

"The History Of American Trotskyism"

— SEE PAGE 6 —

THE MILITANT

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Crisis In Italy Sharpens Under Parri Cabinet

Special to THE MILITANT

ROME, June 28 — Italy has a new cabinet. Bonomi has given place to Ferruccio Parri, leader of the Action Party...

Two issues held up the formation of the new government for 52 days. First, there was the question of the premiership...

Then the fight started all over again. The Christian Democrats



PREMIER PARRI

and the "Socialists" again pushed forward their respective candidates—this time for the key position of minister of interior...

IN THE NEWS

'Socialism' for Monarchs

"The jewelled Soviet order of Victory, Russia's highest award, was conferred on youthful King Michael yesterday by Soviet Marshal Feodor Tolbukhin...

Is That News?

"One amusing product of the strike (of newspaper deliverymen) was the sight of a well-known member of the N. Y. Stock Exchange seated in his chauffeur-driven car at the station reading a copy of the Daily Worker."

War's Hardships

POTSDAM, July 17 — American, British and Russian engineers have created a dream community for the Big Three meeting. Potsdam is a shambles, but barely a stone's throw from the wreckage is the conference compound with clipped lawns and well-tended gardens...

So There!

"More than 5,000,000 earn below 50 cents and 10,000,000 below 65 cents. Those who have been screaming so much about wages being high today, ought to put those figures in their pipe and smoke them."

Workers in Argentina Denounce Wall St.

Hundreds of posters denouncing "Wall Street imperialism" appeared on the streets of Buenos Aires July 19 to advertise a memorial mass meeting for victims of a recent Chilean copper mine fire...

Premier Demands Return of Fascist Empire's Colonies

Events in Italy last week cast a glaring light on the reactionary character of Allied Military Government and the new puppet regime of Premier Parri which it supports...

REACTION STRONGER

In actual fact, the forces of reaction have come out of the crisis considerably strengthened. It was precisely such recurrent

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Trotskyists Speed Aid To European Comrades

By FARRELL DOBBS Campaign Director

A general sentiment to raise as quickly as possible the full amount of the Party's \$5,000 International Solidarity Fund is indicated by the first reports from the Socialist Workers Party branches...

Prompt action of this kind is urgently required for us to meet the appeals for aid from our Trotskyist co-thinkers abroad...

From the Branches

Cleveland: "The Cleveland branch accepts the quota of \$75 for the International Solidarity Fund. We will have the full amount in before the deadline."

Los Angeles: "Quota accepted. Sum of \$350 raised at meeting tonight. Money is on the way. Yours for success."

New York: "Reports from the four branches of Local New York

(Continued on page 6)

S.W.P. Protests British Role In Nigerian Strike

Cabled protests against the arrest of ten or more Nigerian trade union leaders, the suppression of two native newspapers supporting the general strike of 150,000 Nigerian workers, and the threat of the British authorities to banish Nnamdi Azikwe, publisher of the suppressed papers and general secretary of the National Council of Nigeria, were dispatched July 17 by James P. Cannon...

The capitalist press in this country has carried not a line of news about the great Nigerian strike and the repressive actions of the British authorities. First word of these events appeared in The Militant last week following receipt of cables from London asking the Socialist Workers Party and the Civil Rights Defense Committee to arouse American labor to come to the aid of the Nigerian workers.

Testifying to the blackout of news about the great struggle in Nigeria, where the workers struck for a wage of 60 cents a day (the average pay is now about 50 cents), The Militant was able to obtain from the British Information Service in New York only a single news item culled from the London Times.

The London Times report ap-

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14,000 Jam Protest Rally Against California Fascists

Peace Scare Hits Stock Market



Wall St. Peace-Lovers Horrified

"MARKET WRITHES IN PEACE JITTERS... The stock market could not down yesterday the Japanese peace rumors... the market had a peace scare of considerable proportions..."

"STOCKS SHAKE OFF PEACE-BID COMPLEX — WORRY OVER RUMORED OFFER BY JAPANESE DISAPPEARS... The Japanese peace talk jitters evaporated yesterday as a securities market obstacle and stocks managed to recover a portion of the sharp losses suffered in recent sessions."

Wright Workers Take Protest Action As Grievances Pile Up

WOOD-RIDGE, N. J., July 23 — Seething resentment caused by piled-up grievances of the workers against the Wright Aeronautical Corporation, coupled with the refusal of the corporation to grant Local 669, CIO United Automobile Workers of America a new contract...

The immediate issue which touched off the protest was the ruthless firing of a union shop steward, John Potts, without cause and in violation of the union contract. This was the latest

Read the Interview With John Edward Potts Page 2.

in a series of such firings of union men and stewards, and part of the whole union-busting drive of the Wright Corporation.

UNION MEN FIRED

"Instead of giving us a new contract, the corporation began firing our union men," stated a member of Local 669. "We began negotiations for a new contract 30 days before our old contract expired last October. Since then they have refused to negotiate in good faith and during the last few weeks have become more and more hostile and provocative..."

headquarters of Local 669, the almost 800 members who packed the hall, roared a unanimous vote to continue the protest demonstration until the discharged steward was reinstated.

Represented at the meeting were union members from all five Wright plants in the New Jersey area. They voted for a continuous 24-hour membership meeting to be held until further notice, in order to inform all the thousands of Wright workers about the facts in the case. A steering committee of six men from each of the five plants was elected.

On Saturday the picket lines increased, workers taking turns in front of the plant throughout all six shifts. By Monday, Plant No. 7 was out virtually solid. All day Monday, at the continuous membership meeting, the workers crowded into Butler Hall, Lodi, N. J. to give voice to their pent-up grievances and to demonstrate again and again their determination to remain out until the Wright Corporation reinstated Potts and opened negotiations with the union.

By late Monday afternoon the demonstration spread to include other Wright plants.

Irish Aircraft Workers Want Jobs

Demonstrating for full employment, 3,000 aircraft workers marched in demonstration in Belfast, Northern Ireland on July 20, and proceeded to Stormont where the newly-elected parliament was meeting in its first session, says a Reuter dispatch. The procession was led by men bearing the Stars and Stripes, the Union Jack and Soviet Russia's Hammer and Sickle emblem. A large placard was inscribed: "Full employment! Remember your promises of June 4." (parliament was elected on that day).

Barney Malone, one of the original organizers of Local 669, speaking for Plant No. 2 strode on to the platform and declared: "We support you 100 percent! Three-quarters of our plant is now out! Together with you we will let Wright Corporation understand that we have a union; and refuse to be pushed around any longer!" The entire membership

(Continued on page 2)

LABOR TAKES LEAD IN FIGHT TO STOP GERALD L. K. SMITH

LOS ANGELES, Calif., July 20 — More than 14,000 persons answered the call of the anti-fascist united front organized during the past week to demonstrate against Gerald L. K. Smith and his fascist movement by attending a mass meeting at the Olympic auditorium tonight.

CIO Takes Lead In United Front Against Fascists

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Calif., July 19 — The initiative in calling for tonight's great anti-fascist demonstration at the Olympic auditorium was taken by the Los Angeles Industrial Council, CIO after widespread agitation by the Socialist Workers Party, Los Angeles Local, which called for the creation of a broad united front of labor to stop Gerald L. K. Smith and his fascist organization.

The Executive Committee of the Council passed a resolution on July 13, calling for a mass meeting. A similar resolution was passed by the Hollywood Democratic Committee. Almost simultaneously, action was taken by other organizations, including the Citizens Political Action Committee, the Council for Civic Unity and various Jewish organizations.

500 ORGANIZATIONS

Plans for a tremendous demonstration began to take shape, and within the next 48 hours some 500 organizations had signified their desire to participate. The American Federation of Labor, the Railway Brotherhoods, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were among the organizations collaborating.

An organizing conference was called for July 17, and was attended by more than 300 delegates. Assemblyman Albert Dekker was chairman. Main speakers were Raymond Booth, executive director of the Council for Civic Unity, and George Stiller, consultant, who has been placed in charge of coordinating plans. The president of the Central Labor Council (AFL) spoke briefly.

Chairman Dekker threw the floor open for discussion and suggestions. Many hands went up.

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Fascist Demagogue



GERALD L. K. SMITH

against "the Jews and Communists" at the Olympic. Demagogically appealing to the aged members of the Ham and Eggs movement and the fanatically religious sects who provide the only base he has been able to secure here thus far, Smith screamed: "There's ham and eggs for Russia, and ham and eggs for Britain, and now we're going to get ham and eggs for America!"

PROMISE TO RETURN

He announced that he has business in the east that will take him out of town for a few weeks but promised to return to Los Angeles.

W. J. Bassett, representing the AFL Central Labor Council, and Philip Connelly, secretary of the

(Continued on page 4)

CPA-TAMMANY DEAL SCORED BY SIMPSON

NEW YORK, July 21 — Louise Simpson, dynamic young Trotskyist candidate for City Council, in an interview with a staff writer of The Militant today, scathingly denounced the "unholy political alliance" between Tammany and the Stalinists which yesterday netted the Stalinist candidate Benjamin J. Davis, the endorsement of the corrupt political machine for re-election to the Council.

"By accepting this endorsement, Davis has betrayed the Negro people," she declared. "Tammany never endorses a candidate unless the crooked political bosses have a secret understanding with him that he will play ball according to their rules. What did Davis promise the rotten, moth-eaten Tammany tiger?"

The Trotskyist candidate pointed to Davis' recent record. "He is a notorious Stalinist. He follows the party line like a blind horse led by the halter. When Browder was slated for the mothballs and the Stalinists took a tactical turn to the left, Davis voted with Foster, the leader they are now busily shining for public display. The new line was supposed to correct the past policy of openly supporting Wall Street.

"But only a few weeks later, Davis went down to the Board of Elections and registered as a member of the Democratic Party

Hear JAMES P. CANNON

National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party, Speak On:

THE DOWNFALL of BROWDER

Real Meaning of Latest Shift in Tactical Line of American Stalinists

OTHER SPEAKERS:

WEBSTER HALL

119 E. 11th Street FRIDAY AUG. 3 8 P. M.



FARRELL DOBBS

Editor of The Militant Trotskyist Candidate for MAYOR OF NEW YORK



LOUISE SIMPSON

Member of ILGWU Trotskyist Candidate for NEW YORK CITY COUNCIL



ON THE INSIDE

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# John Potts, Fired Shop Steward, Tells How Wright Aero Mistreats Union Men

By Evelyn Atwood

About 100 pickets were marching in front of the huge B-29 Wright Aeronautical Corporation plant No. 7 in Wood-Ridge, N. J. on Saturday afternoon, July 21, when I got off the bus. Veterans of both wars were leading the pickets. The action grew out of a mountain of accumulated grievances, topped off by the persecution and ruthless firing of a union steward, veteran of the First World War.

A picket captain came off the line to greet me. He led me to John Edward Potts, 585 Isham St., New York, the victimized veteran. Calm and collected, Potts was very willing to tell his story, unknown as yet even to all the workers in the plant. "I have worked in Wright's on engine assembly since November, 1942," he began. "Never, until last Wednesday, has there, ever been the slightest criticism of my work. I am union steward of both the green and final assembly lines."

### PROTEST ACTION

We sought refuge from the hot afternoon sun in the shade behind the lunch dispenser across the road from the plant, and sat down on some loose lumber and concrete blocks. "Trouble has been brewing here for a long time now," Potts continued. "Our contract with the company expired last October. This action is also a general protest against working without the company abiding by the contract." In the meantime provocations against the workers by the "lead men" (straw-bosses) in charge of supervision have increased, aggravating the grievances to the point where the situation is explosive. (The lead men, he pointed out, are company men, not controlled by this union.)

"My own case dates back to last Wednesday," said Potts. "At 4:30 in the afternoon, having finished my operations, with quota completed for the day, I was approached by a new worker here, John Lynch. He is a man who was retired by the U. S. Army last February after 33 years in its service.

"Lynch asked me if something couldn't be done for him. His lead men were pushing him around pretty bad and he wanted a transfer to another department, if possible. After talking to him for a few moments, I found out that he had a legitimate grievance. But I also found out that he was not in my jurisdiction, so I introduced him to his own steward, Benny Carpinelli. I might add that Carpinelli is also a veteran, and a former Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Then I left for the day."



JOHN EDWARD POTTS

In order to explain the subsequent developments in the persecution against him, Potts said: "Our contract requires that a steward contact his foreman when going on a grievance investigation. But I was unable to locate my foreman when Lynch came to me. In such cases it has been the practice that the steward can begin the investigation and report to his foreman later." Besides, as Potts repeated, the whole incident started after he had already completed his day's work and fulfilled his quota.

### OUT TO 'GET' SOMEONE

All these facts were presented by Potts and his committeemen at the three hearings which followed in the next two days. But the company men were out to "get" somebody and dislaid the facts.

"The next morning," Potts said, "my foreman, Pat Sulick, came to me and said that my lead man complained to him that I was not at my station from 4:30 on the day before, without his permission. For this, he said, I would receive a warning slip."

Potts then explained to me that when a union official is charged

with an offense, his committeemen must represent him at the hearings. "But the foreman's attitude from the very first was distinctly prejudiced and hostile. When I requested that John Lynch and steward Carpinelli be brought in to verify my statements, he refused. He said he had a 'job' to do and as far as he was concerned the incident was closed. He shouted profane language at me, issued the warning slip and FOREMAN HOSTILE stalked out."

Potts paused to light a cigarette and interjected: "After all, we're only asking for the right to bargain in good faith—for the right to be treated like human beings, not like dogs or beasts of burden!"

Then he continued: "That afternoon at 3:30 a guard was called from plant protection headquarters to the assembly office and I was ordered to go there. Supervisor of Production Richard Olsen notified me that the guard was to 'escort' me to the Personnel Office. I was going to be paid off. He pretended that he couldn't find my committeemen to be present at this action."

### STOOD ON RIGHTS

"But as a union steward I stood by my rights in the contract which states that a committeemen must sit in when an employe is being fired. So I put in a call over the loudspeaker, and Leon Bellows together with a second shift committeeman came up immediately. We took the case to John Nick, Superintendent of Production, who denied my right to reinstatement. But at the Personnel Office they allowed me to retain my badge until the next day."

On Friday morning, Potts related, a final appeal was made to Joseph DeMona, assistant plant superintendent. But DeMona's answer to the committeemen was: "Potts is paid off. That's final, that is definite, that is all!" After that, said Potts, "they lifted my badge, but refused to pay me off pending the outcome of the grievance which goes to the fourth stage. A very young girl guide escorted me out of the plant."

Before we concluded our interview, Potts told me about the extremely low pay in Wrights. "When I began here they were paying 60 cents an hour base pay. Imagine, in times like these, for war production they had the nerve to offer that kind of pay! They played up the stuff about 'you can't let the boys overseas down.' But I'm a veteran of the last war, and they couldn't push that down my throat."

Potts then told me that, although the base pay has been raised to 80 cents an hour, "you can't go any higher than 93 cents for top rating." Thus the average paycheck, plus overtime, plus bonus and after tax deductions is hardly \$30 a week. "You might not believe this, but before the war this company was paying only 38 and 39 cents for this kind of work!" he said. "The fundamental issue at stake is: do we have a union or don't we have a union? In the opinion of the majority of the workers here, the company is out to wreck the union. And eventually we know they will try to pit the veterans against other workers."

### AKRON

Buy The Militant and Fourth International at the Militant Bookshop Carries All Marxist Classics 6 Everett Bldg., Rm. 405 39 E. Market Street OPEN 2-4 p. m. Daily

## Wright Workers In Protest Action Over Grievances

(Continued from page 1)

ship present roared its approval of this action.

From the meeting held on the floor below of Plant 7 Supervision, a delegate was sent up to present their support. "We belong to a union, too," he said. We had a strike once and at that time your union president made a pledge to us. That pledge was: 'There will be no operators' work done by us while you strike.' All we want you brothers and sisters to know is that we are making that same pledge to you right now."

Shouts of applause greeted his speech. From all sides was heard the refrain: "We're going to show that we have a united Local 669!"

## Homes of Farm Workers Menaced By Government

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Negro and white farm laborers from the Delmo Labor Homes project in South-eastern Missouri recently appeared before the House Agricultural Committee in an effort to save their homes, according to H. L. Mitchell, president of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. The Workers Defense League reveals that the project is scheduled to be auctioned off, probably to nearby plantation owners, by the Farm Security Administration.

The FSA advertised the project for sale at public auction on July 24, under terms providing that houses must be torn down and moved by the purchasers. Thus the communities would be broken up, and the farmers reduced to miserable conditions. In the five years of the project's existence, these farmers, living in decent homes and bargaining collectively, have been able to secure better wages on the nearby plantations than sharecropping families.

Head of the House Agricultural Committee conducting hearings on the sale is Rep. W. R. Poage of Texas.

