury service.

The lily-white grand jury which made the indictments denied that there had been any violation of the civil rights of the Negro victims of the February assault, despite wholesale evidence to the contrary. In addition it actually praised the 1,000 Tennessee state troopers who had stormed through the Negro community, destroyed homes and businesses, terrorized the people, arrested over 100 and shot down two Negroes in cold blood in the jail.

Defying Bilbo's Threats



Here are two of the estimated 5,000 Negroes in Mississippi who were permitted to register and who defied Democratic Senator Bilbo's threats of lynch violence by voting in last week's primaries. Hundreds of thousands of white and Negro workers are still denied the ballot through poll tax and other restrictions.

Packing Union Seeks Cost-Of-Living Bonus

(Special to The Militant)

CHICAGO, July 3—"A bonus based on rising living costs" is a main point of the wage program of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers, the union's paper, *The Packinghouse Worker*, announced on June 28.

This demand will be raised in next month's negotiations with Swift, Armour, Wilson and Cudahy. Other demands include a basic \$1 per hour minimum wage, a 12-cent an hour raise, a guaranteed annual wage and no wage differentials.

The UPWA Executive Board states that "fewer dollars are actually being taken home, on the average per week, than before the 16 per cent increase went into effect" last February. In addition, "the cost of living has continued to mount." Therefore, the UPWA "will press during negotiations for the inclusion of a clause in the contract providing for a COST OF LIVING BONUS."

Details of the bonus have not

Meat Profits, Up Production Down

CHICAGO, July 5. — In the first six months of its fiscal year, October 28, 1945 to April 27, 1946, Armour & Co., one of the "Big Four" meat packers, made more profits than during the previous entire year, a statement recently filed by the company reveals. This big jump in profits occurred, according to Lyle Cooper, UPWA-CIO Research Director, while hog slaughter fell off, plants were down during last January's strike, a 16-cent wage increase was paid since January 26, and cattle department operations almost stopped.

yet been worked out. Ralph Helstein, UPWA president (reported in last week's *Militant*), indicated it will be an adaptation of the principle of the sliding scale of wages to meet rising living costs.

Truman-Sponsored Measure Designed To Fool Workers

By Art Preis

The new Truman-sponsored OPA bill being debated in Congress is a deception. It will not control prices any more than the previous measure, under which living costs soared during the war more than a hundred per cent.

This measure, like its predecessor, is intended not to halt rising prices but to "regulate" inflation. Unwilling to take responsibility for Congress's openly-inflationary bill which he vetoed, Truman is seeking to re-establish a fictitious price control in the disguise of a "good" OPA bill.

Although the Senate Banking Committee deleted some portions of the vetoed bill, the "compromise" measure it proposed last week is merely a patch-work of the former feeble "price control" act and the vetoed bill.

It is clear that the administration would like to palm a measure like this off on the workers as "price control." This would then be used as the pretext for demanding a wage freeze—while prices continue upward as they did during the war.

The present bounding inflation is merely an intensification of the trend which developed throughout the imperialist war

(Continued on Page 6)

But the poor are as meat-hungry as ever. What has happened primarily is that the almost universal black market prices have become legal prices with the ending of the farce of government "price control."

Under OPA, the meat-barons had been permitted to jump prices again and again. In addition the government paid them a subsidy of \$750,000,000 a year. This, of course, was a hidden price rise which the consumers must now pay directly.

Despite OPA's generosity, the meat industry brazenly violated price ceilings. It black-jacked the people into paying illegal prices or going hungry. Now there is more meat—but most people can get it only by depriving themselves of other necessities.

CIO Packinghouse Workers officers pointed out in a statement last week that Truman did not hesitate to seize the packing plants when the workers exercised their rights to strike against low wages. But, they said, when the meat trust withholds meat for months, the administration views the matter "with complete calm."

The people will be assured of meat at prices they can pay only when the monopolists are kicked out and the meat industry is EXPROPRIATED. The meat industry must be taken over and operated under workers' control. This will eliminate the terrific profits which are reflected in skyrocketing prices.

Profits High As 'Best War Years'

Reduction of corporation profits taxes and rising prices are enabling the corporations to continue raking in profits at the best war-time rate.

During the first three months of this year, despite drastic curtailment of war production, corporate profits after taxes remained "close to that of the best war years," reported the Department of Commerce on July 2.

The government agency revealed that although profits before taxes were lower than in 1945, the elimination of the excess profits tax and easing of other taxes had provided a sufficient offset to keep profits after taxes at high war-time levels.

Wage increases won by the unions are coming from these vast profits. But Big Business, greedy to make more and more, is trying to wipe out the wage gains and increase its profits through a hidden wage cut—inflation.

2 Top Washington Officials Linked To \$78,000,000 Arms Firm Fraud

By Ruth Benson

Hearings before the Senate Defense Investigating Committee, headed by Senator Mead, last week revealed that one enterprising arms-

combine starting during the war with no cash, no plants and no workers, wound up with over \$78,000,000 in government contracts. This profitable deal was engineered, it is alleged, with the assistance of two of the highest-placed men in the whole war program—Representative May of Kentucky, head of the House Military Affairs Committee, and Secretary of War Patterson.

In October, 1941, Henry M. Garsson borrowed a letterhead from the Segal Safe and Lock Co. of Brooklyn. Garsson wrote to the Chemical Warfare Procurement Division of the War Department, offering to produce shells, through an imaginary Erie Basin Metal Products Co. which he claimed to be a Segal subsidiary. The War Department promptly sent him a million dollar advance.

he was not being allowed to bid on one contract. May demanded action and got it from General Campbell, who "jumped on" Gen. Thomas S. Hammond, chief of the Chicago Ordnance Division.

"These fellows are good friends of mine," said May, "and have been very kind to me."

May himself got control of the Cumberland Lumber Company late in 1943. The Garsson combine advanced a total of \$48,634,07 to the May firm for lumber which was never delivered. Garsson kept on getting contracts.

Secretary of War Patterson put the screws on the War Manpower Commission on February 28, 1945, after a call from Garsson, who wanted the "ceiling" for his Batavia plant raised from 793 to 1,000 workers. Patterson agreed. The WMC was not to be "let off the hook" until it complied, admitted one witness, Col. Brennan.

As a final gift, the combine was handed an overpayment of

\$1,010,000 in a contract termination settlement!

The Garsson case, is just peanuts, though, compared to the profits of Kaiser and Higgins in shipbuilding, also made without any investment of their own funds. And it can't be compared to the vast steals made by General Motors, Standard Oil, General Electric, U. S. Steel, and the rest of the powerful monopolists who coined billions in profits, got government-built plants free, and are getting fat rebates on their excess profits taxes.

Then why the fuss over the Garsson case? The whole financing of government war purchases, worked out by Wall Street and administered by its own agents in "dollar a year" posts, reeks with fraud. It can't be hidden any longer. So the Senate Investigating Committee is turning the spotlight on one smelly deal perpetrated by relatively small-time crooks, who dared to muscle in on the Wall Street racket.

Antoinette Konikow -- Trotskyist Pioneer, Mourned By Comrades

"Our Dead Comrade Was One Of Rarest Spirits Of Our Time"

(Continued from Page 1)

to escape atomic destruction under capitalism.

At a banquet in New York City on October 30, 1943, commemorating the Fifteenth Anniversary of the founding of the American Trotskyist movement, Antoinette Konikow declared: "I have always been a rebel and have led a life of struggle. But I probably will not see the time when you will win. When you do, please come and lay the red flag on my grave."

"ALWAYS A REBEL"

This indomitable spirit, characteristic of Antoinette, pervaded the funeral. All the speakers cited her life as the only kind really worth while. And thinking of Antoinette alive — her boundless vitality, her courage, her indomitable fighting will, her unrelenting struggle against the capitalist exploiters, the way she kept the goal of a socialist society before her for so many years when all the doubters and the weak ones dropped by the wayside — it was a sharp pain to remember that all this is gone now — all this, and her voice, and her hands and the way her eyes smiled.

I spoke on behalf of the staff of *The Militant* to which Antoinette had been a contributor since the founding of the paper. It was not easy to speak at Antoinette's funeral. I would rather have sat with those Boston comrades who mourned her as one closer than a mother.

A picture came into my mind of a great warming bonfire in the night. Antoinette was like that. She was one of those who attracted us from the cold and

wind of the capitalist night. She was one of those who brought us the heritage of the first founding fathers of scientific socialism. Frederick Engels headed the movement when she joined in 1888. She was a member of the group organized by Plekhanov who brought scientific socialism into Czarist Russia. She saw the rise of the Second International and saw it broken by betrayal. She joined with Lenin and Trotsky, the founders of the first workers' state in history and helped in the birth of the Third International. When Stalinism ate into its vitals, as opportunism had eaten into the vitals of the Second International, she joined Leon Trotsky in the great historic struggle that led to the founding of the Fourth International.

Standing beside her casket, I knew that the real fire that had inspired Antoinette Konikow was not dead. The flame dies down and turns to ashes. But sparks are already in the wind. They touch waiting tinder and the blaze starts up afresh in a hundred places.

PLEDGE TO CARRY ON

Sidney Crabbe of the Boston Branch of the Socialist Workers Party presided at the services. He read telegrams from all over the country, grieving Comrade Konikow's death. The roster of the party's branches in great cities from coast to coast showed how deeply Antoinette is enshrined in the hearts of the political vanguard of the American working class. All the senders of these tributes pledged to carry on the great cause to which



Joseph Hansen speaking for the staff of "The Militant" at the funeral of Antoinette Konikow.

she had devoted her life.

Comrade Crabbe introduced as the next speaker, Dr. Louis Silver, an old personal friend of

Antoinette. Dr. Silver described her fine personality, her warm understanding of people and her response to their needs whenever they brought their problems to her. He told what countless friends she had in Boston. In the history of the city she had played a great role in bringing the ideas of socialism from Europe to America. Even her political foes, he pointed out, could not help admiring her character. Her devotion to the cause of emancipating the working class made one feel ashamed for doing so little. Her unshakable will in battling tirelessly for her ideals throughout the years was something worth emulating.

ACCOMPLISHED LINGUIST

Saul Friedman spoke in behalf of the District Committee of the Workmen's Circle. He described Antoinette's role in founding that organization. Already proficient in English and French besides Russian and Ger-

man, she learned Jewish in order to carry out her work for the Workmen's Circle. Comrade Konikow was not Jewish herself, but in the early days of the labor movement the program of revolutionary socialism found its warmest reception among the immigrants from Eastern Europe who were terribly oppressed in the sweat shops of America. In memory of Antoinette's work in those days, Comrade Friedman delivered part of his remarks in Jewish.

E. R. Frank represented the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party. In moving terms he told what Antoinette meant to the Trotskyist movement. She was "one of the rarest spirits of our time," he said. "Her entire conscious life from the age of 19 when she first entered the working class movement in 1888, right up to the hour of her death, was devoted to the revolutionary struggle, was dedicated to the cause of socialism, the emancipation of mankind from the horrors and fears and terrors of capitalism and the creation of a new society of brotherhood, of comradeship, of freedom, of peace and plenty for all."

Comrade Crabbe then read a message from the American Committee for the Relief of European Workers, which Antoinette helped found and of which she was Chairman. The letter, sent by Rose Karsner on behalf of the Committee, declared that "Our best memorial to Antoinette is to redouble our efforts. She herself expressed this unflinching spirit and determination time and again."

Rose Karsner quoted the last letter sent by Antoinette to the Committee. Comrade Crabbe brought the services to a close by reading this letter, which vividly conveyed the fighting spirit of the great pioneer Communist and Trotskyist.

"I know that we now have an enthusiastic fighting group," said the letter in part, "which has the inspiration to continue the energetic struggle started by us older comrades; a young group with more knowledge, more assurance, historically nearer the goal than their predecessors."

"To these young comrades and friends, I appeal now to concentrate their well-proved energy, their splendid abilities on the important burdensome job of relieving the physical sufferings of our co-workers in Europe and other countries. I turn to you, my young comrades and friends, to take upon yourselves

the obligations which old and ill comrades like myself are not in condition to fulfill."

LAST FAREWELL

At the grave, comrades and friends assembled to bid Antoinette a last farewell. Comrade Frank called for a minute of silence. With fists clenched, the crowd gave the last Communist salute to this heroine of the Trotskyist movement.

Antoinette's words of eight years ago, commemorating the founding of the Fourth International in 1938, express exactly how we felt at the flower-strewn grave as we recalled that inspiring voice we would never hear again:

"We place in your hands a banner unsoiled. Many times it was dragged into the mud. We lifted it up and lovingly cleansed it to give it to you. Under the red banner of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, you will conquer."

"YOU WILL CONQUER"

"And when that great moment arrives, pause for a moment and think of us, who will not be with you at that glorious time, and say: 'Comrades, sleep in peace. The work has been done!'"

First Trotskyist Meeting In Boston

Antoinette Konikow was chairman of a historic meeting in Boston which the Stalinists tried to break up with physical violence. It was the first Trotskyist meeting in that area, February 15, 1929. James P. Cannon, the principal speaker, had as his subject, "The Truth About Trotsky and The Platform of the Russian Opposition."

Anticipating the moves of the Stalinists, a defense squad of husky workers free on hand to uphold free speech, "A gang of Stalinist hoodlums was also there," writes Comrade Cannon in *The History of American Trotskyism*, "bent on breaking up the meeting, but evidently they became convinced that they would get their own heads broken if they tried it. The Boston meeting was a success."

Within a short time eight or ten comrades, inspired by the militant spirit of Antoinette Konikow and her comrades, organized the group that was to develop into the present Boston Branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

A Trotskyist To The End

By John G. Wright

Antoinette Konikow was a revolutionary socialist to the last day of her life. A striking incident the night before she died indicates her spirit.

One of her friends in the medical profession, a leading Boston psychiatrist, visited her. Antoinette has long been famous in the medical world. But the conversation quickly turned to questions far more important than shop talk. Antoinette raised the question of dialectical materialism. The doctor responded with an attack on the dialect method claiming that it has not been borne out by latest developments in science.

Antoinette did not spend much time on the defensive. Almost 60 years as a Marxist had taught her the extraordinary importance of the dialectic method, and all her experiences in the medical field as well as study in other sciences had only confirmed what she had learned from the great Marxist teachers. She opened up with a counter-attack that quickly won her the upper hand. And then to pursue her advantage she persuaded her foe in dialectics to continue the subject the following night.

Antoinette wanted to pass on to the younger generation the lessons and truths gleaned in a long lifetime of hard experience. Three years ago, she retired from active practice, intending to devote the remainder of her life entirely to recording the most important things she had learned.

She assembled the great mass of notes she had jotted down from time to time and began putting them in order. First on the agenda was her memoirs. After writing about her childhood and youth in Czarist Russia and Germany as a background, she took up her political recollections. These began with her impressions of George Plekhanov, the founder of Russian Marxism and teacher of Lenin.

Still Learning—At 76!

To facilitate her work she decided last winter to learn touch typing—at the age of 76! Her letters to the Political Committee changed all at once from the long-familiar, difficult-to-decipher handwriting to neatly typed communications.

But she did not succeed in finishing her memoirs. The considerable body of material she leaves will have to be assorted and woven together by someone else.

Her main objective in this work was to leave the younger generation with a true impression of more than a half century of revolutionary socialism. She had seen what damage opportunism can do. With her own eyes she saw the Second International brought to ruin and betrayal. In the light of this experience she understood to the full the need for battling Stalinism tooth and nail, for the Stalinist regime not only spreads the same poison of opportunism as the Second International, but wields totalitarian state power with utter ruthlessness.

Consequently she devoted a great deal of her last days to analyzing the revolutionary period of the Communist International in order to show what the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky really set out to do. The task of her generation, she felt, was to hand on the program of revolutionary socialism as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky had shaped it. Her study of the First Four Congresses of the Communist International resulted in an outline for class use and much additional unpublished material.

She wanted especially to write down her impressions of the Bolshevik generation that led the October 1917 revolution. Many of them she knew personally. They were the men cruelly slandered by Stalin as fascist "dogs gone mad." She knew them to be victims of Stalin, framed-up in the Moscow trials organized by the Kremlin dictator.

In 1940 she visited Leon Trotsky and his wife Natalia at Coyoacan. There the friendship with the great revolutionary couple, already many years old, was still more firmly cemented. The assassination of Trotsky by a GPU agent was a terrible personal blow to Antoinette.

Despite her age, Antoinette followed the press very closely. She intervened actively in political events, following *The Militant* and *Fourth International* and sending in her criticisms and opinions.

Recently she pointed out the necessity for the European Trotskyist movement to start up a paper in the Russian language. She mentioned the hundreds of thousands of Russian-speaking refugees now in various countries. The paper, she thought, should be popularly written, and even if her own Russian wasn't "classical" she was willing to become a contributor.

Antoinette spent her last days in the kind of surroundings she loved most, a cottage on the shores of Morse Pond, a beautiful lake at Wellesley, Massachusetts. The green surroundings reminded her of the Black Forest country of Germany where she one lived. She particularly admired a great pine tree standing between the porch and the lake. Some time ago a bolt of lightning ripped through the branches of this tree. After every storm Antoinette came out to see how it had weathered the ordeal. But it always stood, sturdy and strong, ruggedly beautiful despite the scars of time, wind and lightning.

Busy With Party Tasks

It was here that Antoinette Konikow died, busy with party tasks up to the very end.

Antoinette was not only a great teacher and leader of the Trotskyist movement. She was an integral part of the Boston branch of the Socialist Workers Party. The members counted her as their closest friend and advisor. Most of them she had nurtured as budding revolutionary socialist politicians of the working class, and she took great personal interest in the development of each one. Her classes in speaking, in the principles of Marxism, and in the history of the movement gave most of the Boston comrades their first insight into Trotskyism.

