

"The History Of American Trotskyism"

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THE MILITANT

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RCP Candidate In Wales Wins Wide Support

In its first election campaign, the young Revolutionary Communist Party, British section of the Trotskyist Fourth International, rolled up the impressive total of 1,781 votes for its candidate, Jock Haston, in the parliamentary by-election at Neath, Welsh coal mining district. The election was held on May 15.

Haston's winning Labor Party opponent, D. J. Williams, running with the backing of the Tory press and the Stalinists, secured 30,847 votes. W. Samuels, a Welsh nationalist, obtained 6,290 votes.

VOTES FOR SOCIALISM

The Mid-May issue of the Socialist Appeal, official organ of the RCP, which has just arrived in this country, reports: "At a time when the policy of international socialism is under violent attack from not only the capitalist class, but from every section of the labor and Stalinist movement, the fact that in a small area of Wales, 1,781 workers voted for a policy of revolutionary socialism, holds out great hope for the future of the working class movement. This vote was cast in the face of the bitterest and most hysterical slander campaign to be seen in an election for many years."

The by-election took place as a result of the death of the incumbent Laborite member of Parliament. Under the terms of the Tory-Labor coalition and electoral truce, the other parties in the coalition government backed the Laborite candidate, Williams. The Trotskyists made clear that they would have supported the Labor candidate against any Tory or Liberal opponent if the Labor Party had



JOCK HASTON

England's Workers Protest Layoffs

The British, as well as the American workers are facing mass unemployment, hunger and misery. According to a June 13 Reuters dispatch from Liverpool, thousands of workers from Merseyside war factories, among the largest in the country, marched through the streets demonstrating their protest against postwar unemployment.

Three thousand men and women began the march at the Napier Auto and Aircraft factory. As they marched, they were joined by streams of workers from other firms.

Trotskyist Party In France Resists Repressive Acts

The French Trotskyists, organized in the Internationalist Communist Party, are valiantly defending their democratic rights against brutal police measures of the de Gaulle regime. In spite of the ban imposed by the reactionary de Gaulle government, they are continuing, in secret, to bring out their organ, *La Verite* (Truth), just as they did for five years under the iron heel of the Nazis.

A June 20 wireless dispatch from Paris to the N. Y. Times contains the following information:

"Some foreign correspondents received today in plain envelopes mailed copies of *Verite*, newspaper of the Trotskyite Communists, which appeared clandestinely during the German occupation and intends to appear clandestinely during the de Gaulle regime if necessary.

EDITORS ARRESTED

"Deploing the arrest of three of its editors, the newspaper demanded that the Trotsky party be legalized in France because of its role in the resistance movement.

"We are not a group of conspirators," it said. "We repudiate individual action, sabotage and terrorism. Our aim is revolutionary and nothing else."

On top of their sufferings from lack of food and clothing, the French Trotskyists have become the target of a new series of persecutions — this time hurried not by the Nazis but by the "democratic liberation" rule of de Gaulle.

De Gaulle's dictatorial suppression of *Verite* and arrest of the Trotskyists is part of a concerted attack by capitalist reaction on the Trotskyists throughout Europe.

Wall Street Interests Push Senate Bill To Smash Unions

Sharpening the Axe for Labor



NEW MEASURE WOULD OUTLAW STRIKES, IMPOSE OPEN SHOP

By Art Preis

Big Business on June 20 introduced into the United States Senate a legislative "master plan" to paralyze and destroy the American labor movement in the post-war period.

This is the Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill Federal Labor Relations Bill designed to abrogate the progressive features of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act and other federal statutes for the protection of union collective bargaining rights.

Soldiers Forced To Drive Trucks In Chicago Strike

By Tod Wilkinson

CHICAGO, June 22 — For seven days the Office of Defense Transportation, aided by the United States Army and local

CHICAGO, June 26 — In the face of Army strikebreaking, independent union truckdrivers today voted to end their militant 10-day strike.

officials of Daniel Tobin's AFL Teamsters, has striven to crush the second strike within a month of Chicago truck drivers. For the first time in history, the Army is manning strike-bound property with its own personnel, forcing troops to work as scab drivers and helpers.

This strike of 12,000 truck drivers began June 16, following an eight-to-one vote for strike in an NLRB poll on June 15 and a provocative announcement by the War Labor Board that it was postponing decision on the drivers' demands pending a review of its policy in the trucking industry. In order to discourage a greater participation in the strike vote, on the very day of the NLRB

No more sweeping plan to strangle organized labor has ever been introduced into the federal legislature. Virtually every provision long sought by the corporate monopolies and their agents to crush unionism are incorporated in this measure.

In its broad features it embodies the infamous "five-point" program drafted by the National Association of Manufacturers and U. S. Chamber of Commerce. In its elaborate details, so complex that only a skilled lawyer can understand the tricky implications, it closes every conceivable loophole for free unionism. Among

Termed by its sponsors an "Industrial Peace" bill, the measure is actually a virtual declaration of war against the most cherished and hard-won rights of labor—free, unregulated unions, union security through the closed shop and, above all, the right to strike.

Its origin and sponsorship, the praise it has immediately evoked from the most rabidly anti-labor papers, the welcome embrace promptly accorded it by outspoken Congressional labor-haters are sufficient to brand the true character and purpose of this bill.

At the same time, not in many years has there been such immediate, vigorous and unanimous denunciation of a proposed federal statute as the blast unleashed against the Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill bill by every single sector and prominent leader of the American union movement.

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ALLIES FOIST NEW CABINET ON ITALY

By Paul Abbott

The Allies have brought forward another puppet cabinet on the Italian political stage. Like the previous Badoglio and Bonomi regimes, the latest cabinet does not express the will of the Italian people. On the contrary it constitutes part of the Allied effort to strangle the rising Socialist revolution. It will prove as unstable as the preceding cabinets, continuing to reflect the profound economic and social crisis convulsing Italy.

Selected to head the new cabinet as Premier, Ferruccio Parri is one of the leaders of the Action Party in North Italy. His designation is quite evidently an attempt to divert the revolutionary energy of the northern industrial workers into channels where it can most easily be controlled and drained away without damage to Italian capitalism. Parri's first speech in office was a call for "confidence" in the Allies and a plea to the anti-fascists to cease carrying out "summary justice and illegal executions" of fascists.

Parri announced his intention to campaign for a Constituent Assembly and an end to the monarchy. But like the rest of the cabinet he promised the Allied Commission to respect the "truth" concerning the monarchy and he took a formal oath before Crown Prince Humbert "not to do anything before the convocation of the Constituent Assembly that in any way would prejudice the solution of the institutional question."

The Allies and their Italian

(Continued on page 6)

Goodyear Strikers Defy WLB Ultimatum To Return To Work

By Joseph Andrews

AKRON, O., June 26 (By Wire) — Rejecting the government's strike-breaking back-to-work ultimatum, 16,700 Goodyear Rubber workers at five plants here are continuing their militant strike into its eleventh day.

The determined members of Local 2, CIO United Rubber Workers, backed by the Akron CIO Council, are maintaining a solid front in defiance of orders from the regional and national WLB, Army and Navy Service Force officials, Ohio's Governor Lausche and their own international union president, Sherman Dalrymple.

PICKETS WATCHFUL

Orderly picket squads, led by local committeemen, are maintaining a 24-hour vigil at all plant gates. Because of the overwhelming support for the strike, so far there has been no threat to break the picket lines.

At a huge local meeting of the strikers, yesterday a resounding, unanimous vote was recorded to continue the strike. This action was taken after the workers heard the report of Local 2 President C. V. Wheeler on his return from a WLB "show-cause" hearing in Washington.

So great was the turn-out for the meeting, that the workers overflowed all the halls in the union building, with crowds standing outside on Case Avenue to hear the report over the loud speaker.

Wheeler was the local's main spokesman before the WLB hearing to "show cause" why the union had rejected the board's back-to-work order and why the local officers had declined to order the strike ended. The union officials consented to appear at the hearing Sunday only after they were issued a subpoena.

The Local 2 president told the WLB hearing: "I cannot order

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IN THE NEWS

Big-Hearted Profiteer

Frederick C. Crawford, open-shop chairman of the board of the National Association of Manufacturers, has discovered that "from a humanitarian point of view, too many women should not stay in the labor force. The home is the basic American unit."

Still Fights Civil War

Opposing the bill for establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission to eliminate discrimination in industry, Senator Bilbo of Mississippi wrote: "The intelligentsia of the Negro race believes that through the FEPC they will hasten the day of destroying the color line and bring about social equality between the white man and the black man. I will leave nothing undone this side of heaven or hell to defeat this damnable legislative scheme."

Not Serious—For Bosses

A United Business Service report on the aircraft industry states: "The releasing of 1 1/2 million workers of the 2 million now employed will not be too serious, since over a third of the present labor force is composed of women. . . . Aircraft companies receive considerable protection in contract cutbacks."

No Horror Pictures Now!

On June 14, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, president of the World Jewish Congress, quoted a first-hand report from Germany which declared that the survivors of the Nazi concentration camps, now under Allied control, have such "frightful" conditions that "some internees have said they were better off under the Nazis," the report said: "Despite the fact that these people (in the camp) were liberated by the British on April 15, they are still living under the most unsanitary conditions imaginable. There is a terrific scarcity of food, medical supplies and personnel."

Hoodlum Gang Assaults Briggs Local Militants

DETROIT — Terrorist assaults by a mysterious gang of armed hoodlums upon CIO auto union militants here has brought forth an offer of a \$500 reward from Briggs Local 212 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the attackers of two of its leading members.

The local's official publication, Voice of Local 212, announced the reward offer June 14. It was authorized by the local's Executive Board. The union paper describes the facts as follows:

MEMBERS ATTACKED

"Within the past two months, two well-known, militant members, one of them an officer of Local 212, UAW-CIO, were brutally assaulted by an organized gang of hoodlums.

"Several weeks ago Arthur Vega, veteran of World War II, and long associated with the labor movement of Detroit, was clubbed with a lead pipe, sustaining a fractured arm and other injuries.

"Seemingly emboldened by the failure of the Police Department to conduct a vigorous investigation, these thugs on Thurs. night May 17, made a carefully planned

attack on Roy Snowden, sergeant-at-arms of Local 212, and a prominent figure in UAW circles. As he prepared to enter his home, he was set upon from behind by two or more hoodlums and unmercifully clubbed on the head, arms and legs.

EXPOSE GANGSTERS

"Apparently dismayed by their failure to permanently disable Roy Snowden, these would-be assassins delivered the threatening ultimatum to him: 'Leave Detroit permanently within 24 hours or meet your death.'

"It is evident that these gangster methods are being introduced into the labor movement of Detroit on an unprecedented scale. These vicious gangster tactics must be exposed and rooted out before any other workers fall victims to such terrorist attacks.

"Any member or persons having knowledge which they think might point to the apprehension of the hoodlums can submit it to the Investigating Committee, by contacting Brother Gordon MacDonald, 10940 Mack Avenue, (Detroit), LEnox 3570."

LARGE MASS MEETING IN NEW YORK LAUNCHES CARLSON NATIONAL TOUR

By Larissa Reed

NEW YORK, June 22—More than 400 workers and new readers of *The Militant* flocked to Webster Hall despite the summer heat tonight to hear Grace Carlson speak on "Women in Prison" and to meet the two Trotskyist candidates in the forthcoming New York municipal elections, Farrell Dobbs for mayor and Louise Simpson for City Council.

The third feature of the evening, as expressed by James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and chairman of the meeting, was to "hear a first-hand report from the firing line in the Pennsylvania coal fields by the outstanding labor reporter in the country —

our own Art Preis." Preis denounced the recent frame-up of William Patterson, a coal miner who was railroaded to prison under the vicious anti-labor Smith-Connally Act.

CLASS INJUSTICE

Grace Carlson's talk was the second in a national tour she is now making to give the results of her own experiences in prison and to protest class injustice against thousands of women in America's jails. They are victims of capitalist exploitation, poverty and wars, she declared, and "have no one else except the Trotskyists to speak for them."

"Prison is indeed a terrible injustice. But it is really only one more injustice in this terribly corrupt capitalist system full of every kind of injustice," she said. "Being with women in prison is

to be with workers. And Trotskyists are always with and on the side of the workers, above all, the most oppressed sections. Down-trodden women in prison differ from down-trodden women on the outside only in that they are more unhappy, frustrated, and very much more lonely."

Denouncing the social system which is responsible for women being in prison, Grace Carlson declared: "Women are the doubly oppressed victims of capitalist society which first robs them of their right to lead a decent, dignified, fruitful life and then robs them of their freedom. After condemning these women to poverty, ignorance, insecurity and misery, the capitalist government seizes them, calls them 'criminals' and throws them into prison. Thus they are punished for the crimes of their oppressors. But we Trotskyists will speak out against these infamies and injustices."

DOBBS' SPEECH

Farrel Dobbs, editor of *The Militant* and one of the 18 lead-

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Resolution in Support Of William Patterson

Following is the text of a resolution adopted unanimously at the Grace Carlson mass meeting held June 22 at Webster Hall, New York City, under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party:

BE IT RESOLVED: That this meeting of 400 New York workers held at Webster Hall, New York City, June 22, 1945, under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party, go on record in support of the fight to free William Patterson, first labor victim railroaded to prison for an alleged violation of the infamous Smith-Connally "anti-strike" law, and be it further

RESOLVED: That we demand of President Truman an immediate and full pardon for William Patterson, and be it finally

RESOLVED: That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Local 2399 of the United Mine Workers of America of which William Patterson is a member.



GRACE CARLSON

Army Runs Truck Lines In Chicago Strike

(Continued from page 1)

poll the O.D.T. unexpectedly "seized" the 1,700 truck lines not already in its control since the previous strike.

TROOPS MOVE IN

Army troops were being moved into this city even before the strike vote results were announced. Some 1,500 military police were quartered on North-cry Island by June 16. On June 18, army officials announced 3,500 were available, with more thousands pouring in on every train. A total of 14,000 troops, including artillery and antitank units, is promised within the next three days.

Private trucks, driven by Army personnel, appeared on the streets the morning of June 18. Large red and white posters on both sides stated: "WARNING! This truck is being operated by the United States Government by order of the President under the War Labor Disputes Act. Interference with the government operation of this truck is punishable by a fine of not more than \$5,000 or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both."

Only 400 troop-driven trucks appeared June 18, but the number has since increased daily as the Army augmented its forces and a scattering of AFL Teamsters Local 705 members were forced back to work by Tobin's goons.

CLOSED RANKS

However, the heart of the strike, the members of the independent Chicago Truck Drivers Union, which conducted the May strike and claims a majority of the city's cartage drivers, have closed ranks to a man. Not even the government strikebreakers have dared to claim that a single independent union driver has returned to work.

They are fighting for \$47 to \$56.50 wages for a 48-hour week, denied by the WLB, which fixed a scale of \$42.50 to \$51.50 for 51 hours. Overtime pay for Chicago drivers begins only after 51 hours, instead of the standard 48. This issue provoked the previous week-long strike in May, which was halted after the first government "seizure" and WLB promises to reconsider the demand.

In the face of armed force, intimidation and provocations by the brass hats and O.D.T., independent union picket cars are on the streets, persuading civilian drivers to turn back. There have been one or two unpublishable run-ins with military police. Picketing has been especially effective at the larger terminals.

At the Keeshin Motor Express, one of the largest over-the-road firms, the drivers, organized 100 percent in the independent union, are out solid. Feeling against Keeshin is especially high because he tried to fire all his drivers following the May strike, and is suing the union for \$1,000,000 for alleged "strike damage." After seven days, the Illinois Motor Truck Operators' Association and Chicago Cartage Exchange claim only 30 per cent normal operations.

TOBIN SCABS

When thousands of AFL Teamsters Local 705 members joined the strike, Tobin's local representatives engaged in the most shameful strikebreaking. Even before the strike began, Tobin's vice-president here, Henry Burger, issued statements that his international "does not believe in strikes anywhere during the war."

Burger has since pledged to "cooperate in every way with the O. D. T. and the army." He invited the O. D. T. to place its representative in the I. B. T. headquarters "to expedite the

supply of military guards to I. B. T. members who want to work." Wires were sent to all members ordering them back to work.

Since last Tuesday, carloads of Tobin's goons, in groups of a hundred, went from barn to barn, forcing the strikers, under physical threat, to man the trucks. I. B. T. members were slugged on the streets when they refused. Nevertheless, there have been many instances of AFL drivers walking off the job again rather than work under military police escorts. They don't like "cops" on their trucks.

STRIKERS DRAFTED

The anti-labor daily press and the O. D. T. are exerting terrific pressure to demoralize the strikers. Draft deferments are being revoked. Already 37 strikers have been turned over to their local draft boards. The O. D. T. threatens to seek revocation of a \$100-per-man retroactive pay award previously made by the WLB. The FBI is snooping for Smith-Connally anti-strike law violators.

Not all the troops are acting willingly as strikebreakers. There have been innumerable boss complaints about army drivers and guards failing to show up for work. Troop-driven civilian trucks have a way of breaking traffic regulations, going wrong on one-way streets, nicking corners off a building, taking two hours to back a truck to the dock, upsetting trucks in regrettable accidents, ignoring speed laws, etc.

It is reported that two battalions of "work or fight" soldiers (drafted for allegedly refusing to remain on or accept a war job) from Camp Ellis, Illinois, refused to act as strikebreakers when they were told they would receive only regular army pay, after they had asked, "Will we get \$4 a day?"

Protesting Willow Run Shut-Down



The girl above has one problem that takes precedence over all others — regular eating. She is one of thousands who were affected by contract cancellations at Henry Ford's Willow Run bomber plant, Detroit. This week she and scores of others picketed the War Manpower Commission's office in protest against WMC's failure to furnish jobs at fair wages. CIO News Photo

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Annual Wage — How?

When the union leaders, both AFL and CIO, raised the demand for a guaranteed annual wage, it was generally assumed they were seeking federal legislation requiring the employers to pay minimum security wages based on continuous employment. The demand was placed directly before the late President Roosevelt, who shunted it into the hands of a committee for "study." This "study" has yet to begin.

But the CIO and AFL leaders have already beat a retreat. William Green says he wants the employers to agree to this demand "on a voluntary, not compulsory basis." Philip Murray, who raised the biggest hue and holler on this issue, now states that "all the union (CIO Steelworkers) is asking with its request for an annual guarantee is that the steel corporations, which have their guarantee (of continued big profits), make a firm commitment to their employees."

In effect, this means that the projected crusade for the annual wage will boil down to numerous disconnected skirmishes with individual employers, most of whom, we can be sure, will merely scoff at the idea. All it would mean would be a host of new cases to be buried among all the others by the War Labor Board, or some other government agency.

How does Murray propose to get any big corporation to "voluntarily" make a "firm commitment" on this or any other demand? The corporations have laughed in the face of the unions during the war on even the smallest demand and are mobilizing for an all-out assault on labor in the coming period. But Murray pursues the policy of "peace" and insists on the continuation of the no-strike policy.

