

What Akron Strike Means For Labor

An Editorial

The 19-day Goodyear strike and the accompanying 6-day-old Firestone strike unquestionably represent the high point of wartime labor insurgency since the great coal strikes of 1943.

These Akron strikes are another great forward step: because 60,000 rubber workers, comprising the heart of the rubber industry, have demonstrated their understanding that the War Labor Board, the major labor arm of the United States government, is nothing but an agency to hold down the workers, keep their wages frozen, bust up their strikes, and throttle their trade union organizations. And having understood this fact, they acted on it. For 19 days they defied the government strike-breaking agencies and by this magnificent demonstration—for that is what the Goodyear strike was in essence—they have prepared the way for the next battles of organized labor.

A new militant leadership has emerged in the rubber shops of Akron that commands the confidence and loyalty of the rank and file, works in close union with it, and represents its thinking and aspirations. This leadership is already clashing with the cowardly and bureaucratic leadership of the Dalrymple administration which heads the rubber International. Thus in the last analysis it is clashing with the cowardly and bureaucratic policies of the Murray leadership of the CIO.

The Akron rubber strikes have already encouraged and inspired the labor movement because they have demonstrated anew, in action, the great solidarity and militancy of which the workers are capable when they fight under a leadership that they trust and which truly represents their interests. This powerful labor demonstration in Akron will, both by its successes and shortcomings, help prepare the whole labor movement for the next steps ahead in the unfolding class struggle in America.

The strike battles of the 1933-35 period pushed forward a new set of leaders who created unions of a new type and character: the industrial unions of the CIO in the rubber, auto, and other mass production industries. So now the Akron strikes are pushing forward and building a new leadership that is already emerging in the most advanced industrial unions.

Akron Leaders Understand and Practise Solidarity

The Akron strike leaders represent an advance over the previous CIO leadership. They are leaders of a new type, leaders who have learned how to depend upon the fighting spirit of the workers, leaders who understand the need of solidarity and practise it, leaders who have learned how to meet every blow of labor's foes with a counter-blow of their own, leaders who have the understanding and courage to battle the whole array of hostile forces which inevitably are brought into play when labor challenges the powers—that be and really begins to struggle for its interests. The Akron rubber workers and their leaders are fighters.

These are all the things the Akron rubber workers have learned and achieved. These are the things that make the Akron rubber strikes the momentous events that they are. For three years the whole labor movement (outside of the miners) was misled, pushed around and held down by the autocratic, wage-freezing, union-busting employer-dominated WLB. The Akron rubber strikers broke through all obstacles and dealt with the WLB as the strikebreaking agency that it is.

But the WLB is not the sole anti-labor arm or weapon of the government. The government commands other agencies and devices for enforcing its anti-labor policies, such as the seizure of plants by the military. The Akron rubber workers and their leaders do not have the same sharp, clear understanding of this anti-labor device as they do of the WLB. That is why they were not adequately prepared with a plan of action for meeting this threat and overcoming it.

Operate Industry Under Workers' Control!

The militant favors government operation of industry, but only under workers' control. Government plant seizures such as the present one at the Goodyear Akron plant, executed under the provisions of the Smith-Connally Act, represent nothing but a vicious fraud. These seizures are merely a strikebreaking weapon which permit the corporation executives to wrap themselves in the American flag, break the strike, herd the workers back to work, while conditions remain as before.

This is now the key problem facing the Akron rubber workers: to learn how to deal with this infamous strikebreaking weapon as they have learned how to deal with the WLB and its strikebreaking tactics.

What must be done? First, the truth has got to be understood. All illusions, all confusions, all uncertainties, all indecision must be wiped away. Once the broad layers of labor clearly grasp the fact that plant seizures represent nothing more nor less than another link in the whole rotten chain of government strike-breaking, then the labor movement will find no difficulty in devising the necessary tactics to meet and successfully overcome this anti-labor strategy of Big Business. This now is the next necessary step forward in labor's fight to regain its independence of action, and rebuild its unions as fighting instruments of the working men and women of America.

GREEK REACTION PLOTS TO RESTORE MONARCHY

By Paul Abbott

The forces of Allied-Greek reaction, which have clamped Greece in the bloody vise of a regime of terror, are making ready to consummate and crown their counter-revolutionary dictatorship by restoring the monarchy. And the Greek Stalinists, repeating under new circumstances the perfidious role which their German confreres played in smoothing Hitler's path to power, are doing everything they can to aid the plans of the reactionary conspirators.

As might have been expected, the recent action of the Greek Stalinist leaders in "sifting" their "errors" proved to be merely the prelude to fresh betrayals of the Greek masses.

MONARCHISTS PREPARE

On July 6, the Moscow press gave prominent headlines to reports from Athens of secret military preparations for a monarchist uprising and "the mass destruction of democrats." The Greek Stalinist party was quoted as declaring that both the Greek government and the British military authorities know of the plot and could deal with it "in twenty-four hours" if they wished.

The German Stalinists had a similar attitude toward Hitler's bid for power. Hindenburg, they said, should stop Hitler. But Hindenburg aided Hitler. In Greece, Premier Voulgaris and the "British military authorities," under Churchill's orders, are the

(Continued on page 6)

Berlin Black Market Thrives Under Allies

Berlin may be under Allied control, but it's still better for the rich "ex"-Nazis than for the starving workers, as a dispatch in the London Daily Express, July 6, points out. The dispatch from Berlin by Selkirk Pantone reports that under Allied rule extensive black markets are flourishing.

Pantone reported that a person could get anything he wanted in Berlin, "but you will have to pay for it." English cigarettes, Pantone learned, "will cost you one pound (about \$4) a piece."

Prices per pound on the black market are: Butter, \$188; sugar, \$30; dried peas, \$15; meat, \$30; bread, \$10; coffee, \$140; and tea, \$190. A man's suit costs \$1,000 to \$1,200 and a cake of soap, \$30.

(Continued on page 7)

American Tanks Threaten Workers In Milan Strike Against Hunger

"Down with capitalism!" was one of the placards prominently displayed in a two-hour demonstration of thousands of Milan workers July 5. American tanks, ordered out by the Allied Military Government, pointed their guns at the parade but did not fire.

The Workers' Council called the work stoppage when tram fares were suddenly raised. The swift rise of prices since the entry of the Allies into Italy is helping to drive the workers along the road of revolution. Placards in the parade called for "lower prices" and "higher wages."

UNIDENTIFIED PLACARDS

"The marchers included many women," reports New York Times correspondent Milton Bracker; "and it was notable that none of the hundreds of placards could

be identified with any one party; it was a strictly non-partisan workers' demonstration."

One of the worst evils now affecting the workers is unemployment. In Milan only about 20 percent of the province's 450,000 industrial workers have full-time employment. On June 23, the employers agreed with representatives of the workers to provide emergency pay during lay-offs of three-quarters of normal wages. Of this emergency pay the boss was to furnish one-third and the government two-thirds.

The government, however, wholly subservient to the Allied conquerors, failed to live up to its part of the agreement.

II-POINT PROGRAM

When the paraders reached the Milan arena, they listened to a speech by Giuseppe Alberganti, "general secretary of the workers' group." An 11-point program was drawn up, in which immediate institution of the emergency-pay system headed the list. The

(Continued on page 4)

Negro Machinists Resist Jim Crow

SEATTLE, Wash., July 1—A petition calling for an end to racial discrimination in the AFL Machinists Union at Boeing Aircraft Corporation was put in circulation today by the Pyramid Workers Alliance, an organization made up principally of Boeing Negro workers, which was created to fight discrimination in the Seattle unions.

The circulation of the petitions is designed to win mass support among white and colored workers for the immediate aim of the Pyramid Workers Alliance: namely, the achievement of full membership seniority rights inside Lodge No. 751 of the International Association of Machinists. The Negroes want these rights in order to protect themselves against discrimination when the lay-offs begin in earnest.

Petitions are being circulated among Boeing Aircraft workers, shipyard workers, in the housing projects, in various unions that do not practice racial discrimination, and among the public at large. Signatures of white as well as colored workers are being solicited. The main emphasis of the petition drive, however, is to sign up all Boeing workers. It reads as follows:

WHEREAS: Lodge Number 751 of the International Association of Machinists holds a closed shop contract with Boeing Aircraft Corporation, and

WHEREAS: Lodge Number 751 as well as the Grand Lodge of the International Association of Machinists excludes racial minorities from membership, granting them only permit cards, and

WHEREAS: These policies deny the victims of this discrimination seniority and other important union rights, and

WHEREAS: Several locals of

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. IX—No. 28

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1945

207

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Akron Rubber Strikers Fight Drive To Crush Their Union

Allied "Democracy" in Milan



NMU Forces 'Unanimous' Convention Vote For 'Pledge'

By M. Stevenson

NEW YORK — The fifth convention of the National Maritime Union, CIO, opened in New York City, July 2, with an ultimatum by its Stalinist president, Joe Curran, that the convention reaffirm the no-strike pledge "until the war against Japan is finished."

This bureaucratic command set the whole tone of the Stalinist-ridden convention. From then on, the machine-dominated convention steamrollered everything through "unanimously."

On the second day of the convention, Stalinist vice-president Myers introduced the resolution to reaffirm the no-strike pledge "for the duration of the war." But even this wording was considered too "radical" by some of the stooge delegates. They expressed fear that "the membership might be confused" by such phraseology, and wanted it understood that the NMU would not "pull the pin" immediately after the war ends.

They demonstratively reminded all delegates that the no-strike pledge is written into contracts with the shipping companies for the duration of the war and six months thereafter. Such was the nature of the "debate" on this vital question.

After the "delegates" were told that such "irresponsible" action as striking would never be countenanced, the question was called. The Stalinists were horrified to discover that four rank and filers stood up and voted against the no-strike pledge. Then, after the vote, a terrific

(Continued on page 3)

IN THE NEWS

Not in the Newsreels

When Tory Prime Minister Winston Churchill in his election campaign attempted to invade the working class districts of London, he met "crowds often so hostile they would not let him speak. . . Two of his speeches had to be cancelled when, despite all his attempts at pacifying, the shouting and booing of the crowd could not be quelled." (London dispatch, July 5, Chicago Sun).

Congress Is "Busy"

The July 2 CIO News observes: "By June 28, almost one month after President Truman asked Congress to provide emergency unemployment benefits up to \$25 a week for 26 weeks, no bill had been put into the Congressional hopper. Yet the House Ways and Means Committee has found time to think about more tax gravy via the carry-back method for big corporations."

Four Freedoms in India

On July 4 police fired on a crowd of people in the Rangpur district who were seeking clothing permits during "a riot precipitated by an acute clothing shortage so bad in some areas that cases of suicide have been reported by people obliged to go naked," says a United Press dispatch from Bombay.

V-U 'Unemployment Day'

"They gave the workers Army-Navy E's and told them to go home because the government and Mr. Ford didn't want the plant any more. Nobody wants Willow Run, the \$95 million factory that produced almost 9,000 Liberator bombers. Nobody wants the 51,950 pieces of machinery—lathes, mills, presses, shapers, etc., the 28,000 portable tools, the 988 typewriters and adding machines, the 1,450 autos, trucks and tractors, the 2 beautiful airports (one bigger than LaGuardia Field in N. Y.), the \$25-million war housing community. And nobody wants the more than 20,000 human beings who go with the plant, too, over 100,000 if you count the workers in plants which supplied Willow Run."

A "Minor" Exception . . .

Writes a recent issue of the United States News: "There will be several million unemployed. Yet, for all but the unemployed, there will be prosperity. . ."

GOODYEAR PLANTS "SEIZED"; FIRESTONE LOCAL MENACED

By Joseph Andrews

AKRON, O., July 6 — The defiant and historic 19-day Goodyear rubber strike ended today with Navy seizure of the five Goodyear plants here.

Having bluntly repudiated every Washington order to return to work, the Goodyear workers and their leaders were forced back into the plants by military seizure backed by the vicious, strikebreaking Smith-Connally Act which outlaws strikes in government-operated plants, and provides heavy punishment for violation of its provisions.

Printing Trades Strike Continues Against Donnelley

CHICAGO, June 7 — The bitter printing trades strike at the huge R.R. Donnelley & Sons printing plant here, for 42 years a citadel of the open shop in the mid-west, is continuing full blast. Since its inception by the Pressmen's union on May 27, the strike has involved seven other crafts, seriously crippling the largest printing concern in the country.

This is the greatest blow for unionism struck since 1903 against what the Chicago Federation of Labor Council to Unionize Donnelley's calls an "octopus to take over the entire printing industry in America." Donnelley controls the publication of the telephone directories, most of the big mail order catalogues, including Sears-Roebuck and Montgomery Ward, and such powerful magazines as Time, Life, Reader's Digest, Farm Journal, The Woman, Science Digest, etc. It also publishes the "house organs" for General Motors, U. S. Steel, Westinghouse Electric, etc.

The Goodyear workers day by

Where Is Boyer?

AKRON — Where are Boyer and his Stalinist gang during this rubber strike here? Have they gone fishing? How do they stand on this strike? Are they waiting for the pipeline to tell them whether the Goodyear and Firestone workers are "Trotskyite wreckers" or progressive fighters?

day have written an inspiring chapter of unsurpassed militancy into the history of American labor struggles.

On May 28 the Goodyear workers turned out a three to one vote in favor of a strike in an NLRB ballot. This was their challenge to the corporation campaign of wage-cutting and slashing of piece-work prices. The Local 2

(Continued on page 3)

(Continued on page 2)

Briggs Union Backs Akron Rubber Strike

DETROIT, July 5 — President John J. Murphy, speaking for 27,000 members of the militant Briggs Local 212, CIO United Automobile Workers, today wired a vigorous protest to the War Labor Board against its strikebreaking use of "sanctions" in the Akron Rubber strike.

This action follows his sending of a message of solidarity to Goodyear Local 2 on strike in Akron together with Firestone Local 7, CIO United Rubber Workers. Other auto locals here, it is reported, may take similar action.

Murphy's telegram to Dr. George Taylor, WLB chairman, stated: "On behalf of the 27,000 members of Local 212, UAW, CIO, I wish to protest the recent action of the National War Labor Board in suspending the shift premiums and paid vacations for the Goodyear workers, members of the United Rubber Workers, CIO."

"The organized labor movement has worked tirelessly for years in making these major gains which you are denying the Rubber Workers. We of Local 212 urge the National War Labor Board to reconsider the decision they have rendered. If this policy is carried out it will only bring a chaotic condition within the country."

ON THE INSIDE

Briggs Resolutions . . . 2
NMU Convention . . . 3
Trotskyist Election Campaign in N. Y. . . 4
N. Y. Newspaper Delivery . . . 5
Unionist Tells Story . . . 5
Fascist Smith in L. A. . . 5
Story of the Bastille . . . 6

COLUMNS AND FEATURES

Trade Union Notes . . . 2
Diary of Steel Worker . . . 3
The Negro Struggle . . . 4
Pioneer Notes . . . 4
Shop-talk on Socialism . . . 5
Workers Forum . . . 7
Militant Army . . . 7
International Notes . . . 8

Rubber Workers Fight Magnificent Battle Against Great Odds To Safeguard Unions

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

(Continued from page 1)

executive board and bargaining committee had beat against a solid wall of company arrogance and blunt refusal to give an inch on the union's demands.

At midnight Sunday, June 17, workers began to walk out of the Goodyear plants. By that afternoon, the Local 2 executive board had officially sanctioned the strike, which was quickly approved by a cheering, rousing mass meeting of the local. Picket lines were posted at every plant gate, marking the third time since 1935 that the great Goodyear fortress of the rubber barons was humbled by the organized might of the workers.

IGNORE WLB ORDER

On Monday, the regional War Labor Board in Cleveland issued a blunt back-to-work order to C. V. Wheeler, Goodyear Local 2 president, and to the Goodyear workers. The Goodyear strike leaders immediately showed their mettle by ignoring the ultimatum. Wheeler stated, "The WLB has no authority insofar as a legal strike is concerned. This strike was authorized under the terms of the Smith-Connelly act, by a National Labor Relations Board vote of Goodyear production workers who voted three to one in favor of striking."

"Neither the War Labor Board," he said, "nor any other organization has any authority to deny our right to strike when the Congress of the United States gave us that right."

Sherman Dalrymple, URWA International president, made his first comment on the strike in a press statement: "The URWA has not approved, sanctioned or authorized the present strike at Goodyear. . . The war is still on and our no-strike pledge still stands."

FIGHTING SOLIDARITY

As though in reply to all the attacks on the Goodyear strikers, almost 11,000 Firestone workers went to the NLRB-supervised poll only a few hours after the strike at the East Akron Goodyear plant began, and voted six to one for a strike.

This vote of fighting solidarity was a great morale builder at Goodyear. It showed the Goodyear workers they were not the only ones fed up with the union-busting tactics of the companies, the vicious run-around of the WLB, and the cowardly do-nothing policy of the International union's top leaders.

By Tuesday, June 19, the Cleveland regional WLB let out a squeal at being ignored by the strikers and issued a "show-cause" order to the union leaders to appear in Cleveland and explain themselves. On the same day Undersecretary of War Patterson telegraphed Dalrymple asking him to "take steps to end the strike." All this rolled off the backs of the strikers and their leaders like water off a duck's back. They were prepared for the barrage of "orders."

LEADERS STAND FIRM

The union leaders decided to go to Cleveland and give the WLB officials a full dose of "show-cause." Backed by a unanimous vote of almost 1500 workers at a mass meeting, held on Wednesday, June 20, the Local 2 executive board went to Cleveland and rejected the back-to-work order.

"Union officers have worked night and day to settle grievances but have settled nothing of significance," Wheeler testified. "The membership voted overwhelmingly in favor of a strike and the officers try to represent the will of the members in a democratic way."

"We spend \$2,000 a month for the grievance committee," Wheeler continued. "The membership feels the company is

stalling on grievances in order to cost the union more money until we reach the point where we can't afford to negotiate. We have tried every other method with all the government agencies in the field, except striking, and have obtained negligible results."

Max Johnstone, union attorney, stated that "there is no regulation which prohibits the WLB from conciliating during a strike," and demanded that the WLB take immediate steps to conciliate the grievances.

WORKERS INSPIRED

The leadership's defiance of the regional WLB was a tonic to the Akron rubber workers. A wave of militancy and high spirits spread through the city. The Goodyear picket lines were jubilant. "I guess they really told them off," they said as the good word spread that their leaders had stood up and challenged the Cleveland regional WLB. The leaders and the striking workers spoke the same language.

It was rumored that the URWA International Executive Board was holding a special meeting. But these top officials did not speak in the same tongue as the Akron rubber workers. They debated how to break the strike and, no doubt, how to stem the tide of opposition to their cowardly policies and save their seats in what the workers called "the second mahogany row in the Buckeye building" where Dalrymple drew but did not earn his salary.

The Goodyear strike was certified on Thursday, June 22 to the national WLB. The WLB immediately issued a back-to-work order. Case 111-16459-D, which had gathered dust in the overflowing files, was finally dug up by the WLB.

AGAIN DEFEY WLB

Wheeler replied by wire to the back-to-work order in no uncertain terms: "This is not a case of willingness or unwillingness of local officers to end a strike. This is a case of government machinery totally failing to meet the situation, and totally failing to keep the company in line with the nation's policy of full production. The order of the fifth regional labor board to return to work was unanimously rejected by the membership."

"We ask the government to take the necessary steps to force the Goodyear Tire and Rubber company to comply with federal statutes and war aims, bargain in good faith, live up to company-union contract, settle grievances without stalling, and quit chiseling on rates," the Goodyear strike leader stated.