## AFL Blacksmiths Ask Full Pardon For Patterson

STONY CREEK, Pa., July 18 — The rising tide of militancy in the labor movement was demonstrated anew by Local 197, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, AFL. At its recent union meeting two resolutions were passed, one in support of William Patterson, and a second opposing the anti-labor Ball-Burton Hatch bill now before Congress.

Local 197 urges every union in the city to join the fight to free William Patterson, first victim of the Smith-Connelly anti-strike law, and to demand repeal of the vicious anti-labor bill under which he was convicted. It asks full presidential pardon for Patterson. Assailing the Ball-Burton Hatch "industrial peace" bill (analyzed in The Militant, June 30), the Blacksmiths' local calls it "nothing more than a move to paralyze and destroy the American labor movement in the post-war period," and a "virtual declaration of war against the most cherished and hard-won rights of labor."

## Vote Trotskyist! In the Coming New York Elections

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

### A SOCIALIST SOCIETY!

Only a planned world economy can end capitalist wars and depressions. Vote against postwar hunger and misery! Vote against the profit system! Vote against a Third World War!

Vote for revolutionary socialism! Vote for the Trotskyist candidates! Vote for Dobbs and Simpson!

## N. Y. Newspaper Deliverers' Union Thanks SWP for Aiding in Strike

Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union of New York and Vicinity  
63 Park Row, New York 7, N. Y.  
Phone REctor 2-2700-2711-2712  
JOSEPH SIMONS President  
WIM I. BURKE Secretary-Treasurer  
C. Thomas Socialist Workers Party New York Local 116 University Place New York City  
July 20, 1945  
Dear Sir and Brother:  
The cooperation and assistance of your organization in our recent strike was deeply appreciated by the officers and men of our organization.  
The way all labor rallied to our defense in this threat against the existence of Trade Union movement was one of the bright spots of the strike.  
With all good wishes,  
Fraternally yours  
Joseph Simons President

Reproduction of the letter of thanks received by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party, for its help on the picket line of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union during the 17-day strike against the powerful Publishers' Association in New York.

## Ration-Starved Workers Strike For Decent Meals

Workers in Ohio and Illinois are beginning to protest meat shortages in the most effective way that labor knows, by strikes and picket lines. Some 9,700 miners were striking on July 17 near Springfield, Ill. because they can't dig coal on lettuce sandwiches.

These miners have decided to put a little red-hot dynamite under the corpulent seats of the government officials to get the kind of food they must have if they are to work. They have done this in the form of strike action. The coal bosses, they reason, are the main enemies. So by striking them they compel the owner-capitalists to get action from their government servants.

Carter Jenkins, OPA Regional Director at Springfield, has now stated that more red points and meat are on the way for all miners.

He made this statement in the face of the determination of more thousands of miners to walk out.

In Toledo there is widespread resentment at the high-handed treatment of workers by the OPA, the high prices, and artificial shortages that benefit only the beef trust and the capitalists.

UAW-CIO members put up a good demonstration picket line at the OPA district office on July 16 with signs, slogans and UAW sweaters. One sign read: "WE TOPPED THE WORLD IN WAR PRODUCTION BUT NOW NO MEAT AND BUTTER."

This simple and direct complaint expresses concisely the madness of the capitalist system. What is more important, it is a warning to the capitalist class that the working people are going to cure this madness.

## Rankin Insults Veteran; Then Orders His Arrest

John E. Rankin, one of the rancorous buzzards delegated by the decayed aristocracy of Mississippi to defend white supremacy, Jim Crow and the lynch rope in the House of Representatives, likes to get up in Congress and give a speech about his love for the returning war veterans. His speeches are perfect pantomimes of a windmill on a gusty day — revolving arms, screechy noises and wind.

But when this rouser of the aristocratic Southern rabble retires from the floor of the House of Representatives, he takes a radically different attitude toward the veterans. On July 10 a battle-scarred veteran asked permission to appear before the Committee on Veterans' Legislation which is headed by the buzzard from Mississippi. This veteran, Reuben Schafer of New York, a member of Local 230 of the AFL Sign, Pictorial, and Display Union, saw three years and seven months' service in the Army. He was honorably discharged after participating in the occupation of Iran, Gafsa and El Guettar and fighting in the battles of Aussettia Valley and Kairouan Pass besides other engagements in North Africa and Europe.

Rankin dictatorially refused this veteran permission to appear before the Committee. Angered by Rankin's insulting remarks, the veteran retorted with a few forceful observations. Rankin retired to his inner office and sent an emergency call to the police. The police burst in upon the veteran, arrested him and carried him away Gestapo-style, holding him for a considerable time in the Old House office building.

News of this outrageous incident flashed about Washington. A Congressman from New York, fearing repercussions in his home constituency if he said nothing, put the facts in the Congressional Record. Someone tipped off Rankin on what was happening and the old windbag swooped onto the floor of the House just as the New York Congressman was finishing.

Without knowing what the New Yorker had said, Rankin screamed at the Speaker: "He deliberately and falsely charged that this veteran was cuffed around and abused in the Veterans Committee or in my office. It is a deliberate and dastardly falsehood!"

Fighting to get the floor, Rankin demanded a "question of personal privilege." On this point he then gave his explanation of what had happened. His office called the police he said, because



RANTING RANKIN

the veteran had raised too much "sand." He then alleged that the police had found the serviceman was suffering from "a nervous or mental disability."

There is a grain of truth in the sand Rankin tried to toss in the eyes of voters. To Rankin's way of thinking, a man must be crazy to expect a Jew-baiting, Negro-hating, anti-union spokesman of the former slave-holding aristocracy of Mississippi to have the slightest interest in really representing the war veterans or even listening to what they have to say.

### NOTICE

The National Educational Department of the Socialist Workers Party is anxious to secure the following literature in English, German, French or Russian: These of the first 3 congresses of the Communist International. All copies of the magazine "The Communist International" of 1922 in which articles by Zinoviev appear. Zinoviev's writings on the Italian Socialist Party, January-July 1923.

If you can give, loan or sell these to the National Office, please write to: Charles Carsten National Educational Director, SWP 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

# TRADE UNION NOTES

By V. Grey

### They're Looking Ahead

On July 20 Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers of America, CIO, requested the U. S. Department of Labor to establish a legal minimum of 55 cents an hour in all textile plants doing government contract work. The minimum now provided for in the government textile contracts is only 40 cents an hour!

In actual practice, the union has already boosted this to 55 cents but the TWUA members know that the 40-cent contract provision creates a low wage cellar for the bosses to duck into when the rains come.

### N. Y. Stewards' Meeting

One thousand shop stewards of the Greater New York Industrial Union Council, CIO, met at Town Hall, New York on July 11 and endorsed the CIO program for a 20 percent wage increase and a 65-cent minimum wage. The N. Y. Times comments (July 12) that this was the most radical action taken by this body for some time. The Council itself is completely dominated by the Stalinists.

The character of the Stewards' meeting was indicated by the fact that only one out of 23 rank-and-file speakers opposed the no-strike pledge. He was William Johnson, a delegate of the Marine and Shipbuilding Union. The Stalinists led a boozing and hissing demonstration against his defense of the strike weapon.

Johnson, apparently ignorant of the strike-breaking role of the Stalinists, then said, "I knew I'd be accused of being Joe Stalin."

Michael Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union and a Stalinist wheel-horse from way back, said, "This man does not speak for the CIO Council when he calls for strike action — he's not even speaking for his union."

Quill might have added: "He's not speaking for Joe Stalin, either."

## SWP BRANCH ACTIVITIES

CLEVELAND — Open meetings are held at Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park N.) on Friday evenings, 8:30 p. m. Friday, Aug. 3: "Your Standard of Living—What's Happening To It." Speaker, Mary Clark.

Friday, Aug. 10: "The Fight Against Cutbacks and Layoffs." Speaker, T. Grant, Cleveland organizer, SWP.

LOS ANGELES — Hear Grace Carlson speak on "Women in Prison" Sunday, August 5 at 8 p. m., at Symphony Hall, 232 S. Hill St.

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, 200-06, 232 S. Hill St.; SOUTHWEST, Labor Book Shop, 8028 Seville Ave.; SAN PEDRO, Socialist Workers Party, 4008 S. Pacific, Room 214. For additional information phone VA-7986.

Make your reservation now for the WEST COAST VACATION SCHOOL. Situated at the Workmen's Circle Camp in Carbon Canyon, San Bernardino County, it is two miles from Lorida Hot Springs and 82 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 — Visit the Milwaukee branch of the SWP at its headquarters, 926 Plankinton Ave., Room 21, any evening between 7 and 9:30 p. m.

NEWARK — Lectures are held weekly at the Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave., at 8:45 P.M. Friday, July 27: "How Fascism Came to Power." Speaker, Harry Robinson. Friday, Aug. 3: No lecture. Friends are invited to attend instead the New York mass meeting where James P. Can-

are coming up, he warns the auto industry. "We will authorize strikes in every plant where a grievance continues to exist" — that is, after the war.

While the auto barons fear the militancy of the auto workers they are hardly quaking in their shoes at the prospect of Thomas' post-war militancy. For Thomas and the auto workers' executive board voted to renew the no-strike pledge for another year. And the time for a strike to be most effective is of course right now, while the plants are producing — not in the change-over period, or during the limping production of a post-war depression.

The recent conference of local union presidents in Detroit recognized this. That's why they demanded to refer the whole question of strike action to the membership, where it belongs. What a beautiful and bureaucratic answer Thomas and Co. have just given them. "Don't worry," they say in effect, "your great leaders will authorize a lot of strikes — when you're all out of work."

### Calling in Freud

Union stewards and committeemen who wonder how the "labor relations experts" get that way, will find enlightenment in Will Street's magazine Business Week for July 21. Professor Benjamin Selekman of Harvard, it says, is "bringing to focus on union-management conflict situations, the insights and techniques of psychoanalysis."

Union representatives have grown accustomed to the pipe-smoking, campfire-counselor attitude developed in late years by the labor relations gentry. These white-haired boys of the bosses were no doubt students of sociology and ordinary run-of-the-mill psychology. But now, they're going to become psychoanalysts, too. Professor Selekman is going to teach them Freud, Jung and Adler, and how to approach "neurotic situations" (read: grievances).

Even assuming they were honestly trying to settle grievances and not trying to kid the workers out of them, it would be rather difficult for psychoanalysts to solve such "neurotic situations" as the meat shortage and the wage freeze.

non will talk on "The Downfall of Browder." Friday, Aug. 10: "History of Negro Revolts in U. S." Speaker, Ruth Laurie.

NEW YORK — All branches: Saturday, July 28: Members and friends of SWP will meet at 116 University Place at 6 p. m. to gather signatures on local election petitions. Informal get-together afterward at Chelsea Workers Center, 130 W. 23rd St. Refreshments. Sunday, July 29: Beach party at Bay 8, Brighton Beach, to collect signatures. Petitions provided. Take BMT Brighton train to Ocean Parkway; meet at Bay 8 sign.

Friday, Aug. 3: Hear James P. Cannon speak on "The Downfall of Browder," at Webster Hall, 119 E. 11th St. Farrell Dobbs and Louise Simpson, candidates in New York elections, will also speak. Saturday, Aug. 4: Meet at 6 p. m. at 116 University Place to gather signatures on petitions for Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidate for City Council. Local New York headquarters of Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, is open every day and evening.

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# Shipowners Drive Wedge In Union Hiring System Of San Francisco Longshoremen

## Bridges Concedes Drastic Revision Of 1934 Gains

By Robert Chester

SAN FRANCISCO, July 9—San Francisco longshoremen have suffered a major blow at their most valued possession, union control of hiring, as a result of the recent series of negotiations with the bosses and government boards. Union control of hiring, won in the great 1934-1936 strikes, has now been undermined with the active consent of the Harry Bridges leadership, by the introduction of a decentralized hiring hall that upsets the former system of dispatching.

This move was introduced under the pretext of easing the excessive burden of work on the union apparatus. The June 22 Labor Herald, official organ of the California CIO, followed this line in its news article which stated, "A drastic revision in this port's manpower utilization measures will go into effect next Wednesday, taking from the hiring hall most of the burden of dispatching more than 7,000 longshoremen."

The new plan went into effect under Order No. 16 of the Pacific Coast Maritime Industry Board with the full approval of the labor members of this Bridges-sponsored labor-management outfit. It establishes four separate hiring pools, one for the Army, one for the Navy, one for the War Shipping Administration, and the fourth as a reserve pool. Once gangs are assigned to a pool the central hall loses control over them and they become steady gangs working for the given organization, in most cases through the medium of private companies.

Old-time members of the union view this change with alarm. To them it represents a dangerous step backward toward the pre-1934 system of "preferred gangs." Their fears are confirmed by two items which many of

them are discussing. In a letter accompanying Order No. 16, the PCMB stated that "it intended to permit each gang some choice in selecting which pool its members wish to work in." (my emphasis, R.C.). The other item is the statement of a War Labor Board special panel which published its record of recent contract negotiations, that the employers "hold the restoration of steady gangs to be the most important of their demands."

**BRIDGES' POLICY**  
Meanwhile, in a tricky "now you see it, now you don't" sleight-of-hand between the special panel of the WLB and the Waterfront Employers, the union demands for increased wages and other benefits seem as far from realization as ever. So far, the workers have been doing all the sacrificing without achieving any gains. As The Militant has consistently pointed out, these results flow directly from Bridges' "conciliationist" policy with the bosses.

The longshoremen have been demanding a wage increase for the last three years. Their present wages, though constantly referred to as high, are but 16 percent above those achieved in the depression year of 1934. Politely requests by the Bridges leadership for a 15 cent per hour raise made in 1942 and 1943, were just as "politely" rejected by the bosses. In August 1944, the union reopened its contract with the employers to obtain, in addition to a wage increase, "vacations with pay, sick leave, increased rates for handling explosives and damaged cargo, and a guaranteed work week."

The negotiations traveled, step by step, through 12 points of procedure involving negotiation, conciliation and arbitration, finally ending in hearings before the special War Labor Board panel. After four months of deliberation the panel issued re-



BRIDGES

commendations for a five-cent increase of wages, one-week paid vacations and additional travel-time pay. These awards were promptly appealed by the employers, who have indicated they will oppose them to the last ditch. Meanwhile the award of a reduction in the size of a regular gang, was accepted by the union without protest. This step reduces the number of men required for many jobs and is considered another form of speed-up.

**MILITANT LINE NEEDED**  
The longshoremen, especially the old-timers, are greatly disturbed over these developments. One by one, they see the conditions for which they struggled being undermined. Realization is increasing that the Bridges policy can only mean defeat for the union in the period of struggle ahead.

What they want is a revival of the fighting spirit of 1934 and not the spirit of capitulation that now prevails. This spirit can only be revived around a program of militant opposition to the attacks of the bosses, the maneuverings of the government boards and the sell-out policies of Harry Bridges.

## Five Maritime Unions Insist On Wage Rise For Seamen

NEW YORK, July 23—Spokesmen for five maritime unions argued before the National War Labor Board July 19 and 20, for an upward adjustment of wages to off-set the pay slash suffered by merchant seamen when war risk bonus cuts ordered by the Maritime War Emergency Board became effective on July 15.

The five unions, representing the organized unlicensed personnel on both coasts—the National Maritime Union, and the Marine Cooks and Stewards Association of the Pacific (CIO); the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers Association of the Pacific (Independent); the Seafarers International Union, and the Sailors Union of the Pacific (AFL)—each presented separate briefs, but their appeals to the WLB were essentially the same. All are bound by the no-strike pledge. They supported the Little Steel formula, asked only for fringe increases, and stated their case on WLB "policy."

**THE UNION'S BRIEF**  
The following from the SIU brief sums up the basic argument of all the unions: "The fringe increases now become very important to the seamen if they are not to go all out to break the 'Little Steel Formula.'"

"The Board has the power and is requested to increase the seamen's base wage where it should do so in lieu of establishing a 48-hour work week.

"The sub-standard correction principle should be applied to all ratings which are now receiving less than 55 cents per hour in base wages and other ratings proportionately increased in accordance with the Board's policy."

This argument, supplemented by constant re-affirmations of the no-strike pledge "for the duration," leaves seamen at the mercy of the WLB which has granted wage increases only when the unions backed up their demands with action.

Seamen's representatives rested their case last week with a few warnings to the WLB. The publicity campaign of the NMU, now being conducted in the form

of picket lines around War Shipping Administration offices in every major port, is a pantomime of what may happen on the waterfront "after the war." Vincent J. Malone of the west coast marine firemen told the WLB that "if the men get a run-around, there will be a vicious maritime strike after the war."

**THREATS DON'T IMPRESS**

These "after the war" threats of strikes do not impress the WLB and will have little bearing on its decision. This agency was established to meet the wartime needs of American big business. Its job is to hold the line on wages during the war when there is a scarcity of labor and a docile labor movement is of such vital need to the war profiteers.