No one saw through sham and pretense quicker than Antoinette. No one had more contempt for the traitors, the liars and the tyrants who occupy the high places. No one was more revolted than she over the medals showered by Stalin on his sycophants. But that did not prevent her from seeing the value of genuine leaders and of appreciation well earned. In fact she probably understood the priceless nature of these things all the more because she was a real iconoclast. One of the most moving incidents in her political life was her reaction to an autographed photograph and letter from Leon Trotsky on her Fifteenth Anniversary in the Marxist movement. In response to the tribute paid her by those present on the occasion, she responded:

Trotsky's Warm Tribute

"The comrades have received me with warmth and friendship. It gives me tremendous happiness. The kind words written by Comrade Trotsky on his picture presented to me remind me of the greatest honor—the honor that was!—given to comrades in Russia, the Order of Lenin pinned upon their breasts. I feel as if Comrade Trotsky has pinned the Order of Trotsky on my breast! Not that I am a hero-worshiper—for I have helped to pull down too many heroes from their pedestals. But in the last ten years of darkness, of despair, the words of Leon Trotsky have been like a bell for a ship in distress, leading it to safe harbor."

Antoinette Konikow was born November 19, 1869 in Orenburg, Russia (now Chklov). Her early childhood was spent in Germany, her youth in Czarist Russia.

Her interest in the labor movement began at the age of seventeen. When she went abroad to Switzerland to study, she joined the Russian Socialist movement in 1888, becoming a member of the first Marxist organization in Russia.



The parents of the future revolutionary socialist were members of the Lutheran Church. That is why the six year old girl wore a cross around her neck when she had her picture taken. Years later Antoinette Federica was to explain repeatedly how the various church hierarchies support the reactionary capitalist system.

she, the "Emancipation of Labor Group" founded by Plekhanov.

In 1893 she emigrated to America. This was the year of a grave economic crisis, the chief victims of which were the foreign-born workers from Eastern Europe. Upon arriving in Boston, Mass., young Antoinette immediately threw herself into the unemployed movement. To participate most effectively in

DE LEONIST LEADER

Throughout this period she was a member of the Socialist Labor Party, then headed by De Leon. She was active as lecturer, served on the Massachusetts State Committee and held other leading posts.

In 1897, upon expulsion from the SLP because of her opposition to bureaucratic methods and practices of the leadership, she immediately joined the Debs wing of the Socialist movement, which presently fused with other groups to found the United Socialist Party, later known as the Socialist Party.

In this period she remained in the extreme left wing of the movement, serving on the Massachusetts State Committee, and as member of the National Women's Committee.

The split in the Second International precipitated by the first imperialist world war found her on the side of the irreconcilable opponents of war, fighting the treacherous policy of "national unity" and social-patriotism.

OPPOSED WORLD WAR I

When the United States entered the war in 1917, she made a national tour, speaking in opposition to the war before foreign-born audiences in all the major cities. As a demonstration of her international solidarity with the workers everywhere, even those dragooned into the armies of the "enemy," she spoke in German.

In the period of the October



At the age of 12. Within five years this strikingly beautiful girl was to become interested in the cause of labor and two years later join the first organized Marxist group in Russia. In those days, Frederick Engels, the closest collaborator of Karl Marx, headed the international revolutionary socialist movement.

1917 Revolution she rallied to the banner of Bolshevism, supporting Lenin and Trotsky.

Antoinette was one of the founders of the Communist movement in this country. She

(The following is the memorial address delivered at the funeral of Comrade Antoinette Konikow by E. R. Frank, editor of "Fourth International," who spoke on behalf of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.)

Comrade Antoinette Konikow was one of the rarest spirits of our time. Her entire conscious life, from the age of 19 when she first entered the working class movement in 1888, right up to the hour of her death, was devoted to the revolutionary struggle; was dedicated to the cause of socialism, the emancipation of mankind from the horrors and fears and terrors of capitalism and the creation of a new society of brotherhood, of comradeship, of freedom, of peace and plenty for all.

The life and deeds of Comrade Antoinette Konikow seem almost unbelievable, unreal on the background of this society — this brutal and harsh and cynical class society we live in today which exalts the self-seekers, the scoundrels, the schemers, the liars and tyrants and oppressors. Look at the people who are pointed to as examples, who are honored and praised, and for whom statues and monuments are built! Why, nine times out of ten these people are nothing but hypocrites, worthless careerists whose main aim is to feather their own nests and save their own skins.

Antoinette Konikow was of a different mold. She was made of different clay. Her whole life she determined not by thought of her personal ambition or career, but of serving best in the great crusade to cleanse this earth of its evil and terrible plagues—of exploitation of man by man, of human degradation and want, of the scourge of capitalist wars.

NEVER WAVERED

And in this holy crusade — the greatest and the noblest that there is in this world — she remained faithful and true throughout her life. Others fell by the wayside. Others grew tired, or lost faith or heart, or became terrified of the difficulties and dangers, or succumbed to the pressure or the blandishments or the fleshpots of the Stalinist bureaucracy or the capitalist powers-that-be, but not Antoinette Konikow. She never faltered. She never wavered. She never lost courage or strength.

The great revolutionary faith with which, as a young girl of 19, she first plunged into the struggle in Czarist Russia, she retained to the last. And through it all she retained her womanliness, her poise and her beauty. She provided us with constant living reassurance that the spirit of mankind, in its striving for truth, for justice, for the solidarity of humanity—that that

she devoted her life.

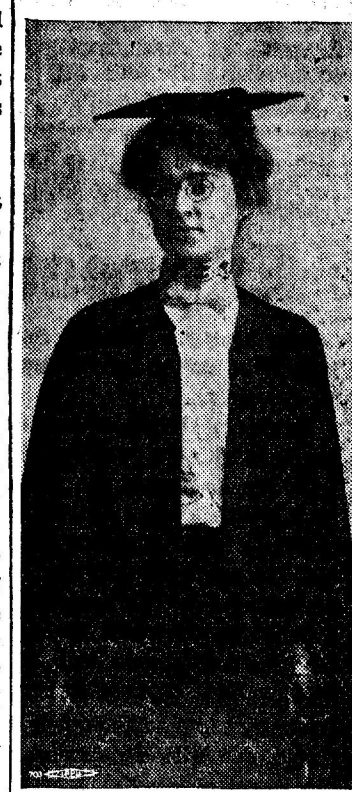
I still can see in my mind's eye Comrade Konikow at our last Convention, in November 1944, the 11th Convention of the American Trotskyist movement, how, despite her advanced years, she stood up, youthful and self-confident in spirit and told us how she had been battling for years, and how she was going to continue to battle until her dying day.

INSPIRES ALL

What a picture, what an inspiration for all of us, for the young men and the young women who are first mapping out their life's courses, what an example to cherish and to emulate.

Many things will pass away and the names of many men and women high in bourgeois society, today famous and acclaimed, will be forgotten and, in a few years, be unknown. But Comrade Konikow will not only be remembered, but future generations who will study this present age of ours in wonderment as well as sorrow, will come to know of Antoinette Konikow as one of the truest and most loyal and devoted of the original band of pioneers who blazed the trail for the socialist society.

And now I must in the name of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party of which she was an honorary member, give the last word of farewell to this wonderful comrade, this great, indestructible revolutionary spirit. Of course, grief is in all our hearts. But it is not the grief of prostration, of helplessness. No, let us say farewell to Antoinette as she would want it. Let us say farewell standing upright, with our eyes dry and our fists clenched with resolution. And with the pledge on our lips that we will, regardless of everything, carry on the revolutionary struggle to which she devoted her life.



A graduate of Tufts College in 1902 at the age of 33. Although she had a family on her hands and was participating actively in the Socialist movement, she studied medicine in addition. Dr. Antoinette F. Konikow rapidly became famous as one of the founders of the movement for planned families through birth control. But throughout her life the field of medicine remained of secondary interest, including those phases most closely linked with social problems. Her primary life objective was a political one—to end capitalism and build a socialist society.

Workers Everywhere Tributes To Heroic Life Of Comrade Konikow

The following messages were sent to the family of Antoinette Konikow by branches of the Socialist Workers Party.

Akron

The Akron Branch mourns the loss of a great socialist fighter, Antoinette. Her life will remain inspiring example to us.

Allentown

We all deeply grieve the passing of Comrade Antoinette Konikow. Her youthful enthusiasm and faith in the workers and our movement have inspired us. She will be sorely missed.

Bayonne

We are terribly shocked at the news of Comrade Antoinette's death. We have suffered an irreparable loss. She represented for us the personal embodiment of all our revolutionary ideals.

Buffalo

We are with you at this sad moment. Comrade Antoinette's devotion will always inspire us.

Chicago

We mourn with you in our common loss.

Cleveland

The memory of Antoinette Konikow will inspire world Trotskyism. Communist Greetings.

Connecticut

We have heard the sad news of Antoinette Konikow's death. Courage, loyalty and devotion is our heritage.

Detroit

The Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party, shocked and grieved by the death of Antoinette Konikow, at its meeting tonight stood in silent tribute to the memory of this sterling revolutionist who devoted a long, full life in the service of the working class. The Detroit branch extends the sincere expression of sorrow felt by each and every member.

Flint

The Flint comrades join with you in this hour of your bereavement. Comrade Antoinette Konikow will always be a towering inspiration to our movement. Her long and devoted service to the struggle for world wide socialism will never be forgotten.

Los Angeles

The oldest and most steadfast among us has passed away. Her life will be an inspiration to the revolutionary youth the world over. Her name will be high on our honor roll as we achieve the victory she fought for.

Mid-West School

From the memorial meeting held this evening at the Midwest School and Camp in honor of our beloved comrade Antoinette, all the comrades and friends present send you their deepest sympathy. Although our movement has lost one of its most cherished and devoted leaders, her many decades of work for the advancement of socialism survive as an active force in the life of our party.

Comrade Antoinette embodied the great unbroken tradition of unstinted service by Marxists to the cause of labor's emancipation. She enriched it by her activities, her achievements and above all by the power of her personal example. Her steadfastness, optimism and courage over a long lifetime remains a source of strength to us all.

Milwaukee

We deeply mourn the passing of Comrade Antoinette Konikow. The working class has lost a militant, persevering fighter for world socialism.

Newark

The Newark comrades extend our deepest condolences on the death of our respected comrade Antoinette Konikow. By her lifelong devotion to the cause of the workers, her intransigent adherence to Trotskyism, her deep loyalty to our party, she personified the model revolutionist as she so often urged the younger comrades to do. We pledge that we shall follow firmly in her footsteps in the struggle for socialist victory.

New York

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party sends you deepest condolences on your great loss. Antoinette's valiant life and struggle will be a source of unending inspiration. Her memory will remain forever among revolutionists.

Philadelphia

With deep sorrow we pause to mourn and pay honor to our departed comrade. Her life has been an inspiration to the cause which she so ably served. We shall carry on the more determinedly because of her great example.

Pittsburgh

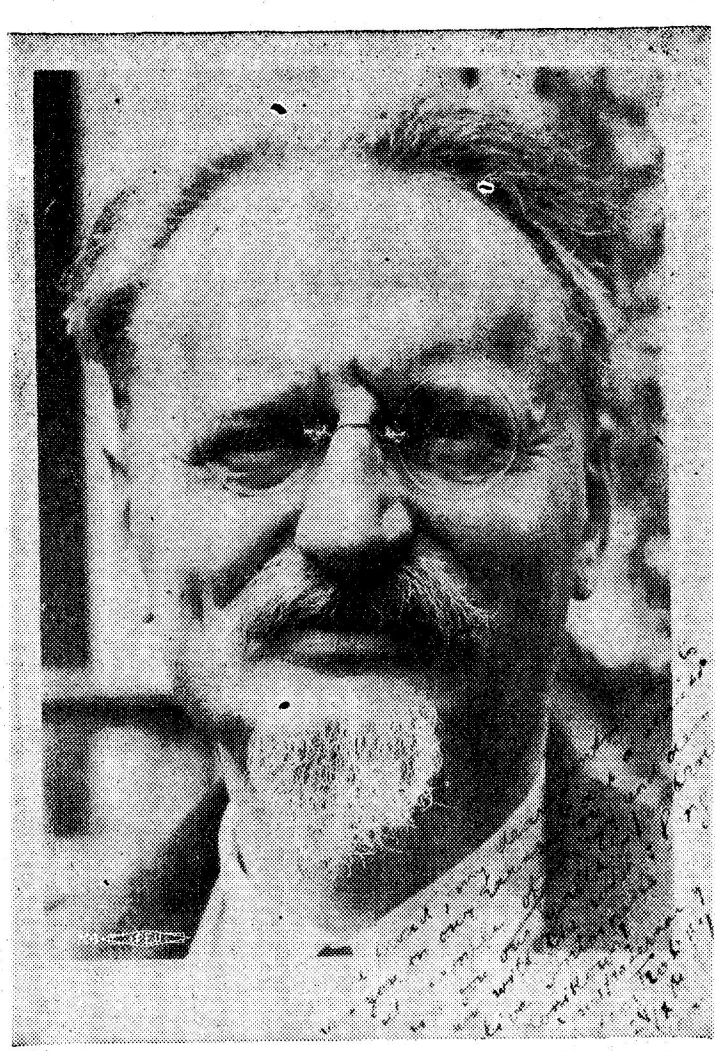
Antoinette Konikow was in our thoughts when we received the news. We will keep her strength and fighting spirit in our memory until we win our world.

San Francisco

The San Francisco and Oakland branches wish to convey their deepest sympathy to the family and friends of Comrade Antoinette. We shall always honor her for decades of devoted service to the revolutionary movement which to our knowledge few people have equalled.

Seattle

The Seattle branch of the Socialist Workers Party wishes to express to you its deep sorrow at the death of Comrade Antoinette Konikow, devoted fighter to the cause of the revolutionary



The photograph sent to Antoinette Konikow by Leon Trotsky on the fiftieth anniversary of her entry into the revolutionary movement. The inscription reads:

"We are proud, my dear Antoinette, to have you in our ranks. You are a beautiful example of energy and devotion for our youth. I embrace you with the wish: Long Live Antoinette Konikow! Yours fraternally, Leon Trotsky, Oct. 28, 1938, Coyoacan."

liberation of the working class. Comrade Konikow's memory will be cherished by the party and will inspire the party in its forward march.

Toledo

It is with a deep sense of loss that we hear of the passing of Mother Konikow. Please extend our sympathy to all members of the family. Though Comrade Konikow is no longer with us her unconquerable spirit lives in our party and in the hearts and minds of the many comrades privileged to know her.

What Antoinette Konikow Taught The Workers

The Class Struggle

"The troubles of this world," wrote Antoinette Konikow in the July 29, 1944 *Militant*, "we Socialists have always assured the workers, are not due to any conflict between the sexes—to a man's world or a woman's world. Poverty, disease, corruption, war, unemployment are due to economic causes; to the division of humanity into two classes: the boss class and the working class. Women, like men, belong to both classes, the possessing class and the dispossessed. Women of the rich class are generally satisfied with this world which gives them wealth, leisure and security."

"Housework is a stigma of poverty or near poverty. The poorer the family, the bigger the task of the wife and mother, since better wages for the husband gives her a chance to send out the laundry, to buy labor-saving devices, to indulge occasionally in a restaurant meal. No wonder that Hitler, who tried his best to keep women backward, proclaimed that church, kitchen and children are the women's sphere!"

Comrade Konikow then pointed out the value of women going into industry. "Work in the factory opens the woman's eyes. She knows now that her boss makes big profits out of her labor. She learns the lessons of the class struggle—and learns them in a shorter time than did her husband and other men workers. Women had to go through this same industrial schooling by which men learned, in order to understand the present system of living."

"Capitalism created the working class, which is historically bound to overthrow capitalism. In the Second World War, capitalism has brought forth an army of women wage earners, who previously had been far away from the battlefield of labor. Now women work side by side with men, women have joined the industrial army, women are due to become fighting members of the working class."

Leisure And Machines

How small machines like refrigerators, toasters, vacuum cleaners, automatic dishwashers, etc., lighten housework, was used by Antoinette Konikow to explain to "Mrs. Smith, my neighbor" how the vast machinery of the industrial system could give the workers more leisure and rest if they only possessed them.

"Mrs. Smith was quite amazed," continued Comrade Konikow in the June 8, 1940 *Militant*. "The comparison of machines in the factory and at home had evidently never occurred to her. Then she sadly shook her head. 'It sounds right, but machinery belongs to the bosses and they would never permit workers to use it that way.'"

"Well," was my answer, "the workers in Russia succeeded in getting all the factories and mines and transportation in their hands. True it did not work out as it should have been because workers of other countries did not follow their example. Also in Russia the workers were unable to stop

a bureaucracy from grabbing power away from them. But the revolution in Russia proved it can be done and the experience of the workers there will teach the workers of the whole world how to avoid the mistakes made in Russia."

Socialism And Housewives

In a "Letter to Housewives," Antoinette Konikow wrote in the March 30, 1940 *Militant*: "After attaining workers' power the first task to relieve women's life would be the creation of nurseries, kindergartens and playgrounds in a sufficient number—here in the United States their number is deplorably small. The next would be the organization of cooperative lunch rooms to relieve mothers of their kitchen drudgery. Even then mothers would still have plenty of work left: taking care of smaller meals, keeping the house in order, taking care of clothing, entertaining or supervising the children out of school and nurseries, nursing children with minor illnesses. Yes, even under socialism the mother will have her 6-8 hour day of work."

Motherhood Without Fear

"Mothers! The sugar-coated gifts hide the bitter pill of the boss system," wrote Comrade Konikow in the May 11, 1940 *Militant*. "Under capitalism there can be no improvement of conditions for women, mothers of families. Only in a Socialist society will mothers achieve that security which will permit them to raise children without fear for their future. But no one will give you that as a gift. You will have to struggle and fight for Socialism, you together with the workers, men and women, black and white, old and young—in this country and in others—for their cause is yours and only through the victory of the workers will mothers solve their problems. Only when mankind raises itself from slavery and exploitation and enjoys a free and full life will women choose motherhood happily, confidently and proudly. Rearing and preparing the young for a life in a socialist society, for useful labor, for boundless achievements in science, industry and art—that will indeed make of motherhood an interesting, important and honored profession."