Once again, the strike leaders had "told them off." The strike went into its sixth day. The Goodyear local held its second mass meeting of the strike, and the strikers in the jammed union hall on Case Avenue backed their leaders to a man.

On the seventh day of the strike the National WLB issued a "show-cause" order and commanded the strike leaders to appear in Washington. By this time the leaders were sick and tired of "orders" and "commands." They refused to go to Washington of their own volition.

THE "MORAL LAW"

The WLB immediately served subpoenas on the strike leaders, and Wheeler, Local 2 president, accompanied by W. I. Vaught, treasurer, W. H. Tidrick, vice president, Carl Baker, secretary, and attorney Johnstone boarded the train for Washington under compulsion, and appeared before the WLB.

These leaders flung the back-to-work order in the face of the WLB and took the offensive. Van A. Bittner of the CIO and Elmer Walker, of the AFL machinists,

Goodyear's Operator

AKRON, O., July 7 — Navy Captain H. K. Clark, now in charge of operation of the "seized" Goodyear plants here, is a carefully chosen representative of big business.

As a past president of the American Supply and Machinery Manufacturers Association, and former vice president and general manager of the Norton company of Worcester, Mass., largest grinding tool makers in the world, Clark is obviously no friend of labor. Clark came to Akron fresh from his experience in a seizure of west coast shipyards.

His first proclamation contained the ominous statement that the Navy would deal with Goodyear workers only as individuals, and not with elected union officers.

labor members of the WLB, voted with the rest of the strike-breakers on the WLB in ordering the strikers back to work.

Van Bittner spoke at the hearing about the "moral law" that demanded a return to work. Johnstone replied, "We would like to see your moral law applied to this corporation."

WLB Chairman Taylor said the hearing witnessed the "first CIO officer who refused to meet his obligation as a labor leader." But the Akron rubber workers thought differently. For the first time a CIO leadership was really meeting its obligations to the members.

STRIKERS' ANSWER

Governor Lausche of Ohio put in his two cents worth of anti-unionism by also demanding a return to work. The Army and Navy made press statements about the "loss of lives" resulting from the strike. To all these the strike leaders issued a definitive reply.

"The Goodyear Tire and Rubber company changed conditions in the Akron plants to such an extent that they became intolerable," a statement by Wheeler on June 27 said. "Literally hundreds of rates have been cut by management without consultation with the union. The cost of living is not being reduced. It is steadily rising. The WLB has steadfastly held to the Little Steel Formula but has failed and refused to grant Akron rubber workers even the benefit of that formula."

"UNION-BUSTING ATTEMPT"

"Since the beginning of this strike, which was forced upon the workers of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., they have received no effective help or any help, from any governmental agencies or from the international union to settle the controversy. Instead of help. . . they have been subjected to order after order to return to work without the settlement of the conditions which led to the crisis.

"In place of giving assistance. . . Dalrymple advised J. A. Krug, chairman of the War Production Board as follows: 'We have not and will not approve the strike and will not assist in disposition of any problem while strike is in progress.'

" . . . the officers of Goodyear Local 2 were skeptical that the War Labor Board would proceed to immediately settle grievances. That skepticism was justified. The workers cannot expect any expeditious or proper handling of their intolerable working conditions by the WLB. We see in the present policy of the . . . company an attempt to break the union. If that attempt is successful here and elsewhere it will inevitably lead to lessened purchasing power. . . and to another depression.

"Does anyone think that the people of America will remain

On the Picket Line in Akron



In a magnificent 19-day strike, Akron workers tied up the rubber industry despite threats from government bureaus and Dalrymple, International President of the United Rubber Workers, CIO. They are shown picketing the Goodyear plant (above) and Firestone plant (below).

quiescent again under such heart-breaking and ruinous conditions as oppressed them in 1929 and the early 30's?"

"WEAR THEM OUT"

As the strike went on into its 8th, 9th and 10th days, it was obvious that the government was trying to wear the strikers out. "It is very apparent," Wheeler said, "that the urgency of military production impressed upon us in both Cleveland and Washington is first represented to us. If lives are being lost because of this lack of production, why hasn't the government taken steps to get the plants back in operation?"

"We are ready to sit down any day," Wheeler declared, "and try to settle our grievances, and we have been trying to get the WLB, other governmental agencies and our own international union to arrange such a meeting."

Dalrymple replied with an advertisement in the daily press, once again ordering the workers to comply with the no-strike pledge. By now Dalrymple's exhortations were not even news to the workers, and were considered just a part of the strikebreaking scramble of the Washington big shots.

WASHINGTON FRUSTRATED

Washington officials were undoubtedly frustrated by the stubborn refusal of the union leaders to break. After a dozen days, the government sent in its reserves and began to throw its heavy ammunition. On the order of stabilization director Wm. H. Davis, selective service ordered the termination of the occupational deferments of all strikers. . . Two days later the WLB threatened to apply sanctions by withdrawing vacation pay and shift bonus, as well as maintenance of membership, from the union.

On the same day, the Goodyear workers in mass meeting once again defied the WLB. On Sunday, July 1, the Goodyear leaders again demanded, this time in a telegram to Rep. Smith and Senator Connally, that the government force the company to negotiate the grievances which provoked the strike.

And that afternoon almost 3,000 Firestone workers jammed South High School auditorium to consider strike action. They voted two to one to join the Goodyear workers on strike, while at the same time the Goodyear strikers met and once again voted to refuse to return to work.

I. H. Watson, president of Firestone Local 7, voiced the battle cry of the Firestone workers: "The members of my union have no confidence in the WLB," he said. "They have come to appreciate the fact that a powerful company such as Firestone can prostitute the procedures and policies of that board to its own ends."

In a brief and cutting phrase he summed up what the militant rubber workers felt about the cowardly international union officers: "All are in league against the workers."

HISTORIC STRUGGLE

The War Labor Board then played its last card. It carried out its threat to apply sanctions, and took away the vacation pay

and night shift bonus of the Goodyear workers. Having thrown everything in the book at the Goodyear strikers, the WLB then took steps to certify the case to president Truman.

Thirty-seven thousand rubber workers were out on strike. Nothing the WLB could do had shaken the strikers. It was clear that the Firestone strike leaders were working in close harmony with the Goodyear leaders, and would also hold out. This was now the greatest wartime strike since the coal strike of 1943.

The city of Akron was a tinder box. The Goodrich and General Tire and Rubber companies shut down for repairs during the week from July 1 to July 9. What would happen next week?

The local draft board reflected the widespread sympathy for the strikers by rebelling against the order to draft strikers. "We should not be forced to become a strikebreaking agency," J. P. Riddle, local draft board chairman, stated.

REAL UNION LEADERS

On the 4th of July, Wheeler and Watson, the two strike leaders, jointly appealed to Truman. "All that is needed," they said, "is for the President or some responsible government agency to order the Goodyear and Firestone companies to sit down and negotiate the hundreds of grievances which have caused these strikes."

Knowing that the last weapon in the government's arsenal was seizure of the plants, Wheeler and Watson stated, "There is absolutely no necessity for the government of the United States to seize either of these plants. . . These were obviously leaders of a new order. They defied the governmental agencies on every back-to-work order, and what is more they did not say to the workers that government seizure was a desirable conclusion to the strike. They consistently demanded that the government force the company to deal with the union, and that genuine collective bargaining be enforced.

BATTLE NOT ENDED

But the government played its last strikebreaking card. The workers are now at work in Goodyear under military rule. What the outcome will be is unknown. The Firestone leaders are holding firm, and it is expected the government will rapidly move toward a seizure there after exhausting its strikebreaking dictionary in this case also. The WLB orders to the Firestone workers now have a hollow ring. They are monotonous repetitions of what has gone before.

The Navy moved into Goodyear with an ominous note, stating that it will deal with workers only as individuals and not with officers of URW Local 2.

The International Officers of the URWA, confronted with a solid bloc of opposition in Akron, are preparing moves to save their posts, and to enforce their rotten policies.

But the Akron rubber crisis is far from over. More battles are close at hand.

Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to The Militant

Local Auto Union Heads Demand UAW Convention

DETROIT, July 9 — The meeting of the presidents of the CIO United Automobile Workers here tonight voted unanimous support to a resolution introduced by Briggs Locals 212 and 742 demanding that the International Executive Board and international officers prepare for and call the union's annual convention despite the ODT ban. It was further voted to demand that the UAW top officers attend another local presidents meeting July 15 to account for their failure to carry out the action program of the Detroit Regional Conference on June 14.

DETROIT, July 8 — Meeting here today in special joint session for the first time in their history, the Executive Boards of Briggs Locals 212 and 742, CIO United Automobile Workers, urged the forthcoming Detroit UAW local presidents' meeting to call the International Executive Board and top officers to account for their failure to take even the first steps toward implementing the program of action adopted on June 14 by the Detroit regional conference, representing 400,000 UAW members.

The June 14 conference, voted overwhelmingly to demand that the International Board petition for an industry-wide NLRB strike vote to break the Little Steel wage-freezing formula. The conference also voted on record to fight for a 40-hour week at 48 hours pay to offset layoffs and reduced take-home pay.

DO-NOTHING POLICY

In protesting the do-nothing policy of the International leaders and their stalling of the Detroit conference demands, the joint session of the Briggs executive boards also adopted by unanimous vote a resolution demanding that "the International Officers and Executive Board carry out the mandates of our Constitution and proceed with the preparations for our convention."

This resolution points out that the Office of Defense Transportation's refusal to authorize the UAW convention, originally scheduled for September, "is intended to prolong and continue a policy for the union movement which no longer represents the desires of the membership as reflected in recent conferences, strike actions, etc."

The resolution points out the anti-labor intent of the ODT in barring union conventions while permitting "horse racing syndicates and baseball magnates to operate their money-making projects with the use of transportation facilities needed for these enterprises" and while "no steps have been taken to restrict the travel of the idle rich and to end from their summer homes and resorts."

RULING ACCEPTED

It is noted in the resolution that the "rulings of the ODT carry weight only as recommendations and the ODT lacks authority to invoke penalties for the refusal to accept and abide by its rulings," but the "top leadership is apparently intent upon accepting the recent ruling banning our convention."

Today's joint session of the Briggs executives marks a real advance in the cooperative relations of the two locals. Although all Briggs workers in this area were originally under the jurisdiction of Local 212, bitter factional rivalries in the International Union in 1940 resulted in the establishment of a separate Briggs Local 742 in their newly-constructed Conner plant.

Now the Briggs workers have become highly aware of their mutual problems and the necessity for closest collaboration to defeat the union-busting attacks of the company. During the past period, cutbacks have reduced the peak employment of 40,000 at the Briggs plant here to 16,000, with more layoffs each day.

But Dalrymple could not change his course. His only method of enforcing his policies is the use of the bureaucratic club.

His second important venture into dictatorship occurred when he fined no less than 572 members of U. S. Rubber Local 101, Detroit, for an unauthorized walk-out. He was met by a forceful opposition from Akron, aided this time by a strong bloc in the Detroit local, where a rebellion against its Stalinist president, John Marmion, was precipitated by the fines.

RALLY TO AKRON

At the last URW-CIO convention held in September, 1944, in New York City, the Akron militants mobilized fully one-third of the delegates against Dalrymple's leadership and policies. Since that time several of the small locals formerly dominated by the International Board, have bolted



BUILD THE LABOR PARTY!

ODT's "Sophistication"

The July 7 Business Week claims that the Office of Defense Transportation "has become highly sophisticated about labor affairs." The ODT has placed a ban on union conventions, which this year have promised to cause plenty of headaches for government and labor officials who want to keep the no-strike chains on the workers. Only conventions authorized by the ODT may be held.

Thus, the CIO United Rubber Workers has been denied the right to hold a convention by the ODT. Slyly, Business Week observes that a URW convention "would be a cinch to revoke the no-strike pledge" and "eliminating the convention will make it much harder for the rank and file to reverse the official no-strike policy."

On the other hand, the ODT gave the "green light" to Stalinist Joseph Curran's CIO National Maritime Union to hold its convention in New York City last week, notes Business Week. The ODT's technical reason for approving the NMU convention was that half the NMU members claim New York as their home port and the convention would be no great strain on transportation facilities.

However, Business Week cannot refrain from pointing out how neatly the ODT's decisions as to what union conventions can or cannot be held fits in with the government's plans to keep a straightjacket on labor. "It is completely safe to assume that the NMU convention will do nothing that the officers would not do anyway."

What Curran did at the opening of the NMU convention was call for continued unconditional enforcement of the no-strike policy "for the duration." No doubt ODT officials now feel confirmed in their opinion as to the "best" method for determining what conventions can or can't be held.

Avery Scores Again

When the government "seized" Montgomery Ward's Hummer Manufacturing Company plant at Springfield, Illinois, on May 20, 1944, it was presumably to enforce a WLB order directing the defendant company to sign a maintenance of membership contract with AFL International Union of Machinists.

But when the Army recently restored full control to Sewell Avery's company, no maintenance of membership contract had been signed by the company. A company official boasted that the WLB order for a maintenance of membership clause was revoked "automatically."

Between the unwillingness of the government to get really

"tough" with Avery and the company's continued unrestrained union-busting, the union was finally forced to accept a contract excluding maintenance of membership. This has been the main point at issue in all the Montgomery Ward cases.

Here is a perfect illustration of how futile it is for the workers to depend on the capitalist government to protect their interests against the open-shoppers.

NLRB Strike Polls

The tremendous upsurge of labor militancy in the past four months is recorded by the comparative figures for NLRB strike polls under the Smith-Connelly anti-strike law during the first five months of 1944 and this year.

From January through May 1944, a total of 42,922 workers participated in NLRB strike votes. In the same period of this year 558,570 union men and women participated in such polls — 13 times as many as the year before!

The biggest upsurge so far has come in the past five weeks, with hundreds of thousands not only voting for strike but actually manning picket lines all over the country.

It is clear the workers aren't waiting for the formalities of union conventions to break the no-strike policy. It is being smashed to pieces through direct strike action. The workers are "voting with their feet" by walking out of the plants in hundreds of thousands.

Talk Is Cheap

Under pressure of the hundreds of thousands of Negro workers in the AFL and the persistent pounding of the progressive sections of American labor, pious William Green, head of the AFL, finally issued a statement condemning racial discrimination in AFL unions, a number of which are notorious for their "lily-white" anti-democratic policies of Negro exclusion or segregation. Green's statement was published in the July issue of the American Federationist.

"When and if organized labor predicates membership in any union upon race, religion or ancestry, it is helping to create a potential anti-labor army that can be used by labor-baiters to fight labor unions, weaken labor's collective bargaining power and destroy its effectiveness," said Green.

"We can but welcome this sentiment, even though belated. We suspect, however, these are just words. They would have more meaning if Green in the past — or right now — took some concrete steps to enforce this policy in AFL unions — the Boilermakers, for instance.

URW HEADS BETRAY RUBBER UNIONISTS

AKRON, O. — The Goodyear and Firestone strikes have brought to a critical point the long-standing struggle between the local leadership of the rubber workers and the CIO United Rubber Workers' top International clique led by Dalrymple, Buchmaster and Eagle.

Since URW President Dalrymple's abortive attempt to enforce the no-strike policies of the top officers by suspending 72 handbuilders of General Tire and Rubber Local 9, the gulf has widened between the militant Akron local union officers and members, and the International Executive Board.

FORCED TO RETREAT

This previous bureaucratic and dictatorial attempt to oust a whole group of militants failed miserably as a result of the determined opposition of the whole Akron leadership, backed by the members. Dalrymple was forced to retreat and to reinstate the suspended members.

But Dalrymple could not change his course. His only method of enforcing his policies is the use of the bureaucratic club.

His second important venture into dictatorship occurred when he fined no less than 572 members of U. S. Rubber Local 101, Detroit, for an unauthorized walk-out. He was met by a forceful opposition from Akron, aided this time by a strong bloc in the Detroit local, where a rebellion against its Stalinist president, John Marmion, was precipitated by the fines.

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the top clique and have rallied to the side of the Akron bloc.

The current great Akron rubber strike has dramatized the inner union situation. It has clearly exposed the strikebreaking policies of the top officers. Many local unions in outlying cities have telegraphed their sympathy to the Goodyear and Firestone locals.

A rapidly growing section of the rubber union has gravitated towards the progressive, militant Akron leaders who are showing the way, both in the fight against the corporations, the WLB, and against the criminally reactionary policies of the Dalrymple clique. This confronts Dalrymple and his cohorts with an immediate pressing problem. Time works against them.

ON GUARD!

The Akron militants and their supporters everywhere would do well to be on guard against a desperate move by the top officers of the union to smash the powerful combination in Akron, to use the bureaucratic club to wipe out their opposition. That is the only answer Dalrymple knows in his fight against militants who now speak for the great majority of the rank and file.

Local unions must close ranks with the Akron leadership by adopting resolutions of support to the Goodyear and Firestone strikers and the militant policies of the strike leaders.

New York SOCIALIST YOUTH FORUM

July 18, 8 p. m.

"The Fight for the FEPC"

Questions. . . Discussion

Speaker: LOUISE SIMPSON

130 West 23rd Street

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NMU Officials Evade Real Struggle Against Seamen's Bonus Slash

NEW YORK, July 9—Howard McKenzie, Stalinist chairman of the Wage Negotiating Committee of the CIO National Maritime Union, yesterday presented to the NMU national convention the details of what he described as a "political blitzkrieg" to stave off the bonus cut for merchant seamen.

McKenzie's "blitz" was launched by the NMU convention, which voted unanimously to take the following action:

1. Send a rank and file delegation to Washington to picket Admiral Land and the War Shipping Administration;
2. Wire all ports instructing NMU branches to picket the WSA;
3. Call upon all maritime unions to join this demonstration and request full support from the CIO.

This action followed a sharp rebuff in Washington to NMU lobbyists who were trying to carry out the Stalinists' so-called "wage policy." These lobbyists were a special convention delegation, headed by John Rogan.

ble for him to postpone the bonus cuts because that would be interfering with the affairs of another agency, the MWEB. Mobilization Director Vinson was polite enough to advise the NMU delegation to "keep in touch" with him, after announcing that he could give no immediate answer to the union's proposal.

Both the NMU and AFL Seafarers International Union have brought cases before the WLB for adjustment and are demanding the minimum hourly rate of 55 cents for seamen. This demand, if granted, would bring the base wages with overtime up to the approximate level of wartime earnings.

No-Strike Pledge Rammed Through NMU Convention

(Continued from page 1)

gone forever when men came to NMU conventions to carry out the wishes of their shipmates who had elected them. This had only caused "disruption," he said.

The four delegates who voted against the no-strike resolution were given to understand that it was a question of change your vote "or else." By this means the Stalinists got their "unanimous" vote. After that, everything was "unanimous."

This convention is one more bitter experience for the seamen. It is a further example of the fury of the Stalinists aimed not at the vicious shipping companies, but at progressive workers seeking a genuine solution to the huge wage cuts immediately facing the seamen through the bonus slashes arbitrarily imposed by the Maritime War Emergency Board.

WHAT KIND OF "BLITZ"

The fact that seamen's demands are being decided in Washington obviously necessitates political action by the maritime unions. But McKenzie's "blitz" is not a fight against the political agencies of the ship-operators. Instead, it is being conducted under slogans of political support for these agencies.

Pickets sent to Washington are parading with placards which boast that the NMU convention has unanimously reaffirmed the no-strike pledge, that the NMU "keeps 'em sailing," and that demonstrating seamen are not on strike but on furlough from their ships.