The steamship companies and their stooges in the government

maritime bureaus are planning to handle maritime labor without the aid of the WLB as soon as war ends. The pattern is the same as that followed after World War I. Ships are laid up, mass unemployment weakens the unions, wages are fixed by government decree, a strike is provoked, and manning of ships is taken over by government shipping halls. This happened in 1921. The International Seamen's Union was smashed.

The present day policy of the leadership in the maritime unions is the same as that of old Andrew Furuseth who represented seamen during the last war. This policy of "loyal cooperation" allows the shipowners to organize their forces, prepare the conditions and pick the time ("after the war") for an all-out fight against the union.

## OLD TIME STEVEDORES SCORE HARRY BRIDGES

By E. Harris

SAN FRANCISCO, July 10 — "Harry has fixed it up again — for the bosses!" This is the opinion of many old-time longshoremen, after weighing Bridges' promises against the recent actions of the War Labor Board special panel and the Pacific Coast Maritime Industry Board.

The Militant reporter found that the old-timers who built the union in 1934 and 1937 are particularly bitter. Many of them are beginning to speak up. Here is what they say:

**HELPS BOSSES**  
One old-timer, eating his lunch in front of an American-Hawaiian pier: "You want to know what I think, young fellow? Oh, you mean not just cussing but real explanations? Well, I think that agreeing to this Order No. 16 is playing right into the bosses' hands!"

He pulled a well-thumbed copy of the Longshoremen's Dispatch out of his pocket and pointed with a gnarled forefinger: "See what the bosses say here — that their most important demand is for 'steady' gangs."

"Well, why? Turn the page now and let the bosses themselves tell us why, in one word — 'EFFICIENCY.' See what they say. 'The decline in efficiency is largely due to restrictive practices introduced by the union' — you see we ain't as efficient as we were before '34, the days of the preferred gangs and no union! What all this means is that they think they're spending too much money to load a ship and that they want the 'old days' back again."

**SPEED-UP IN STORE**  
"Yeah, efficiency means for them steady gangs. But steady gangs means for us working harder and faster. I know, I was here in the Blue Book days (before the 1934 strike) when the boss used to yell down the hatch 'get a move on you so-and-so's, if you want to work tomorrow.'"

"Well we broke up the preferred gangs, alright. But look what's happening. This PCMB order is going to give it right back to them. The panel would not give it to them, but our boys on the PCMB sure did."

Down the bulkhead another old-timer was talking to a group of longshoremen:

"It's the biggest slip we ever made — it'll lead to 'preferred gangs' as sure as I'm alive. Just

"Imagine this same thing happening all over the front, and it can happen under this new set up — and what do you get? Preferred gangs! Nothing else but. Oh it won't be as bad as the old preferred gangs when we didn't have a union, but it's heading in that direction. It'll be a clique set-up with steady gang bosses and gang members driving any guy they don't like out of the gang."

"This set up will breed discrimination, too—the bosses will see to that! They got their stooges around the front now trying to stir up trouble. What they'd like to see is all-white and all-colored gangs, race against race, working against each other for production."

"Sure there are a lot of gang bosses that are good union men, but there are others that'd like to see preferred gangs back again. You mind what I say and you'll see that I know what I'm talking about. I've been around here for 40 years. I went through the sailors' strike in 1909. I tell you that we've been going backwards since the war started. We've been giving in to the bosses when we should have been fighting. We've given up almost everything we won in '34. All we've got left is a few conditions and part of the Hiring Hall. He don't even control our dispatchers. We'd better start fighting soon or we might as well put a padlock on the Hiring Hall!"

"Say John," spoke up another man, "don't you think this other proposition, the 13-man gangs,

## Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

As soon as Jimmy jumped up off the steps to hit the boss we grabbed him.

"That won't do you no good," Tom told him quickly. I said, "Let him alone, Cramer. His work'll be done by cast time."

Cramer, the blower, looked at Jimmy a moment and then laughed. "The CIO sure did a job here," he said to me. "Tell a man to get his work done, and he wants to kill you." Then he walked away shaking his head.

We all laughed at Jimmy. "So you wanted to beat the life out of him," Tom chuckled.

Slim said, "That's no good, Jimmy. You kill one boss, and the company'll give you another one. Might as well let Cramer live."

Jimmy had cooled off a little under all the ribbing and was now grinning a little shame-facedly—and a little proudly.

"I'll tell you what it was," he said, growing serious. "I got tired digging in that runner."

He lifted a wrinkled paper bag and took out part of a sandwich. "Look at this!"

Tom yelled, "Look at that man. He's got MEAT!"



### MEN CAN'T WORK ON POOR FOOD

We looked at the sandwich. It was made of something thin and pink that looked somewhat like meat and gave off a damp, sort of musty odor. It was a thin slice and seemed lonesome and miserable between the two dried slices of bread. There was no butter in the sandwich, just a coating of ketchup that had sunk into the bread like ink on a dried blotter.

Jimmy dangled the meat before us between his thumb and forefinger. "No points," he announced.

"I guess that's why I was going to hit Cramer," Jimmy went on. "We can't get meat at home; we're all out of red points. Sometimes we get hold of a chicken and have to pay anything the man asks for it. But you can't afford to keep doing that on what we make a week. And you can't even get it most of the time, even if you could pay it, especially in our neighborhood."

Slim pounded Jimmy on the shoulder and let out one of his howling laughs. "That ain't the blower's fault!" he howled. "You got to kill the whole OPA!"

"No," Jimmy said, "what I meant was, you eat junk like this and then come out here and work in the heat, and then you get tired. I can't work like I used to."

"You're an old man, now," Tom told him solemnly. "Maybe," Jimmy answered, "but I'd get a lot younger in a hurry if I had something good to eat. And when I got tired out and sat down to rest, and Cramer told me to get the rest of my work finished, I guess I kind of lost my head."

The gang became more serious. "That's right," Tom said. "I get feeling that way, too. When a man does work like this, he's got to get something solid to eat. You can't sweat the life out of you and do all this heavy work on an empty stomach."

### THE MINERS SET A GOOD EXAMPLE

Somebody mentioned the miners, and everyone nodded. "Sure, they said, 'If we can't get meat, we can't work,' and they didn't. They walked out. That's what we ought to do."

"Well, fellows," I said reprovingly, "the trouble with you is that you don't adapt yourselves. You're always dissatisfied, always grumbling and complaining. I think you're a bunch of red agitators."

"There he goes again," Jimmy said. "You don't find the rich people complaining," I continued, "and even though they can get anything they need, look at the black market prices they have to pay for it. And then they have the servant problem to put up with as well. How many of you have had to wear yourselves out looking for a cook or a butler or a maid?"

"Instead of wasting your time agitating and threatening poor, innocent foremen, you should be saving your money and getting rich, if you think you'd be any better off."

But Jimmy started to get to his feet once more, and this time no one held him back, so I moved out of his way.

But underneath the kidding, we were all sore. We still are.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

JULY 27, 1935

**TERRE HAUTE, IND.**—For 48 hours a general strike paralyzed Terre Haute, the home town of Eugene Debs. Workers in every union of the city walked out, when the Enameling and Stamping Plant, whose workers had been on strike for 17 weeks, brought in a crew of scabs under the protection of armed guards.

"No sooner did the general strike go into effect," The Militant reported, "than 'little Napoleon' Governor McNutt declared martial law in Vigo County and shipped truckloads of National Guardsmen into the territory... they proceeded to disperse picket lines with tear gas and rifle butts, showing no concern for sex or age." (The "little Napoleon" was the same Paul V. McNutt who in 1937 became High Commissioner for the Philippines, and today is chairman of the War Manpower Commission which directs the drafting of striking workers).

The workers held firm in spite of McNutt's reign of terror. But the head of the Central Labor Union of Terre Haute, himself afraid of the workers' militancy, suddenly called off the general strike.

The Militant, warning that it had been "the AFL bureaucracy which torpedoed the strike," called for "an organized left wing" to be built in the AFL, from a local to a national scale, to provide for American workers "that necessary point of support and rallying center which it richly deserves."

will help the manpower situation?"

### THEY DON'T LIKE IT

Before John could answer, his partner spoke up. "I don't give a damn about the manpower situation. I was 'on the hook' for 10 hours straight yesterday without a break. I don't like it!"

"I have to like it," said one old-timer slowly, "I'm too old and crippled to go down into the hold again. I was one of the founders of this union and look how the union is protecting me—ten hours out there in the cold wind, hooking on loads."

"Listen fellows," said a young colored longshoreman, "I just

came from the Hall at 9 o'clock this morning. When I was sent out, there were still seven rows of plugs in the dispatching board—at least 100 men waiting for jobs. There is no manpower shortage. And what if they were short of men? What about all the shipyard workers that are being laid off? I think it's just that the bosses want 13 men doing 18 men's work."

"This new system won't work," said a lift-jitney driver, who had been listening in.

The crippled old-timer answered him: "This system, it's just speed up, worked before 1934 and it will work again unless we stop it like we did in '34."

### Reconversion - III

## UAW Leaders And The Program They "Forgot"

By Art Preis

The trade union leaders have long been aware of the deadly threat of production cut-backs, wage slashes and mass unemployment. There has been no lack of complaints from them about the government's "abysmal absence of policy, no concrete steps being taken to meet these needs." (CIO Steel Labor, July, 1945). Nor has there been any lack of a plan — a sound plan — to meet the impending crisis.

In July, 1943 when large scale layoffs were still far ahead, the International Executive Board of the CIO United Automobile Workers projected a progressive plan for "Post-War Full Employment, Security and Lasting Peace."

This plan, featured across two pages of the United Automobile Worker, July 15, 1943, proclaimed the elementary principle that the needs of the people stand above the "rights" of the owning minority. It declared: "Our industries can no longer be operated to serve private interests where these conflict with the public need."

### WHAT UAW DEMANDED

Therefore, as the first and key point under "Planning for Full Production and Full Employment," the UAW leaders demanded: "Government or municipal ownership and operation of monopolistic industries and of industries strategically essential to the national safety. Government control and regulation of other industries to prevent the abuses of monopoly and to assure production in the public interest."

Together with this fundamental demand, the 1943 plan called for: "Reduction of the working week to thirty hours without reduction of (take-home) pay, as a result of a full production program."

But when the time came for action, in 1945, when hundreds of thousands in auto and aircraft were tossed out on the streets, when vast government-owned plants like Willow Run were shut down, these union leaders "forgot" their own union proposals.

UAW-CIO President R. J. Thomas, for instance, kept completely silent about government ownership and operation of Willow Run for the production of consumers' goods. Instead, he took a junket, at union expense, to plead with war tycoon Henry J. Kaiser, whose shipyard workers were being laid off by the thou-

sands. Thomas wanted Kaiser to wangle Willow Run away from the government and "give" jobs to the UAW members, that is, to sweat out more profits for Henry J. Kaiser.

### HATE STRUGGLE

Thomas typifies the conduct of the entire top union leadership, AFL and CIO, now that the problem of reconversion has begun to press with full weight upon the workers. These leaders have no stomach for a genuine struggle against the profiteering bosses who block full production and full employment. Their biggest concern is to curb the workers on the leash of the no-strike pledge.

Today, the fundamental program of the CIO and AFL leaders is contained in the capital-labor "Peace Charter" they signed with Eric Johnston, head of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. This "peace pact for post-war prosperity" has as its corner-stone the recognition of the "supremacy" of "the rights of private property and free choice of action, under a system of private competitive capitalism."

It adds a blanket endorsement of Wall Street's post-war plans to plunder the country without restriction, by supporting "the inherent right and responsibility of management to direct the operations of an enterprise... earn a reasonable profit... free from unnecessary governmental interference or burdensome restrictions."

Thus, the labor leaders are bound to the profit interests of Big Business and pledge themselves in advance to oppose any labor action against these interests. And this agreement has been made at the very time Wall Street is engaged in a ferocious offensive against the unions and against the workers' living standards.

### FRANTIC APPEALS

In the face of this union-busting assault, the labor leaders con-

fine themselves to issuing frantic appeals to the union-busters and their government to "do something." This is the essence, for instance, of a three-point program recently advanced with great fanfare by the CIO leaders.

A year ago they supported the Kilgore bill which proposed \$35 weekly as the minimum needed to provide adequate unemployment insurance for the entire duration of unemployment. They successively reduced the standards they have been advocating until today they are praising Truman's pigeon-holed proposal for a 25 weekly maximum for 26 weeks — only \$12.50 a week when averaged over a year. Tomorrow, no doubt, they will "compromise" for the even smaller crumbs which will be the current "highest offer" of the so-called "friends of labor."

While they complain against the wage-freezing Little Steel formula, in their program they appeal to Truman to "confer the necessary authority" on the War Labor Board to make "wage adjustments... which will not substantially affect the cost of living." They continue to place complete dependence on the very agencies which have imposed and enforced the wage freeze. And they concede in advance a gaping loophole for its continued enforcement. For the capitalists and their government always oppose wage increases on the grounds that these "substantially affect" prices. They never willingly grant such increases out of the huge corporation profits.

### WHAT STEPS?

As for an effective program to ensure full production and employment — the key issue — the CIO leaders in their latest proposals merely appeal to the War Production Board, dominated by corporation "dollar-a-year" men, to take "all necessary steps."

What these "necessary steps" are, the CIO leaders do not say. But the WPB, we can be sure, is already taking all the steps necessary to protect the interests of Wall Street.

Above all, the top union leaders are endeavoring to divert the workers from independent, militant labor action. This is strikingly shown in the recent highly-ballyhooed CIO-PAC pamphlet on "The People's Plan for Reconversion," an attempt to agitate the workers for the feeble proposals of the CIO leaders. "Here is What You Can Do," trumpet the CIO leaders to the workers:

"Ask your Congressman what he is going to do to protect the wage earners... Ask your Governor and Mayor and their Councils what they are planning... Ask your employer how soon he will make up his mind and chart plans... Write or wire your Senators and your Congressman that you want them to support..."

Write, wire, ask, beg, plead—in short, grovel before the political agents of Big Business for them to plan, make up their minds and do something. But they have long since made up their minds. They are acting. They are passing law after law against the interests of the workers. They are engaged in a gigantic offensive, spearheaded by the government itself, to crush the unions and loot the country.

### ON THEIR KNEES

The labor "leaders" are on their knees like beggars before the labor-hating, rapacious handful of ruling capitalists. Their whole record is one of compromise and retreat, readiness to hail the latest crumb dangled before the workers by one or another capitalist politician. But they never dare to fight for a single demand that so much as touches the "sacred rights" of private property, profits and privilege. They never push legislation that goes beyond what some vote-hungry "liberal" capitalist politician proposes — as a gesture never seriously meant.

The top union leaders, for all their complaints and ballyhoo, offer no effective program on reconversion. Such a program would mean preparing for a battle, calling on the workers to conduct independent, militant mass struggles — without which it is impossible to compel the



# Huge Los Angeles Meeting Provokes Protests of Smith's Fascist Gangs

(Continued from page 1)

CIO Industrial Council, made the most significant speeches at the anti-fascist mass meeting.

Bassett exposed Smith's demagogic references to his membership in the AFL by explaining that years ago this fascist demagogue had "confused some AFL unions in Louisiana into giving him life memberships" and has been exploiting them ever since. Bassett was the first speaker to emphasize the special interest of labor in stopping Smith, who is "attempting to divide all working people and do away with organized labor." He pledged that "the AFL will go to every extreme in cooperating with other organizations to do away with Gerald L. K. Smith."

## DOUBLE TALK

Connelly's speech, as full of double talk as the Stalinist line which he follows, explained Smith's presence in Los Angeles as an attempt "to disrupt the war effort in the Pacific." He then touched on other reasons: "to hurt reconversion... to create storm troops and to mobilize returning veterans against labor when reactionary employers decide to reopen the fight for the open shop."

Then, touching a basic truth for once, he said: "This is the reactionary big business method of solving postwar problems."

The only program of action against fascism proposed tonight was in the leaflet distributed by the Socialist Workers Party outside the meeting. The Stalinist-dominated united front committee offered no program to the thousands of workers who had assembled because they wanted to do something to stop Smith, but merely hinted vaguely during the collection speech of "another huge mass meeting like this one."

## SWP ACTION PROGRAM

The SWP program, captioned "AFTER TONIGHT, WHAT NEXT?" called for the formation of anti-fascist committees in every shop, such committees to be combined under a central system of representation which would enable labor's forces to be mobilized rapidly for defense against fascist actions.

Additionally, the program urged continuance of the united front which prepared the demonstration in the Olympic auditorium and the broadening of the united front by the inclusion of representatives from every local union in Los Angeles.

Organization of mass picket demonstrations against any further meetings Smith may attempt, and the building of an independent labor party, are the third and fourth proposals in the SWP's four-point program.

# Trotskyist Youth In L.A.

By Gene Jimenes

LOS ANGELES—The Socialist Youth Club of Los Angeles is engaging in its first major activity, organizing the youth of this city for the fight against fascism and its spokesman Gerald L. K. Smith. This is a big job for a small organization, but it is being worked on with the high enthusiasm which belongs to youth.