Health And Beauty

Antoinette's championing of working class women included even things that might seem trivial. In an instructive letter on cosmetics quoted by Grace Carlson in the June 9, 1945 *Militant*, Comrade Konikow said:

"The working woman uses cosmetics, not only for her own satisfaction—to have a nice appearance or to attract possible romance—but she has to look well and attractive to keep her job. I think that if women would lead a healthy and normal life, their faces would look different. They would acquire the rosy cheeks that we had

in our youth and the bright eyes and the red lips. 'To me cosmetics are an expression of our unhealthy life under capitalism. It is not an important issue but it is just as well to understand that changes in women's work affect even the most minute forms of their life. This doesn't mean that I condemn cosmetics. I think that we shall have to use them for quite a while yet!'"

Planning The Family

Antoinette tirelessly explained that none of the burning problems of working men and women could really be solved except through the building of socialism. But she never hesitated to advocate measures—no matter how unpopular—that could alleviate, even if only partially, the plight of the poor and the downtrodden.

Among the unpopular measures she championed was birth control. She was among the first to fight in this country for its legalization. She never accepted birth control as a panacea, and always exposed those who did, just as she scathingly exposed the fraudulent claims and practices of licensed and unlicensed medical quacks. Her primary concern was to mitigate the double drudgery of women who not only have to care for families but are also burdened with work in industry.

At every opportunity she lectured on birth control before working class audiences of women, spreading knowledge about it, utilizing her training as a physician to popularize it, explaining just what could be done and what couldn't. She wrote a popular pamphlet on birth control. To help dispel the widespread ignorance among the medical profession on this subject, she published a scientific book on contraceptive methods.

It must be remembered that she did all this despite constant police surveillance as a "dangerous radical," despite the reactionary atmosphere of Boston, ridden for years by the notorious "Watch and Ward Society," and despite the opposition of the intolerant Catholic hierarchy and other bigots.

Youth And The Future

Addressing herself to the youth at a mass meeting held in New York, October 28, 1938, to celebrate the founding of the Fourth International and the Tenth Anniversary of American Trotskyism, Antoinette Konikow said:

"No sermons or admonitions, for you do not need them! I am proud of you. I want to tell you that I envy you, your youth and vigor. I would like to be 50 years younger to work with you, for your task in the coming years will be the most important in human history. You have great monsters to fight, Fascism, Stalinism. It was easier to work under the Russian Czar than under Stalin, easier under the German Kaiser than under Hitler."

"But you have better weapons than we had, more knowledge, the experience of 50 years of

BULLETIN No. 1.

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DECEMBER — 1938
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APPEAL FOR HELP!

Communists called to Siberia! Communists starving on fifteen dollars a month! Communists freezing for want of clothing and shoes! Veterans of the October Revolution condemned to die the long Siberian Death!

No. The Roilins have not returned to power! No. Can sit on his murderous throne. Then what has happened?

These men have opposed dictatorship without previous party discussion. They could not be out argued, so they had to be framed up and deported.

Whether you agree with them or not—would you treat them thus? If you feel that it is not yet time for these men to die, it is your duty to keep them alive.

Comrade Yoffe killed himself because he felt help- less to keep up the fight against the rule of Stalin. We must rush to the support of our persecuted comrades to save them from such a fate. Already throughout the world the opposition is growing. These brave Rus- sian comrades, who would rather die than submit to fictional terrorism, must be kept alive!

Send contributions to Dr. A. F. Konikow, 857 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

INDEPENDENT COMMUNIST LEAGUE
Secretary, Dr. ANTOINETTE F. KONIKOW
Organizer, L. SCHLOSSBERG
Treasurer, E. A. WENGE
Fin. Secy, CELIA COPPERSTEIN

P.S. Contributions are also needed to help our organization to keep you posted on news concerning the opposition in Soviet Russia and in our country.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

Certainly the principles of the Communist Party are not wrong. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat, as a transition to Communism, the effective work against capitalism and its conscious and unconscious support, the support of the Socialist Party—these are the strength and glory of the Communist movement.

What then is wrong? So deeply wrong that it is bound to become dangerous to the movement. What is the reason that so many communists find it impos- sible to work for communism within the party. The great more growing larger and deeper in the commu- nist movement in the form of organization carried over from the time of the Russian revolution; namely, the strict discipline NOW without democracy, the power assumed by a faction of the Communist Party of Soviet Russia to demand obedience not only in Soviet Russia, but all over the world.

HOW DID THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP OF THE R. C. P. ATTAIN SUCH POWER?

First, because the Workers of the World look upon them as the direct followers of Lenin, because upon their heads rests yet the halo of the October revolution. All achievements of Soviet Russia for the last ten years are considered to be their work. In fact, the workers identified them, just as they do them- selves, with the Russian revolution and with Soviet Russia. Whatever is against this faction is accused of being against the October revolution and against Soviet Russia. History made the Russian Communist Party, in the eyes of the workers of the world, the representatives of Soviet Russia, but in reality they represent only a faction in the R. C. P. which knows how to control its own Party and the Communists. In the first years of the Soviet government all comrades of the executive committee had their say however

deeply they differed. There were no bosses at that time and Lenin attained his influence only through the strength of his arguments and his deep knowledge, certainly not by mechanical control. This has changed since Zinoviev became secretary of the Communist Party.

HOW IS THE R. C. P. AND ALL OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES CONTROLLED BY ONE FACTOR?

He, Zinoviev, was the first to establish boss rule. When he was removed the control was not given to the workers of the party, but to a group of men who gave a high of relief, finding out soon that there was only a change of power. Stalin having taken his place, the Russian Communist Party is ruled now by the Stalin-Bucharin faction through the application of the so-called centralized democracy, or rather "simplified democracy," as a Russian comrade satirically charac- terized it. He says the general secretary of the party appoints the secretary of the state organization and so downward till the nucleus is reached. Then starts the movement in the opposite direction.

The secretaries of the nuclei "elect" the secretaries of the higher units who have appointed them; these "elect" the secretaries of the next higher unit, and so it goes on till the secretaries of the districts or Comintern are reached. They form the party conference, who cer- tainly "elect" Stalin as the secretary of the party. The same "simplified democracy" holds good for the organizations of the Communists and the organizations of all other Communist parties. The ruling factions can perpetuate themselves through perfect control of the party press and all avenues of information. If the majority of any Communist party proves unobedi- ent to the Comintern, "simplified democracy" at once be- comes "dictatorship" and the Comintern appoints the comrades satisfactory to themselves.

The front page of a printed bulletin—one of the first Trotskyist documents published in this country. It was issued by Antoinette Konikow upon her expulsion from the American Communist Party in 1938. This "Bulletin" suspended publication after its first issue, because almost simultaneously came the issuance of "The Militant" and the formation of the original Trotskyist organization, the Communist League of America (Left Opposition), in which she participated and which she helped found.

Twin Cities

Our hearts mourn with you over the loss of our dear comrade Antoinette. Her example of selfless devotion to the revolution- ary movement will be a constant inspiration to us.

Youngstown

The news of Comrade Antoinette's death was a great shock to the Youngstown branch. Our grief is allayed in part by the memory of her unswerving confidence throughout the darkest years and the inspiring example she gave to all of us. We bow our heads in sorrow. Her memory will be with us through all the struggles of the future.

RELIEF COMMITTEE PAYS HONOR TO ITS CHAIRMAN

Message sent by Rose Karsner in behalf of the American Committee for European Workers Relief:

Antoinette Konikow, our Chairman, was one of the inspirers of our Committee. International Solidarity was part of her very life's breath. For nearly 60 years she had devoted her best energies in the inter- ests of the world brotherhood of the working class.

Her departure leaves a great gap. The news of her death shocked us profoundly. Our Antoinette can never be really replaced. But it would have been her wish that we do not succumb to mourning. She was a fighter. Only a few days ago she wrote us about the importance of the Committee's work in sending relief to the European workers.

Our best memorial to Antoinette is to redouble our efforts. She herself expressed this unflagging spirit and determination time and again. She herself made this clear in words none of us could improve upon in the letter she sent us on June 8. And so on behalf of the Committee let me quote this letter:

Comrades and Friends: After participating fifty-eight years in the revolu- tionary movement, and having reached my seventy- seventh year, I am physically not able to do active work in our organization.

This realization of my disability, however, does not depress me, for I know that we now have an en- thusiastic fighting group which has the inspiration to continue the energetic struggle started by us older comrades; a young group with more knowledge, more assurance, historically nearer the goal than their predecessors.

To these young comrades and friends, I appeal now to concentrate their well-proved energy, their splendid abilities on the important burdensome job of relieving the physical sufferings of our co-workers in Europe and other countries.

I turn to you, my young comrades and friends, to take upon yourselves the obligations which old and ill comrades like myself are not in condition to ful- fill.

We have the picture of the comrades in other countries suffering from malnutrition, cold, exhaus- tion, mercilessly persecuted by political enemies. Still, they have not given up the struggle. They have lifted our banner high to carry on the work under most un- believable hardships.

Our response to their heroic strength and self- sacrifice must be — HELP!

Food and clothing to our heroic brothers and sisters in other countries is our immediate and most responsible task!

ANTOINETTE KONIKOW

the leadership of the greatest living genius of the revolution, Leon Trotsky."

On Imperialist War

When the capitalist world stood at the brink of the Second World War, Comrade Konikow warned the workers who opposed the slaughter that they must steel themselves against persecu- tion. In her speech October 28, 1938 on the fiftieth anniversary of her work in the movement, she recalled her dramatic experiences in the First World War:

"I was sent on tour by the German-language federation of the Socialist Party to speak in Ger- man at anti-war meetings. This was no easy task at the height of the war frenzy. Many times comrades would approach me, pale and trembling, begging that I speak on another subject. They pointed to German detectives and the sheriff sitting in the crowd. Often I felt like weakening—but there was one magic word that gave me strength to do my duty. I tell it to you comrades—it may again help you. The magic word was Liebknecht."

(Liebknecht stood up all alone in the Reichstag in 1914 to battle in the name of the working class against the war and German imperialism. —Editorial Note.)

Moscow Frame-up Trials

In the fight against Stalinism, Antoinette Konikow took a vigorous part. As late as 1943 she was still on the public rostrum exposing the role of the Kremlin in the Moscow Frame-up Trials. Thus *The Militant* for August 28, 1943, reports that as "the leading speaker" at a Boston meet- ing she "contrasted . . . the real Trotsky with the slanderous and lying picture of him presented in the Davies film, 'Mission to Moscow,' which she had just seen."

Again in the August 19, 1944, *Militant* she re- viewed Duranty's book "USSR—The Story of So- viet Russia." Duranty "does not pillory Stalin for his proven guilty as Trotsky's murderer," she wrote, "but tries to discredit the victim of the Kremlin Borgia. The 'spiteful twilight' Duranty refers to was the years when Trotsky performed his greatest work—creating the Fourth Interna- tional to sweep the monstrous obstacle of Stalinism from the path of the oncoming revolution."

"In his chapter on the Moscow Trials," con- tinued Comrade Konikow, "Duranty reveals the main purpose of his book: to whitewash the Krem- lin. No one could prove, says he, that any of the accused confessed under duress. Therefore, he concludes that the confessions were true and the trials were not frame-ups. Duranty accepts the verdict of the Moscow Trials, although he doesn't dare to repeat openly the faked charges against Trotsky. For he is aware of the findings of the Dewey Commission on the Moscow Trials which completely exonerated Trotsky on all charges and branded the trials as frame-ups."

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

—Leon Trotsky

Rent Strikes

During the war, building labor and materials were diverted into war production. New construction of homes and apartment buildings was halted, while old dwellings rapidly deteriorated.

With the natural expansion of the population and the return of millions from the armed forces, the demand for housing has become extremely acute.

The government has stalled on housing construction. In addition, OPA fixed costs of building materials and rentals of new dwellings at outrageous levels.

That is the reason why the real estate interests and landlords are today in position to make demands for exorbitant rents. This is especially true in the workers' neighborhoods, where the housing crisis is most acute.

Rents soared during the first years of the war, just as did commodity prices. Rent controls were fixed last of all, based on the already inflated rentals of April 1943.

All sorts of dodges were then contrived by the landlords to increase their take, despite OPA. Customary concessions of a month's rent were eliminated. New tenants had to bribe real estate agents and superintendents for priority on vacancies. Dwellings were "reconditioned," divided up into smaller rooms, turned into "furnished apartments" — all permitting higher rents. Services and redecorating were eliminated.

With all vacancies filled the landlords now are going all-out for a real killing.

If rents are permitted to soar, hundreds of thousands of families, unable to pay higher rent, will be evicted.

But the American people during the depression learned some effective methods for stopping evictions and dealing with rent hogs.

The mass organizations of the unemployed set up block and neighborhood committees which prevented eviction orders from being carried out, or moved evicted families back into their homes. These measures had a salutary effect in many communities.

Another form of mass action that made the landlords cry "Uncle!" was the rent strike. Tenants organized and by common agreement refused to pay any rents until a rent boost was removed or rents were lowered. And there weren't enough judges, courts, police and sheriffs to stop them.

If millions of tenants throughout the country organized and revived these militant methods today, the big real estate interests would pull back those rent hikes in short order.

Reparations

On July 4 the Foreign Ministers of the Allied powers meeting at Paris decided that vanquished Italy must pay \$100,000,000 in reparations to the Soviet Union. This robbers' agreement once again underscores the reactionary character of the Second World War. In demanding and accepting reparations, Stalin and his mouthpiece Molotov violated every principle that the Bolsheviks stood for in the days of Lenin.

In the Manifesto issued by the First Zimmerwald Conference held in Switzerland in 1915, Lenin, branding World War I as imperialist, declared: "The task is to take up this fight for peace — for a peace without annexations or war indemnities."

All the spokesmen of the imperialists, including the rabidly patriotic Social Democrats, (Socialists) jeered at this slogan. But it expressed the needs and the wishes of the world working class. Within short order it was voiced by millions of workers who had been dragged into the armies on both sides of the warring powers. It became so popular that even Woodrow Wilson was forced to give it lip service through grunted teeth.

On the very day following the successful uprising in Petrograd, the Bolsheviks reaffirmed this slogan. In the "Appeal for the support of the New Soviet Government" dated November 8, 1917, the Bolsheviks told how the workers had thrown out the Czar and the imperialist government of Kerensky. The workers had established a new Soviet government. "Their first word is peace. They demand the immediate suspension of hostilities, immediate peace negotiations which will lead to-

ward an honest peace without annexations and indemnities on the basis of the right of nations to self-determination."

Lenin and Trotsky followed this policy for the most realistic of political reasons. The oppressed masses from whom reparations are wrung are the principal victims in imperialist war. Thus it is not only unjust to demand that they pay for the crimes of the rulers who oppressed them and plunged them into the slaughter, but politically false. The foreign power that demands reparations arouses the burning hatred of the masses. The desire for revenge helps breed another conflict.

By opposing reparations and annexations, the Bolsheviks won the sympathy and support of the masses in other lands for the Soviet Union. These masses became the most powerful ally of the Soviet people in resisting imperialist aggression.

The Stalinist regime pursues a policy that undermines and weakens the Soviet Union. The \$100,000,000 seized from the Italian people alienates their sympathies and turns them against the Soviet Union. On top of this they are disoriented and diverted from the path of socialist revolution.

Against the counter-revolutionary policy of Moscow it is necessary to raise once again Lenin's slogan: "Fight for peace — for a peace without annexations or war indemnities!"

The Hobbs Bill

Brushing aside the protests of all organized labor, President Truman on July 3 signed the notorious Hobbs bill. This tricky bill was designed to lay the basis for frame-ups of strikers and pickets on charges of alleged "racketeering" which in any way "obstructs, delays or affects" inter-state commerce. For violations, this broad act provides fines up to \$10,000 and 20 years' imprisonment.

What the CIO calls a "gross deception" was practised in the propaganda for this measure. The Hobbs bill was played up as an "anti-racketeering" bill. Actually, there is already an Anti-Racketeering Act. But this act provides that its provisions are not to apply to "the payment of wages to a bona fide employee" and that courts are not to construe it "in such manner as to impart, diminish, or in any manner affect the rights of bona fide labor organizations in lawfully carrying the legitimate objects thereof."

The Hobbs bill removes these provisions protecting labor and substitutes clauses aimed at labor.

This makes one more legal device which the Wall Street government in the past seven years has adopted to curb labor. In 1940, Roosevelt signed the Smith "Gag" Act over labor's protests. This was used in the wartime frame-up of the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case victims. In 1943, the Smith-Connelly anti-strike law was passed and became the basis for breaking strikes through plant seizures.

Each time the union leaders voiced verbal protest. But the laws are made inside Congress — not outside. Labor's voice on the outside could not be heard above the howls of the anti-labor forces on the floor of Congress. Labor's voice will be heard only when it speaks up right inside Congress itself.

Terror In Balkans

Last week *The Militant* reported mass arrests of Trotskyists in Bulgaria. This is "an infallible sign," we declared, "that a blood purge of major proportions is now in progress in the Balkans."

This has now been confirmed by R. H. Markham, well-known staff correspondent of *The Christian Science Monitor*. Writing from Athens July 2, he describes conditions in Rumania from which he was just expelled by the Stalinist puppet government.

"The Government allows no oppositional Socialist paper to appear... It is absolutely forbidden to criticize Russian control, the Army, Mrs. Ana Pauker or other chief Rumanian Communist dictators in the service of Moscow," declares Markham. He speaks of the "action of state police against students," and tells about "provocateurs."

"Thousands of persons have been picked up in Rumania," he continues, "taken to Russia as a consequence of which the Russian threat arouses sinister visions."