The seamen's fight for living wages can be seriously and successfully conducted only under the banner of independent working class action. For this the seamen must first free themselves from the shackles of the no-strike pledge. They must withdraw all support from the WLB and demand the recall of labor representatives from that agency. They must conduct a campaign against the plans of the WSA to hand over the government-owned ships to private owners, thus guaranteeing millions in profits to the parasitical ship-owners in this government-built and government-operated industry.

WASHINGTON REBUFF

Rogan reported back to the convention last Saturday that Maritime War Emergency Board Chairman Macauley, Economic Stabilization Director Davis, and War Mobilization Director Vinson had been interviewed. They heard the plea that bonus cuts, which will mean a 40% reduction in voyage pay-off for Atlantic Ocean runs, be postponed until a WLB decision on seamen's demands for wage adjustments is handed down. The union proposal was rejected out of hand by these heads of the three government agencies involved.

Captain Macauley, speaking for the MWEB, told the union delegation bluntly that the bonus cut would go into effect on July 15 as previously announced. And "Stabilizer" Davis said that the case could not be heard until July 19 and that it was impossi-

ble for him to postpone the bonus cuts because that would be interfering with the affairs of another agency, the MWEB. Mobilization Director Vinson was polite enough to advise the NMU delegation to "keep in touch" with him, after announcing that he could give no immediate answer to the union's proposal.

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Printing Trades Strike Continues Against Donnelley

(Continued from page 1)

ization Committee of Chicago Printing Trades Unions" to sign up the workers. The workers had to fight vicious company reprisals. The National Labor Relations Board finally found the company in violation of the Wagner Act.

Last October, the Pressmen, Machinists, Photo-Engravers and Lithographers won NLRB elections. The company turned collective bargaining into a farce. It was at this juncture that the weakness of the craft union structure in a mass production plant like Donnelley's became apparent.

The Pressmen, after being turned down on 19 issues, offered to arbitrate all issues, including the union shop, before an employer-slanted board of Henry R. Luce of Time, Robert Wood of Sears-Roebuck and "America First" and Edward McGrady, RCA official. When the company refused to arbitrate the union shop issue, the Pressmen alone walked out on May 27.

However, all the other crafts, except the AFL Stereotypers who have a closed shop agreement with a subsidiary of Donnelley, have joined the walkout, since a defeat of the Pressmen would prove disastrous for all the other unions involved. The stereotypers in the electrotype foundry have crossed the picket lines daily. If they joined the strike, the plant would be completely throttled.

As the strike has progressed, the lack of strike preparations and joint decisions have been partially overcome. Good, long picket lines, strike meetings, commissaries, strike benefits, printed information, etc. have been initiated. The company continues to limp along, delivering in private cars, sending its work out under-cover, etc.

NMU Convention Sidelights

Rank and file seamen are conspicuous by their absence from the visitors' gallery of the Stalinist show playing currently at the NMU convention hall. A lone seaman, who came as a spectator, was kicked out when he attempted to defend himself from the "charges" brought against him on the floor.

Apprehensive of a move seemingly underway to "dump" him, National Treasurer Hedley Stone made haste to disburse the sum of \$7,000, from former convention funds, to all "needy delegates." Who determined who were the "needy delegates?" You guessed it—Stone!

It is not unusual for a Stalinist to make such motions as: "I move to close discussion and to accept the report UNANIMOUSLY." Literally EVERYTHING is passed unanimously by this rubber-stamp convention.

The Daily Worker came in for

special praise, and the Press Committee encouraged the delegates to read this Stalinist bilge sheet.

The convention hall was turned into a veritable parade ground for arm-chair admirals and other brass hats, assorted labor fakers, congressmen, social workers, and other "guests" of Curran and Company.

It was announced that the NMU paper, The Pilot, will henceforth be sent to shipowners and other "outstanding public officials." But some seamen are wondering whether The Pilot may not really COME from the shipowners and their ilk, whose interests it supports.

An NMU self-styled, "rank and fier" reported on his meeting with CIO President Philip Murray. Asked how he preferred to be addressed, Murray replied: "Just call me PHIL, I'm a rank and filer too."

Huge Small-Arms Plant Shutdown In St. Louis

ST. LOUIS — A complete shutdown of the world's largest small-arms plant, operated here by the U. S. Cartridge Company, will be completed by October 1, the War Department announced suddenly last week.

Following the government's usual policy, the announcement was made without any previous warning to the 16,000 workers still employed. Layoffs at this government-built plant have been under way for over two months.

It is estimated that the closing of the U. S. Cartridge plant will

result in unemployment for an additional 100,000 workers in a number of subcontracting plants.

The cutback and layoff situation in St. Louis is typical of other major cities, although the facts have been largely concealed. Layoffs already total some 45,000 in this city. Selective Service officials also expect the return of about 30,000 war veterans.

Only some 10,000 applications by employers for workers are now on hand at the U. S. Employment Service office in this city. Tens of thousands of laid-off workers are already finding it next to impossible to get new jobs.

IN THE COMING

New York Elections VOTE AGAINST:

Capitalist Hunger
Capitalist Misery
Capitalist War

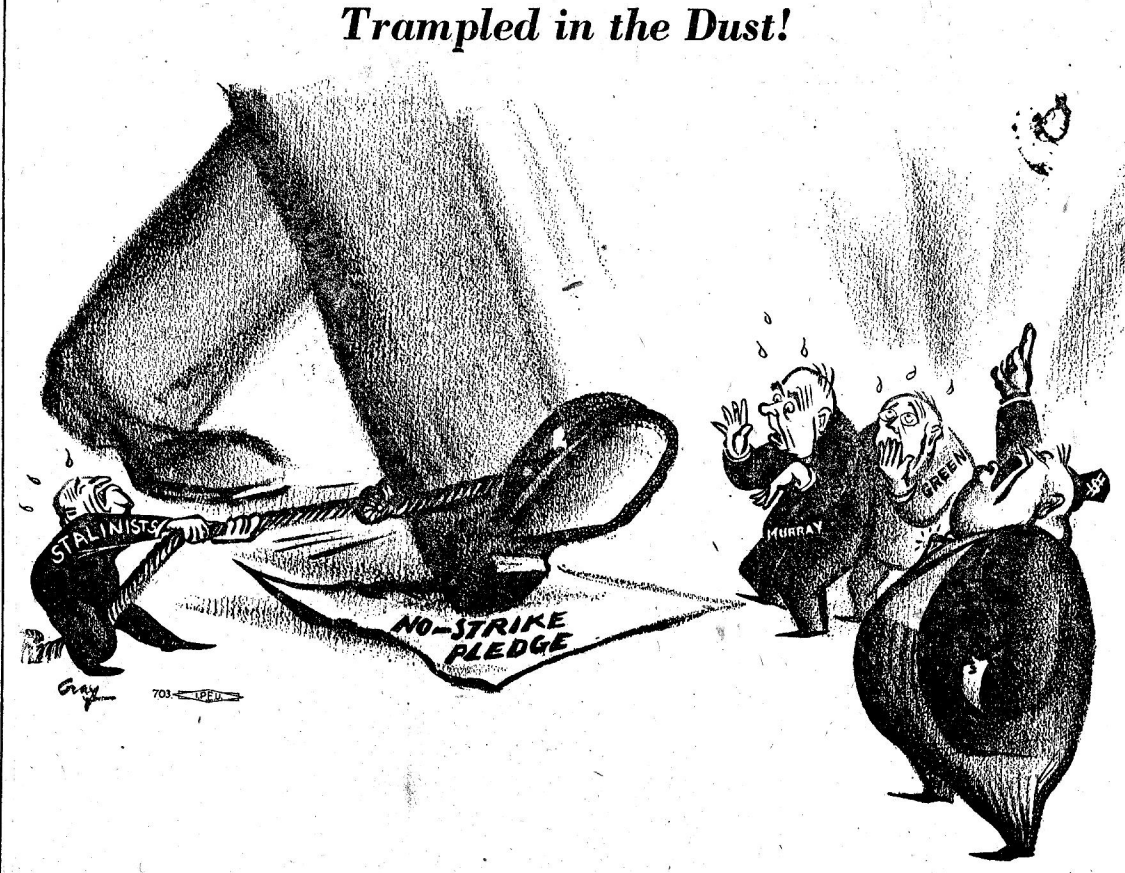
VOTE FOR:

Socialist Plenty
Socialist Prosperity
Socialist Peace
Vote for

DOBBS & SIMPSON!

Other major plants in this area where big layoffs have taken place, or are announced for the immediate future, are Standard Steel Spring, 3,500 workers; McKay-Norris plant, 6,500; Curtiss-Wright, 12,300; National Carbon, 1,300; and Amertorp Corporation, 5,500.

Like the shutdown of the huge Ford Willow Run bomber plant, the closing of the tremendous small-arms plant here dramatizes the fate in store for the workers when the war-enriched corporations and their government agents can no longer profitably employ the workers to produce instruments of death.



Reconversion - I Government Aids Profiteers; Ignores Workers' Vital Needs

By Art Preis

A post-war economic catastrophe threatens the American people. This fact is admitted on all sides. With the war still in progress, plant shutdowns, mass layoffs, drastic slashes in take-home pay, food shortages, price inflation are the themes of daily headlines. Thousands of returning veterans are unable to find jobs. Millions of wage-earners are already feeling the first blows of a new economic crisis, the foreboding of a disaster more terrible than 1929-39.

Workers like those at Willow Run, who yesterday were being handed Army-Navy "E" flags for incredible feats of production, are being ruthlessly tossed out on the streets. The plants the government built with the people's money are called "expedient" as a battleship. The workers who constructed and operated these plants—they too are regarded as "expedient."

Layoffs Spread In Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES — According to local War Manpower Commission figures, based on reports from 41 major industries, the average monthly lay-off rate in Los Angeles has risen from 6,500 workers a month in 1944 to 15,000 a month currently.

The trend, according to the Commission, has been accelerating sharply since the beginning of the year, reaching 10,000 in the month of April and climbing to the higher figure in June over a period of two months.

No hope for a change is seen, and according to the local press, most of the workers whose jobs are terminated by war contract cutbacks or cancellations are disappearing into a "phantom labor pool." This "pool" has become very obvious to local observers in the form of lengthening lines in front of the various employment agencies visible in the early hours of the morning.

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(Continued from page 1)

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Profits Guaranteed

Through the George "States Rights" Starvation Bill, passed last year, the government handed the corporations guarantees of full profits in war contracts terminations. It set up a government surplus properties disposal board, stacked with agents of Big Business, to turn over the government plants and supplies to the corporations for a song.

The federal tax laws were rigged to permit the greedy corporations to make the Second World War the greatest profit-steal in history. Despite the so-called "excess profits" tax, American corporations milked out of the sweat and toil and blood of the American workers, in the plants and in uniform, double and treble their best peacetime profits.

In 1944 alone, admitted net corporate profits were more than \$10 billion—two and half times the amount for 1939.

In five years, from 1939 through 1944, the capitalist blood-suckers raised their fluid assets from \$19 billion to \$45 billion. And the tax laws which put the bite on workers earning as little as \$9 a week, permitted the corporations through tax deductions to "buy up" government-built plants in five years.

A Hollow Mockery

While the thunder of the war for the "Four Freedoms" still roars in the Far Pacific, the slogan of "freedom from want" already rings like a hollow mockery in the ears of American labor. A million and a half aircraft workers are slated for the scrap heap by the spring of 1945. A million shipyard workers are to be laid off by the end of this year. Mass layoffs have soared by the hundreds of thousands in all the basic industries since the end of the war in Europe. Cutbacks, resulting in reduced working hours and elimination of overtime premium pay, are slicing huge chunks out of the workers' weekly wages. And returning millions from the armed forces will swell the army of job-seekers.

What has the government done—what is it planning to do—to meet the looming catastrophe that every worker and veteran can see before him?

Nothing—absolutely nothing—except pass one law after another to protect the war profits and monopoly interests of the big corporations. Yes and hike the annual pay of Congressmen, with an additional tax-exempt "expense account" of \$2,500, while workers' wages remain frozen.

Not jobs for the needy—but "relief for the greedy" has become the dominant slogan in Washington. All the talk of "post-war planning" for "60,000,000 jobs," has boiled down in action

Tax Rebates

But even this hasn't satisfied the profiteer-parasites. Congress, with the sanction of the administration, has passed an amendment to the present federal tax law, for "quick relief" to the corporations whose coffers are groaning with accumulated war loot. This will pour \$5,700,000,000 (that's billions) of tax rebates into the pockets of the Wall Street moguls in the next year.

But what about the huge war plants that are being shut down, "reconverted" into immense, idle, deserted hulks? What about the workers who are being laid off by the hundreds of thousands, and soon by the millions not to speak of the returning veterans?

"Junk" the government-built plants, say the monopolists, fearful of post-war competition. "Scrap them," echo the government agents of monopoly. And what of the workers? "Scrap them, too!" is the answer of the capitalists and their government.

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

A couple days ago, Helen told me a story that a girl friend of hers told her. I suppose you'd say it has a happy ending. Anyway, you hear much sadder stories than this nowadays.

This one is about little Rose Ahearn, who married her boy friend more than four years ago, just before he was drafted into the army.

She didn't know how she could stand it when they took him away (she told Helen, and Helen told me). It was springtime, and they had just been married. They used to walk in the park, for they were poor and didn't spend much more money than they had to. But the park was beautiful, and they were young, and their hearts were great with life and with loving.

Jim was one of those tender-hearted strong men that you read about and don't often see. On one of their walks he picked up a bird with a broken wing and carried it home to take care of it.

And then Jim went away, and little Rose Ahearn was alone "with tears in me heart," as she said to Helen, who told me. All she had was the memory of her big Jim, "him with the big strong arms like a giant and the heart of an angel." And try as she might she couldn't help thinking of her Jim lying on a muddy battlefield dead with a bullet in his fine body. She remembered him in the summer time, running and leaping into the lake, splashing the cold water on her while she stood there in the surf trying to get courage to duck herself. Would he come back with his great, athletic body, or would the muscles be torn and useless and the straight bones be twisted? Would he (oh god!) be... blind?



A STACK OF UNDELIVERED LETTERS

Then, quite suddenly, she stopped worrying. There was no Jim! For two years and more she had cried in her bed, and in the darkness of the lonely nights had seen Jim's face. For two years she had written him faithfully, even during the time that she used to read his letters with helpless anguish where he'd accuse her bitterly of not writing, and later, of not caring. Then he got a stack of her undelivered letters all at once and wrote humbly, in the clumsy way of a strong man who loves, that he was ashamed of ever thinking of her as he had.

But, as I said, soft-voiced little Rose Ahearn stopped worrying about her Jim who had been away so long. For Jim had become a memory. Love him she did; but she no longer believed in him. She stopped writing. She stopped seeing her girl friends, stopped going out to the show with her older brother on Saturday nights. For eight months little Rose Ahearn just worked, and slept, and ate enough to keep her alive. For eight whole months she just existed.

When Jim grew worried about her and sent the Red Cross to find out if she was sick or dead, she slammed the door in their faces. "I was that crazy, what with worrying about him so long and missing him like part of me," she told Helen with a blush and a little embarrassed giggle, and Helen told me.

Finally, one day, a letter came from Jim saying that he was coming home. He was going to be discharged. Little Rose put the letter down, white-faced with a sudden terror. Soon this stranger, whom she hadn't seen for four whole years, was coming home to live with her in the same house, in the same room! At night she'd be there in the dark all alone with him that had ceased to exist!

And the agony of loneliness that she had suffered when Jim went away was nothing to the agony of dread that she suffered now that Jim was coming home.

AND THEN JIM RETURNED HOME

When the day came, she sat in the house, small and pale and forlorn, expecting she knew not what. And when she heard a knock on the door ("Oh it went right through me!" she told Helen) it was all she could do to open it for her Jim, who stood there big as life, looking at her without speaking.

He said "Rosie," softly and sort of timidly, and then, "Rosie!" in a great shout of gladness. And then it was that little Rose Ahearn knew that everything was all right, just the same as it had always been. For her Jim had come home to her once again.

He wasn't much changed to see him. There wasn't a scratch on him, in spite of what he'd been through. Only some of the kindness was gone from him; and that was what worried little Rose. "I keep thinking how he brought home that bird once," she told Helen. "But he's not that way now. Last night we were out walking, and a car ran over a little dog. It made me cry." Rose Ahearn said, "but Jim, why he just looked at it and then looked away like he never saw it or it didn't matter."

And that's the story Helen passed on to me.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

JULY 13, 1935

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A report on "The Concentration of Corporate Control in American Industry" prepared by the Research and Planning Division of the NRA showed that 100 large corporations controlled well over a quarter of the general industrial wealth of the country. It rose from 23.5 percent in 1929, right through the crisis years to 26.0 percent in 1932. "The tendency toward concentration continues," the report stated.

MINNEAPOLIS—The Central Labor Union committee returned from Indianapolis with a set of written demands from Daniel J. Tobin, outlining the basis on which General Drivers Local 574 could be reinstated in the Teamsters international. The demands showed the ruthless tactics to which Tobin resorted in his desire to revenge himself upon this militant local union. The program was deliberately designed to cut the union up into small, helpless units and to strip it of its fighting power.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Franklin Delano Roosevelt threw a bone to the youth of the United States. "I have determined," said the President, "that we shall do something for the nation's unemployed youth because we can ill afford to lose the skill and energy of these young men and women." The new project proposed, in one of its four points, to provide jobs for about 150,000 youths at \$15 a month, "limited to unemployed youths in families that are certified for relief."

4,250 Signatures Gathered On Petition To Put Trotskyists On Ballot In N. Y.

The collection of signatures on petitions to put Farrell Dobbs on the ballot as Trotskyist candidate for mayor in the coming New York City elections began this week. Signatures chalked up the first five days totalled 4,250. The total required is 7,500.

July 29 is the opening date for circulation of petitions to put Louise Simpson on the ballot as the Trotskyist candidate for City Council. The total required for a councilmanic candidate is 2,000.

DOUBLE LEGAL NUMBER
"New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party intends to double the number of signatures legally required to put our candidates on the ballot," declared Caroline Kerry, manager of the campaign. "To accomplish this we are asking the aid of every voter who supports the Trotskyist platform of independent working class political action in opposition to the boss-controlled political machines of Wall Street."

Voters circulating the petitions report enthusiastic response wherever they have sought signatures. Frankie Ricco's experience is typical: "While we were out we ran into many members of the National Maritime Union. With the exception of a few Stalinists, they all signed. One man insisted upon paying us for a one-year subscription to *The Militant*, for he had read our paper at a friend's house."

Frank Lang reports: "I was collecting signatures on 125th Street when a neighborhood gang started giving me a bad time and I thought I'd have to physically protect my petitions. Lo and behold, just in the nick of time an equal number of Militant readers in Harlem strolled along and stood guard while I continued to get my petitions filled."

HARLEM MINISTER
Sylvia Stein had an interesting experience: "While collecting signatures at 116th Street and Seventh Avenue, a minister and his wife from one of the Harlem churches, signed and stopped to chat with me for a while. After a short discussion, he gave me his card and invited our candidates to speak before his congregation and collect signatures there."

Florence Hall likewise met a friendly minister: "I have the name and address of a minister in Harlem who signed my petition and invited me to speak before his congregation. He was sure that his people would not only sign our petition but would help us in our campaign."

Justine Lang "made so many good contacts while getting signatures at 116th Street and Seventh Avenue that I hardly know where to begin to report. First of all I made contact with a very fine person who insisted upon paying me for a subscrip-

But He'll 'Get Along'

Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors, complained in the *Detroit Times*, July 1, that despite his huge salary of \$460,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, "I had to borrow money to live on." He tried to claim that his "take-home pay" after taxes was "nearer \$20,000." "Nevertheless," he remarked with a grin, "We'll get along all right." Does he think GM workers are worried?

tion to *The Militant*, although I had no receipt to give him."