The Socialist Youth Club, a Trotskyist group, understanding what fascism is and how to fight

it, intends to lead the way for the youth in the struggle against the menace of Smith and his fascist gang. Appeals are being made to the organized youth of the city, including racial minorities, student groups, working class youth organizations, etc. to form a united front with the labor movement.

The first organization appealed to was the American Youth for Democracy (Stalinist), during their local convention. Refused a

point on the convention agenda by AYD officials, the Socialist Youth Club then sent a telegram to the convention proposing a united front against fascism.

The telegram was not read or answered. However, the Socialist Youth Club will follow up this appeal by attending AYD branch meetings and speaking to the membership. Similar action will be taken to reach other groups, to as large an extent as is possible with the SYC's resources.

# CIO Leads Fight Against Fascists

(Continued from page 1)

Among those called upon was Myra Tanner Weiss, who spoke as the organizer of the Los Angeles branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

## THREE PROPOSALS

Comrade Weiss made three proposals, all designed to deepen the content of the counter-demonstration against Smith and to give the movement a more definite working-class leadership and orientation.

She proposed that labor speak

ers be given the key spots on the Olympic auditorium program; that the united front committee that is being established continue to function so as to be in constant readiness to meet any moves initiated by Smith; and that the Olympic auditorium meeting be short and followed by a dramatic but peaceful march from the Olympic past the Shrine, a march of about a mile.

Comrade Weiss, in making these proposals, nevertheless underscored the intention of the Socialist Workers Party to abide by the decision of the united front. She also outlined the activity carried on by the SWP to make the Olympic rally a success.

## ON THE JOB

She mentioned that SWP members had spoken at numerous churches and meetings on Sunday; had immediately gotten out 10,000 leaflets, the first leaflets announcing the meeting to be distributed; were carrying on an intensive telephone and mailing campaign; were plugging for the demonstration in shops, factories and unions; and were holding open-air meetings for the same purpose on Thursday, the night

preceding the mass demonstration at Olympic auditorium.

Considering the nature of the gathering, response to Comrade Weiss' proposals was good, but all suggestions were referred to a steering committee of 11 members, elected by the conference.

This committee included, in addition to Attorney General Kenney (who was chairman of the Olympic meeting), George Stiller and Raymond Booth, the following: W. J. Bassett of the AFL; Frank Pellet, Railway Brotherhoods; Philip Connelly, CIO; Thomas Griffiths, NAACP; Carey McWilliams, National Citizens Political Action Committee; Eleanor Abowitz, Hollywood Independent Citizens' Committee; Ann Pollack and Leo Gallan, Jewish Community Council.

Plans announced for Friday night envisaged a peaceful meeting at the Olympic, with speeches by individuals representing some of the many participating organizations. One hundred thousand circulars announcing the rally, under the heading, "It Can Happen Here!" had been printed. It was planned to distribute an additional 15,000 leaflets, addressed to the demonstrators at the Olympic.

# L.A. Police Break Up Anti-Fascist Meeting

LOS ANGELES, Calif., July 20 — Local police dispersed a street meeting of the Socialist Workers Party last night amid strong protests from workers in the audience of 150 which gathered to hear an appeal for support of the mass anti-fascist demonstration at the Olympic auditorium tonight.

The police broke up the meeting on the pretext that the speakers had no written permit, despite the fact that that particular corner, Brooklyn and Breed Streets, in Boyle Heights, is traditional for outdoor meetings without permits of any kind.

## FREE SPEECH FIGHT

Several workers told the speakers they wanted to defend their right of free speech and asked to be notified of any way that they could help.

On July 26 the SWP will hold

another meeting at that corner to discuss the fight against local fascist movements and to defend its right of free speech.

In addition to the meeting in Boyle Heights, with its predominantly Jewish and Mexican population, a street meeting was held at the same time at Central Avenue and 45th Street, in the heart of the Negro neighborhood. Over 50 Negro workers heard speakers call for mass participation at the Olympic meeting, explain the cause of fascism and give the SWP program of action to stop the growth of fascist movements in Los Angeles.

At the conclusion of the meeting on Central Avenue, workers in the audience bought copies of "The Militant" and the pamphlets "Fascism," and "The Negro Struggle for Equality." Some asked to be notified of further meetings.

# Bethlehem Workers Are Invited To Penn. Picnic

BETHLEHEM, Pa., July 22 — Comrades from the Eastern Pennsylvania area today visited many of the 350 new Militant readers in Bethlehem to personally invite them to our August 5 picnic at Stump Farm. Although time did not permit us to see all our new friends and readers, the enthusiastic response we received was ample assurance that many Bethlehem workers will join the all-day outing.

In spite of the fact that we were primarily interested in publicizing the picnic, our warm reception made it very easy to sell \$4.50 worth of our pamphlets. The Allentown - Quakertown branches, which include the Bethlehem area, are sponsoring the picnic jointly with the Reading and Philadelphia branches of the Socialist Workers Party. Admission is free, with refreshments

and food provided at prices that cover only expenses. The 30-acre Stump Farm is close to Liberty Bell Station 84, Quakertown. All Militant readers are invited.



BUILD THE LABOR PARTY!

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 Preit Associate Editor of The Militant

Joint Auspices: Allentown - Quakertown - Bethlehem - Reading and Phila. Branches, SWP

— Games & Prizes — ADMISSION FREE - LUNCHEONS Adults 50c, Children 25c

# Nailing Another Anti-German Lie

Slanders hurled against the German people as "militaristic" are proved false by American history—and by the ancestors of the American commander in Europe, General Dwight Eisenhower himself, states a press release of the Workers Defense League.

"Those who claim that Germans have always been militaristic should be reminded that many Germans came to this country because they objected to peacetime conscription. Among those freedom-loving Germans were the ancestors of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, who is now backing the campaign for the very policy which drove his forebears to this 'land of the free,'" says the W.D.L. The General's uncle, Francis T. Miller, in a recent biography of the general, wrote: "The Engles, Hoffmans, Mussers, Brubakers, Eisenhowers, and many others, became what is called the Pennsylvania Dutch. The Pennsylvania Dutch left Germany because of military requirements."

# SWP Protests British Role in Nigerian Strike

(Continued from page 1)

peared on July 13. It states that "workers of the Public Works Department went on strike at Ibadan for one day, leaving the town without light, power or water, but the next day returned to work." The report goes on to state, however, that the strike



was continuing and embraced additional workers in the post office, town council and Elder (shipping) lines.

Confirmation is given in the London paper of the suppression of the two native papers, the West African Pilot and the Daily Comet, by the British governor of Nigeria. The report states they were suppressed "for publishing provocative articles."

## STRIKERS FIRM

That attempts have been made at strike-breaking is also indicated. Says the Times report: "The leaders of the railway union had agreed at an interview with the general manager of the railway to telegraph strikers at up-country stations to return to work, but no sooner had they left the interview than they were attacked by a crowd of strikers, and had to be rescued by the police."

Concluding, the report states: "The strikers have rejected efforts to induce them to return to work pending negotiations, and they continue to disobey their union leaders, insisting that their demands must be met before they go back."

# Pioneer Notes

Pioneer Publishers salutes Lucha Obrera Publications in Mexico for an outstanding achievement: the publishing of a Spanish translation of Socialism on Trial by James P. Cannon. Lucha Obrera is the name of the newspaper issued twice a month by the Mexican section of the Fourth International. Under the title Wall Street Enjuicia al Socialismo (Wall Street Puts Socialism on Trial), this translation appeared in Mexico City in June, 1945. Pioneer has just received shipment of a number of copies.

A very attractive full-size book of 192 pages, this is a complete translation of the official court record of James P. Cannon's testimony in the Minneapolis trial. Mexico is now the third country in which this textbook of revolutionary socialism has been published. The first American edition, issued in 1942 by Pioneer, was entirely sold out and was followed by a second edition of 10,000 in 1944. In England two editions, under the title The ABC of Trotskyism, have been printed and have been very much in demand by the workers who, as a friend wrote us, "expressed the opinion that this is what they have been waiting for: an easy exposition of the whole socialist case."

The introduction to the Mexican book says that in publishing it "the Mexican Section of the Fourth International salutes the comrades who were convicted and who are now free after 12 to 16 months' imprisonment; confident that 'out of the capitalist prisons and concentration camps the majority of the leaders of Europe and the world of tomorrow will come.'"

# The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

## Unemployment Benefits Denied to Women

Is there a conspiracy between the bosses and the compensation agencies to prevent workers who are now being laid off from getting their unemployment compensation? That is a question which is being raised by many workers who have observed some strange goings-on in the layoffs of women workers.

One plant where the situation is particularly bad is the Chevrolet Gear and Axle unit of General Motors on Holbrook Ave., Hamtramck (a suburb of Detroit). Here the women engaged in production work during the war are now being laid off.

Although the vast majority of complaints have come from colored women workers, it has been determined that in some cases the same procedure was used to deprive white women workers of their \$20 a week. Women of both races are being oppressed by the management and the compensation agencies.

Needless to say, the Negro workers have been given a special kicking around in the Chevrolet Gear and Axle plant. Even Negro men workers who had as high as sixteen years' seniority had held jobs only as janitors before the war. Until there developed a labor shortage because of the imperialist slaughter, they were not even allowed to touch a machine.

## DO-NOTHING POLICY

The slick method of keeping the women from obtaining their unemployment compensation has been called to the attention of the union leadership without avail. The top bureaucrats of Local 147 UAW-CIO are interested only in maintaining their own power and prestige. They have informed the women that they were only hired in for the duration of the war and there is nothing that the union can do about it.

This, of course, has given a black eye to the union as a whole as far as many Negro women are concerned. Questioned as to their attempts to put up a fight in the union meetings and replace the reactionary leaders with more militant ones, most of the workers admitted that they were so disgusted with the attitude of the leaders that they did not even bother to attend meetings. This attitude can only further strengthen the reactionary forces in the union leadership, because the unions are the only official arena wherein the workers can put up a fight for their just demands in the shops.

## ORDER FOR GM

Protests were made to Mr. Boston, the Division Superintendent. He allegedly replied: "That is the order from General Motors top management. When women production workers are laid off we are to offer them the mop. If they refuse to accept that

## Pioneer Paragraphs

# THE PARTY IS THE DECISIVE INSTRUMENT OF THE STRUGGLE

Consciousness, premeditation, and planning played a far smaller part in bourgeois revolutions than they are destined to play, and already do play in proletarian revolutions. In the former instance the motive force of the revolution was also furnished by the masses, but the latter were much less organized and much less conscious than at the present time. The leadership remained in the hands of different sections of the bourgeoisie, and the latter had at its disposal wealth, education, and all the organizational advantages connected with them (the cities, the universities, the press, etc.).

The bureaucratic monarchy defended itself in a hand-to-mouth manner, probing in the dark and then acting. The bourgeoisie would bide its time to seize a favorable moment when it could profit from the movement of the lower classes and throw its whole social weight into the scale, and so seize the state power. The proletarian revolution is precisely distinguished by the fact that the proletariat — in the person of its vanguard — acts in it not only as the main offensive force but also as the guiding force. The part played in bourgeois revolutions by the bourgeoisie, by its education, by its municipalities and universities, is a part which can be filled in by a proletarian revolution only by the party of the proletariat.

The role of the party has become

come all the more important in view of the fact that the enemy has also become far more conscious. The bourgeoisie, in the course of centuries of rule, has perfected a political schooling far superior to the schooling of the old bureaucratic monarchy. If parliamentarism served the proletariat to a certain extent as a training school for revolution, then it also served the bourgeoisie to a far greater extent as the school of counter-revolutionary strategy. Suffice it to say that by means of parliamentarism the bourgeoisie was able to educate the Social Democracy that it is today the main prop of private property. The epoch of the social revolution in Europe, as has been shown by its very first steps, will be an epoch not only of strenuous and ruthless struggle but also of planned and calculated battles—far more planned than with us in 1917.

(From "Lessons of October," by Leon Trotsky, pp. 100-101. Pioneer Publishers, 1937.)

## Vote Trotskyist!

In the Coming New York Elections

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

FULL EQUALITY FOR NEGROES and NATIONAL MINORITIES!

DOWN WITH JIM CROW!

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

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

Pioneer is handling the distribution of the pamphlet in this country. Order "Wall Street Enjuicia al Socialismo," 50 cents, from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.



48 pages, paper .15 Pioneer Publishers 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

# Reign Of Terror In Greece Continues Unabated; Thousands Of Workers Deported To Ethiopia

By Paul Abbott

The reign of terror in Greece continues unabated. Thousands of workers who resisted the Allied troops are now being deported to Ethiopia, according to the Mid-June Socialist Appeal, organ of the British Trotskyists.

In a protest to the Greek Embassy at Washington against the continued terror, the Macedonian American People's League declared: "The tragic civil war in Greece ended in the complete victory of reaction and fascism. The very same elements which had collaborated with the Germans, reinforced by discredited foreign agents, are today subjecting the whole Greek population to the most outrageous terror."

**JAILED, MURDERED**  
According to neutral UNRRA sources, some 33,000 Democrats are languishing in prison. General Ares, one of the outstanding heroes of the Greek liberation struggle, and hundreds of his followers have been brutally murdered. The fascist regime of Metaxas has reappeared under a new name. Without foreign interference, these tragic developments would never have occurred.

The Stalinists, in particular, are lamenting the bloody reign of terror. Nikos Zachariadis, secretary-general of the Greek Communist Party told PM's special Athens correspondent, Roi Otley, that "freedom exists in Greece today for black reaction. Only the monarchist-fascist elements put into power by force of British arms hold authority and are using UNRRA supplies placed at their disposal to propagandize for a return of the monarchy."

**HANDPICKED GANGSTERS**  
The Stalinists in New York issued a leaflet that declares: "At least 30,000 partisans are in jail. Hardly a day passes without a monarchist raid on EAM headquarters in one town or another. The islands are again the hell-holes which they were in the days of Metaxas. Reactionary bands roam the country, equipped with

British arms. "Practically the entire Greek Army is today a hand-picked force of gangsters, many of them the former Security Battalions for the German occupation. And the royalists — perhaps fearful of the results in the British elections — are known to be planning a putsch against the Voulgaris government which does not satisfy them because it does not proceed murderously enough against the democratic forces."

By declarations such as these the Stalinists attempt to whitewash their own perfidious role in Greece. They were the ones who welcomed British troops to Greece. They were the ones who engineered a deal agreeing to give up the arms of the Greek partisans. They were the ones who murdered hundreds of the most militant fighters, slandering them as fascists. They betrayed the Greek revolution.

How demagogic are their cries against the bloody reign of terror can be judged from the fact that they are still abiding by the terms of the agreement they made with the British counter-revolution.

**DAMNING CONFESSION**  
In the July 24 New Masses, weekly organ of the American Stalinists, the Greek Stalinist Kostas Karayorghis, editor of Rizopastis, published in Athens, writes: "The Varkiza agreement, the signing of which was so necessary to the EAM as well as to the British, could have constituted a point of departure for a normal political life in Greece. But that agreement, which has been fully observed by the EAM, has been for the Greek reactionaries and the British Tories, who

maintain them in power, nothing but a mask."

The Stalinist signing of the Varkiza surrender enormously facilitated the British in their aim to drown the Greek revolution in blood. The Stalinist heads of the EAM (Greek Liberation Front) still observe the counter-revolutionary terms of this agreement.

## 250 Trotskyists Were Killed By Greek Stalinists

When the British provoked civil war in Greece after being welcomed by the Stalinists, the Trotskyists stood in the forefront of the workers' ranks, fighting armed reaction. The Stalinist leaders joined the British and the puppet Greek government in murdering outstanding militants among the partisans. Latest news from Greece declares 250 victims fell before the Stalinist killers in Salonika alone.

These 250 victims include members of the Fourth International and the Archeo-Marxists, a left-wing working class political party which adheres to a centrist program (similar to that of the Independent Labor Party in Britain) although it agrees with the Trotskyists on many points. The Archeo-Marxists publish a weekly paper in Athens called Class Struggle.

Cut off from contact with sister parties of the Fourth International since 1939, the Greek Trotskyists nevertheless waged a valiant struggle against the Nazi conquerors and the Greek capitalists who collaborated with them. Through individual German soldiers they learned a Trotskyist organization in Germany was fighting against Hitlerism from the underground.

The Greek Trotskyists publish two weekly papers in Athens, Workers Front and Workers Struggle. Although they are divided into three groups, two in Athens, one in Salonika, they collaborate on many questions.

## Queues Unpopular In Great Britain

The revolt of British women against hated line-ups for fish, bread, tomatoes, etc., is growing in volume and determination, according to a July 11 Reuters dispatch. Men are now joining in the widespread protests. Birmingham housewives have established an organization like that of the South London women to publicize their troubles and bring pressure to bear on the government. In other areas preliminary steps are being taken. The Manchester Trades Council, representing all the trade unions of this great industrial area, demanded action by the City Council.

