

"The History Of American Trotskyism"

— SEE PAGE 6 —

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Stalinist Party Opposes Soviets For Germany

By Paul Abbott

The German Stalinists have officially joined the Allied imperialists in the counter-revolutionary attempt to maintain capitalism in Germany. In so doing they are following the orders of the Kremlin which fears the proletarian revolution in Germany no less than its imperialist allies.

In a manifesto issued in Berlin, June 25, the German Stalinists declare: "We consider it incorrect for Germany to open the path for implanting the Soviet system because such a path does not correspond with the conditions of the development of Germany at this given moment."

The manifesto makes no attempt to explain why the Soviet system would not work in the industrial heart of Europe, after its tremendous success in backward Russia. Nor do the Stalinists explain why the "given moment" is unpropitious.

The truth is, not a single one of the terrible economic and social problems now besetting Germany and all Europe can be solved unless a genuine Soviet system is established. Tens of millions of people face death by starvation. European civilization is going down under Twentieth Century Barbarism. Only the immediate establishment of the Soviet system — as it emerged from the October Revolution in 1917 under Lenin and Trotsky — can rescue Europe from this terrible fate.

"We consider that the real interests of the German people, under the present conditions in Germany," continues this treacherous manifesto, "dictate another path; for instance, the path of establishing an anti-fascist democratic regime and a democratic parliamentary republic with all democratic liberties."

POLITICAL DEGENERATES

The cynicism of this program is surpassed only by the political degeneration of its authors. The manifesto was issued in Berlin — now under the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The demand for "democratic liberties" is thus the most transparent fakery. If the Stalinists and their master in the Kremlin really believe in democratic liberties let them be established immediately! They are in power! Let them begin with the Soviet Union where political opponents are now lined up before firing squads and where all political parties save the rotten totalitarian Communist Party are outlawed.

As for the demand for a "democratic parliamentary republic" it is difficult to tell whether it is more ludicrous than perfidious. Ludicrous because it offers support to a bourgeoisie whose democracy is non-existent; perfidious because it stands squarely in the pathway of the German working class now seeking to destroy the roots of fascism by establishing socialism.

To measure the depth of the

(Continued on page 5)

NAACP Protests Naming of Byrnes

Prior to the appointment of Southern poll-tax Democrat James F. Byrnes, of South Carolina, as Truman's new Secretary of State, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, leading Negro organization, voiced a vigorous public protest against the projected appointment.

"American Negroes and those concerned with the future of Negro-white relations view with great trepidation the possible appointment as Secretary of State, of one whose record of hostility to equality of opportunity for Negro citizens is unbroken," said the NAACP statement.

It further cited "Mr. Byrnes' filibuster record against anti-lynching legislation, his opposition to appropriations for Howard University, and his fight generally against every piece of legislation designed to better the lot of Negroes."

Byrnes' race-hate record parallels his anti-labor record. As former War Mobilization Director he won the well-merited condemnation of organized labor for his rigid upholding of the wage-freezing Little Steel Formula.

C. P. Heads Admit Treacherous Role In Greek Struggle

When it's so dirty it seems impossible to cover with whitewash, call on the leadership of the Greek Stalinists. They can whitewash anything, even a bloody reign of terror for which they themselves are responsible. They've got it down to a fine art — making it whiter by adding a dash of the blue paint of "self-criticism."

According to the June 24 Daily Worker, for instance, the Greek Stalinist leadership met last April 5-10 to "sift" their "errors." Among their errors was "entering agreement with the discredited Cairo exiles." The Militant of May 13, 1944 characterized this "error" as follows: "The Stalinists, counter-revolutionary to the core... are preparing to duplicate the treachery which they perpetrated in Italy, where they have joined with Badoglio and the King in an attempt to strangle the Italian revolution. At the appropriate moment they will join hands with the forces of Greek reaction for the same counter-revolutionary purpose."

Here is how the Greek Stalinists whitewash their "error": "The Lebanon agreement—which provided for establishment of a

(Continued on page 5)

IN THE NEWS

'Suckers' or Class Pals?

Explaining the friendly attitude of American officials to the rich Nazis, William Miller writes from Paris to the Cleveland Press, June 28, that "Americans, by the very nature of the society in which they were reared, tend to be suckers for 'respectable' people—that is, people with money and big houses. We saw that all through Italy. That these were the very people who financed Nazism in its early days and were its staunchest supporters, complicates matters. Further... the fear that Communism will fill the German vacuum tends to create leniency toward the big shots...."

The Good Old Days

A quick surrender of Japan would mean "well over 20,000,000 unemployed people in the United States before the end of the year," said former Rep. Thomas R. Amie at the Tamiment, Pa., Social and Economics Conference, June 23. "Congress has refused to make any plans for large scale unemployment and... we shall be faced with unemployment comparable in scope to that which prevailed during the first eight years of the New Deal."

Too Many Marshals

Marshal Joseph Stalin, through the action of the Presidium of the Soviet Supreme Council, on June 26 awarded himself the more exclusive title of "Generalissimo," thus joining the distinguished company of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Generalissimo Franco.

Aiding the 'Little Man'

If the Surplus Property Board has its way, plants, machinery, etc., will go to the DuPonts, General Motors, Ford, and others with the most cash to buy them. Despite Roosevelt's policy of aiding small business, war orders were concentrated in fewer companies than ever before. Six companies got about 60 percent of all war business, and 100 firms got approximately 90 per cent. (Drew Pearson, N. Y. Mirror, June 29).

Great Upsurge Of Labor Militancy Shown In Nation-Wide Strike Wave

"Peace" - By Force!



How United Nations Charter Covers Up Imperialist Deals

By Joseph Hansen

One of the rawest political swindles of the Second World War is "The Charter of the United Nations" adopted by the San Francisco Conference and now before the U. S. Senate for ratification. Its alleged purpose is to maintain peace in the post-war world and to promote "fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." Its real purpose, like that of the ex-League of Nations, is to serve the Allied conquerors as an instrument in imperialist power politics.

The political representatives of the war-profiteering capitalists who drew up the charter, thoroughly understand that war and peace are not determined by glibly-drawn declarations about the "rights of humanity" filed away in the archives of the imperialist powers. They know that war is one of the inevitable consequences of the capitalist system of exploitation. President Truman, in his address, June 26, be-

No Salary Freeze For Big Business

Executives of some of the country's largest industrial corporations during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944 voted themselves salaries larger even than those of motion picture stars and executives, which traditionally head the top bracket list, according to a Treasury report issued June 25.

At the peak of the list of almost 600 individuals who raked in over \$75,000 in salaries and bonuses was Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors, whose workers were denied wage increases last spring by the WLB.

Wilson got \$459,041 for his "work," not counting his take from dividends and interest, which are the really big source of income of the capitalist owners. Another 31 GM executives pulled down over \$75,000 each, most ranging from \$100,000 to \$300,000.

Thomas B. Watson, head of the International Business Machines Corporation, netted \$425,548; C. E. Sorenson, Ford Motors, \$230,000; J. H. Rand, Jr., Remington Rand, Inc., \$225,543; W. S. Gifford, American Telephone and Telegraph, \$210,350. Similar salaries were recorded for heads of the other big corporations.

Bethlehem Steel reported 11 executives getting over \$75,000, with E. G. Grace cleaning up \$221,645.

Remember when Roosevelt first put over his wage-freeze, which was included in his 7-point program that also called for limiting all salaries to a maximum of \$25,000 annually after taxes?

ties about machinery to keep "peace."

An examination of this "machinery" will quickly reveal how it is designed for completely other purposes than maintaining peace.

The two principal bodies of the United Nations organization are the General Assembly and the Security Council. The General Assembly consists of representatives from all the member nations. These nations are the Soviet Union, the Allied imperialist powers and the satellite countries within their orbits. One would suppose that the great powers could easily control the General Assembly, and bend it to their will, since the representatives will all be hand-picked tools of imperialist Big Business and the smaller capitalist states, while the Axis powers are, of course, excluded. Yet the General Assembly is given no real powers.

SECURITY COUNCIL

This body of yes-men can only discuss and recommend. It cannot so much as suspend or expel violators of the peace without the consent of the great powers.

(Continued on page 5)

The Real Solution For Willow Run

An Editorial

The Willow Run Bomber Plant and its community facilities, into which the government poured nearly \$150,000,000 of the people's money, was hailed during its operation as the outstanding symbol of America's industrial might. At the peak of its activity, 42,000 workers produced a stream of the greatest, most complex machines ever contrived by man — B-24 bombers. But these were instruments of death, not life.

Last week, on June 28, this plant was transformed into a vast, silent, deserted hulk. Its last wheel had turned. Its last 21,000 workers—the hands and brains which had created these planes—were ruthlessly dumped out into the streets.

The Willow Run plant is today a monstrous symbol of the capitalist system's incapacity to produce for life, for the sustenance and welfare of the working people.

Henry Ford, who coined millions from this government-owned plant without investing a penny, said he didn't want it anymore—unless he could get it for a song. The other automotive monopolists regard Willow Run as a competitive menace to their own interests. All they want is to "junk" it.

The capitalist government admits it has no plan for Willow Run. Like Henry Ford II, Washington, too, thinks that Willow Run is "as expendable as a battleship." And its workers also.

Why must this great plant stay idle? Aren't there vast needs which must be filled? There are, for example, huge areas of rotten, crowded housing which ought to be replaced by modern, pre-fabricated homes that Willow Run could well be used to build. Yes, and a thousand other products which could make the workers' and

(Continued on page 3)

32,000 On Strike In Akron Rubber Plants; Firestone Shut Down Tight

BULLETIN

AKRON, O., July 1 — The battle lines of the militant CIO rubber workers here were broadened today when some 15,000 members of Firestone Local 7 went on strike, joining 16,700 Goodyear Local 2 workers who are in the 15th day of their walkout. Picket lines were immediately formed about the Firestone plants. The Firestone workers voted six-to-one for strike action in an NLRB poll two weeks ago. Their strike follows "collapse of negotiations to draw a new contract to iron out about 100 grievances," said Local 7 President I. H. Watson.

By Joseph Andrews

AKRON, O., June 30 — On the 14th day of the bitterly fought Goodyear Tire and Rubber strike it has become apparent that the combined forces of the corporation, all the government agencies, and the international officials of the United Rubber Workers of America, CIO, are determined to break the will of the embattled workers and smash the strike.

Never before has a local union been forced to face such a heavy barrage of pressure. And rarely have union men battled it out with more courage. The one demand of the union is that the corporation be forced to sit down and negotiate the grievances which provoked the walkout. It has stuck to this demand.

HOW MUCH LONGER

"How much longer is the government going to continue to drive, threaten and turn the heat on the rubber workers?" said C. V. Wheeler, president of Goodyear Local 2. "The government hasn't said a word to Goodyear about getting together with us to settle our grievances."

In reply to this just complaint, the combined forces which are aligned against the local union took the following union-busting steps:

1. Stabilization Director Wm. H. Davis, former head of the War Labor Board, ordered the Selective Service to cancel deferments of all strikers and to draft them into the armed forces.

2. The War Labor Board stated it will take away all gains

(Continued on page 2)

UAW Victor Over Budd Open Shop

PHILADELPHIA, June 22 — One of the last strongholds of the open shop in the automotive industry was demolished here yesterday when the CIO United Automobile workers scored a victory over the company union in an NLRB collective bargaining election at the big Edward G. Budd Manufacturing Company plant.

The production workers cast 2,726 votes for the UAW-CIO as against 1,645 votes for the Independent Workers Union, the company's successor to its Employees Representative Association which previously had been ordered dissolved by NLRB and federal court rulings.

This important union victory climaxes a UAW campaign of five years' duration. The company used every known union-busting device for the past 12 years to defeat the organization of its employees. It had successfully defied innumerable government orders to cease interfering with the efforts of the workers to join a union of their own choosing.

The majority vote for the UAW reflects the growing awareness of the workers of the need for genuine unionism in the face of the impending wage-slashing and unemployment drive of the corporations.

WORKERS RESIST PAY CUTS, LAYOFFS WITH PICKET LINES

The no-strike policy, which since Pearl Harbor has placed American labor at the mercies of the war profiteers and union-busters, is being trampled into the dust on picket lines throughout the nation.

48,000 Workers Strike in Detroit For Equal Wages

By Albert Cummings

DETROIT, June 30 — Some 48,000 maintenance and production workers of the CIO United Automobile Workers who have been on strike here for the past week returned to work Friday, June 29. They had refused to resume work until they had extracted a promise from UAW President R. J. Thomas immediately to initiate negotiations for wage equalization with AFL rates and had received assurances that there would be no victimizations of strikers.

The walkout was initiated by 22,000 Packard and 7,500 Budd workers on Thursday, June 21. In the following week they were joined by 13,000 maintenance workers in three of the Ford plants in Detroit, 1,500 Motor products men, and workers from the Bohn Aluminum and Kelsey Hayes corporations.

FIGHT DIFFERENTIAL

These maintenance men, supported by the production workers, went out in an effort to win an industry-wide wage structure comparable to that of the AFL construction workers. The existing differential between CIO and AFL rates runs from between 30 and 55 cents an hour. Wage differences between one CIO plant and another are as great as 80 cents an hour.

The UAW-CIO maintenance men have been fighting for five years for these wage equalization demands. Some 60,000 struck last October and forced the War Labor Board to set up a panel to

(Continued on page 3)

Western Electric Workers Cast Big Vote For Strike

NEWARK, N. J. — Employees of the huge Western Electric Company and its 15 auxiliary plants in the highly industrialized North Jersey area voted overwhelmingly June 28 for strike action to halt the drive to chisel for which this company and its parent organization, the Bell Telephone Co., are notorious.

Organized in an independent union, Western Electric workers voted 16,941 to 3,039 to battle it out with the company after they had received frantic appeals from the management which exhorted them: "Don't be misled!"

It was extremely amusing to hear the foreman read off a stereotyped "communication" to the groups he was addressing and punctuating his remarks at the start of each sentence with that phrase: "Don't be misled!" His listeners assured him they had no intention of being fooled and after he had said for the fifth time, "Don't be misled!" they laughed in his face.

WLB STALLS AGAIN

The dispute goes back to the termination of the old contract in October, 1943. The company's refusal to consider anything but the wiping out of previous gains made by the union produced a deadlock and the War Labor Board then took over.

After stalling for 18 months, the WLB came up with a four, five and six-cent reclassification in the top rates of the various grades. The union demanded that the company give relative treatment to those who, through merit raises, had already reached

A wave of strikes, greatest since the heroic days of the "sit-down" struggles of 1937, has been sweeping the country for the past two months. Hundreds of thousands of workers, defying strike-breaking ultimatums of the government and in most instances of their own top union leaders, have courageously snatched up their most effective weapon, strike action.

During the past week, this mounting tide of militant labor resistance to corporation provocations, wage slashes and swelling layoffs reached a new peak of power. Over a hundred thousand workers in key industrial centers broke asunder the shackles of the no-strike pledge and gave the arrogant employers the only answer they understand — cutting off their profits by strike shutdowns.

A virtual general strike of rubber workers is right now paralyzing the rubber center of Akron. Some 32,000 rubber workers are on strike at Goodyear and Firestone, while other companies hastily laid off another 24,000 under the pretext of "overhauling" their plants, also threatened with walkouts.

Last week 48,000 CIO auto union members in Detroit closed down half a dozen major plants in their five-year battle to win wage equalization. Even as they returned to work, new shutdowns were impending in the industry.

Over 15,000 flat glass workers of the CIO hit the picket lines in the major glass centers of Pittsburgh and Toledo. Almost every trade and industry has witnessed bitter strike battles, truck drivers and printers, bus drivers, steel workers, electrical equipment workers.

And more are on the way. Scores of thousands of Northwest lumber workers are taking a strike vote. A half a million auto and aircraft workers in Michigan are demanding a strike vote. Western Electric workers in New Jersey have voted overwhelmingly for strike. American labor is once more on the march!