INTERESTED IN SWP
Harry Gold, who is directing the collection of signatures, reports that "more than 20 names and addresses of workers wanting more information about the Socialist Workers Party" were turned in.

"Next full mobilization for gathering of signatures," stated Caroline Kerry, "will be Saturday, July 14 at 6 p. m., at 116 University Place, headquarters of the election campaign. I am sure friends of *The Militant* will come down for petition blanks to help us in putting the Trotskyist candidates on the ballot." Following the mobilization, the Campaign Committee plans a social at Chelsea Workers Center, 130 West 23rd Street. Refreshments will be served.

N. Y. Trotskyist Candidates



Farrell Dobbs, editor of *The Militant* and Trotskyist candidate for mayor of New York, photographed as he confers on campaign plans with Louise Simpson, 21-year-old Trotskyist candidate for N. Y. City Council.

Worker Praises Vacation School In Opening Week

By Joe Morgan

GRASS LAKE, Mich. — This is the first week of the Midwest Vacation School. The workers and their wives have enjoyed the swimming, boating, hiking and other outdoor and indoor activities. The camp is situated on the shores of a lovely lake surrounded by groves of fruit trees and "exceeds all the adjectives in the circular," as one friend put it.

The water is so delightful that on the second morning I was here I arose before 6:30 A. M. to get a dip before breakfast. In the evening we have unbelievably beautiful sunsets. In groups of three or four we go boating on the lake, where we hear the voices of the comrades who remain at the camp raised in song. The reflected lights on the lake, the beauty of the night, the warm comradeship, all blend to make a perfect ending to a perfect day.

START WITH 37
This week there are 37 in the camp, including the administration and working staff. Socialist Workers Party branches represented include Minneapolis, St. Paul, Milwaukee, Flint, Detroit, Toledo, Akron, Buffalo and New York. Almost everyone attends classes and participates in discussions. The classes are all on interesting and vital subjects and are well presented by competent instructors. The lectures are held in large, light airy rooms in the recreation hall. Today it was so warm and sunny that we held classes outdoors under the trees.

William Warde gives classes in the first period, from 9:30 to 11:00 A. M. on historical materialism. At the same hour Mac Ingersoll gives the basic training course for the newer workers. In the second period, from 11:00 to 12:30, George Collins gives the history of the Third International, and Warren Creel gives a beginner's course in Marxist economics. On Monday afternoon, since the weather was cold, at the suggestion of the comrades, we had a discussion on party policy in the trade unions. George Collins introduced the topic with some general remarks and a lively discussion followed for about an hour and a half.

SONGS SET DOWN
After the classes, it is indeed inspiring to sit around with the comrades discussing different phases of the working-class struggle. And last evening we wound up with a songfest for entertainment. Some of our friends are setting down the words of all the working-class songs that each of us knows so that they can be collected for publication later. We plan to write a letter to the editor, urging the publication of one song a week in the *Workers' Forum* column. We are going to have a singing party!

We are most fortunate about food. Our cook is turning out dishes from fried chicken to spiced meat loaf that makes the food something to rave about, to write home about. No chef anywhere ever put better food before a man or woman than the chef we have here. Comrades take two and sometimes three helpings. With the terribly high cost of food these days, it is quite an achievement to run a camp for hungry citizens!

Workers are continuing to come from all sections of the country. We have just received word that two comrades are coming from Seattle, Washington to attend the Midwest Vacation School. I urge every worker who can scrape together \$25 and take a week away from the grind, to come to this camp and spend a week among other workers playing together for relaxation and planning together for a better world.

American Tanks Threaten Workers In Milan Strike

(Continued from page 1)

food problem and distribution of goods were also included in the program.

The representatives of the paraders did not bother to send their demands to the Italian puppet government, but presented it to the Allied Military Government which they recognize as the real power in Italy.

After Colonel Poletti of the AMG had "communicated" with the puppet government in Rome, the puppets "met and agreed" that the government would contribute its share of the emergency pay.

The order for the use of Allied tanks to intimidate the paraders originated with the American Fourth Corps. According to Bracker, "at least one high officer of the Allied Military Government privately expressed strong disapproval of the policy under which the tanks had been called."

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

by CHARLES JACKSON

Negroes and the Stalinist Movement

The Communist Political Association, present name for the organization of the American Stalinists, is holding an "open discussion" in the *Daily Worker*. Due to international complications, a new, "militant" line has been handed down like a pair of golden slippers from above. The members are now having a political frolic, kicking each other in the pants for their policy of working-class betrayal during the imperialist war.

The utter confusion within their ranks is obvious as letter after letter tries half to condemn and half to apologize for support of capitalism and "class peace" and attempts to reconcile such sell-out policies with Marxism-Leninism. One of the greatest crimes of the Stalinists was to use the prestige of the Russian Revolution to divert the energies of thousands of class-conscious militants into the blind alley of "making capitalism work."

TOLD NOT TO FIGHT
This is especially true—and tragically so—as far as the Negro Struggle is concerned. Whoever heard of a revolutionary party, supposedly dedicated to the struggles of the oppressed masses, which tells a persecuted racial minority NOT to fight for equality? That's what the Stalinists did to the Negro during this war. And some Negroes took this line for good coin because of the tremendous prestige of the Soviet Union which we all know abolished racial discrimination when it abolished capitalism.

Here is how Edna Lewis of the East Harlem Club puts it in the June 29 *Daily Worker*: "The Teheran accord did not bring liberation for the Negro people. Witness the struggle in Congress against the FEPC, and the anti-poll tax bills, while Jim-Crow conditions in the armed forces still ride high. . . ."

"On the other hand the Negro people and the workers, will not accept poverty and unemployment as their lot. They have lived through the bitter experiences of this war and they have learned a lot. They know what they want and they will fight for it if they get the proper leadership. . . ."

SHARED THE 'ERRORS'
"Our Negro comrades in the National Committee share in the responsibility for the errors. NEGRO COMMUNISTS HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO THE NEGRO PEOPLE. Our knowledge of their suffering should have kept us on guard against accepting a program of compromise to last for many generations as proposed by Earl Browder." (Emphasis ours).

Of course, in condemning Earl Browder (who publicly admitted "ignoring" Jim Crow in the armed forces) and in condemning the Negro Stalinists on the National Committee, Miss Lewis is also condemning herself, whether she realizes it or not. As a Negro, she knew such policies were false for her people all along. Why did she wait until Stalin gave the word to Duclos, and he to Foster,

(Next week: Tasks of the Negro Communists.)

WITHOUT CORRECT LEADERSHIP THE REVOLUTION CAN BE LOST

The role of the subjective factor in a period of slow, organic development can remain quite a subordinate one. Then diverse proverbs of gradualism arise, as: "slow but sure," and "one must not kick against the pricks," and so forth, which epitomize all the tactical wisdom of an organic epoch that abhorred "leaping over stages." But as soon as the objective prerequisites have matured, the key to the whole historical process passes into the hands of the subjective factor, that is, the party.

Opportunism which consciously or unconsciously thrives upon the inspiration of the past epoch, always tends to underestimate the role of the subjective factor, that is, the importance of the party and of revolutionary leadership. All of this was fully disclosed during the discussions on the lessons of the German October, on the Anglo-Russian Committee, and on the Chinese revolution.

In all these cases, as well as in others of lesser importance, the opportunistic tendency evinced itself in the adoption of a course that relied solely upon the "masses" and therefore completely scorned the question of the "tops" of the revolutionary leadership. Such an attitude, which is false in general, operates with positively fatal effect in the imperialist epoch.

The October Revolution was the result of a particular relation of class forces in Russia and in the whole world and their particular development in the process of the imperialist war. This general proposition is ABC to a Marxist. Nevertheless, there is no contra-

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

Grace Carlson's Tour Greeted With Enthusiasm In 3 Cities

AKRON—Grace Carlson spoke on "Women in Prison" before an enthusiastic audience of forty—almost all of them rubber workers—Thursday, July 5. The great militant strike of the rubber workers reflected itself in the spirited atmosphere of the meeting. Grace Carlson's expression of our solidarity with all the layers of oppressed and persecuted humanity brought forth a deep response from the listeners, many of them workers from the South.

During the question period one of the Militant readers attending his first meeting paid a glowing tribute to Comrade Carlson. He said "I wish that every worker in Akron could have been here. . . . I wish we could have filled the Armory."

Despite the fact that many of those attending the meeting had been participating in the Akron strikes, a collection of \$26.00 was taken. One worker signed an application card for membership and many present expressed their interest in participating in the activities of the Socialist Workers Party.

Buffalo Audience Hears Grace Carlson

BUFFALO, N. Y.—Fifty workers attended a meeting here July 2 under the auspices of the Militant Forum, to hear Grace Carlson speak on "Women in Prison." Relating her experiences in the Women's Penitentiary at Alderson, West Virginia and dealing with the social causes of crime among women, Comrade Carlson held the close attention of the audience, which followed with evident interest and appreciation her account of prison conditions. She told about the Jim Crow set-up in prison, which followed in every detail the general pattern of the South. Grace concluded her speech on the note that Socialism would put an end to the conditions that deprive the great majority of workers of the right to a decent life.

The question and discussion period was a lengthy one, reflecting the real interest of the audience in this subject. They enjoyed tremendously Comrade Carlson's interesting and human approach, and many remarks made after the meeting bore this out.

The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution giving full support to William Patterson, Pennsylvania miner now in prison as the first victim of the vicious Smith-Connelly Act.

A collection of over \$25 was taken to assist Comrade Carlson to continue her tour. The chairman of the meeting was Bill Gray, Western New York organizer of the Socialist Workers Party.



GRACE CARLSON

I wish that I had the time and space to tell of all the conversations I had with rubber workers before and after last night's meeting. What a magnificent spirit they show!

Most inspiring of all was the evidence of close solidarity between white and colored trade unionists. This is even more encouraging when one recalls that most of the workers in the Akron rubber plants came here from the South only a few years ago. There's nothing like fighting together against a common enemy to break down race prejudice!

Carlson Addresses Rochester Meeting

ROCHESTER, N. Y. — Speaking to an interested audience under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party, Grace Carlson made a very informative speech on "Women in Prison" on the evening of June 30. She laid bare the economic causes responsible for many women becoming inmates of penal institutions in this country.

From her own experience in the Women's Federal Penitentiary at Alderson, West Virginia, Grace Carlson was able to give an authentic picture of the prison system which punishes its inmates for "crimes" for which the capitalist system is responsible.

The collection of over \$20 was a testimonial to the interest of the audience in the subject and their desire to aid in the fight against the Smith "Gag" Act (under which Grace Carlson was imprisoned) and to enable her to continue her tour.

Pioneer Notes

The publication in serial form in *The Militant* of James P. Cannon's *History of American Trotskyism* is meeting a real need, as the following letter testifies. The letter is from a new comrade in Detroit who is now attending the Midwest Vacation School in Grass Lake, Michigan. The wife of an auto worker who is an examiner from Harlan, Kentucky, she writes:

"And now I'm reading every week the installments of Cannon's *History of American Trotskyism*. I've wanted to read it for some time in order to learn about the background of the party, but I never had the time. It was all taken up with the children and the household, and then when my husband came home from work, there wasn't time to pick up and read a whole book. But now I read the serial every week and am really learning about the party. I plan now to do more arrangements so that I can dig around for the party."

A reader in Boston who has read the whole book writes enthusiastically:

"After reading *The History of American Trotskyism* I realized that the Socialist Worker Party is the only workers' party in this country worthy of the name. Frankly, the book thrilled me from the start to finish, as the life story of the movement. For me the story began with Cannon's trip to Moscow and his reading of the suppressed document — the document that, I should think, has the power to guide the world's gigantic masses to victory. (The reference here is to Leon Trotsky's criticism of the draft program of the Communist International, published by Pioneer Publishers under the title *The Third International After Lenin*.) Then the return journey, the break with the false party, the battle for existence against physical violence and moral isolation, the battle during the "lonely years," the entrance and exit (I refer to the Socialist Party) with the Program still intact. I realize fully that such a struggle could only be conducted by men who are battling in the interests of all the inhabitants of the earth. Again I say that I am sorry I did not know of all this while it was taking place."

The *History of American Trotskyism* by James P. Cannon. Clothbound \$2.75, paperbound \$2. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 8, N. Y.

SWP BRANCH ACTIVITIES

LOS ANGELES — The Socialist Youth Club will hold a forum Thursday, July 26 on "A History of Germany: 1918-1945" with Charles Fredericks as speaker. Forum opens at 8:30 p. m. at 232 S. Hill St., Rooms 200-205. Admission free.

California readers can obtain copies of *The Militant* and *Fourth International* and other Marxist books and pamphlets as well as information about the SWP at the following places in the Los Angeles area: LOS ANGELES, Socialist Workers Party, Rooms 200-05, 232 S. Hill St.; SOUTHGATE, Labor Book Shop, 8026 Seville Ave.; SAN PEDRO, Socialist Workers Party, 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214. For additional information phone VA-7984.

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 Laveda Hot 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.

MILWAUKEE — Hear Grace Carlson speak on "Women in

Prison", Tuesday, July 17, 8 P.M. at Pfister Hotel. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party.

Visit the Milwaukee Branch of the Socialist Workers Party at its headquarters, 926 Plankinton Ave., Room 21, any evening between 7 and 9:30 p. m.

NEW YORK — A mobilization of members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party for the gathering of signatures on election petitions, will be held Saturday, July 14th, 6 p. m., at 116 University Place. A social gathering will be held afterwards at Chelsea Workers Center, 130 West 23rd St., top floor.

On Sunday, July 15 there will be a beach party to gather petition signatures, at Bay 8, Brighton Beach. Take BMT Brighton train to Ocean Parkway, and meet at the Bay 8 sign. Petition materials will be provided.

Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidate for City Council, will address the Trotskyist Youth Forum at the Chelsea Workers Center, 130 West 23 St., on Wednesday, July 18, at 8 p.m. She will discuss "The Fight for the FEPC."

PORTLAND, ORE. — Sammy's Shine and Smoke Shop, 240 N. Broadway, Portland, Ore. now carries *The Militant*. Phone Murdock 1064.

MAKE YOUR RESERVATIONS NOW!
Mid-West Vacation School
GRASS LAKES, MICH.
from July 1 to August 31
West Coast Vacation School
from September 1 to September 15

EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA
MILITANT Readers' PICNIC
SUN., AUG. 5 - ALL DAY FROM 11 A. M.
at HOWARD STUMP FARM - 3 Mi. S. of Quakertown on Philadelphia Pike No. 309—3 Squares from "LIBERTY BELL" Stop 84 - Follow Signs.
Main Speaker: Art Preis
Associate Editor of *The Militant*
Joint Auspices ALLENTOWN - QUAKERSTOWN S.W.P. READING & PHILA. BRANCHES
— Games & Prizes —
ADMISSION FREE - LUNCHES Adults 50c, Children 25c

LOS ANGELES
SOCIALIST YOUTH CLUB FORUM
July 26
Topic:
"A History of Germany — 1918 to 1945"
Speaker: C. FREDERICKS
232 S. Hill St., Rooms 200-202
8:30 p. m.
Discussion Refreshments

Worker On Strike Describes Vile Conditions Provoking Newspaper Delivery Stoppage In New York City

By Evelyn Atwood

NEW YORK, July 6 — Several pickets were walking slowly and with dignity up and down before the Times Annex building on West 43rd Street. In other parts of the city more pickets were walking up and down before offices of 13 other metropolitan morning and evening papers. Inside the buildings the thundering presses poured out their daily stream of capitalist news. But for seven days now the news has been backed up at its source.

The powerful press propaganda voice of the American ruling class has been muffled for 13 million New York readers by 1,700 striking workers of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union, unaffiliated, who are demanding their rights. The union is fighting for reduced hours, time and a half pay for holidays, two-week vacations with pay, a three per cent bonus for a union welfare and unemployment fund, sick leave pay and severance pay.

WORKER'S CASE

Harry Cantor, 107 Hampton Ave., Brooklyn, one of the union men on the street, greeted me kindly. "I work for the N. Y. Times delivery department," he introduced himself. He was a stocky man of middle age. The day was hot and sticky and he looked tired. "Let's go into the cafeteria," he suggested. There, over iced coffee, he told me his story.



HARRY CANTOR

"I was practically brought up in this business," began Cantor. "For 26 years I have worked for the N. Y. Times and never had a vacation. Last year for the first time I got one week. They now give one week to men 25 years or more in their service."

Through the window we could see the Times Annex building. "I watched that building go up brick by brick," he remarked. "That was during the last war. I was away in Europe for over a year then, serving on an ammunition train with the 6th Division—the one that is now in the Pacific. I saw action on three fronts. After a moment's pause he added: "My son is 20 now, but he was rejected by the army because of his health."

BAD CONDITIONS

Suddenly he turned toward me and said with indignation: "The big industrialists are out to get your flesh and blood for their profits! You should come down some time on a Saturday night and see the horrible conditions we have to work under. Do you know, at least 70 percent of the men are crippled by this work. More than half of them get ruptures and other internal disorders." His anger flared higher.

"Those are powerful and speedy presses," he declared. "They turn out almost 50,000 papers an hour. And we have to keep up with that speed. We have to pick up the

papers as fast as they come off the press and put them on tables where we tie them up in bundles. And it's all on a split-second schedule. We have to keep up with the presses and we have to hurry to meet the train schedules. That's why there are so many casualties. "Men get ruptured from the heavy bundles and the speedy work. Sometimes you will pick up a Times with some blood spattered on it. That's because the man who hurt himself doesn't even have time to go and get bandaged. It's a terrible, nerve-wracking business. The men are driven something awful.

A HELL HOLE

"And you should see the room where we work—low ceilings and no ventilation whatsoever. They say there's a blower system but you wouldn't know it from the way we steam and sweat. In the Daily News building they call it the 'foundry,' but we call ours the 'hell hole.'"

At this point Cantor said with sarcasm: "I would like to see Mrs. Sulzberger, the wife of the owner, who is such a big-shot charity lady in the Society pages, come down here on a Saturday night and see what goes on! I would like to hear what she has to say about our conditions!"

The strike vote, Cantor told me, was taken by the union Friday at the Hotel Diplomat. The Times, anxious to get the Sunday paper delivered before the old contract with the union expired, on Sunday noon, ordered all the Friday night

workers to report early on Saturday. "But our union officers told us all to assemble at Bryant Park before we went to work," said Cantor. "There they told us 'Call up and say you are sick.' We wanted to kill the distribution of the Sunday paper . . . and we did!" he related with triumph.

BOSSSES BURNED UP

"That's what burns them up," Cantor remarked with satisfaction. "That a small union like us has got the whole works tied up. You know, not even the news companies in the different parts of the city can get the papers for distribution. Our union has a separate contract with them which is not involved in this strike with the publicists. But their workers won't cross our picket lines so we have the whole city tied up."

Cantor recalled their strike of three years ago which lasted three days before the War Labor Board forced them back to work. "The news companies didn't want to pay the men who had nothing to do because they wouldn't cross our picket lines to get the papers. So they tried to lay off some of the men. Immediately all these men went out on strike, too! So this time they don't dare to try that again."

NO BIG MONEY

All the men are thoroughly incensed at the runaround given them by the Publishers Association, negotiating body for all 14 newspapers. "They tried to duck by throwing the case into the War Labor Board. But we say the WLB has got nothing to do with it. They never do anything anyway, except stall. Besides we have a right to strike. The owners have been chopping down our little gains every year, more and more. And it's the same with all the other newspapers, probably even worse.