In the Tyne-side and Northeast coast areas, 100,000 shipyard workers discussed strike action to protest unfair distribution of goods and short supplies.

A graphic instance of the difficulties faced by housewives was reported by the London Evening News. In the Thames-side town of Reading, women needing shoes for themselves or their children were forced to queue up at five o'clock in the morning. The line-up at that early hour was 500 yards long.

Meanwhile workers have begun militant action to secure living quarters. During the night of July 13, three vacant London apartments were seized by service men. An organization called the "Vigilantes" initiated this tactic in the seaside town of Brighton. John Preen, leader of the London Vigilantes, who superintended the installation of the families of the servicemen in the vacant apartments, declared: "We are going on every night putting hard cases into empty places until the council acts properly and gives service men a square deal."

The Stalinists are carrying on their usual anti-working-class tactics. Their official organ, the Daily Worker, declared that "fascists" are active among the Vigilantes! If fascists are able to make capital of the unbearable situation facing returning veterans, the Stalinists bear major responsibility. For all these agents of the counter-revolutionary Kremlin have to offer the housewives and homeless families of veterans is slander!

**Buy "The Militant"**  
IN MILWAUKEE  
at the newsstand on the northwest corner of Wisconsin Ave. on Third St.

## The Big Three Meet Again



## Crisis In Italy Continues Under The Reshuffled Cabinet

(Continued from page 1)

governmental crises which enabled Mussolini and the Fascists to play on the theme that democracy was bankrupt and unable to create "stability." Of all the parties, the Stalinists have suffered the greatest loss in prestige. For weeks Togliatti (top Stalinist leader) was the target of ribald comment in the right-wing press. Wrote the Christian Democrat Domani d'Italia: "Since when has Signor Togliatti been so particular about the government he served in. Not only did he serve in both Bonomi cabinets, but he also participated in the Badoglio government, under the rotten King Victor Emmanuel III."

It is generally agreed that both the Socialist and Action Parties have gained considerably at the expense of the Stalinists. The wing of the Socialist Party led by Ignazio Silone (author of the anti-fascist novels "Bread and Wine" and "Fontamara"), which is opposed to fusion with the Communist Party, has also been considerably strengthened, and within the C. P. the anti-Togliatti feeling is growing.

The prestige of Nenni ("Socialist" leader) has soared considerably. His arrest by the British authorities did his reputation no harm, especially as Togliatti was left unmolested, though he, too, broke the "no speeches" ban during the same period. Nenni stumped the country with a series of demagogic speeches which evoked ready response among the workers. Prophetically, Nenni declared: "I have no intention of playing the role of a Noske" (leader of the German Social-Democratic Party which crushed the revolution of 1918). He said nothing about playing the role of a Keresky (head of the Russian government after the February 1917 Revolution, who attempted to preserve capitalism).

**THE REAL POWER**  
Meanwhile real power remains in the hands of Anglo-American imperialism. The key posts of ministers of the army, navy and air cannot be filled without Allied approval. This gives the Allies complete control of the Italian armed forces, as an auxiliary to the occupation troops. In the North, AMG remains in virtual control. There is no way in which the new government can solve the grave economic crisis.

The fact that Togliatti is now minister of justice instead of deputy prime minister, that Nenni is now inside the cabinet instead of outside it, will not provide jobs for Italy's hundreds of thousands of unemployed, it will not enhance the value of the lira or curb the black market. No shuffling or re-shuffling of ministerial posts can accomplish this. Even the bureaucracy of 24 under-secretariats, which have been created to satisfy all the party claims for cabinet posts, will not contribute to a solution of Italy's grave problems.

Italy needs an expanding agriculture to provide food for her hungry millions. This cannot be accomplished on the basis of the present private ownership of land, with most of it in the hands of the big landowners. Only the drastic revision of the land and its collectivization under a plan-

ned economy can create the conditions necessary for the modernization of Italy's agrarian economy and thus insure increased industrial activity to provide jobs for her unemployed and to maintain and improve the standard of living of the masses. Only nationalization of industry under workers' control and the introduction of a sliding scale of wages with a basic minimum, and a sliding scale of hours corresponding to the needs of production, can abolish this. Italy needs, not a new premier and new allocation of cabinet posts, but the active participation of the worker and peasant masses in the political and economic life of the country.

### WORKERS LOSE FAITH

The faith with which the Italian workers streamed back into their traditional parties as the Fascist regime came crashing down, is gradually evaporating. This last crisis was noteworthy for the complete indifference shown by the workers to its outcome. They cry for bread and jobs and are offered — a new premier!

The Italian workers have not yet found the road to the program of Trotskyism, the program of the Socialist Revolution. The coalition cabinet will help to solve their problems. To completely expose the Stalinist and "Socialist" quacks, the Workers' Communist Party, Italian Section of the 4th International, is pushing forward its demand that these parties break with their capitalist allies, that they put their program to the test by forming

### Trieste and Venice Paralyzed By Strike

All work was brought to a complete standstill in the Italian port cities of Trieste and Venice on July 19 when workers engaged in a general strike protesting the composition of a commission nominated by the Allied authorities to conduct a purge of fascists, according to an AP dispatch from Rome. The strike was called by the Committee of National Liberation and work was halted not only in the two cities but in the entire surrounding areas.

A Socialist-Communist government. There is no doubt that such a step would meet with enthusiastic support from the workers and peasants. By thus reasserting their class independence, they would prepare themselves for the next step — the overthrow of capitalism and its institutions, the setting up of a government of workers' and peasants' councils, which alone can bring order out of the economic crisis and prepare the way for Socialism.

But for Italy, as for other countries, there can be no national solution of the crisis. The question of Trieste brings sharply home the complete interdependence of European economy and the anachronism of national frontiers. Only within the framework of the United Socialist States of Europe can Italy finally recover from the havoc of two decades of Fascism and five years of war.

## Parri Demands Return Of Colonial Possessions

(Continued from page 1)

As for the internal crisis ravaging Italy, Parri voiced the hope of the Italian ruling class that "revolution" will not break out in the north this winter. To stave off this threat to Italian reaction, he insisted on the "absolute necessity to keep feeding the population."

On the question of withdrawal of Allied troops, Parri spoke as a loyal puppet. "I have nothing against their staying," he said. "If the Americans or the British want to keep some divisions here because they fear for security, or because they just want to wait and see, they are welcome."

The attempts of the Allies to bolster up reaction in Italy are meeting with angered resistance from the workers. When the Allied Psychological Warfare branch reestablished the fascist newspaper Stampa in Turin as an official "non-partisan" journal, 2,000 factory workers stormed the printing plant. They destroyed 50,000 copies of the first edition of the hated paper and battled 500 employees of the plant to get at the printing machinery. Many persons were severely beaten on both sides before the demonstrators succeeded in smashing the machinery. During the Mussolini regime Stampa was owned by the Fiat automobile family.



By V. Grey

I see by the papers that the Japanese "GIs" aren't very good soldiers. According to Lieutenant-General Geiger, as soon as they get into a tight corner, they commit suicide. Of course, you couldn't expect them to be very enthusiastic about fighting for Japanese capitalism. But you wouldn't think they'd be such dissolute characters as to go and kill themselves.

That's taking the easy way out. Anybody can kill himself. You're not going to get hurt killing yourself — because no one's going to hit back at you. Why, when you look at it that way, it's lower than attacking a little child! The child can raise its hand against you. But how can you fight back against yourself when you're using both hands already — to kill yourself!

It's a mean trick all right, and nobody but the lowest of the low would do it. Here they have a chance to surrender and give their bodies a break by living in a prison camp. And they're so mean to their bodies, they go and kill them!

### GREEKS AND ROMANS THOUGHT IT BRAVE

Of course the ancient Greeks and Romans used to think it was a brave thing to commit suicide rather than surrender. But after all, they used to think heaven was a gloomy place — and it took lots of guts to face it. Nowadays, with the Japanese and American heavens such happy places, no one but a coward who wants to get away from the shooting would think of doing himself in to escape.

And of course when General McAuliffe was asked to surrender at Bastogne, he said "Nuts." He didn't commit suicide: he just sent in a few hundred more American soldiers to get killed by the Germans. You might say he did commit suicide by proxy — if you wanted to be nasty.

All of which reminds me that Scissorbill Sam, the bosses' man, got a letter from his brother in the Pacific Islands telling of the dirty tricks the Japanese soldiers use when they fight. Scissorbill said:

"My brother says three or four of our boys will be in a fox-hole and it's pitch dark, see? A Jap jumps into the hole with them and shoots one of them. So they all begin shooting and they all kill each other. That way one Jap kills three Americans. Oh, the Jap gets killed, too, of course. But hell, he don't give a damn!"

## BARBADIANS DUPED, ROBBED BY PHILLIPS PACKING CORP.

The workers of Barbadoes are among the most poverty-stricken of all the people of the Caribbean. Principally colored, they suffer segregation and discrimination as well as the ravages of unemployment. Most of them, consequently, are eager to go to the United States where they have been told democracy reigns. When 300 of them were offered jobs with the Phillips Packing Company at Salisbury, Maryland, they eagerly seized the "opportunity."

By July 5 their disillusionment had reached an explosive point. Paid only 50 cents an hour, deductions reduced this miserable sum to the vanishing point. Out of each pay check the following subtractions are made: U. S. income tax, a 25 percent British "saving" tax, social "security" tax, and \$9 a week for board and room. On top of this, conditions in their "barracks" were so bad and the food of such poor quality, they could no longer endure it.

And so they called a strike. The company immediately ordered out the police and sent for a British liaison officer to "arbitrate" the dispute.

The company is thoroughly confident it will win, for under the terms of the contract, the Barbadians, like laborers under the Nazi regime in Germany, may not be employed by any other person except Phillips Packing.

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Foster's Book Store, 410 Washington Ave.

**TOLEDO**  
Athletic Sport Center, 908 Washington St.; M. & M. Drugstore, Michigan St. and Madison Ave.  
Militant Book Shop, 905 Jefferson Avenue, Rooms 228-230.

## Navy Brass Hats Encourage Vicious Jim Crow Practices

Vicious Jim Crow attacks by white Marines upon Negro Navy Base Company men stationed in Guam last December, and concealed by the authorities for months, has resulted not in the severe punishment of the white provocateurs but in the recent court-martial by the Navy Department of 43 Negroes attached to the U. S. Naval Depot. They were convicted on charges of "rioting and unlawful assembly."

Announcement of the sentences imposed upon the 43 Negroes, ranging from four years to four months, was insolently publicized directly after a broadcast on July 7 by Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Over the Columbia Broadcasting System, Mr. White reported his findings after serving as defense counsel for the victimized Negroes on a Navy

Board of Inquiry. The Navy Department has repeatedly refused to grant the NAACP a copy of the record of its own findings.

### ATTACKED BY MARINES

For weeks, Mr. White revealed, the white Marines had been throwing hand grenades and smoke bombs, bricks and empty beer bottles into camps occupied by the Negro navy men. No attempt whatsoever was made by the authorities to stop the attacks or to punish the attackers. Finally on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day of last year a truckload of white Marines descended upon the Negro camp with ugly threats and provocations. When the Negroes tried to defend themselves from physical violence, the Marines opened fire upon them, killing one Negro sailor and wounding others. Following this incident, 43 of the Negroes were court-martialed.

The Negroes in the Pacific, said Mr. White, have "built with lightning speed hundreds of miles of roads, B-29 airfields on Guam, Saipan and other islands, have handled thousands of tons of supplies, including the landing in amphibious trucks of ammunition, food and medical supplies close on the heels of beachhead invasion troops." They have done dirty, hard and dangerous work.

Reward for their participation in the war for "The Four Freedoms" is Jim Crow attacks, physical violence, and now the roadroading to prison of 43 of them.

In Philadelphia Buy THE MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL at LABOR FORUM 405 W. Girard Avenue and 13th and Market St., N.W. corner

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# SWP Branches Speed Solidarity Fund To Aid The Trotskyists in Europe

## International Solidarity Fund SCOREBOARD

BRANCH	Quota	Paid	Percent
Reading	\$25	\$25	100
Allentown-Quakertown	60	40	67
San Francisco	375	184	49
Los Angeles	750	350	47
Newark	100	43	43
Twin Cities	250	100	40
Philadelphia	125	49	39
Buffalo	125	45	36
Seattle	350	100	29
Youngstown	85	20	24
Chicago	500	106	21
Members-at-Large and Friends	245	10	4
New York	1000	32	3
Akron	75	0	0
Bayonne	100	0	0
Boston	125	0	0
Cleveland	75	0	0
Detroit	400	0	0
Milwaukee	30	0	0
New York Youth Group	15	0	0
Pittsburgh	25	0	0
Rochester	15	0	0
St. Louis	25	0	0
San Diego	25	0	0
Toledo	100	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$5000</b>	<b>\$1104</b>	<b>22</b>

(Continued from page 1)

indicate that our quota will be met without difficulty. "To help the comrades collect as much as possible from their friends, contacts and shopmates, we issued a mimeographed local collection list. At last week's membership meetings, each comrade received a numbered list; the roll was then called and pledges to collect or contribute a definite sum were taken. As soon as these lists begin to come in, Local New York will climb fast toward the top of the scoreboard, in spite of the fact that we are all busy with the mayoralty campaign."

Philadelphia: "Enclosed is \$30 on the International Solidarity Fund. At our branch meeting of July 10 we elected three comrades as a committee to direct

this campaign. They are in charge of collections, affairs, etc. to insure our reaching our goal at a very early date."

San Francisco: "Enclosed is another \$50 toward the payment of our pledge. This is about 50 percent of our total. Just as fast as we collect we will forward the money to you."

Toledo: "The Toledo branch accepts the quota of \$100 in the International Solidarity Fund. We will send in the money as fast as it is collected. We are having a social this next Saturday and all the proceeds of this fund will be allocated to that purpose. We are having Comrade Warde speak on the international situation next Sunday and should get enough in pledges and collections to more than make up the balance."

## 6,400 Names Needed To Put Dobbs On Ballot

NEW YORK, July 23 — 8,600 signatures have been obtained to date on the petition to place Farrell Dobbs on the ballot as Trotskyist candidate for mayor. This is 1,100 more signatures than the number legally required. Since the Election Board has the habit of discounting large numbers of signatures on the petitions of minority parties, Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party has set a goal of doubling the legal minimum. This leaves 6,400 signatures to be obtained.

"We are sure that if friends of the SWP continue to help us as they have in the past few weeks we will secure the 15,000 signatures before the deadline of August 11," declared Caroline Kelly, manager of the campaign.

On July 29 the campaign begins for signatures to place Louise Simpson on the ballot as Trotskyist candidate for City Council.

The next mobilization of campaigners for signatures will be held July 28 at 6 p. m. at 116 University Place. Friends of the SWP have been invited to join in this important work.

Gatherers of signatures report a warm response from workers. R. Spangler, for instance, declared:

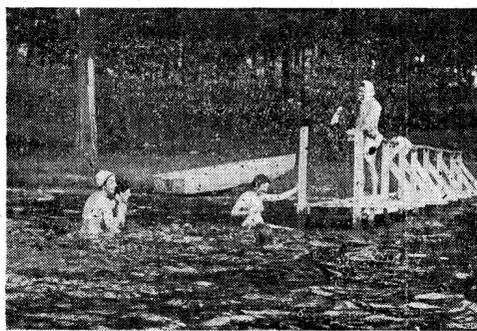
"I ran into a number of men from the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union and it was a real pleasure to learn how familiar they were with our election campaign. They signed and insisted that we come to their next union meeting. They were sure that all the other brothers of the local would want to sign."

Bob Stewart had a "very interesting discussion with a man who eagerly signed the petition and looked over *The Militant*. He immediately wanted to subscribe and when I told him I didn't have a subscription blank he pointed to the blank in the paper, tore it out and took a one-year sub."

Pauline Barth got into "heated discussions with a number of members of the Communist Political Association. They all finally signed our petitions, for they were forced to admit that Labor should have its own independent candidates to vote for."

**For a Rising Scale Of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs**

### Scene at Vacation School



Swimming and fun are combined with serious study at the Mid-West Vacation School. Above, girl students frolic in the lake

## Michigan Summer School Appreciated By Workers

By William F. Warde  
GRASS LAKE, Mich. — All is proceeding smoothly, as another week of the camp school ends today, with the hustling and bustling of departing guests intermingled with arrivals of the next contingent.

It is hard to say which part of the program evokes the most enthusiasm and praise: our material provision of food (meat and butter included) or the intellectual provender we provide. Like good dialectical materialists, we satisfy both opposing needs of the comrades — nourishment for the body and for the mind.