ON THE INSIDE

NMU Convention	2
Avery Sues Union Paper	3
FEPC Filibuster	4
CPA Internal Life	5
Subsistence Wages	5
Trotskyist Election Statement	6

COLUMNS AND FEATURES

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

Akron Rubber Walkout Spreads; 32,000 Involved As Firestone Workers Join Goodyear Strikers

(Continued from page 1)

made by the Goodyear local by past decision of the board, namely, cancel the maintenance of membership, check-off, vacation pay and night shift bonus, unless the strike is terminated immediately.

SCAB LEADER

3. Sherman Dalrymple, URWA president, after repeatedly ordering the workers back to work, stated that he would under no circumstances request the company to bargain with the union while the strike is on. He has indirectly threatened to take punitive action against strike leaders as he has in past strikes at the General Tire and Rubber company in Akron, and the U. S. Tire and Rubber company in Detroit.

4. The Army and Navy, while stating that it was not necessary to take over the plants just now, tried to claim the strike was costing lives and would prolong the war, and ordered the strikers back to work.

5. Governor Lausche of Ohio ordered the state selective service director to implement the draft cancellation order of Davis and reclassify and draft 4,000 of the striking Goodyear workers.

Thus, it is clear that there is a well-thought out plot to smash Goodyear Local 2. The rich and powerful Goodyear corporation, which provoked the strike by wilful and arbitrary violation of the union agreement, need only sit back and let the capitalist government and the union flunkies of capitalism do the dirty work.

MESSAGE TO TRUMAN

In reply to orders of Stabilization Director Davis, author of the hated Little Steel Formula, Goodyear Local President Wheeler wired the following message to President Truman:

"Reports have reached us through the Akron Beacon-Journal and the Mutual Broadcasting System that if the furloughed soldiers at the Goodyear Akron plants do not resume work their furloughs will be cancelled and that if draft-age employees in these plants do not immediately return to work the draft boards will reclassify them and they will be sent to the army.

"If these things are true, we wish to enter a vigorous protest against these un-American, fascist and undemocratic tactics. We wish to advise that employees of Goodyear Akron plants are conducting themselves according to the laws of the land and have resorted to the present action only as a last resort and to overcome the un-American and unlawful actions of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber company.

HOLLOW SHAM

"If the government agencies resort to this shameful procedure, indicated as the easiest and least troublesome way out, then democracy in America is but a hollow sham and we have already lost what our armed forces are supposed to be fighting for. If this autocratic procedure is carried into effect, we wish to assure you that it will be publicized all over America and that this outrage will be resisted by 50,000 rubber workers in Akron, countless thousands elsewhere and workers in every industry.

"We demand that the government use its powers to force this powerful company to obey the laws of the land by immediately negotiating in a bona fide manner toward settlement of hundreds of grievances which produced this crisis."

The local union has scheduled a mass membership meeting for tomorrow at 2 p.m., to consider the strike situation to date. At a mass meeting in the Akron armory, Thursday, June 28, some 2,000 Goodyear workers reaffirmed their determination to stay

out on strike until the company agrees to meet and negotiate the grievances. Two strongly-worded resolutions were also passed, unanimously, calling upon the War Labor Board, and upon Sherman Dalrymple, to use their powers to force the company to negotiate.

Dalrymple appeared at the meeting by invitation of the local union executive board. In an arrogant speech he denounced the strikers and condemned the strike. Upon adoption of the resolution requesting Dalrymple to use his office to arrange a meeting between the company and the union, he declared, "It breaks my heart to tell you this, but I cannot and will not do it as long as the strike is in progress."

HIS BROKEN HEART

His refusal was met with a tumultuous roar of boos and hisses, and cries of "Traitor" and "Throw him out!" Wheeler then asked Dalrymple what there was in the URWA constitution or convention mandates which prevented him from trying to arrange a meeting to reestablish collective bargaining at Goodyear.

"I have been instructed by the International Executive Board that it is against our policy to negotiate during an unauthorized strike," he replied. "Why don't you call a special meeting of the International Board and change that policy?" asked Goodyear President Wheeler.

PERTINENT QUESTION

Dalrymple admitted, "If I did that we would have board meetings for six months twice a year. I can't call a board meeting every time there is a strike."

Wheeler voiced the sentiments of the meeting when he said to Dalrymple, "You and everybody else have put plenty of heat on this local union... Why don't you turn some heat on the company?" This was met with a wave of cheers. Workers in the audience which filled the armory cried, "Who pays your salary? Who elected you?"

Many unionists had expected previously that the army or navy would seize the Goodyear plant. But it has now become obvious to all that the plan of action to smash the strike is to let the workers "sweat it out" while the government and top union officials pour on their fire of strike-breaking pressure.

Rumors are flying thick and fast that Dalrymple, awaiting the most propitious moment, is planning to act as strikebreaker-in-chief, by removing the Goodyear Local 2 officers, setting up an administrator-dictator, and leading a back-to-work movement.

Should such a means be used to break the Goodyear strike, it would undoubtedly arouse terrific resentment throughout the URWA. It is possible that widespread strikes in rubber would be provoked. The Firestone Local 7 is on the verge of a walkout. The Goodrich workers, always among the most militant in Akron, have watched the Goodyear strike carefully. Hundreds of unionists have stated that if anyone dares to lay a hand on their sister local, or on the officers of Local 2, they will walk out.

MORE SCABBING

The National CIO stepped into the picture this week when John Philip, director of Industrial Union Councils of the CIO, ordered the Akron CIO Council to withdraw its endorsement and support of the Goodyear strikers. Philip's order has been referred to the next meeting of the council, Friday, July 13.

The great majority of the workers understand very well what hangs in the balance in the Goodyear strike. The primary issue is the vicious wage-cutting of the company. Should Good-

rich succeed, all other plants will step up their attacks.

If the strike is not completely victorious, the responsibility will rest squarely upon the shoulders of Dalrymple and his lieutenants. The workers will not forget this. But the strike is not broken. It is a magnificent demonstration of courage and militancy, a preview of what is yet to come.

Goodrich Local Raises Demand For 30-Hour Week

AKRON, O. — A resolution calling for incorporation of a clause to provide a "30-hour week at no reduction in weekly take home pay" in all CIO United Rubber Workers contracts was unanimously adopted at the meeting of Goodrich Local 5 on June 21. The text of the resolution, which makes this demand "point number 1 in the fight against layoffs," reads as follows:

WHEREAS: Cutbacks in military production are resulting in layoffs of thousands of workers throughout the country, and are already affecting the rubber workers, and

WHEREAS: Neither government nor business has any planned program to guarantee employment to the 57,000,000 workers in industry and to the 11,000,000 returning war veterans, and

LABOR DETERMINED

WHEREAS: Labor is determined not to go back to the days of relief and WPA and feels that it has the right to a job that is secure and to a wage that will meet the rising cost of living, and

WHEREAS: Only by cutting down the work week and spreading the work can mass layoffs be prevented, and

WHEREAS: The United Rubber Workers have traditionally fought for the 30 hour week and established it in important parts of the industry, and

WHEREAS: According to the OPA the profits of the rubber corporations have increased 61.2 per cent since the beginning of the war, and

WHEREAS: The tax law provides that these enormous profits shall continue after the war, by means of tax refunds to the corporations, while there are no provisions to safeguard the jobs or the living standards of the workers, and

COMPANY PROFITS

WHEREAS: The rubber corporations, like all other big corporations, have laid away huge reserve funds which they plan to use to destroy the union and to guarantee continued profits to the coupon clippers, while workers stand in line at the employment office begging for jobs, and

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That we demand the United Rubber Workers adopt as point number 1 in the fight against layoffs the 30 hour week at no reduction in weekly take home pay, and immediate steps be taken to incorporate this provision in all contracts with the rubber corporations, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: Should the corporations refuse to agree to this demand that we use all the economic strength of the union in a determined fight to achieve this demand, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That this resolution be given the widest publicity, be sent to all local unions of the URWA, to the National CIO, to President Truman, to URW President Sherman Dalrymple, to the Akron Industrial Union Council and to the public and labor press.

Tear-Gassing Peaceful Pickets



The war for "democracy" didn't end this. Police at Elkhart, Ind., on June 26, hurl tear gas and smash a peaceful picket line at the North Indiana Brass Company plant. A.P. photo

NMU Officials Evade Fight On Bonus Slash

NEW YORK, July 2 — The fifth convention of the National Maritime Union (CIO) opened here today at Manhattan Center.

While delegates to this convention debate the so-called "wage policy" of the Stalinist leadership, the first large-scale offensive of the government and the ship operators against seamen's wages and working conditions is closing in on them.

As reported last week in *The Militant*, the government-operator offensive was launched when the Maritime War Emergency Board slashed wartime bonus rates.

The operators moved against the seamen at the same time by flatly rejecting union demands for a wage increase to offset the bonus cuts. The pay-off for an Atlantic Ocean run will be reduced about 40 per cent, beginning July 15 when the MWEB ruling becomes effective.

WAR LABOR BOARD

Anticipating the cut, the Seafarers' International Union (AFL) had previously referred wage disputes with twelve Atlantic coast operators to the War Labor Board for adjustment. After the MWEB bonus slash was announced, the NMU wage dispute with 37 operators represented through the American Merchant Marine Institute was certified to the WLB.

The strategy of both the NMU and the SIU in attempting to counter the attack of the operators and their stooges in the government maritime boards has been basically the same. Both have demanded the 55 cent hourly minimum for seamen, and they hope for a favorable WLB decision. But most such demands that have come before the WLB have been denied. This agency was established to keep wages frozen.

The WLB is under no compulsion to adjust seamen's wages now because all maritime unions are still bound by their no-strike pledge.

The Stalinist leaders of the NMU, who are the most vigorous advocates of the no-strike pledge, are asking the national convention to appropriate funds for "a full-scale publicity campaign through the radio, the press and leaflet distribution, to bring the truth about seamen's sub-standard wages to the American people." This is their proposal to put "heat" on the WLB.

ALIBI PREPARED

The NMU officials have already prepared their alibi for a rejection of their wage demands by shifting the blame to the SIU leadership who, according to them, stole the NMU "wage policy" and rushed to the WLB without proper preparation of the case.

The demand for a 55 cent hourly minimum is a poor excuse for a wage policy. Any seriously thought-out policy must include not only wage demands but also some method for winning those demands. In the almost completely government-owned maritime industry, wages can be raised only if the operating subsidies, that are paid out of public funds and from which the parasitical

operators now draw millions of dollars in profits, are converted into wages.

Delegates to the fifth national convention of the NMU can cut through the sham "wage policy" of the Stalinists and prepare their defenses against the operators and the government maritime boards if they raise the demand for workers' control of the merchant marine.

This demand to give the seamen control of the industry will find wide response among all maritime workers and, if accompanied by a call for an industry-wide referendum to rescind the no-strike pledge, will put an end to the run-around seamen are getting in the cases of both the NMU and SIU wage demands.

BUFFALO UAW SUPPORTS DETROIT STRIKE MOTION

By Bill Grey

BUFFALO, June 28 — Over 300 representatives of a half-dozen leading CIO United Automobile Workers' locals at an area conference here tonight added their support to the resolution for industry-wide strike action to smash the Little Steel Formula adopted by the UAW's Detroit regional conference on June 14. (See *The Militant*, June 23).

By endorsing the Detroit resolution, these locals have gone on record for a 30-hour week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay and are calling on the UAW International Executive Board to take the first step in this direction by an immediate fight for a 40-hour week at 48 hours pay. The resolution includes the demand that the International Executive Board petition for an industry-wide NLRB strike vote to back up the union's demands.

The area conference also passed resolutions demanding termination of all wage and manpower controls and for the immediate revocation of Executive Order 9240 which in 1942 abolished contractual week-end and holiday premium pay.

RISEING MOOD

The policies, endorsed by the conference testify to the rising mood of militant resistance of the UAW workers in this city, hard-hit by lay-offs, lowered income as a result of a shorter work week and no overtime, and the continuous rise in living costs.

Thinking increasingly in terms of strike action, the conference delegates enthusiastically endorsed a resolution demanding that President Truman grant a full pardon to William Patterson, Pennsylvania coal miner who is the first imprisoned victim of the vicious Smith-Connally anti-strike act.

This resolution was introduced by Frank Vohs, himself a former miner, one of the 18 members of Bell Aircraft Local 501 who were recently fired for protesting lay-offs. Vohs described the daily hardships of the miners and the stirring fight they have made against the mine bosses and anti-labor government agencies. The applause which greeted the introduction and adoption of this resolution testified to the enormous respect the auto workers hold

for the miners because of their successful strike struggles.

Another resolution condemned the Ball-Burton-Hatch bill now in the Senate as being designed to outlaw the right to strike and the closed shop, and to impose compulsory arbitration. This resolution particularly stressed the need for independent labor action to combat this union-busting measure.

Martin Gerber, UAW Region 9 Director, in his opening address called on organized labor to take the initiative in solving the problems of unemployment and wage slashes, declaring that the government has no solution for these problems. He proposed another UAW vote on the no-strike policy, stating that since the referendum last spring sentiment has changed definitely in favor of rescinding the pledge.

UAW Vice-President Walter Reuther was the main speaker. His long speech monopolized a third of the time of the conference. Typically, it was full of radical utterances sugar-coating a reactionary program. He attacked the UAW maintenance workers' strike in Detroit. He spoke favorably of the demand for a 40-hour week at 48 hours' pay, but offered no clue as to how to achieve it.

SUPPORT BELL FIGHT

An important action of the meeting was adoption of a motion for full support of the fight of Bell Local 501 to secure reinstatement of 18 members who were fired for participation in the recent "stay-in" demonstration protesting lay-offs and seniority violations. Members of Local 501 played a leading part in the conference in advancing a fighting program. This local, despite the blows the company has struck at it, continues in the forefront of progressive union forces in this area.

The next step following this conference will be to secure formal adoption of the conference resolutions by all the UAW locals in this area in order to bring added pressure on the UAW International Executive Board for effective action on the vital problems facing the auto workers.

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

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Which Side Is He On?

Richard Frankenstein, second vice-president of the CIO United Automobile Workers, copied himself some more of the publicity the corporation press likes to give "right kind" of union leaders, when he used the occasion of a political broadcast in Detroit, on June 26, to attack the more than 50,000 of his union brothers then engaged in strikes.

Frankenstein, whose strike-breaking proclivities go back to the North American Aviation strike in California in June 1941, when Roosevelt called out the troops, repeated the bosses' line that strikes are "bad and dangerous business in peace" but "in time of war it is tragic folly." The kept press quoted this with great "Amens!"

He also asserted that "many workers do not know why they are on strike today. I can tell them that they have been misled into mobocracy, not by union principles of democracy."

Maybe Frankenstein doesn't know why the workers are striking. But the workers know — against company provocations and union-busting, wage slashes, unemployment, Frankenstein has coined a new definition of "union democracy." In his language it's the arbitrary act of a union bureaucrat, missing his office to side with the employers against the will and interests of the overwhelming majority of the union ranks. The auto workers have more than once shown elements like Frankenstein what they think of this brand of "democracy." Or has he forgotten Homer Martin?

The Same Old Crag

Joseph Curran and the rest of the Stalinists dominating the CIO National Maritime Union have been handed a problem they're finding difficult to solve with their methods of collaboration with the shipowners and government. Just after Curran began talking big about launching a campaign for a \$200 monthly wage, the Maritime War Emergency Board arbitrarily declared a big cut in seamen's bonuses.

Curran's organ, *The Fleet*, June 22, comes out with a plaintive piece, "What Do We Do When The Bonus Is Cut?" It's hard to tell whether he's asking the members or telling them. Anyway, Curran comes up with the happy thought that all the union needs to do is ask the WLB to grant wage increases and make the increases retroactive to July 15, the date when the bonus cut goes into effect.