"They try to tell the people that we are getting big money with overtime, but that's a lie. I'm a day man and I don't get any overtime. My take-home pay is around \$45 a week, after deductions. Do you think that's so much? Some of the men have big families to feed. What's behind it all is they're afraid to grant the least concession because it might set a precedent for the whole industry. But it's time to call a halt to their chopping us down."

As we left the cafeteria, Cantor concluded: "The men are determined to stick it out. They have driven us too hard and it's finally got under our skins. We're going to get our rights. The general public has no idea what it's all about, and that's why I am glad you are going to publish our story."

Los Angeles Trotskyists Call For Struggle Against Fascists

LOS ANGELES, Cal. — Recognizing the significance of Gerald L. K. Smith's campaign to establish a base for his fascist organization in Los Angeles, the Socialist Workers Party, Los Angeles Local, has sounded an alarm to the labor movement and to outstanding organizations.

Myra Tanner Weiss, organizer of the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party sent communications to the AFL Council, the CIO Council, the Citizens Emergency Committee (of the Negro Council), the Jewish Labor Committee and the Anti-Defamation League, calling upon these labor and minority groups to form a united front to stop the growth of fascist movements in Los Angeles, and pledging the support of the Socialist Workers Party to such a united front.

We invite you to discuss with us the possibilities of joint action in fighting the local fascist movement.

UNITED FRONT

In addition the following letter was sent to the local Communist Political Association: N. Sparks, President, Los Angeles County Committee, Communist Political Association Dear Mr. Sparks:

Fascists plan a public meeting in Los Angeles, Monday,

Fascist Demagogue



GERALD L. K. SMITH

June 5, for Gerald L. K. Smith. They boast of their intention of establishing national headquarters in Los Angeles and are clearly planning a concentration point here.

This is a direct threat and challenge to all working class organizations. Immediate formation of a united front of action of all labor and minority group organizations is necessary to stop this fascist movement before it establishes a base in Los Angeles.

Owing to the pressure of the labor movement, Smith has been denied the use of public auditoriums in San Francisco. In Los

Angeles, the only pressure exerted against Smith came from liberal organizations who offered nothing more than verbal protestations. The labor movement has taken no official action.

The CIO has commented on Smith's meetings in the Labor Herald, official California CIO newspaper, without, however, calling for or announcing plans to counteract Smith's proclamation of the establishment of his headquarters in Los Angeles.

The local Stalinist press, the daily People's World has followed the pattern of liberalism in "answering" the fascist campaign. The June 26 issue lately reprints a protest by a local Jewish leader against renting the local Philharmonic Auditorium to Smith, and carries an announcement headed "Southland to answer Gerald L. K. Smith," which reads: "Just two days after Gerald L. K. Smith delivers his hate harangue in the Philharmonic, a program based on the needs of the American people to hold together in close unity will be held in the same place.

"It is the American Caravan program sponsored by the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. There will be music and there will be drama.

"Fuehrer Smith is busy slandering the creative artists of Hollywood. They are answering him by sketching in... the perspective for a fully democratic America."

Nowhere does the People's World characterize Smith's movement as a force seeking to destroy the labor movement.

Smith has held three large meetings in the downtown Los

See Editorial

"Halt the Fascists!"

Page 8

Los Angeles area, all of them closed to the public, with admittance by presentation of printed admission cards. At his most recent meeting, held in the Ham and Eggs hall, he announced his intention of calling an open meeting in Los Angeles within the very near future.

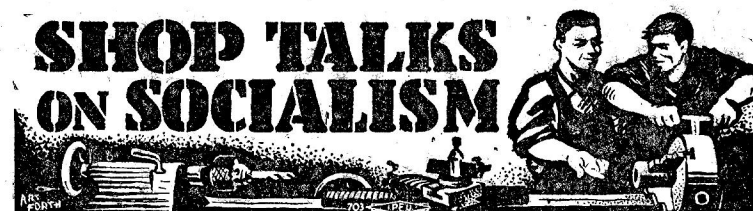
Willis Allen, leader of the defunct Ham and Eggs movement is prominently associated with Smith's movement, appearing as a speaker at the Philharmonic Auditorium meeting and providing the use of the Ham and Eggs Hall for his meetings.

The support which Smith has received from such sources has been reflected in the composition of his audience, and the character of his meetings. For the most part he has attracted the aged, clearly representing the membership of the Ham and Eggs movement, and religious elements. His main attack has been consistently directed against communism, which he identifies with fascism, as a brand of totalitarianism.

At a meeting in the Ham and Eggs hall, he launched a vitriolic attack against the Jews, labelling them as the "international bankers who are our real enemy." He piled accusation upon accusation against the Jews, blaming them for everything from OPA violations and high interest rates to the "use by the U. S. army of American butter as axle grease in France."

In addition to spreading his anti-Semitic poison, Smith took a crack at the Negro people. "I'm opposed to racial discrimination, but I will not stand for intermarriage."

Indicating how he intends to mobilize reactionary sentiment to divide the working class, he stated his opposition to job-holding by aliens while American citizens are unemployed. This is directed against the hundreds of thousands of Mexican workers in Southern California, many of whom immigrated during the war.



By V. Grey

"War? Why do you have wars? I'll tell you why. "There, look at them two dogs. Look at 'em fight!—Now that's just like people—just like whole countries in fact. Just naturally have to get it out of their system, see? So that's war for you. The people of this world are too pugnacious—that's all."

Scissorsbill Sam (the bosses' man) was holding forth on his vest-pocket soap box in Lingel's bar while us fellows watched a dog fight out the window. We all had heard that argument before and didn't have enough energy to turn around and answer it anyway. And besides we had a few bets laid and we wanted to see which dog would win the fight.

Bernard Shaw Had Same Idea

Well, that word "pugnacious" kind of rang a bell in the back of my head and reminded me of a newspaper story I read a long time ago by a long-bearded old goat named George Bernard Shaw. It was at the beginning of this war. And he said it was all caused by "pugnacity"—"sheer pugnacity" in fact.

Well, you never can tell, I thought at the time. There certainly must be a lot of pugnacious people in the world, and I suppose, taken all together they could really cook up a lot of trouble.

I sort of figured that these pugnacious people in Germany and the other hell raisers in England, U. S., Japan etc. would all march out on the battlefield and put on a real show, something to put the amateur soldier to shame.

And sure enough, the newspapers started in to tell how some of these guys were so crazy about fighting that they just loved to get themselves killed in suicide battles, and all that. But that was mainly Germans and Japanese. We Americans liked to live and weren't so pugnacious about getting our heads blown off. We weren't "fanatical," like the Japanese, for instance.

But after a while when so many Americans were cashing in, too, I thought maybe the Japanese papers would say we're pugnacious and fanatical, too. Maybe they wouldn't understand that when you're in a battle everybody has to fight.

Ordinary Mortals Who Were Scared

Then, too, the papers began talking about captured German and Japanese soldiers who looked like a pretty sorry lot—not "supermen" at all, but just ordinary guys that were scared . . . sort of like I would be if I was captured. Well gee, I thought to myself, how did these fellows get into the war at all? They haven't got so much pugnacity. It doesn't look like they're so very anxious to get their heads blown off—not any more than I am.

Why didn't the German or Japanese recruiting officer say, "Now you can't get into this war unless you've got plenty of pugnacity. We won't let you fight unless you swear to send all American soldiers to Hell, even at the cost of your own life." That's the way you'd run a war that had real PUGNACITY in it.

But how could the recruiting sergeants say that anywhere—including America—when the great majority were drafted into the armies of the world to fight for their bosses? I guess maybe the Japanese army doctor didn't ask the draftee if he was pugnacious any more than the American army doctor did.

But you certainly would think that the Japanese workers would be so pugnacious and fanatical they wouldn't want to be drafted at all. You'd think they'd just rush over to the recruiting office and enlist so they could get into a "suicide bombing" or something. At least that's what you'd think if you believed all you read in the papers. And especially that's what you'd think if you believe that war is caused by the pugnacity of masses of working people in different countries who are just aching to get at one another's throats.

It's the Big Shots Who Are Pugnacious

But maybe that isn't what George Bernard Shaw and Scissorsbill Sam (the bosses' man) were talking about. Maybe they meant the pugnacity of the big shots, the representatives of the capitalist class who conduct the war. Take the big generals. Remember when General Montgomery captured General Von Thoma in North Africa? They had tea together in front of Montgomery's tent.

Take General Patton. There's real pugnacity for you! He was sorry there was so much of the world under water so he couldn't bomb hell out of it. But his only physical encounter that I've read about was when he slapped the face of a shell-shocked American soldier!

Well, take the big corporations who are behind the generals and the governments, too. Surely their boys are pugnacious! Sure, they meet at Switzerland in the International Bank. Thomas McKittrick, the American president and the Schroeder Bank people of Germany and England get together, have a cocktail and declare a dividend. That takes a lot of pugnacity too, don't you think?

Anyhow I looked out the window as the dog fight was winding up, one dog going away with his tail between his legs, and the other limping around wondering if he was the winner or not. And I thought to myself, if there's one thing that's NOT the cause of capitalist war it's pugnacity.

8,000 Auto Workers Strike At Mack Plants

By Paul Mason

ALLENTOWN, Pa., July 8 — Over 8,000 Mack Truck workers, in the New Brunswick, N. J., Plainfield, N. J. and Allentown, Pa. plants, are entering today the third week of their strike. The strike began on June 25 in New Brunswick, and spread a few days later to the other plants. The issue involved is again one of company union-busting attempts, and once more the workers, members of the CIO United Automobile Workers, have taken active steps to circumvent this.

The immediate point of contention is caused by cutbacks in production, due to government contracts cancellations. As a result, mass layoffs have begun. The old union contract, which expired last January but was extended by the WLB, provides for layoffs on a departmental basis. However, the new contract, in the process of negotiation for a full year due to company stalling, provides for plant-wide seniority, and layoffs on that basis.

Several months ago, an agreement was made between the union and the company to lay men off on a plant-wide basis, in accordance with the provisions of the new contract. This part of the new contract had already been agreed upon by the company, since the contracts of the other plants already have such provisions. But, as usual, when the layoffs came, the company refused to abide by the agreement to which it was a part, and promptly proceeded to lay off workers on a departmental basis. The union protested vehemently but in vain. The workers then resorted to their most effective weapon, the strike. The Plainfield and Allentown workers, realizing the need for unity and solidarity today more than ever before, followed suit a few days later.

The workers at all four plants have taken a very militant stand against all efforts to drive them back to work. Several back-to-work pleas from the Regional War Labor Board have been rejected by the New Brunswick workers. On July 7 the National WLB ordered strikers of all four plants back to work immediately, stating it would refuse to consider the case until full production was resumed.

Nevertheless, the New Brunswick workers voted overwhelmingly to stay on strike until a full settlement was reached. At a meeting held this afternoon in Allentown, the strikers at the Allentown plant voted UNANIMOUSLY to remain out in sympathy with New Brunswick. The meeting lasted only fifteen minutes, and loud cheers greeted the decision.

NEGRO-HATING CONGRESSMEN WAVE FLAG IN CAMPAIGN TO KILL FEPC

The Negro-hating Southern Bourbon Congressmen are fighting tooth and nail to kill the Fair Employment Practices Committee. Their latest tactic is to pose as super-patriots. They accuse those favoring FEPC of "willingness to imperil a part of the war program in their insistent demands."

The FEPC was originally a sop tossed by Roosevelt to sincere believers in democracy who opposed racial discrimination in employment. Roosevelt designed it to head off the militancy of the colored people. He feared they might carry out their threat to march on Washington.

FEEBLE MEASURE

In practice, FEPC was almost wholly ineffective, for it could not impose penalties on hard-bitten reactionary bosses who flouted its decisions. FEPC could not even thoroughly investigate the widespread evil of Jim Crow, for its funds were stringently limited. It was scorned by employers everywhere.

Yet even this demagogic gesture against discrimination rankled with the decayed aristocracy of the South. These degenerate scions of the old slave-holders and dealers in human flesh believe in segregation, discrimination and lynching as part of their "democratic" rights. When FEPC, along with other agencies created by Roosevelt, came up in Congress for continuance this year, these champions of "democracy" began a filibuster.

The proposed appropriation for

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FEPC was only \$599,000 — a drop compared to the torrent of billions pouring into the war machine. But to block this small appropriation, the Southern Bourbons risked other appropriations amounting to \$618,000,000 for agencies covered by the same bill.

The Southern champions of the lynch rope, who try to make out they represent the people, spewed their poisonous filth against the FEPC on the floor of Congress. Their first tactic was to follow the time-honored custom of Southern chivalry whenever equality is discussed — venomously slandering colored people as born "rapists," etc. etc. Their disgusting ravings on this subject have no interest save for mental specialists investigating the fouler types of insanity.

POISONOUS FILTH

But the Senate supporters of FEPC retreated like snivelling cowards before this offensive torrent of incoherent, lying abuse and agreed to slash the appropriation to \$250,000!

In the House, the spokesmen of lynch law scented blood. When the bill reached them, they threw out FEPC altogether.

KLEMENT, 1938 VICTIM OF STALINIST KILLER

In Paris seven years ago, on July 12, 1938, Stalin's secret police, the GPU, kidnapped a relatively unknown young man of 28. Two months later his mutilated body was found floating in the river Seine. The young man was Rudolf Klement. The GPU had placed him high on their murder list, for he was secretary of the bureau of the Fourth International and a trusted collaborator of Leon Trotsky.



RUDOLF KLEMENT

There may have been another pressing reason for his murder. In the summer of 1938 a mysterious person named "Jason" had established intimate association in Paris with a member of Trotsky's organization. "Jason" through this association was to gain access to Trotsky's household in 1940 in Coyoacan, Mexico. "Jason" was the GPU killer who sank a pick-axe in the brain of the great revolutionary leader.

WHY HE WAS KILLED

Did Klement by chance learn the real identity of "Jason" in July 1938? It was Trotsky's opinion that Klement had stumbled across some information of utmost importance concerning the GPU. The identity of a provocateur — perhaps proof that the GPU murdered Leon Sedov or proof that the GPU was preparing the assassination of Trotsky.

In the letter of confession, written by "Jason" before he murdered Trotsky and found on him by the police afterward, the assassin claimed: "At this time (1938) I became acquainted with a member of the bureau of the Fourth International. . ."

Klement had devoted many years to the struggle for revolutionary socialism. He joined the movement as a youth in Hamburg. During Leon Trotsky's exile in Turkey from 1929 to 1934, Klement served as his secretary. An able linguist, he translated many of Trotsky's writings into German. Unable to return to Germany after the rise of Hitler, he became a political refugee in France, devoting all his energies to building the Fourth International.

In the summer of 1938 the First World Congress of the Fourth International was scheduled to be held "somewhere" in Europe. Klement had an important role in its organization. Some time before the Congress, he discovered he was being trailed. Five days before his kidnapping, a portfolio containing important documents was stolen from him.

HAND OF GPU

Two days after he disappeared, the GPU disclosed its hand. On July 15, one of the leaders of the International Workers Party (the French Trotskyist group) received a carbon copy of a letter ostensibly sent by Klement to Leon Trotsky in Mexico. This letter bore the postmark of Perpignan, a small town near the Spanish border. It was an obvious GPU product. It declared Klement had left the Fourth International because it was "impotent." It accused the Fourth International of "objective collaboration with the fascists." It was typewritten in German, as was the signature "Rudolf Klement," which in turn was counter-signed with a pen

name formerly used by Klement — an entirely unprecedented procedure on his part. The handwritten original had been sent to Trotsky and bore a different pen name! Handwriting experts declared the letter a forgery.

The phrasing of this letter was remarkably similar to that in the letter found two years later on "Jason."

In 1937 and 1938, determined to behead and crush the Trotskyist movement, Stalin struck many blows at its ranks. Erwin Wolfe, a former secretary of Trotsky, was kidnapped and murdered in Barcelona. Another victim was Hans Freund, one of the movement's most active figures in the early months of the Spanish Civil War. In September 1937 Ignace Reiss, one of the former heads of the GPU who had broken with Stalinism and joined the Fourth International, was machine-gunned to death in Switzerland. Before his death he revealed that several attempts had been made on the lives of Leon Trotsky and his son, Sedov. On February 16, 1938, Leon Sedov died mysteriously in a Paris hospital after an operation. The circumstances left little doubt that the GPU had succeeded in murdering him.

DEATH WAS SYMBOLIC

To the Trotskyists, the death of Klement was more than a blow depriving the working class of a devoted revolutionary leader on the eve of great events. Shortly before his death, Trotsky wrote, "the assassination of Klement, because he was the secretary of the Fourth International, is of profound symbolic significance. Through its Stalinist gangsters, imperialism indicates beforehand from what side mortal danger will threaten it in time of war. . . At present, sections of the Fourth International exist in thirty countries. True, they are only the vanguard of the vanguard. But if today, prior to the war, we had mass revolutionary organizations, then revolution and not war would be on the order of the day."

As we pay homage to the martyred Rudolf Klement, slain in the battle for a socialist world, we know that the day of avenging his death is not far off. His work will reach fruition in the triumph of the Socialist revolution.

New York Mass Meeting

JAMES P. CANNON

National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

on

"THE DOWNFALL OF BROWDER"

The real meaning of the latest shift in the tactical line of the Stalinists

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3, 8 P. M.

WEBSTER HALL, 119 E. 11 Street

Added speakers: Farrell Dobbs - Louise Simpson

How The Masses Destroyed The Bastille In Great French Revolution Of 1789-93

By Joseph Hansen

The storming of the Bastille on July 14, 1789 was one of the most dramatic happenings in the great French Revolution which sounded the death-knell of feudalism in Europe. It has entered into history as a symbol of the destruction of a decayed social order by the forces of a new society in birth and as such is an important date on the revolutionary calendar.

Overlooking the river Seine in Paris, this grim, gloomy fortress for centuries had served as a prison under the feudal regime. Its prisoners were divided into two categories: those thrown into its damp underground cells and torture chambers through *lettres de cachet*, and those accused or suspected of political opposition to the regime or of criticism of members of the ruling class.

The *lettres de cachet* (warrants of arrest) were often merely signed blanks given by the authorities to their class friends and hangers-on. All the holders had to do was fill in the names of persons they wanted "put away" and the authorities did the rest.

MEN ROTTED AWAY

Prisoners of all types, political and otherwise, were kept in the Bastille for decades, awaiting trial. Thousands died in the foul fortress. Men were incarcerated in their youth and kept there, frequently chained to the dank dungeon walls, until they were old and grey.

Thus, when the French Revolution burst upon the decadent feudal order, the people concentrated their first attack against the Bastille as the outstanding symbol of the cruel oppression of the monarchy and feudal nobility.

On the night of July 13 seven shots were fired at the massive walls of the forbidding fortress-dungeon. The fortress governor, the Marquis de Launay, trembled in his shoes behind the raised drawbridges and "retired into his interior" stronghold.

ANGRY MASSES

Throughout the morning of July 14 the cry echoed throughout Paris: "TO THE BASTILLE!" A mass of angry humanity surged through the streets to surround the Bastille like a turbulent sea. Troops atop the battlements fired their muskets into the swelling crowd. With their dying breath the people who were struck down

made their friends swear not to give up until the hated prison was torn down. A cannon loaded with grapeshot was fired over the crowd but the only effect was to increase the shouts of rage and cries for vengeance.