There is only one way to win the guaranteed annual security wage. That is by a united, militant fight of all labor for a compulsory annual wage system. And if the profiteering employers — who continually demand government compulsion against the workers — can't ensure steady work and wages, then let the government take over their plants and operate them under workers' control.

Tobin's Latest Outburst

AFL Teamsters President Daniel Tobin is the first and only prominent union leader, to our knowledge, who has come out in favor of Wall Street's plan to Prussianize the country through peacetime military conscription. All the major labor organizations have gone on record in opposition.

Tobin's personal organ, The International Teamster, in the June issue contains a featured leading editorial entitled "Keep Military Conscription!" This comes out at a time when armed troops are being used in an attempt to

smash the Chicago truck drivers strike, involving among others thousands of members of Tobin's own union — a grim forecast of what the employing class hopes to do, in part, with the peacetime conscripts.

Tobin's "future war prevention" arguments have the familiar ring of the Wall Street propagandists of permanent militarism. He adds his own fantastic note about "a highly financed campaign against future preparedness," "smarter people than the pacifists. . . supplying the

Truman's Answer

A committee of 20 UAW-CIO local presidents recently secured an interview with Truman to find out what he proposes to do about cutbacks and unemployment. He answered: "Gentlemen, I am interested in only two things, winning the war, and winning the peace." He said it three times — and nothing more.

money," etc. But it's no secret who supplies the money for the peacetime militarism campaign — the wealthiest and most powerful anti-labor interests in the country. And it's no secret, either, on whose side Tobin is lined up!

"Go On Back Home!"

Millions of workers were lured by employer propaganda and the need for jobs to leave their home towns and go into the war industry centers. In many instances they had to live in shack towns; they were robbed right and left for the necessities of life; their wages were frozen and they were frozen to the jobs.

Now that the bosses want to toss them on the unemployed scrap-heap, they are being told to "go back home where you belong." If they have any savings, they are being pressured to use their last cent to return to their pre-war towns, broke and without any prospects for jobs.

We expect that from the employers. But now we have the example of a professed union leader, Frank X. Martel, president of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, handing out this vicious line in a front page editorial of Detroit Labor News, June 9.

His advice to hundreds of thousands of CIO auto workers (he thinks in this fashion he may make it easier to maintain jobs for AFL members who pay their dues) is "for them to leave now, before their savings are used up." He tells them "there never was before, and there is no hope now, of providing employment for all the people who have been brought to this community" — so pack up and scam! That's how one so-called labor leader proposes to "solve" the growing unemployment problem.

Seamen's Bonus Cut By Maritime Board

NEW YORK, June 25. — Merchant seamen last week were caught in a pincer movement by the Maritime War Emergency Board and the ship operators. The government agency announced a war-risk bonus cut, effective July 15, which will amount to a 40 per cent reduction in pay-off for the Atlantic Ocean run.

At the same time, Atlantic operators flatly rejected wage adjustments demanded by the National Maritime Union (N.M.U.). This marks the beginning of a large-scale offensive by the ship operators and their government agencies against the living and working standards of American seamen.

The war-risk bonus will be cut to \$80 and \$40 per month in certain sections of the Atlantic Ocean. Instead of the former bonus scale ranging up to \$100 per month plus \$5 per day, for those areas where the bonus was 100 per cent, a flat \$80 per month will be paid, or 66 2/3 per cent of the base wage scale. For those areas where the bonus was 66 2/3% of the base pay it will be cut in half, to \$40 per month.

TAYLOR'S STATEMENT

The chairman of the American Merchant Marine Institute, Frank J. Taylor, issued a prepared statement on behalf of the operators to the N.M.U. negotiating committee after the bonus cut had been announced. This state-

ment, presenting the position of 37 major steamship companies, which are acting as general agents for the War Shipping Administration on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, maintained "that the present earnings of seamen are fair and reasonable." To this, Taylor added that seamen's base wages must remain frozen even after ALL bonuses are eliminated to enable American operators to compete with foreign maritime nations in the post-war period.

Both the operators and the N.M.U. negotiating committee sent telegrams to the Labor Conciliation Service, requesting that the dispute be certified to the National War Labor Board. The WLB has a similar case before it which was previously submitted by the Seafarers International Union (AFL) and 12 Atlantic coast steamship operators having contracts with that union.

WAY TO WIN

The demands of the unions in both cases are for a 55 cent hourly minimum and overtime for Saturday afternoon and Sunday, thus adjusting the base wage for seamen to the approximate level of wartime earnings.

The record of the WLB in refusing to adjust wages to meet the rising cost of living holds little hope for seamen that their demands will be granted by this agency. Its decisions are measured by the "Little Steel formula" and the only instance where the wage freeze was broken was in the case of the mine workers

Marvelous!

The ardent admirers of the Nazi regime are not confined to German capitalists. They can be found too among the Allied plutocrats. Mistress Sidney Boyd, for instance, who is mayoress of the London borough of Hampstead, spoke at a national council of women on June 20. She demanded compulsory organizations for British children who "are not old enough for freedom."

In defending this fascist-like proposal she revealed the model she had been studying: "The youth organizations in Germany were marvelous," she gushed, "except that Hitler forgot about God."

who were forced to take strike action.

Seamen's wage demands can be won. But the leaders of the maritime unions — both N.M.U. and SIU — have no effective program for a real fight on the question. They recognize the "right" of the ship operators to draw off millions of dollars in profits from this government-owned and government-subsidized industry. These subsidies, instead of going for profits to a completely useless group of "operators," must be converted into wages for seamen who actually operate the ships. Thus, any serious demand for wage adjustments must include the demand to kick out the phony "shipowners" and operate the ships under union control.

The demand that government retain ownership of the maritime industry under control of the unions will if won, result in higher wages. It can be won by seamen only through the independent strength of their unions, with the support of the organized labor movement. This means that the maritime unions must break their political ties with the operators and their political stooges in Washington and prepare to counter the offensive launched by the government-operator combination.

New Union-Busting Bill Pushed In U. S. Senate

(Continued from page 1)

the basic features of the bill are the following:

1. It would virtually outlaw all strikes.

Prohibition of strikes and compulsory arbitration are dictated in all disputes "affecting public utilities or services such as milk, coal or oil." This could be interpreted to include every basic industry—all of which affect the "public interest."

OUTLAW STRIKES

Strikes arising from "grievance disputes," involving the application of the terms of existing union contracts, are prohibited. This would permit employers to violate contracts with impunity, pending interminable mediation, arbitration, government "studies" and court action, all provided in the bill.

2. It would make impossible the maintenance of union security and closed shop contracts.

No closed shop contract could be granted unless the union secures, in a government-regulated vote, a 60 percent majority of all workers in a plant for such a contract and unless the union represents 75 percent of the workers employed.

Regulation of conditions of membership would be determined by the government. No union whose rules for membership did not meet with the standards of "democracy" held by the employers—including the admission of scabs and known company agents—could get a closed shop contract.

3. The bill calls for a sweeping federal "investigation" of all unions by a proposed new five-man Federal Labor Relations Board and the preparation of further laws, based on these "investigations," to "clean up" the unions.

BASED ON SLANDER

This provision, based on the slanderous inference that all unions are "rackets," would subject the labor movement to an unprecedented witch-hunt. All the books, records and confidential matters of the union would be thrown open for the inspection of the employers through their government agents.

From this "investigation" would stem laws for government regulation of union elections, inspection of union books, a ban on labor in politics, restriction of the use of union funds, as in strikes or political campaigns, restriction of dues and initiation fees.

A corps of federal inspectors would be established who could invade a union at any time, such as during a strike, seize its records, impound its funds, and harass its leaders.

4. It would "modify" the most progressive features of the Wagner Labor Relations Act.

Unions "as well as employers" would be subject to government restraint for so-called "unfair labor practices." Under this heading, efforts of a union to organize workers, oppose company-union and anti-labor elements, eliminate spies and scabs, enforce union regulations, might be termed "unfair labor practices."

CANNERY WORKERS

Over 1,500,000 workers now covered by the definition of interstate commerce and protected by the Wagner Act would be deprived of this safeguard through a "narrowed" interpretation of the scope of the Wagner bill. A specific clause of the new bill would deprive cannery and packing workers — under the heading of "agricultural workers" — of Wagner Act protection.

—5. It would cut the heart out of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-In-

junction Bill and subject unions to harassment by injunctions and suits.

The Federal Labor Relations Board proposed in the new bill would be permitted to seek court injunctions to halt any activities of a union. It would permit employers virtually unrestricted right to harass unions with court actions for "restitution, reparation . . . or other relief."

These provisions, as well as many others, make the new bill a "lawyer's paradise." It provides so many features for court review and suits that the unions could be tied up in endless litigation and be driven into financial bankruptcy.

6. The proposed Federal Labor Relations Board could impose harsh penalties. If a union or union official failed to accept any decision of the board, it could withdraw recognition of the union or its officers as bargaining agents for the workers.

In addition, anyone whom the board declared to be "impeding" its work would be subject to a \$5,000 fine and a year in prison.

No greater blow could have been dealt at this time to the phony capital-labor "peace charter" which the union officials have been trying to peddle to the workers, than the introduction of this vicious bill. It strips bare and exposes the real aims of the American plutocracy.

VOTE TROTSKYIST! In the Coming New York Elections

Among other important issues, the Socialist Workers Party Election Platform advocates:

MAKE NEW YORK 100 PERCENT UNION!

Government bureaucrats and trade union officials carrying out the no-strike pledge have paralyzed the labor movement. Without the no-strike pledge the bosses could not have maintained the wage freeze.

Rescind the no-strike pledge! Withdraw union representatives from the employer-dominated War Labor Board! Put union men in office who will represent the workers in labor disputes! Free the trade unions from the shackles forged by Big Business.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

JUNE 29, 1935

DIXON, Ill. — Four companies of National Guardsmen were sent by Governor Henry Horner of Illinois to help the Stover Manufacturing and Engine Co. of Freeport, Ill. smash a strike which had kept the plant idle since May 7. The AFL International Molders and International Machinists union had demanded restoration of two 10 percent pay cuts and the right to bargain collectively.

DAVENPORT, Ia. — The state's entire military forces converged on Omaha June 16 fully equipped to intimidate the strikers of the Omaha and Council Bluffs Railway Co., who walked out on April 20 when their demands for higher wages, shorter hours and full recognition of their union was refused.

The militia was sent because the strike held firm despite the fact that the day previously the police had turned their guns on the strikers killing one and wounding 50. They also hurled tear gas bombs and burned and overturned a number of cars.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST — A strike of 40,000 lumber workers in Washington, Oregon and Northern California continued despite open terror by the militia. The mill owners mobilized an army of strike-breakers, thugs, police and National Guardsmen in an attempt to open six mills in Tacoma, Wash. and seven mills in Portland, Ore. In Eureka, Cal., the police fired upon the strikers, killing one and wounding several.

NATALIA TROTSKY — In a public letter written from their exile in France, Natalia Trotsky warned that Sergei, youngest son of Leon and Natalia Trotsky, who had remained behind in the Soviet Union, was the latest object of Stalin's vengeance. Because of his arrest at the beginning of the year and his being held in Stalin's prison, Natalia demanded an investigation.

YOUNGSTOWN

Grace Carlson - Class War Prisoner

Will Speak on

"WOMEN IN PRISON"

YOUNGSTOWN SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

225 N. Phelps Street

Saturday, July 7, 8 p. m.

— YOU are urged to attend! —

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BIG NEW YORK MEETING HEARS CARLSON TALK

(Continued from page 1)

ers of the SWP and Minneapolis CIO Truck Drivers Local 544, who were railroaded to prison under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act for opposing imperialist war and advocating revolutionary socialism, spoke briefly on his candidacy for mayor of New York.

Pointing out the corruption and labor-hating policies of the two capitalist parties which serve Wall Street, and declaring that the American Labor Party and Liberal Party are bankrupt flunkies of the capitalist parties, he stated that only the Trotskyist party was capable of solving the burning problems of the workers in America, now and in the post-war period.

Louise Simpson, 21, militant young Negro trade unionist and member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, declared: "There may be some people who think I am a little young as a candidate for office, but I think it is about time for youth to participate in government. Youth has great responsibilities thrust upon its shoulders. Hundreds of thousands have been taken from their homes and sent to the battlefields all over the world. Yet this same youth is denied the right to vote. The SWP says: Old enough to fight — old enough to vote!"

PATTERSON CASE

Art Preis denounced the imprisonment of William Patterson, 40-year-old union coal miner from little company-owned Daysytown, Pa., under the infamous Smith-Connally anti-strike law. Preis was the only labor reporter to visit Patterson in prison. Patterson's case was featured in *The Militant*.

"Patterson is the first American worker to be railroaded to prison under this vicious anti-labor law and very likely he will not be the last. The Wall Street rulers and their government wanted to establish a precedent and thereby strengthen the law by jailing Patterson. We Trotskyists knew it was our duty to expose this grave injustice against a whole labor movement as to its meaning."

A resolution calling upon President Truman to immediately and unconditionally pardon William Patterson was passed unanimously by the meeting. A collection of almost \$300 was taken to help the New York City election campaign fund. The meeting concluded with the singing of *The Internationale*.

GRACE CARLSON'S TOUR SCHEDULE

CITY	DATE
Rochester,	Fri. - Sat. - June 29, 30
Buffalo,	Monday, July 2
Pittsburgh,	Tuesday, July 3
Akron,	Thurs., July 5
Youngstown,	Sat., July 7
Cleveland,	Sunday, July 8
Toledo,	Monday, July 9
Detroit,	Tues. - Wed., July 10, 11
Chicago,	Sat. to Mon. July 14 to 16
Milwaukee,	Tuesday, July 17
St. Louis,	Thursday, July 19
Los Angeles,	Thurs. to Wed., Aug. 2 to 8
San Francisco,	Fri. to Sun. Aug. 10-12
Seattle,	Tues. to Thurs., Aug. 14 to 16
Missoula,	Friday, Aug. 17
Plentywood,	Sunday, Aug. 19
Twin Cities,	August 22

It Took Hard Work

In the 30 years since the death of Philadelphia traction tycoon Peter A. B. Widener, it was recently reported in a court case, his heirs have received over \$70,000,000 of income from his \$85,000,000 estate.

Vote Trotskyist!

In the Coming New York Elections

Among other important issues, the Socialist Workers Party Election Platform advocates:

FULL EQUALITY FOR NEGROES and NATIONAL MINORITIES!

DOWN WITH JIM CROW!

The bosses and their politicians hope to divide the workers by setting nationalities and colors against each other. Despite all their election promises to institute fair employment practices, they continue the vicious Jim Crow system.

Defend the Negroes' right to decent jobs at decent wages! Unite the labor movement by fighting segregation and discrimination everywhere!

DOBBS BLASTS BOSS PARTIES IN ELECTION

The following is the text of the opening campaign speech of Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party mayoralty candidate in New York City, delivered at the Grace Carlson mass meeting on Friday evening, June 22:

Next November the people of New York will go to the polls to elect a new city administration. Grave social and economic problems — problems which daily grow more acute for the working class — make this election an extremely important one.

Runaway prices, heavy taxes, frozen wages, wielded like huge knives in the hands of the capitalist robbers, have slashed the standard of living of the great mass of the people. Rationing, the black market, shortages, have made this wound deeper. And finally, inferior goods, shoddy but nonetheless expensive, have deepened right to the bone this cut in the standard of living.

MASSES' PLIGHT

This has been the economic fate of the great mass of the people under the fake "equality-of-sacrifice" program enunciated by Roosevelt in the spring of 1942. But it certainly has not been the fate of America's Sixty Corporations.

Corporation profits have reached unprecedented peaks during the course of World War II. Monopoly trusts and cartels have gorged themselves with wealth, coined out of the blood of workers in uniform and the toil of workers in the factories. Tax rebates, subsidies, entire plants have been handed over to the corporations by the government under its reconversion program.

What are the workers getting under this reconversion plan? Mass layoffs are already under way, and the profit-bloated capitalists propose to give unemployed workers only a pittance for relief. Wage slashes are in store for workers who manage to hold their jobs. To enforce this brutal policy, the capitalist politicians propose compulsory arbitration and government strike-breaking.

HEROES FOR A DAY

Workers in uniform are now coming back from the war fronts, especially from Europe, and they find that despite all the talk about heroes, they are heroes only for a day. They become forgotten men the very next day. For tomorrow, all that the capitalists can offer to the veterans of World War II is what they offered to the veterans of World War I — Hoovervilles and bonus armies. And now the capitalists are demanding workers in uniform for a permanent conscript army to support Wall Street's schemes for world domination.

What do the capitalist-political parties here in New York City offer to the workers under these critical conditions? They offer them Tammany politics! A farce enacted in the back room of a political bawdy house! A farce which the capitalist press tries to palm off on the workers as good Shakespearean drama. A fraudulent pretext of giving the workers an opportunity to select representatives in the government who would protect the workers' interests.

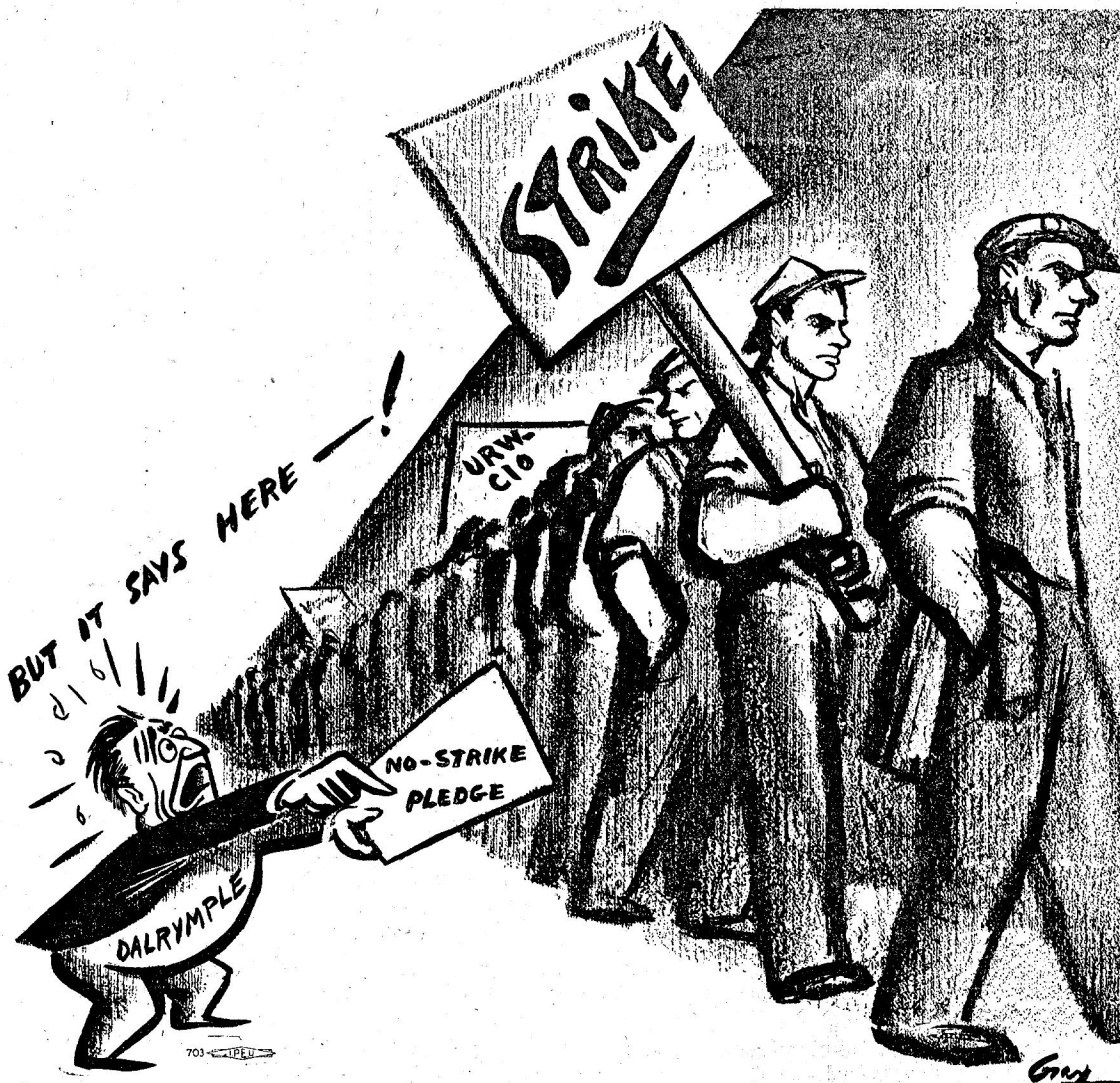
POLITICAL TRICKSTERS

And in this farce the trickster Sidney Hillman, the confidence man David Dubinsky and the Stalinist betrayers — they enact a grotesque imitation of independent labor politics by lining up, some with the Republican Party, the others with the Democratic Party. Thus the New York labor party movement, split as it is today, officially throws its support to one or the other of the two capitalist political parties.