Now comes the \$64 question. If the NMU leadership are unwilling and incapable of leading the union in an effective struggle to prevent the bonus cut, just how do they propose to win a wage increase — no less — and

the retroactive pay to make up for the bonus cut?

Boiled down to its essence, Curran's answer to "What Do We Do When The Bonus Is Cut?" is to go begging to the WLB, that is, do nothing. He is simply trying to fool the membership some more with "pic in the sky" promises of future wage increases while the seamen face real wage slashes today.

Scrap of Paper

Business Week, June 30, reports: "From his basement offices in the Ford Motor Co., Harry H. Bennett, personnel director, declared that recent union actions made it evident that the company contract with the U. A. W. was fast assuming the status of a 'scrap of paper.' Ford sources said management irritation over recent strike outbursts was so intense that a denunciation of the contract would not be surprising."

What Bennett means is that the company is seizing on the strikes as an excuse for the company's attempts to break the contract — which it has long violated in practice because the union was disarmed by the no-strike policy. The fact is, the strikes, for the most part, have been provoked precisely because the company has been flagrantly violating union contracts.

Rankin's Latest Rash

Yes sir, the worker veterans have a new "champion." You might not think it, but Southern Democratic Poll-Tax Representative John E. Rankin of Mississippi who heads the House Veterans Committee, has introduced a measure to "improve" the so-called G. I. Bill of Rights law.

The "improvement" has nothing to do with getting veterans jobs at decent pay, providing them adequate allowances while they are unemployed, making loans available to them for homes, etc. His proposal is an open shop amendment "to protect these honorably discharged veterans in their rights to join or refrain from joining labor unions," as he explained in a speech before the House on June 14.

Funny how a fellow like Rankin, wants to "protect" the veterans by using them as a spearhead to destroy union and closed shop conditions. This is on a par with his scandalous attempts to whitewash and block the probe of Veterans Administration hospitals, where sick and wounded veterans have been subjected to abominable treatment and conditions.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

JULY 6, 1935.

AKRON, O. — In an effort to smash the strong strike sentiment which led the 1,000 workers in General Tire Co., to vote 75 percent for a walkout if the company did not agree to negotiate on seniority, the Department of Justice, under orders of Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, began a secret investigation of "subversive" activities. This was the latest move in the offensive of the rubber barons to smash all progressive elements among the workers and enforce an open-shop policy through terrorization.

DETROIT, Mich. — Ford workers revealed that Ford's widely heralded wage increase to \$6.00 a day netted Ford thousands of columns of free advertising and boosted his profits. The \$2,000,000 a month added to his payroll cost him nothing, because workers were speeded up to cover this cost.

GREAT BRITAIN — The Anglo-German naval agreement smashed the Versailles Treaty and paved the way for a new world war. This support of German rearmament was intended to disrupt the Franco-Soviet pact and win France to an open anti-Soviet policy; also to insure Britain against possible Nazi military adventures at England's expense.

ITALY — Given the green light for its own imperialist aims by the Anglo-German treaty, Mussolini officially declared that "nothing can prevent Italy from going to war with Ethiopia in October," thus paving the way toward the next world war.

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Northwest Ohio Auto Locals Ask 30-Hour Week

By Maggie McGowan

CEDAR POINT, O., June 23.—Reflecting the rising pressure of the ranks for an effective program against wage cuts, rising prices and unemployment, the conference of the Northwest Ohio Region 2B of the CIO United Automobile Workers, concluded here today, adopted resolutions calling for a 30-hour week with no reduction in take-home pay, scrapping of the Little Steel Formula, restoration of week-end and holiday premium pay, and "interpreted" the UAW's no-strike pledge to exclude civilian production.

To implement this program, the conference demanded that the Office of Defense Transportation rescind its decision against

Clayton Rusch, an appointed chairman of the Toledo PAC and not an elected delegate, made a motion to reconsider. This motion was passed.

During the discussion, Charles Clark, delegate from the Spicer unit of Local 12, Toledo, and a member of the resolutions committee, attempted to present the position of his unit of 6,300 members, which had passed a resolution similar to the one adopted by the recent Detroit regional conference. This called for an industry-wide strike vote under the Smith-Connally Act to put teeth into the demand for the 30-hour week with no reduced pay.

Gosser interrupted Clark and would not let him finish his report. The Regional Director tried to claim that the minority report, which called for action by the international union, meant rescinding the pledge by the conference, which he said had no authority to do so. When other Spicer delegates sought to get the floor, Gosser asked that the debate be stopped by someone moving the previous question. A motion was then made and passed, with the Spicer delegates opposing, to adopt the position of Gosser.

Fords Still Happy

The Henry Fords, I and II, aren't depressed about the closing of the Willow Run plant. The Ford Motor Company, partially from the profits reaped from the government-owned bomber plant, raised its surplus in 1944 by \$15,931,802, to a total of \$685,034,092, according to a statement recently filed with the Massachusetts tax commissioner. During the war, the Ford Motor Company entered the billion-dollar class. By December 31, 1944 its total assets were \$1,021,325,159 (that's billions).

the holding of a UAW-CIO national convention, originally scheduled for September in Grand Rapids, Michigan. The conference further called on the UAW convention to reconsider the no-strike pledge, or, if the convention is still banned, that the union's International Executive Board conduct another referendum on the question, meanwhile adopting the conference's "interpretation."

As a first practical step in securing the 30-hour week demand, the Conference asked the International Executive Board to instruct local unions immediately to institute contract negotiations for a 40-hour week with 48 hours' pay.

One of the progressive actions of the conference, which represented an estimated 70,000 UAW members in Toledo and northwest Ohio, was the adoption of a resolution calling on President Truman to pardon William Patterson, Pennsylvania coal miner and first American union man to be imprisoned under the vicious Smith-Connally anti-strike law. The conference also condemned the new Bali-Burton-Hatch union-busting "Industrial Peace" bill now before the Senate and the use of prisoners of war for work needed by the unemployed.

The conference did not take a more decisive position against the no-strike policy because it was not strictly representative of the ranks. In the conference call, each factory unit, regardless of size, was allotted just two delegates, permitting the smaller units to dominate. The larger shops include the oldest and most militant locals.

Out of 150 present at the conference only 48 were officially accredited delegates. The rest included local union officers, international representatives, appointed PAC officials and various other functionaries, who nevertheless were permitted to speak and vote as though they were regular delegates.

The chief differences at the conference centered on the no-strike policy. The original resolution brought out by the resolutions committee called for outright revocation of the no-strike pledge instead of the formula advanced by UAW Vice President Walter Reuther for a no-strike policy "only" on war work, the position advocated at the conference by Richard Gosser, regional director and conference chairman.

When the original resolution was read, Gosser, who had not been paying attention, called for a discussion. A delegate from the floor then called for a vote. The resolution was passed unanimously. This was a vote of the majority without pressure from Gosser.

When this resolution passed, great agitation swept the press table. Toledo papers, given the "dope" in advance, were already on the streets with a story about the conference adopting the Reutherite position. Gosser was cornered by the reporters, who informed him he had pulled a "boner."

Gosser then stopped all further proceedings and announced an "error" had been made. He made a patriotic appeal demanding the delegates reverse their position.

48,000 Detroit Workers Strike For Pay Equality

(Continued from page 1)

hear their case. Over a month ago the WLB handed down a decision granting a measly five cents an hour increase in only five of the plants.

The indignation of the workers at this ignoring of their just demands set off the strike action. This was illustrated by the slogans on the placards carried by pickets at the Budd plant demanding "equal pay for equal work" and a "thirty per cent wage increase for all workers to meet the rising cost of living."

The maintenance men were equally resentful at the UAW-CIO top officials, who together with the boss press tried to palm off the fight as a jurisdictional dispute with the AFL building trades. To beloud the main issue they utilized a statement by Ed Thall, secretary of the Detroit AFL Building Trades Council, that "not a hammer would be lifted by AFL construction workers as long as there was a CIO maintenance worker on the job."

This strike action was carried through in the teeth of opposition from the entire UAW-CIO top officialdom. Thomas and Addes issued statements to the press condemning the strikers. Addes characterized the rank-and-file strike leaders as "Mexican Generals." International vice-president Frankenstein made a radio speech denouncing the strike as an expression of "mobocracy" which would result in the destruction of the union. Joseph McCusker, newly-elected president of Ford Local 600, showed his true colors by echoing Frankenstein's attack upon the maintenance workers in another radio speech.

But it was Walter Reuther, UAW vice-president in charge of the skilled-trades department, who played the principal role in attempting to paralyze the strike. Reuther was present at the meeting held Monday, June 25, by the CIO Maintenance, Construction and Power House Workers Council, where 200 delegates and 1,000 maintenance men unanimously passed a resolution to rescind the no-strike pledge.

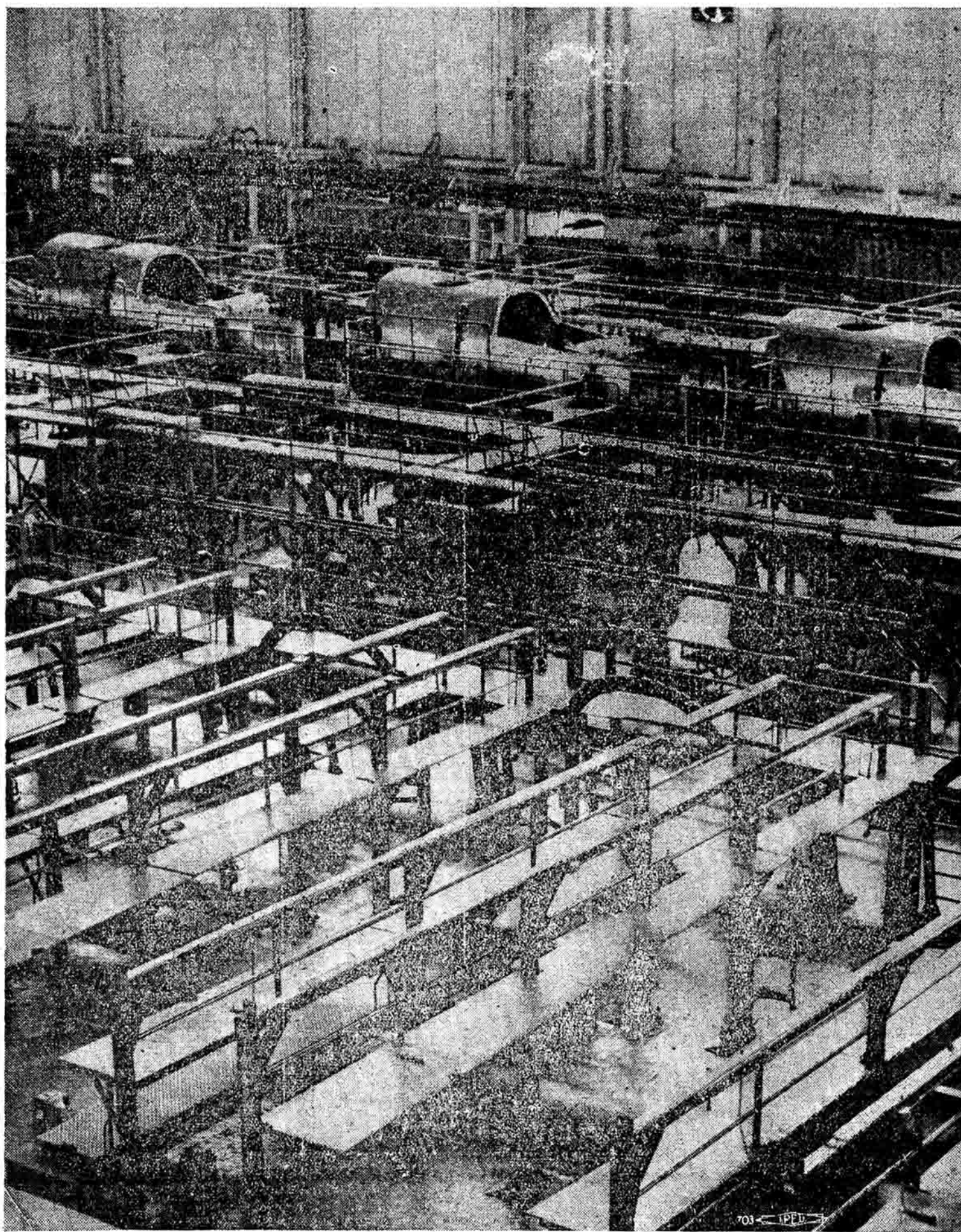
They followed up this resolution with another motion instructing the delegates to return to their locals and close the plants until their wage demands were met.

At this point Reuther intervened to block the move to extend the strike. After hypocritically endorsing the no-strike pledge, Reuther falsely argued that the motion to extend the strike was in contradiction with the previously passed resolution. In the subsequent confusion his suggestion to table the motion was carried.

No sooner had the meeting broken up than the men realized how they had been tricked by Reuther's maneuver. As a result, the strike movement flared up stronger than before and the next day spread to Ford, Kelsey Hayes, Motor Products and Bohn Aluminum.

Nevertheless Reuther's maneuvers served to cripple the effective extension of the strike movement and so disoriented the men that in a meeting with the strike leaders on Thursday, R. J. Thomas prevailed upon them to call off the strike and go back to work.

Willow Run — Symbol of American Capitalism



This is the huge Willow Run bomber plant as it is today, an empty, deserted hulk. On June 28, the last of its peak labor force of 42,000 workers were laid off. It can be converted from a symbol of capitalist incapacity to produce for peace into a living productive agency only through a program of government ownership and operation under workers control to provide jobs and needed consumers goods.

The Only Solution For Willow Run

(Continued from page 1)

farmers' lives better and happier. Plant, machinery, materials, workers—all are at hand.

Only one thing is lacking from the capitalist point of view—profits. That—and that alone—is what stands in the way of converting Willow Run, and all the other huge government-built and owned plants which are to be scrapped into humming, useful means of production and livelihood.

Must hundreds of thousands and millions of workers face idleness, hunger and misery because a handful of greedy, non-productive parasites stand in the way? Must the great American working class, powerfully organized, meekly submit to this decayed system, in which the means to produce plenty are paralyzed or perverted to the interests of a profiteering few?

That need not be. The labor movement has already put forward the answer—the real answer—to the problem so eloquently symbolized by Willow Run. That answer—or a large part of it—was long ago embodied in the programs of leading unions: THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF MUST CONTINUE TO OPERATE THESE PLANTS.

Two years ago—before the layoffs were an immediate threat—the CIO United Automobile Workers international board publicly projected the program of government ownership and operation during peacetime of the plants the people had built for war. That was point No. 1 in the program published in the United Automobile Worker, July 15, 1943. That remains today point No. 1 in any effective program to meet plant closures.

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Now, however, R. J. Thomas and other UAW-CIO leaders are running around like scared rabbits, searching frantically everywhere except in their own union program for the solution to Willow Run. Thomas fearfully runs to a Henry J. Kaiser—begging "please, please" won't Kaiser let the auto workers sweat out more easy profits for him.

That's because Thomas, and those like him, fear a real fight. They know what's needed. They stated it themselves two years ago. But it's a program that means a battle.

The auto union ranks, however, are not fearful of a fight. Detroit is seething with struggle. Representatives of over 400,000 Detroit UAW members have proclaimed their willingness and readiness for battle. They have called on the leadership for an industry-wide strike vote.

The CIO workers know they built their unions and won their initial demands through bitter struggle on the picket lines, by powerful mass action. They are ready to resume that struggle—but not just for small-change demands. They want permanent security, decent jobs and pay.

That means a fight for their own "reconversion" program against the hunger program of Big Business. They must fight to reconvert the plants like Willow Run, built by the people, from mocking, empty symbols of capitalist greed into living realities of full production. They must fight for government operation of all the Willow Runs under workers control.