Daring workmen clambered up the stone walls until they reached the massive chains holding up the outer drawbridge. They smashed the chains and the great bridge dropped with a crash. The masses streamed across the bridge into the courtyard of the fortress. They were greeted with a hail of musket fire. Finally, by a stratagem, the revolutionary crowd succeeded in penetrating to the inner stronghold.

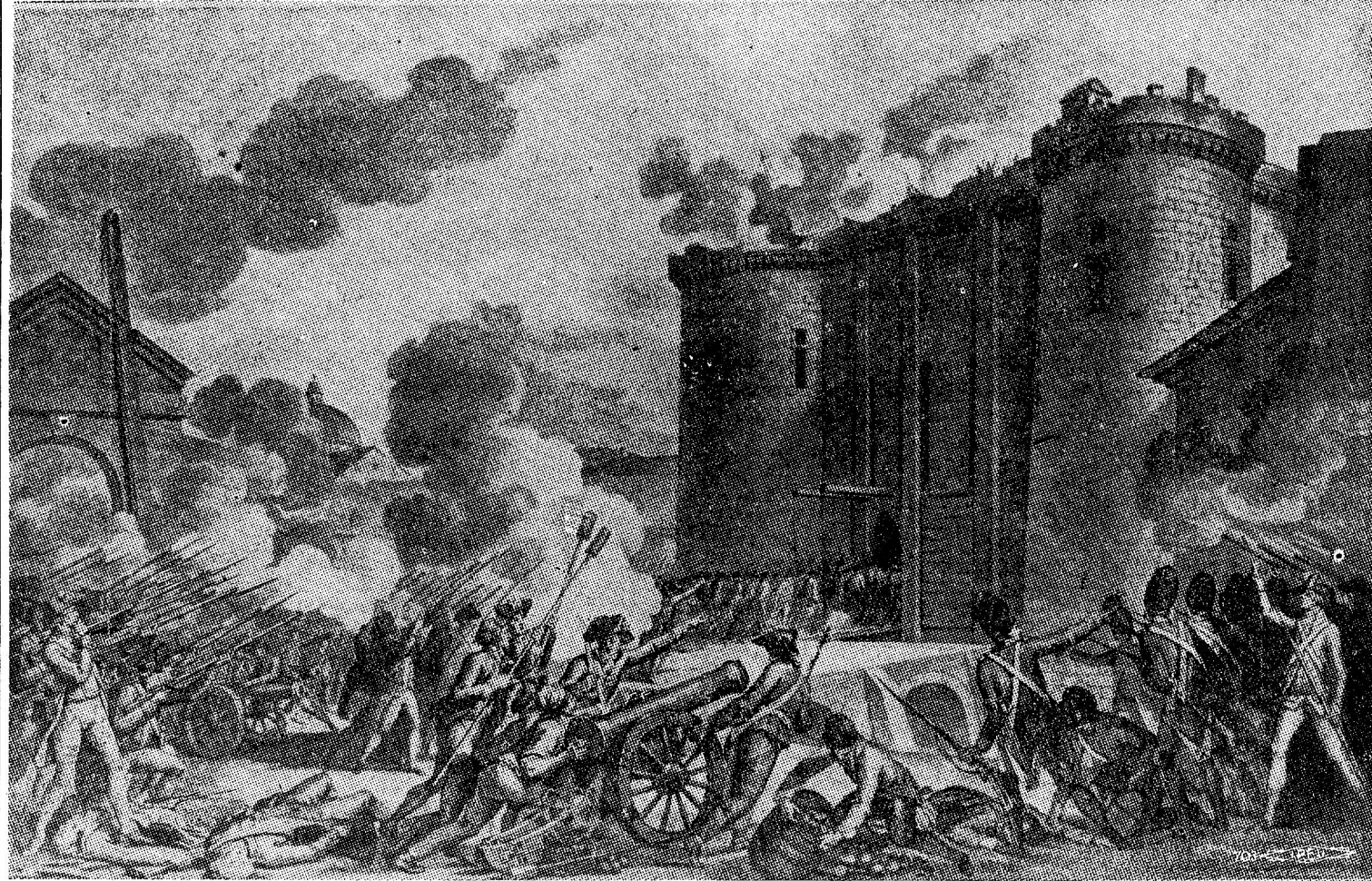
RAZED TO GROUND

With a roar of triumph they sought out the prisoners, cast off their shackles, and paraded them through the streets in joyous procession. The defenders of the Bastille met the fate they so richly deserved. Revolutionists pored over the prison archives and the long-kept secrets of a reactionary regime were published in the press of the revolution.

Then the masses attacked the Bastille itself with axe and crowbar. They did not stop until the entire infamous structure was razed to the ground.

The revolution begun in 1789 was a bourgeois revolution. It was organized and led by the new capitalist class, with the support of the poor and oppressed of town and country. It marked the beginning of the end of feudal society. With fire and sword the rising capitalist class removed the dead weight of feudalism from the growing productive forces and cleared a path for the tremendous further development of European economy.

Today, the capitalist system has grown senile. Its early progressive social role has long been outlived. Now, like the feudal system in 1789, it stands athwart the path of economic and social progress. Capitalism came to birth in the womb of feudal society. Likewise, capitalist society has prepared the basis for a new social order — socialism. When the working class destroys capitalism, civilization will take another great leap forward.



Contemporary drawing depicting the storming of the Bastille in the Great French Revolution. The artist idealized the scene by showing the ragged masses in regular uniforms.

Engraving by Helman from original by Monnet.

Trotskyists Active In Ireland

The Irish Trotskyists have been active in the British general elections. Organized in the Revolutionary Socialist Party, Irish section of the Fourth International, they gave critical support to the Labor Party candidates in North Ireland. The Irish Trotskyists did not run their own candidates because, according to their election leaflet, "our party is still new and lacks financial strength."

Analyzing the situation facing the Irish workers, the RSP declared: "The Ministry of Food welcomed VE day by announcing reductions in the fat and meat ration. Other items in the workers' standard of living are to be cut unless new markets are found to absorb British goods. Where will these markets come from? Britain has already lost a third of her pre-war foreign markets. Ruined Europe cannot pay for British goods. Meanwhile, the poverty-stricken colonial peoples are striving to break the imperialist chains. The U. S. A., strongest power on earth, plans to oust Britain everywhere. A THIRD WORLD WAR already casts its shadow over the 'PEACE'."

SOCIALIST IRELAND

The RSP calls on the Irish workers to fight for a Socialist United Ireland and a Socialist United States of Europe.

In asking the workers to vote for the Labor Party, the RSP sharply criticizes the Labor Party leadership, charging them with having "connived with the imperialists." "The Labor Party will not lead us to socialism," continue the Irish Trotskyists. "But it will place socialism on the order of the day in the minds of the workers by arousing their expectations and increasing their political interests..."

The RSP asks the workers to vote for the Labor Party candidates and demands that they "agitate" for a Transitional Program. Among the planks of this program, the RSP lists "a sliding scale of hours and wages to combat unemployment and high prices; for the right of factory committees to inspect the firm's books and bank accounts; for the establishment of useful public works, financed by taxing the rich, operated by workers' control." The RSP calls for the "right to self-determination of the colonial empire" and against "imperialist intervention in Europe."

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Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to The Militant

Allied Powers Looting Machinery In Germany

The U. S. army, before evacuating Saxony and Thuringia to the Red Army, took away as much of the industrial resources as could be moved. Likewise the Red Army, before evacuating the Berlin zones to its "allies," took away most of the industrial machinery.

What the U. S. army did is indicated by a dispatch from Magdeburg in the July 3 New York Times:

REMOVE INSTRUMENTS

"... Russian forces will be in possession... of such militarily important installations as the Zeiss factory at Jena, the huge underground bomb and rocket factories at Nordhausen and the big Leuna chemical works at Merseburg.

"However, the Russians may have difficulty in putting these plants into operation soon, for immediately after the German withdrawal the American troops ordnance experts began moving out light and delicate precision instruments, leaving only heavy lathes and other fixtures.

"... Many skilled technicians and craftsmen applied and obtained passes to go farther westward into the American zone. It is estimated that at least 16,000 such workmen left before the boundaries were frozen and sealed at 6 o'clock this morning."

FACTORIES STRIPPED

What the Red Army did is indicated by a Berlin dispatch to the July 5 New York Times:

"In districts now being taken over by American and British troops factories were stripped of heavy machinery four to eight weeks ago.

"The vast Rheinmetall-Borsig armament works in the northern suburb of Tegel was evacuated by the Russians last Sunday in expectation of the arrival of the British forces..."

"Of the 2,500 machines that survived the bombings, fewer than 300 have been left behind by the Russian authorities, according to company records.

"... The Russian dismantling of German industry is not confined to armament works. In the Zehlendorf district, now under American control, a spinning mill, a sugar mill and various other plants have been thoroughly cleaned out."

These facts indicate the real situation in Germany between the Anglo-U. S. bloc and the Soviet government. Each considers its

zone in Germany as a base of operations in a future struggle against the other side. Each tries to strengthen the industrial (tomorrow military) power of its zone and to weaken that of the zone of the other side. Occupied Germany is being prepared as one of the principal battlefields of World War III.

Plot to Restore Greek Monarchy

(Continued from page 1)

inspirers and organizers of the monarchist plot.

The Greek Stalinist leader, Nicolas Zachariades, deceives the masses by assuring them: "Nothing will happen. The movement has become abortive because of our denunciation of it and because of the dispositions of the Government." The German Stalinists said the same thing. Hitler, they declared, would never succeed in taking power. The year 1931, they claimed, witnessed the peak of his strength. After Hitler was in power, they said his regime would not last.

A FATAL COURSE

Instead of sounding a warning signal and alerting the masses against their sworn foes, the Greek Stalinists pursue the fatal course of their German confederates. It would be hard to imagine a more ridiculous assertion than the one they make — that their "denunciation" of the monarchist plotters will prevent a monarchist coup d'etat. The Nazis laughed at similar denunciations.

GOVT DOES NOTHING

The Greek Government, which knows of the plot and could deal with it "in twenty-four hours," is naturally doing nothing about it. Declared Premier Voulgaris: "It is incorrect to say that the Government has taken preventive measures."

Thus the Stalinist betrayers in Greece are continuing their deadly work of strengthening the forces of reaction and counter-revolution. They began by welcoming British troops to Athens and helping to disarm the masses. Now they are preparing the masses for the monarchist yoke by the false assurance: "Nothing will happen."

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. The struggles began on a high theoretical level involving the Russian question. This is the eighth installment of Cannon's book.*

Almost any member of our party can tell you now what the problems of the Chinese revolution were because, since that time, extensive material has been published. We have educated our young comrades on the lessons of the Chinese revolution. But in 1927 we provincial Americans didn't know anything about it. China was far away. We never saw any of the theses of the Russian Opposition. We didn't understand the colonial question too well. We didn't understand the profound theoretical issues involved in the Chinese question and the dispute which followed, so we couldn't take a position honestly.

The Anglo-Russian question seemed a little clearer to me. That was the question of the great struggle between the Russian Opposition and the Stalinists over the formation of the Anglo-Russian Committee, a committee of Russian and English trade unionists which became a substitute for independent Communist work in England. This policy throttled the independent activity of the English Communist Party at the crucial moment of the general strike of 1926 in that country. Quite by accident, in the spring of that same year, I had come across one of the documents of the Russian Opposition on that dispute and it had a profound influence on me. I felt that at least on this question of the Anglo-Russian Committee, the Oppositionists had the right line. At any rate, I was convinced that they were not the counter-revolutionists they were pictured to be.

In 1928, after the February plenum, I made one of my more or less regular national tours. I had the habit of making at least one tour of the country from coast to coast every year, or every two years, so as to get a breath of the real America, to get the feel of what was going on in America. Looking back at it now you can trace many of the unrealistic ideas and mistakes, and much of the narrow-mindedness of some of the party leaders in New York, to the fact that they had lived all their lives on the island of Manhattan and didn't have the real feel of this great, diversified country.

The Feel of the Labor Movement

I made my 1928 tour under the auspices of the International Labor Defense and prolonged it four months. I wanted to get a bath in the mass movement away from the stifling atmosphere of the everlasting faction fights. I wanted an opportunity to think out a few things on the Russian question, which troubled me more than anything else. Vincent Dunne has reminded me more than once that on my way back from the Pacific Coast, when I stopped in Minneapolis, he and Comrade Skoglund asked me among other things what I thought of the expulsion of Trotsky and Zinoviev, and that I answered them, "Who am I to condemn the leaders of the Russian revolution," thereby indicating to them that I was not very sympathetic to the expulsion of Trotsky and Zinoviev. They remembered that when the fight broke out in the open a few months later.

In the late spring and early summer of 1928, the Sixth World

HOW TROTSKY'S CRITICISM OF STALINISM REACHED THE AMERICAN C. P. LEADERS

By James P. Cannon

Congress of the Comintern was called in Moscow. We departed for Moscow as usual on such occasions in a big delegation representing all the factions; going there, I am sorry to say, not preoccupied with the problems of the international movement which we as representatives of one section might help to solve, but all of us more or less preoccupied primarily with our own little fight in the American party; going to the World Congress to see what help we could get to fry our own fish here at home. Unfortunately, that was the attitude of practically everybody.

On departing for the Congress I didn't have any hope of getting a real clarification of the Russian question, the dispute with the Opposition. By that time it appeared that the Opposition had been completely wiped out. The leaders were expelled. Trotsky was in exile in Alma Ata. All over the world what sympathizers they may have had were thrown out of the party. There seemed to be no prospect of reviving the question. But it continued to bother me nevertheless. And it bothered me so much that I couldn't take a very effective part in our faction fight in Moscow.

Naturally, we continued the faction fight when we got there. We immediately lined up our delegations in caucuses and began to see what we could do to cut each other down, drawing up mutual accusations and endlessly debating the thing before the commission. There I was a more or less silent participant in the business. Just about that time they began to apportion the commissions. That is, the leading members of each delegation were appointed to various commissions of the Congress, some on the trade union commission, some on the political commission, some on the organization commission. In addition there was the program commission.

The Question of a Finished Program

The Sixth Congress undertook to adopt for the first time a program, a finished program of the Comintern. The Comintern was organized in 1919, and up to 1928, nine years later it still had no finished program. That doesn't mean that in the early years there was a lack of attention and interest in the question of the program. It simply is an indication of how seriously the greatest Marxists took the question of the program and how carefully they elaborated it. They began with some basic resolutions in 1919. They adopted others in 1920, 1921, 1922. At the Fourth Congress they had the beginning of a discussion on the program. The Fifth Congress didn't pursue the question. Thus we came to the Sixth Congress in 1928, and we had before us the draft of a program which bore the authorship of Bukharin and Stalin.

I was put on the program commission, partly because the other faction leaders weren't much interested in the program. "Leave that to Bukharin. We don't want to bother with that. We want to get on the political commission which is going to decide about our faction fight; on the trade union commission; or some other practical commission which is going to decide something about some little two-by-four trade union question worrying us." Such was the general sentiment of the American delegation. I was shoved onto the program commission as a sort of honor without substance. And to tell you the truth, I was not much interested in it either.

But that turned out to be a bad mistake—putting me on the program commission. It cost Stalin more than one headache, to say nothing of Foster, Lovestone and the others. Because Trotsky, exiled in Alma Ata, expelled from the Russian party and the Communist International, was appealing to the Congress. You see, Trotsky didn't just get up and walk away from the party. He came right back after his expulsion, at the first opportunity with the convening of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, not only with a document appealing his case, but with a tremendous theoretical contribution in the form of a criticism of the draft program of Bukharin and Stalin.

Trotsky's document was entitled, "The Draft Program of the Communist International: A Criticism of Fundamentals." Through some slip-up in the apparatus in Moscow, which was supposed to be bureaucratically airtight, this document of Trotsky came into the translating room of the Comintern. It fell into the hopper, where they had a dozen or more translators and stenographers with nothing else to do. They picked up Trotsky's document, translated it and distributed it to the heads of the delegations and the members of the program commission. So, lo and behold, it was laid in my lap, translated into English! Maurice Spector, a delegate from the Canadian Party, and in somewhat the same frame of mind as myself, was also on the program commission and he got a copy.

Trotsky's Document Illuminates Russian Question

We let the caucus meetings and the Congress sessions go to the devil while we read and studied this document. Then I knew what I had to do, and so did he. Our doubts had been resolved. It was as clear as daylight that Marxist truth was on the side of Trotsky. We made a compact there and then—Spector and I—that we would come back home and begin a struggle under the banner of Trotskyism.

We didn't begin the fight in Moscow at the Congress, although we were already thoroughly convinced. From the day I read that document I considered myself, without a single wavering doubt thereafter, a disciple of Trotsky. Because we didn't raise the fight in Moscow, some purists on the side lines might again demand: "Why didn't you take the floor at the Sixth Congress and speak up for Trotsky?" The answer is, we couldn't have served our political ends by doing so. And that is what you are in politics for—to serve ends.

The Comintern was already pretty well Stalinized. The Congress was rigged. For us to have disclosed our complete position at the Congress would probably have resulted in our detention in Moscow until we were cut to pieces and isolated at home. Lovestone, when his time came, was later caught in this Moscow trap. My duty, and my political task as I saw it, was to organize a base of support for the Russian Opposition in my own party. In order to do that I had first to get home. Therefore I kept quiet at the Stalinized Congress. Frankness among friends is a virtue; in dealing with unscrupulous enemies it is the attribute of a fool.

At that we weren't too cautious in keeping our sentiment hidden. I, especially, was considered more and more as "monkeying"

with Trotskyism. Gitlow has related in his pathetic ghost-written book of repentance that the GPU had checked on my activities in Moscow and had reported to the Comintern that "Cannon in talks with Russians had disclosed that he had strong Trotskyist leanings." They had me under suspicion but hesitated to proceed against me too brusquely. They thought that maybe they could straighten me out and that this would be much better than to have an open scandal. They had good reason to assume that I would make a scandal if it came to an open fight.

So eventually we came back home—I think in September—with nothing solved so far as the faction fight in the American party was concerned. The Lovestoneites had gained a few inches in the fight in Moscow, but at the same time Stalin had included some qualifications in the resolution which laid the basis for getting rid later of the Lovestoneites. I had smuggled Trotsky's criticism of the draft program out of Russia, bringing it home with me. We came back home and I proceeded immediately with my determined task to recruit a faction for Trotsky.

Trotsky's Criticism Is Smuggled to America

You may think that was a simple thing to do. But here was the state of affairs. Trotsky had been condemned in every party of the Communist International, and once again condemned by the Sixth Congress, as counter-revolutionary. Not a single member in the party was known as an outspoken supporter of Trotskyism. The whole party was regimented against it. By that time the party was no longer one of those democratic organizations where you can raise a question, and get a fair discussion. To declare for Trotsky and the Russian Opposition meant to subject yourself to the accusation of being a counter-revolutionary traitor; and being expelled forthwith without any discussion. Under such circumstances the task was to recruit a new faction in secret before the inevitable explosion came, with the certain prospect that this faction, no matter how big or small it might be, would suffer expulsion and have to fight against the Stalinists, against the whole world, to create a new movement.

From the very beginning I had not the slightest doubt about the magnitude of the task. If we had permitted ourselves any illusions we would have been so disappointed at the results that it might have broken us up. I began quietly to seek out individuals and to talk to them conspiratively. Rose Karsner was my first firm adherent. She never faltered from that day to this. Shachtman and Aberg, who worked with me in the International Labor Defense, and were both members of the National Committee, though not of the Political Committee, joined me in the great new endeavor. A few others came along. We were doing quite well, making a little headway here and there, working cautiously all the time. A rumor was going around about Cannon being a Trotskyist, but I never said so openly; and nobody knew what to do about the rumor. Moreover, there was a little complication in the party situation which also worked in our favor.