In these circumstances, the Socialist Workers Party becomes the major political force which will carry on the fight for independent working-class political action in this election campaign. We intend to make that fight on the basis of a program keyed to the real needs of the working class. We call upon every believer in independent working-class political action to pitch in and help us in this fight.

Subscribe to **Lucha Obrera** Organ of the Mexican Section of the Fourth International Published in Spanish Twice a Month \$1 a year Sold at 232 S. Hill St. Rm. 200-5 Los Angeles 12, Calif.

Rubber Workers Too Busy to Read



Goodyear Strikers Defy WLB Ultimatum To Return To Work

(Continued from page 1) The men back under the present circumstances" of the continued mounting contract violations of the company. He asked: "Why doesn't the government issue a 'show cause' order to the company to make it live up to the contract?"

This echoes fully the sentiments of the workers, who are demanding to know "why all the heat on the union and not on the company? Why is the government only ordering the union people around?" The strike was provoked by the intolerable conduct of the company, which has been engaged in a vicious wage-slashing and piece work rate-cutting campaign. Grievances have piled mountain high, with the company arrogantly refusing to settle them.

Virtually the whole industrial working class of this rubber center is behind the strikers. The Akron CIO Council, representing over 60,000 organized workers, has endorsed the strike, an action denounced by Dalrymple who is doing all in his power to help break the strike.

The powerful Goodrich and Firestone locals here have officially endorsed the walkout and have offered all their facilities and resources to aid the Goodyear strikers.

FIRESTONE VOTES

Some 10,000 members of Firestone Local 7 have voted 6-to-1 in an NLRB poll for strike action against similar conditions to those faced by the Goodyear

workers. They are prepared to walk out if they do not secure satisfaction in their current negotiations.

This town is a tinder box of labor unrest and discontent. There is talk among union militants of a city-wide strike if any reprisals are directed against the Local 2 leaders. Any victimization of the strike leaders might be all that is needed to set off a general labor struggle here.

National CIO Organization Director Allan S. Haywood has intervened in the situation by claiming that the local CIO has no right to endorse the strike. This is in contradiction to the view taken on the action of the Chicago CIO Council in endorsing the Montgomery Ward walkout last spring.

The rubber workers here are incensed by the strikebreaking conduct of Dalrymple. They are anxious for the holding of the international union's convention in order to repudiate Dalrymple and his cowardly policy in supporting the companies and government strikebreaking.

THE CONVENTION

Dalrymple has announced that the annual convention will not be held until 60 days after the Office of Defense Transportation lifts its ban on conventions.

Both Goodyear and Firestone locals have passed resolutions demanding that there be no postponement of the regular convention. They point out that such postponement is in violation of the international's constitution,

SWP BRANCH ACTIVITIES

CHICAGO
Grace Carlson will speak on "Women in Prison" at Buckingham Hall, 59 East Van Buren St., 2nd floor, Sunday, July 15 at 8 P.M. Chairman, Mike Bartel, Chicago SWP Organizer.

PUBLIC FORUM, Friday, July 6, 160 North Wells St., Room 317, 8 P.M. Subject: Reconversion — How Must Labor Meet the Threat of Mass Unemployment? Speaker: Mike Bartel, SWP Organizer. Auspices: The Socialist Workers Party and The Militant.

Housewarming party. Come and see our redecorated headquarters, Saturday evening, July 7, 8 P.M. at the city headquarters of the Chicago SWP, 160 N. Wells St., Room 317. Music, dancing, entertainment and refreshments.

CLEVELAND
Grace Carlson will speak on "Women in Prison." Slovenian Home, 6417 St. Clair Ave. Hall No. 1 upstairs. Sunday, July 8, 8 P.M. Chairman: T. Grant, SWP Organizer.

DETROIT
"Dollar Diplomacy in South America" is the topic for the July 8 Sunday Night Forum. Speaker: H. Mason. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party, 3513 Woodward Ave., Room 21, 8 P.M.

LOS ANGELES
Murry Weiss is giving a series of lectures on Stalinism, Sunday

night 8 P.M. at 232 S. Hill St., Rooms 200-5. On July 8 he will discuss Stalinism and the European Revolution; on July 15, Stalinism and the American Labor Movement. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Youth Club Forum is holding a discussion on "Atrocities: Who is Responsible—the Nazis or the German People?" Speaker: Leo Frumkin. Thursday, July 5, at 232 S. Hill St., Rooms 200-202; 8:30 P.M. Refreshments.

Make your reservation now for the West Coast Vacation School. Situated at the Workers' Circle Camp in Carbon Canyon, San Bernardino County, it is two miles from Laidlaw Hat Springs and 32 miles from Los Angeles.

Rates: \$20 per week for adults, \$35 for two weeks, \$15 per week for youth from 12 to 18, \$25 for two weeks.

For reservations and further information write to Janice Martin, Director, West Coast Vacation School, 232 S. Hill St., Room 205, Los Angeles, Calif.

which makes no legal provision for a postponement. Threats have been issued of possible government plant "seizure" and use of troops to break the strike. Local 2 leaders and members are making all possible preparations for such an eventuality.

Mexican Workers Exploited, Herded Like Bondslaves

By Bill Morgan

The recent death of eight Mexican track workers who were crushed beneath the wheels of an express train on the New York Central Railroad at Amsterdam, N. Y. brings to light the brutal methods employed by U. S. capitalism in the exploitation of foreign labor.

None of the eight workers could understand English. They were put to work on a two-track system which they did not understand. There was no foreman present and no watchers had been posted to warn of oncoming trains. No interpreter had been assigned to the gang. They were killed without warning.

An investigation followed the "accident." A charge of criminal negligence was considered, but the coroner, John W. Morris, issued a statement saying that the evidence found was "carelessness!"

These eight workers were part of a contingent of 60,000 track workers and 40,000 farmhands sent to work in the U. S. as the result of a deal between the U. S. Department of Labor and the Mexican government. Another 35,000 men will be sent in "batches," according to a report issued by officials in Mexico City who added, "This total of 150,000 Mexican workers will be returned to their homes as soon as the labor shortage in the United States is relieved by returning soldiers."

FAKE PROMISES
These Mexican workers, recruited by promises of high wages and good living and working conditions, are forced to do the most difficult and dangerous work without protection of either union organization or State and Federal laws covering the conditions of labor. They are underpaid everywhere they work.

Called "greasers" by gang bosses and foremen, they are herded like cattle. Segregated in "labor camps," they are treated more like prisoners than workers earning their own living. They are denied the right to become citizens and are threatened with deportation if they refuse to do as ordered.

And to top all this, many boss newspapers keep up a constant barrage of slander against the "presence of so many foreigners in our community..." while other papers utilize the Mexican workers as a lever to lower all wages and working conditions when native workers in these areas demand higher wages and union conditions! Truly capitalism squeezes every ounce of "value" out of these exploited workers from South of the Border. What a glorious day of reckoning will come when the workers and poor farmers of Mexico and the United States join in solidarity for united struggle against capitalism!

SIMPSON BIDS YOUTH ENTER INTO POLITICS

The following is the text of the opening campaign speech of Louise Simpson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the New York City Council, delivered at the Grace Carlson mass meeting on Friday evening, June 22:

Some people may think I am a little young to be a candidate for office. But I think it is about time for youth to participate in political activity. Youth has no responsibilities thrust upon its shoulders. Hundreds of thousands of eighteen-year-old youth have been taken from schools and homes and given guns and sent to the battlefields all over the world. But this same youth were still and are denied the right to vote.

The so-called Young Republicans and Young Democrats are usually men over forty. Maybe they are in their second childhood. But they fear the youth and are already making plans for the next war and the regimentation of youth. The Socialist Workers Party says: "Old enough to fight — old enough to vote!" We demand the right to vote for all youth 18 years of age and over.

YOUTH SUFFERS

In the last depression the youth suffered greatly. They were "ruly the 'locked-out' generation. The very first items curtailed in the state and national budgets were recreational and educational facilities for youth. With millions of adult workers unemployed, youth had no opportunity to learn a trade or practice a profession. They were driven by poverty to wandering around the country in boxcars, doomed to live in slums, denied the food necessary for growing bodies. Today another depression is on the horizon. The layoffs have already begun. It is time now for the youth to join with the working class in independent political activity, to plan their own future before it is too late. When Karl Liebknecht, leader of the militant German working class youth during the last war, said: "The future belongs to the youth" he meant that they must take their future into their own hands and mold a new world — a socialist world!

The Negro and white youth who have gone through the war together, who have joined the same trade unions and walked the same picket lines, must unite politically to wipe out every vestige of discrimination. The election of a few so-called "progressive" candidates who say they are opposed to Jim-Crowism will not solve the problem. The Republican and Democratic parties are committed to discrimination because of their system.

NOT VOTE CATCHERS

For us, the Socialist Workers Party, the election is only one phase of our fight, although a very important phase. The SWP fights and campaigns against discrimination before, during and after the elections. The SWP is not interested in "vote catching." The Trotskyist candidates are primarily concerned with building the independent political action of the working class. Only by that can we guarantee the end of discrimination.

Soldiers Protest Anti-Nisei Terror

PORTLAND, Ore. — Seven white American soldiers addressed a letter to the local *Morning Oregonian*, protesting against the campaign of terror directed against Japanese-Americans returning to the West Coast from inland concentration camps. The letter appeared in that paper on June 8, with the signatures of the seven, who wrote:

"A recent UP news dispatch quotes Secretary of Interior Ickes statement regarding violence and terror practiced against Japanese-Americans returned to the West Coast. The undersigned concur completely with Mr. Ickes' denunciation of these shocking occurrences. Whether the activity consists of threat of physical violence, or economic discrimination, such as evidenced in Stockton, Cal., it follows the pattern of intolerance so well established by the Nazis.

"This kind of vicious intolerance mocks the principles for which we fight. Aside from the dangerous precedent established, we regard these attacks upon a peculiarly helpless and isolated minority as a kind of cowardice that merits the most extreme contempt. These remarks are intended not only for the perpetrators of these acts but also the instigators— whoever they may be—and authorities whose duty it is to protect democratic rights as well as to apprehend pickpockets."

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

Tonight I am tired, too tired even to go to bed. Sometimes the whole weight of a lifetime of labor gathers anew upon your shoulders, and your head bows beneath it.

The summer heat has swept over the furnaces and filtered into the mills, and it has lain heavy on the air. But it has lifted again for a brief respite, as though the very earth needed a pause to breathe.

But it is not the heat that has done this to me. It is just something that happens now and then, whether it be summer or bitter winter.

I want to sleep. I want to sleep for centuries and let the dust of time gather upon my body and cover me up, so that I'll be blanketed with eternity and with sleep, and no man will see my sleeping form. And no man will disturb me. And no man will call me to work and sweat. But I am too tired even to go to bed.

THE WEARINESS OF A STEEL WORKER

A great weariness has filled me, and I long to go far away from the furnaces and the smoke and grime of the steel mills. I want to see green things and smell the air at evening. I want to stand upon the hills and feel the wind in my hair and on my face. I want to walk out at night into a great darkness lighted only by stars and free of the rusty glare of the steel plant.

Day after day and night after night I have sold the strength of my body for the price of a little food and a shabby house. And I have sold too much and received too little; so now the strength that I have left is diluted, and a watery weakness has come into me. . . and I am too tired to rest.

Day after day I have sold the sunlight. And each day I have been cheated out of my payment. I have sold the cool breezes and the million things that make life a joy rather than a burden. And my price has been the miserable wage of the blast furnace worker.

It would be good to walk in the rain in springtime, to swim in deep, green water in summer. It would be good to go to bed in the evening and sleep deeply in fresh air and stillness. And it would be good to waken early in the morning and see the dew on the fields and be rested and have neither worries nor stern necessity driving me into the fiery heat of the furnaces.

JUST PART OF THE MILL EQUIPMENT

But I am a worker, and I have nothing more than the strength of my two arms to furnish food and shelter for my family. . . and that strength is less each year.

So tonight I'll soon gather my energy and undress for bed. Then, after a few hours of sleep, I'll go back to the furnace. For the capitalists who own the furnaces and the mills own the men and women who work in them; we are merely a part of their equipment. And like their other machines, we must do their bidding or be discarded and destroyed.

SUMMER SCHOOL OPENS JULY FIRST IN MICHIGAN

"Please remind readers of *The Militant* that the Mid-West Vacation School For Workers will open its second summer season on July 1," writes Oscar Coover, manager of the school.

The Mid-West School will be held at a summer camp located at Grass Lake Michigan and will run for nine weeks from July 1 to August 31. It is operated on a cooperative basis to provide friends of *The Militant* with vacation at rates that a worker can afford and at the same time give them an opportunity to study problems of the labor movement under Marxist instructors.

The camp is situated on a wooded slope beside a lake in central Michigan 12 miles from Jackson and 60 miles from Detroit. It has ample facilities for both outdoor and indoor sports—boating, fishing, swimming, hiking — and a magnificent grove of oak trees for picnics and "weenie" roasts.

CAMP FACILITIES

The accommodations for guests include a main dormitory and dining hall as well as individual cabins overlooking the lake. The camp is equipped with all modern improvements including showers with hot and cold water. Despite rationing and scarcities, the food will be plentiful and well-prepared.

Rates are \$25 a week for adults and \$15 a week for children. This includes board, lodging, enrollment in classes, use of boats, etc. The educational program of course will be the main attraction at the Summer School. This program has been especially planned to suit the needs of worker-readers of *The Militant*. The courses are so arranged that even those who come for a single week can get an intensive education.

The staff of instructors will be headed by William Wrode and George Collins, associate editors of *The Militant*. Other classes will be given by many of the best-known contributors to *The Militant* and Fourth International such as V. Grey and Felix Morrow. Active unionists will be especially interested in the courses given by experienced leaders of the trade union movement.

Here are some of the scheduled courses guests can choose to attend during the two-month period.

1. The Role and Function of Trade Unions.
2. Introduction to Marxist



Economics.
3. What Is Marxism?
4. History of the Socialist Workers Party.
5. Trotskyism and What It Stands For.
6. Discussion Group on Marxist Philosophy.
To make reservations after July 1, write to: MID-WEST VACATION SCHOOL, Oscar Coover, manager, Grass Lake, Michigan.

Vacation School Planned On Coast

LOS ANGELES, June 25 — Plans for a West Coast Workers' Vacation School, modeled after the successful Midwest Vacation School held in Michigan last summer and being repeated this year, have now been completed. Classes will be held for two weeks in Southern California.

Readers of *The Militant* are invited to attend the West Coast school between September 10 and September 23, at the Workers' Circle Camp, Carbon Canyon, a beautiful valley in San Bernardino County, 32 miles east of Los Angeles. Light, airy dormitories are equipped with hot and cold showers, and a pleasant dining hall is available.

CLASSROOM SUBJECTS

Classes, with voluntary attendance, will include: Problems of the American Labor Movement, An Introduction to Marxist Economics, Study of Karl Marx's Capital, Basic Principles of Socialism, History of the Third and Fourth Internationals, History of the Russian Revolution, Imperialism, Marxist Philosophy. Courses are designed so that even those limited to one week's vacation can participate and benefit fully.

A well-stocked Marxist library will be open for reference and reading. For leisure hours, there are ample facilities for sports—swimming, tennis, basketball, ping-pong, baseball. Picnic grounds, a park, and a recreation hall which will be the center for evening entertainment and dancing, assure fun for the less athletic vacationers.

Reservations are now being accepted by the West Coast Camp Committee 232 S. Hill St., Room 205, Los Angeles 12, California. All *Militant* readers are invited.

Professor Wants Barracks For College Youth In U. S.

By Dave Jeffries

Dr. Edward Elliott, president of Purdue University, made some highly revealing statements when testifying in favor of post-war military conscription before a Congressional committee on June 9. There was no attempt to conceal the purposes of postwar conscription behind flowery phrases about building up health, teaching principles of hygiene and similar hypocritical pretenses advanced by the late President Roosevelt when he introduced a similar proposal.

PEACE — A DREAM!

"At the moment," confessed Elliott, "I have the conviction that this nation must face the grim and realistic fact that conditions approximating an enduring peace in the world are beyond early attainment. . . . While we have the task of dreaming and doing for peace, at the same time we have the solemn and continuing obligation of being fully prepared to protect all that which is ours to protect."

The meaning is clear. It is the task of the camouflage department of American imperialism to provide the American people with "dreams" about world peace, while under this cover American life is to be Prussianized in preparation for another war.

Testifying the same day, Brig. Gen. Henry Reilly supplemented Elliott by proclaiming that "the people who disarmed us are primarily responsible for our war with Germany. They are primar-

ily responsible for our war with Japan. If they disarm us again, they will be responsible for another war."

THE NEW TUNE

It used to be the proud boast of all college educators, government officials and even military men that America, unlike militarist Europe, did not have to regiment its youth into the oppressive atmosphere of the army barracks. They would even declaim righteously that those who transformed Europe into an "armed camp" were the ones responsible for war.

But now when American imperialism needs a huge military apparatus to establish and maintain its domination of the world, these same educators and officials rush forward to demonstrate that military regimentation is really quite beneficial for youth and that it is the opponents of militarization who are responsible for war!