Markham was an eyewitness at "political rallies, most of which were broken up by trained armed Communist shock troops."

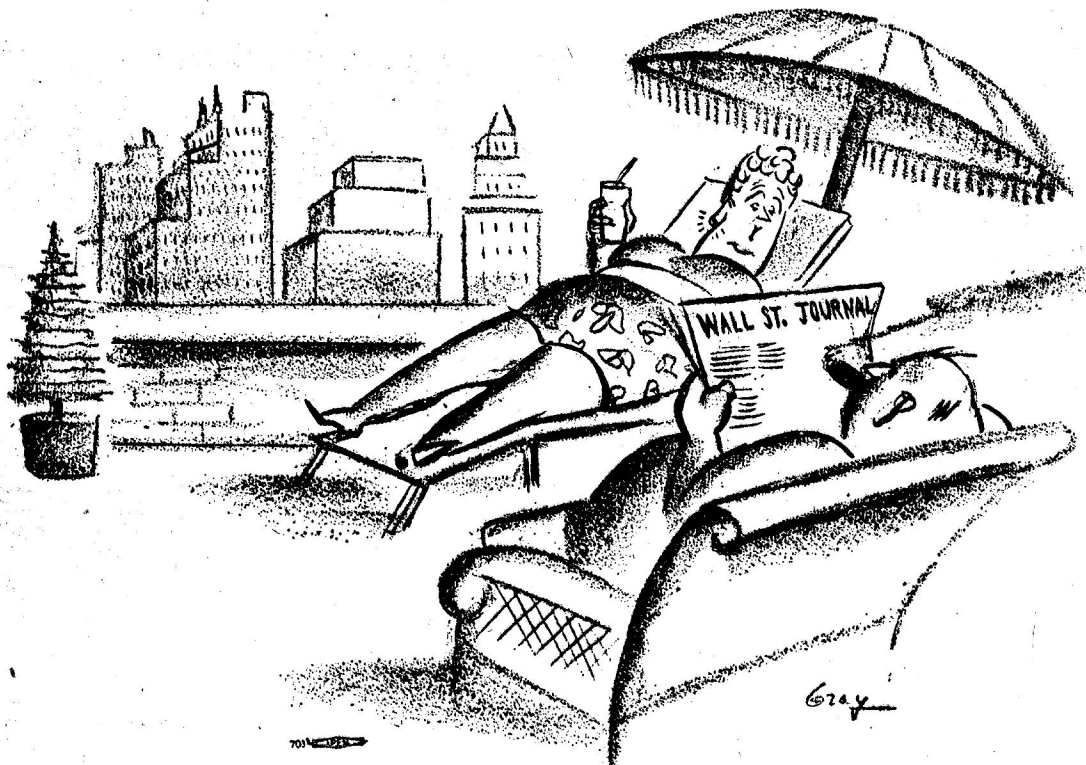
But this is not all. "Arrests have become common throughout the whole country." He speaks of the "constant fear." "Real or fictitious conspiracies are constantly announced by press and radio, and they serve as justification for wholesale arrests. The prison regimes are bad, and the whereabouts of arrestees often kept secret. Persons are taken from their homes without warrants, and families compelled to search for them for days."

Markham draws the following conclusion: "According to a calm appraisal, the regime steals, intimidates, terrorizes, beats, murders, partly for personal benefits, but mostly for political aims."

Among the victims of the Stalinists in the Balkans are not only Trotskyists but Social Democrats, leaders of the peasants, and other political oppositionists. Those shot down include the best defenders of the Soviet Union. Many of the victims had fought heroically against the Nazis throughout the war. They survived Hitler's concentration camps only to fall before Stalin's terror squads.

The labor movement must come to the defense of Stalin's victims. Protests should be lodged with the legations of each of the Balkan countries, particularly Bulgaria.

Every worker who knows a Stalinist should lodge a personal protest against the terror in the Balkans. Ask these Stalinists to put the heat on their leaders. Only the most vigorous efforts can save the Balkan workers from the organized blood purge of the Kremlin bureaucracy.



"Aren't people silly to crowd the beaches when it's so comfortable at home?"

BOOKSHELF

HANDBOOK OF POLITICS AND VOTER'S GUIDE, by Lowell Mellett; Penguin Books, 1946, 138 pp., 25 cents.

"It is usually the liberals who don't know their way around in the dark," says Lowell Mellett in his introduction to *Handbook of Politics*. Himself a liberal, he proceeds then to prove that he, too, is hopelessly lost in the mazes of capitalist politics.

His book includes valuable material on election laws. He shows how every state erects barriers against independent working class parties, to aid the Democratic and Republican boss machines. He describes the cynical ward-healers who keep a grip on local politics by controlling a handful of "sure" votes. He lists the voting records of incumbent Representatives and Senators on many important measures from 1943 to 1946. He explains techniques by which congressmen evade a public record of their votes — burying bills in committee, forming "general pairs" with their presumed opponents, etc.

All of this information, which constitutes seven-eighths of the book, is enlightening and useful to any worker seeking to understand how the Democrats and Republicans hold their power. The introductory "explanation" however, is riddled with false conclusions deliberately aimed at discouraging the formation of a labor party.

"If you want to defeat a man who has made a bad record in office," says Mellett, vote "for the man most likely to beat him, not necessarily for your own No. 1 choice. It is always worth while to defeat a bad man... even if his successor is just as bad."

That, of course, is precisely the policy of the PAC in endorsing "progressive" capitalist candidates. The result, as all workers know today, has been a government war on labor; taxes which soak the poor while the profit-

eers get rebates; the most monstrous military machine ever built in peacetime.

Nowhere does Mellett propose voting for a program; for him, the entire struggle is one of individuals. And he hurriedly explains that a "good" individual must be excused for sometimes voting like "bad" ones, because "it is worth-while, from the stand-point of over-all influence, for him to maintain a status of party regularity as far as his conscience will permit."

Mellett's facts show that it is futile for workers to continue to support "good" capitalist politicians who vote against the labor movement on all major issues; and that a small but determined group of voters could duplicate the efficiency of the boss machines. From this he concludes: "If you want political results you must work within one of the major parties." The worker who reads his book, however, is likely to decide that it's more practical to build a labor party.

Reviewed by
Ruth Johnson

THE NEW SAD SACK by George Baker, published by Simon and Schuster, 162 pages, \$2, 1946.

The Sad Sack was one of the better comic creations of the war — like Bill Mauldin's characters, a great advance over those produced in the first world war. He was the private of the U. S. Army, caught in a military machine he did not like and did not fully understand, always the good soldier getting the short end of the stick, always the victim and the fall guy for the brass, always sadly disillusioned in the end. It is easy to see why millions of soldiers came to identify themselves with the Sad Sack.

Baker's hero is the Charlie Chaplin of the cartoons — a wistful, loveable "little man," dig-

ging either foxholes or latrines, working hard, being shot at, hounded by fate and bullied by officers. He is always trying to improve things, to do his job conscientiously, to make life a little more liveable — but he is invariably defeated either by bad luck or red tape or some fang-toothed officer who takes credit for the Sad Sack's work or dumps the blame for his own errors on the Sad Sack. In the first strip the Sad Sack is usually happy, sometimes even jubilant as he starts out on his little adventure — in the last, he is either horribly deflated or unconscious.

This pattern is maintained even on that happy day when he finally gets his hand or his discharge papers. He leaps into the air with joy as he leaves the separation center, even jitterbugs as he goes down the street. But he is slowed down a little by a newspaper headline: Housing Shortage Worst in 100 Years. He recoils as he hears the blare of a radio: Inflation Spreads as Prices Rise. And so it goes: Another headline: International Diplomatic Crisis Looms. Another radio: 3,000,000 Unemployed by Spring. Another newspaper: Atomic Rocket Can Wipe Out USA in 30 Minutes. Finally, passers-by turn in curiosity to stare at the Sad Sack sitting on the sidewalk curb, holding his head in one hand and his discharge papers in the other, a look of profound woe on his face.

Together in a book, the Sad Sack cartoons read as well as they did in the pages of *Yank*. But something is more noticeable now than when they were read week by week. And that is the absence of the element of protest, the desire to rebel and get even — to which Mauldin's cartoons gave recognition every once in a while. In that sense alone is the Sad Sack not faithful to the typical army private he is patterned after.

Reviewed by
George Breitman

Congressmen At Work

Planning Under Capitalism

Wall Street's Congressmen are dead opposed to the planned economy of socialism. They say it would destroy initiative. Who would want to produce food, clothing, low-priced modern homes, free medical services, household conveniences, automobiles, unlimited abundance, etc., without shaking down some personal cash profits? Better to continue the present system with its depressions, unemployment, want, hunger, world wars and slaughter. Well, what if one-fourth of the population of the United States will be wiped out with atomic bombs in the first few hours of the next world war? After all, won't capitalist initiative be saved?

But Wall Street's Congressmen are not always against planning. They proved this June 14 when they took up Senate Bill 524 "to provide for... such... national cemeteries in the States, Territories and possessions as may be needed for the burial of war veterans."

Rep. Robert Sikes, Democrat of Florida, explained that "there never has been what might be considered an over-all policy of planning for national cemeteries." Today with prospective candidates for these cemeteries numbering in the tens of millions "the time has come when we must begin to plan from a national standpoint for this very important matter."

"It is going to be necessary at a very early date to provide additional national cemetery space," continued Sikes, "con-



sequently, it is thought that the logical and sensible thing to do is to provide for an over-all national cemetery program."

The really logical and sensible thing is to end imperialist wars by introducing the planned economy of socialism plenty. But that's not the kind of logic the capitalist politicians follow. And particularly when a bill provides \$123,000,000 for the patronage pork-barrel.

Representative Melvin Price, Democrat of Illinois, agreed on the burning need for planning the cemeteries on a nation-wide scale. However, he suggested a slight amendment. "The military carries its caste system to the grave," he explained. The War Department segregates the graves of officers and men. Representative Price did not "believe this is right." He did not say anything about the caste system while the soldiers are alive. He just wants to eliminate the caste system in the government cemeteries after they're buried.

It is not sure that this attempt at national planning under capitalism will go through. After all it threatens the initiative of capitalists in the cemetery business. Representative Overton Brooks, Democrat of Louisiana, admitted "I have received bitter opposition to this program for a national cemetery program... I have heard it said from private sources that it will interfere to some extent with the profits of private cemeteries." These interests are naturally very keenly concerned about safeguarding capitalist initiative in disposing of deceased veterans.

Apparently inspired by the opposition to the measure, Rep. A. S. J. Carnahan, Democrat of Missouri, introduced a bill (H.R. 6793) to bring solace to the survivors of the dead on foreign battlefields so that they will not constantly be thinking about bringing back the bodies for burial in the United States.

Representative Carnahan proposed furnishing relatives photographs of the graves of "their loved ones" buried overseas. "Such photographs will relieve any doubt regarding the location of the permanent grave and will give assurance that the grave has had and will continue to receive adequate care."

If Carnahan's plan goes through, then it might not be necessary to expand the planned cemeteries on such a colossal scale as some Congressmen now propose and the threat to capitalist initiative will be lessened.

THE POST-MORTEM ON VETO OF OPA

By M. Stein

I listened attentively to President Truman's OPA post-mortem. Many among the vast radio audience must have felt sorry, no doubt, for the chief executive of this mighty nation when he made his tearful plea against those who murdered OPA. The people are of course justly scared of unbridled inflation. They know what rising prices have done to their living standards in the past five years — they were compelled to buy less and what they bought was of inferior quality. Inflation hits the wage-earner first, hitting where it hurts most — in the stomach.

But how can any one feel sorry for himself when the President is so deeply hurt? The villain who "did him wrong," who with his own two hands choked the life out of OPA, is, according to Truman, none other than the Republican Senator from Ohio, Robert A. Taft.

The ordinary citizen is accustomed to pain and sorrow. That is his daily lot. But when an individual as high and mighty as the President himself is brought to tears, when he laments his frustration and defeat at the hands of the cruel Senator from Ohio, who can fail to be overwhelmed with sympathy for him and with indignation against those who offend him?

The first impulse is to rush to the nearest Western Union office to send off protest telegrams to the unconscionable Congressmen who stood by while Taft perpetrated his nefarious deed. But it suffices to add the cost of these telegrams to the extra cost of the next day's groceries. For the average worker cannot afford it.

Since we have touched upon practical considerations, we might as well view Truman's whole speech somewhat more critically. In his speech he said: "What I have done is to call a spade a spade." This innocent-sounding phrase has a familiar and suspicious ring. Every politician schooled in the art of trickery and chicanery invariably resorts to this expression. Ask yourself, did he really? There is such a thing as telling a half-truth which is even more deceptive than an outright lie. Senator Taft, it is true, did his best to kill price controls. But why didn't Truman mention such an item as: "Senate Democratic leader Allen W. Barkley (Ky.) said he and the other three Congressional Democratic chiefs had urged Truman to sign the measure 'on the grounds that it is this or nothing.'"

Democrats Vote Same Way

This was reported by the entire press one day prior to the President's radio address. The Democratic chiefs in Congress voted the same way as Taft did.

Why didn't Truman mention "Pass-the-Biscuits—Pappy" O'Daniel and his filibuster? Is it perhaps because this Texas Senator and others, happen to be Democrats, members of Truman's own party? To be really honest about it Truman should have directed his fire, at the members of his own party — the majority party in both the upper and lower houses of Congress. Were they innocents seduced by the cunning, scheming Taft, or were they willful parties to the crime? This should have at least been explained by one who wants to "call a spade a spade."

Wouldn't it have been the better part of candor for Truman to have said a few words about the role of members of his party? All these gentlemen who represent in Congress the cotton interests of the South, the real-estate interests, the interests of the packinghouse trusts, etc., etc., and who fought to the bitter end against price control?

And, come to think of it, what about Truman himself? He acted with lightning speed to break the railroad strike. He called a special session of both houses of Congress to demand stringent anti-strike legislation. He took over the railroads, mobilized the army and the navy to operate the roads — all to break a strike when the workers demanded a few cents an hour more to meet the rising cost of living. If he had all this power, as chief executive, against the railroad workers, why can't he use some of it against the profiteers, the monopolists? Why not take over and operate the packinghouses, for example, under workers' control so that the workers can get their meat at a price within their reach?

Is it possible that the veto of the OPA Bill by the President was not really intended to control prices but merely to place the onus of responsibility for inflation on the Republicans? Is it possible that it was nothing but a smokescreen to hide the real culprits? Is it possible that it was only a campaign trick in preparation for the Congressional elections this year?

Odds And Ends

The terminal leave bill — to pay enlisted soldiers for the furloughs they were entitled to and didn't get, just as officers are paid — has passed the House and run into a snag in the Senate. The Senate committee in charge has pigeon-holed the bill until it gets the opinion of the White House, which has been opposed to the bill up to now... No more Negroes are being accepted as volunteers in the occupation force for Europe, because the Jim Crow "quota" assigned for them has already been filled... Attorney General Clark says the government is "considering" a general amnesty for World War II conscientious objectors — but not those between 19 and 44 years of age, that is, most of them... The Stalinists have finally jumped on the bandwagon for a National Conference of Labor to plan joint action against anti-labor legislation. The *Daily Worker* even claims that the Stalinists were the first to advance this idea. The fact is, however, that not a single union controlled by the Stalinists has tried to do a single thing to advance the National Labor Conference movement... The Army reports that it now costs \$590.68 to equip and maintain a soldier for his first year of service. This amounts to \$125.42 more than it did two years ago. Thus the government admits that even before the most recent price rises there has been a 27 percent increase in the cost of living in the last two years... How to go broke faster: The National Emergency Committee for Price Control in Washington wrote its supporters after OPA expired: "During the period without controls, every time you find that a price has gone up, write to your Senators and Congressmen giving them the details..."

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Luxuries FM Ships As Millions Starve

As a longshoreman and a reader of The Militant, I'd like to tell you what I've seen of the government's supposed European relief work. From my own experience and from that of my fellow workers on other docks, we find that for every shipment of basic foods there are five shipments of luxuries that couldn't possibly be of any benefit to the millions of starving peoples.

For example yesterday we loaded several hundred washing machines, four new passenger cars, one truck, and we filled the remaining small spaces with cases of fancy meat dressings, tomato catsup, and Post Toasties! We all know how hard it is for the American workers to get most of the above items, so it's a little difficult to imagine starving workers in inflation-ridden Europe buying washing machines, new cars, or fancy sauce for non-existent meat!

If we, as workers, could control European relief through our trade unions it would certainly be a different story. At least we wouldn't starve the poor to let the rich live in luxury.

P. M.
New York

A Worker's Worry

I am ashamed that I did not renew my subscription as soon as it expired, but I didn't know from day to day just where my postal address would be, so I delayed writing to you.

The place I live in has been sold and I was not sure whether I would be able to stay. I am still not sure, but I am not going to wait any longer. You may renew my subscription from the date it was due.

I will notify you later when my place of residence changes, if I find a new place. A worker's worry!

L. P.
San Francisco



Nurseries Too Few, Cost Too High

I am the mother of a six-week old baby. Since it is necessary for me to work, I had to find an efficient nursery to care for her during the day.

After two weeks of writing to some half-dozen agencies "interested" in the day care of children of working mothers, I received a few discouraging replies. To my amazement I found that in the borough of Manhattan, which has a population of nearly two million, there are only THREE nurseries to care for infants of this age — and that includes both the private and the government — subsidized ones!

Two are in Harlem, one on the lower East Side. It is practically impossible to get a child into the two subsidized ones, because they are always filled to capacity.

At the private nursery I found a vacancy — the fee is \$12 a week. To many working women this fee would be too high even to consider. With prices going up so high and so fast, it is necessary for many mothers to contribute to the household funds. But how can we do it?

N. Kane
New York, N. Y.

Canadian Worker Endorses 'Militant'

The Militant is 100 per cent behind the workers of the world. This fact has made me very proud to subscribe to the

paper because other political organizations (their leaders especially) have been selling out the working man. Now at last after many years of struggling, an organization representing the workers is now in operation.