Buffalo UAW-CIO Resolution Supporting William Patterson

Following is the text of the resolution calling for a pardon for William Patterson, first imprisoned victim of the Smith-Connally anti-strike law, adopted June 28 by the Buffalo area conference of the UAW-CIO:

WHEREAS: William Patterson, member of Local 2399, United Mine Workers, is now behind prison bars, the first victim of the vicious Smith-Connally Act, and

WHEREAS: This Act was denounced by the whole labor movement as the most repressive piece of anti-labor legislation of our times and as one that is a deadly menace to the most basic right of labor, the right to strike, and

WHEREAS: The jailing of Patterson sets a precedent whereby any or all union men fighting to maintain hard-won union gains can suffer a similar fate,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

VED: That elementary labor solidarity requires that we give full support to Local 2399, United Mine Workers, Richeyville, Pennsylvania, in the fight to free Patterson and repeal the Smith-Connally Act, and we demand that the International Executive Board do likewise, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That we request from President Truman a complete and full pardon for William Patterson, and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED: That copies of this resolution be sent to Local 2399, UMW, President Truman, the International Executive Board, UAW, the CIO and the press.

ATTENTION! CHICAGO READERS! GRACE CARLSON

Will Discuss

"Women in Prison"

Chairman: MIKE BARTEL, Chicago SWP Organizer

SUNDAY, JULY 15, 8 p. m.

BUCKINGHAM HALL

59 East Van Buren Street, 2nd floor

Ohio Auto Parley Backs Patterson

CEDAR POINT, O., June 23.—A motion calling for the pardon of coal miner William Patterson, first imprisoned victim of the Smith-Connally anti-strike law, was unanimously adopted here today at the CIO United Automobile Workers Northwest Ohio Regional Conference, representing some 70,000 organized workers.

The motion was introduced by Carl Schick of Toledo Local 12. He stated that Patterson's case was a threat not only to the miners union, but to the entire American labor movement. Schick pointed out that all the unions had denounced the Smith-Connally Act and that Patterson's imprisonment shows its true intent. Schick's motion urged full support to Patterson, called upon President Truman to grant him an immediate and full pardon, and proposed to notify Patterson's union Local 2399, UMW.

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

"I remember how it was last time," Tom was telling me. "When the fellows went away, the politicians went down to the train and made big speeches about how 'Everything's going to be different when you come back,' and when they came back again, they lynched them in their uniforms!"

Jimmy said, "I know. They told them to take the uniforms off and get into some overalls. Didn't have no business in uniform, the crackers told them. Told them to get some overalls and get to work. There's southern democracy for you."

"That's not just southern democracy, Jimmy," I told him. "That's the kind of democracy that exists in a capitalistic country, north or south. It was just worse down there, but not really different. And that's just about what the boys can expect this time, too."

"It sure is rotten," Tom said angrily. "When a man goes out to defend his country and then comes back, and they treat him that way..."

"But, Tom," I said, "those guys aren't out defending their country. That's what they're told, but it isn't true. What they're defending isn't their country. It's just the profits of the great steel corporations, the foreign interests of Standard Oil and duPont. They're defending the plantations of the great rubber companies and the markets where the capitalists unload their products."

CAPITALISM AND WAR GO TOGETHER

"You see, Tom, war is part of the capitalist system. Here on the furnace you can see what's what. We work every day, work day and night on all shifts, and we produce iron so the company can make a profit. The capitalists own the company, and they control the government, as you can see when you look at the kind of anti-labor legislation that's passed, and what the War Labor Board does to us."

"Well, when there's a war, it's the same way. On the job, the worker works for the interest of the boss. In the army, the soldier fights for these interests. Here on the furnace we risk our lives to make a profit for the boss. The soldier risks his life more than we do, and he risks it so the big boss can have a place to get his raw materials, a place to sell his finished product, and a place where he can invest his profits and make more profits. We work for these profits, and a soldier fights for them. How do you like that?"

"Yeah, I know all about that," Tom grinned. "You and Jimmy been talking my ear off for years telling it to me. But," and here Tom grew serious again and angry, "what I meant is, it sure is a rotten shame for these guys to go out and fight, and then come back and be treated like that, even if they are fighting for the capitalists instead of for their country."

"It's rotten, all right, Tom," I answered, "but it's the same as the rest of the workers get. When the war's over, the soldier stops risking his neck on the battlefield. He isn't useful to the capitalist any more. His job is done. He's demobilized, LAID OFF. When the worker produces all that the capitalists can sell at a profit, his job's over. He's laid off, or DEMOBILIZED. He's no more use to the boss. Same thing when he's too old to work any more. He gets thrown out."

WHAT REALLY WORRIES THE BOSSES

"So there they are, both workers and soldiers, out of the hell of the battlefield and the steel mill. The capitalists don't need them and don't want them. The only thought they have is, 'Are those bums, the workers and soldiers, going to cause us any trouble? Are they going to organize and hurt our business? Are they going to try to take over the government themselves and bring Socialism, which would keep us from running the world as we see fit and keep us from making any more profits? If that's what they're up to, we'll have to take strong measures and spare no bloodshed to keep them from doing it!'"

Tom grunted. "It sure is rotten!"

I grinned. "Well?"

"O.K.," he grinned back. "I'm in your corner. We gotta have Socialism all right."

JUDGE GAGS UNION'S PAPER TO MUZZLE ATTACK ON AVERY

Sewell L. Avery, head of Montgomery Ward's mail order empire and the country's No. 1 Open Shopper, has secured an order from the Chicago Superior Court enjoining *The Spotlight*, mimeographed publication of the CIO Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees local here, from printing "untruths" about Avery.

The order is so broad that the judge who issued it can declare any utterance of the *Spotlight* to be an "untruth" and send the editors, writers and union officials to jail for alleged contempt. This might establish a precedent which could be used to gag any labor paper at an employer's request.

UNION FIGHTS BACK

This dangerous blow at labor's right to a free press was delivered in connection with Avery's suit for \$1,000,000 against the little union paper which has been in the forefront of the four-year battle to unionize the Chicago center of the vast Montgomery Ward chain.

The union has chosen to fight the court's temporary injunction as a vicious violation of free speech and free press. The *Spotlight* immediately defied the injunction by reiterating its previous charges against union-buster Avery and his corporation. These charges have been substantiated by repeated statements and rulings of the War Labor Board and were affirmed in the late President Roosevelt's order for the "seizure" of the Ward properties in Chicago and Detroit.

Support against the attempted suppression of *The Spotlight* has been offered by the American Civil Liberties Union which announced from New York that it would be "happy to offer its services in contesting the injunction issued in Chicago against *The Spotlight*."

"The case is on its face a clear



In Detroit, Mich.

You can get

THE MILITANT

at the

FAMILY THEATRE

NEWSSTAND

opposite the theatre

Southern Bourbons Filibuster In Senate Against FEPC Bill

By Larissa Reed

In the name of "democracy," the U. S. Senate last week permitted a handful of southern poll-tax senators, elected by a tiny minority of their constituencies, to tie up the Senate for four days in a filibuster designed to prevent passage of the Fair Employment Practices Committee appropriation to protect millions of workers from discrimination in industry.

Using the United States Senate as the forum for their vicious Jim Crow attacks upon the Negro workers, Theodore Bilbo and James O. Eastland, democratic senators from Mississippi, launched their filibuster on June 27 against a bill that would appropriate the \$446,000 needed for another year's FEPC work, and particularly against its establishment as a permanent body to protect the Negroes from job discrimination.

Without continuing funds, the FEPC is doomed. In fascist-like utterances, Bilbo threatened to "talk 'till Christmas" if necessary to stop funds for a lot of peckerwoods to go around and meddle in other people's business. In typical labor-hating language, he declared: "This is a damnable, Communist, poisonous piece of legislation. . . there are so many niggers it's like a black cloud all around you. . . The niggers and the Jews of New York are working hand-in-hand. If this bill passes they will be up here going into every office on Capitol Hill and saying you'll have to stick some Jews in your offices. . . I'm not taking any chances on this bill passing. I'm preaching a sermon in advance. The FEPC is dead."

Bilbo's colleague, Sen. James O. Eastland, went even further in his swinish Jim Crow slander. He charged that Negro soldiers have caused the U. S. to "lose prestige all over Europe," that although they only constituted

one-twelfth of the American army they were "guilty of over one-half the crime." Officials of Wall Street's War Department had "no comment whatever" to make on this vicious lie. "The Negro race is surely a most inferior race," intoned Eastland, defender of "white supremacy." He said "Negroes do not have the creative ability and genius of the white race." Then in a malevolent attack that sounded like Goebbels speaking from the grave, he stated: "I have information that in Stuttgart, Germany, between 2,000 and 5,000 Christian, German white girls were rounded up, herded into a subway station and there made the playthings of the French Senegalese (Negro) soldiers for four or five days."

CONTRASTING ACTIONS
The denial of the tiny sum of \$446,000 for the FEPC, that totally inadequate measure which in 1941 was tacked on to the War Agencies Bill to make job

discrimination in war plants illegal, came the day after the Senate Appropriations Committee boosted the OWI appropriation from \$18 millions to over \$39 millions. The FEPC as at present constituted is limited to outlawing discrimination only in war plants. It offers no protection to racial and religious minorities working in reconversion or "peace-time" pursuits. Yet today this is where protection is needed most.

Before the request for the renewed appropriation reached the Senate, the House Appropriations Committee acted swiftly to kill the FEPC. They conducted perfunctory hearings that lasted about one day and voted against the appropriation by 13 to 11. This committee tried to weasel out of its responsibility by declaring that since legislation to make the FEPC permanent was pending, "the only logical course was to withhold the action on the appropriation!"

A CORRECTION

A typographical error occurred in Joseph Hansen's article, "Negro Soldiers Expose Rankin's Racial Lies," published on Page Four of last week's Militant. The third line refers to "soldiers stationed at the Negro-psychiatric Hospital, Northport, N. Y." This institution, however, is the Neuro-psychiatric Hospital and its inmates are white soldier-patients.

In Osmund — he begins to overlook his role as war-maker and see him more as an organizer of industry. He is willing to sell his inventive talents to Osmund. In return he asks Osmund to promise to give up selling arms to other countries, to renounce cartel control of new deadly refinements in armaments. And Osmund generally promises! The hope of reforming capitalists out of their evil ways is the rankest Utopianism.

BOOK HAS MERIT

Despite these faults, the book has considerable merit. It flatly lays down the certainty of a Third World War if the steel baron continues his manner of rule. It projects the possibility of native fascism if the Stoney Pikes continue to dominate politics. It attacks race prejudice. It exposes the role of the judiciary, showing how utterly subservient it is to the interests of the capitalists. It discloses the real masters of the country and bares their rapacious anti-social character.

Reviewed by Joseph Hansen

DANGER OBSCURED

Again, to disclose Stoney Pike's tendency toward fascism, Cohen refers to Pike's ties with Hitlerites and Bundists. The danger of native fascism is thereby obscured. Entanglement with alien fascism is a transient phenomenon. When the time comes, the native fascists will consciously avoid such politically damaging ties, and even organize under the banner of opposition to fascism.

Another serious political fault in Cohen's presentation of the postwar problem is his inclination to indulge in symbolical class collaboration. On the battlefield, the son of Osmund, the steel tycoon, fights side by side with Joe Drew and dies in his arms. Dramatic punch is given to this scene by the fact that defective equipment sold by the father to the armed forces led to the son's death. But realistic depiction of the class struggle in the novel would have made Osmund's son far more likely an officer than a bosom companion of the proletariat Drew.

Crashest of all is tycoon Osmund's fatherly interest in Drew — he thinks of making him his heir! And Drew's filial interest

machine closes in remorselessly. With a possible 14 years' prison sentence hanging over him, the wounded marine feels trapped by forces far more vicious than anything he experienced on the battlefield. He begins to wonder if the soldiers haven't fought and died in vain. Perhaps the poor people of Germany, Japan and America have a common foe in the postwar world!

Cohen achieves greatest verisimilitude in his handling of the "riffraff" in the lower rungs of the capitalist political apparatus: the political boss, the judges, policemen. He dissects them with cutting irony, exposing their ignorance, stupidity, greed, pettiness, and abject servility to the steel kings.

His least convincing characters are radicals. The Anarchist agitator never emerges from the shadows. His Communist is a wealthy heiress! Can the author have been unfavorably impressed by the radicals he knows? Has he limited his observations to the Stalinists and their petty-bourgeois circle of sympathizers? Not even his proletarians are well rounded, despite his sympathy for them.

HATE PROPAGANDA

Coming home is of course only a novel. Yet it deals with the two crucial questions facing every returning soldier: what is the world really like? What kind of world shall we build? It is, therefore, subject to political criticism. And in this respect the book cannot be given a clean bill of health.

The reader is never certain, for instance, whether the calculating greed and ruthless egotism of Judge Fretz, chief advisor of Osmund, is innate in capitalism or is "Germanism." The use of such a label is too closely in tune

Workers BOOKSHELF

COMING HOME, By Lester Cohen. The Viking Press, New York, N.Y. 378 pp. \$2.75.

Joe Drew, the hero in this novel, believed the war would really free the world from fear and fascism. In the marines they pumped him full of hatred for the Japanese. On Guadalcanal he fought as viciously as the rest and won a silver star for bravery. Now back home in Pittsburgh, limping from his wounds, he discovers people who answer to the indoctrination description of "the enemy" in every particular — save the color of their skin. Stella, the girl who bore him a son after he reached the foxholes of the Pacific, tells him on the night of his return how Stoney Pike, political boss of the Mill District, beat her into unconsciousness and then raped her.

Burning with fury, Joe Drew assaults Pike, thereby incurring the malevolent hatred of this servant of the steel barons. Stoney Pike sets his political machine in motion to "get" Joe Drew. His prospective victim, however, not only fights back, but demands justice. He did not go through the hell of war, he decides, to keep in power men like Stoney Pike.

The ramifications of his struggle with Stoney Pike finally touch the ruler of the Mill District. This man is Eugene Osmund, industrial titan. He rose to power by developing inventions stolen from Drew's father. He helped arm the Germans and Japanese; he still retains his international cartel connections, and in the very midst of the slaughter is busily laying down the foundations of the Third World War.

IN A TRAP

Joe Drew gains a terrifying inkling of the real character of society as Stoney Pike's political

SWP BRANCH ACTIVITIES

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

DETROIT — Hear Grace Carlson on "Women in Prison," Wednesday, July 11, 8 P. M., 12 Horsemans' Civil Center, 114 Erskine at John R. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party.

"Dollar Diplomacy in South America" is the topic of the July 15 Sunday night forum. Speaker H. Mason. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party, 3513 Woodward Ave., Room 21, 8 P. M.

LOS ANGELES — The last of a series of lectures on Stalinism by Murry Weiss will be held on July 15, 8 P. M. at 232 S. Hill St., Room 200-5. Topic: "Stalinism and the American Labor Movement." Auspices: Socialist Workers Party.

California readers can obtain copies of The Militant and Fourth International and other Marxist books and pamphlets as well as information about the SWP at the following places in the Los Angeles area: **LOS ANGELES**, Socialist Workers Party, Rooms 200-05, 232 S. Hill St.; **SOUTHWEST**, Labor Book Shop, 8026 Seville Ave.; **SAN PEDRO**, Socialist Workers Party, 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214. For additional information phone VA-7386.

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 Laidlaw Hot Springs and 32 miles from Los Angeles.

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

For reservations and further information write to Janice Martin, Director, West Coast Vacation School, 232 S. Hill St., Room 200-5, Los Angeles, Calif.

MILWAUKEE — Hear Grace Carlson speak on "Women in Prison," Tuesday, July 17, 8 P. M. at Pfister Hotel. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party.

NEW YORK — A Beach Party for the Trotskyist Youth Group will be held on Sunday, July 8. Meet at 116 University Place at 10:30 A. M. Bring lunch and bathing suits.