They even claim that permanent conscription is a great contribution to "democratic American life." General Reilly who went the whole hog before the committee, insisted that "there is nothing more democratic in history." By this standard it would appear that Hitler, who conscripted the entire German people into labor battalions and the army was well on his way to reaching the pinnacle of democracy!

All camouflage to the contrary, it is brutally clear what purpose the military conscription of American youth is to serve. It is to provide the forces to enable American imperialism to "police the world for a hundred years." It is to prepare the cannon fodder for new wars. As such it should be fought by progressive youth and the entire working class.

Negro Newspapers Unite to Combat Jim Crow Policies

By Jean Simon

LOS ANGELES, Calif., June 14 — Acute awareness of the problems facing the Negro people today and in the period ahead was demonstrated by representatives of 17 California Negro newspapers and two press associations at the founding convention of the California Negro Newspaper Association held here June 9 and 10.

One of the first acts of this first Negro state press association in the United States was to wire President Truman, urging a pardon for the 50 Negro sailors convicted of mutiny in California.

The convention also urged Truman to send three Negro reporters from California to the South Pacific to investigate mistreatment of Negro servicemen and commended him for his support of the Fair Employment Practices bill.

The motivation for the organization of the association at this time was clearly a desire to unite the Negro press to fight for the needs of the Negro people in the period of cutbacks and unemployment that has already begun.

UNITE TO FIGHT

Leon Hardwick, of the Los Angeles Sentinel, summed up the aims of the new association in his column this week, stating that the CNNA "is not interested in fish fries and good times, but in jobs, in coordination of political and interracial strength and in economic, social and racial equality."

He said further: "More and more, the Negro journalists in this country are coming to the realization that the Negro is not an isolated entity whose problems are peculiar to himself alone . . . Negro newspapermen are becoming internationalistic. They're writing and encouraging their Negro readers to become likewise. That's the most favorable sign we've seen in a long time. For this writer firmly believes that this, in a large measure, is the key to the answer to most of the damnable problems which, for decades in this country, the masses of Negroes and whites have been falsely taught are purely localized difficulties. Watch the California Negro Newspaper Association!"

buy it on the black market for a dollar a pound." A soft-spoken middle-aged worker interrupted him to say, "It's our own fault that we're only getting 92 cents. That men in New York are getting \$1.30 and they deserve it. They fought over there to build the union. Plenty of them went to the hospital with their heads beat in. We expected the company to hand us everything on a silver platter. Our mistake was in not going out like this twenty months ago when the contract expired. We're never going to get anything unless we fight for it."

VETERANS WILL FIGHT A significant contribution to the discussion was made by a recently discharged veteran. With deep feeling he said to me, "I've only worked here since I came back a couple of months ago. The other guys have been here for a long time and I'm going to fight this thing out with them. I learned plenty when I was overseas. Yesterday when I was in front of the plant two detectives that they have stationed there came over and told me to get moving. I told them where I had been and that I hadn't come back to get pushed around by guys like them and that I wasn't moving. They let me alone, too!"

Despite the fact that they have been driven back to work, these men will not be kept down. They have learned much from their experiences with the company. They are fully capable of now learning the necessity of eliminating their present union leadership.

of local 823, sketched the background of the fight. The central issue, he explained, is the company's regular policy of dragging out contract renewals through the device of taking exception to virtually every union proposal, thus forcing the settlement of terms into the drawn-out channels of arbitration.

On the present contract they have refused the union's demand for a 17-cent increase and an effective seniority clause that would also provide for returning veterans. They have made a counter proposal on vacation schedules that would provide for a week's vacation after a year of continuous service. This would mean that a worker losing one day during the year would not be eligible for vacation pay!

"The men are fed up with this kind of business," Brennan said, "they want a new contract with decent terms in it, and they don't intend to wait sixteen months to get it."

Negro Soldiers Expose Rankin's Racial Lies

By Joseph Hansen

A stinging answer to Representative John Rankin, Negro-hating chairman of the House Veterans Committee, Northport, N. Y., in the investigation of brutal treatment of patients in veterans' hospitals, Rankin first attempted to whitewash his friends' evil-smelling administration. When this tactic failed, he turned to his favorite political weapon — Negro-baiting.

If conditions were bad in the hospitals, declared this venomous Congressional representative of the Southern bourbons, then the fault lies with the Negroes. Carefully avoiding instances of brutality for which his lily-white friends bear complete responsibility, Rankin at the close of the June 14 committee hearings, pointed to Negro attendants at Northport hospital and tried to whip up a lynch spirit against them.

"It is a disgrace," he shouted; "that the War Dept. should send nigger troops into our Veterans Administration Hospitals to be mixed up with white nurses and with officers who cannot enforce discipline."

TRUTH DEMANDED

Indignant Negro soldiers stationed at Northport have demanded that the truth about Northport be made public. Several of them wrote letters to the Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces. The complete text of one of these letters follows:

"The slanderous insinuations being spread by Rep. Rankin that Negro soldiers are abusing white patients at this institution require an answer. I came with the first group of Negro soldiers here July 6, 1943. At that time the War Department specifically provided that detachments in Veterans neuro-psychiatric institutions should be composed of Negro enlisted personnel and white officers. In other words, the work to be done was considered too menial and unpleasant for white soldiers.

"The soldiers were given no course of training. The facility was tragically understaffed. Soldiers would be thrown into wards of violent patients alone, without knowledge of how to protect themselves, much less the patients from other patients. Rankin does not mention the scores of soldiers grievously maimed, sometimes permanently, by berserk homicidal or suicidal attendants had not been given a course of training either, and understaffed as they were, they had to have recourse to violence to protect themselves. Their rudimentary techniques they taught the soldiers. Attendants

replace them with white. But the Negro soldiers are still here because the white soldiers refuse to work in the wards under the conditions the Negro soldiers have to face. Lt. Burke, one of the officers assigned here last year, said that the Negro soldier injured in this hospital had as much right to the Purple Heart as any soldier wounded in combat.

"I suggested that newspapers interview some of the personnel who have had to work here for years before printing rumors designed to exacerbate race hatred."

are badly underpaid and the state of current knowledge of how to best cure the institutionalized insane is primitive.

WHITES REFUSE

"Yet in the almost two years we have been here there have been only 15 prosecutions for assaulting or threatening to assault patients on the part of soldiers. A month and a half ago the authorities determined to transfer the Negro soldiers and

L. A. TROTSKYISTS CALL FOR UNITED ANTI-FASCIST ACTION

LOS ANGELES, June 22—In an urgent appeal for united labor action against a fascist mobilization in this city, the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party, through its organizer Myra Tanner Weiss, today addressed the following telegram to the CIO Council and AFL Central Labor Council:

"Fascists plan a public meeting in Los Angeles, Monday, June 25, for Gerald K. Smith, demagogue of the Coughlin, Huey Long and Silver Shirt school. Postwar unemployment, returning veterans, growth of monopoly and middle-class discontent are the factors they count upon to win a mass base for their movement against labor.

"This is a direct threat and challenge to the whole labor movement. We urge immediate formation of a united front of action of all labor and minority groups to stop this fascist movement before it establishes a base in Los Angeles. We urge you to call a conference of these groups to set up a united front committee to plan action toward this end. We pledge our support to such a united front of action against fascist movements."

beaten up by disturbed patients with whom he was left alone?

MANY INJURED

"Why was nothing said about another attendant, likewise alone in a ward, who is now in a hospital with three broken ribs after having been beaten up and trampled upon by a homicidal patient?"

"Why was nothing said about the heroic action of two Negro soldier attendants in subduing a patient in Ward 61 who was running amok in a ward brandishing a knife stolen from the dining room and threatening to kill his fellow-patients?"

"Why was nothing said of the many injuries — including broken ribs and fractured limbs — sustained by Negro soldier-attendants at Northport at the hands of acutely disturbed patients while they were supervising crowded wards alone, with no training in methods of handling violent patients without hurting them?"

"Why was nothing said about the fact that none of the court-martialed soldiers was charged with malicious unprovoked brutality, and that in each instance, according to Gen. Terry, the brutality charge arose from an emergency situation in which the accused man was trying to subdue a patient attacking either a fellow-patient or the attendant himself?"

More Facts Revealed By Press Reporter

What is the truth about conditions at Northport Veterans Hospital? Southern-born Col. Louis

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The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

FEPC, A Political Football

At this writing there is every indication that the Fair Employment Practices Committee will die a natural death within the very near future. The committee, which was set up on a temporary basis by Roosevelt in his Executive Order No. 8802, was ostensibly designed to eliminate the widespread practice of employers in discriminating against racial and religious minorities in job hiring.

The committee, from the beginning, had only investigative power and did not have real authority. It could not prosecute employers for discrimination. At many hearings the guilty employers and union bureaucrats even refused to attend. Although cases of obvious discrimination in war work were made public, there is not one case recorded where a government contract was cancelled as a result of the employer's failure to comply with fair employment practices.

A CONCESSION Nevertheless, even this powerless FEPC represented quite a concession by the Big Business government. This is evidenced, first, by the fact that, although such a measure had been previously advocated by many Negro, labor and liberal organizations, it was only executed at the time when A. Philip Randolph was threatening to lead 100,000 Negroes in the March on Washington Movement to protest the rank Jim Crow policies of the Federal Government. In short, Roosevelt only granted this "favor" in order to stave off militant mass action which would have further exposed the real conditions in "the land of the free."

Furthermore, impotent though it was, the FEPC met fanatical opposition from the Southern poll-taxers and other ultra-reactionary forces.

Although Executive Order 8802 provided only for a temporary FEPC, and was supposedly intended as a "war emergency" measure, it became obvious to all clear-thinking people that a permanent provision for fairness — at the very least the right to hold a job and provide for one's self and one's family — was necessary if we were going to continue to refer to capitalist America as a "democracy" with "liberty and justice for all." Consequently, during the Presidential campaign, the leading spokesmen of BOTH major parties glibly gave lip service to a permanent FEPC. In fact, the Republicans made specific inclusion of such in their official party platform.

NOT SURPRISING It is ironical but enlightening to observe now the frantic efforts of BOTH Republican and

Democratic politicians to kill the bill for a permanent FEPC in spite of the tremendous mass support it receives. This is not surprising to readers of the Militant. We predicted before the election that NEITHER the Republican nor the Democratic parties would prove good for the Negro or good for labor because, when the vise was tightened, they would dance to the music of those they both represent — the Big Business interests.

To realize how this issue has been kicked around by the politicians let's take a look at the facts:

1. The FEPC is the only wartime agency that both parties, previous to the election, promised to retain. Yet the Senate appropriations sub-committee has moved to kill it by denying the funds for its continuance and the House rules committee has moved to prevent its coming to the floor for debate. Both committees are composed of Republicans and Democrats.

2. President Truman goes on public record as ostensibly advocating passage of a permanent FEPC, while at the same time Rep. Roger Slaughter, also a Democrat and also from Missouri — and therefore a politician who must do Truman's bidding — flies in from Kansas City to cast the vote in the rules committee that prevents the bill from coming to the floor.

3. Rep. Mary Norton (D. of N. J.) who has fought for FEPC, corners Slaughter and makes him admit that he will "consider" the bill if one word is changed. But when she is depended upon to draw up an acceptable amendment, she apparently changes her tactics overnight and fails to produce an amendment the next day as promised.

Although the full Senate appropriations committee has now voted to restore the funds for a Fair Employment committee, the odds are that the bill will be juggled some more and not made law. Thus the Big Business politicians play the old shell game of "now you see it, now you don't" — gambling and toying with the right of millions of workers to get a job and earn a living.

OLD SHELL GAME

Pioneer Paragraphs

TROTSKYISM IS BASED UPON WORKERS' INTERNATIONALISM

In our epoch, which is the epoch of imperialism, i. e., of world economy and world politics under the hegemony of finance capital, not a single communist party can establish its program by proceeding solely or mainly from conditions and tendencies of developments in its own country. This also holds entirely for the party that wields the state power

early revolutionary period of the Communist International. . . . The monstrous campaign against Trotsky's program, which did not end by any means with his assassination, has drawn a veil of obscurity over all the programmatic documents of this early period. World capitalism, of course, has every interest in seeing that they will remain interred. The Stalinist bureaucracy, which has occupied itself with re-writing the history of this period, has likewise done its utmost to hide and suppress the programmatic documents advanced under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. In translating and printing Five Years of the Communist International, Pioneer Publishers not only carries out a historic duty in making available to the present generation basic materials of this almost forgotten period of the Third International, but even more important it provides model analyses for the solution of the great postwar problems of the Second World War now confronting us, problems similar in essence to those which confronted the Bolsheviks at the close of the First World War.

This is the first of two volumes containing Leon Trotsky's manifestoes, articles, speeches and letters in the period of the first four world congresses of the Communist International, 1919-1924. The second volume will appear at a later date. This first volume contains the manifestoes and documents written by Trotsky for the first, second and third world congresses of the Communist International — in 1919, 1920 and 1921. Included also are many of his articles, speeches and letters during the periods between these congresses, ending with three documents from the period between the third and the fourth Congresses, 1921-1922. Trotsky's introduction, which he wrote in May, 1924 for the original publication of this book in Russian, is included at the beginning of the volume.

"The documents contained in this volume," writes Hansen in his foreword, "belong to the

within the boundaries of the USSR. On August 4, 1914, the death knell sounded for national programs for all time. The revolutionary party of the proletariat can base itself only upon an international program corresponding to the character of the present epoch, the epoch of the highest development and collapse of capitalism. An international communist program is in no case the sum total of national programs or an amalgam of their common features. The international program must proceed directly from an analysis of the conditions and tendencies of world economy and of the world political system taken as a whole in all its connections and traditions, that is, with the mutually antagonistic interdependence of its separate parts. In the present epoch, to a much larger extent than in the past, the national orientation of the proletariat must and can flow only from a world orientation and not vice versa. Herein lies the basic and primary difference between communist internationalism and all varieties of national socialism. . . . Linking up countries and continents that stand on different levels of development into a system of mutual dependence and antagonism, leveling out the various stages of their development and at the same time immediately enhancing the differences between them, and ruthlessly counterposing one country to another, world economy has become a mighty reality which holds sway over the economic life of individual countries and continents. This basic fact alone invests the idea of a world communist party with a supreme reality. (From "Third International After Lenin," pp. 4-5 Pioneer Publishers, 1936).

Furriers In Newark Learn From Strike

By Harry Robinson

NEWARK, N. J. — After an eight-day fight to secure a contract renewal, 600 members of the Fur Dressers and Dyers Union, Local 140, yielded June 17 to the demand of their officers and voted to return to work. The union is an affiliate of the CIO International Fur and Leather Workers Union.

As employees of the wealthy Hollander Fur Company, these men have worked for years under conditions that are among the worst in the area. They walked out in an effort to secure the renewal of a contract that Ben Gold, Stalinist president of the International Union, has been "negotiating" with the company for the past twenty months. Their principal demand was that the contract be signed immediately, and that it include a clause providing for paid vacations. This is something that the company has never previously granted and the men were determined not to let another summer go by without securing it.

GOLD HITS STRIKE

Gold demonstrated very clearly that although twenty months is not sufficient time for him to win a contract renewal from the company, he needs little time to move against the rank and file of his union. On the same day that the men walked out, the local boss press was able to feature a statement by Gold

denouncing the action as an "unauthorized strike . . . in violation of CIO policy."

The men went out with the realization that Gold would fight them, but at the same time they mistakenly felt that their local officers would support and lead their struggle. When they saw their officers line up with Gold in demanding that they return to work they felt themselves to be in a blind alley and voted to go back.

However a discussion that I had with a group of these men, at their union hall, during the walkout, strongly indicates that this "victory" of the company and the Stalinist union leaders will not endure.

EAGER TO TALK

Justifiably distrustful of representatives of the boss press, the men were eager to talk to me when I told them that The Militant was a labor paper that would tell their side of the story.

In response to my query as to their pay rate, one of the men replied, "We average 92 cents an hour, but that includes a temporary bonus of 15 percent. They always include that 'temporary' on the pay checks. I guess that's to remind us that they can cancel it whenever they want to. . . . I see that the Congressmen are taking themselves a fifty-dollar-a-week raise, but we have to go by the Little Steel Formula. . . . The only way that my wife can get meat for the family is to

4,000 UAW MEMBERS CONDUCT 11-DAY BREEZE CORP. STRIKE

NEWARK, N. J., June 25— Four thousand employees of the Breeze Corp. are still carrying on the fight to secure an immediate renewal of their union contract which expired June 8. They are members of locals 871, 823 and 267, United Auto Workers, CIO. The three locals have a master contract covering the company's seven plants.

On June 8, two hours before the old contract expired, they walked out of the plant in a determined effort to put an end to the company's long years of union-busting activity. The War Labor Board then instructed the company to discontinue negotiations until the men returned to work.

After the men were out for eleven days, representatives of the International Union, backed by a contingent of Army and Navy "Brass Hats," succeeded in ramming through a return to work motion by a dubious majority. The workers then unanimously adopted a motion from the floor to take a strike vote under the provisions of the Smith-Connally Act.

The meeting was a powerful demonstration of the membership's understanding of the pro-

company role of the WLB and the Army and Navy officials. They expressed this at the opening of the meeting by unanimous adoption of a motion that they reach their decision on the question of returning to work before permitting any non-union members, i. e., the WLB representative and the Brass Hats, to take the floor.

One worker after another took the floor to denounce the policies of the WLB and the Army officials. Loud applause was accorded to one worker who vehemently declared "We're sick and tired of the WLB and the Army waving the flag in our face. If they want to force anybody to do anything, why don't they force the company to start bargaining in good faith!" Addressing himself to the WLB representative on the platform, he continued, "We want you to take back our opinion of the board to its other members. We think that it stinks!"

The reception accorded to such speeches as these made it obvious to every one present that despite the passage of the motion, the sentiment of the rank and file was for continuing the action.

In an interview with a Newark correspondent of The Militant, Alex (Scotty) Brennan, president

200,000 Burned Alive In Hamburg Bombing

The horror of aerial bombings can never be fully realized from the routine dispatches in the capitalist press which record, coldly and inhumanly, the obliteration of whole cities in Japan by incendiary bombs. These dispatches are written and edited to conceal the agonizing fate of millions of human beings trapped in densely-populated areas which the B-29's have converted into roaring incinerators.

On Sept. 20, 1943, the newspaper *Baseler Nachrichten*, published in neutral Switzerland, ran an eyewitness account of the effects of Anglo-American bombing of the German city of Hamburg. The British and American press deliberately suppressed this horrifying word-picture, because they thought it would affect the war "morale" of the British and American peoples. We print it in full here because, better than anything else yet written, it helps to bring home the terrible fate of helpless civilians and the enormity of the crimes of capitalism against mankind.

During the bombing of Hamburg there was a catastrophe in one densely populated part of the town of several square kilometers which eclipsed all previous happenings of the bombing war. It occurred as a result of the area being covered with mines, high-explosives and phosphorous bombs and hundreds of thousands of ordinary incendiaries.