As I have related, the party was divided into three factions, but the Foster faction and the Cannon faction were working in a bloc and had at that time a joint caucus. This put the Fosterites between the devil and the deep sea. If they didn't expose hidden Trotskyism and fight it energetically, they would lose the sympathy and support of Stalin. But, on the other hand, if they got tough with us and lost our support they couldn't hope to win the majority in the coming convention. They were torn by indecision, and we exploited their contradiction mercilessly.

(To be continued)

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.

Forbidden to Speak

Editor: My son, who is in the occupational forces in Germany, says in a recent letter that he has been engaged in getting about 20,000 Russian prisoners sent back home. But he was not allowed to speak to them in any way. He wants to know why so recent an ally as Russia has to be treated the same as the Germans. He says he knows the answer but was afraid to write more for fear I would get nothing about what was happening.

H. G. Detroit, Mich.

Stalinist Traitors Pilloried in Letter

Editor: I am enclosing a copy of the letter which we sent to the Daily Worker just after the collapse of the Communist Party of USA. At that time, we knew nothing of your party or of Trotsky's ideas, but we had reached the same conclusion, namely that the Comintern, especially its American section, was selling out directly to WALL STREET ITSELF. We were glad to see that our conclusion was shared in this respect by a man as great as Trotsky.

Belle Montague Cambridge, Mass.

Editor, Daily Worker:

We have just received your letter, urging us to renew our subscription to your paper, which you so aptly describe as "a fighting newspaper for fighting Americans," also your appeal in behalf of Mrs. Raissa Browder. Permit us to state in reply that we have no desire whatever for such a newspaper as yours is at the present time; we are not at all interested in the success or failure of Wall Street's imperialist war for the conquest of the globe. The only conflict in which we could take the slightest interest is the struggle of the workers of ALL nations against the capitalists and their agents... including yourselves!

We would like to inform you that we have never heard in all our lives of such a crude betrayal of the interests of all the toilers as that carried out by your party... beginning with the statement that "USA is fighting a just war in the Pacific" and culminating in the statements on the occasion of your "celebration" of Lenin's anniversary, in which you implied, at least, that Lenin led the October Revolution to victory in order that the USSR might some day live to protect the interests of the American ruling class!

We also wish to let you know that we reached our final decision NOT upon the occasion of the disbanding of the Communist Party of USA—that was no surprise to us—we consider that you really disbanded upon the day when the Daily Worker began to gloat and jeer over Wall Street's murder of German CIVILIAN workers and peasants. When we read in your paper such items as "hundreds going mad in Berlin," "now we control the air, let the Germans groan," "the planes of RAF fly at night over England toward Germany, and they have a comforting, friendly sound," "let us give thanks to our brave airmen who are defending the United States over

A Word to Our Correspondents

The volume of letters to the Workers' Forum is growing from week to week. We welcome letters dealing with any matter of interest to the workers. We want to publish them all. To enable us to do this, it is essential that letters be kept as short as possible. No letter should be longer than 300 words. Please keep within this limit so that every worker-correspondent may get a break.

THE EDITOR

the city of Berlin," etc. — we could then see the handwriting on the wall. We knew that when you had reached the point of rejoicing over the butchery of non-combatant workers in Germany, it was only a matter of time when you would also gloat and jeer at the plight of the workers of America, under the tyranny of that same Wall Street! After that, it was just a matter of time!

In conclusion, we wish to suggest that as regards Mrs. Browder, you write appeals, not to us, but to the Wall Street Journal. Just point out to them what valuable service you are giving, and how ungrateful it is if they allow your leader's wife to be deported... they who so easily control the life and death of millions... and we feel certain you will receive complete satisfaction... for the present.

But one last word to you... we do not believe you will succeed in your attempt to aid Wall Street to conquer the world... we still believe in the victory of the working class! Somewhere, there must be some group or party which stands for the ideas of Marx and Engels... they have been betrayed before, but always others have appeared to carry on their great ideas! You are doomed to failure! History will speak of you as the worst betrayers of the workers ever known!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

The Montague Family 6 Gracewood Park Cambridge, Mass.

What Kind of Party?

Editor: In last week's letters to the Editor I noticed a letter from someone who labeled The Militant an "organ of a party of reformers" etc.

Aside from the fact that The Militant is the only paper which has played an active role in the struggle for the day to day interests of the working class, I would like to point out that the Socialist Labor Party, which that reader mentioned in his letter, has just withdrawn from circulation all of its documents and pamphlets on the war. I might ask him: "Are they repudiating their former anti-war stand?"

In addition to this I read a pamphlet of theirs called "The Americanism of Socialism" which was printed with a red, white, and blue cover in imitation of a Stalinist publication of the same nature. Like the Stalinist counterpart, it includes quotations from Jefferson, Lincoln, Wash-

ington etc. This conception of how to make Socialism palatable to the workers is as opportunist as anything I have ever witnessed.

And this party which doesn't believe in supporting the daily struggles of the workers for their bread (they label all the unions as Capitalist) dares to call The Militant reformist because it takes the lead in the fight for better living standards!

The answer to this was given by the reaction of another Militant reader who had been following this other party for several years. Three months after seeing his first copy of The Militant he sent in over twenty subscriptions which he obtained from fellow workers.

Al Lynn Los Angeles

Lies About Germans

Editor: Letters I have received from a soldier stationed in Germany show up the vicious lies that are being cast against the German people. He writes, "In Hanover, German girls had to be forcibly prevented from attending a dance held by GI's and girls who had been imported for forced labor. And in Hamburg and Hanover girls had to be held off at the point of a gun when the trucks tearing the foreign workers pulled out. Many wanted to accompany their sweethearts. The friendliness of large sections of the population has been obvious to most GI's with eyes to see. Related recognition of that fact by the paid propagandists may bring surprised gasps from the Stateside believers but not from those who were here."

The Allied rulers are not alone in prohibiting the mingling of the soldiers with the German people. All oppressors have the same fear. The Nazi government, too, had the rule — no fraternization. "The Germans had a no-fraternization policy in reverse. Strong penalties were imposed for social relations between Germans and foreign workers. Yesterday, though, I saw two German girls giving their addresses to a French soldier, Andre, and urging him to write. Andre was from Brest, politically left, five years a prisoner."

Search the newspapers — they won't tell us this. "The gray-haired man and his two young daughters had been awaiting our departure and an opportunity to recapture their homes. With the older fellow was a young man of 30. He (the former) said that he opposed the Nazis. I asked him whom he supported. The communists!"

"He took out two papers, official documents bearing the seal of the Third Reich. One showed that he had been in the Dachau concentration camp for three years, the second that he had spent an additional three years in the Buchenwald concentration camp. For what reason — was he a leader of the local communists? No, he was simply a member. He was a printer. After Hitler's accession to power he had printed and helped to distribute illegal literature opposing the Nazi regime. He was discovered. In 1919 he had supported Luxemburg and Liebknecht."

A. V. New York City

Models Degraded

Editor: I felt very proud when the letter I sent Grace Carlson was printed in your paper, that you thought it worth while referring to. I am enclosing another clipping from the Post, an interview with a girl who has to work as a nude model. It's supposed to be funny, but it upset me.

I remember when I once looked for a waitress job at the World's Fair, an amusement place offered me a good salary for "doing nothing." All I had to do was lie in the grass nude — or almost nude anyway, and people would pass by and look at me.

I didn't take the job but worked hard for tips as a waitress. Sometimes in the rush, when the sweat was running down my face and I had no time to wipe it off, I thought for a moment of the nice cool grass where I would just have to lie around doing nothing and getting paid for it. But who can do a thing like that? How far down does a girl have to go first?

Maybe one gets "used to it" after 15 years" like the girl said in the interview. And this nightclub reporter is amused! The girl has an artist husband and a child. Probably she supports all three of them. But that doesn't interest the reporter. Ninety cents an hour! She worked seven hours that day for \$6.30. (Less, with taxes taken out of it.) My daughter is now only 4½

WIN AN ORIGINAL LAURA GRAY CARTOON!

Have you been following the trials and tribulations of the "poor rich" family in Laura Gray's feature cartoons on Page 8 of The Militant? If you have, you most likely have your own pet name for this family. With this issue, we launch a contest to find the most appropriate descriptive name for them.

Three originals of these feature cartoons, personally inscribed to the winners by the cartoonist, will be awarded for the three best names submitted. First choice of the originals will go to the first-place winner; second choice to the second-place winner; third choice to the third-place winner.

All readers of The Militant are eligible for the contest and there is no limit on the number of suggested names a contestant may enter. Just send in your entries, clearly written on a sheet of paper, together with your full name and address.

The contest will run for six weeks. All entries must reach The Militant office, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. by August 31. Editors of The Militant will judge the contest and decide the winning entries. Their decision will be final.

months old but maybe some day she will have a nice figure. Will she have to put herself out to show in order to be able to eat? I could scream at the very thought of it. But then when I read The Militant, hope comes back to me again.

This letter sounds as if I am against modeling in general. Of course not. In "our kind of world," a socialist society, we will have artists, too, and they will need models. Only that will be an entirely different story. Under this rotten system only the poor have to do it and it is always connected with degradation, nightclub life and prostitution.

L. K. New York

Vet's Problems

Editor: Don't you think that a few up-to-date articles on points No. 3 and 7 of your program pertinent? I would like to see you prod the UAW-CIO in particular, on the stand they took—I think at the Buffalo Convention—concerning a UAW-CIO organization of veterans outside of the American Legion. The American Legion is now making hay as the sun shines and the silence of the UAW-CIO is aiding this along.

I realize the no-strike pledge and the Labor Party are points No. 1 in the union movement. But who can doubt the importance of the place of the veterans in the struggle that is not far ahead? Civilians are accorded second class citizen rights and the vet is given no place at all walks of life. Unfortunately he is taking to this viewpoint. The vet must be won over to the side of Labor—or else. There is your fascist element.

Keep up the good work and best of luck. Just a Pfc.

Contrast in Mexico

Editor: Recently I visited Tijuana, the Mexican "border town" thronged by American tourists for vice, gambling, bull-fights and bargain-hunting. Beyond the rows of shops stocked with luxuries for American purchase, are the homes of the Mexican people, a few blocks of bungalows for the shopkeepers, and beyond them, shacks strung along dirt roads, where the agricultural workers live in squalor.

Even in Tijuana, far from the political centers of Mexico, where life exists on the profits of American thail-seekers, I found the workers friendly to the ideas of socialism. They agreed with me that Yankee imperialism is only pretending friendship for Mexico; that the Mexican workers and American workers must have their own governments to insure lasting peace.

But one thing worried them, when I said I was a socialist. One worker hastily warned me, "Socialism, yes! Stalin, no!" The other had never heard of Trotskyism until I explained the difference.

R. J. New York

Allentown Layoffs

Editor: Unemployment or jobs at greatly reduced earnings face the 4800 employes of Consolidated-Vultee, Allentown division. Many of the workers received as little as one hour's notice that they were putting in their last day's work.

The history of the plant is a stormy one. Charges of poor management were made in Congress on April 1 of this year. It was pointed out that \$44,000,000 had been spent and only two planes had been built.

Consolidated-Vultee had obtained many workers by means of the local War Manpower Commission's action in initiating the "Allentown Plan," which was disputed and fought vigorously by the textile workers when it was used in New Bedford. This plan was put into effect by ambitious administrators of the WMC who were anxious to make use of and assist the move to

pass the notorious "slave labor" act, which had been advocated by President Roosevelt in several messages to Congress.

Some of the local workers, in their fear of unemployment, have been anxiously concerned over those workers who have come to this community for work during the period of war job expansion. They feel that these workers will be a source of competition for jobs. This fear has been played upon to create a rift in the previous solidarity of the workers. It has not been clearly pointed out that no matter where these unemployed workers are, they will affect the labor market. It is well known that because the south has been a source of cheap labor, the textile workers in this area have been hampered in their fight to obtain a decent wage.

The workers are beginning to realize more and more that the struggle for a sliding scale of hours, that is, a reduction in the hours of work with no reduction in pay, is a struggle which must become the struggle of all workers, for the promise of "60 million jobs" has taken its place in the ashen with the "equality of sacrifice" program.

A Reader Allentown

The Baldheads

Editor: Enclosed is a clipping from the June 15 "Spicer Unit News," of Spicer Unit, Toledo Local 12, UAW-CIO. Perhaps this item could be used in The Militant to contrast the leniency of the government to the Amalgamated Baldheads against the clamping down on proposed union conventions.

Why would union delegates "clog up" the nation's transportation system and deprive a soldier or sailor on furlough of a seat any more than the "Baldheads"?

H. B. Milwaukee

Editor's Note: The clipping sent by H. B. reports that "the Amalgamated Baldheads of America held a good-sized convention in Port Arthur, Texas. It would appear, in spite of the 'co-operation' policies advocated by R. J. Thomas (UAW President), that the Amalgamated Baldheads have more drag with the government than he does. We also noticed where a church organization ordered its branches to ignore the O.D.T. in holding their annual Bible Conferences.

The item concludes: "Why doesn't the Int'l quit asking 'permission' and send out a convention call? Or perhaps the delegates could all shave their dimes and masquerade as 'Baldheads.'"

A Rebuke

Editor: In The Militant for June 30 in the Workers' Forum you print a letter from C. B. of Englewood, Colorado, wherein he implies rather strongly that the SWP is reformist. You answered him, not by explaining the role of supporting certain reforms in organizing the workers and exposing the fakery, but by pointing to your prison record. As a rebuke I can do no better than to quote from the Socialist Appeal, the very same Militant for June 30, I mention above, quoted from quite freely on other subjects.

"Comrade Jock Haston was mainly responsible for setting the high political standard of the campaign. He mercilessly squashed any attempt at popularizing him by referring to the fact that he had been imprisoned last year under the Trades Disputes Act. He prefaced his remarks that such introduction had been singularly unfortunate—that some of the labor fakery had also been imprisoned; that he hoped it did not foreshadow that he, too, would sell out the workers as they had done; what was at issue was not the personalities of the three candidates, but their programs and their policies."

On the matter of holding out illusions to the workers by promises of reforms under capitalism, here is another quotation

Youngstown CIO Supports Akron Rubber Strikers

YOUNGSTOWN, O. — The Mahoning County CIO Industrial Union Council here, at its last meeting, July 3, unanimously passed a motion to send a sharp letter of protest to the WLB for its strikebreaking action in the Akron Rubber Workers strike. The council denounced the move of the WLB to take away from the rubber workers the vacation and shift differential benefits they had previously won.

Fred Dillard, militant grievance committeeman from the Steelworkers' Brier Hill Local of Youngstown Sheet and Tube stated, "if they can get away with this in Akron, they will do the same to us steel workers." He also pointed out that the struggles of the rubber workers were the struggles of all workers and that Governor Lausche, who had received the support of labor and now had called on the selective service boards to draft all striking rubber workers, should be condemned for his strike-breaking activities. He said he had supported Lausche for governor—but never again.

Shipka, another militant delegate who brought the question to the floor, stressed the need of labor unity. He stated that the rubber workers were fighting a battle for all labor.

Many other delegates took the same stand and not one opposed the fight of the rubber workers. Galusha, delegate from Steel Local 1234, pointed out that the rubber workers, during the Little Steel strike, had sent thousands of dollars to help fight the steel barons, as well as other aid, and that now the steel workers should assist the rubber workers when they need help.

At this same meeting, the CIO Council voted vigorously to oppose peace-time conscription. It was pointed out that one purpose of such conscription is to regiment workers into the army and then attempt to use them against workers on strike.

Negro Machinists Resist Jim Crow

(Continued from page 1)

Lodge Number 751 have already gone on record in favor of ending all racial discrimination in the Machinists Union.

THEREFORE, we the undersigned declare that this discrimination is grossly unfair and that this discrimination undermines the strength of organized labor by driving a wedge in the working class to the benefit of the employers, and

THEREFORE, we the undersigned DEMAND that Lodge Number 751 and the Grand Lodge of the International Association of Machinists immediately grant full union membership and rights to ALL Boeing workers.

The Pyramid Workers Alliance was launched in the beginning of May of this year with a meeting at which 200 workers attended. This meeting was reported in the May 12 issue of The Militant.

CALLED BY UNION

The significant aspect of this conference was that it was called by the union officials, who are becoming noticeably worried about the development of the Negro organization and about the growing movement among the white workers inside Lodge Number 751 for granting full equality to the Negroes and other persecuted racial minorities.

At the conference with the negotiating committee the head of Lodge Number 751 alternated threats with vague promises, but did not indicate that anything concrete would be done to take the Negro workers into the union. The conclusions drawn from the conference by the negotiating committee and by the membership of the Pyramid Workers Alliance as a whole was: "We have them worried! Full speed ahead with the building of our organization and with the unfolding of our fight!"

from the Mid-May issue of the Socialist Appeal:

"Dr. Jarmin, a prominent Stalinist in the town, asked Haston what he knew about, and was prepared to do about, the bad housing problem and tuberculosis problem in this division. The workers warmly appreciated Jock Haston's answer in which he stated that unlike the other candidates he promised nothing under the capitalist system. That to do so would be duplicity of the worst kind."

Mary E. Ingerson Powers Lake, N. D.



Our new readers, wholeheartedly accepting The Militant as their own paper, are selling subscriptions in ever-increasing numbers, eager to introduce their friends to the only newspaper in this country that tells the truth about labor's struggles for a better world. Bill Crane, our agent in Milwaukee, reports an incident: "Enclosed are two one-year subs. They were gotten by a reader in a small but very militant UAW Local which has the best shop and wage conditions in the city due to the several strikes they have carried out. This friend of ours was listed in the UAW Convention Report as one of those who voted against the no-strike pledge and we contacted him and sold him a sub. He has already sold one trial sub and took our organizer over to see the president of the local and between the two they sold him a sub."

Grace F. Dey of Elizabeth, N. J. sent in a subscription for a friend in Hillsdale, N. J. An anonymous friend in Tacoma, Wash. sent in two six-month subs for friends in Ray, N. Dakota.

F. B. of Port Huron, Mich. writes: "Enclosed find 50 cents in stamps. Please send The Militant for six months to —. Several years ago he was as anti-union as you could find, articulately so. Today he is chairman of the bargaining committee in a UAW-CIO union. This first step was taken as a result of his experiences in the shop. I wish to facilitate his next logical step by having him read The Militant."

Grace Carlson reports from Rochester while on tour: "An oldtime machinist came to the meeting here last night. He saw the meeting advertised in The Militant which he has been buying from a newsstand for the past few months. Lately he has been buying three or four copies of each issue to pass around to the men in his shop. He had great praise for The Militant. He was especially emphatic about saying that The Militant 'told the truth' and that other papers didn't. 'And,' he said, 'workers have got to know what enemies are lined up against them.'"

We quote in full a report from L. Simms of the Calumet Branch (Chicago Local) — acknowledging

the achievement of three new branch members:

"These subs were brought in by our newest member, A. Landers, who has acquired a high percentage of the total number sent in by the Calumet Branch. When asked by comrades how he went about getting these subs, he jokingly replied he just talked them to death. However, we know better.

"It seems he is constantly on the alert to spot the class-conscious or people who express dissatisfaction about the present state of world affairs or labor conditions, and he instantly proceeds to point out interesting features in The Militant to them. Amazingly, he finds these people on street corners, in restaurants, on the bus, in the shop and in the union, and most anywhere he happens to be. Comrade Landers stated that he had had only two refusals. And from all appearances he is bent on continuing a one-man sub campaign.