HARLEM — Harlem Militant Discussion Group will meet on Wednesday, July 11, 8 P. M. at French Colonial Hall, 225 West 116th St. **PORTLAND, ORE.** — Sammy's Shine and Smoke Shop, 240 N. Broadway, Portland, Ore. now carries The Militant. Phone Murdock 1064.

SAN FRANCISCO — We are planning a "Friends of the Militant" Dinner on Sunday, July 15, 305 Grant Ave., 4th floor. Dinner served from 6 to 8. \$1.50 per plate. Dancing, entertainment, refreshments.

TACOMA — A meeting of The Militant Forum will be held on Wednesday, July 11, 8 P. M. at Oddfellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Dan Roberts will discuss "American Workers Need a Labor Party." Questions and Discussion

Negro Boys in Chains



Atrocities occur in America too. Here are two 15-year-old Negro boys who a couple of weeks ago were found in heavy shackles at the Fulton County Industrial Farm, near Atlanta, Georgia. E. J. Waits, farm superintendent, explained he used these cruel methods on Negro youngsters to keep them from escaping. A.P. Photo

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN

I am whatever you are:
Your friend and brother,
Your drinking companion.

If you are Italian and proud,
Then I am proud to be Italian,
And when you ask me I will tell you that.

A Scandinavian might see,
In my brown hands and sailing ways,
A fellow countryman. I am that.

Because I have a dark and swarthy look,
A Greek will say "You are Greek!"
A brother has eagerly recognized me,
And I am glad to be a Greek.

Some may guess me Hebrew, Slavic, Spanish,
Shall I deny my Spanish, Slavic, Hebrew descent?
I am all of these to my valiant comrades.

A savage wrack-brain of my company
Insinuates against the Negroes' equal manhood.
I quietly explain his error—
Or spit in his eye.
Negroes are not ashamed
Naming me one of their own. I am proud.

I am whatever you are,
You no less than I.

L. A.

Milwaukee CRDC Holds Gay Outing

MILWAUKEE — Like the 18 Trotskyist defendants who turned the tables in Minneapolis Federal Court by indicting their accusers as agents of a rotten system, the Milwaukee Civil Rights Defense Committee turned to good account the storm that broke over its June 24 picnic by turning the picnic into a stirring barn meeting.

Held at the beautiful wooded farm of a committee supporter, the activity-packed picnic was attended by fifty colored and white workers as well as a dozen children.

At the barn meeting in the late afternoon labor songs were sung between speeches. Mrs. Betsy Stergar, CRDC chairman, reviewed the prosecution of the 18 Minneapolis labor leaders and Trotskyists.

"The Minneapolis Labor Case marked a turning point for American labor," said Jack O'Connell, guest speaker from the Socialist Workers Party.

Grateful picnicers found the CRDC a solution to household problems when fifteen pounds of surplus frankfurters were sold at cost and packaged pounds of sugar were given away at card tables.

Children's games were organized and prizes awarded. Other activities included a ball game, strawberry picking, a drawing on prizes solicited from local firms, and the regular picnic spree in ice cream and beverages. The CRDC netted a substantial profit.

Ask Your Shopmate To Subscribe to The Militant

Pioneer Notes

Orders for Pioneer's newest pamphlet, Resolutions of the American Trotskyist Movement, continue to come in from the SWP branches. Within only a month of the date of publication, 17 branches have ordered 748 of the pamphlets — an unusually high number for such a short period of time. Four branches — Allentown, Philadelphia, San Francisco and St. Louis — have sent for considerably more pamphlets than was expected in view of their size. San Francisco writes: "We feel that 50 copies is only our first order. I am sure that in a short time we will send for more."

Several new subscribers to The Militant have also written in asking for the pamphlet.

Readers who have been following in recent issues of The Militant the articles on the so-called "change of line" of the Stalinists in this country, the treacherous role they are playing in the coalition government in Italy, and the fake fight they are putting up against the monarchy in Belgium, will be interested in reading the position of the Socialist Workers Party on Stalinism in the United States and in Europe.

On pages 14-15 of the pamphlet the traitorous program of the Stalinists in this country is discussed and their role as "a strike-breaking agency in the service of the employers" is exposed. The second resolution in the pamphlet devotes a large section, pages 23-41, to a detailed analysis of

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

Why Trotskyists Fight for Negro Rights

The Militant is so consistently going to bat for the oppressed Negro minority that some misdirected brothers who haven't given the subject too much thought occasionally jump to the conclusion that we are overdoing the thing.

Many workers, realizing that the whites comprise nine-tenths of the American population, have a tendency to feel that too many Negroes in the revolutionary movement will certainly repel the prejudiced whites.

"If we put up too much of a fight against Jim Crow and the other forms of oppression which are exclusively reserved for the dark-skinned workers," they say, "we will attract a disproportionate number of Negroes to the movement and we will be looked upon as an idealistic bunch of 'Nigger lovers' — thus defeating our purpose."

Now, it is certainly true that there are thousands of prejudiced, miseducated whites whom we must win over in order to gain a majority of the workers and thereby abolish capitalism and establish Socialism. But just because we don't have enough of these elements with us at the present time is no automatic indication that we could have too many Negroes.

WHAT IT PROVES

On the contrary, if we attract a disproportionate number of Negro workers — those who are the most oppressed under the capitalist system — it proves the correctness of our Marxist program. He who has nothing to lose and everything to gain, that is, the poor guy on the very bottom of the heap, will inevitably exert the greatest effort in throwing off the fellow on top who is holding everybody down.

Karl Marx, although himself from the middle class, realized that it would only be the most severely oppressed working class who would want or would need to lead the fight for Socialism, that is, only those who had "nothing to lose but their chains." He further understood that even within that oppressed class those who were farthest down in the economic scale because of their color would have to gain an equal fighting status before the battle could be won. I refer to his famous quotation which is carried at the top of this column.

Trotsky, continuator of the internationalism of Marx and Lenin, warned the American revolutionaries that they could never become a real working-class party until they stood at the head of the struggle for Negro equality. That would be the test.

History proves that most people throw off false beliefs only through experience gained in struggle. Through common struggle of Negro and white

workers against their common oppressor — the boss class — the job of "educating" the prejudice white workers will be accomplished.

THOSE WE DEFEND

To those who may still think we are pro-Negro in a narrow sense, we call attention to the articles by Joseph Hanson in The Militant of June 9 and 23, condemning the indiscriminate bombing and burning of millions of innocent Japanese workers. The Militant is the only paper that has condemned these atrocities which are now admittedly being perpetrated on a mass scale in this imperialist war between the ruling classes of America and Japan.

At present the Japanese toiling class is suffering the brunt of the oppressive results of this barbaric capitalist "civilization." We therefore spring to their aid — and they are certainly not American Negroes. Genuine revolutionaries can not do otherwise than go to bat for that segment of the working class which is most severely oppressed by the system at the given time. This holds true be they black, brown, yellow or white, natives of Walla Walla, Timbuctu or Chatteringswitch, Georgia. Our nation-wide and our world-wide policies are essentially the same.

Here is another example. Grace Carlson, one of the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, is now conducting a nation-wide tour to expose the shocking conditions of "Women in Prison." She is making it clear that it is not the imprisoned individuals who are guilty of any "crime" but, rather the oppressive forces of capitalist society which have put them behind bars. What is that but going to bat for the "underdog" and yet there is certainly no "nigger-loving" motive involved here.

The truth of the matter is this: The Negro worker will fight through to the end because, due to his double oppression, he will be forced to fight through to the end. The program of The Militant — for a Socialist society — is the only program by which the Negro can fight through to the end. That is why more and more Negro workers are rallying to our banner.

Pioneer Paragraphs

REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER OF THE EPOCH WE LIVE IN

Politics, considered as a mass historical force, always lags behind economics. Thus, while the reign of finance capital and trust monopolies already began towards the end of the nineteenth century, the new epoch in international politics which reflects this fact, first begins in world politics with the imperialist war, with the October Revolution, and the founding of the Third International.

The explosive character of this new epoch, with its abrupt changes of the political flows and ebbs, with its constant spasmodic class struggle between fascism and communism, is lodged in the fact that the international capitalist system has already spent itself and is no longer capable of progress as a whole. This does not mean to imply that individual branches of industry and individual countries are incapable of growing and will not grow any more, and even at an unprecedented tempo.

Nevertheless, this development the Kremlin's counter-revolutionary program in Europe. "Stalin's program both internal and external is reactionary through and through. Stalin is betraying the European revolution within and has given clear warning that he will if necessary attempt to drown it in blood from without. The working class must be prepared to combat Stalinist treachery and sell-outs. The Fourth Internationalists will work unceasingly to destroy the Stalinist influence in the labor movement. This is an indispensable prerequisite for healthy growth and success."

Resolutions of Eleventh Convention of the American Trotskyist Movement, 15c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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

United Nations Charter Designed To Hide Undercover Robber Deals Of Imperialists

(Continued from page 1)

out "recommendation" of the Security Council. Still further, while the Security Council is considering a case, the General Assembly cannot even make recommendations concerning the "dispute" or "situation" except on request of the Security Council!

Thus if Wall Street should succeed in having United States marines sent to some Latin American country, and the case came before the General Assembly, it could do absolutely nothing save pass the case on — if it saw fit — to the Security Council.

The Security Council thus exercises all the power of the United Nations organization. This body consists of five permanent members representing the U. S., Great Britain, France, China, and the U.S.S.R., and six members elected from time to time out of the General Assembly.

But the peace-making powers of this body, too, are singularly limited. First of all, it cannot "intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state." If the British imperialists, for instance, begin bombing the people of In-

dia, the United Nations organization could not intervene. Such a case has already occurred. During the conference sessions, France bombed and killed ten thousand Algerian natives, without violating any of the provisions of the Charter. In the United States, millions of colored people could protest racial discrimination and segregation, but their "dispute" or "situation" would be excluded from consideration of the UNO.

CANNOT STOP WAR

On top of this, "nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements." If Churchill and Stalin make a deal carving up the Balkans into spheres of influence, the Charter does not apply. The civil war provoked in Greece by Allied troops as well as the continued reign of terror there do not come within the jurisdiction of this remarkable Charter.

As for the aspirations of the hundreds of millions of people in the colonies, the Charter does not even offer them eventual freedom. Instead, it sanctifies their oppression by the imperialist powers. It speaks grandly of

"international trusteeship" for colonial areas and then adds: "It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms." It would be difficult to find a more shameful subterfuge to cover up the intention of these hypocritical imperialists to continue their exploitation of the colonial masses!

Nor is this all. To cover any angles overlooked, Article 80 specifies: "Nothing in this chapter shall be construed... to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which members of the United Nations may respectively be parties." If France and England have agreement on which rules Syria, the Charter does not apply!

VETO POWER

The Security Council would thus seem to be thoroughly bound to carry out no action that would conflict with the greedy interests of the imperialist members. But this was still not enough. If a single one of the "Big Five" in the Security Council casts a vote

against any proposal for action, that single vote acts as a veto! If the Security Council should propose some action which the U. S. representative feels infringes on Wall Street's interests, he can stop the whole machinery with a simple "nay." Since this applies equally to the other big powers, it is clear that the UNO can take no action whatsoever that displeases a single one of them.

Why was this veto provision included? The truth is the Big Allied Powers are not only allies. They are also rivals. As rivals they suspect each other. They know it is only a question of time until their rivalries reach the explosive point of a Third World War. When that happens they want to prevent any of the others from utilizing the UNO machinery as a weapon.

The New York Times, organ of American Big Business, admitted in its June 29 editorial: "The truth is that it is the veto that makes ratification certain in the Senate — the veto which guarantees American 'sovereignty.'" And this is the Charter the imperialists claim will bring peace to the world!

Toiling in Cotton Fields



This is a drawing of a Negro agricultural worker at his toil. These workers are among the most cruelly exploited of the millions of sub-standard wage-earners in America.

From a Fresco Painting by A.J.T.

Millions Receive Less Than Subsistence Pay

Almost half of the American wage-earners secure wages of less than 65 cents an hour — equivalent in present purchasing power to less than the government's WPA Emergency Budget of 1935.

The rapid shift to consumer goods production and the service trades from the higher paying war industries will mean a tremendous cut in mass purchasing power.

Millions of soldiers seeking jobs after their discharges will find that in most instances they will be able to secure only wages that are below their present Army incomes.

These are some of the vital facts about the wartime and prospective peacetime wages in this country contained in the important new pamphlet issue by the CIO Department of Research, entitled *Substandard Wages*.

LOW INCOMES

During the war, when the corporation propagandists spread the lies that the workers were getting rich, one-third of America's families received incomes of less than \$1,500 a year. This fact is cited from an OPA study.

Yet the minimum subsistence level for a family of four, husband, wife and two children, according to the joint findings of the CIO Textile Workers and the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, is \$1,752 a year at present prices. This provides only for bare necessities and not such "luxuries" as education, recreation and adequate medical care.

In order to secure this bare minimum a worker would have to earn 87½ cents an hour for a continuous 50 weeks of 40 hours work. This is higher pay than

a majority of American workers earned during the war, when rates were at their highest level. The greatest unemployment will come in those industries which paid the highest wages during the war — aircraft, auto, steel, transportation, shipbuilding. The choice of available peacetime jobs will be largely in the industries now paying sub-standard wages.

WHAT FIGURES REVEAL

For instance, seven out of every ten workers in the service industries (hotels, restaurants, laundries, etc.) now earn less than \$1500 a year.

One-half those employed in insurance, finance and real estate earn less than \$1500 annually.

One-fourth of all those employed in transportation, communications, wholesale trade and manufacturing earn wartime incomes below \$1500 a year.

An overwhelming proportion of the millions of farm and white collar workers likewise earn less than \$1500 a year.

Even if the present level of business activity is continued, a return to the peacetime industries and types of employment, with their substandard wages, would mean a reduction of the national payroll from the current \$90 billions annually to only \$70 billions.

Such a drastic cut in mass purchasing power would automatically bring reduced production and mass unemployment.

That is the future which confronts the American wage-earner and returned war veteran. Not 60,000,000 jobs at the wages of decent living, but insecurity and poverty.

Stalinist Treachery In Greek Struggle

(Continued from page 1)

government of national unity... did not adequately guarantee the realization of national unity... But it was precisely this "unity" which led to one of the bloodiest slaughters in the history of Greece!

"They 'sift' out another error: 'Although EAM-ELAS liberated four-fifths of Greece before the British landing, and many freed territories were administered by democratically-elected local governments, no central government authority ever was chosen by all the people as in the case of Yugoslavia.' But it was the Stalinists who welcomed British troops. It was the strategic line of rejecting the Soviet system for Greece that prevented the establishment of a central government authority. It was the Stalinists who agreed to give up the arms of the Greek people. None of these crimes are criticized!"

"Communist ministers," continues the Daily Worker, "even signed anti-popular financial laws of the Papandreou government, and this too, was scored as a 'rightist' error." But it was Stalinist support of the British puppet, Papandreou that paved the way for Allied tanks, airplanes and bombs. This error is whitewashed with a criticism about signing "financial laws!"

And now the Stalinists lay it on thick and white: "Favorable occasions were missed for arriving at an agreement with British military authorities while it was possible to obtain better terms than those of the Varkiza agreement, which came after a military defeat in Athens." Not a word about these troops coming with Stalin's consent! Not a word about the deal between Churchill and Stalin, dividing up the Balkans into spheres of influence! The "criticism" is that the Stalinists didn't surrender quickly enough to the British butchers! The Stalinist heroes even man-

age to include a slanderous smear of the revolutionary Greek fighters who resisted the British and native reaction: "The arrest of unarmed citizens, even as a measure of defense to counterbalance the taking of hostages by Papandreou and Gen. Scobie, was a serious political mistake." The bloodthirsty monarchists took hostages by the thousands — but the Stalinists consider defensive retaliation a "mistake." Thus do they support Churchill's vicious slanders of the Greek workers!