Let's march ahead for a democracy which is free from fear, starvation and discrimination.

I am supporting the 4th International wholeheartedly. Its battle to free the world from capitalist oppression should be supported by all workers of all color, races and creeds.

I greatly desire more news of world events in future Militants.

J. M.
Canada.

Socialism Is Constructive

In the June 22 issue, reader M. A. Wagner said The Militant incites chaos, "tears down," etc. The Militant has to — and does — do two jobs: it would be poor judgment to try to build a new lasting structure on the crumbling walls of capitalism!

It is necessary to tear down, discourage, get rid of the old system of legalized thievery. Labor cannot make gains by soft-pedaling its opposition to capitalism and the enemies of labor. As for replacing capitalism with something, perhaps M. A. Wagner did not observe in each issue of The Militant "Our Program" (page 5) and articles on socialism based on Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and others, which show deep planning toward the beginning of and the keeping of socialism.

When simplified, the exploitive system of capitalism has only two parts: producers, the workers — and parasites, the bosses. The big monopolies control the best opportunities and intend to keep them forever by using the warriors to kill the workers if necessary. Bibles, flags, religions and patriotism are part of the capitalist means of warfare. Do you know of any way of reforming capitalism? I know of none. Socialism is a plan to replace capitalism, and the plan is ready to use.

Jarvis Dusenberry
Cambridge, Mass.

Picture Of Inflation



In Hungary, where the pengo is virtually worthless today as inflation soars out of control, a woman demonstratively lights her cigarette with a bill which in prewar years equalled \$210,000,000. Workers' wages lag far behind the fantastic prices of food and other necessities of life.

Federated Press.

Bilbo And The Negro Struggle: A Letter To Militant Readers

Editor:

With Bilboism spreading wide and smelling worse, it is time we began to fight to crush the fascist doctrines he so ignorantly proclaims.

Bilbo is only one old man, but we must remember he is a man representing the interests of the ruling class of the south, whose profits are increased by dividing workers, black against white and white for white alone.

Bilbo as an individual is not a threat to Negroes, Jews or Catholics if workers are educated to the class struggle. In the south where the trade unions are weakest, where workers have a low standard of living, white workers in their misery accept the theories of Bilbo as the explanation for their exploitation and oppression. And Negroes, without an understanding of wages, prices and profits, are unaware of the cause of the discrimination we endure.

In the north where there is a higher degree of racial equality it is our duty to help ease the burden of our people who must live under the hatred of Bilbo, as well as to fight the would-be Bilbos in our own cities.

In Mississippi, Georgia, North and South Carolina and so on

down south, Negroes have very few opportunities to resist the oppression forced upon them.

The Negroes in the north expose every evil act against our people, by publishing our weekly newspapers. Yet these writers, editors, special correspondents, these educated men and women, have no program for us to follow and offer no method of eliminating the fascists.

With all due respect for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League and the many other fine Negro organizations and the many worthy Negro leaders, the greatest advancement will come to the Negro people when we realize that many steps can be taken. But we will never reach the peak of equality until we completely remove capitalism which lives by exploitation, oppression and discrimination.

Reading of the KKK, the Freeport murders, the lynchings in Georgia, the race hatred in Detroit, the rent extortions in Harlem, the dozens of other evils forced upon the Negroes, these truths should awaken us by the thousands to the fact that our votes if cast year after year for Republicans and Democrats will only continue to hold us in bondage.

We, the members of the Socialist Workers Party, have the program to end these evils by the establishment of a new society, a society of socialism.

We in the Harlem branch of the Socialist Workers Party invite every worker to visit our branch at 103 West 110 St., Room 23, and meet our members, read our literature, join our party and fight with us for the freedom of all workers throughout the capitalist world.

All are welcome to visit us or write for further information. If you hate the evils you now endure, let us hear from you.

C. Howell
New York

Notice To Readers

Because of space limitations, a number of regular and special features have been eliminated from this issue of The Militant. They will be resumed in next week's issue.

New York Youth Open Branch In Queens

New York, July 5 — The first meeting of the Queens branch of the Trotskyist Youth Group was held this week at the Odd Fellows Temple in Jamaica. Over twenty young people were present to hear a speech on "The Meaning of Socialism Today" by Sandy Robertson, Organizer of the New York Trotskyist Youth Group. A spirited discussion followed the speech.

Four comrades joined the newly-organized Queens branch after the meeting.

The establishment of a Queens branch of the Trotskyist Youth Group marks a new stage in its development. It has begun to reach out into other sections of the city, bringing the fighting program of Trotskyism to wider and wider sections of worker and student youth.

The Queens branch is holding open forums every Wednesday night at the Odd Fellows Temple, 160th St. and 90th Ave., at eight o'clock. Refreshments are served after the meeting. Everyone is welcome.

Relief Social In Allentown July 14

ALLENTOWN, Pa. — A social for the benefit of hungry fighters against capitalist oppression in Europe will be held in Allentown at the Militant Labor Forum, Front and Hamilton Sts., on Sunday, July 14. Proceeds will go to the American Committee for European Workers Relief.

Friends and Militant readers are urged to attend, and to bring as admission any item of canned or non-perishable food, clothing, or a financial contribution. The program will include games, dances, entertainment by Menard Wilson, well known Bethlehem singer, and a brief talk by Max Goldmann.

Pioneer Notes

Two new Pioneer pamphlets are just off the press this week: Veterans and Labor, by Charles Carsten, and Only Victorious Socialist Revolutions Can Prevent the Third World War, which is the Manifesto of the 1946 World Conference of the Fourth International, held in April in Belgium. Each is priced at 10 cents.

Veterans and Labor, 24 pages, is a popular presentation of a program of united action by veterans and the labor movement. The attractive cover design is by Jean Morgan.

Only Victorious Socialist Revolutions Can Prevent the Third World War, 32 pages, was first published May 11 in The Militant. It elaborates the fighting program of the Fourth International and is a document every revolutionist will want to study and propagate.

The largest book stores in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and several other cities are now displaying and selling Leon Trotsky's latest works. Orders for The Revolution Betrayed (cloth \$2.00) and The First Five Years of the Communist International (cloth \$2.50) have been received in recent weeks from book dealers in Portland, Ore.; Hartford, Conn.; Los Angeles, San Francisco, Santa Barbara and Pasadena, Calif.; Cleveland, Cincinnati and Troy, Ohio; Minneapolis, Indianapolis, Detroit, Pittsburgh and Boston.

Several stores also have ordered the No. 1 Pioneer Pocket Library, The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International (25c).

Even more numerous are the orders for these works from libraries, universities and organizations, including the Army War College in Washington, D. C.

(Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

Youth Group Activities

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

Every Sunday: Beach Party at Brighton Beach between Bay 7-8 (take BMT to Ocean Pkwy). Look for red flag. Bring lunch. Open Forum: Every Friday, 8 p.m., at 116 University Place. Dancing, refreshments follow. Brooklyn: Class on "Struggle for Negro Equality." Instructor: Harry Robinson. Every Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. at Brooklyn headquarters, SWP, 635 Fulton Street. Dancing, refreshments.

Queens — Open forums every Wednesday at Odd Fellows Temple, 160th St. and 90th Ave., 8 p.m. PHILADELPHIA. — Youth Forums held every Saturday, 8 p.m. 1303-05 W. Girard, 2nd floor.

LOS ANGELES. — Socialist Youth Club meets every Thursday, 8 p.m., at SWP headquarters, 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Educational by Youth and SWP speakers.

Subscribe to "Young Militant," published semi-monthly, for truth of youth's struggles.

Watch this column for further announcements of youth activities.

BUFFALO

Picnic at Como Park SUNDAY, July 14 Bring Your Own Lunch Liquid Refreshments Served Meet At The Militant Forum 629 Main St. 11 a.m.

NEW YORK

Public Meetings

STALINISM OR LENINISM

The Real Situation in the USSR Meaning Of The New Purges

Speaker: JOSEPH HANSEN, former secretary to Leon Trotsky

The Fruits of Stalin's Foreign Policy

Speaker: DAVID WEISS

Stalinism: The Betrayal of Leninism

Speaker: M. STEIN, organizational secretary, SWP

Coming Week:

HARLEM Thursday, July 18, 8 p.m. Joseph Hansen 108 W. 110th, Room 25
BRONX Friday, July 19, 8 p.m. M. Stein 1034 Prospect
BROOKLYN Thursday, July 18, 8 p.m. David Weiss 635 Fulton St.
CENTRAL July 19, 8 p.m. Joseph Hansen 116 University Pl.



Ben Reves of St. Louis, Mo. likes The Militant and is doing everything he can to help. He not only renewed his subscription for six months, but sent us 50 cents for the Militant Fund. We appreciate your aid, Comrade Reves, and welcome you into the ranks of the Militant Army.

Martin Reed of New York City, convinced that The Militant is the paper for workers, is doing something practical about it. He is one of those comrades who always carry an extra copy of the paper. He leaves it on the subway, a bus seat — some place where a worker is likely to pick it up.

The value of such thoughtfulness was underlined by a worker who recently applied for membership in the Socialist Workers Party after reading The Militant. When asked how he came in contact with the paper he replied, "On the subway." He explained that a fellow sitting beside him was reading The Militant and had carefully placed it on the seat when he left the train.

This may have been one of the copies you left on the subway, Comrade Reed.

Boston Branch is commended for the excellent subscription record they are making. During the last nine days, Al Cutler has sent in three batches of subs totaling 42. Good work!

Seattle Branch has stepped up its activity and is getting results, as reported by Clara Kaye: "We have been conducting weekly recall mobilizations. An average of 10 comrades have been participating and while the going isn't easy, due to so many subscribers being away when we call, we are getting results. The spirit and determination of the comrades is wonderful. Our results aren't world-shaking but they are consistent and we fully intend to call back on every subscriber."

Sam Stone, Director of Buffalo Branch's campaign, reports: "This past week we have obtained 25 subs. The City-wide team took the lead this week over the Plant team, but is still behind the Plant team in total

Subscribe To The Militant Use Coupon On Page 2

OUR PROGRAM:

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

A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!

A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!

Government operation of all idle and government-built plants under workers' control!

Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!

2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

No restriction on the right to strike!

3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!

4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!

Down with Jim Crow!

5. Build an independent labor party!

6. Tax the rich, not the poor!

No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!

Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!

Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

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

For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!

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First Week At Mid-West School

By Myra Tanner Weiss

For the first few days everyone at the Midwest Camp on Little Pleasant Lake near Jackson, Michigan, spent his time basking in the sun, on the raft in the lake, or on the grassy terrace in garden chairs. In the cities we get so little sun, rushing to and from work that we forget it can burn. Consequently our more tender-skinned campers are now very sensitive to the touch.

The lake is one of the most beautiful I have seen. The trees grow thick and green to the water's edge. The water is neither too warm nor too cold for swimming in the day or evening. We swim out to an anchored

raft and lie there in the sun or dive and play water games. The camp athletes occasionally play soft-ball and everyone plays shuffleboard and ping-pong on the large screened porch of the recreation hall overlooking the lake. Those looking just for rest can lounge on the deck and garden chairs and lazily watch the sun set and the last boaters and fishermen drifting on the water.

In the morning after breakfast we go to School. This week an experienced auto worker is leading a class on trade union problems in America. Railroad workers, rubber workers, steel workers and many others exchange their experiences. Each will be far better equipped to meet the problems in his union after a week or two of such ex-



MYRA TANNER WEISS
Los Angeles organizer of the Socialist Workers Party

ensive and varied discussion.

Our "Dean," Comrade Warde, is giving a series of talks on American History. Our session today under the trees, coinciding with the celebration of the 4th of July, dealt with the victory of the first great American Revolution. The rich traditions and fighting courage of these rebels of 1776 serve as lessons for us in the revolutionary struggle for socialism today.

Oscar Coover who is in charge of organizing this wonderful school and camp is very busy now. This week the camp is filled to capacity. There are comrades and friends here from the Atlantic to the West Coast. Socialist Workers Party branches represented include Detroit, Toledo, Chicago, Akron, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Reading, New York, Los Angeles as well as several comrades from Canada. In order to accommodate all for the July 4th holiday, Oscar has been busy taking out of store all the extra beds and blankets. The excitement of seeing old friends and meeting so many new ones will make the week-end a joyful occasion. We shall have plenty of talent for our Midwest Politics this coming Saturday night when every amateur becomes a star.

Perhaps you think I'm trying to tempt you to come to our camp in Michigan for a week or so out of the sweltering heat of the city. Well, I am. My only regret is that all workers can't enjoy such a vacation and directly experience the cooperative and comradeship spirit that exists here.

NEWARK

"Stalin—An Appraisal Of The Man And His Influence"

Speaker: Dorothy Lessing
FRIDAY, JULY 12
423 Springfield 8:30 p.m.

ALLENTOWN

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Wages, Prices And Profits

The Propaganda Against Wage Raises

The employers of the United States are raising prices. As an important part of this process they have launched a propaganda attack against wages.

The capitalists have set all their newspaper writers and radio commentators to harping on one theme. Over and over they try to tell us that the workers are to blame for making the corporations raise prices.

They put this one story into various forms. One form is that the present high cost of living has been caused by wage increases which the workers have won. Another form is the charge that the workers cause inflation by striking for higher wages. Still another form is that the workers cannot win real gains by getting higher wages, because the bosses will just raise prices and take the money back. So, even with more money, the workers cannot gain in their real wages, which are measured by the goods they can buy with their money.

They end by advising that the workers will really be better off with low wages, because low wages will keep prices down. They say low wages will keep inflation away.

Under cover of all this talk the bosses are busy raising prices, whether they have raised wages or not. And all of them began by raising prices before they had to pay any wage raises. Then when strikes come they tell the public, "If the workers win you'll have to pay even higher prices."

The labor movement has to find the best tactics to meet these moves by the employers. For that purpose we need to look into the economic facts about wages and prices. That is what this series will cover.

The Workers Face Special Problems

Besides the usual wage-price situation, the workers today face special problems coming from the fact that the government has inflated the nation's money. Currency and credit inflation has taken place already. This inflation isn't caused by workers' wages. It is the act of a government, when it creates artificial money and pumps it into the country's supply. The United States government carried out a tremendous inflation during the war, creating over a hundred billions in artificial dollars, mostly in the form of bank credits. This huge supply of false purchasing power was used to pay war profits to the corporations and great investment banks of the United States.

Up to now the inflation has only begun to produce its effects on prices. The money inflation that they have already accomplished will push prices much higher than anything we have felt so far. So the workers are in for a long struggle with rising prices, not just a short campaign. This also means there is nothing to their talk about a merely temporary rise in prices, followed by a fall to the old level. Inflated money is cheapened money, and it buys less. After inflation the money-price of goods goes up to a new level and stays up. This price problem will stay with us, and get much worse.

That's one reason why the bosses are in a hurry to hide the fact that the government inflated money, and that the bosses cashed in on it. They are desperate to unload the blame onto the labor movement, before the real pinch begins.

However, it would be a mistake to look at this special feature of money inflation as the whole picture. We need to look first at the basic laws of wages and prices, and then take up inflation as a special part. This method is necessary anyway, because inflation grows out of these basic laws.

In the past, unions could fight for wages and let prices take care of themselves. But today, when conditions allow

Standing In The Way



the bosses to raise prices, they are using the threat of price increases as a club to beat down wages. When a union demands a raise the employer goes to the public with the claim that he will be forced to raise prices. He tries to link up wages and prices, even though he has plenty of room to raise wages without raising his prices. Today, in defending their wage demands, unions have to meet this price issue.

In the General Motors strike the workers met the issue by demanding that the corporation "Open the Books." Let the public see if the company was telling the truth about needing higher prices, or whether perhaps it was just hungry for some super-profits. But the corporation couldn't stand the truth. The slogan "Open the Books," threw it on the defensive, and it had to run away from its own issue.

The auto workers' tactics and victory put the whole labor movement in a stronger position on the wage-price issue. It was a sharp set-back to the whole price-raising campaign. The present newspaper and radio drive of the employers is in large part an attempt to win back the initiative which the workers seized by the slogan, "Open the Books."

On this matter the facts are on the side of the workers, and winning tactics come from the facts. In this series we will examine the truth about wages and prices.

Curran Issues Public Blast Against Stalinist Machine In Maritime Union

NEW YORK, July 5. — The Pilot, weekly organ of the CIO National Maritime Union, today published in full a statement of NMU President Joseph Curran attacking the anti-democratic and corrupt policies of the Stalinist machine inside the NMU. The statement had been made at a large closed membership meeting here on June 24, which overwhelmingly voted to accept his report.

Curran's charges are the outgrowth of a clique conflict among the top NMU leaders. This conflict became intensified after V-J Day, when the leaders began to blame each other for the then weakened position of the union as a consequence of the Stalinist sell-out policies during the war.

The NMU president exposed the operations of the Stalinist machine in the recent union elections. "In these elections just concluded... I think that one of the worst machine jobs I have ever seen was done," Curran told the NMU members.

Curran, long a follower of the Communist (Stalinist) Party line, still insists that the practices he condemns are not the "policy of the Communist Party." He merely claims that these practices are being carried out by "individual members in that party."

But the principal Stalinist cliques he attacks are prominent members of Communist Party national and state committees, such as Frederick Myers and Joseph Stack.

In addition to his charges on Stalinist electioneering practices, Curran reveals extensive payroll padding by the Stalinist machine. The irresponsible Stalinist machine is milking the union treasury, building up a payroll "that runs about \$1,600,000 a year."

"Your union," he told the membership, "is going in a hole. In March we were in a hole \$12,000 and in April we were in a hole more. I see people on the payroll I have yet to find out what they're doing."

He stated that the Stalinist machine during the campaign to organize the Isthmian fleet "put on a number of organizers even when there were no Isthmian ships. I don't know what they were organizing, but they cer-

tainly were not organizing Isthmian ships."