It must be emphasized that the effect was one which can only be achieved when bombing densely populated residential districts, but not when bombing factory districts. Every physicist of the air war could have calculated this effect in advance if the number of H.E. and incendiary bombs to be dropped on a given area were known to him. It is founded on the well-known fact that every open fire sucks in the oxygen it needs from the surrounding atmosphere and that large fires, unless there is a strong wind, will lead to the creation of so-called air chimneys up which the flames will rush with ever-increasing force. If the area of the fire covers several square kilometers, then the flames licking out of individual rows and blocks of houses will combine into one big blanket of fire, covering the entire area and rushing up to ever greater heights. According to English reports, the Hamburg fire reached a height of six kilometers, that is, up to that height the heat rose in one compact body.

Fire Consumes the Oxygen

Under these conditions the following occurs: within the area of the fire a rush of air is created, reaching the strength of a typhoon. The effect is that of enormous bellows pumping air into this district from all directions; for the sea of flames sucks in air from its surroundings. In this, the streets serve as channels through which the air passes towards the centre and at the

same time the air rushing through the streets sucks the flames from the burning houses horizontally into the streets. Thus, human beings and flames will compete for the available oxygen and, naturally, a fire of this size will get the better of it.

The immediate result in the cellars is a shortage of oxygen and breathing difficulties for the people present. At the same time the temperature in the shelters rises unbearably, but the people are prevented from leaving the shelters during the early stages of the bombing by the constant rain of H.E., incendiary and phosphorous bombs, which release a fine shower consisting of a mixture of rubber and phosphorous. Experience has shown that when the people finally make up their minds to leave the cellars it is too late. They have no strength left to carry out their decision, and even if they have they lack the strength to resist the heat and the lack of oxygen in the street. It is easy to see that men, with their greater power of resistance and stouter clothing, are better able to resist such a method of attack than women and children. That is why the majority of the victims are women and children. Numerous completely charred bodies of women and children in light summer clothing who emerged from the cellars into the storm of fire in the street were soon converted into burning torches.

Death in a Fiery Whirlwind

Naturally, hundreds and thousands of men too lost their lives in the streets of this district. Hamburg experts who are in charge of the salvaging of bodies have stated that only a minute percentage of the population residing there can

Hamburg Horror Confirmed

Censorship of the gruesome details of Allied destruction of the great German City of Hamburg was lifted last week to bring full confirmation of the awful story which we reprint on this page. The facts were given by Drew Middleton in a New York Times dispatch from Hamburg dated June 22.

Allied bombs, says the correspondent, killed about 400,000 persons of a pre-war population of 1,682,000, or one out of every four. In addition to destroying the port and the city's industrial area, the Allied air forces aimed deliberate, concentrated attacks on the Hamm and Hammerbrook districts of Hamburg "which once housed hundreds of thousands of workers." The Germans, says Middleton, do not know how many were killed, "but it is safe to assume that number was close to 200,000. Thousands were baked alive in shelters as apartment houses and tenements fell burning around them."



have escaped with its life under the conditions prevailing during the attack. The whirlwind surrounded the entire district with a fiery wall and only those were able to save themselves who escaped at the very beginning.

The condition of the cellar shelters, which have meanwhile been opened, gives some indication of the temperature which must have prevailed in the streets. The people who remained in these rooms were not only suffocated and charred but reduced to ashes. In other words, these rooms which, without exception, became death-chambers for dozens and hundreds of people, must have reached a temperature such as is not reached in the burning chamber of a crematorium. One doctor who supervised the salvage of the bodies remarked that the incineration of the bones had in many cases been more complete in the cellars than it is in the normal process of cremation. Obviously, it is impossible to identify the bodies, as all the belongings of the people have also been reduced to ashes.

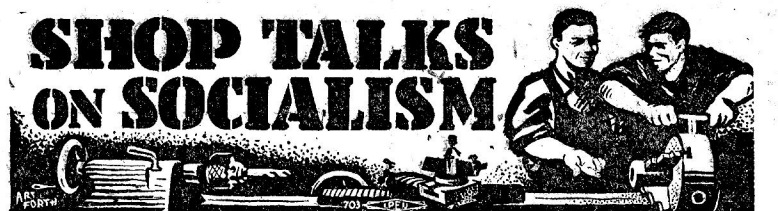
Women, Children Burn to Death

The 20,000 bodies salvaged so far in Hamburg come mainly from this district. Even today the work of salvaging is still extremely difficult be-

cause the temperature in the cellars a fortnight after the fire is still such that any introduction of oxygen makes the fire flare up again.

The many reports of survivors of burning women and children, and of women throwing their children into canals, are, therefore, not invented. How great was the temperature prevailing in these streets is further proved by the fact that the glass in the windows and metal frames were reduced to ash and cinders.

As we have said, all this occurred in a strictly defined district of some kilometers square. Obviously, effects like those described can only be achieved in densely populated residential districts with high houses and relatively narrow streets. The streets, however, need not be very narrow, for roughly 50 women and children were found suffocated, half charred, and with their clothing torn from their bodies by the storm, on a playing field which was situated at the centre of a street crossing. It appears, therefore, that the air war in this form can indeed turn entire districts of a large city, and, above all, the residential quarters of workers and employees, into a fiery grave which no one can escape who has not the courage to flee in the early stages through the rain of phosphorous, H.E. and incendiary bombs.



By V. Grey

People are getting laid off from the war plants. The whole aircraft industry is beginning to shut down. Fellows are returning from the army. And they're all forming a new army. The Army of the Unemployed. It's going to be bigger than all of Eisenhower's forces—much bigger.

You don't have to look very far to see it coming. The aircraft plants on the other side of town are half closed down already. It hasn't hit the steel industry yet. So far, we're all still in the shop and still working six days a week.

But it's like when you were a kid hoeing beans on the farm. A storm would come blowing at you right in the middle of a dry day. And you could see the rain coming down at the other end of the field, drenching the other kids. But a minute later, you were soaking wet yourself.

It Sucks Everyone In

That's the way this thing hits, too. You see the unemployed and the reliefers a long way off. And suddenly you're right in the middle of them.

Some people think that unemployment doesn't hit everybody. But that's where they're wrong. Remember how it used to be when there were fifty guys outside the gate waiting to take your job? You took a lot of the company's crap then. You swallowed a lot that you don't swallow now.

The bosses used those fifty men for all they were worth, as a whip over your head. They felt the power those unemployed gave them. They made you work ten and twelve hours a day for straight time. Divide the work up with the unemployed at a living wage for everyone? The hell they did! With those fifty guys at the gate, you'd take your thirty cents an hour and be thankful for the ten-hour day.

Unemployment hits you whether you're working or not. It demoralizes the employed and the unemployed both. It's a weapon in the hands of the big capitalist bosses. It's up to us to take this weapon out of their hands and put everyone to work.

Workers' Control the Only Cure

This can only be done by operating industry under our own workers control. If the capitalists could operate these factories to make murder machines, certainly WE can operate them to make the things that people need to live like human beings. The capitalists have made their millions and billions out of the plants, and now the plants are being left to rust and decay, while people starve.

This rust and decay and starvation are part and parcel of the capitalist system in its stage of decay. War has only interrupted the process and substituted explosion for decay, sudden death for starvation. Now we are going back to the old pre-war dog-eat-dog way of living, only fiercer and more bitter than before.

But when we working people take over the factories, mines and mills, there won't be one bunch of us working 12 hours a day for starvation wages and another bunch on relief with a starvation dole. When the working class takes over, that kind of stuff will be done with forever.

Canadian CCF Party Shows Voting Power

MONTREAL — Canada's independent labor party, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), increased its strength from 10 to 26 seats in the general election held on June 11, despite the aid tendered the big business candidates by the

Stalinists. The pro-capitalist Liberals were returned to power with a considerably narrowed majority, dropping from 155 to 117 seats, while the Conservatives increased their showing from 40 to 65. The treacherous Stalinists concentrated most of their efforts on splitting the CCF vote in order to improve the chances of the Liberals. The Stalinists, masquerading as the "Labor-Progressives" won only one seat as

against five in the previous government. The CCF was able to present an almost full slate of candidates for the first time, running 200 candidates out of a possible 245. It is quite possible that when the soldier vote is revealed on June 20, more seats will be gained by the CCF. In the Ontario provincial election of June 5, a plurality of soldiers voted CCF. The campaign was marked by an unprecedented slander drive against socialism in general and the CCF in particular, by shameless flag-waving and by frenzied appeals to race hatred. Big Business, quaking with fear for its monopolies lest the CCF gain power, poured a million dollars into the hands of a Mr. Trestrail, professional union-smasher, to enable him to propagate his anti-socialist vilification. Trestrail sent by mail to every voter in Canada a condensation of his book "Stand Up and Be Counted," a mess of abominable falsehoods about the nature of socialism, and even attacking one of the CCF leaders (Lewis) as a Jew.

Another factor militating against greater labor gains was the Conservative Party tactic of inflaming the old racial prejudices still existing between the French speaking people of Quebec Province and the English speaking people of Ontario. These feelings are always aggravated in time of imperialist war due to the resolute French Canadian opposition to being forcibly pressed into the armed service of British imperialism. The CCF leadership, unfortunately still weak and opportunistic, had left the party defenseless against such tactics by declaring themselves in full support of the imperialist war effort in 1939. As a result, the CCF has lost all its seats both in French Quebec and in English Ontario in this election.

SPURN RACE HATE The situation in British Columbia provides a contrast to this. The trustards on the west coast conducted a vicious anti-Japanese race-hate drive after the war with Japan broke out. The CCF rank and file, however, spurned such race-hate and forced their leaders to follow suit. In this election, British Columbia elected four CCF candidates. Despite some disappointment at not making a better showing in eastern Canada, the CCF campaign was an inspiring demonstration of the power and initiative of the united workers and farmers. Backed by many of their trade unions, the people have made their own independent labor party a household word from coast to coast.

BRITISH RENEW FRAUDULENT OFFER REJECTED BY INDIA THREE YEARS AGO

By Felix Morrow

The new British White Paper on India, issued June 14, has nothing new in it. It simply repeats the fraudulent offer of the Cripps Mission of March 1942, which all India rejected.

What is new in the situation is that this time the Indian bourgeoisie seems ready to accept it, and this is the reason for repeating it in a new paper. The day after its issuance, Gandhi announced he would recommend that the Congress party accept it. Likewise Moslem newspapers were reported favorable to it.

THE CRIPPS FRAUD
Continuation of the Viceroy's dictatorial powers was the issue over which the Cripps negotiations broke down in April, 1942. During the early part of the negotiations, according to the Congress party leaders, Cripps had promised there would be a basic change in the function of the Viceroy, who in a new government would have no more power over the cabinet than a constitutional monarch. Later, however, Cripps made clear that the Viceroy would continue to have the totalitarian powers given him under the British parliamentary Act of 1935 which is the so-called constitution of India. At this point the Congress party leaders broke off negotiations, correctly charging that Cripps had perpetrated a fraud; he had managed to open negotiations, giving the world a picture of British desire to come to agreement, only by concealing that his "offer" did not touch the Viceroy's powers.

It must be said that the new White Paper makes no bones about the fact that it promises nothing more than a "change in the composition of the Viceroy's Executive Council," leaving the Viceroy's powers untouched. With Japan in retreat from the gates of India, Churchill can afford to be more plain-spoken than in 1942, when public opinion in England and America had to be deceived about the reasons for his failure to give the Indian people substantial concessions.

The puppet character of an Indian executive council while the Viceroy's powers continue, will be realized if one briefly enumerates his powers under the Act of 1935:

VICEROY'S POWERS

1. He can, against the vote of the entire executive council, decree laws in the name of the Government of India, and set aside any decision of the council or government departments. He chooses and dismisses all members of his executive council.
2. He and the British government have exclusive control over



SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS

are the classical example of colonial bloodsucking; the plantations, for example, have paid dividends up to 225 per cent in recent years; coal mines have paid between 10-50 per cent; manganese mines 100 per cent; jute mills 20-40 per cent, etc.

REASON FOR BREAK

It should be obvious to anyone that a Viceroy with such powers would never be accepted by representatives of the Indian masses. Those who are now ready to accept service under him speak only for the native capitalists and landlords. That is the real role of Gandhi and the Congress party as well as of the Moslem League.

In 1942, when Japanese invasion seemed imminent, the Indian bourgeoisie, junior partners of British imperialism, tried to get a bigger share in the partnership. The masses were aroused as British prestige declined with the military defeats. Moreover British plans for a "scorched earth" policy in case of Japanese invasion were intolerable to Indian owners of large property. Hence the political break between the British overlords and the Congress party which had collaborated in the provincial governments from 1937 until the war. In the economic field, however, the Indian bourgeoisie has been collaborating throughout, reaping huge profits during the war while British mobilization of Indian economy has led to famine and hunger for the peasants and

workers. To patch up the political break would merely follow now as a matter of course for the Indian bourgeoisie.

Significant of America's future role in India is the changed tone of the American press. In 1942, when Britain's aid in the war was urgent, the American press completely followed the British line of concealing the reactionary character of the Cripps "offer." Typical was the N. Y. Times' March 31, 1942 editorial: "British rule in India, if only India herself so wills it, has come to an end. No other meaning can be read into the text. . . There is no room

Nailing the Lie Of German 'Guilt'

How much the mass of German people hate the Nazis is eloquently revealed in a June 18 dispatch of the Allied Press Service for Germany.

In the Atterbury, Indiana, prisoner of war camp, one of the shocking Nazi atrocity films released by Allied propagandists was shown to the prisoners.

Instead of disclosing sympathy for the Nazi regime as the hate propaganda issued by the Allies might lead one to expect, these prisoners showed what they thought of Hitler by taking up a collection for the "people released from German concentration camps." The collection amounted to \$20,000!

for doubt . . . if they refuse this gift of freedom they will lose . . . the offer of American comradeship that is now theirs for the asking." The liberal N. Y. Post of the same day proclaimed: "Britain is giving up the brightest jewel in the crown of Empire to beat Hitler." Time magazine hailed "India's Magna Charta."

U. S. ATTITUDE

Today, however, with Germany beaten and Japan's defeat only a matter of time, American imperialism is looking to the task of pushing into India's markets. So the June 15 N. Y. Times editorial on the new White Paper no longer lies that it is a "gift of freedom." It recalls Churchill's assertion that he did not take office to liquidate the British empire and concludes that he understands "that the tide of change is moving so fast that the way not to liquidate the British Empire is to transform all of it as quickly as possible" along the proposed lines.

The June 15 N. Y. Herald-Tribune editorial, speaking of the powers reserved to the British viceroy and commander-in-chief says: "The extensive powers

ENGLISH TROTSKYISTS MAKE GAIN IN ELECTION

(Continued from page 1)

denounced the coalition and contested the election independently. During the campaign came the first indications that the British working class had finally forced the Labor Party leaders to move toward leaving the coalition government and holding a general election. This fact undoubtedly led many workers, who had expressed their support of the Trotskyist candidate and turned out in unprecedented numbers to the RCP meetings, to cast their votes for the Labor Party candidate.

THE RCP CAMPAIGN

The RCP campaigned on a program against the capitalist war, for unconditional independence of the Indian and other colonial peoples, for British working-class solidarity with the German working-class, and for the establishment of workers' power in Britain. The Trotskyists exposed the treachery of the Labor Party leaders in entering a coalition government with the capitalist enemies of labor.

Testifying to the energetic campaign conducted by the RCP and the growing interest of the most advanced workers in the program of Trotskyism, the campaign meetings for Jack Haston were the largest of any in the district. At one meeting, on May 13, advertised as a "Grand Internationalist Rally," speakers from India, Belgium, France, Burma, Germany and Greece were billed to speak. Over 1,500 attended the meeting, with hundreds forced to remain outside and hear the speeches over a loudspeaker. It was "the greatest mass rally of Neath workers to be held in Gwyn since 1929, when Ramsay MacDonald addressed a meeting," reports the Socialist Appeal.

This meeting became the high point of the campaign when it was announced by Chairman Cyril Davies of the local Independent Labor Party — whose local members supported Haston despite the opposition of the party officialdom — that Alun Thomas, leader of the Commun-

ist Party of West Wales, had finally accepted the RCP's repeated challenge to debate Haston.

FAMILIAR SLANDER
Williams, the Laborite candidate, had leaned on Stalinist support and had authorized the issuance of a slanderous Stalinist pamphlet against Haston and posters which lied that "a vote for Haston is a vote for fascism." Williams himself had previously been attacked as a "Trotskyite" because he was a "left" Laborite and had used Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution" in his Labor College lectures. He resorted to this type of campaign because he could not defend Labor Party policies.

Thus, the issue of Trotskyism versus Stalinism became a dominant one in the campaign. The Trotskyists at their meetings at mine pits repeatedly demanded that the Stalinists publicly defend their slanders. They were offered the Trotskyist microphone and platform. Their refusals to debate finally lost them so much ground, that pressure of the workers forced them to permit their principal spokesman, Alun Thomas, to speak at the internationalist rally.

Apart from the usual slander about "proof" of Trotskyist connections with fascists in the Moscow frame-up trials, Thomas' main emphasis was on the war. He called it a "people's war of liberation" and repeated the reactionary slanders against the entire German working class, saying that "Hitler has created a nation of nincompoops and

Capitalist Ruin of British Coal Industry

Some startling figures on how private owners have ruined the British coal industry were revealed in a June 18 broadcast by James Griffiths, ex-miner and labor member in the last British Parliament.

In the past 27 years alone, said Griffiths, 1,000 pits have been closed and 500,000 miners "thrown on the scrap heap."

Griffiths said that the report of a party of American mining experts who visited Britain had been suppressed by the government. These experts, case-hardened as they are to the effect of mining on underground workers in America, were, declared Griffiths, "shocked" by the "aged appearance of miners of 50."

LIES EXPOSED

Haston tore apart the lies of Thomas, to the great delight of the vast majority of the audience. To Thomas' opening statement that he had agreed to debate only because "some politically backward people in Neath had been persuaded by the demagogy of Trotskyists," Haston replied: "In this hall are assembled the most class-conscious sections of the workers in the constituency, including many who in the past few years have broken away from Stalinism. Thomas refused for three months to take part in a public debate. He said the C. P. would not give the Trotskyists a platform, but this tremendous meeting has assembled tonight to her the Trotskyist policy. This is our platform. We have forced Thomas to appear on it."

During the campaign, some 7,500 copies of one issue of Socialist Appeal were sold, one for every three houses in the district. Hundreds of copies of "The A.B.C. of Communism" were sold — all the RCP had—and several thousand of each issue of their paper. Some 30,000 leaflets were distributed. "Contacts and sympathizers were made in every village in the district."

The lasting achievement of this first Trotskyist electoral campaign, says the Socialist Appeal, was that it brought "new inspiration and revived the will to struggle" among the Neath mine workers and that "Trotskyism has found its roots in Wales."

Allied Conquerors Foist New Puppet Cabinet On The Italian People

(Continued from page 1)

puppet supporters wish to put off until the promised elections discussion of the character of the regime to be established in post-war Italy. Nenni's demagoguery is an obvious attempt to divert the attention of the masses from the question of social revolution to the much safer dispute as to whether Italian capitalism should continue under a monarchy or a democratic republic.