While rifle shots of the executioners still echo in the mountains of Greece, these perfidious betrayers of the working class now have the temerity to call for "a genuine plebiscite and free elections of a constituent assembly." What is this but whitewash prepared in advance for the regime Britain finally sets up when it feels the land has been pacified?

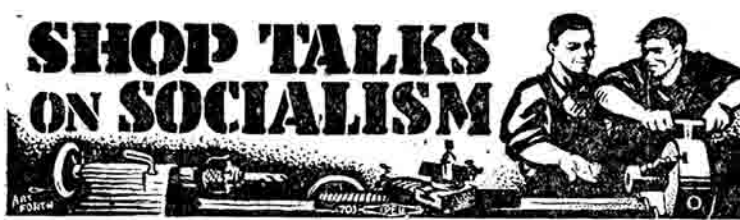
And these same agents of the Kremlin who murdered 100 Trotskyists in the ranks of Greek working class fighters, lay on the finishing touches of their whitewash brush by calling for "peaceful settlement of all differences with neighboring countries and brotherly collaboration with all Balkan peoples."

IN THE COMING

New York Elections
VOTE AGAINST:
Capitalist Hunger
Capitalist Misery
Capitalist War

VOTE FOR:
Socialist Plenty
Socialist Prosperity
Socialist Peace
Vote for

DOBBS & SIMPSON!



By V. Grey

WHAT ARE YOU WAITING FOR, COMRADE?

So you read *The Militant* and think it's good. So you agree with the main principles of the Socialist Workers Party? But you just haven't got around to joining yet.

Well what are you waiting for? No one is going to hit you on the head and drag you in. It's up to you, comrade.

Here's something you always believed in, really. In our program that belief comes out as a fully rounded thing—consistent, practical. Our party is the weapon to give that belief strength and put that program into ACTION.

How Long Are You Going to Wait?

Are you going to go around, just thinking things—and never doing them? You'll never get along with yourself that way, Comrade. You can't look at yourself in the mirror, or look anybody else straight in the eye.

You've always wanted to do the RIGHT thing, even though wise guys told you that was a suckers' game. Well Comrade, we're not suckers in the Socialist Workers Party and no wise guy dares to call us that. We're revolutionary socialists, out to put up a four-square fight against the capitalist class. And the majority of humanity is going to support us.

So why don't you do the RIGHTEST thing you ever did in your life?—Join the Socialist Workers Party!

There you will find people like yourself—working people with the determination to change the world. There you will find the best men and women in the world, comrades who will never let you down, because you and they are bound together by a deeper thing than friendship—the principles of socialism.

"You only live once" the wise guys say, when they mean you should throw your life away on froth and foolishness. Sure you only live once—and only thirty, forty or fifty years to go at that. But what about your kids?

The Future Depends Upon You

You've only got a few years to look ahead to. But your children and your children's children have to face it for thousands of centuries. Their lives and their happiness depend on the kind of a world we make for them. And they depend on the kind of decision YOU make.

Because it's now or never, Comrade. We still have the factories, railroads, steamships, mines and banks around for us to take over. But if we let the capitalists have a couple more wars like this one, everything will be exploded and ruined. Our kids will have to start from scratch. Like the cavemen—only worse, because they won't live in green forests, but on heaps of rubbish.

Wars, fascism, unemployment. You're going to join us in licking them, aren't you. Our party is a small minority? Yes. And George Washington was in a small minority at first, and Sam Adams, and Thomas Jefferson. Yes, we're small. But we're RIGHT. And we're going to win in the end.

"What are you going to get out of it?" the wise guy sneers. Well, you're going to get far more out of it than you'll ever put in—even if you devote every minute of your life to it. You're going to get understanding. And you're going to have the supreme satisfaction that your life is not being lived in vain.

STALINISTS IN GERMANY ADVOCATE CAPITALISM

(Continued from page 1)

Stalinist betrayal in this program it is sufficient to recall that Germany once had a "democratic" republic, that the German bourgeoisie found this republic had outlived its usefulness. Out of the Weimar republic grew — Nazism. The manifesto thus proposes once more to incubate the "democratic" egg which produced the Nazi crocodile. In this way Stalin betrays not only the German working class but the defense of the Soviet Union.

CONSISTENT NOTE

There is one note of consistency in this manifesto. In proposing for Germany a "democratic republic" based on capitalist property relations, the Stalinists repeat the strategy they are pursuing elsewhere in Europe. In Belgium, for instance, while talking against the collaborationist king, they unite with the Social Democrats in support of Belgian imperialism. They support just as slavishly in Italy the fascist bourgeoisie while talking about a "democratic republic" — in hope of diverting the masses from crushing the class and the system that bred fascism. All this to demonstrate to the Anglo-American imperialists how reliable Stalin and his GPU cutthroats are as counter-revolutionary agents!

To underline their willingness to rebuild the capitalist foundations on which Nazism rested, the German Stalinists call in their manifesto for the "development of free trade and private enterprise on the basis of private ownership." It could not have been written better if the international cartels had composed an answer to the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx! The Stalinists only ask that the "exploitation" of the workers should not be "arbitrary" or "excessive." Any Wall St. plutocrat will agree on paper to this.

But the German Stalinists so far are only chin deep in the cesspool. To its other abominations the manifesto adds the venomous charge that the German people bear "guilt and responsibility" for the crimes of the Nazis. This is the main theme of the atrocious-mongers of Allied imperialism! It is part of their planned campaign

to divert attention from the real cause of war — the capitalist system.

THEY ARE GUILTY

And then these cringing curs really get down on their bellies and roll in the mire! "We Communists declare that we also feel ourselves guilty, inasmuch as, despite all sacrifices costing our best fighters, we were not able, as a consequence of a series of mistakes, to force an anti-fascist unity of workers for the overthrow of Hitler."

The catastrophe of Hitler's rise to power was indeed wholly the responsibility of the Stalinist leaders. They underestimated the Nazi danger. They refused to call for united front action with the Social Democrats and the rest of the working class. They refused to engage in militant combat with the Nazi gangs. They denounced the warnings shouted by the Trotskyists from the house tops. They went down, down, without lifting a finger, in a defeat that has no parallel in history for shame and cowardice.

Now these organizers of defeat, who made possible Hitler's rise to power, have set out to betray the German socialist revolution once more! This is the meaning of their call for a "democratic" republic and preservation of "private ownership."

Vote Trotskyist!
In the Coming New York Elections

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

FULL EMPLOYMENT AND JOB SECURITY FOR ALL WORKERS AND VETERANS!
Wall Street politicians promised 60,000,000 jobs after the war. But even before the return of millions of men in the armed forces, unemployment is growing by leaps and bounds. To provide jobs for everyone, institute a sliding scale of hours! Spread the work by reducing the number of hours each man spends on the job—but with no reduction in take-home pay!

CPA LEADER ADMITS PARTY ANTI-DEMOCRATIC: BUT PROPOSED CURE WON'T CHANGE ANYTHING

A revealing glimpse into the stagnant internal life of the Communist Political Association has been provided by one of the discussion articles in the June 20 Daily Worker.

Here is what has been happening in a typical branch of the CPA:

- (1) Average attendance at meetings—10 per cent.
- (2) Year-round absentees—60 per cent.
- (3) Only one consistent activity—the (Sunday) Worker route.
- (4) Membership in mass organizations—40 per cent, almost all active.
- (5) Leaders 100 per cent engrossed in routine business and visiting members.
- (6) Literature sales—almost nil.

The functionary who reveals these facts obviously does so in order to reassure members, who know all this very well, that the new turn will change all this. But nothing in the new turn will change the fundamental causes for this situation.

Phony Promises of Genuine Democracy

As part of the new turn, the CPA leadership is making fervent promises that henceforth there will be genuine democracy in the organization. To make this more plausible, the Daily Worker discussion articles confess that there has been no democracy hitherto, and the article cited above adduces this fact as the explanation for the situation it describes. It says:

"The reason why most absentees prefer other meetings, the movies, or their homes on CPA meeting nights is that they see no particular point in attending. They are just plain not interested in the things that usually take place at our meetings. Either they are never asked to help make decisions or their opinions are invited in such a way that only one conclusion is welcomed, or again

HIGH LEVEL FRATERNIZATION

From the London Times, May 18, comes this account of "fraternization on the higher levels" between the Nazi military chiefs and the Allied brass hats.

"Field-Marshal Blaskowitz, who was German commander-in-chief in Holland, borrowed 10 rifles and 100 rounds of ammunition from the First Canadian Corps to execute 10 German soldiers who tried to escape in civilian clothes. They were given a summary trial and found guilty of desertion.

"German discipline in Holland has remained consistently high, and Canadian headquarters are generally satisfied with cooperation from Blaskowitz. About 98,000 Germans are now under guard, but 1,000 Germans, all of them headquarters or security men, are still walking the streets of Holland fully armed."

An Allied soldier who talks to a German child could be court-martialed, but Allied high officers could collaborate with and arm a German Field-Marshal to shoot as "deserters" men who refused to wear Hitler's uniforms any more.

perhaps there are no terribly important or interesting decisions to be made at the periodic meetings of the club."

Every CPA member should ask himself: once the present ritual of breast-beating is over and the "new" line established, is there any reason to believe that the anti-democratic situation in the party will not be the same as before? How did the anti-democratic situation come to be, in the first place? Can anyone seriously believe that it was simply Browder's fault and that he dragged the whole leadership along? Isn't it clear that there is something deeper here than a "blunder" by the leadership?

What that something deeper is, the CPA member could discover by comparing notes with a member of the Social Democratic Federation. The latter organization is certainly more democratic than the CPA, but its members would tell the same story: poor attendance at meetings, leaders engrossed in routine business and visiting members, poor literature sales, etc. That organizational picture is, indeed, the familiar one of a reformist political organization.

Activities Contradict Socialist Aims

In such organizations there is no connection between the activities and the original socialist aims for which the member joined. What connection is there between supporting Truman and socialism? Between supporting the no-strike pledge and the class struggle? Between supporting the war against Japan and international working-class solidarity? Between "national unity" and the political independence of the proletariat?

The Daily Worker discussion article proposes as part of the solution for this situation: "Initiate a period of serious and organized study of our Marxist classics." The fact that these classics have not been hitherto a "serious and organized study" is not an accident, either in the CPA or in the Social Democratic Federation. In both cases the leadership can have no desire to get the members to read classics whose principles are polar opposites to what the organization is actually doing.

Periodically, however, the leadership does try to give the members something by starting Marxist study groups. The members, hungry for knowledge, respond. But on the one hand the leadership has no persistent interest in encouraging such study; on the other hand, the study of the Marxist classics is so divorced from the reformist activities of the organization that it is like studying a dead language. The Marxist study groups die away, until again at another time they are offered the membership as ersatz, a substitute for class-struggle activity.

The only kind of workers' party in which there can be a rich internal life—and that's what real democracy means as distinct from merely formal democracy—is one which in its actual activities is fighting the capitalist class and government and pointing the way toward the socialist revolution. In that kind of party the leadership is not committed to supporting a line which goes against the grain of the membership, and therefore welcomes the member's criticisms and proposals. Then the member's daily life in the factory and among his fellow-workers becomes really connected with what his party is doing, and the organization really comes alive.

Life in a Real Revolutionary Party

Members don't just hang on because they see no other alternative, but attend meetings and plunge into activity. They sell literature because they vitally believe in it. Leaders spend their time, not in routine, but in the new opportunities which the class struggle opens up daily. There is unity between what the member believes in and what the party asks him to do.

Every CPA member must ask himself: is there anything in the "new" turn which will bring about such unity? On the contrary, once again he must support the no-strike pledge, the war, the Truman administration, unity with "progressive" capitalists, etc. The breast-beating in the Daily Worker will change nothing.

READ

'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

Buy 'The Militant' Here:

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Johnson's Pool Hall, 531 Beacon St.; LaRue Pharmacy, 1309 Pacific St.; Abrams Pharmacy, 1002 S. Gaffey.

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Eckert's, corner Washington St. and 1st Ave.; Bishop's Drug Store, 507 Jackson St.; Rayner's Book Store, 905-3rd Ave.; Pool Room, 500 Main St.; Liberty News, 3rd and Pike.

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Branch's Sports Center, 908 Washington St.
Main Drug Store, Michigan St. and Madison Ave.
905 Jefferson, Rms. 228-230.

YOUNGSTOWN

Terrace Confectionary, 1947 Jacobs Road

N. Y. Trotskyist Candidates Unmask Stalinist Switch On O'Dwyer, Termed A "Fascist" By CP In 1941

NEW YORK — Farrell Dobbs and Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidates for Mayor and City Council in the forthcoming elections, today issued the following joint statement:

It is high time the working class voters of New York called the Stalinists to account. In the 1941 elections, when they decided to come out for LaGuardia, their candidate for mayor, Israel Amter, withdrew and issued a statement denouncing the Democratic candidate, District Attorney William O'Dwyer, in the following terms:

"Instead of a united fight against Hitler, he attempts to split and confuse the anti-fascist camp with the cry of 'communism.' O'Dwyer follows the device Hitler technique."

Amter accused O'Dwyer in this official statement of enjoying the support of "America Firsters,"

Bund. Instead, they have "washed and ironed" O'Dwyer... into a figure "close to labor."

According to the June 24 Daily Worker, "O'Dwyer... has made a good start in fighting fascism. His attitude toward progressive government, toward national and local politics, is unquestionably in full harmony with that of the late FDR."

The Stalinists have even bleached O'Dwyer's Tammany stripes. "Always close to labor," says the Daily Worker, "it was tough to get trade unions in Brooklyn to back even a popular progressive like LaGuardia against him in 1941."

The Stalinists work with one hand in a bucket of mud, the other in a bucket of whitewash. What contempt they have for the intelligence of working class voters to think their 1941 description of O'Dwyer would be forgotten?

THEY BETRAY AGAIN

The complete reversal in the Stalinist attitude toward O'Dwyer demonstrates how support of capitalist candidates betrays the interests of the working class. Obviously the O'Dwyer of 1941 is not much different from the O'Dwyer of 1945. He was not a "progressive" then, he is not a "progressive" now. He is nothing but a typical product of the machine politics operated by Wall Street in New York.

The American Labor Party, dominated by the Stalinists, follows their flip-flops with complete brazenness. The ALP offered support to Boss Flynn's candidates in the Bronx — Boss Flynn of the notorious paving blocks scandal!

As for the Liberal Party, which also claims to speak for the working class voters of New York, its record is just as miserable. Unable to support with dignity the same Tammany candidates as the ALP, it has converted itself into a pale shadow of the Republican Party and supports its candidate, Goldstein.

What the workers of New York require is a fighting independent labor party. Today living conditions in New York are among the worst in the country. New York black markets are a national scandal. New York is the



FARRELL DOBBS

postwar period faces still worse problems of unemployment, inadequate housing, skyrocketing food costs, hundreds of thousands of returning veterans in need of jobs.

The working class cannot hope to solve these burning problems until it decisively rejects capitalist parties and their candidates, organizes its own political party, and runs its own independent candidates. There is no such party now. The workers can voice their demand for such a party by voting for the Trotskyist candidates.

GRACE CARLSON'S TOUR SCHEDULE

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

Carlson Reports On Success In Rochester During Her Tour

By Grace Carlson

ROCHESTER, N. Y. June 30 — Taking an active part in the work of the Socialist Workers Party doesn't leave much time over for writing about the Socialist Workers Party at work! A person soon finds that out when she's swept up in the whirlwind of activity that goes with a national tour—meeting new Militant readers, discussing branch activities with the comrades and, of course, making a few speeches.