A woman worker from Chicago, in the party nine years, said: "What I got, above all, from the courses was mental stimulation. They made me want to read and study more. Working in the shop for long hours not only makes you tired, but lazy-minded after a while. And while I was a housewife, I didn't have the urge to

read much. My week here has done a lot to change that. I hope all the Chicago comrades take George Collins' course on the history of our movement because it's so full of lessons useful to us at the present time."

A newly-recruited brewery worker from Milwaukee told us: "Now I really begin to understand how the capitalist clique operates in robbing and holding down the workers everywhere. I'll be able to explain these things to the workers in my shop after what I have learned from the courses here this week."

Last night we had the second edition of the Midwest Camp Follies. Representatives of every branch from Seattle to New York presented improvised skits and songs. It was surprisingly good entertainment.

Reservations for August can be made by writing to Oscar Coover, Camp Director, Mid-West Vacation School, Grass Lake, Mich.

## Mid-West Workers Hear Grace Carlson

By JACK O'CONNELL  
MILWAUKEE—Convinced that the Socialist Workers Party is a party of fighters, more than 50 workers left the meeting for Grace Carlson at the Pfister Hotel July 17 with a much clearer vision of the socialist future. Among those present were auto workers and their wives from the most militant UAW local here.

interest with which the audience listened to her speech. Forty-two dollars was contributed by the audience toward the work of the SWP and five dollars worth of pamphlets was sold.



GRACE CARLSON

The audience was visibly moved when the speaker "got tough" with a "freethinker" who indignantly attacked her sympathy with the women victims of social injustice and the strayed girls thrown into Federal prison and branded for getting an extra serviceman's allotment. She insisted that we fight the "big criminals," the robber barons and their system that breeds crime.

The meeting adopted a resolution on behalf of William Patterson, militant miner framed-up and imprisoned under the Smith-Connally Act. A collection of \$20.00 was taken and several workers expressed their desire to join the SWP.

Local newspapers interviewed Grace Carlson. The Milwaukee Sentinel quoted her statement: "When I am asked what the women in prison are like, I can only reply to the questioner, 'What are you like?' They are just human beings, a little more confused and resentful, much more frustrated and lonely than the rest of us."

CHICAGO — Grace Carlson spoke on "Women in Prison" to an enthusiastic audience of 100 persons under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party on July 15.

The speaker analyzed the basic causes of crime and exposed the hypocrites such as ex-Attorney General Francis Biddle who write and make speeches on all occasions saying "poverty breeds crime" but defend the capitalist system that breeds poverty, and who railroad to prison socialist and labor leaders who are trying to abolish the economic and social conditions that are at the basis of crime.

She exposed the miserable conditions under which prisoners, many of them 14, 15 and 16, are forced to live, in institutions which are not in any way calculated to abolish or reduce crime, but whose main purpose is to punish those who dare to violate the sacred property of the capitalists. She told of the rigid and vicious Jim Crow system which prevails in the Women's Penitentiary at Alderson, West Virginia.

The question period was exceptionally lively, showing the keen

INDIANA HARBOR, Ind. — A meeting of steel workers heard Grace Carlson speak on "Women in Prison" here July 16.

Grace Carlson's expose of the conditions in American prisons, and the hypocrisy of capitalist justice, was received with great interest by the assembled workers.

Questions and comments came thick and fast after her speech and finally had to be concluded because of the lateness of the hour. One worker told of his own experiences with the "law enforcement" agencies to verify Comrade Carlson's condemnation of the capitalist institutions of "justice."

### GRACE CARLSON'S TOUR SCHEDULE

CITY	DATE
Los Angeles	Thurs to Wed. Aug. 2 to 8
San Francisco	Fri. to Sun. Aug. 10-12
Portland	Mon. Tues. Aug. 13-14
Seattle	Wed. to Fri. Aug. 15 to 17
Missoula	Sunday Aug. 19
Plentywood	Tues., Aug. 21
Twin Cities	August 22

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

## BRITISH WANT WEST INDIAN FEDERATION TO BLOCK U. S.

The British Colonial Office has proposed the federation of its West Indian colonies in a letter addressed to its colonial governors, according to the N.Y. Times of June 14. These colonies consist of the Bahamas, Barbados, British Honduras, Leeward Islands, Trinidad, Windward Islands. Two principal reasons motivate the proposal.

1. During the present war American imperialism was granted air and naval bases in many of these West Indian possessions in return for lend-lease supplies to England. This, coupled with the

economic and military superiority of the United States, has enabled American imperialism to extend its influence and begin supplanting the present British masters. The Colonial Office letter obliquely recognizes Wall Street's growing power, declaring that "under modern conditions, it has become more difficult for small units to maintain complete independence in all aspects of government."

2. Recent events in the Bahamas ended in the resignation of the Duke of Windsor as governor. Growing discontent against low wages, starvation and exclusion from government is creating a widespread movement among the West Indian natives in opposition to British colonial exploitation. The British imperialists undoubtedly see in their federation a means of concentrating and strengthening means of repression.

**In Detroit, Mich.**  
You can get THE MILITANT at the FAMILY THEATRE NEWSSTAND opposite the theatre

# The History Of American Trotskyism

## HOW GENUINE MARXISM WAS RE-BORN AND TOOK ROOT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

By James P. Cannon

In previous installments of his book, *Comrade Cannon told how the Communist Party grew out of the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1919. After four years of underground life, it was organized as a legal party in 1923, beginning to penetrate the union movement. Factional struggles on a high theoretical level involving the Russian question, began between the proletarian wing and the petty bourgeois tendencies within the party. Comrades Cannon and Spector smuggled a single copy of Trotsky's suppressed Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International to America, and slowly built a group of adherents within the party. Tried and expelled for Trotskyism on October 27, 1928, the Left Opposition then issued The Militant and led an open fight for American Trotskyism. Slowly they won over individuals from the Communist Party. By 1930, with their own office and mimeograph machine, they began to "sail forward." This is the tenth installment of Cannon's book.*

\* \* \*

Last week we finally got out of the Stalinized Communist Party, found ourselves expelled, formed the faction of Trotskyism and began our great historic struggle for the regeneration of American Communism. Our action brought about a fundamental change in the whole situation in the American movement, the transformation, virtually at one blow, of a demoralizing, degenerating national faction fight into a great historical principled struggle with international aims. In this abrupt transformation one can see illustrated once again the tremendous power of ideas, in this case the ideas of unfalsified Marxism.

These ideas made their way through a double set of obstacles. The long drawn-out national faction fight, which I have briefly described in the preceding lectures, had brought us into a blind alley. We were lost in petty organizational considerations and demoralized by our nationalistic outlook. The situation seemed insoluble. On the other side, in distant Russia, the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition was completely smashed in an organizational sense. The leaders were expelled from the party, proscribed, outlawed and subjected to criminal prosecution. Trotsky was in exile in far-away Alma Ata. Units of his supporters throughout the world were scattered, disorganized. Then, through a conjuncture of events, the situation was righted, and everything began to fall into its proper place. A single document of Marxism was sent by Trotsky from Alma Ata to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. It found its way through a fissure in the secretarial apparatus, reaching the hands of a few delegates—in particular, a single delegate of the American party and a single delegate of the Canadian party. This document, expressing these all-conquering ideas of Marxism, falling into the right hands at the right time, sufficed to bring about the rapid and profound transformation which we reviewed last week.

### Repercussions Throughout the World

The movement which then began in America brought repercussions throughout the entire world; overnight the whole picture, the whole perspective of the struggle changed. Trotskyism, officially pronounced dead, was resurrected on the international arena and inspired with new hope, new enthusiasm, new energy. Denunciations against us were carried in the American press of the party and reprinted throughout the whole world, including the Moscow Pravda. Russian Oppositionists in prison and exile, where sooner or later copies of Pravda reached them, were thus notified of our action, our

revolt in America. In the darkest hour of the Opposition's struggle, they learned that fresh reinforcements had taken the field across the ocean in the United States, which by virtue of the power and weight of the country itself, gave importance and weight to the things done by the American Communists.

Leon Trotsky, as I remarked, was isolated in the little Asiatic village of Alma Ata. The world movement was in decline, leaderless, suppressed, isolated, practically non-existent. With this inspiring news of a new detachment in far-away America, the little papers and bulletins of the Opposition groups flared into life again. Most inspiring of all to us was the assurance that our hard-pressed Russian comrades had heard our voice. I have always thought of this as one of the most gratifying aspects of the historic fight we undertook in 1928—that the news of our fight reached the Russian comrades in all corners of the prisons and exile camps inspiring them with new hope and new energy to persevere in the struggle.

As I have said, we began our fight with a rather clear vision of what we were up against. We didn't take the step lightly or without due thought and preparation. We anticipated a long drawn-out struggle against heavy odds. That is why, from the very beginning, we held out no optimistic hopes of quick victory. In every issue of our paper, in every pronouncement, we emphasized the fundamental nature of the fight. We stressed the necessity of aiming far ahead, of having endurance and patience, of awaiting the further development of events to prove the rightness of our program.

### "The Militant" Is Launched!

First in order, of course, was the launching of our paper, *The Militant*. *The Militant* was not a surreptitiously distributed mimeographed bulletin, such as satirists may little cliques, but a full-sized printed paper. Then we set to work, the three of us—Abern, Shachtman and Cannon—whom they disdainfully called the "Three Generals Without an Army." That became a popular designation and we had to admit there was some truth in it. We couldn't help admitting that we had no army, but that did not shake our confidence. We had a program, and we were sure that the program would enable us to recruit the army.

We began an energetic correspondence; wherever we knew anybody, or whenever we heard of somebody who was interested, we would write him a long letter. The nature of our agitational and propagandistic work was necessarily transformed. In the past, we, and especially I, had been accustomed to speaking to fairly large audiences—not long before our expulsion I had made my national tour, speaking to hundreds and sometimes thousands of people. Now we had to speak to individuals. Our propagandistic work consisted mainly of finding out names of isolated individuals in the Communist Party, or close to the party, who might be interested, arranging an interview, spending hours and hours talking to a single individual, writing long letters explaining all our principled positions

in an attempt to win over one person. And in this way we recruited people—not by tens, but by hundreds, but one by one.

No sooner had the explosion taken place in the American movement, that is, the United States, than Spector carried through his part of the compact in Canada; the same thing took place there: a substantial Canadian group was formed, and began cooperating with us. Comrades with whom we had been in contact came to our banner in Chicago, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Philadelphia—not big groups as a rule. Chicago began with a couple of dozen, I think. The same number in Minneapolis. Three or four in Kansas City: two in Philadelphia, the redoubtable Morgenstern and Goodman. In some places single individuals took up our fight alone. In New York we picked up a few here and there—individuals. Cleveland, St. Louis and the mine fields of Southern Illinois. This was about the range of our organizational contact in the first period.

### The Pressure of Social Ostracism

While we were busy with our singlejack agitation, as we used to call it in the IWW—that is, proselytizing one person to another—the *Daily Worker*, with its comparatively big circulation, blazed away at us in full-page and sometimes double-page articles day after day. These articles explained at great length that we had sold out to American imperialism; that we were counter-revolutionists in league with the enemies of labor and the imperialist powers scheming to overthrow the Soviet Union; that we had become the "advance guard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie." This was printed day after day in a campaign of political terrorization and slander against us, calculated to make it impossible for us to retain any contact with individual members of the party. It was made a crime punishable by expulsion to speak with us on the street, to visit us, to have any communication with us. People were brought up on trial in the Communist Party charged with having attended a meeting at which we spoke; with having bought a paper which we sold on the streets in front of the headquarters on Union Square; or with having had some connections with us in the past—they were compelled to prove that they had not maintained this contact afterwards.

A wall of ostracism separated us from the party members. People whom we had known and worked with for years became strangers to us overnight. Our whole lives, you must remember, had been in the Communist movement and its periphery. We were professional party workers. We had no interests, no associations of a social nature outside the party and its periphery. All our friends, all our associates, all our collaborators in daily work for years had been in this milieu. Then, overnight, this was closed to us. We were completely isolated from it. That sort of thing usually happens when you change your allegiance from one organization to another. As a rule, it isn't so serious because when you leave one set of associations, political, personal and social, you are immediately propelled into a new milieu. You find new friends, new people, new associates.

But we experienced only one side of that process. We were cut off from our old associations without having new ones to go to. There was no organization we might join, where new friends and co-workers could be found. With nothing but the program and our bare hands we had to create a new organization.

We lived in those first days under a form of pressure which is in many respects the most terrific that can be brought to bear against a human being—social ostracism from people of one's own kind. In a large measure, I personally had been prepared for that ordeal by an experience of the past. During the first World War, I lived as a pariah in my own home town among the people I had known all my life. Consequently the second experience was, perhaps, not as hard on me as on some of the others. Many comrades who sympathized with us personally, who had been our friends, and many who sympathized at least in part with our ideas were terrorized against coming with us or associating with us because of that terrible penalty of ostracism. That was no easy experience for our tiny band of Trotskyists, but it was a good school just the same. Ideas that are worth having are worth fighting for. The slander, ostracism and persecution which our young movement throughout the country stood up against in the first days of the Left Opposition in America was excellent training in preparation for withstanding the social pressure and isolation that is to come in connection with the second World War, when the real weight of capitalist society begins to bear down upon the stiff-necked dissenters and oppositionists.

The first weapon of the Stalinists was slander. The second weapon employed against us was ostracism. The third was gangsterism.

Just imagine, here was a party with a membership and periphery of tens of thousands of people, with not one daily but no less than ten daily papers in their arsenal, with innumerable weeklies and monthlies, with money and a huge apparatus of professional workers. This relatively formidable power was arrayed against a mere handful of people without means, without connections—without anything but their program and their will to fight for it. They slandered us, they ostracized us, and when that failed to break us, they tried to beat us down physically. They sought to avoid having to answer any arguments by making it impossible for us to speak, to write, to exist.

### Bringing Trotskyism to the Vanguard

Our paper was aimed directly at the members of the Communist Party. We didn't try to convert the whole world. We took our message first to those whom we considered the vanguard, those most likely to be interested in our ideas. We knew that we had to recruit at least the first detachments of the movement from their ranks.

After our little paper was printed, then the editors, as well as the members, had to go out to sell it. We would write the paper. We would next go to the print shop, hovering over the printer's forms until the last error was corrected, waiting anxiously to see the first copy come off the press. That was always a thrill—a new issue of *The Militant*, a new weapon. Then with bundles packed under our arms we would go out to sell them on street corners in Union Square. Of course it wasn't the most efficient thing in the world for three editors to transform themselves into three newsboys. But we were short of help and had to do it; not always, but sometimes. Nor was this all. In order to sell our papers on Union Square we had to defend ourselves against physical attacks.

(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.

## From England

**Editor:**  
We in England are awaiting the result of the election and we are hoping that the noticeable swing to the left will be seen by the election of a Labor Government.

The election has been a good field of work to us here in Sheffield, for it has enabled us to put our program before a very wide strata of the workers.

We came across many people, while working for labor candidates, who told us they had no faith in the reactionaries. This was very encouraging and you may be sure we used these opportunities to the full. We had two Stalinist candidates in Sheffield, the only town in England with more than one, and we have exposed them and their so-called policy and program at every opportunity.

I don't think either of them has a chance of winning, due in a lot of respects to our exposure of them.

We promise the workers here nothing, only by Socialism on the revolutionary program of our party and our International.

"Long live the 4th International!"

A. Russell  
Sheffield, England

## War's Vile Fruit

**Editor:**  
I am enclosing a clipping from the Toledo Blade of July 14. It tells the story of war veteran Alfred Stoner of Fayette, Ohio who killed himself and his five children because he didn't want his children to see what he had seen in the war. Stoner had been hospitalized for a short time and then discharged.

The news item quotes Representative Weichel of Sandusky, Ohio who blames the Veterans' Administration for the tragedy. "The death of this veteran and his five little children is chargeable directly to the board of hospitalization and the Veterans' Administration," Weichel said. "The failure to provide for this sort of veteran (mentally unfit) is... an indictment on those who sit in the bureaus and are charged with the responsibility for the hospitalization of our veterans."

This is the care with which the capitalist government rewards the workers whom its war has crippled in body and mind!

M. I.  
Toledo, O.

## Reconversion

**Editor:**  
Two articles in the same issue of the morning paper certainly illustrate the different prospects for the bosses and the workers under reconversion and in the post-war period.

The first one deals with the Curtiss-Wright Corporation, now under Senate investigation for producing faulty planes, endangering the lives of members of the armed forces.

The article reveals that this huge concern produced in 1944 over 10 per cent of the nation's total aircraft output. Profits for 1944 hit a new high, jumping 15 per cent above the record of the previous year. Net income after taxes was over \$14,000,000

## 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

and in addition more than \$8,500,000 was socked away for post-war "contingencies." On top of his the corporation will get \$8,500,000 from the government after the war in tax refunds for 1944 alone!

All this will make a nice little nest-egg to enable the Curtiss bosses to face the "contingencies" of reconversion (closed plants and unemployment) with complete calm and, of course, full stomachs!