"Our other two new members also deserve recognition for their efforts. They are F. Lynn and M. Spere."

"We are proud to acknowledge the abilities of these three go-getters. They are a true inspiration to the movement."

Vote Trotskyist!

In the Coming New York Elections

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

TAX THE RICH, NOT THE POOR!

During the war, Big Business has rolled up the most phenomenal profits in all history. Yet the staggering burden of taxation to pay for the war has been placed on the backs of the poor. Confiscate all war profits! An end to all taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

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!

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

MARITIME
A HISTORICAL SKETCH
A WORKERS' PROGRAM

By FREDERICK J. LANG

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

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

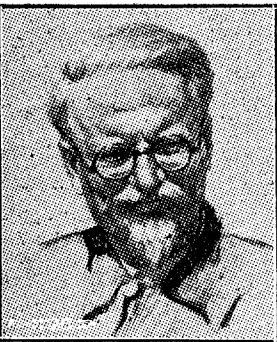
Vol. IX—No. 28 Saturday, July 14, 1945

Published Weekly by THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547 FARRELL DOBBS, Managing Editor

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

Subscriptions: \$1.00 per year; 50c for 6 months. Foreign: \$2.00 per year, \$1.00 for 6 months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"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

Halt The Fascists!

The brazen moves of the native fascist, Gerald L. K. Smith, in Los Angeles, are an ominous sign of the times. During the war the native fascists scurried for cover — Big Business did not need them for the time being, depending on war-time regulations and regimentation to suppress the militancy of the labor movement and safeguard the biggest profits of all time. Now, even before the post-war world begins, Big Business is grooming native fascists.

As millions of veterans return from the battlefields to find nothing but unemployment and a depression far worse than 1929—1933, unrest will mount by leaps and bounds. Big Business plans to divert this unrest into fascist channels. Big Business hopes to snare the ruined small business men, the poverty-stricken white collar strata, and unemployed officers with the bait of fascist-like slogans. They aim to organize the veterans into fascist gangs and set them against the labor movement. Fascism in America is taking up the struggle where it left off in 1941.

Gerald L. K. Smith, together with Coughlin, was active in the Ohio-Michigan area. His move into Los Angeles is another step in the strategy of American fascism to build a strong base in the outlying areas preparatory to concentrating on such a metropolitan area as New York. Both Mussolini and Hitler followed a similar strategy. Smith expects to find a fertile field in Los Angeles, long a notorious open-shop town and swarming with petty bourgeois movements such as "Ham and Eggs." Race hatred in Los Angeles, directed against Negroes, Jews, Japanese, Chinese and Mexicans is especially virulent.

It would be a fatal mistake to dismiss demagogues like Smith as crackpots incapable of becoming a serious menace to the labor movement in America. This fatal mistake was made by heads of the labor movement in Italy and Germany. They laughed at Mussolini and Hitler, but Hitler and Mussolini took advantage of this light-minded attitude to build their forces all the more easily and rapidly. Eventually these labor leaders paid for their stupidity in the fascist concentration camps. Many of them lost their lives. The rank and file of the labor movement paid still more heavily with the crushing of their organizations.

No matter how ridiculous, illogical and fantastic Smith's demagoguery may appear, he can build a dangerous movement unless the workers begin in time to stop him. Only militant counter-action can nip American fascism in the bud.

Wherever Smith and his ilk appear, anti-fascist workers must sound the alarm with powerful picket lines. Defense guards must be organized in time to stop American reaction in its tracks!

True To Form

Latest recruiting sergeant for Wall Street's permanent conscription plan is the Stalinist *Daily Worker*. In a July 7 editorial the Stalinists come out brazenly for "military preparedness" and the use of "force" to carry out the decisions of the imperialist-dominated United Nations Security Council. The Stalinists even call for a supply of "occupation forces." Such imperialist organs as *The New York Times* have admitted that the occupation forces are intended to put down socialist revolutions wherever they may arise.

The full perfidy of Stalinist support of permanent conscription is revealed in the *Daily Worker's* admission that "among those who are pushing for quick action are people who want to make our nation follow a predatory, rapacious imperialist course. They hope to see the trainees used against the Soviet Union, against the colonial peoples of the Far East and against liberated peoples of Europe. They would like to have them for use against labor and other popular movements at home." *The Daily Worker* queasily limits this reactionary perspective to only some of the backers of permanent conscription. But this is the perspective of all the militarists and Big Business representatives

who demand that Congress pass this anti-labor legislation.

The Stalinist editorial makes a few criticisms of the proposed permanent conscription. It is painfully apparent, however, that these criticisms are nothing but a half-hearted attempt to cook up a face-saving formula for their counter-revolutionary support of its basic principle. Thus they say labor should be "represented in its administration," and they ask for "full equality of status and treatment of Negroes." But the fight against conscription is part of the fight against Jim Crow!

In supporting permanent conscription, the Stalinists act as traitors to the Soviet Union. The vast armies Wall Street wants in the postwar years are aimed squarely against the first workers' state. Degenerated though this state may be, it is the duty of every class-conscious worker to defend its progressive side. An integral part of this defense is opposition to Wall Street and exposure of its imperialist aim to crush the USSR. Thus once again the Stalinists are revealed as saboteurs of the defense of the Soviet Union — the Trotskyists as its only genuine, consistent defenders.

Within the United States, labor has taken a stand against permanent conscription. Both the AFL and the CIO argued against it in the hearings held before the House Military Policy Committee. Only strikebreakers like Daniel J. Tobin and the Stalinists have seen fit to speak up in support of Wall Street on this issue.

Withdraw The Troops!

In the workers' demonstration at Milan which called among other things for an end to capitalism, American tanks were ordered out and guns were leveled. Fortunately for the Italian workers no shots were fired. But the counter-revolutionary intent of the order is clearly apparent.

The single command of an Allied officer could have dyed the streets of Milan with workers' blood. Thus the incident bore the character of a rehearsal. A rehearsal by the Milan workers for the approaching socialist revolution. A rehearsal by Allied troops for a reign of terror and blood-letting.

Yet the workers of Milan are not fascists against whom the war was allegedly conducted. They are anti-fascists who overthrew the fascist regime, drove out the Nazi conquerors and dispensed summary justice to Mussolini and his cohorts. Suffering now from a deepening economic crisis that brings near famine and untold suffering, they are seeking the road to socialism. Their ranks are now forming for a struggle in the pattern set by the revolutionary Russian workers in 1917.

The only reason Washington and London keep Allied troops in Italy is to suppress this rising revolution. Allied imperialism bolsters monarchial reaction in Italy and keeps its puppet cabinet in power against the will of the Italian people.

American labor has every reason to demand the withdrawal of Allied troops from Italy. A successful revolution in Italy would immediately weaken Wall Street's imperialist grip on Europe and thereby greatly strengthen the labor movement here at home. A successful revolution in Italy would rapidly spread throughout Europe, bringing to a swift end capitalist anarchy with its endless depressions and bloody wars. A Socialist United States of Europe would arouse the workers and colonial peoples of the entire world, inspiring them to establish socialism on a world scale. The quartering of Allied troops in Italy, as in other countries, is thus an issue of burning importance to the American working class.

Hands off the Italian revolution! Let the Italian people decide their own fate! Withdraw the Allied troops!

Truth About Germany

The truth about the resistance inside Germany to the Nazi regime is filtering into the news despite the continued attempts of Allied propagandists to smear the German people as a whole with "guilt" for the crimes of Nazism.

Official Nazi records seized in the files of the Gestapo reveal an enormous and constantly mounting number of arrests during the war for crimes ranging from "high treason" to violating the "broadcasting laws," that is, listening to foreign broadcasts. Highly informative figures on these arrests were published in the April 27 British *Tribune*.

In the first half of 1944, for instance, arrests averaged 2,000 a day before the great wave of mass arrests following July 20. The total figure is 310,000 arrests in the "Greater Reich." The biggest single item by far is arrests for "labor evasions and slowdowns." Other categories include political and religious opposition, spreading of defeatist rumors, forbidden personal relations with prisoners of war and offenses against wartime economic regulations.

While many nationalities were included in these arrests, the *Tribune* concludes conservatively that outside of the labor slowdowns, the "bulk of the other offenses mentioned must, by their very nature, refer to Germans. The conclusion that by the middle of last year the Gestapo was arresting up to 1,000 Germans a day, and that the figure has since risen, seems fully justified."

The Allied slanderers continue to harp on the theme that the majority of the German people must be held accountable for doing nothing about the atrocities in the concentration camps. But the Gestapo files show that the workers and poor people did do everything in their power to fight the Nazi regime. They were the principal victims. In the coming days they will prove once again not only their opposition to fascism, whose horrors they know from personal experience, but they will likewise prove that they know it is capitalism which breeds fascism. They will destroy fascism in its roots by sweeping rotten capitalism into the garbage dump of history, and establish workers' power in the heart of Europe.



"But why can't I take Fifi? The soldiers don't need all the room — and besides, they're trained to march."

(Read about the cartoon contest — Page 7)

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Holland

Living conditions in Holland have not improved with the victory of the Allies. Instead, they have worsened. Discontent among the workers is steadily mounting.

In Rotterdam hundreds of dock workers are out on strike, according to a July 2 United Press dispatch. They demand a six-hour day, free shoes and work clothes and a wage increase. These workers belong to the "Unity Trade Union," an organization recognized neither by the bosses nor the military authorities.

Canadian soldiers were forced to take the place of the strikers, while the reactionary officials of the recognized trade unions joined the military authorities in their strike-breaking action by appealing to the strikers to "return to work."

Belgium

A "wave of strikes" is "now sweeping over the country," reports the International Federation of Trade Unions. "In the coal-mining industries of the Borinage and La Louviere district about nine-tenths, in Charleroi and Liege about one-half of the workers are out on strike."

The members of the cabinet, charged with carrying out Allied policies in Belgium, are alarmed over the situation, says the IFTU. Van Acker, the "Socialist" Prime Minister, declared in a recent broadcast: "I am not a man prone to exaggerate or to dramatize events. Yet in view of the situation in which the country stands I do not hesitate to say that the present hour is grave, indeed very grave."

This vernal servant of Big Business is concerned with maintaining capitalism. To achieve this end no means is too undemocratic or reactionary from the view of the Van Acker cabinet. Thus all strikes have been banned as "illegal." Strike "authors" can be sent to prison. In industries of "vital" necessity, "civil mobilization" is imposed. Compulsory registration has been instituted for the acceptance and change of jobs.

Britain

Class-conscious workers are placing a big question mark over the purpose of the Polish Army in England. This army already contains 150,000 men and plans are afoot to expand it to 300,000 — comparable in size to the pre-war standing army of the United States. The Polish emigre government, together with the Polish army, are costing the British imperialist government about \$80,000,000 a year.

The emigres in this army, coming largely from the Polish landlords, capitalists, and their supporters, are bitterly anti-communist. Their open expressions of hatred for the Soviet Union are notorious. This hatred explains imperialist Britain's interest in maintaining these troops. According to an INS dispatch of July 3, "Government leaders in Britain—both with the party in power and in the opposition — understand fully why the Polish army will probably be long main-

tained as a sort of 'foreign legion' of the British army, but it would be difficult for a frank statement on this question to be given in the House of Commons."

The INS correspondent explains that the British navy and airforce "is now adequate for European and Mediterranean needs against any possible coalition in these territories, but the army is weak in numerical strength and is going to become progressively weaker."

In the coming armed conflicts during the so-called "peace-time," Britain expects to use mercenaries to put down working class revolutions. "The existence of an embittered professional army of Poles, ready for action at any time," continues INS, "is admittedly a welcome auxiliary to the British land forces. No one in the British Government today will discuss the position of England in the possible event of France, Spain, and Italy becoming Communist, but it is conceded privately that democratic Britain would then be as isolated from the continent as she has during the last four years."

France

The perfidious role of the Stalinists in France was glaringly revealed when the tenth Congress of the French "Communist" Party removed from its agenda the question of combating rising anti-Semitism. This was reported in a special Paris dispatch to the N. Y. Jewish Morning Journal on July 2.

The growth of hatred for the Jews in France is an ominous sign, pointing to the rise of a native fascism far worse than anything yet seen in history. Every class-conscious worker un-

QUESTION BOX

Q: Is there much child labor in the United States today?

A: There are approximately 3,000,000 children under 17 years of age working. About 1,000,000 of these hold full-time jobs.

Q: What constitutes Central America and is the standard of living very low?

A: Central America is composed of five republics: Guatemala, Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica. These countries cover approximately 185,903 square miles with about 8,000,000 people. The plight of the peoples can be judged from the fact that the net per capita income ranges from \$23 a year in Nicaragua to \$114 in Costa Rica.

Q: How much more surplus war property is there as a result of this war than there was after the last war?

A: Twenty times more. Although \$265,000,000 worth of goods and facilities have been disposed of up to March 1945, it is estimated that by the end of the war with Japan there will be over \$100 billions worth of such inventory. There was only \$5 to \$6 billions left over from World War I.

derstands it is his duty to combat this malignant symptom with all his energy.

The Stalinists, however, hold posts in the de Gaulle government which fosters anti-Semitism. Bilou, president of the Stalinist Congress, who is also minister of public health, insisted that this burning question be struck off the agenda and considered only in secret session of the Executive Committee of the party.

A number of delegates protested, but protests were arbitrarily over-ruled. The Stalinist leaders do not wish to "embarrass" their representatives in public office. Had the Congress decided to fight anti-Semitism, Stalinists supporting de Gaulle would have to use their power of office in the fight or reveal that they themselves are among those who foster Jew-baiting.

Palestine

One of the excuses offered by British capitalists for continuing their imperialist domination over Palestine is the alleged need to safeguard the Jews and Arabs from attacking each other. The hypocrisy of this "reason" has been revealed again and again, for the British do not hesitate to shoot Arabs and Jews when Britain's imperialist interests are threatened.

The workers of both Jewish and Arabic origin, however, have drawn common interests which power them together. At Jaffa, recently, at a conference of the Arab Socialist Union, the delegates emphasized the necessity for solidarity between Arab and Jewish workers.

The defiance issued a manifesto demanding that "fascism be uprooted from among the Arab masses and their leaders who hide the interests of the Arab workers under the mask of nationalistic slogans."

The manifesto declared that if Palestine were properly developed there would be room for both Arabs and Jews and that a Jewish National Homeland could be built in cooperation with the Arab workers on the basis of equality.

India

Important figures, revealing the growth of the trade unions in India during the war, have been released by the Indian Federation of Labor.

During 1944, the number of affiliated organizations leaped from 30 to 222. Membership increased from 46,388 to 407,773. The industrial areas of India, which were greatly expanded during the war, provide the heaviest concentration of members. More than two-thirds come from the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Punjab.

Analysis by industries reveals a highly significant shift in the economy of India. At one time textiles was by far the most important industry. Now it ranks third. Transport and metals are far in the lead. This is indicated by the following figures:

	Unions	Mem'ship
Transport	45	138,899
Metals	38	101,836
Textiles	22	60,196

Tax "Relief" Bill Gives Billions to Corporations

Congress has been too busy providing "relief for the greedy" even to consider proposals for jobs and unemployment insurance for unemployed workers.

On July 6, the House rammed through by a vote of 246 to 91 the "Quick Relief" Tax Bill for the war profiteers, "designed to improve the cash position of business and industry by an estimated \$5,500,000,000," reported the N. Y. Times, July 7.

It seems the corporations can't wait until the end of the war, as the law provides, to get their mitts on the billions of dollars of excess profits tax rebates, amounting to 10 per cent of the total paid during the war.

The bill passed by the House amends the tax law to permit an immediate "readjustment" which in effect will reduce corporation excess profits taxes for 1944 and 1945 by \$1,600,000,000. That's some windfall for the most profitable years in corporation history. The bill also provides increased profits tax exemptions for 1946, which will add an estimated \$160,000,000 to corporation cash reserves next year. This is done by raising the excess profits tax exemption from \$10,000 to \$25,000.

The bill advances the maturity dates of post-war bonds to next January 1, enabling the corporations to cash in their bonds at full maturity value to the amount of \$1,300,000,000. The worker who has war bonds must wait until the original maturity date before he can collect the full amount due.

Another \$1,000,000,000 is provided through the speed-up of carry-back refunds to offset post-war losses of profits below "normal." This "relief" for anticipated post-war profits losses will come from 1945 and 1946 taxes, as well as refunds during 1946 and 1947. The payments were originally due between 1947 and 1950.

Still another big bowl of gravy is provided in speedier tax amortization of government-built plants. Additional amortization, through tax refunds in 1945 and 1946, will amount to \$1,700,000,000. Although current corporation assets are \$98,000,000,000, double the 1939 figure, this gift to the war-enriched corporations is being made with the excuse of providing "ready cash" for "reconversion."

Soldiers Shipped to Coast In Vermin-Ridden Coaches

"Nothing will be too good for our heroes," the capitalist propagandists promised when the soldiers were hauled off to war.

But American troops being transferred from Europe to the Pacific war theater are being forced to ride cross country in vermin-infested, toilet-clogged day coaches for nearly a week, while business men who can afford to ride pullmans get the benefit of clean, uncrowded sleepers.

This situation was brought to light when 500 combat soldiers last week complained to authorities at Camp Beale, California, that they had been forced to ride six days and five nights packed in eight coaches formerly used for Boston-New York commuters.

Water ran out. They could not wash, bathe or shave. Plumbing facilities clogged and became unusable. Vermin infested the seats. Meanwhile, the men observed long strings of empty pullmans going east.

A War Department statement answered the complaint with, "The Army does not control the rails." The Army can "seize" plants to break strikes, but it can't interfere with the comforts of traveling business men and Pullman Co. profits.

Auto Industry Reserves Provides 15 Years' Profits

During the war the giant automotive corporations have been able to salt away sufficient "reserves" out of profits, admitted and hidden, to pay out "normal" pre-war dividends for years after the war even if the plants operate far below capacity.

A recent survey of the CIO United Automobile Workers Research Department, covering 29 auto and parts companies, shows that profits leaped from an annual average of \$330,512,328 in 1936-39 to \$727,386,001 in 1941-44, after taxes.

Even after deduction of all taxes, with the inclusion of so-called contingency reserves, the average annual net profits during the war years totaled \$299,484,737 as compared to the pre-war average of \$248,338,350.

The "Big Three," General Motors, Ford and Chrysler, made such huge profits before the war that their percentages of war profits increases do not appear as large as some of the smaller firms. Nevertheless, General Motors increased its gross profits from \$244,779,268 in 1936-39 to \$395,194,321. Chrysler showed an annual average increase of 38.5 percent. "During the four wartime years," says the UAW survey, "General Motors and Chrysler salted away \$119,276,758 in postwar and contingency reserves, \$76,051,805 for GM and \$43,224,953 for Chrysler."

It was recently pointed out by UAW officials in a conference with Economic Stabilization Director William H. Davis that on the basis of corporation reserves wages could be increased tremendously without increasing auto prices. The auto companies have demanded big price increases before agreeing to reconversion.

UAW Vice-President Walter Reuther pointed out, for instance, that "automobile corporations are presented with a government guarantee that they can operate profitably at 60 per cent capacity with higher prices and frozen wages."

With their accumulated war profits and reserves, billions in profits tax rebates, guaranteed Treasury refunds to make up for postwar losses, etc., "in case of need the typical American corporation is protected against reconversion loss to the extent of 15 years of normal net income," said Reuther.

Under these circumstances, the auto corporations are not eager to keep their plants running at capacity. They plan to drive down wages, create a "surplus" army of unemployed, boost prices and still clean up huge profits.