I should have written last week about the wonderful meeting we had in Philadelphia on June 20. The Philadelphia branch is growing so fast that their new hall is already too small. Many of the Philadelphia branch members had to give up their seats and stand out in the hallway, a hardship which they were only too glad to suffer. Who would ever complain about having an overflow crowd at a meeting? No Socialist Workers Party member, that's sure!

N. Y. MEETING

The inspiring meeting in New York on June 22 was well described by Larissa Reed in the June 30 Militant. All I need to add is my grateful thanks to the New York local for arranging this fine meeting — so many new worker-readers; our two impressive candidates on the platform; Art Preis' earnest plea for the miner William Patterson; and the best chairman of all time, James Patrick Cannon himself! And when bouquets are being handed out for efficiency, then the name of the arrangements committee chairman, Caroline Kerry, will have to "lead all the rest!"

The Militant staff and readers will be interested to know that I met Miss Belle Montague at the meeting in Boston on June 27. They will remember her as the correspondent in the Workers Forum who wrote so approvingly of Joseph Hansen's condemnation of the Tokyo bombing atrocities. She told me in conversation that she liked our follow-up on this situa-

tion and to prove that she meant what she said, she asked for 40 more copies of that issue of the paper to distribute to her friends. MEETS RAILMEN

And now I am here with the "old rails" in Rochester. Yesterday I went over to the Round House to meet some friends who won't be able to get away to come to the meeting tonight. I was entertained royally — they blew the train whistles for me; I took me up in the cab of an engine; showed me how the new stoker works; told me how I could tell the difference between freight engines and passenger train engines, etc. I haven't had so much fun — or education — since I was a little girl and my father

used to take me through the Round House in St. Paul after I brought his lunch down to him.

I told one of the shopmen there that round houses never seem to change. They're always too hot, too dark, too noisy, too crowded, too dirty. I said that even the little old green lockers looked the same to me. "Well," this railroad worker replied, "we can't expect the bosses to worry about the workers' comfort or their health. The bosses have got their profits to worry about!"

Then we all agreed that things are going to be different for railroad workers one of these days. It does your heart good to meet with fighting men like these.

Boston Gathering Greets Carlson

BOSTON — Before an audience of over forty friends and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party, Comrade Grace Carlson spoke here June 26 of her recent prison experiences and the lessons which can be learned from them by class-conscious workers. She demonstrated to the audience that these "correctional institutions" do not solve the problem of crime, because the government is not interested in wiping out the conditions which breed crime. The real criminal, she pointed out, is not the worker forced to make a living by so-called illegal means but the capitalist class, its government and laws, which forces its victims into a wretched existence.

The audience listened intently as Comrade Carlson described conditions in prison. They were particularly interested in the Jim Crow conditions inside prison, where the same type of segregation carried out in the Army and Navy also applies.

Comrade Larry Turner, organizer of the Boston Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, was

chairman of the meeting, and spoke of the necessity for every serious worker to join the party and aid in the fight for socialism, the only means of ending conditions such as those described by the speaker.

Vote Trotskyist!

In the Coming New York Elections

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

HANDS OFF THE EUROPEAN AND COLONIAL PEOPLES!

Wall Street intends to put down working class revolutions wherever they appear. That is why they want to continue policing countries overseas indefinitely. Withdraw the Allied occupation troops! Support the revolutionary struggles of the workers in other lands!

BEARERS OF THE FOUR FREEDOMS

An Associated Press dispatch from Munich, Germany, June 25, reports that Col. Charles Keegan, U. S. military governor of Bavaria, has ordered military government authorities in Dachau, site of the notorious concentration camp, to "stamp out" political activities of the "Anti-Fascist" Party, a group organized by concentration camp victims with the previous approval of Capt. Malcolm Vandig, Dachau military governor.

The "Anti-Fascist" Party, it is reported, claims 4,000 members and has adopted a platform demanding "the right of the anti-fascist working class to hold meetings; freedom of speech, press and religion; and the formation of anti-fascist committees in all towns and communities."

Although Capt. Vandig stated the group had been useful in "stamping out Nazism," Col. Keegan claimed its existence violated Gen. Eisenhower's ban on political parties. He added: "The Germans are conquered people and have no right to demand anything"—including, presumably the elimination of Nazism!

SUMMER SCHOOL OPENED JULY 1 IN MICHIGAN

The second annual session of the Mid-West Vacation School began July 1 with a large enrollment of enthusiastic workers from all parts of the Middle West and East Coast.

The school is being held at a summer camp located near Grass Lake, Michigan, 12 miles from Jackson and 60 miles from Detroit. The school is operated on a cooperative basis to give friends of The Militant an opportunity to vacation at reasonable rates and study problems of the labor movement under Marxist instructors.

Situated on a wooded slope near a small lake, the camp has ample facilities for boating, fishing, softball, archery, swimming and hiking. A grove of oak trees provides an excellent place for "weenie" roasts, Ping pong, cards and other indoor sports are popular in the evenings.

A large dormitory, cabins and a large dining hall with a screened porch overlook the lake and provide comfortable accommodations for the guests. The camp is equipped with all modern improvements, including showers, hot and cold running water. Food is plentiful and well prepared.

Rates, which include board, lodging, use of boats and enrollment in the classes, are \$25 a week for adults and \$15 a week for children.

William F. Warde, associate editor of The Militant, prominent educator and lecturer, is in charge of an educational program that has been planned to suit the needs of worker readers of The

Militant. The courses are so arranged that those attending for a single week can get an intensive education. Other instructors at the school include George Collins, Felix Morrow and V. Grey, members of The Militant and Fourth International staffs, and experienced trade unionists.

COURSES LISTED

Some of the courses which guests at school can attend if they wish are as follows:

1. The Role and Function of the Trade Unions.
2. Introduction to Marxist Economics.
3. What is Marxism?
4. Trotskyism and What It Stands For.
5. Discussion Group on Marxist Philosophy.

The school will run continuously until August 31. Further information may be obtained from the address given below. Make reservations as soon as possible by writing to: MID-WEST VACATION SCHOOL, Oscar Coover, manager, Grass Lake, Michigan.

Sign of the Times

City officials in Weimar, Germany, gave new names to squares and streets. Among the changes: Adolf Hitler Strasse has become Karl Liebknecht Strasse, the Platz Der Fuehrer, Karl Marx Platz, and Ludendorff Strasse, Friedrich Engels Strasse.



LOUISE SIMPSON

"the Coughlinites," "Beobachter, the official organ of the New York Bund," "Deutscher Wecker," and the "Tammany corruptionists," who for window dressing nominated O'Dwyer, a tiger washed and ironed into the shape of a crusading District Attorney."

Now, in the 1945 elections, the Stalinists support this same "Tammany tiger." They do not admit joining the camp of the Coughlinites and the New York

The History Of American Trotskyism

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

LECTURE III

THE BEGINNING OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

The last lecture brought us up to about the year 1927 in the Communist Party of the United States. The fundamental struggle between Marxism and Stalinism had been going on inside the Russian Communist Party already for four years. It had been going on in the other sections of the Comintern too, including our own, but we didn't really know it.

The issues of the great struggle in the Russian Party were confined at the beginning to extremely complex Russian questions. Many of them were new and unfamiliar to us Americans who knew very little about the internal problems of Russia. They were very difficult for us to understand because of their profound theoretical nature—after all, up to that time we had had no really serious theoretical education—and the difficulty was increased by the fact that we were not presented with full information. We were not supplied with the documents of the Russian Left Opposition. Their arguments were concealed from us. We were not told the truth. Or, the contrary, we were systematically fed with misrepresentation, distortion and one-sided documentation.

I make this explanation for the benefit of those who are inclined to ask: "Why didn't you at the very beginning take up the banner of Trotskyism? If things are so clear now to any serious student of the movement, why couldn't you in the early days understand it?" The explanation I have made is one never considered by people who view these great disputes separate and apart from the mechanism of party life. One who bears no responsibilities, who is a mere student or commentator or side-line observer, does not need to exercise any caution or restraint. If he has doubts or uncertainties, he feels perfectly free to express them. That is not the case with a party revolutionist. One who takes upon himself the responsibility of calling workers to join a party on the basis of a program to which they are to devote their time, their energy, their means and even their lives, has to take a very serious attitude toward the party. He cannot, in good conscience, call for the overthrow of one program until he has elaborated a new one. Dissatisfaction, doubts, are not a program. You cannot organize people on such a basis.

Doubts Are Not a Program

One of the strongest condemnations Trotsky leveled at Shachtman in the early days of our dispute on the Russian question in 1939 was this, that Shachtman, who began nursing doubts as to the correctness of our old program without having in his mind any clear idea of a new one, went through the party irresponsibly expressing his doubts. Trotsky said, a party cannot stand still. You cannot make a program out of doubts. A serious and responsible revolutionist cannot disturb a party merely because he has become dissatisfied with this, that or the other thing. He must wait until he is prepared to propose concretely a different program, or another party.

WHY THE STALINISTS HID THE DOCUMENTS OF THE TROTSKYIST LEFT OPPOSITION

By James P. Cannon

That was my attitude in the Communist Party in those early years. For my part, I felt great dissatisfaction. I was never enthusiastic about the fight in the Russian party. I could not understand it. And as the fight grew more intense, and the persecutions increased against the Russian Left Opposition, represented by such great leaders of the revolution as Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek and Rakovsky—doubt and dissatisfaction accumulated in my mind. This militated against my position, and against the position of our faction in the endless conflicts within the Communist Party. We were still trying to solve things on an American scale: a common error. I think one of the most important lessons that the Fourth International has taught us is that in the modern epoch you cannot build a revolutionary political party solely on a national basis. You must begin with an international program, and on that basis you build national sections of an international movement.

Begin With An International Program

This, by way of digression, was one of the big disputes between the Trotskyists and the Brandlerites, the London Bureau people, Pivert, etc., who advanced the idea that you can't talk about a new international until you first build up strong national parties. According to them, only after having created formidable mass parties in the various countries, could you federate them into an international organization. Trotsky proceeded in just the opposite way. When he was deported from Russia in 1929, and was able to undertake his international work with free hands, he propounded the idea that you begin with an international program. You organize people, no matter how few there may be in each country, on the basis of the international program; you gradually build up your national sections. History has given its verdict on this dispute. Those parties which began with a national approach and wanted to push aside this problem of international organization, all suffered shipwreck. National parties could not take root because in this international epoch there is no longer any room for narrow national programs. Only the Fourth International, starting in each country from the international program, has survived.

That principle wasn't understood by us in the early Communist Party. We were engrossed in the national struggle in America. We looked to the Communist International to give us help with our national problems. We did not want to bother with the problems of the other sections, or those of the Comintern as a whole. This fatal error, this national narrow-mindedness, is what pushed us into the blind alley of faction struggles.

Things began to grow very critical for us. None of the factions wanted to split or leave the party. They were all loyal, fanatically loyal, to the Comintern and had no thought of breaking with it. But the discouraging internal situation grew worse, appeared hopeless. It became obvious that we must either find a way to unite the factions or permit one faction to become predominant. Some of the wiser ones, or rather, some of the more cunning ones, and those who had the best sources of information in Moscow, began to realize that the way to gain the favor of the Comintern and thereby place the great weight of its authority on the side of their faction, was to become energetic and aggressive in the fight against Trotskyism.

Campaigns against "Trotskyism" were ordained from Moscow in all the parties of the world. The expulsions of Trotsky and Zinoviev in the fall of 1927 were followed by demands that all the parties immediately take a position, with the implied threat of reprisals from Moscow against any individual or group failing to take a "correct" position—that is, in favor of the expulsions. Campaigns of "enlightenment" were carried on. The Lovestoneites were in the vanguard of the fight against Trotskyism. Thereby they purchased for themselves the support of the Comintern and enjoyed it throughout that period. They organized "enlightenment" campaigns. Membership meetings, branch meetings, section meetings were held all over the party to which representatives of the Central Committee were sent in order to enlighten the membership on the necessity for the expulsions of the organizer of the Red Army and the Chairman of the Comintern.

Campaigns Against Trotskyism Ordered

The Fosterites, who weren't as quick and cunning as the Lovestoneites, but who had a good deal the same will, followed suit. They really ran races with the Lovestoneites to show who were the greatest anti-Trotskyists. They vied in making speeches on the subject.

Looking back on it now, it is an interesting circumstance, which rather foreshadows what was to follow, that I never took part in any of these campaigns. I voted for the stereotyped resolutions, I regret to say, but I never made a single speech or wrote a single article against Trotskyism. That was not because I was a Trotskyist. I didn't want to get out of line with the majority of the Russian party and the Comintern. I refused to take part in the campaigns only because I didn't understand the issues. Bertram D. Wolfe, Lovestone's chief lieutenant, was one of the greatest Trotsky-baiters. At the slightest provocation he would make a speech two hours long, explaining how the Trotskyists were wrong on the agrarian question in Russia. I could not do that because I didn't understand the question. He didn't understand it either, but, in his case, that wasn't so much of an obstacle. The real objective of the Lovestoneites and Fosterites in making these speeches and carrying on these campaigns was to ingratiate themselves with the powers in Moscow.

Someone may ask, "Why didn't you make speeches in favor of Trotsky?" I couldn't do that either because I didn't understand the program. My state of mind then was that of doubt and dissatisfaction. Of course, if one had no responsibility to the party, if he were a mere commentator or observer, he could merely speak his doubts and have it over with. You can't do that in a serious political party. If you don't know what to say, you don't have to say anything. The best thing is to remain silent.

Russian Question Arises At Plenum

The Central Committee of the Communist Party held a plenum in February, the famous February plenum of 1928, which followed a few months after the expulsion of Trotsky and Zinoviev and all the leaders of the Russian Opposition. A big campaign was already on to mobilize the parties of the world to support Stalin's bureaucracy. At this plenum we fought and disputed over the factional

issues in the party, the estimate of the political situation, the trade union question, the organization question—we fought furiously over all these questions. That was our real interest. Then we came to the last point on the agenda, the Russian question. Bertram D. Wolfe, as the reporter for the Lovestoneite majority, "explained" it at great length, for about two hours. Then the question was thrown open for discussion. One by one, each member of the Lovestone and Foster factions took the floor to express agreement with the report and add a few touches to show that he understood the necessity for the expulsions and was in favor of them.

I didn't speak. Naturally, because of my silence, the other members of the Cannon faction felt somewhat constrained from speaking. They didn't like the situation and organized a sort of pressure campaign. I remember to this day, how I sat at the back of the hall, disgruntled, bitter and confused, sure that there was something phony about the question but not knowing what it was. Bill Dunne, the black sheep of the Dunne family, who was at that time a member of the Political Committee, and my closest associate, came back with a couple of others. "Jim, you have got to speak on this question. It is the Russian question. They will cut our faction to pieces if you don't say something on this report. Get up and say a few words for the record."

I refused to do it. They persisted, but I was adamant. "I am not going to do it. I am not going to speak on this question." That was not "wise politics" on my part, although in retrospect it may appear so. It was not an anticipation of the future at all. It was simply a mood, a stubborn personal feeling that I had on the question. We didn't have any real information. We didn't really know what the truth was. By that time, 1927, the disputes in the Russian party had begun to embrace international questions—the question of the Chinese revolution and the Anglo-Russian Committee.

(To be continued next week)

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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.

Ranting Rankin

Editors:
I have been reading your paper for some time now and am wondering if you can print this letter. I think John Rankin has his nerve in trying to get the colored veterans out of the mental hospital. They have given their lives and received wounds for the country in which Mr. Rankin lives. He calls them niggers! We are not niggers. We are Americans. We were born here and two to one he is not an American, or maybe he came out of the swamp or the woods. I don't see why we should be thrown aside like a dog or a cat. Some people can come from other countries and be treated like kings and queens.

We have been taking all kinds of treatment for years. We give more and receive less. I say, if the War Department drafts the colored man and he is good enough to defend it, he is also good enough to have a decent place to live in it when he comes back.