PUPPET REGIME

The utter dependency of the new cabinet on Allied bayonets is glaringly revealed in its origin. On June 14 the Allied authorities "intervened... in the Italian Government crisis," according to a Reuters dispatch, "with an official warning" that a new cabinet was required. The army specifications on the order blank for a new cabinet were, of course, the same as for previous Italian cabinets ordered by Allied authorities: (1) maintenance of the monarchy "until the Italian people have been able to choose for themselves;" (2) agreement to carry out the secret terms of the armistice; (3) approval by the Allied Commission of nominations for the key posts of Army, Navy and Air Force.

In addition, the Allied Commission continues to rule directly 43 Italian provinces, among them the key areas in the north, leaving the cabinet only 49. This despite the official end of the war! In the provinces administered by the puppet cabinet no military measures whatsoever may be taken without consent from the Allied Commission.

Thus the puppet cabinet took office without the most elementary requisite of democracy, withdrawal of Allied troops! Can this be characterized as anything but a handpicked body sworn to act as servants for the Allied imperialists?

On the day the Parri cabinet took office, June 21, crowds demanding "bread and work" and purge of the fascists paraded before the Allied Military Government offices in Milan. The masses thus showed they are not taken in by the puppet show; they know precisely who constitutes the real power in Italy.

SHOOT THE FASCISTS

In the suburb of Sesto San Giovanni where 1,000 fascists are held in prison, crowds began to hoot and whistle at Italian police guards. Allied troops dispersed

Hunting Down Fascists in Italy



One of the dramatic photographs showing the scenes in Rome, where armed anti-fascist workers and soldiers fought and hunted down the hated Black-Shirts as Allied armies entered the city.

the crowds with tanks and armored cars.

Throughout the week other demonstrations occurred at Turin, Pavia, Brescia, Novara and Cuneo. At Ferrara and Modena, crowds of anti-fascists broke into jails and machine-gunned fascists, killing 35 and wounding 28. The workers are impatient to be rid of all remnants of the fascist regime and do not intend to let the Allied authorities save them as they did in South Italy.

A wave of summary executions began when Basile, the fascist prefect of Genoa, was let off with a 20-year sentence. He was accused of sending 6,000 Italians to Germany and of causing the death of 600 others through his denunciations. In the streets of Milan a saying rapidly spread that Basile got "ten days in jail for each man he killed."

Two days after the Parri cabinet took office, strikes were spreading throughout northern Italy. At Milan 18,000 bank and financial workers conducted a "lock-in." The New York Times correspondent wirelessed June

24: "Virtually all classes of civil servants are reported on the verge of additional demonstrations, and not in the usual sense of labor vs. capital." This is most significant, if we correctly interpret the allusion of the Times. It means that the most backward sections of the workers are joining in the unfolding struggle against capitalism.

PROBLEM — SERIOUS!

His report adds, "What makes the problem all the more serious is that the unrest reflects discontent with the entire economic picture. The cost of living has skyrocketed since the liberation of the north." This means (1) that conditions are worse under the Allies than under the Nazis, and (2) that the strikes indicate the will of the people to overthrow capitalism in Italy and replace it with socialism.

Besides calling for "Bread and Work," the crowds have also carried placards demanding, "Salaries Must Be Made Level With Prices."

Class-conscious workers will

recognize the significance of this demand. It reflects the transition of mass thinking in the direction of socialism. Trotsky generalized this slogan with scientific precision as a "sliding scale of wages" in his Transition Program. The Italian workers are feeling their way in the direction of socialist revolution despite all the attempts of Allied militarism, Italian monarchial reaction and their miserable stooges to confuse them and to stifle their aspirations.

The Stalinist paper l'Unità expressed its fears: "The situation is grave and will certainly grow worse unless the masses are given to feel that liberation is not a vain word." Avanti, the organ of the Socialist Party, said "profiteers who made millions with the Germans are free and trying to do the same with the Allies." While the Christian Democratic paper Popolo admitted "there is fear of a red revolution."

THE PUPPET SHOW

In the hot flames of the rising Italian revolution the coming and

Stalinists, Socialists Conduct Sham Fight Against Monarchy

By Albert Goldman

In Belgium we now have another example of the miserable role which the leaders of the Socialist and Stalinist parties play in the struggle for such an important immediate demand as the abolition of the monarchy. In Italy the Socialist and Stalinist leaders claim to be fighting for a democratic republic but do not find it inconsistent to take an oath, as a condition to being permitted to accept a post in the government, not to raise the institutional question (the question of the monarchy) before the meeting of a constituent assembly.

By taking an oath not to raise the question of the monarchy, Nenni and Togliatti, leaders respectively of the Italian Socialist and Stalinist parties, afford the monarchy an opportunity to mobilize all possible support. No one knows when the constituent assembly will meet and it can be taken for granted that the forces in favor of the monarchy will prevail upon the British and American governments to postpone the calling of such an assembly to enable the monarchy to gain additional support.

In Belgium, the Socialist premier, Achille van Acker has recently resigned because King Leopold announced that it is his intention to return to Belgium in his role as king. We must assume that the leaders of the So-

cialist Party are responsible for van Acker's decision to resign. We must also assume, since there has been no report to the contrary, that the Stalinist Party supports the Socialist Party in this maneuver.

Why resign? This is the question every militant worker of Belgium must be asking himself. Since van Acker is the head of the government, why does he not announce that Leopold will not be permitted to cross the Belgian border? The government is strong enough to prevent the entry of any undesirable individual. The masses consider Leopold such an individual and the Socialist and Stalinist leaders claim to have the same opinion of Leopold.

who is important, but the monarchy as an institution around which the reactionary forces rally and possibly obtain the support of a large section of the population. It may well be that Leopold will abdicate in order to save the monarchy.

The fact is that the Socialist and Stalinist leaders are bluffing. They do not really want to struggle against Leopold and the threat to use the general strike is a threat and nothing else. This does not mean that the workers will not go out on strike if Leopold is permitted to return. It means that the Socialist and Stalinist leaders will sabotage the strike if it is called.

Should the contention be advanced that there are elements in Belgium that will revolt if Leopold is prohibited from entering the country, then the answer is, that it becomes all the more necessary to keep him out and to that extent behead any reactionary movement on his behalf. On the assumption that a considerable section of the population will fight for Leopold's return, it must be concluded that this section will also fight against any general strike to compel Leopold to resign.

My argument against the resignation of the cabinet is not to be construed as an argument in favor of the participation of Socialists and Stalinists in a capitalist government; it is intended to show that the Socialist and Stalinist leaders are unwilling and unable to use their government positions to defend the interests of the masses.

The fundamental weakness of the Socialist and Stalinist leadership in their fight against Leopold lies in the fact that they are not struggling to liquidate the monarchy as an institution. They are fighting against Leopold but not against the monarchy. To the capitalists of Belgium, of Great Britain and the United States it is not Leopold

going of the puppet cabinets appears like the dance of shadows. l'Italia Nuova, organ of the pro-monarchist Democratic Party, cynically puts its finger on the reality of the situation when it declared: "After sixty days of confabulations, the six parties triumphantly return to where they started. They brazenly agree not to do anything and not to govern."

The participation of these six parties in the puppet cabinet, however, serves further to expose and compromise them in the eyes of the masses. As events develop and the program of Trotskyism gains wide acceptance, all of them will be swept aside by the angry workers.

ATTENTION! CHICAGO READERS!
GRACE CARLSON
 Will Discuss
"Women in Prison"
 Chairman: MIKE BARTEL, Chicago SWP Organizer
 SUNDAY, JULY 15, 8 p. m.
BUCKINGHAM HALL
 59 East Van Buren Street, 2nd floor

The History Of American Trotskyism

In the first installments of his book, Comrade Cannon told how the American Communist Party grew out of the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1919; described its period of underground life until in 1923 it was organized as a legal party which began to penetrate the trade union movement. As the composition of the party changed with the influx of workers, a series of factional struggles began between the proletarian wing and the petty-bourgeois tendencies within the party. This section from chapter two is the sixth installment.

There are certain abnormal types in all movements. We had plenty of them. I could deliver several biographical lectures on the single subject, "professional faction fighters I have known." Such people can never lead a political movement. After the movement finally catches its breath, gets its road clear, professional faction fighters are out of place in its leadership. In the last analysis, leaders must build. These leaders of our old factions were not angels, that I must admit. Not at all. They were very rough fighters in a political sense. They fought with everything they had. But were they self-seeking scoundrels, as they are represented by dilettantes such as Eugene Lyons and Max Eastman, and all these namby-pamby people who stood aside from the movement and measured it by the standards of abstract morality? Not at all.

Not even Gitlow, who now belatedly supports this thesis, was a scoundrel to begin with. I think some of them were bad eggs from birth, but the great majority of the leading cadres of all the factions were men who came into the movement for idealistic reasons and purposes. That includes even those who later became degenerate Stalinists and chauvinists. Their degeneration was a long process of evolution, pressure, disappointment, deception, disillusionment and so forth. Those who came to the movement in the hard days of 1919, or rather, who rallied around the Russian revolution in the war days, founded the party in 1919, stood the gaff during the persecution and the raids in the underground days—they were far superior from a moral standpoint to the politicians of Tammany Hall or the Republican Party or any other bourgeois or petty-bourgeois political movement you can name.

We could have solved our problem had we been able to get the help we needed. That is, the help of more experienced and authoritative people. The problem was too big for us. It can and does happen in the most advanced political movement that local groups removed from the center fall into squabbles which develop into factional struggles and clique formations, until the situation becomes, because of their inexperience, insoluble by their own forces. If they have a wise national leadership, and honest and mature leadership able to intervene intelligently and fairly, nine times out of ten these local stalemates can eventually be resolved and the comrades can find the basis for unification in joint work.

"All the Factions Had Good in Them"

Now if we, in those years, could have had the help of the Communist International, the help of the Russian leaders, which we counted on, which we looked for, we unquestionably could have solved our problems. All the factions had good in them. All had talented people. Given normal conditions, correct leadership and help from the Comintern, the great majority of the leaders of all these factions could have been brought together eventually and consolidated into a single leadership. The leadership of these three factions, united and working together under the supervision and direction of more experienced, international leaders, would have been a powerful force for Communism. The Communist Party could have taken a great leap forward. We went to the Comintern, seek-

HOW STALINIST DEGENERATION AFFECTED THE FACTION FIGHT IN THE AMERICAN C. P.

By James P. Cannon

ing help, but the real source of the trouble was there, although we didn't know it then. The Comintern, unbeknown to us, was beginning to go through its process of degeneration.

The honest and capable help we got from Lenin, Trotsky and the whole Comintern in 1921 and 1922 on the trade union question, and on the underground and legal questions, enabled us to solve the problems and liquidate the old factional fights. Instead of getting such help in later years, we ran into the degeneration of the Comintern, the beginning of its Stalinization. The Comintern leadership looked at our party, as at every other party, not with the aim of clearing up trouble, but of keeping the pot boiling. They were already scheming to get rid of all the independent people, the kickers, the stiff-necks, so that they could create out of the mess a docile Stalinist party. They were already trying to create such a party here and everywhere and didn't have much use for any of these fighting leaders. We used to go to Moscow every year. The "American Question" was always on the agenda. There was always an "American Commission" in the Comintern. They saw us battling it out before the Commissions and soon convinced themselves that it would be rather hard to harness those lads to the scheme they had in mind. In all likelihood they were already laying plans to get rid of the most outstanding leaders of all factions and cook up a new faction which would be an instrument of Stalin.

Each time we went to Moscow full of confidence that this time we were going to get some help, some support, because we were on the right line, because our proposals were correct. And each time we were disappointed, cruelly disappointed. The Comintern invariably supported the petty-bourgeois faction against us. At every opportunity they dealt a blow to the proletarian faction which in the early days was, in the majority. We first fought it out in the convention of 1923, and we won a two to one majority. It was very clear that the mass of the party membership wanted the leadership of the proletarian faction. Later on, after the formal division in the Foster-Cannon faction we still worked most of the time in a bloc against the Lovestoneites. Each time the party members were given a chance to express themselves, they showed that they wanted this bloc to have the dominant leadership in the party. But the Comintern said, no. They wanted to break up this bloc. And they were especially anxious, for some reason or other, to break up our group—the Cannon group. They must have suspected something. They went far out of their way to take cracks at me. As far back as the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924, out of a clear sky—I was not present at that time—they condemned by resolution some little mistake I had made. Everybody else in the party leadership had made such mistakes or worse, but the Comintern went out of its way to cite my dereliction in order to weaken my prestige.

Campaign Against Trotskyism Develops

Then, as the years went by, the campaign against Trotskyism developed. The qualification for leadership in all the parties, the criterion by which leaders were judged in Moscow, was: who shouted loudest against Trotskyism and Trotsky. We weren't given any real information about the issues of the struggle in the Russian Party. We

were overwhelmed with official documents and all kinds of accusations and slanders; nothing, or next to nothing, on the other side of the question. They abused the confidence of the rank and file of the party. Likewise the leaders of the party, who trusted the Comintern, had that confidence abused time and time again. Every time we went to Moscow, instead of returning with a solution, we came back with a resolution, ostensibly designed for "peace" in the party, but rigged up in such a way as to make the faction fight hotter than ever.

There was no such thing as a settlement of the fight. The moment any kind of unity declaration was signed, factional war broke out afresh. Cynicism began to pervade the ranks. It became a maxim that the signing of a "peace agreement" signified that "now the faction fight is going to get really hot." Things came to such a pass that you had to be reserved, you had to watch every step, because you were working in a hostile atmosphere. It became necessary to make reservations every time you agreed to anything. A very bad moral atmosphere began to envelop the party like a fog.

The fact that the degeneration of the Comintern exerted a determining influence on our party is cited by many superficial people as proof of the unreality of the American movement, of its inability to solve its own problems, etc. Such snivlers only show that they don't have the slightest idea of what an international revolutionary organization is and must be. The influence of Moscow was a perfectly natural thing. The confidence and expectations which the young party of America put in the Russian leadership were completely justified because the Russians had made a revolution. Naturally, the influence and authority of the Russian party was greater in the international movement than any other. The wiser the more experienced lead the neophytes. So it will be and so it must be in any international organization.

No "Even Development" in the International

There is no such thing as an even development of all the parties in an International. We have seen this in the Fourth International during the lifetime of Comrade Trotsky, who embodied all the experience of the Russian revolution and the fight against Stalin. Trotsky's authority and prestige were absolutely outstanding in the Fourth International. His word did not have the force of bureaucratic command, but it had a tremendous moral power. And not only that. As was demonstrated time after time in every difficulty and dispute, his patience, his wisdom and his knowledge were brought to bear constructively and honestly, and always aided every party and every group that asked for his intervention.

Our experience in the Communist Party has been of priceless value in all our daily work; and in all our communications and relations with the less experienced groups of the Fourth International. It is natural that our party, precisely because it has assimilated a wider political experience, yields perhaps a greater influence in the international movement than any other party, now that Comrade Trotsky is not with us any more. If a section of the Fourth International confronts a revolutionary situation in the approximate future and demonstrates that it has a leadership of sufficient caliber to carry through a successful revolution, then the

predominant authority and influence would naturally shift to that party. By common consent it would become the leading party of the Fourth International. Those are simply natural and inevitable consequences of the uneven development of the international political movement.

Our misfortune, our tragedy throughout the Comintern, was that the great leaders of the Russian revolution, who really embodied the doctrine of Marxism and who really carried through the revolution, were thrust aside in the course of the reaction against the October revolution and the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Communist Party. The Communist Party in the United States, like the parties in other countries, failed to understand the complicated issues of the great struggle. We fought in the dark, thinking only of our national troubles. That is what poisoned the faction struggles here. That is what caused them to degenerate in the end to unprincipled squabbles and contests for control. Only an international program, comprehended in time, could have saved the young Communist Party of America from degeneration. We did not grasp this until 1928. Then it was too late to save more than a small fragment of the party for its original revolutionary aims.

Evolution of the Three Factions

Each of the three factions which existed in the party from 1923 to 1928 went through its own evolution. The foundation cadres of the American Trotskyist movement came entirely from the Cannon faction. The whole leadership and practically all the original members of the Left Opposition came from our faction. The Lovestone faction was thrown out, as you know, by a brutal ukase of Stalin in 1929. The Lovestoneites developed independently from 1929 to 1939 and then disbanded, going over to the bourgeoisie as supporters of the "democratic" war. The Foster faction and the secondary leaders of some of the other factions were gathered together in a hodgepodge on the basis of unquestioned loyalty to Stalin and the complete surrender of all independence. They were second and third line men. They had to wait in the shadows until the real fighters were thrown out and the time came for errand boys to take their place. They became the official leaders, the manufactured leaders, of the American Communist Party. Then they too went through their natural evolution, until today they have become the vanguard of the social-chauvinist movement.

The important thing to remember is that our modern Trotskyist movement originated in the Communist Party—and nowhere else. Despite all the negative aspects of the party in those early years, and I have recounted them unsparingly; despite its weaknesses, its crudities, its infantile sicknesses, its mistakes; whatever may be said in retrospect about the faction struggles and their eventual degeneration; whatever may be said about the degeneration of the Communist Party in this country—it must be recognized that out of the Communist Party came the forces for the regeneration of the revolutionary movement. Out of the Communist Party in the United States came the nucleus of the Fourth International in this country. Therefore, we should say that the early period of the Communist movement in this country belongs to us; that we are tied to it by indissoluble bonds; that there is an uninterrupted continuity from the early days of the Communist movement, its brave struggles against persecution, its sacrifices, mistakes, faction fights and degeneration to the eventual resurgence of the movement under the banner of Trotskyism.

We must not surrender, we cannot in justice and truth surrender, the tradition of the first years of American Communism. That belongs to us and upon that we have built.

(To be continued next week)

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.

Keep On Reading!

Editor:
I am a school boy in the 8th grade and am just past 14 years of age. I was reading The Militant which I find very interesting, during a free period in class. Other boys were reading other newspapers.
My teacher scolded me for reading your paper, saying nothing to the other boys, and informed me that she doesn't want any boy in her classroom with un-American ideals. She sent me to my official teacher, who kept me out of her classes during her sessions. This of course was embarrassing and a great handicap to me. I would therefore be pleased to receive your advice in the matter.
I am willing to give you the teacher's name and the school I attend, should you desire it. A prompt answer will be greatly appreciated.

A. K.
New York

Editor's Note: There is nothing "un-American" about defending the interests of the great majority of the American population—the workers and farmers—and working to create a socialist world, which is what The Militant does. When your teacher tries to prevent you from reading The Militant, she is in it a t i n g Hitler and Mussolini who also forbade the people to read the literature of the socialist movement and made bonfires of socialist books.