INFORMATION SUPPRESSED

Curran blamed the Stalinist policy of suppressing information for forcing the members to "get such information second hand, through such anti-labor characters as (Westbrook) Pegler and (Frederick) Wolman of the N. Y. World-Telegram."

Condemning Stalinist bureaucratic suppression of opposition opinion, Curran declared: "I have fought in this union for the right of anybody to be a member of any political party, any race, any religion that he sees fit. But I will fight just as

hard against any member of any political party, any religion, any race, from attempting through devious means, intimidation or any other method from taking this union away from the rank and file."

Curran's charges fall far short of exposing the real reactionary politics of the Stalinists. He does not attack the fundamental policies of which the Stalinist anti-union practices are only the reflection.

But as one who has had close ties with the Stalinist machine for ten years, Curran's testimony is authoritative confirmation of the rule-or-ruin role of Stalinism in the NMU.

New OPA Measure Will Not Halt Skyrocketing Prices

(Continued from Page 1)

and has been accelerating steadily since V-J Day.

Prior to the expiration of the old OPA, the Truman administration had been warring the profiteers' appetites by sanctioning one price increase after another. The wage increases for which labor fought to compensate for previous big price increases were used by Truman as a pretext for granting huge profiteering price rises to virtually every industry. OPA completely "de-controlled" thousands of commodities.

PROFITEERS GOUGE

While Truman and Congress are going through their fancy maneuvers and shadow-boxing, the food profiteers and rent hogs are digging their claws deeper and deeper into the workers' pockets. At the same time, the capitalist press runs advertisements, editorials and angled news stories to give the false impression that the profiteers themselves are exercising "self-restraint" in their price demands.

According to the wholesale food prices index of Dun & Bradstreet, on July 2 prices of 31 basic commodities had risen to the highest peak since July 29, 1920—high point of the post-

World War I inflation. Tens of thousands are threatened with evictions as rents are being hiked almost everywhere.

Most of the union leaders, who want an excuse for holding back struggles for higher wages, are urging the workers to fight for a "good" OPA along the lines Truman is proposing.

They are spreading illusions about reliance on government "price control," as they did during the war with their ill-fated campaigns for the "roll-back of prices" and "make OPA work."

All the efforts of the workers should be directed instead toward independent mass struggle on an independent labor program of combating the consequences of inflation.

REAL BATTLE

The workers should be mobilized for a real battle for higher wages, and especially for a sliding scale of wages, automatically rising with every rise in living costs.

Workers, poor farmers and the lower middle class must be organized into their own mass committees and tenants' committees. They must directly resist exorbitant prices and rentals by mass pressure means.

37th Convention Marks Progress Of The NAACP

CINCINNATI, Ohio, July 4

—The 37th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which concluded its sessions here this week, was the first NAACP convention to give more than advisory powers to the rank and file. The powers of the National Board of Directors were reduced so as to give the membership and local branches almost equal voice in the decision of policy.

In addition, the delegates turned down a number of proposed constitutional amendments on the ground they were not sufficiently democratic. This was a reflection of the growth of the organization during the last year, now claimed to be one-half million members strong.

There was strong opposition to the so-called "non-partisan" policy regarding political action practiced by the NAACP in the past. Similarly there was criticism of the two capitalist parties, and talk of a third party, although what kind of party and how it would be organized was not discussed.

A "compromise" resolution on political action was adopted: It recognized the need and desirability of political action by the organization in the sense of "rating and publicity of such ratings of candidates for office." This would mean no candidates would be formally endorsed, but would be rated favorably or unfavorably. In other words, there would be no independent political action under this resolution.

COMMITTEE SET UP

A committee of six was set up to study the means of executing this decision and report back to the Board of Directors in September. Three members were elected by the convention, three chosen by the Board of Directors.

A number of speakers pointed out the shortcomings of dependence on legal action alone to abolish Jim Crow. This is especially true in the South, where the NAACP has had its biggest growth in recent years. Delegates and invited speakers calling for stronger ties with the labor movement and for support to the drive to unionize the South were warmly applauded by the convention.

As usual at NAACP conventions, too much time was devoted to listening to the speeches of "important" people like La Guardia, Kenney, etc. And not enough time was devoted to considerations of resolutions and problems facing the members.

The resolutions adopted were so worded as to please all and offend none. For example, in encouraging the fight of the colonial people in their fight against imperialist domination, no exposure of the reactionary role played by U. S. imperialism was allowed to come out in the resolutions.

The delegates were Jim Crowed by most of the big restaur-

Ask "Flying Squadrons" To Stop Rent Evictions

By Sol Dollinger
(Special to The Militant)

FLINT, Mich., July 3. — Twenty-one top officers of CIO and AFL unions here proposed at a joint meeting yesterday to request their internationals to reopen negotiations for wage increases to meet price rises and to revive the auto workers' "flying squadrons" to prevent evictions of union members whose rents are being hiked by greedy landlords. They also called for a local rent control ordinance.

The joint meeting included representatives of the Greater Flint CIO Council, AFL Building Trades Council, and pres-

idents of CIO United Auto Workers locals and the AFL carpenters, plumbers, steamfitters and truck drivers.

A mass meeting, arranged on 24 hour notice by the joint conference of union officials, was held here tonight. Jack Holt, UAW regional director, and F. H. Bancroft, AFL Building Trades Council president, were the co-chairmen.

Warm approval was expressed by the assembled workers to the announcement at the start of the meeting by Holt that the UAW is proposing a joint conference of the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods in Washington and that the suggestion had been made for a one-day general strike to oppose the ending of price ceilings.

Several of the leaders spoke about organizing a "hunger strike," but it was not clear what they had in mind. They did not think, however, that such an action would be successful because the ranks would not go for it. The workers feel there is no reason why they should go more hungry to force down high prices of plentiful commodities. They want a more effective program.

A note of clarity was struck when a Buick worker proposed to combat the rising cost of living through the inclusion in every union contract of an escalator clause for a rising wage scale to keep pace with rising living costs.

"OPA NOT SOLUTION"

This worker stated: "We seem to have forgotten that only a week ago prices were soaring with the OPA. Obviously merely fighting for a new OPA bill is not the solution."

Good progress has been made in bringing the unions closer together. But unity in action will be cemented more firmly only as the leading committeemen and stewards on the job, who are close to the ranks, are enabled to participate in the joint conferences along with the top leaders.

Detroit UAW, CIO Unionists Urge National Labor 'Holiday'

(Continued from Page 1)

the workers' standard of living would be organized.

The meeting was called on 24-hour notice by officers of the UAW, and Wayne County CIO and Political Action Committee. Although Leonard opened the meeting with the remark that it would be turned over to discussion by the rank and file, he introduced nine speakers who took up more than two hours.

BUYERS' STRIKE

In his own introduction he proposed a "national buyers' strike." One of the delegates declared later that a buyers' strike would be ineffective, because working people spend almost all of their money on the necessities which cannot be reduced.

Secondly, Leonard proposed that tenants should resist rent boosts by going through the courts. He stated they had received promises from the Circuit Court Commissioners that they would handle only two or three cases a day. The Stalinist Sam Sage, secretary of the Wayne County CIO Council, repeated these two proposals only throwing in a bit more radical phrasemongering.

Leonard's final point, however, aroused the meeting to enthusiastic support. It was for calling a national labor holiday.

Walter Reuther, in a militant speech, called for the immediate convening of the National Emer-

gency Labor Conference. He stated that he was already getting in touch with Philip Murray and other labor leaders, to make it possible to "transcend the various union rivalries, in order to fight this basic problem confronting the American workers unitedly."

He further proposed that the rent problem should be fought as the UAW had done in 1938, by utilizing the flying squadrons to prevent evictions.

Most important, he stated, "we'll not stand shackled by frozen wages while prices skyrocket." This, he said, "is serving notice that all UAW wage contracts, whether they have provisions to do so or not, will be re-opened if a new and better OPA is not enacted."

FOR RISING SCALE OF WAGES

After two hours of speech-making by official speakers, Erwin Baur of UAW Budd Local 306 took the floor and proposed that "in order to set the tone for the national labor movement we immediately call for a Cadillac Square demonstration."

He further stated: "Realizing that the cost of living will continue to rise it is not only necessary as Walter Reuther has said to re-open wage contracts but it will also be necessary to insert in each contract a clause providing for an automatic rising scale of wages to meet each new rise in the cost of living."

Once the discussion had begun, speaker after speaker rose and demanded militant action. Tom Cunningham, president of UAW Chrysler Local 7, stated he agreed with the previous speaker, Baur, and again stressed the necessity of the Cadillac Square demonstration.

Urban, president of UAW Packard Local 190, speaking on the rent profiteering, placed a motion which was later adopted: That all UAW locals immediately reorganize their flying squadrons if they had not already done so.

The tremendous ovation received by Walter Reuther when he proposed re-opening the wage contracts is an indication that the workers are becoming disillusioned with the "roll-back of prices" and the OPA as the solution to maintaining their standard of living.

What Do You Say?

Question: The meat packers have publicly threatened a meat famine unless they get the prices they ask. Would you favor having the government take over the meat industry to guarantee meat deliveries to the people?

Place: La Grange, Ill., Electro-Motive Division, General Motors Corp. (Asked of members of Local 719, United Automobile Workers, CIO.)

Arthur Wormwood, 19 N. State St., Aurora, Ill.

Yes. Things are getting into an awful mess. Look at the way prices are going up, for example, the day after OPA is removed. If the meat industry has its way, the few people who can pay high prices will get the meat and the working man will have to do without.

Antonio Sison, 53 W. Superior, Chicago, Ill.

No. To have the government take over the meat industry would foment a socialistic system and free enterprise would be destroyed.

Howard Mayhew, 5524 S. 58 Ct., Chicago, Ill.

Yes. The government was quick to use the armed forces against the railroad workers, the coal miners, the merchant marine while it was in the bosses' interest to prevent a strike. The fact that Congress has not moved against the meat industry even though they threatened the people, shows that the government really represents the bosses and that the unions must lose no time in organizing a labor party so that we can send our representatives to Congress.

John Blazek, 2516 So. 58 Ct., Cicero, Ill. Turret lathe operator.

As long as the meat industries are striking against the public, in order to get the price they want, I'm in favor of having the government run the plants.

Sam Okal, 1818 S. Sawyer Ave., Chicago, Ill. Drill press operator.

The huge profits the meat companies are making today does not entitle them to make more at the expense of the public. I'm in favor of having a fair and equal distribution under government control.

Gus Namors, 2326 So. 59th Ave., Cicero, Ill. Bullard operator.

The government, which is run by these big corporations, would not operate the plants for the benefit of the workers, that is lower prices and more meat, but would be used as a camouflage to make the workers believe the government is acting in their interests. The plants should be under the control of trade union cooperatives in order to control prices and distribution of the product.

Fred Thomas, 2216 So. 6th Ave., North Riverside, Ill. Engine lathe operator.

I think the public should be informed as to how much money these companies are making. Maybe with the government running the plants we would have more meat at lower costs.

Buffalo UAW Groups Discuss Political Action

(Special to The Militant)

BUFFALO, N. Y., July 5.—Some 125 representatives of CIO United Auto Workers locals in this area at a conference last Monday adopted resolutions for independent labor action and labor unity to initiate the building of a party of labor on a nation-wide scale.

While these resolutions did not clearly characterize the Democratic and Republican machines as parties of Big Business and failed to indicate the decisive role labor must play in building and leading a labor party, they did represent a big step forward in making a break with the bankrupt policy of supporting so-called progressives of either capitalist party.

A proposal was adopted calling for a mass meeting to help arouse the entire union movement to the need for independent labor political action.

MEMORIAL MEETINGS

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Indian Trotskyist Exposes Fraud Of British Plan For "Independence"

BOMBAY, India, June 22 (Airmail)—A slashing attack on the "Independence plan" offered by the British Cabinet Mission to India, and a denunciation of the Indian capitalist parties for agreeing to the continued rule of British imperialism, are high points in the interview of a leading Trotskyist printed in the Bombay Free Press Journal today. The Trotskyist was Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, general secretary of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party, Indo-Ceylon section of the Fourth International. The full statement reads as follows:

The Cabinet Mission constitutes the first stage in a gigantic political maneuver of British imperialism. Its aim is not any transfer of imperialism's power in India but its consolidation anew. This it seeks to achieve by negotiating a re-arranged imperialist - bourgeois - feudalist alliance against the masses. And in this it is on the eve of complete success.

The alliance is being cemented at Delhi behind a smoke-screen of irrelevant controversies. Congress and the Moslem League are engaged not in a struggle for power but in a quarrel over commission agency rights. What-

ever the arrangement, imperialism will continue to rule, although Congress and League will obligingly provide it with a much-needed popular facade.

NOT ACCIDENTAL

The Mission's success is not accidental. Congress is the political party of the Indian bourgeoisie and the Indian bourgeoisie have long been athirst for a settlement. For two reasons: Economic need and the revolutionary peril.

The masses are again on the move in the setting of the post-war crisis. The class struggle is sharpening and the anti-imper-

alist struggle reviving.

In face of the mass resurgence, the Indian bourgeoisie tremble no less than their imperialist masters. The recenting of their alliance, which was broken politically in 1940-42, was therefore a mutual necessity. Their economic partnership during the war is being rounded off politically today. The Simla surrender of 1945 is being formally completed in 1946.

The sole victim of the settlement will be the Indian masses. The plan is to appoint local jailors for imperialism's Indian prison house.

The Cabinet Mission's award leaves the power question exactly where it was. We are to have a Constituent Assembly it seems. But what is this so-called Constituent Assembly?

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Firstly, it is to function under the aegis of imperialism. Whoever heard of a Constituent Assembly functioning under the aegis of the very state-power

whose displacement is being sought? A genuine Constituent Assembly arises under the aegis of a new power which has already displaced the old. It presupposes freedom and is in no way freedom's prerequisite; for its function is only to systematize in legal forms the exercise of the power which has already been won.

Secondly, this constitution-making body does not even base itself on the masses. It is being set up over their heads. It is an assembly of the exploiting few, with the exploited majority carefully shut out.

Thirdly, this assembly hasn't even the right of making a constitution. It can only draw a constitution for the British Parliament's consideration. Imperialism has the last word.

Finally, and above all, imperialism holds its own in any event. The crux of the power question lies in the adumbrated treaty. Its terms are unknown, but they are to be prepared by the British Government. Everything is subject to the acceptance of the treaty. And the treaty will be the instrument for safeguarding imperialism's essential interests.

What we shall have therefore is neither a Constituent Assembly nor even a constitution-making body. What is being set up is merely a constitution-drafting agency of British imperialism, working to imperialism's mandate and subject to imperialism's self-interested decisions. It is not even a fake Constitu-

British Murder Indian Demonstrators



Scenes like this, showing brutal assault on workers demonstrating for independence in Bombay on January 24, 1946—have been common throughout India since the end of the war. The resurgence of the masses who are fighting courageously for freedom, is the background for the current negotiations between British imperialism and the Indian capitalist class.

ent Assembly for a fake transfer of power. It is a carefully designed instrument for negotiating the permanent framework of a long-term imperialist-bourgeois-feudalist alliance.

Pending the long-term arrangement, an interim instrument is being fashioned. The Viceroy's Executive Council is being reconstituted so as to provide imperialism with a popular facade. The Viceroy's councillors

may change, but the Viceroy's powers remain intact. That is the stark truth which controversies about parity and proportions are designed effectively to veil.

OUR TASK

What then is the task before us in this situation? Plainly the defense of the mass movement against the development offensive of the new imperialist-bourgeois-feudalist line-up. Hence it

is that our party has put forward the following inter-related slogans:

Down with the Cabinet Mission! Down with the collaborationist parties! Down with the fake Constituent Assembly! On with the struggle for India's independence!

These are the central agitational slogans of the anti-imperialist struggle in its present phase.

Nazi Terror Survivors Killed In Polish Pogrom

The terrible plight of the Jewish people in Europe has once again been forcibly called to the attention of the world. On July 4 in Kielce, 39 Jews were killed in the worst pogrom since the Kremlin set up its puppet government in Poland. According to dispatches, the pogrom was set off by a 9 year old boy's repetition of the medieval atrocity story about being kidnapped

by Jews and seeing the mutilated bodies of Gentile boys they had killed.

The Jewish victims of the anti-Semites were beaten, clubbed, stoned and kicked to death. The dead included nine women and one prematurely-born girl. In addition 42 were injured.

Where does the guilt lie for this horrible slaughter? The July 7 N. Y. Times, authoritative mouthpiece of American capitalism, declares that although the prewar Jewish population of 3,500,000 in Poland was liquidated by the Nazis so that only 100,000 are left today, "Yet anti-Semitism in Poland still survived." The Times makes no attempt to explain why this foul prejudice "survived" nor does it offer any hope for the Jewish people.

The July 6 Daily Worker, official mouthpiece of the Stalinists in America, attributes the pogrom to the "fascist banditry in Poland" but declares that "The primary responsibility falls upon our State Department and the Attlee Government."

By "our" State Department, the Stalinists mean Wall Street's State Department. The Stalinists argue that their late Allies in the Second World War "deliberately incited these disorders."

Meanwhile the July 7 Times reports that the Jews "want only one thing: to leave Poland. Streams of Jews, estimated at over a thousand a week, trek westward in the hope of finding a haven in the American and British zones of Germany or getting to an Italian port and gaining passage across the Mediterranean."

IMMIGRATION STOPPED

It is this terrible fear among the Jews—a thoroughly justified fear as the Kielce pogrom demonstrates—that is at the bottom of the present civil strife in Palestine. For the British government, working hand in glove with Washington, has stopped immigration there. The Palestinian Jews are trying to aid the hounded, victimized survivors of Hitler's terror who are still left in Europe.