Now, let's see how matters stand with the Curtiss-Wright employees. The second item states that the Curtiss workers, members of Local 585, International Association of Machinist, A.F.L. and of the United Office and Professional Workers, C.I.O., are demanding a 40-hour week with 48 hours pay. With additional layoffs staring them in the face, reconversion and post-war prospects don't look quite as rosy from where the Curtiss workers sit. Their demands indicate that they don't view the future with complete calm, and it would appear that they are not sure they will have full stomachs!

The two articles indicate that both the workers and bosses will have quite a lot of leisure in the near future. But it doesn't take a genius to see that only the bosses will have the means to enjoy it.

B. G.  
Buffalo, N. Y.

## Likes Summer School

**Editor:**  
As one who spent one week at the Mid-West Vacation School I want to urge everyone who possibly can to attend before the summer is over. The fun, the sociability, the classes, yes, even the weather make it the best possible way to spend a vacation.

Ward's class on Dialectics stimulates one to really begin studying the subject. For workers, even though we are forced to use that method of reasoning through the pressure of history, the study of dialectics has been a neglected subject. So much of it is so obvious that it seems a waste of time to argue about it and the rest of it takes so much reading of the philosophers that the task of learning that, plus keeping our current reading up to date, seems such a hopeless, endless job that we keep postponing it. Ward simplifies it so much that a number of us have decided that it is a part of our education we have neglected and which we are going to remedy in the near future.

Clark's class on the History of the Fourth International really gives a comprehensive picture of the degeneration under Stalin, the

rise of Trotskyism in all countries of the world. It is worth the time of anyone to attend.

Leigh Ray  
Chicago

## Success Story

**Editor:**  
The 1937 edition of Sadstreet & Fun rated this firm C-plus-2 (indicating a capital rating of \$125,000 to \$200,000 — third class paying record). At that time the company was 30 years old. Founded in 1907.

Then came the war. A war that was to make nobody rich. President Roosevelt promised that.

Five years later, according to published records, the not-too-brilliant president of this not-too-successful enterprise had upped his salary some 10,000 percent while the plant personnel increased less than 5,000 percent, a salary nearly six times that of the President of these United States.

The government furnished the funds or the equivalent in credit, the orders, plant, machinery, "know how,"... and, they froze labor.

A salesman friend of mine paid income taxes in 1937 based on earnings of \$10,000 the year before. In 1942, with nothing to sell because of the war, he was frozen in this same plant as labor for 84 cents an hour.

"That's Fascism isn't it? Well, isn't it?"

A Reader  
Minneapolis

## World Charter

**Editor:**  
The so-called world security charter is nothing but a charter of European imperialism, by European imperialism, and for European imperialism that has cursed the world for the last 2,000 years with every hideous woe and sorrow for lost-suffering humanity. It is axiomatic that the European imperial powers would never have been willing in the first place to join any organization that would promote decent international relations.

If the United States ratifies that infamous charter and joins the proposed European imperial organization, the United States by that most vile renegade action will become an imperial power and only a satellite imperial power at that. And the United States cannot possibly become an imperial power without nullifying every sacred principle of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Monroe Doctrine, and our traditional foreign policy.

But, inasmuch as the Wall Street thugs and cut-throats have complete control of our government and of the so-called American press (generally speaking) and of our "wonderful" two-party system, so that there may be occasional swings from one party to the other to deceive suckers, it looks very much as if our vile renegade Senate will vote overwhelmingly in favor of that infamous charter. No American can possibly vote for that hell-conceived charter.

Earnest Bradshaw  
1721 N. Richmond St.  
Chicago 47, Ill.

## Spellbound

**Editor:**  
I have been reading The Militant for some time and was curious to hear some of the lecturers, so I went down to Philadelphia to hear Grace Carlson. After being spellbound by her, I would certainly like to hear more. On Sunday, June 20 I heard Vincent Dunne speak at a picnic, and he had the same effect on me. I wish I could hear them over the radio—that would be swell!

I have just seen the propaganda movie "God Is My Copilot." In the beginning of the movie, a farm boy started fooling with planes. He wanted to become a pilot—so all he did was go to West Point and become a cadet! When he came out he was a first-class pilot. But in the whole city of Reading, no one that I have talked to has ever known anyone in the city who ever had a chance to go to West Point. Why don't the movies show how a farm boy got that chance? Personally I don't believe it, do you?

I only had a little schooling, but with The Militant I am learning fast. I expect to go to the Quakertown picnic on August 5. If I had enough money, I would hire Grace to speak on the radio five hours a day! If someone like me can see the light at only one of her speeches, how they would affect all the working people!

B. N. D.  
Reading, Pa.

## 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. In case of ties, all who submit winning names will receive an original feature cartoon, by Gray.

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.

## Prisoner in Germany

**Editor:**  
In the army, we had many discussions about who was really responsible for the war. Quite often, of course, there were those who said the entire German people were responsible for the slaughter-fest in Europe. Contrast this with my experience:

I was captured immediately after being wounded in a small German town near the Siegfried line. Our machine-gun section was surrounded. We were lined up, Americans on one side of the street, Germans on the other, presumably imbued with all the doctrines of hate for one another. Several of us were wounded and we surrendered.

Upon being taken into custody, German soldiers immediately set about the task of giving us first aid. After applying a tourniquet to my wounds, two German soldiers placed their arms about me and very carefully assisted me to a vehicle bound for the hospital. My high-school German made it possible for me to talk with them. On the way, they told me that I was very lucky. They said, "We must continue this insanity, but for you the war is over."

Now, I was not too surprised to hear this because in the previous four months while stationed in German pockets in France, I had been hearing this from numerous German prisoners taken by our task forces. Almost to a man, upon being captured, they said, "For me, the war is over," and there was a definite gleam of happiness in their eyes. Invariably they would ask, "What are we fighting for?"

The ambulance brought us to a hospital where we were given immediate medical attention. Upon arrival at the hospital, other German soldiers shared their cigarettes with us and German civilians brought fruit and cookies. Within 24 hours of the time I was wounded, the necessary surgical work had already been done on me with the most expert care. In the hospital, the German doctors and nurses, though they were overcrowded with patients, did their utmost to make us comfortable by treating us with courtesy and kindness. After a stay of two weeks in this hospital, we were transported to a hospital section of a large prison camp or "stalag," as it is called. Here again, we were treated well and the only display of arrogance and crassness came from the Nazi party officials. By and large, the

guards were friendly. Of course, the food allowance was very meager but then neither were the German civilians getting very much.

I might also add that never during my entire stay at this prison camp, one of the largest in Germany, did I ever witness or hear from other prisoners any stories of gross mistreatment of American prisoners. So the tales I heard upon liberation of the wholesale atrocities everywhere confounded me.

All in all the only conclusion I could come to was that the real responsibility for the war and atrocities lay with the big shots and that the people, the average German soldier in particular, did not want it any more than I did.

A Private  
Chicago, Ill.

## Lausche of Ohio

**Editor:**

One of the sidelights—and not an amusing one—of the Firestone and Goodyear strikes, was the emergence of a dangerous enemy of the working class in the mid-west — the Dishonorable Frank J. Lausche, governor of Ohio. Lausche, who was elected governor last year on the strength of the labor vote in the big cities, revealed his true character as a champion of the money power in Ohio, by attempting to break both the Firestone and Goodyear strikes. In both instances, he made impassioned radio appeals aimed at splitting the workers' ranks, by urging them to return to work.

Lausche is an opportunist type, owes his public career (first as a judge, then as mayor of Cleveland) to northern Ohio capitalists whose chief mouthpieces are the Cleveland Plain Dealer, News and Press; the Akron Beacon-Journal, Youngstown Vindicator, and the two Toledo papers.

The governor was lavishly endorsed for election last fall by these scurvy sheets and by the Stalinist Daily Worker, which helped palm him off as a people's champ.

I said Lausche is a "dangerous enemy" of the working people. That cannot be too strongly stressed because, besides being a heel, he is adept at mass psychology, absolutely unscrupulous (ask his poor trusting former Democratic organization friends) and has that messianic gleam in his eye.

B. H.  
Akron, O.

## Poems Of Revolt

**Editor:**  
I think it is time The Militant began printing some revolutionary poetry. The accompanying excerpts from Shelley may not strictly come within that category, but they are an excellent commentary on the causes and effects of war, as true now as when written in the early part of the 19th century. Shelley died at 28, already a political exile, though perhaps not formally so, from his native England. Before his death, he participated in Greece's war for independence.

D. S.  
New York City

## WAR

By PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY  
(Excerpts)

Ambition, power, and avarice, now have hurled Death, fate, and ruin, on a bleeding world. See! on you heath what countless victims lie, Hark! what loud shrieks ascend through yonder sky; Tell then the cause, 'tis sure the avenger's rage Has swept these myriads from life's crowded stage:

Oppressors of mankind to you we owe The baleful streams from whence these miseries flow; For you how many a mother weeps her son, Snatched from life's course ere half his race was run! For you how many a widow drops a tear, In silent anguish, on her husband's bier!

Ah! when will come the sacred fated time, When man unsullied by his leaders' crime, Despising wealth, ambition, pomp, and pride, Will stretch him fearless by his foemen's side?

Kings are but dust — and the last eventful day Will level all and make them lose their sway. . . .

## Selective Service Is Agency for Breaking Strikes

**NEW YORK CITY**—In a vigorous protest, the National Action Committee of the Workers Defense League charged last week that Selective Service Director Hershey, by issuing special orders to Ohio Selective Service for local draft boards to reclassify strikers, went out of his way "to line up with employers" in the 19-day strike at Goodyear's Akron rubber plant.

WDL Chairman Aron S. Gilmartin also made strenuous objection to the United States Employment Service refusal to certify needy strikers for temporary part-time jobs, although such jobs were made available to workers holding full-time jobs.

The War Production Board joined the anti-union barrage of government bureaus, by granting permission for a one-week shutdown for repairs to three unstruck plants; then permitting the military brass-hats to lay all blame on the striking union for decreased rubber production.

Navy seizure of the Goodyear plant ended the strike on July 13.

## Fruehauf Trailer Company Incites Detroit Workers

**DETROIT, July 20** — The Fruehauf Trailer Company, accused in June of acting as a willing guinea pig for the National Association of Manufacturers in their campaign to smash the auto workers' union, is continuing to stall on the union contract while it provokes the workers by pet acts of petty tyranny.

"After five weeks of negotiation for a new contract there is practically nothing to report," a bulletin issued by Fruehauf Trailer Local 99, UAW-CIO, states. "All we can say now is that the company seemed determined to write what would be for us an entirely new type of contract. Almost all their proposals were taken word for word from either the General Motors or Ford contracts, and of course they offered us only the worst features of these."

One of the major aims of the company is to wreck the union grievance procedure. "They want to abolish our steward body entirely, and have the committee handle every step of the grievance procedure," the educational department of the union states. It was an attempt to prevent stewards from handling grievances which provoked a strike of 1,500 Fruehauf workers in June.

## Flint Spark Plug Union Casts Vote For Strike Action

By Jeff Thorne

**FLINT, Mich., July 21** — The solid front of Flint's 50,000 auto workers against war-fattened General Motors Corporation was demonstrated July 18 when workers of the AC Spark Plug Division of GM voted 6603 to 1650 for strike action.

The day before the vote, conducted by the National Labor Relations Board, the presidents of Flint's three major UAW-CIO locals personally distributed handbills bearing their local endorsement of AC Local 651 and urging a pro-strike vote. They are Everett Francis of Fisher Body 581, Ben Woodard of Buick 699 and Tex Owens of Chevrolet 659.

This was the more significant because Regional Director Carl A. Swanson and UAW Vice President Walter Reuther had tried to get the vote canceled and had issued statements little different from those of the government and AC management. But the ranks and local leadership rallied behind the AC workers.

**REVIVE FLYING SQUADS**  
The general discontent is reflected in the revival of Flying Squads in the Flint locals, such as led the 1937 strikes. Hundreds of union militants are joining the flying squads and meeting weekly, although the locals meet only monthly.

Besides the universal breakdown of bargaining, AC workers have a major grievance in their 20 per cent lower wage scale than other GM plants here. This issue is always in the background and has been before the War Labor Board many months. Out of more than 100 recent grievances, only five have been settled satisfactorily.

VOTE FOR  
**DOBBS & SIMPSON**  
TROTSKYIST CANDIDATES  
IN THE COMING  
NEW YORK ELECTIONS



During the newspaper delivery workers strike, New York comrades and members of the Trotskyist Youth participated in the picket lines, demonstrating their solidarity with the strikers, as revealed by the following excerpt from a report by Comrades Sandy Robertson and Pearl Spangler: "Last Saturday despite the heavy rain and thick police patrol, our comrades sold 103 copies of The Militant in a half hour to the strikers and to passersby."

"By shouting slogans of 'Read the strikers' side of the strike' we were able to convince many people not to cross the picket line to buy a struck paper. One of the strikers in a conversation with a comrade remarked about the complete isolation the strikers felt at the beginning of the strike but with a part of the labor movement supporting their fight, and particularly with the excellent coverage and support The Militant was giving the strike, it made all the difference in carrying their fight to a successful conclusion."

Another indication of how our readers feel about The Militant was reported to us by a Bayonne comrade: "I was in a stationery store buying cigarettes when I overheard two workers discussing the newspaper strike. One complained that he hadn't read a newspaper in several days. Upon hearing this his companion pulled a paper from his pocket and said: 'I don't miss the daily papers at all, as long as The Militant comes regularly.'"

A Brooklyn reader, I. Kolotkin, sent in his renewal and included with it four subscriptions for his friends. Thanks very much, we appreciate your support and welcome you into our "Militant Army."

From A. W. Strobel of Detroit, we received the following note: "Please accept the enclosed \$1.00 for a one-year subscription to this splendid newspaper." Thank you A. W., how about joining our rapidly increasing "Militant Army" ranks by getting your friends and shopmates to subscribe?

Al Lynn, our Los Angeles agent sent in this very interesting communication: "Most of the subs which have been coming in since the end of the campaign have

been sold in local auto and aircraft factories. We also sold four subs at the anti-fascist meeting we held last week at which there were over a hundred people present." He postscripts his letter with this note: "One of our Militant readers just gave me a complaint. It seems that he never gets a chance to see the paper as his wife always grabs it first. He was seconded in this complaint by a friend of his. Could it be that The Militant is breaking up the family?" May we recommend that you immediately send in a sub for this subscriber's wife?

Just about all sections of the country sent in new subs and renewals this week. To mention just a few, our Boston agent sent two one-year and three six-month renewals, and one new six-month subscription. Youngstown was heard from with two one-year and two six-month subs.

Top scorer was San Francisco with thirteen six-month and nine one-year subscriptions, plus two six-month renewals. Toni Price adds this comment to her report: "From the enclosed subs one would think that we are still on the sub campaign. Those who came to our July 15 'Friends of The Militant Dinner' and who were not readers—left as readers."

## THE END OF THE COMINTERN

By James P. Cannon  
with  
**The Manifesto of the Fourth International**  
36 PAGES 10 CENTS  
Pioneer Publishers  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

## FIGHT FOR THIS PROGRAM:

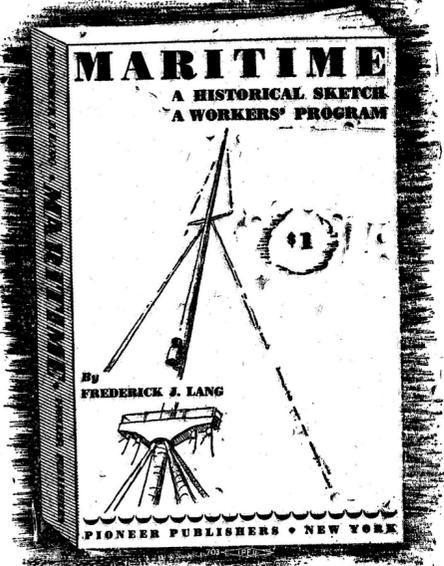
- 1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!**  
A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!  
A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!  
Operate all government-built plants under workers' control!
- 2. Independence 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!

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  - To obtain further information about your organization.
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# THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

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



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

## "Peace" Pact Pay-Off

Not so long ago, with a great fanfare of publicity, William Green of the AFL and Philip Murray of the CIO signed a "peace pact" with Eric Johnston, president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. This pact, the workers were told, would insure industrial peace in the postwar world.

Now comes the payoff — in the shape of a virtual declaration of war on the labor movement by the self-same U. S. Chamber of Commerce. This declaration of war takes the shape of a program adopted by the Chamber by a vote of 2,658 to 42 — not far short of unanimous.

The program calls for government regulation of the trade unions and an end to the closed shop. Evidently the Chamber, which maintains powerful lobbies in Washington and in the State legislatures, intends to drive through additional anti-labor legislation.