From a Seaman

Editor:
When I first saw The Militant, given to me by one of your distributors at a meeting of the National Maritime Union, I wasn't sure what you advocated and why. But now I see that your paper is the only one I've ever seen that speaks up for labor at all times and against all our enemies.
It isn't necessary to be in the National Maritime Union-CIO very long to discover that a veritable gulf exists between the leadership of "Curran, Myers, Stack, etc., and the rank and file. By this I mean that there are entirely different opinions about how our union should be run, with the men on the ships opposed to the officials and all their flunkies.
For example, we are told that the Seafarers International Union-AFL, the other east coast seamen's union, is phony. And that members of this union are "fascists," because they use militant union methods.
But the men on the ships are familiar with the frame-up methods of the Curran gang and understand that anybody who isn't a strikebreaker will be labeled a fascist or a "degenerate element."

We all know that the SIU has better conditions on their ships, but the NMU pie-cards would rather howl about 60,000,000 jobs than FIGHT for improved ship-board conditions. For this reason many of the best guys are going over to the SIU.
This is really a bad situation, because it plays right into the hands of Curran and Company. If all the old-timers and most of the militants desert the union, then this scabby outfit now in control can more easily get away with their phony program.
About the most treacherous part of this program is the attempt to break the back of the opposition within the union by getting the old-timers out, through one means or another.
From the lowest union officials on up, we are told about the "better type of men" now going to sea, implying that the fellows who fought to build the union were "bums." We hear that the old-timers were so "dumb" they had to hit the picket line in order to gain "anything." Used in this sense, "anything" can only mean the half-way decent working conditions won thereby. We are told that our best and oldest union men are bringing the NMU into ill-repute by their "misconduct" aboard the ships.
There are appeals to the "better type of men" to notify the officials so that "proper action" can be taken against these old-timers who "make trouble." Needless to say, the "better type of men" are Curran's stooges and the inexperienced youngsters who came into the union since the war.
And what's more, the leadership is laying the groundwork for permanent "department" committees to put members on trial and "discipline" them for such petty things as missing a few hours of work or something of the sort. Of course, it is only coincidental that the same guys who would be framed up happen to

be good union militants! In other words, the shipping companies won't need a blacklist any more because the union will do all the "fingering" and purging for them.
But the pay-off in this whole series of rotten deals is a letter in the latest NMU paper from a stooge on one of the ships. This character hits an all-time low in gutter sniping by classifying old-timers as phonies and "disruptors," and saying that they should be kicked out.
The truth is that any time you get on a good, clean ship, you can take it for granted that some old-timers just got off. Since the war, most "seamen" are inexperienced. Consequently, all the difficult, skilled work falls on the backs of the old-timers. A trip is always much more pleasant and the work much easier when an old-timer is around to show the newer fellows "the ropes."

In view of this, the filthy slanders circulated by the leadership and their flunkies can only have the purpose of dividing the ranks so we all won't get together in order to bring our union out of the clouds of Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks, Teheran and Yalta.
From where I sit, it looks as though we seamen will never get very far, in fact our unions might not survive the post-war "right-to-work" or open-shop campaigns, unless we form one really national maritime union. One thing is sure—running over to the SIU will not solve anything. It only makes the fight against the phony NMU leadership that much harder.

J. T. (NMU member)
New York City

On Cosmetics
Editor:
I would like to commend Doctor Antoinette Konikow on her clarification of the cosmetics question as raised recently by Grace Carlson. As Dr. Konikow points out, it is not a question of women seriously needing cosmetics (including the proletarian women). "I have lived," she remarks, "for almost three quarters of a century and in my youth we never used cosmetics. . . . And still we had beauty and romance."
The vital point is that the working woman "HAS TO EMPLOY COSMETICS TO HOLD HER JOB." To quote Karl Marx, who is too often neglected in these days of the slap-happy intellectual: "Our bourgeoisie, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, now to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each other's wives."
Let us recognize the fact that cosmetics are but one of the mediums of persuasion employed primarily by the idle rich. And let us recognize that in the case of the working girl such practice is little more than a weak submission to the demands of the masters. Back of this gesture, as always, lies the whip of hunger.
Above all, let us not envy the rich their intellectual degradation born of a life spent between the trough and the square well. Let us stiffen our proletarian spines and fight off the ideas of the ruling class as being obsolete and irrational.

A. C. Booth
Branscomb, Calif.

A Hard Task
Editor:
I find no fault with your paper or the socialist movement. I realize we are up against a hard task. We can hardly trust the common people because they are like the class that the Lord spoke to. "Because ye are neither hot nor cold, I will spew you out of my mouth."
The average man loves the rich, and follows the crowd. . . . I believe that when we begin to step in to power the Army will start to shoot us, like they have done in Europe. The Army is not for anything else, only to guard the loot of the capitalists.
How quick the people are ready to kill each other before killing the dirty system we live under! Well, all through this war they have used the churches to get by with their tricks. . . . let's hope the Lord will be with us in our struggle for a better world.
I am sending in this letter a dollar for the paper. I am trying to get people to read the paper but they seem neither hot nor cold. So we have to have Job's patience. Give my letter the whole front page and put my full name on it.

L. B. Courts
Hamilton, Ohio

Insult to Injury

Editor:
"The Danger Is Inflation" is the heading of an editorial in the New York Times of June 9th. The editorial goes on to show just what Wall Street will attempt to do, giving the exact figures boiled down from billions to dollars and cents.
The Times has already made the record on this issue when it took President Truman to task for his statement in support of the extension of unemployment insurance coverage. At that time an editorial was written acknowledging the necessity of giving the unemployed money to sustain themselves. For humanitarian reasons this was quite agreeable with the N. Y. Times, but when President Truman stated that this money in the hands of the unemployed would keep the purchasing power of the people from collapsing and creating deflation, the Times quickly corrected the president by pointing out that the country was faced with inflation not deflation.

Now the wage earners are not only faced with a loss of overtime pay, a loss which will mean a lowering of the real wage below that of 1940-41; but Wall Street also demands inflation. Specifically, an article now selling for 98 cents must sell for \$1.37. This is Wall Street's reward to the workers for accepting the "Equality of Sacrifice" program.
Wall Street's solution, pronounced by the N. Y. Times, is simple—the price of goods must be bid from 98 cents to \$1.37. What about the savings of the people? It should be plain to everyone that \$1.37 saved will be worth only 98 cents.
Assuming an hourly rate of 98 cents per hour, instead of working one hour to buy a 98 cent article, one would have to work 1.4 hours for the same article—or to state it in percentages—a neat 39.8 percent inflation.
In one stroke Wall Street reaps a huge profit on their goods produced, cuts wages, and enables payment of war bonds with an inflated or cheaper dollar. All of this on top of the injustice and fraud of the "Little Steel Formula" is, to put it very mildly, adding insult to injury.

H. Newell
Abentown, Pa

Technocracy
Editor:
The enclosed pamphlet on total conscription is an introduction to the plan of liquidating the Pro-Fascists here at home. Let's adopt Total Conscription to end the war soon and win the peace. Investigate Technocracy.
Your reply would be appreciated.

Akron
E. C.

Editor's Note: Technocracy advocates an extremely dangerous program that can pave the way for fascism in America.
1. Technocracy supports the imperialist war. This means it supports the capitalist system which produces imperialist war. Technocracy asks for "Total Conscription" in order to achieve greater "efficiency" in the conduct of the war. The German and Italian capitalists obtained such "efficiency," but their name for it was not "Total Conscription." The Italians called it "Fascism," the Germans "Nazism."
2. Technocracy attacks both Big Business and the "labor officialdom." Its attack on the "labor officialdom" includes an attack on "war wages." Instead of fighting for higher wages for the soldiers, Technocracy demands that civilian wages should be reduced to the level paid in the armed forces. Hitler and Mussolini attacked both labor and capital. Such an attack is a distinguishing feature of fascist propaganda. As fascism gains in strength, it turns more and more against labor, finally crushing it. In order to make the capitalist class as a whole more "efficient," especially in conducting war, they "regiment" some individual capitalists.
3. Technocracy attacks "foreign language" publications, advertising, and radio programs in America. This is simply an opening wedge for assaults on people of foreign descent. It could easily be converted into persecution of Jews or colored people. Fascism requires a scapegoat.
4. Technocracy calls on the government to "abolish all foreign language and hyphenated American organizations, associations, and fraternal societies," etc. This demand has the same vicious character as the previous one. Moreover, it provides a con-



Sailor's Family Out on Street

Freedom From Want!

Editor:
I enjoy reading The Militant and endorse it heartily. Enclosed is a clipping and picture which may interest you. They are from the Akron Beacon-Journal of June 20.

As the picture shows, for eight months the wife and six small children of a sailor now fighting on Okinawa have been without a home in Akron. They have lived with relatives and in squalid storerooms, from which they were forced to leave by health authorities because of the unsanitary conditions. They moved to the war housing project at Windham, only to be forced to return to Akron because two of the children must have frequent medical care.

Mrs. Florence Zehnder, the mother, said that landlords will not rent to her because she has six children. She herself needs an operation. But to save her husband from worry, she has not written to him how bad things are with his family.
Here is a net result of 2,000 years of Christianity and class collaboration!

B. H.
Akron, Ohio

Again On Japan
Editor:
Forty years ago I found one quarter-page of the Appeal to Reason. On this quarter-page I found enough to convince me that the editor was on the right track. I also found that I could get it to work for ten cents. I sent for 10 ten-week subscriptions and had them mailed to some of my friends. In less than five years from this beginning the voting district where I resided had more socialist voters than either of the old parties.
At that time Trotsky had not been heard of in America. I am of the opinion that if Socialism is to become the universal American party that all mention of Trotsky must be dropped and American Socialism worked out of strictly American standards.
Some good friend is sending me The Militant. Many things—the main topics—are to the point, but when it, either editorially or otherwise, advocates letting up on the conquest of Japan after the cowardly attack on Pearl Harbor, it is more than I can face. Naturally many Japs (innocent ones at that) are being destroyed while on the other hand the Japs are (were) out to help Hitler conquer the world. Let them make the same kind of attack on 116 University Place, New York City and a different view would be taken.
World war I halted the advancement and final triumph of a purely American Socialism. For some reason the movement was thrown out of balance so badly that even in the 30's when Hoover was waiting for prosperity to come around the corner the voters were still in a stupor and to avoid anarchy the electorate in general supported Roosevelt who was advocating many of the Socialist principles of the 1900's.
The New Deal thought the country could be saved by employing a few of the idle millions at a wage that barely kept body and soul together. The trouble was called a "depression" while the real name for it was unemployment.
The New Deal would be a going concern today had every able-bodied worker been employed at

venient shield for the fascist character of Technocracy. By pointing to extensions in this country of foreign fascist organizations it diverts attention from its own fascist aims. The real danger, however, is native fascism.
5. Technocracy even calls for a dictator. It demands that all "industry, mining, transportation, communications and other necessary units of Continental operation shall be unified," together with the armed forces, under one head. They specify this leader shall be the "constitutional Commander-in-Chief." This is precisely the kind of post occupied by Hitler and Mussolini.
6. Technocracy labels "conscription of labor alone" as "fascist legislation." But "conscription of capital alone" it labels "communist legislation." The leaflet continues that "total conscription is neither fascist nor communist. It is the American way." Propaganda of precisely this type is the stock in trade of every native American fascist who has studied the methods of Hitler and Mussolini. Father Coughlin, McWilliams and the rest all patterned their propaganda on this model.
Sincere people seeking to end the miserable conditions inflicted on us by capitalism, should be very wary of the patriotic and radical phrases with which Technocracy covers up its real program. Before joining this suspicious movement, investigation of its similarity to well-known fascist movements is in order. We suggest E. C. read the pamphlet, "Fascism, What It Is, How To Fight It," a compilation from Leon Trotsky's analyses. A good book is "Fascism and Big Business" by Daniel Guerin. We will be glad to inform E. C. where these can be obtained.

Like An Axe
Editor:
During the past week a number of strikes have occurred here. As I went about contacting the members and officials of the various unions involved, to get the facts for The Militant, I could see how the Smith-Connelly anti-strike law hangs over their heads like an axe.
They all feel the tremendous importance of getting their side of the story publicized but are extremely wary of having anything published that can be utilized against them.
When I spoke to the president of one UAW local now on strike he said "I cannot give you a statement of any kind. Several of our officers made statements to the press and we may have trouble because of it. From now on nobody is issuing any statements except our attorney."
While talking with a group of striking fur workers I was constantly asked not to write anything that could be used against them. One worker said, "You see, we're one hundred percent behind our officers in this fight and we don't want to say anything that could get them in a jam."
Harry Robinson
Newark, N. J.

Changeing Ways
Editor:
I actively worked in the working-class movement for several years, doing many wrong things. I finally learned this lesson, voiced by an outstanding American socialist:
"So long as hope is held out to the workers that their condition can be ameliorated under capitalism, just so long will they follow the will-of-the-wisp of the reformers. So long as they are told that life can be made even fairly tolerable under capitalism, just so long will they follow the Roosevelt, the Hitlers, and the Roosevelts."
"All hope in the ability of capitalism to care for its members must be destroyed before the mass of the workers will pay heed to the voice of revolution. We have witnessed the amazing spectacle of capitalism's destroying faith and confidence among millions, only to have the reformers, parading as revolutionists, exert themselves to the utmost in order to restore renewed hope and faith in capitalism."
"When all those who pretend to speak in the name of the Proletarian Revolution learn that lesson and act accordingly, substantial progress toward organizing the workers for the revolution and not for capitalism will be made. Thus far the Socialist Labor Party is the only organized body which proclaims these now manifest truths and emphasizes the urgency of organizing accordingly."
I learned my lesson and changed my ways. Here's hoping you do the same. The Marxian movement has not collapsed, but reformism and fake unionism have. I do not wish to renew my subscription to The Militant.

C. B.
Englewood, Colo.

Editor's Note: The writer of the above letter appears to imply that The Militant is the organ of a party of "reformers, parading as revolutionists," which tries "to restore renewed hope and faith in capitalism." The capitalist powers—that be certainly don't share this view. In this country they threw leaders of the Trotskyist party into prison for opposing capitalism with a revolutionary socialist program. In Europe, the Trotskyists are under heavy persecution by reactionary capitalist regimes in France, Belgium, Italy, Greece and other countries. Because they "restore faith in capitalism?" Just think again,

a wage enabling him to purchase the goods he was producing.
Make The Militant a strictly American newspaper. Put the likeness of Eugene V. Debs on the editorial page and see what will happen if we should have another so called "depression."
T. M. Reichart
Franklin, Penna.

Editor's Note: We would refer our correspondent to articles in The Militant of June 9 and 23 for our appraisal of the war against Japan. It is not true that the Japanese nation as a whole "were out to help Hitler conquer the world." Only a tiny minority, the Japanese ruling class, was allied with Hitler. The vast majority of the Japanese people hate war, like the peoples of other countries. They were forced into war against their will.
As regards the suggestion that we drop all mention of Trotsky and make The Militant a "strictly American newspaper," we would remind our correspondent that Marx and Engels, the founders of the revolutionary socialist movement, were not Americans either. Should we drop mention of them, too? Trotsky was one of the great continuators of Marxism. The socialist movement can be proud of all its great teachers, wherever they happened to have been born. Eugene Debs got his socialist ideas from Marx. He was thrown into prison for exposing the imperialist character of the First World War. The Trotskyist leaders were imprisoned for doing the same thing in this war.

The Veterans
Editor:
The new Militant is excellent and is meeting with a good response in the shops. You will probably get more detailed information on this after the new subscribers have received a few issues and we get their reactions.
I have only one suggestion to make, a very important one. We need a good column for service-men immediately. Something like Kovalesky, Jackson, Grey's columns. Particularly the latter, which carries a simple, natural punch. We need it in addition to all the pertinent news items you have been printing on the subject.
Hitler and Mussolini based their organizations on dissatisfied war veterans and the Amvets and American Legion have a good start here. The trade unions are attempting to attract this section of workers by trying to have their cake and eat it too. Their efforts to attract returning veterans and keep the civilian membership happy by not conceding any of the latter's gains (?) has not been too successful.
This leaves the field yours for the conquest if you can make it. Points one and three of your program are a start, but point three should be elaborated by homely discussion in the column I suggest.

J. Dow
Los Angeles, Calif.

TO THE READER
Please read this sample copy of The Militant carefully. In a few days you will be asked for a subscription.
THE MILITANT is the Only Paper that prints the truth about the working class movement at home and abroad.
That exposes the anti-labor lies of the capitalist press.
That exposes the attacks of the government and the employers on the workers and their unions under cover of the war.
That fights against capitalism and for socialism 52 weeks of the year.
Plans have been made by Milwaukee, according to a letter from Jack O'Connell, to experiment in securing subscriptions from factory gate distributions.
"At the end of April our branch passed a motion to run an experiment at a factory gate, particularly at one shop where a sympathetic Executive Board member has urged all union members on the floor of a union meeting to read The Militant, and where the distributions are received enthusiastically.
"We plan to erect a large, rough-drawn, body-size, standing poster, advertising a Factory-Gate Special Offer of The Militant. Two agents are to appear at the entrance, one distributing papers, the other (a girl beside the poster with board and sub cards) to take subscriptions. We plan to repeat this method several times to see how many subs we can get."
Letters from Jerry Kirk of Detroit indicate the widespread sale of subscriptions to The Militant in that area:
"We have covered an Italian neighborhood, a white project and a colored neighborhood. Results in all three were good. We now



Our agent in Portland, Oregon is conducting a whirlwind campaign for subscriptions. His method of distributing sample copies of The Militant, to which he attaches an attractive printed leaflet, is resulting in scores of subs. The leaflet reads:
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"We have covered an Italian neighborhood, a white project and a colored neighborhood. Results in all three were good. We now

have a solid group of Italian readers.
"The colored neighborhood had been worked over by the Stalinists, but we are confident that the colored workers, after reading The Militant, will more thoroughly understand the corrupt, treacherous, pseudo-radical line of the Stalinists. Many Negroes reading the Stalinist press still think that the Stalinists fight for equality. A comparison of The Militant and the Daily Worker will clear this illusion from their minds."
Al Lynn reports that Los Angeles is beginning to go after renewals of expired subscriptions: "Renewals should soon be coming in. We are going to start going through the list of expired subs from the 1944 campaign. At the same time, this will provide us with material for our Militant clubs which we are going to start building. I have a class now with a few of The Militant subscribers, but I think they will join the party before we even get a club started. One of them took twenty sub blanks from me the other day and is going to attempt to sell them in his neighborhood."

READ THE MILITANT

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Vote Trotskyist!
In the Coming New York Elections
Among other important issues, the Socialist Workers Party Election Platform advocates:
WORKING CLASS POLITICAL ACTION!
The modern battles of labor are being fought out more and more on the political field. To support any of the boss politicians or boss parties is to stab labor in the back.
BUILD AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY!
Take labor's fight into the halls of the legislatures and Congress! Establish a workers and farmers' government!

FIGHT FOR THIS 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!
Operate all government-built plants under workers' control!
2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!
Rescind the no-strike pledge!
Withdraw union representatives from the War Labor Board!
3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!
4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities! Down with Jim Crow!
5. Working class political action!
Build the independent labor party!
Establish the workers' and farmers' government!
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. Hands off the European and colonial peoples!
Withdraw the Allied Occupation Troops from Europe!
Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the European and colonial peoples!