The role of the Stalinists and of the American government in this situation is especially atrocious. Washington has offered "to assume technical and financial responsibility" for the transportation of the Jews to Palestine! But the gates of America are locked fast against these helpless refugees.

And what mockery are the crocodile tears of the Stalinists! The Soviet border is only a few miles from the scene of the latest pogrom. Yet that border is sealed just as tightly as the borders of imperialist America.

True enough, the Soviet Union under the brutal Stalinist dictatorship offers no attraction even to the pogrom victims. Significantly, the trek of a thousand a week is westward toward the

American and British zones of Germany. The Jews of Poland believe conditions are better in the crowded, famine-stricken areas once ruled by Hitler than in the immense land now ruled by Stalin. What an indictment of the Kremlin! What an oppressive regime that even these pitiful victims of anti-Semitism turn away in terror!

OPEN GATES OF U. S.!

The American workers must come to the aid of the survivors of Hitler's terror. Fight for the ancient democratic right of asylum. Let the gates of America be opened wide to the Jews of Europe. Truman has promised them "transportation." Let the ships bring them to this country!

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers At these Local Activities of

The Socialist Workers Party

AKRON — Visit The Militant Club, 405-6 Everett Bldg., 39 East Market St., open daily except Sunday, 2 to 4 p. m.; also Wed., 7:30-9:30.

ALLENTOWN — BETHLEHEM — Open meeting every Thursday, 8 p. m., at Militant Labor Forum, S. E. corner Front and Hamilton Streets, Allentown.

BALTIMORE — For information write Box 1583, Baltimore 3, Md. Monthly forums to be announced.

BOSTON — Office, at 30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays from noon until 5 p. m.; Wednesday and Fridays, 7:30 to 9:30 p. m.

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

CHICAGO — Visit SWP, 777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a. m. to 5 p. m. daily, except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 4767. Library, bookstore.

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

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HARTFORD — P. O. Box 905. Publishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p. m. Phone Richmond 4644.

LOS ANGELES — Visit Militant Publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

MILWAUKEE — Visit the Milwaukee SWP branch, 424 E. Wells St., evenings from 7:30 Sat. night—Open house.

MINNEAPOLIS — Visit the Labor Book Store, 10 South 4th St., open 10 a. m. to 8 p. m. daily.

NEWARK — Branch meeting every Friday at 423 Springfield Ave., at 8:30. Reading room and office open Mondays to Thursdays, 4 to 10 p. m. Tues., 7:30—Basic Training class.

NEW YORK — CITY HQ., 116 University Place, GR. 5-8149. Sat., 4:30 p. m. Tues., 7:30, rehearsal of Militant chorus.

HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23. MO. 2-1866. BRONX: 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TI 2-0101. Reading room open Mon. to Fri., 7 to 10 p. m. Current events discussion, Fridays at 8.

BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433. Mon. Class — "Program of SWP," 7 p. m.

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

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

PHILADELPHIA — SWP Headquarters, 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily, Friday forum, 8 p. m. Phone Stevenson 5820.

PITTSBURGH — Militant Reading Room, 141 S. Highland, Room 21 (corner Highland and Central Ave.), E. Liberty. Phone, EM. 4899. Open Wednesday, 7 to 10 p. m. Sunday 3 to 9 p. m.

PORTLAND, Ore. — Visit the SWP headquarters, 134 S. W.

Washington, 3rd Floor. Tel. Atwater 3992. Open 1 to 4 p. m., daily except Sunday, and 6 to 8, Tuesday, Friday.

FRIDAYS, 8 p. m., Open House and Round Table Discussions. SAN DIEGO — P. O. Box 857.

SAN FRANCISCO — Visit the San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., corner of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor; open from 12 noon to 4:30 p. m., daily except Sunday. Phone EX1000 1926.

SEATTLE — Visit our Headquarters, 1919½ Second Ave. Open Saturdays 12 to 5, Sunday 7:30 to 10, Wednesday 7:30 to 10.

SUNDAYS at 7:30, Discussion on Militant. Wednesdays at 7:30, Class: "In Defense of Marxism."

ST. LOUIS — Visit our Headquarters, 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312, open Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 7:30 to 9 p. m. Forums every Thursday, 8:30 p. m. Phone Jefferson 3642.

ST. PAUL — 540 Cedar St., St. Paul 2, Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily 2:30-9:30.

TACOMA, Wash. — Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p. m., at Oddfellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P. O. Box 1078.

TOLEDO — Visit our headquarters and bookstore at 213 Michigan St. Open Monday through Friday, 11 to 5. Saturday, forum 8 p. m. Open house 9:30 p. m.

YOUNGSTOWN — Youngstown School of Social Science, 225 N. Phelps St., open to public Tuesday and Saturday afternoon from 2 to 5; also 7:30 to 9:30, Monday to Thursday.

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

"Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded."
—KARL MARX
by CHARLES JACKSON

The End Of The FEPC

The Fair Employment Practices Committee folded up at the beginning of this month. It had been in existence for five years and during most of that time it was largely ineffective because of lack of authority to enforce its decisions and lack of funds.

"The wartime gains of colored, Mexican-American and Jewish workers are being dissipated through an unchecked revival of discriminatory practices," the FEPC's final report admitted. Since the end of the war, in six of seven areas studied by the FEPC, there was "a heavier loss of jobs by Negro than white workers and a necessity on the part of Negro workers to accept the lowest paid jobs."

Similarly, Negro and other minority veterans have greatly restricted job and training opportunities, and there has been a great increase in discriminatory advertisements in the press.

The FEPC's report recommended passage of permanent federal legislation against job discrimination, enforcement of equal job opportunity policies in the government and by government contractors, and collection of statistics by government agencies so that there could be adequate information about discrimination in employment.

Significantly, 25 per cent of complaints received by the FEPC had been against various government agencies. No single industry in the country today can compete with the government in fostering Jim Crow.

The FEPC was created by Roosevelt's executive order 8802 in June 1941. Its primary purpose was not to tackle the problem of job discrimination but to prevent the threatened Negro march on Washington.

But it was set up as a wartime measure only. Which meant that whatever progress was made through it would be threatened when the war ended. As the committee's final report shows, most of these gains have already been lost less than a year after V-J Day.

As a matter of fact, the effectiveness of the FEPC has been greatly exaggerated. Most increases in Negro employment from 1941 onward were due not to the FEPC's activities, but to the manpower shortage. Even the most hardened Jim Crow employers abandoned their "jobs for whites only" policy (temporarily) when they couldn't hire enough white workers to meet their needs.

The chief value of the FEPC, because of its limited powers, was in its use as a public forum through which the facts about industrial Jim Crow could be publicized. Even here it was not always effective, as was shown last December when the White House suppressed a directive the FEPC had voted to issue to the

Capitol Transit Company in Washington, D. C.

Nevertheless, even its inadequate powers were too much for the taste of the Negro-hating Congress, which sharply reduced the FEPC appropriation a year ago and permitted it to expire at the end of last month.

Virtually all labor and Negro organizations are on record as favoring the creation of a permanent FEPC. But they will have to get a new Congress before it can be done.

Political Action

Just as with the labor movement, the Negro people are becoming ever more conscious of the need for political action if they are to achieve their aims. The NAACP convention decision to "rate" candidates is a reflection (although a very pale one) of this trend.

But the NAACP's decision is really an evasion. Not because it will merely "rate" candidates instead of endorsing them. But because it will be a continuation of the kind of political action — choosing between Tweedledum and Tweedledee — which has brought the Negro to his present sorry state.

Political action in which Negro organizations choose between the "good" and "bad" candidates of the existing parties is not any different from political action where Negroes as individuals make such a choice. What is the advantage of that?

When the Negro masses talk about political action today, they have something entirely different in mind. They are thinking of a break with the old parties, of a struggle against all kinds of Jim Crow politics.

They are thinking about cooperation with the labor movement in a political war to the death against all the defenders of Jim Crow and Judge Lynch in Washington. They are thinking about political action which will lead to the election of white and Negro candidates on a program of struggle in defense of the interests of white and Negro workers.

That can't be done by supporting the cohorts of Bilbo in both capitalist parties.

What is needed, and what the Negro masses are thinking about, is an independent labor party based on the unions and supported by the Negro people. Any other kind of political action today is company union politics, Uncle Tom politics — in short, a snare and a delusion.

Where is the Soviet Union Going?

The 5-Year Plan And The New "Left Turn"

By Ernest Germain

As a consequence of the war and the weakening of the USSR in relation to imperialism, as a consequence of the reactionary policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy which, from fear of the proletariat and its revolutionary traditions, appealed during the war to

the most reactionary instincts of the most backward layers of the population; as a consequence of all these factors, the elements of a new exploiting capitalist class became considerably strengthened during the war.

In the year that followed termination of the war, a series of internal struggles within the bureaucracy led to a new consolidation of the Bonapartist party apparatus around Stalin. This consolidation expressed itself in a new and pronounced "left turn," that is to say, in a resumption of the struggle against capitalist elements in industry and agriculture as well as in a further tightening of the party's grip on the state apparatus and the official ideology.

AIM OF PLAN

In the field of industry, the loosening of planning in heavy industry and its virtual disappearance in light industry, which took place throughout the war, were successfully overcome and replaced by the first applications of the Fourth Five-Year Plan. This plan sets a very definite goal; the reconstruction of the devastated regions of Russia, an increase of steel production, and in general the attaining of higher levels of production than on the eve of the war.

Thanks to the abundant contributions from the newly industrialized regions of East Russia and Siberia; and thanks above all to the ruthless pillage of occupied countries, this reconstruction is well on its way. The total of Russian industrial production already surpasses the 1940 level. The industrial production of the Ukraine, notably the Donetz Basin, has already reached 60 per cent of the prewar level. It should be noted, however, that the Fourth Five-Year Plan once again sacrifices the sphere of consumers' goods to "means of production, that is to say, ignores the most pressing needs of the masses, and thus becomes the source of grave social disturbances.

AGRICULTURAL CRISIS

At the same time the Soviet press has engaged in a violent campaign against the new exploiting elements in the countryside. Hitherto it had ecstatically reiterated that "classes have completely disappeared." Now, recognizing for the first time in ten years the existence of these elements, the Stalinist journalists have launched harsh attacks against "peasants who monopolize the land of the collectives for their personal profit." They denounce the "persistence of the capitalist spirit in the countryside," and instruct the local party bodies to implacably eliminate all abuses.

As a matter of fact, the government has taken draconian measures to force the collective farmers to comply with the plan. A rigid control of planting has been introduced, and a discriminatory policy in granting credits, material aid, seed, tractors, etc., is pursued in the devastated regions in order to favor the "loyal" agricultural enterprises which fulfill the plan.

In the realization that without the technical base of mechanization, the collective farm system must necessarily fall apart, a number of prewar machine and tractor stations have been

rapidly restored in western Russia. But a large number of these stations are "ghost stations," lacking equipment. It will take many years of the Fourth Five-Year Plan before the situation in Soviet agriculture is restored.

BUREAUCRATIC RIFT

In the political field the latent tension between the new military caste and the party, which appeared to have lost supremacy in the course of war, has been resolved in favor of the latter. The new Soviet government does not include a single member of this new military caste. On the contrary, the only two military men who are included, Voroshilov and Budenny, are the two sole survivors of the Red Army of Lenin and Trotsky. It is noteworthy that the majority of the marshals, the "war heroes," had been shifted toward the end of hostilities and were finally relegated to the distant and most remote provinces, where they are incapable of consistently influencing Russian political life.

In the ideological field, this political weakening of the military caste has expressed itself in an abrupt halt of the ultra-chauvinist propaganda. Soviet periodicals have even been suppressed for having too strongly insisted on glorifying Russia's past and Czarist heroes. A special resolution of the Central Committee of the "Bolshevik Party" has "condemned this deviation"—although it had been officially propagated for several years!—and insists on the revival of the "propagation of Marxism-Leninism."

NEED FOR TERROR

Some foreign observers have found it possible to discover the appearance of a "third apparatus," injecting itself between the party apparatus and the military apparatus, that is, an independent apparatus of the state which serves as a buffer between the rival factions of the bureaucracy. In our opinion, involved here is a case of optical illusion.

In reality, as with Stalin's "left turn" in 1927, the present "left turn" is accompanied by an important strengthening of the state and of the repressive apparatus. This is reflected precisely in the limited and contradictory character of this "left turn," executed by a rapacious bureaucracy quaking before the people.

Hence the astonishing declaration of Pravda to the effect that: "The essential contribution of Stalin to Marxist-Leninist Doctrine is his theory of the strengthening of the state during the transition from the socialist society to the communist society."

From the Marxist point of view this declaration is gross nonsense. The state must disappear and not become stronger with the disappearance of the classes. But this "theory" does admirably reflect the desperate position of the bureaucracy which, in face of the capitalist menace and the pressure of the masses, finds its only salvation in the resurgence of police terror.

(The above is the fourth in a series of articles, translated from the Belgian Trotskyist paper, "La Lutte Ouvrière, June 28. Next week's "Militant" will print the fifth in the series.)

International Notes

Philippines

One day before the Philippine Republic was given formal independence on July 4, U. S. imperialism was given the Philippine Trade Act (also known as the Bell Act), which insures its continued domination over the islands.

The Bell Act, which was jammed through the Philippine Congress on July 2-3, ties the peso to the American dollar and "protects" American capitalist interests so well that Wall Street will remain the real economic power. In addition, President Roxas has guaranteed the continuation of U. S. Army, Navy and air bases in the country. The nominally independent Philippine Army will also be at the mercy of Washington through U. S. control of training and arms.

Poland

Charges of widespread fraud and intimidation in last week's Polish referendum last week made it difficult to judge the real relationship of forces between the pro-government parties (dominated by the Stalinists) and the Mikolajczyk-Peasant Party (tool of Anglo-American imperialism). Three issues were on the ballot: establishment of a unicameral parliament; nationalization of basic industry and land reform; establishment of Poland's western frontier at the Oder and Neisse Rivers. Mikolajczyk chose to contest only the first, calling for a no-vote on the one-house parliament proposal, while the government forces called for a yes-vote. According to the government, incomplete returns showed a five-to-one majority for its position.

Indonesia

Indonesian Premier Sjahrir and some of his aides were released last week after having been held prisoner for two days by a still unidentified group. Meanwhile President Soekarno continued to hold the dictatorial powers he had assumed when Sjahrir's kidnapping was first announced.

Germany

The Catholic Christian Social Union again emerged as the strongest party in the American zone of Germany in last week's elections of local Constituent Assemblies for the three districts of the American zone. Despite a decrease in the total vote as compared with previous local elections and despite the loss of about 100,000 votes, the conservative CSU won majorities in two of the three districts. The Social Democrats received the largest vote in Greater Hesse, and an over-all gain of about 60,000 votes in all districts. The Communist Party raised its total vote by about 37,000. The new assemblies will write local constitutions to be presented to the voters on Nov. 3.

On the same day a plebiscite was held in lower Saxony, which is part of the Russian zone. The occupation authorities reported that more than three-fourths of the voters had balloted in favor of permanently expropriating without compensation a large number of industrial plants belonging to Nazis and war criminals.

Soviet Union

There is a shortage of industrial labor in the Soviet Union, government officials reported last week. It is planned to train 1,200,000 new workers for industry each year of the current Five-Year Plan in an effort to bring the total industrial force to 33,500,000 by 1950.

It was also reported this week that 120,000 Jewish repatriates have recently arrived in pogrom-torn Poland from the Soviet Union.

Diary Of A Steel Worker

Old John Gave All That Was His

By Theodore Kovalesky

The brown dust lies flat in the sunlight where, half a year ago, our pickets plodded through the snow. The blast furnaces roar and light up the night skies, orange bars stream through the mills, and narrow-gauge tugs the glowing ingots from the open hearths.

In the early morning, under the burning afternoon sun, and in the cool of the night the shifts go in and out automatically onward.

But, day by day and sometimes minute by minute, there are little things that remind us of the struggle that we have passed through and won.

When we take our work clothes from the hooks of our lockers, still wet and rank with the sweat of yesterday's heat and toil, we see a bent, wrinkled old man sweeping up the dust and torn papers from the locker room floor. Sometimes he stops, leaning on his broom, to chatter with some old buddy of the last thirty years, babbling happily in his native tongue.

He is old John, the sweeper of the locker room, the little old man who has worked so many years out of his life on the furnaces and on slag dump in the bitterest weather (the men say he "froze his brains" out on the dump), that he is good for nothing else than swabbing out the toilets and sweeping the brown dust and papers from the locker room floor.

As a man, I suppose you'd have to admit that John's not worth much any more. The unceasing press of toil has bent and warped his body, crushed from it the vital juices of energy: he

moves slowly, almost uncertainly. And the heavy, grinding mill of factory life has smashed down and pulverized his brain. He isn't much of anything, and he hasn't much of anything.

But half a year ago, I muse as I watch old John pause in his sweeping and laugh foolishly for a moment with one of his cronies, half a year ago he stood with men and gave all that was his to give in the common fight.

After we had been out on strike for a week, the Union hall was filled with dirt. Crumpled fragments of old bulletins, bits of food, and layers of dust were strewn about. When somebody had a chance or happened to think of it, he'd take the broom and brush the worst spots, but that wasn't sufficient. The hall became filthy.

And then old John came to our aid. One of the picket captains found him shivering on the picket line and sent him into the office. "I too old for picket," he admitted ruefully. "Maybe I work here?"

From that day on, until the end of the strike, John came every morning and cleaned the hall. And from time to time through the day he would walk among us clucking his tongue in disapproval, gathering up the papers and crumbs that we had dropped.

I wonder if you can see this as I do... as we all did during the strike. This little, bent, worn-out old man whose brain has aged beyond the rim of maturity and wavered back toward childhood; this little old man with shapeless, threadbare clothing and empty pockets, giving his waning time and strength to the cause of his brothers and comrades.

To me it is the embodiment of those glowing words of the workers struggle: "From each according to his abilities." How good it would be if he were to live just long enough to see in this world the rest of that slogan... "To each according to his needs."