This is not all. The Chamber's program calls for an end to "Federal appropriations or participation in the financing of public subsidized or welfare housing." This in spite of the fact that there is an acute and country-wide housing shortage, that 14 million out of 37 million housing units lack modern toilets, that 12 million have no private bathtubs, 11 million no running water, 8 million no electricity.

The program of the Chamber also opposes adequate relief for the unemployed, whose numbers are growing every day. (The War Manpower Commission estimates that there will be two million without jobs by fall). Says the program: "If economic conditions compel expenditures for unemployment relief in the postwar period, reliance should be primarily on State and local administration and financing." That means starvation!

Regarding war plants built by the government with public funds, the Chamber demands that they be "earmarked for orderly disposal to private industry." That means handing them over to the war profiteers for closure and dismantling!

Naturally the Chamber's program did not omit the demand for greatly reduced taxes — not the taxes that bear down on the workers, but those which irk the capitalists, especially estate and inheritance taxes.

Too corrupt and too cowardly to fight for the interests of the millions of workers they are supposed to represent, Green and Murray evidently thought they could head off the threatening offensive of Big Business by their "peace pact" with Johnston. The Chamber's newly-published program is the answer they have received to their belly-crawling tactics.

## Browder And Foster

The discussion taking place in the Stalinist ranks, since the publication of the article in which Duclos denounced Browder, is typical of that "unanimity" which is so peculiar to the Stalinists. Every discussion article in the Daily Worker is cast in the mold supplied by Duclos. All the articles read alike; they all make the same arguments; they all use the same phraseology. "Unanimous" approval of Browder, which has been the rule in the Stalinist ranks for the past 15 years, has now become — "unanimous" disapproval! Today instead of Browder, it is Foster who receives the unanimous acclaim.

This unanimity with which Browder is now being denounced is, of course, part and parcel of the totalitarian Stalinist Party, its regime and its method of functioning. However, it would be wrong to minimize the degree of genuine resentment against Browder's line, resentment which has been pent up in the breasts of Stalinist workers. Many of them are sincere believers in Socialism. How they must have burned with shame at having to act as strikebreakers, finks and finger-men for the bosses at Browder's command! What pariahs they must have felt themselves among militant workers fighting to defend the interests of the labor movement against the onslaught of Big Business!

With the replacement of Browder by Foster, they hope to see the dawn of a new day in their party. They hope that it will once more become a revolutionary party — the vanguard of the workers in their struggle for emancipation. But all such hopes are illusory. A party that has gone for so many years through the corroding, degenerating influence of Stalinism can never be reformed.

Before the Stalinist workers shout themselves hoarse for Foster as the new leader, let them pay close attention to Foster's line as he himself announces it.

On the second day of the New York State Convention of the Stalinists, Foster "emphasized," according to the July 23 Daily Worker, that the war against Japan "is a people's war of liberation." This is a continuation of Browder's support of imperialist war.

On the no-strike pledge, key question facing labor, Foster "maintained that Communists remained adamant in support of it." He added, it is true, the proviso that "Communists and trade unionists will have to analyze" strikes when they "do break out" but adamant support of the no-strike pledge clearly leaves little room for "analysis."

So what is the difference between the line of the newly-anointed Foster and that of the now disgraced Browder? The answer is that there is no essential difference. The old line of Browder has simply been dressed up in radical phraseology. That line is the line of subordinating the interests of the workers to the interests of the imperialist war-makers. It is a line which means sabotage and betrayal of the workers' struggle to preserve their unions and defend living standards.

## Capitalist Generosity

Counter-revolutionary intent, sugar-coated with a hypocritical humanitarianism, formed the substance of an announcement last week by Secretary of Interior Ickes that 6,000,000 tons of American coal must be shipped to Europe by year's end to keep public utilities in operation, provide fuel for cooking, and to keep the water from freezing in millions of homes.

Ickes was speaking as Solid Fuels Administrator for War. Said he: "Cold and hunger can be expected to kill thousands and the children of Europe will surely carry the marks of the coming winter to their graves."

Mr. Ickes was quite complacent while these same children were being bombed out of their homes. His pretended concern for their plight now is intended to quiet possible opposition to the shipment of American coal abroad, which, as he warns, will contribute further to the severe fuel shortage in this country during the coming winter.

The Wall Street capitalists for whom Ickes speaks are not really concerned about the fearful plight of the European masses. What they ARE concerned about is the possibility that a revolution in Europe would end the system of capitalism which produced this terrible welter of misery.

Ickes admitted that himself when he further stated: "The race in Europe today is between coal and anarchy. Europe must have coal without loss of time if serious political and social upheavals are to be prevented. I do not think it is going too far to say that a coal famine of such severity as to destroy all semblance of law and order is certain in countries in northwest Europe next winter unless immediate and drastic action is taken."

## Seeds Of War

Despite all the high-powered publicity dished up by the Allies about fighting the present war in order to achieve enduring peace, the curtain rising on the European postwar scene reveals a situation which promises anything but enduring peace.

Defeat of the Axis, we were told, would insure world peace, because only the Axis powers were "aggressors," while the rest were "peace-lovers." In Europe, the Axis has been destroyed. Yet here, right now, the seeds of World War III are rapidly being planted. Defeat of the Axis has not banished imperialist rivalries which lead to war. It has only shifted their focus.

An illuminating example of the development of these rivalries is contained in a Paris dispatch to the N. Y. Times telling of the "gulf between France and Britain," which is "as broad as ever." Negotiations for a "pact" between the two countries "have been in suspension for six months because of differences that seem to grow rather than diminish."

The imperialists of France and Britain are at odds for the most sordid reasons. The French, greatly weakened by the defeat they suffered at the hands of Germany, fear the British will seize their colonies. They are burning with rage because Britain's troops moved into French-dominated Syria. These "peace-loving" powers are also snarling at each other over war booty in Europe. French capitalism wants to sink its teeth in the great industrial areas of the German Ruhr and Rhineland. But the British bulldog has already fastened a grip there and doesn't intend to let go.

This single segment of the world of imperialist rivalry — the Anglo-French antagonism — is typical. The "peace" in Europe, far from evidencing an era of "international cooperation," discloses unmistakably the root beginnings of more bloody wars.

### New York Mass Meeting

JAMES P. CANNON

National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

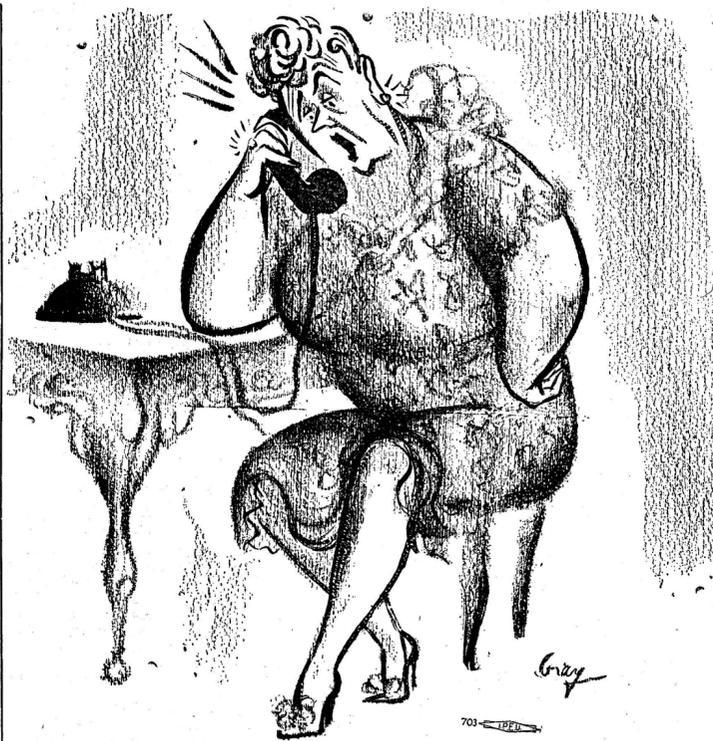
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"THE DOWNFALL OF BROWDER"

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3, 8 P. M.

WEBSTER HALL, 119 E. 11 Street

Added speakers: Farrell Dobbs - Louise Simpson



"If you can't send hamburger for the servants I'll find a market that will. I'm certainly not going to feed them steaks—what with the shortage and our boys fighting overseas and all!"

(See Cartoon Contest, Page 7)

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

### India

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, former president of the All-India National Congress, fears "demoralization among the people, administrative breakdowns and eventual revolts" in India, according to a New York Times dispatch of July 15. Nehru expressed these fears following the breakdown of the Simla conference.

This conference was called by Wavell, the Viceroy, in an attempt to reach agreement between the British overlords and the native Indian capitalists on the composition of the Central Executive Committee. Exercising dictatorial powers, Wavell vetoed certain candidates submitted by the Congress Party and the Moslem League. The Central Executive Committee is appointed by the Viceroy.

The Indian capitalists are eager to reach agreement with the British imperialists. "The Congress Party will show the same cooperation and friendliness," Nehru affirmed, "that we have displayed during the Simla conference if the Wavell plan is revived in the future." Against the aspirations of the Indian people for freedom, the native capitalists act as agents of the foreign imperialists. They fear a revolutionary upsurge of the masses, for it would mean the end of their privileged position. On the other hand, they are not the least reluctant to strengthen their position and increase their profits at the expense of the British. But Nehru's declarations give public notice that the Indian capitalists will work hand in glove with the British oppressors when the revolutionary storm breaks.

### France

The 156th anniversary of the fall of the Bastille was celebrated this year in Paris with greater insistence on revolutionary traditions than on any previous occasion. For more than two hours, reports the capitalist press, "the perspiring proletariat marched along Paris boulevards shouting such slogans as 'A firing squad for Petain' and 'The people's voice must be heard.'"

Portraits were carried of the leaders of the great French revolution, Robespierre, Danton and Marat. The "Carmagnole," revolutionary song, was frequently heard with its call that the "enemies of the people should be strung up to the nearest lamp-post."

But the most frequently heard song was the "Internationale." It was sung by all age groups, but especially young people, even children. Red flags, the Hammer and the Sickle and the Socialist triple arrow outnumbered the national Tricolor emblem.

Placards criticizing the de Gaulle regime were frequent. Among them many read: "We want a sovereign assembly." A July 17 dispatch indicates the deep-going opposition of the French masses to the reactionary de Gaulle regime. The attempt to build up a powerful new imperialist army has met with stubborn resistance from the drafted.

on world imperialism and its native agents. Japanese imperialism in 1931 began its drive into China. American and British imperialism gave material support to the Japanese warlords up to the eve of Pearl Harbor. Chiang Kai-shek, political leader of the Chinese capitalists and agent of foreign imperialism, sabotaged the defense of China from the beginning. Afraid of a working class revolution that would expropriate the Chinese capitalists, merchants and landlords, his regime refused to arm the people so they could struggle effectively against the invading armies of imperialist Japan. Protracted war has caused economic breakdown and ruin.

The doom of 10,000,000 human beings in North China will thus appear in the history of the Second World War as another of the unspeakable crimes outlived capitalism has committed against humanity.

### Yugoslavia

Marshal Tito's regime proclaims its intention to set up a moderate government that will maintain private property and civil liberties. How well they are maintaining capitalism against the will of the masses is not clear. Reports of "confiscations" continue to filter through the iron censorship imposed by Tito's government.

The destruction of capitalism, whether carried out against the will of Tito and the Stalinists or with their acquiescence, would be thoroughly progressive. The fate of civil liberties under the Stalinists, however, is a different story.

"It is no exaggeration to say," reports a North American Newspaper Alliance story from Rome, "that at the moment Marshal Tito's is a sort of 'police government', and that civil rights as we understand them and rule by law as we understand it, do not exist."

The regime, continues the story, "does not tolerate criticism, domestic or foreign." The correspondent, Newbold Noyes, believes that a "genuine revolution" has occurred, but says that democracy "is to a considerable extent unknown in the Balkans."

Another correspondent of the capitalist press, Sam Pope Brewer, writing from Athens declares, "A sentiment of class warfare dominates Yugoslavia today... Within Yugoslavia landowners, industrialists, intellectuals, professional officers and pre-war officials are automatically suspects..."

He charges the Tito regime uses "strong-arm political methods to keep its opponents muzzled" and that "political terror rules." But this terror is not directed solely against Yugoslavian capitalists and landlords but against all opponents. Workers seeking to establish a democratic regime are subject to the terror. Any form of opposition is branded as "fascist."

## Shoddy Goods Conceal Skyrocketing Price Rise

To the worker's wife whose mending basket looks like a mountain, quality deterioration isn't news. But Consumers' Union has released some facts on why clothes costing many times their pre-war figures, literally fall apart.

Since 1941, quality deterioration throughout the country has raised merchandise prices 20 percent, the report (PM, July 22) reveals. That's OVER the "legal" price increases. Arthur Kallet, director of Consumers' Union, said that while textiles and house furnishings have deteriorated most, "upgrading" has increased ALL consumers' goods prices.

"Mothers who have to pay 100 percent above pre-war prices for children's garments, are actually paying 200 or 300 percent more if shoddiness of the garments is considered," he explained.

Mrs. Nessa Feldman, executive member of the League of Women Shoppers, added more examples. "Some children's shoes are made with paper soles. Shoes that used to last three months with one repair, now last two weeks." And some are so poorly made they "cannot be repaired at all."

Housedresses are skimpily cut, shrink out of wearable size at one washing, and split at the seams. But there's no limit to their prices. By taking off a ruffle, the manufacturer changes the style, making it a "new product" at a new and better profit. Former \$2.98 house-dresses, Mrs. Feldman declared, now sell as \$5 "street dresses."

Textiles are a boon to profiteers, too. Cheap cotton potato-sacking known as Osanburg, which has no strength or durability, was bleached, dyed, printed and sold as "butcher linen" at a fancy price. A doctor who obtained priorities on gauze for bandages, sold it to converters. They starched it, labeled it "curtaining" and "dress fabric," and changed the price-tag — made it 40 cents a yard instead of the previous ceiling price of 5½ and 9 cents!

Textile manufacturers, who have blocked the manufacture of low-priced clothing for children and workers, are reaping eight times their pre-war profits. Department stores are wallowing in ten times their 1939 "earnings." Meanwhile government agencies continue the freeze — not on prices and profits, but on workers' wages alone.

## Republic Steel Grabs Sixty Percent More!

The Republic Steel Corporation cleared a net profit in the first six months of 1945 of \$6,356,252. This is AFTER taxes, and after all the fat salaries of the big executives, superintendents, etc. have been paid.

In the same period of 1944 the take was only \$4,275,266. This year showed a net profit gain of over 60 percent. It is just one more glaring proof that the income freeze is a wage freeze only, and applies strictly to workers, not their employers.

The men who make the steel get as low as 78 cents an hour. But Republic and other steel giants whose profits have more than doubled in the war years refuse to give one penny hourly raise to the men who produced these millions.

Since April, 1941 the steel workers have received exactly 4½ cents general increase in their basic hourly rate. This was the famous 15 percent (War Labor Board decision, June 1942) which was supposed to bring wages in line with the cost of living.

The Republic Corporation is called part of "Little Steel." But this is only by way of comparison with the tremendous size and colossal profits of U. S. Steel ("Big" Steel). The only thing really "little" is the miserable size of their workers' paychecks.

## "Raise Workers' Taxes," Wall Street's Battle-Cry

The Financial World for July 18 comments that Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau lost his job because he was too hard on the big corporations with his tax program.

"The times are changing," the article says. "The New Deal with its peculiar financial and economic views (i.e. its policy of giving a few crumbs to the unemployed, etc.) is being relegated to the back-ground. . . what likewise militated against Morgenthau was his strict adherence to rigid and harsh tax policies (excess profits tax?) that could not set well in the reconversion and post-war adjustment period whose threshold the nation is now approaching."

The corporations make the biggest profit-grab in history — after taxes — but the tax collector is "rigid" — and "harsh"! High taxes would not "set well." And yet there will be a three hundred billion dollar national debt. Each year's interest alone will amount to more than was ever spent in any year on WPA.

As for paying back the principal itself, this can't be considered — without a program of even higher taxes.

This debt is owed to banks and financiers mainly. The working people can't afford to hold many bonds. And the banks and financiers are going to see that it's paid back to themselves.

They want a tax policy which puts the whole burden of payment on the workers. The new Secretary of the Treasury, Fred Vinson, Financial World goes on to say, is a "more practical man, one who can work with Congress in shaping up new tax policies in conformity with the changed economic conditions that our post-war years will bring."

Vinson's "practical" attitude toward workers was demonstrated when he gave the railroad workers such a dirty deal a year and a half ago. He can be depended upon to give the whole working class an equally dirty deal in taxation.

Vote Trotskyist! for DOBBS & SIMPSON In the Coming N. Y. ELECTIONS

A secret police known as the OSNA, patterned after Stalin's NKVD (formerly the dread GPU) carries out purges and executions of victims branded as "fascists."