VOTE TROTSKYIST!

In the Coming New York Elections
Among other important issues, the Socialist Workers Party Election Platform advocates:
SAFEGUARD THE AMERICAN WORKERS' STANDARD OF LIVING!

The Washington bureaucrats promised to keep down the cost of living. But prices have skyrocketed beyond reach of the average family. To preserve the standard of living, institute a sliding scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!
Smash the black market system fostered by the Wall Street politicians! Organize consumers' committees to check prices and stop the diversion of goods into the black market! Replace the slums and firetraps with modern low-rent apartments! Make work for the building trades! Build homes instead of bombers!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
116 University Place
New York 3, New York

I would like:
 To join the Socialist Workers Party.
 To obtain further information about your organization.
 To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

Name
(Please Print)
Address
City Postal Zone State

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the
Working People

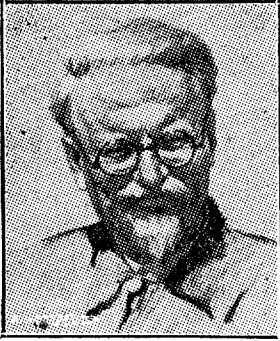
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"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."



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

— Leon Trotsky

Withdraw The Troops!

For the first time in the capitalist press, Anne O'Hare McCormick, staff correspondent of the *N. Y. Times*, reveals the real reason why the Wall Street government in Washington is keeping American troops in Europe. In her column of June 23, she confirms to the hilt the explanation advanced many times by *The Militant*.

The "officials," she declares, "were braced for the wave of revolution the far-away prophets looked for as the certain aftermath of liberation. The Allied armies were ready to hold these revolutions in check while the fighting lasted, and many critics charged that they sat on the lid and kept the forces of progress down. It goes without saying that nobody thought of these upheavals except in terms of progress — forward-sweeping movements that would break through the old molds and produce something new."

The writer tells about millions of people wandering on the highways, stranded without jobs or hope of jobs; millions living in "temporary shelters." Her description of post-war Europe is ghastly: "When one sees people who once had homes, decent clothes, ambitions, human manners, grubbing in the fields like animals for roots to eat, one does not see revolutionary forces, or constructive forces, but only spent forces, the breakdown of civilization."

It is to preserve the capitalist system — the system that produced this "breakdown of civilization" — that American troops, against their will, are being kept in Europe. Yet Europe has no way out of the morass of decay save along the road of socialist revolution.

The reactionary capitalist governments of Europe, backed by Allied arms, are preventing the peoples from taking their destiny into their own hands. The revolutionary vanguard in Europe, the Trotskyists of the Fourth International, are being subjected to increasing persecution.

The American workers have a vital interest in the fate of Europe. The triumph of reaction and counter-revolution in Europe will mean the strengthening of reaction here at home. Allied troops are the one strong support of reaction in Europe. They are being kept there solely for counter-revolutionary purposes. From the ranks of organized labor the demand must be made:

Withdraw all American troops from Europe!
Hands off the European revolution!

Scrapped In Action

The no-strike pledge, which since Pearl Harbor has placed organized labor at the virtual dictates of the employers and their government agencies, is today being smashed on the picket lines.

From coast to coast, and in such great industrial centers as Detroit, Chicago and Akron, a swelling wave of militant strikes is rending asunder the shackles of the no-strike policy.

This strike wave, more determined and prolonged than any during the war, is testimony to the growing militancy of the union ranks and their eagerness to battle fiercely against the mounting assaults on their organizations and living standards.

The no-strike policy was thrust down the throats of the unprepared and disoriented workers during the confusion and hysteria of American entry into the war. It was imposed by the top union leadership in an effort to curb the workers, in conformity with the labor officialdom's policy of collaboration with the capitalist government in its war.

But increasingly intolerable conditions are compelling the workers to grasp once again their most effective weapon of struggle — the right to strike — the right which a conspiracy of the labor leaders, employers and government snatched from their hands at the start of the war.

It was the coal miners, through their magnificent strike struggles in 1943 and this spring, who

blazed the trail for this resurgence of labor militancy. The miners proved conclusively that the only way the workers can protect their interests and make any gains is through strike action.

Today the American working class confronts a united offensive of the employers and their government. This offensive, gathering ever greater momentum and power, combines mass layoffs, wage slashes, government strikebreaking and repressive legislation. Its most recent expression is the "Industrial Peace" bill, introduced into the Senate last week, to smash the union movement.

There is but one way to combat this offensive of the boss class. That is through the united, militant counter-offensive of the entire labor movement.

Stalin's Scapegoat

The American Stalinists have found it necessary, in the execution of their latest tactical shift, to make a scapegoat of Earl Browder. This sudden need of a scapegoat goes beyond purely domestic considerations. The case of Earl Browder has international implications. The Kremlin is teaching a lesson and giving a warning to all its foreign agents. Why?

Because in the course of the previous period of the Kremlin's collaboration with the imperialist "democracies" — in the "People's Front" era before World War II — there were cracks in the international Stalinist apparatus. Sections of the Stalinist bureaucracy, especially in France, jumped over into the camp of their native capitalist class when the signal came from Moscow for an abrupt about-face (the Stalin-Hitler pact).

Unless the Kremlin plugs up these cracks, it faces a grave threat in the period ahead. By making an example of Browder, Stalin takes preventive measures. All his agents abroad are thereby warned not to move too far and too fast — as Browder did — in the direction of their native ruling class. They must remain true to their one and only master in the Kremlin. Any inclination to the contrary, even if it is only implicit, will bring to its proponents the same fate that Earl Browder now suffers.

Bridges Case

By decision of 5 to 3 the Supreme Court on June 18 invalidated the deportation order against Harry Bridges. The case began seven years ago when the shipowners still considered Bridges a "red." Later Bridges did yeoman service for the shipowners in curbing the militancy of the longshoremen. By its decision the court thus gave Bridges his reward for supporting Wall Street's war and for delivering the West Coast longshoremen to the tender mercies of the shipowners under the Stalinist line of collaboration with Big Business.

From the beginning, the Trotskyists defended Bridges against the government-shipowner combination. We likewise defended Earl Browder when the Roosevelt regime railroaded him to the penitentiary during the Stalin-Hitler pact.

Our defense, of course, in no way implied agreement or conciliation with the program of Stalinism which these two men represent. We defended Browder and Bridges as representatives of a party which is part of the labor movement. The imprisonment of Browder and the deportation of Bridges could pave the way for similar persecution of other sections of the labor movement.

The Bridges case had particular significance for labor, since he was prosecuted under the provisions of the vicious anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act, passed by Congress in 1940. The 18 Trotskyist prisoners in the famous Minneapolis Labor Case were victims of this same reactionary law. The particular section applied against Bridges still hangs over one of the 18 Minneapolis prisoners, Carl Skoglund. The Stalinist Bridges, and the 18 Trotskyists were the first cases to go to court under the law.

When the Trotskyists challenged the constitutionality of the Smith Act, the Supreme Court refused to hear their plea for a ruling. In the Bridges case, no challenge of the Act's constitutionality was made, the defense resting on the legalistic point that the courts had not properly interpreted the word "affiliation" in accusing Bridges of membership in alleged subversive organizations. The Supreme Court upheld this contention without touching the question of the constitutionality of the law.

The Smith "Gag" Act thus still exists on the books, ready for use against the labor movement as a whole.

The attitude of the Stalinists toward the Minneapolis Labor Case was completely different from the principled stand of the Trotskyists in the Bridges and Browder cases. The Stalinists betrayed the interests of the working class and dealt a perfidious blow against civil liberties. Instead of fighting the Smith "Gag" Act and defending the Trotskyist victims, they called for their imprisonment!

On the very day Attorney General Biddle ordered Bridges deported, May 28, 1942, the Stalinist-controlled executive board of Local 475, United Electrical Workers-CIO, asked Biddle to "investigate the fifth-column activities of the Trotskyists in vital Brooklyn war plants" and "take immediate steps to halt the sale and distribution" — of *The Militant*. The Stalinists tried to smear the 18 as "fascists." They joined the ranks of the prosecution.

This attitude revealed once again the corrupt anti-labor character of Stalinism. The Trotskyists, on the contrary, stand in the light of the record as consistent defenders of the interests of the working class.



"They simply can't take King Leopold's throne away! After all, it's been in his family for generations."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Greece

The reign of terror in Greece, conducted under Allied auspices continues unabated. A June 17 Associated Press dispatch reports four former leaders of the ELAS (Greek Army of National Liberation) have been killed and their heads placed on exhibition at Trikkala.

The murdered men are Aris Velouhiotis, his aide, and two members of his group. Velouhiotis was one of those who rebelled against the Stalinist line of surrendering arms to the British after welcoming them to Greece. The Stalinists expelled him and he was declared an "outlaw" by the British puppet government.

According to a dispatch in the June 22 Daily Worker, "Thirty thousand popular fighters are still detained in prisons throughout the country." Meanwhile, the counter-revolutionary forces are steadily strengthening their positions. "Reactionary bands in the villages are being armed by the regular armed forces."

At a press conference, Tsatos, minister of the interior, declared that dissolution of terrorist bands would be a violation of the democratic principle allowing citizens to associate. In the face of this cynical approval of Churchill's policy of blood and iron in Greece, the Stalinists had no answer save a threat to "confer" with some of the other political parties "on abstaining from the elections."

The perfidious betrayal of the Greek workers by the Stalinists thus continues to yield its harvest of terror and death.

Congo

Belgian imperialism has consistently strangled all attempts of the workers in the Congo for better conditions and for freedom. During the war, Belgian troops shot down strikers in the Congo. But the world position of Belgian imperialism has been greatly weakened as a result of the Second World War. Now the colonial empire in Africa has become one of the objects of greedy interest to the Wall Street imperialists.

Persistent rumors in the Congo attest to the encroachment of American imperialism in this area. Robert L. Buell, U. S. consul general at Elisabethville, attempted on June 4 to allay "the suspicion he had found in the minds of some Congo residents regarding the motives causing Americans to show interest in the Congo."

The consul-general suavely declared in an interview with the daily *L'Essor du Congo* that this suspicion "was entirely due to an inadequate knowledge of America and Americans."

In behalf of the official policy of the U. S. State Department he denied that the United States covets colonies or "mandated territory in Africa or elsewhere." He made clear, however, that he does not "expect immediate self-government by those peoples or an immediate suppression of all trade controls." With these words the consul-general upheld the imperialist policy of colonial oppression.

But Wall Street does have in-

tentions of replacing the Belgians as oppressors of the Congo. This is clear from Buell's emphasis on the necessity for "freedom of trade and access to raw materials" in the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi. Wall Street knows that under "freedom of trade" the Belgian capitalists cannot stand up against the competition of the American industrial machine.

Algeria

The rebellion of the Algerian people against French imperialism appears to be continuing although the de Gaulle censorship makes it extremely difficult to obtain the facts. This censorship is so rigid, that the bombing of 10,000 Algerian natives did not become known to the public until more than a month after the event.

Reading between the lines of a June 22 Paris dispatch to the New York Times, one can gather how widespread is the opposition to French imperialism rule. "Thoroughly alarmed by the unrest in North Africa," begins the dispatch, "the French Government has decided to send the minister of the interior, Adrien Tixier, to Algiers in a few days to study the problem on the spot."

This would mean that the rebellion has become so grave local officials fear they cannot succeed in repressing it and require reinforcements from

QUESTION BOX

Q: Approximately how many workers have had to travel long distances to get employment in war plants, and now have to worry about transporting themselves and their families back home when they lose their jobs?

A: An indication of in-migrants into important industrial areas during the war is given by the following figures: Into Detroit, 254,000; Portland, Ore., 269,000; San Francisco, 220,000; Los Angeles, 783,000; San Diego, 166,000; Hampton Roads, Va., 166,000; Mobile, Ala., 84,000. This total of 1,941,000 workers is by no means the whole picture.

Q: How much more has World War II cost the U. S. so far, compared with World War I?

A: Up to May, 1945 the U. S. had spent \$179 billions as compared with \$41 billions spent in World War I. The estimated war debt, by the time Japan is defeated, will be over \$300 billions.

Q: How did Japan get control of the islands in the Pacific that the U. S. is now fighting for?

A: Some of the 900 square miles of islands Japan owned outright. But those which figure in the news today were mandated to Japan by the League of Nations after the First World War. A secret treaty between Great Britain and Japan in 1917, before the U. S. entered the war, divided the German Pacific possessions between Britain and Japan at the Equator. Now the U. S. is taking these islands at a cost to date of \$100 billions and over 200,000 casualties.

France. Tixier and General Chaix-Bonafant have already proposed "to replace a large number of local officials with fresh blood from France, to increase the power of prefects and possibly to create two new prefectural departments by dividing up the three existing ones."

Side by side with its ruthless policy of force and violence, the de Gaulle regime announces its intention to make a few minor concessions to the Algerian natives in hope of easing the tension.

These concessions include an extension of the suffrage. At present, voting is limited to about 30,000 "educated natives." The mass of the people are barred from the ballot box under the de Gaulle regime which Allied imperialism labels as "democratic."

Other concessions would be the sending of grain supplies to Algeria now suffering from paralyzing famine. De Gaulle likewise promises "long-range plans for agrarian reform and industrialization." This is undoubtedly an attempt to palliate one of the sorest spots in French rule. Colonial rebellion inevitably seeks to generalize its needs in the form of demands expressing the needs of the native peasantry and working class.

A cable from Rene Miquel, Algiers correspondent of *Nouvelles*, indicates that the crisis is extremely profound. He was not convinced, he said, "that we have seen the climax of the anti-French movement, of which the sedition of May 8 and 9 was only the first act."

Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico has suffered under the rule of Wall Street since the Spanish-American war. It has served as a test tube of American imperialism's colonial policy for almost half a century. Unemployment, hunger, malnutrition, disease, miserable wages, wretched housing, have ravaged the island under the one-crop policy of the American sugar barons.

During the Second World War a few minor concessions were granted the Puerto Ricans, principally recognition that Federal labor laws applied to the island as well as the mainland. Now, however, Wall Street is again twisting the screws on this unhappy land.

Rexford Tugwell, appointed governor by Washington, last week vetoed a bill to establish the 8-hour day and provide for overtime pay. He likewise signed an anti-labor act which would in effect render the right to strike illegal.

When Tugwell went to Puerto Rico, he was hailed as a liberal who would bring greater democracy. But his actions in office have disclosed him to be nothing but another tool of Wall Street.

New Band-Wagon

"Madrid, Sunday — General Franco went in an American Chrysler car to today's celebration of his civil war victory. Last year he went in a German Mercedes-Benz." (London Express News Service).

Surplus Property Board Favors Big Monopolists

Plans of the big corporations to "junk" or secure full monopoly control over a hundred billion dollars worth of "surplus" government plants, tools, equipment, raw materials and supplies, have been emphasized by the recent resignation of former Senator Guy M. Gillette as chairman of the government's Surplus War Property Board.

In tendering his resignation, as he testified before the war contracts subcommittee of the Senate Military Affairs Committee on June 14, Gillette protested the fact that a majority of the surplus property board, appointed by Roosevelt, maintained a policy of "disposal" which favored the interests of the big monopolies. He centered his attack on the fact that the board has given a special 90-day option on a billion dollars worth of vital machine tools to the big corporations, which secured them for war purposes from the government.

When Gillette resigned, Truman nominated in his place a St. Louis businessman, W. Stuart Symington. A hearing before a Senate committee last week inquired into Symington's connections with trust interests.

Questions by members of the Senate Committee brought out that Symington had been head of a patent-controlling monopoly, Vehicular Parking, Ltd., which in 1942 was prosecuted and convicted under the federal anti-trust laws. In 1936 Symington had helped devise the patent-control system of this company, which he left in 1938.

He argued that his business career has been "one long effort in fighting trusts" and that he had given the Department of Justice "every assistance" in the parking meter anti-trust suit. He admitted under cross-examination, however, that he had sought to prevent incriminating letters from the company's files from being introduced in the trial.

One letter from Symington, marked "destroy," said: "These other companies are not going to let our holding company control without some struggle. I hope these meter ideas and applications are being rushed to Joynit. A \$35 meter may kick out some companies but it won't stop gyp competition. Magee says he has one that can be built for a couple of dollars. Let's get control if we can. It looks as if our fight is against Dual."

Why the Cartel Interests Sneer At Anti-Trust Laws

The government has done a lot of talking recently about breaking the international cartels, particularly those between American and German trusts. But the outcome of the government's prosecution of E. I. duPont de Nemours, the "Merchants of Death" chemical trust, reveals how the capitalist courts deal with charges against cartel conspiracies.

High-powered corporation-lawyers, a federal judge giving the company all the breaks, and a prosecution which asked dismissal of most of the main counts, persuaded a jury in Newark, N. J., on June 20 to acquit the duPont trust and its officers of charges that they conspired with Nazi and British trusts to form a world-wide cartel to control the manufacture, distribution and sale of acrylic, an important war plastic.

Hundreds of documents were introduced from the duPont files showing the pre-war existence of the cartel and the intent to continue it secretly during the war and after. Representative Voorhis stated in the House on April 25, 1944, when he revealed that "tremendous pressure" was being brought to bear to prevent trial on indictments filed two years before, that duPont correspondence informed I. G. Farben, of Germany, that "they intended to use their good offices after the war to have the I. G. Farben participation restored."

How A Soldier Who Died Would Answer Gen. Patton

General Patton has caused a number of embarrassing moments to the Allied rulers. There was the incident when he slapped a hospitalized soldier in Italy, earning the nickname "Our Blood and His Guts." Then there was his famous "fluff," as the press called it, when he told a British audience in April, 1944 that "undoubtedly it is our (American imperialism's) destiny to rule the world."

His most recent utterance evoking the need for "explanations"—not counting his public use of profanity which has shocked the more steady church-goers—was his statement to a Sunday school class, "You children are the soldiers and nurses of the next war."

This statement of the plans of the American ruling class for the next generation evoked an unusual protest. It was an imaginary letter to General Patton which appeared on June 22 in the Paris edition of *Stars and Stripes*, overseas army newspaper.

The letter began: "I am one of 30,000 men who died under your command on our march across Europe. Last week you told a Sunday school class: 'You children are the soldiers and nurses of the next war.'"

"Another war—not a hundred years from now but right around the corner! I don't know what the other 29,999 boys did but I turned over in my grave, General, and the dirt above me moved because it isn't packed hard yet.

"Please don't tell us that, General—not just now. And don't say it again to our families. It's too soon for them to understand."

The letter describes how Patton, the night before the Sunday school lesson, spilled tears on a public platform, saying: "It's no fun to say to men you love, 'Go out and die.'"

"It's no fun to die either," reminds the letter. "It's particularly no fun when the general you followed turns right around to your homefolds a few weeks later and tells them you died in vain."

"And for God's sake," the letter pleads in conclusion, "stay out of my little brother's Sunday school class. He still thinks I died to make a better world for him."