On the Railroads

A Sign Of The Times

By Henry Adams

A. F. Whitney's announcement that the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen will affiliate this fall with either the AFL or the CIO has tremendous significance. Shifting from their traditional isolationist policy, the 270,000 members of the Brotherhood are expected to take definite action in this direction at the convention scheduled to begin in Miami Beach on September 16.

In a United Press dispatch of June 27, Whitney is quoted as saying: "The day is past when labor can operate successfully on an independent basis. This is the age of mass production and the best results can be obtained by a unified front." Adding that entry of the Brotherhood into a national organization has been under discussion for some 20 years, Whitney points out that now affiliation sentiment is at its height.

Militants in the ranks of the BRT and other railway unions have been urging for years that the five big brotherhoods line up with the rest of the labor movement. But not Whitney! Until the recent rail strike, he had been perfectly willing to play a lone hand. Like all of the other railway labor bureaucrats, Whitney was trying to get a better deal for the operating men instead of fighting for the labor movement as a whole.

The railroad strike taught Whitney some harsh lessons about the "united front" of the bosses and the government. He may have learned

that one or two craft unions are in an almost hopeless position when they try to fight this boss set-up.

But it is certain that the ranks of the railmen have learned this lesson. Pressure from within the railroad unions is undoubtedly the biggest factor in pushing Whitney on the road toward united labor action. A new leadership thrown up out of the ranks during the strike days is demanding a change from the old line method of individual action—of getting favors by ignoring or selling out other workers.

Their mood finds expression in such moves as a resolution sent out by the acting strike committee of the BRT and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in Indianapolis. It was an attack upon Robertson (president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers) "for his scathing and vicious denunciation of Whitney and Johnston for daring to defy the vicious doctrine that government can enslave men through law and executive order contrary to the Bill of Rights."

This resolution was sent to all General Chairmen, legislative representatives and lodge officers of their respective organizations. Significantly, they urged them to enlist the support of all AFL and CIO locals "in causing Fascist-minded Davey Robertson to be removed as a menace to the American labor movement."

Such rank and file sentiments represent the handwriting on the wall for railway union bureaucrats. Whitney's conversion is a sign of the times!

Veterans' Problems

Veterans Turn To The Labor Movement

By Alvin Royce

Nowhere has there ever been assembled such a barrage of capitalist lies as we met constantly in the army.

I recall the first time we gathered together to become initiated into the wonderful sport of close-order drill. The old army sergeant in charge summed up the attitude of the War Department to the GI: "You boys are in the army now. I don't know who did the thinking for you before but we'll do it now. When we want you to do any thinking, we'll put bars and stripes on you and pay you to think." That was step number one. A man's head in the army was intended by the brass to serve solely as a support for his steel helmet.

The next step in preparing us to be good soldiers was the weekly orientations that some OCS-educated Lieutenant would furnish. I used to feel sorry for these shavetails as they tried, very unsuccessfully, to convince us that we were fighting for a just cause.

The brass also had a paper that was supposed to give these overworked 2nd Lieutenants a hand in orienting the EM. Anyone that took this paper, the Stars and Stripes, seriously, was sure that every casualty, every piece of defective equipment, every cold K-Ration meal we had to

thrive on, was the fault of some striking worker. With the average soldier fed this bull for three long years or more without access to any other source of information, Wall Street was quite sure it could hire scabs by the millions right out of the discharge centers. But Wall Street was sadly mistaken.

Everyone knows the heroic role that the veterans played in fighting side by side with their union brother in this last wave of strikes. The veterans were the very backbone of these great victories.

Now Elmo Roper, Fortune's expert on public opinion polls, has notified the readers of this dollar magazine that the trend of opinion among the veterans is toward the support of the labor movement. The latest poll showed that veterans showed sympathy as follows: 43.2 per cent for labor, 40.5 per cent for management, 16.3 per cent uncertain.

One thing is clear from this poll, above anything else. The "moneybags" are now convinced that the veterans are moving closer to the workers. I'm sure that no veteran that reads this column is going to disappoint them on that score.

Gov. Dewey And Freeport Case

By Bill Morgan

Elections are coming! Election time! A time for magic and capitalist promises. Speeches full of promises. Promises as round and tempting as piecrusts. Big, thick and attractive promises. Election time! A time when boss politicians whitewash their sins with promises. A time when every political faker can turn a new leaf — with promises!

Last February — six months ago — four Negro brothers named Charles, Alfonso, Joseph and Richard Ferguson were stood against a wall in Freeport, N. Y. and shot down like victims of Nazi terror. Charles and Alfonso died with bullets in their heads. Joseph was severely wounded and lay six hours waiting for an ambulance. Richard was dragged off to the Freeport jail, subjected to a "trial" and sentenced to pay \$100 or serve 100 days in a cage.

A storm of widespread public protest raged over this shocking case of Lynch Law in New York State. Mass meetings, demonstrations, petitions, publicity in the working class and Negro press all demanded that an investigation be made and that the murderer and his political machine be removed from office.

Charles, Joseph and Richard Ferguson were

veterans. Charles had left a widow and two children. The fourth brother, Alfonso, was a civilian only because of a physical disability. The officials of the Army and Navy were forced to investigate. Official boards of the services exonerated Joseph Ferguson. The Army officially declared Charles had died in the line of duty. Even the reactionary political machine in Nassau County backtracked and after reversing the charges against Richard repaid the \$100 fine.

But all efforts to indict the policeman for murder and remove the criminal politicians from office were heard with a deaf ear by State officials — including Governor Dewey. He even refused to meet with delegations sent to demand action on the case.

But now it is July. The election campaign has begun in New York State. The Ferguson case continues to live in the minds of the workers and Negro people of New York. The murderer and his friends are still at large. Justice is demanded. So, now, six months later, Governor Dewey has ordered an "investigation"! Here come the promises! Here comes the whitewash!

CIO's "Operation Dixie" Forges Forward Despite Jim-Crow Campaign Of Employers

AVC Pickets Realtors Who Bar Nisei Vet

By Nora Scott

(Special to The Militant)

MINNEAPOLIS, July 6 — "Japanese-American Veteran Finds Prejudice in Country He Fought For" states a sign carried by picketing members of the University of Minnesota chapter of the American Veterans Committee.

Members of the AVC since Saturday, June 29, have been picketing the offices of Dickenson & Gillespie, Inc., real estate agency, in protest against exclusion of a Nisei veteran from a housing development planned for 50 campus veterans in Minneapolis.

The Nisei veteran, Jon Matsuo, and his wife, Ruth, were told by the agency that their lot at the Oakhill project would have to be plotted outside the area which was being sold to 49 other veterans. Jon Matsuo is still on duty in the armed forces of the United States.

Attempts are being made to suppress the growing publicity by red-baiting and pressure on the University of Minnesota chapter of the American Veterans Committee by the board of regents through the real estate agency.

"GENERAL PATTERN"

The real estate agent, defended his race discrimination by pointing out that "other realtors do the same thing" and that he is "merely following the general pattern." He added that National banks and trust companies, Federal Savings and Loan associations all deal in restrictive real estate practices, inasmuch as they offer larger loans on "restricted" property.

A number of working class, Negro, Jewish and other groups have pledged support to the veterans in halting race restrictions on the Oakhill project and fighting restrictive covenants generally.

Unity Slate Wins Nine Posts At Inland Steel

(Special to The Militant)

INDIANA HARBOR, Ind., July 2—Nine out of the 12 candidates of the Unity Ticket, who campaigned on a sliding scale of wages program, were elected on June 27 to the executive board of Inland Steel Local 1010, third largest local in the CIO Steelworkers Union.

This local union election was one of the most spirited ever held in this region.

Of the old leadership, only John Sargent edged into office. He was elected president by a bare majority of 16 votes over Manuel Trgovich, who headed the Unity Ticket. Two additional members of Sargent's slate squeezed through for guard and journal agent posts.

The key point in the program of the Unity Ticket was the proposal for the sliding scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living. Sargent and his ticket clung to the moth-eaten Stalinist wage program which advocates "fighting" for a "good" OPA.

Sargent was not as discredited as other members of his slate, which was backed by the Stalinists. He had been away in the armed forces during the period of the war when the Stalinists were going all-out in their strike-breaking policy. However his running mate, Nick Migas, wartime president, was decisively defeated for Financial Secretary.

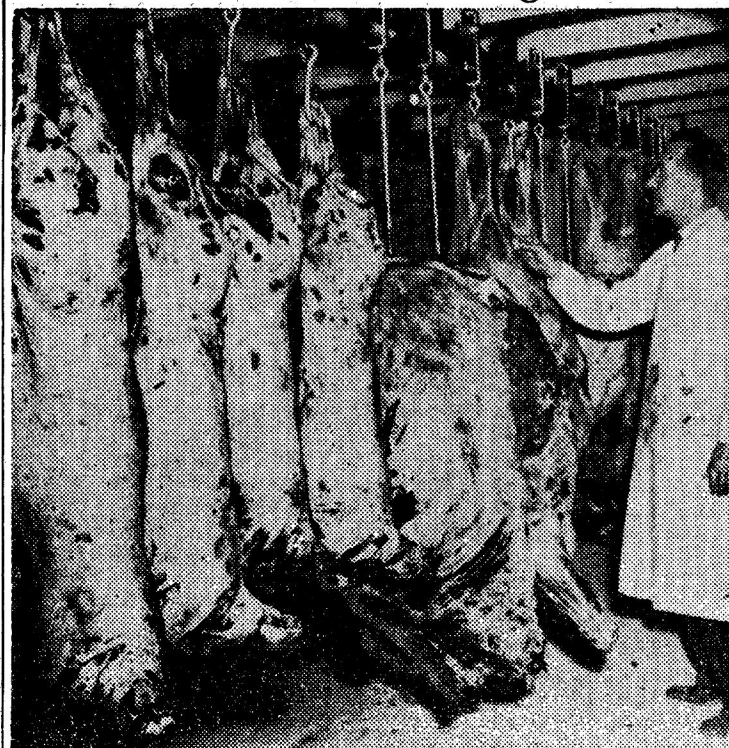
CANDIDATES ELECTED

Candidates of the Unity Ticket who were elected are Peter Calacci, vice president; George Sopko, recording secretary; Tom Conway, financial secretary; Mike Greslo, treasurer; Earl King, guide; Thomas Surovek, outer guard; Archie Breen, trustee; Don Lutes, trustee; Glenn Cramer, compensation committee; Jerry Ford and Harry McCoy, of Sargent's slate, were elected inner guard and journal agent respectively.

Approximately 50 per cent of the Local 1010 membership voted. Balloting took place in a specially erected building near the plant gates.

The defeated grouping around Sargent had held the leadership of the local and a majority of the executive board for the past four years.

What Meat Shortage?



While workers' families suffered a meat-famine imposed by the profiteering packing trust, this picture was taken of a loaded cold storage plant. Meat in cold storage was reported almost as high as a year ago, though housewives found the counters bare.

Anti-Negro Vandals Continue Terror In Chicago District

By Robert L. Birchman

(Special to The Militant)

CHICAGO, July 4—Negro-hating terrorists struck twice on the South Side in the past week.

A second attempt was made to destroy the home of Mrs. Grace Hardy, 315 West Garfield Blvd., despite the fact that the property was being guarded by a policeman.

Mrs. Hardy, a widow, has been in the hospital since May 1, when white arsonists seeking to drive her from her home in a "white" neighborhood hurled an incendiary bomb through her kitchen window. The Socialist Workers Party here exposed the facts which local authorities tried to conceal.

Last Sunday night anti-Negro vandals also set fire to the garage in the rear of the home of Dr. Eugene Cooper, 7200 Eberhart Avenue. The fire was started in a pile of dry grass on which gasoline had been poured.

The second attempt on Mrs. Hardy's home happened near midnight on June 25. John Bogan, patrolman on duty, heard a noise in the rear of the house. Upon investigation, he saw a white youth running away. Al-

though he called the youth to halt and then fired two warning shots into the air, the arsonist escaped. The fire department was called and extinguished a fire of oily rags and paper on the back porch before much damage resulted.

Another attack on the Cooper home was made by a gang of young white hoodlums at 9:30 Monday night, while two policemen were "guarding" the house. They were watched by a crowd of an estimated two thousand white adults gathered together by Jim-Crow elements trying to force the Cooper family to move from the "all-white" Park Manor neighborhood. They had spread the rumor that Mrs. Cooper had "burned the garage herself to get police protection" and that Negroes were planning to march on the neighborhood.

According to an obviously pre-arranged plan, the street lights were put out. Giant firecrackers and stones were thrown at the house, breaking four windows. Despite the fact that 20 squad cars had been called to the scene, no arrests were made. Investigations made in the neighborhood the following night by the Socialist Workers Party revealed that police are very friendly with the white residents and inclined to "look the other way."

Henry McGee, newly-elected president of the Chicago branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has announced that: "Together with the Chicago Industrial Union Council, CIO, the Chicago Urban League, the Socialist Workers Party, the Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, American Civil Liberties Union and the American Council on Race Relations we are launching a conference to Combat Terrorism Against Minority Groups in Chicago." The conference, to which all labor and progressive groups are invited, is scheduled for July 17.

Ship Committee Urges Conference

The ship's committee of the SS. Argentina, in a resolution published by the June 28 Pilot, organ of the CIO National Maritime Union, called on the NMU to join in the calling of a national united labor conference to fight the anti-labor forces of Big Business and its government.

In their resolution, the SS Argentina crew representatives endorse the proposal of the CIO United Auto Workers leaders for a joint national conference of the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods.

They urge that this conference have the broadest representation from the union ranks and that it "be composed of delegates from ships, factories, councils, districts and areas meeting in a giant labor conference to set up a strong organization that will smash back any further attempts of big business and government to push through laws detrimental to labor."

Reports from the South, both from union and capitalist press sources, indicate that the CIO's million-dollar "Operation Dixie" to organize the exploited Southern workers is making slow but sure gains.

One week after the Southern campaign was officially launched, Van A. Bittner, the campaign director and CIO Steelworkers vice president, announced on June 13 that "real progress is being made."

This was substantiated by the report of NLRB elections from the start of the drive. Eleven elections had already been won by CIO unions in lumber, steel and textiles, at plants throughout the Southern area, which includes 12 states from Virginia to Florida and west to Texas.

INDICATES TREND

These, of course, are only a drop in the bucket compared to the million or more industrial workers waiting to be organized. But, with further evidence reported since, it indicates the trend.

Despite the campaign of the employers to use race prejudice and Jim-Crow restrictions to divide the white and Negro workers, the receptivity of the workers to unionism is being acknowledged even by the Big Business press.

"Opposition to unionization is notably less than it has been in the past in the South," states Harold B. Hinton, Nashville, Tenn., correspondent, in the N. Y. Times, June 30. "There was a time when the labor organizer's quickest enemy was the worker himself, who had been taught to look on him as a Yankee interloper."

This means that the workers, kept down by violence, intimidation and systematic anti-union propaganda, have become so eager for unionism that the employers' methods for halting unionization are no longer so effective.

Actually, as the records of the NLRB show, unionization of the South is not just starting. Petitions for union representation elections have tripled since December.

Industrialization of the South has proceeded ever since World War I. It was accelerated during World War II. But the Southern unionization drive was held back for six years because of the wartime policies of the union leaders. Organization of the South meant a struggle, which the union leaders opposed in line with their no-strike pledge and collaboration with the government war machine.

STRIKE IMPETUS

The great strike wave and wage victories of the CIO last winter and spring has given a powerful impetus to the organization of Southern workers. Birmingham and Atlanta steel workers,

CHICAGO WORKERS FACE WHOLESALE EVICTIONS

By Bruce Oxford

(Special to The Militant)

CHICAGO, July 5—Organized mass action to halt evictions, put evicted families back into their homes and withhold rents until rent increases are withdrawn, is being increasingly discussed in workers' districts here, especially in the South Side "black ghetto" where the Negro people are segregated under the worst housing conditions and pay relatively highest rentals.

The situation facing the low-income earners, with thousands of eviction notices issued and rents soaring phenomenally, has been dramatized by the case of Jeff Milton, 34-year-old Negro laborer.

Mr. Milton and his wife Emma, with their 19 month old baby, have set up housekeeping outside the La Salle St. entrance of the City Hall in Chicago. They had been evicted from their tiny two-room apartment, for following OPA advice and refusing to pay the extortionate rent the landlord demanded.

Neighbors help. A week before the eviction, a notice had been served them and their furniture was moved into the street. Indignant neighbors, both white and colored, banded together and moved their furniture back into the apartment that same day.

The Miltons were then summoned to court, but as it was proved that they had had no hand in moving the furniture back, the case was dismissed.

There was no more trouble until a week later, when, without an eviction order, their furniture was again moved into the street. Before aroused neighbors could move the furniture back, as they had intended to do again, new tenants moved in.

That evening the Milton family, with the aid of their neighbors, who had by this time formed a Jeff Milton Tenants Committee, moved their furniture and all their belongings to the City Hall. Mrs. Milton, an expectant mother, was taken to the hospital suffering from shock.

COSTLY FIRETRAP. Upon investigation the apartment in the near-north side slum belt, one of the worst in Chicago, was found to be in dire need of repair and decorating. There was no hot water and no bath tub. The building, an old three-story red-brick structure, is a veritable firetrap with no fire escapes.

The landlord boosted the rent from \$6 to \$12 a week. And, in addition, the apartment was shared with another tenant, paying \$9 a week, making a total of \$91 per month.

The case of this family has brought joint protests by several tenants' and civic organizations, which are beginning to work together for the purpose of combating profit-hungry landlords whose greed knows no bounds.

PHILADELPHIA

Open Forum

"The Plundering Of A Continent"

How The 60 Families Got Their Wealth

FRIDAY, JULY 19

Militant Labor Forum

1303 Girard 8 p.m.

Admission Free