So Mr. Rankin calls us niggers. But now I'll tell you what a nigger is... those who make themselves niggers and Rankin made himself one when he said it.

Don't forget there are colored officers and nurses that are taking care of the whites. I am sure they don't feel that way. And what about when they are fighting side by side and wondering who is going to be next? My dear Mr. Rankin, think about that!

There will be a day when the colored man will have his rights and place in the United States of America—his home.

Mrs. Celis Sayles
New York City

Guilty of What?

Editor:
I thought Mr. Hansen's reply to H. G. was splendid, but may I suggest another point or two? He speaks of Wall Street's lying propaganda to the effect that the entire Japanese people are "guilty." I would like to ask: guilty of what? I mean, what has been the ruling class of Japan doing that "our" ruling class has not done also?

Pearl Harbor? That is hardly in the U.S.A.! Hawaii was seized by American imperialism... against the wishes of its inhabitants. Also, all of the territory that Japanese imperialism has seized from the "Allies" was conquered from the natives by those same Allies! The ruling class of Japan is only COPYING the ruling class of the western world, so how can one even say that "Japan started it?"

Surely, in the name of real truth and justice, the imperialist struggle for Asia began when the WESTERN imperialists seized control of the Philippines, Borneo, Java, Hong Kong, and other points in the east. If a bandit finds himself confronted with another bandit who is trying to seize what the first one has already stolen, what can he say in defense of his rights will not bear analysis! At least, so it seems to me.

Belle Montague
Cambridge, Mass.

Hurting the People

Editor:
I am a reader of your paper and like it very much because it is the working people's paper that gives us information about the working conditions. Now, most working people are good people, who believe in working for a living, in honesty and truth. These people know what life is for, and what they should do to keep alive and well and strong. They know the difference between right and wrong, and have no use for those who lie and scheme against them and try to make them believe they are doing the right thing for them when

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

they are not.

Now we have some people in public office who are not doing the right thing with the people. They say and do things that not only hurt the people but the country, too. We were told that we were put on rationing to save a food shortage and an inflation. Ceiling prices were put on everything to save the people from getting robbed of their hard-earned wages and give them a chance to save some of their money by buying bonds.

But what happened to us after we were put on rationing and a scanty diet? The foods got shorter and shorter and the prices went higher and higher. The people were forced to cash their bonds as soon as they came due to meet the prices. So it looks like we didn't save anything for ourselves anyway.

And the blame is put on the people because they bought foods from the black markets and paid the price for the food. But what caused the people to buy at the black markets and pay the high prices? At the beginning of rationing the people found it was pretty hard to manage on their points, but like good Americans they did try, because they felt it was for their own good and their country.

But while they were struggling so hard to "try to stretch them," the OPA raised up the red points and put more foods on the ration. The people couldn't manage any more. Then the butchers gave them the meat without points at a higher price. The OPA knows this is true and that the rationing system isn't right, but they won't admit it. It's a disgrace the way things are going now. It's making chiselers and crooks out of almost all of the people.

Mrs. F. Barnett
Homestead, Pa.

Frame-Up Defined

Editor:
In the June 23rd issue of The Militant, in an article from Minneapolis, the expression "frame-up" is used to describe the Minneapolis case of the 18. Since this word has also been incorrectly used in the past, in order to avoid confusion, I am defining it at this time.

A legal frame-up is a trial or punishment, or both, on the basis of false, trumped-up charges of which the defendant is innocent. The frame-up is used against militants in the labor movement where it is legally difficult or impossible to convict them for their real activities in strikes and in behalf of the workers generally. Thus Tom Mooney, a militant unionist, who was a thorn in the side of the San Francisco traction interests, was convicted for planting dynamite in the Preparedness Day Parade in that city in 1916. Mooney was innocent of the charge, as evidence abundantly proved. He was framed up. Sacco and Vanzetti, militant anarchists and union men, were charged with the murder of a New England paymaster and electrocuted by the State of Massachusetts. They, too, were completely innocent. They were framed up.

The conviction of the 18 Tro-

skyists in Minneapolis was not a frame-up. It was a flagrant case of political persecution. The 18 were charged with a conspiracy to overthrow the government. Had they been convicted of that charge, the Minneapolis case would have been a frame-up. But that charge was thrown out of court and the 18 were convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act of advocating the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a worker's government and a socialist society. The 18 did not deny their allegiance to revolutionary socialist ideas, but proudly proclaimed these ideas from the witness stand.

The fact that the conviction in Minneapolis was political persecution of a minority and not a frame-up does not in any way make it less of a crime of the capitalist rulers of the United States against the working class. Nor does it weaken the fact that the trial and conviction in Minneapolis exposed the fraud of capitalist "democracy" in this country.

Harry Martell
New York City

60 Million Jobs

Editor:
When Hitler and Company launched their plan of enslaving all other peoples of the world, it became necessary for the intended slave nations to regiment men and resources in order to escape slavery. By so doing we can now be assured we have escaped.

Paradoxically, the voices of many of those in high places who were loud in appraising the peoples of the necessity of regimentation, are now using it as a "bogy." Senator George recently made the statement (and it is being parroted by subsidized newspapers and radio commentators) that sixty million jobs for the American workers after the war would mean "regimentation" and such talk should cease.

However it will be beyond the powers of the henchmen of our late lamented President, who termed them "Economic Royalists," to prevent the workers from demanding and seeking for themselves an existence after they have won the war.

R. H. M.
Carbon, Ind.

Not Impressed

Editor:
In her column, "My Day," Eleanor Roosevelt recently made the statement that it is the most important thing for future American security to see "that every American family has a decent level of subsistence, and that every child has a chance to grow up without the physical and mental handicaps which arise out of bad housing, bad health and poor educational and recreational conditions."

I certainly agree with Mrs. Roosevelt when she expresses such conclusions, but I am not impressed with her feelings when it is obvious that she does not intend to aim seriously to do away with the causes from which such conditions arise.

How can a child grow up without handicaps under the capitalist system which Mrs. Roosevelt upholds, and especially in these days of rationing, black markets and high prices? My son, John, 2½, is a hungry, rapidly-growing child who, like all other children, needs good food to keep him healthy. He wants and needs meat and butter and other nourishing foods that are unobtainable. It is heartbreaking to see such hardships, the effect of which will be seen more clearly in later years, inflicted needlessly on children.

Children need clothing, too. The St. Paul Pioneer Press carried an article last week quoting John C. Goodall, general manager of the Merchandise Mart, that children's clothing will be even scarcer in the days ahead—"Unlike some industries momentarily anticipating at least a partial comeback into the civilian field, the apparel industry sees no green light ahead for some time to come," was Goodall's statement. Mothers who have hunted and hunted for such necessary articles of clothing as children's underwear, overalls, socks and shoes, rubbers, during the past year, know that this means even greater hardships.

The Twin Cities area is "a dominant infants' and children's manufacturing center," according to an announcement made recently by the newly-created infants' and children's wearing apparel division of the Twin Cities apparel industries. It is certainly no credit to these industries that mothers in this area are finding it impossible to keep their children properly clothed.

Winifred Nelson
St. Paul, Minn.

Patterson Expresses Appreciation

William Patterson, union coal miner from Daisytown, Pa., and first imprisoned victim of the infamous Smith-Connally anti-strike law, wrote the following letter to a Pittsburgh representative of The Militant. This paper was the first to break the conspiracy of silence about this vital case. Patterson, who is confined for six months in the Fayette County Prison, Uniontown, Pa., wrote:

I am writing to express my appreciation for your visit last Friday. Thanks for the cigarettes and literature and books you brought me.

As for my circumstances, I am getting along pretty good because I do some prison work which makes the time pass a little more easy. But 6 months won't go fast for a man that always worked for a living and especially on my first prison term.

Sincerely, I have no regrets because of my imprisonment over a labor dispute. Because I have always worked for the best interests of organized labor.

And if the U. S. courts see fit to convict me because of my never ceasing efforts to better the working man's plight I am taking it on the chin in the hopes that through my determination to never give up that all labor will benefit from it. Because the Steel Trust and big money men and Labor Racketeers will see the day that the working man will have his justice.

That goal will never be obtained until the man who works and sweats to make them powerful wakes up and changes their minds. And makes a concerted effort to defeat the incompetent labor leaders and elect men to office that will protect the man that pays dues instead of injuring him in a way that is detrimental to all labor.

In the last 19 days (since his imprisonment after a federal hearing on June 1) I have thought over a lot of things that I would like to see changed and I will sure try to see them changed.

Give my regards and thanks to your organization for the consideration they have given me. I accept them with much appreciation and looking forward to another visit, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

William Patterson

Grace Carlson

Editor:
I want to let you know how I feel about Grace Carlson's talk here in Philadelphia. I am not in the habit of going out of my way in giving praise to our leadership, but in this case I want to express my deep appreciation to you—Grace—for your fine and sympathetic as well as scientific way you handle the problems of the working class.

I like your simple, down to earth style—of not talking down to the masses, but talking with them; while still ahead of them and in the vanguard.

The petty-bourgeois social workers and their so-called psychologists do everything to degrade the working class. They call them morons, idiots, etc. I am sorry to say their poison sometimes filters into our ranks. I have often had some hot arguments on that subject. You are like fresh, clean air in a fetid atmosphere.

R. C.
Philadelphia

Rare Information

Editor:
The rarest type of information concerning the USSR consists of interviews with Soviet citizens. What do they think of the Stalinist bureaucracy? Do they consider Russia a socialist state? Why did the Red Army suffer defeats at Bialystok and Minsk, and then achieve brilliant victories against the German Army? How much democracy is there in the Soviet Union? On what are Soviet wages based?

The Soviet Union Through the Eyes of a Soviet Citizen, in the June, 1945 issue of Fourth International, is an interview with a 33-year-old Soviet physician who was freed from prison last year in France. In 1935, he took part in the purge of Trotskyist elements in the Soviet Union. We Trotskyists claim that our revolutionary movement is based on actual conditions—that is, we do not pose our program and then try to make world conditions fit into it. Our program is based on the powerful logic of the class struggle. We would expect to find that the Soviet people, in spite of the rigid control of the bureaucracy, would think and feel that the only solution to such vital problems as prevention of war and sufficient food is international socialism.

What has the Soviet prisoner to say on this? "So long as capitalism survives, new wars are bound to recur periodically. To prevent new wars against the USSR it is necessary to overthrow capitalism: it must be the last victim of the war. The imperialist war has to be terminated in the revolution."

This interview is in the form of questions and answers. The questions are so framed that they are in themselves explanatory of the Trotskyist position on major points. For example: "Do you know that the Fourth International demands freedom for all Soviet parties (those who accept Soviet democracy as their basis)? For us, the proletarians of capitalist countries, socialism signifies above all freedom." All in all, this is an article which, if it appeared in a capitalist magazine, would be advertised as "sensational, amazing revelations of a Soviet prisoner" and would bring great publicity for the correspondent who obtained the interview.

C. S.

New York City

Ask Your Shopmate
to Subscribe to
The Militant

they beat them with clubs. What a contrast to an advertisement by Republic Steel in the September 9th issue of the Saturday Evening Post!

The advertisement, which, incidentally, takes up a whole page of expensive space, has a lovely picture of a young girl hugging her soldier sweetheart who has just returned from the war. The caption of the picture is "Back to Elm Street, U.S.A." Under the picture is a description of all the things the home-coming soldiers will desire—at any rate, all the things Republic Steel thinks they will desire. "They've seen... millions of people who traded their freedom for promises of security—for brightly painted pictures of 'planned economy'... They want no part of that sort of thing here in America..." And so on and so forth.

This advertisement is just one example of the many ads and magazine articles which are deluging the American masses in a frantic effort to "keep things the way they are" in the coming economic upheavals.

Nancy Black
Toledo

Stalinists in NMU

Editor:
I was very pleased to see in the latest Militant the letter from J. V. on the NMU. I agree with everything he wrote. However, I would like to expose another "angle" used by the leadership to maintain its grip on the union.

The Stalinists are after "big things" during the approaching CIO National Maritime Union convention, which begins on July 1 in New York. They don't intend to be sidetracked by the "petty" union problems facing the seamen daily. The bulk of the discussion will deal with Bretton Woods, the \$200 a month wage goal with Political Action Committee methods, the war with Japan, 60,000,000 jobs under the capitalist system, and so forth, and so on.

But to insure the "success" of the convention, that is, the passage of all their phony resolutions, it is necessary to pack the hall with loyal fanatics. Although the union apparatus is controlled by the Stalinists, they need all the "delegates" they can muster in order to swamp and stifle any rank and file sentiment that may seep through this bureaucratic blockade onto the convention floor.

Because most members don't know how to combat the Stalinists and are overwhelmed by the machine running the union, apathy sets in, and many ships' crews do not elect convention delegates. Realizing this, the officials send a Stalinist, who has NO intention of becoming a regular crew-member, aboard one of these ships.

This stooge tells the crew that the union should be made more democratic, etc, and PLEADS for permission to represent the ship. Of course, the men will suspect this character, but if they have a "What's-the-difference?" attitude, he will be answered: "OK, go ahead." Where the crew knows the score, the would-be "delegate" hurries off the ship before he's thrown off.

When a Stalinist makes a trip and doesn't get the delegate's job from the ship, he tries again at a meeting in the port he happens to be in. Failing again, he may take another very short trip of a few days for the sole purpose of tricking the crew into sending him to the convention, so that he, too, can laud the virtues of "national unity" and hurl slanderous charges of "fascist" and "disruptor" at all militant workers.

If the Stalinists succeed in their attempt to mold this convention along their own lines, as now appears likely, it will certainly be a bitter parody of a workers' conference.

G. D.
New York City

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Since the closing of The Militant Subscription Campaign May 27, agents and friends have sent in an average of 56 regular six-month and one-year subscriptions per week. In other words, friends of The Militant secured 225 regular subs during June, even though they had just finished an intensive sub campaign which resulted in 22,000 new readers to The Militant.

In addition to subscriptions obtained by our agents, many workers have sent in their own subs in the coupon printed in the paper. These coupon subs have been received from such towns as Sylvania, Ohio; Winston-Salem, N. C.; Moscow, Pa.; Buena Vista, Ga.; Terrell, Texas; Ocala, Fla.; No. Arlington, N. J.; Laurens, S. C.; Austin, Minn.

Then, too, new subscribers are eagerly introducing The Militant to other workers. For instance, H. M. of Warrenville, Ill. sent 50 cents for a six-month sub, saying: "Here is another auto worker who wants to read The Militant."

J. V. of Alhambra, Calif. sent \$1.50 for three 6-month subs for three of his friends.

A subscriber who signed her "College," sent \$1.50 for six-month subs for three of her friends. She explained: "All three girls are students at Oberlin College."

J. C. G. of Seattle, Wash. sent a one-year subscription for his friend in Alderwood Manor, Wash.

B. M. of Cambridge, Mass. sent \$1 for 20 copies of the June 1 issue of the paper, stating: "I think your articles and cartoons are growing better and better. Article on Lidice massacre was splendid. I was delighted to see that your correspondent from Stillwater, Minnesota, has seen the error of his ways. I mean about the people of Japan."

"The people to whom I have already sold 20 copies of the June 3 newspaper are simply enthusiastic about Mr. Hansen's article on Tokyo and other Japanese cities. Some of them asked me to thank you and him for speaking out about the greatest crime in the history of the human race."

The following is a report by Mili Adams of New York cover-

ing an excellent distribution and literature sale:

"On June 25, a Negro Freedom Rally was held at Madison Square Garden. The meeting was attended by approximately 20,000 people, Negro and white, most of them workers. They gathered to demonstrate their opposition against Jim Crow."

"Nineteen comrades were mobilized at the Garden with 1,500 Militants and 100 copies of our pamphlet, 'The Struggle for Negro Equality.'"

"The streets were jammed with workers going into the meeting. There were police stationed every few feet surrounding the meeting, with mounted police at the curb."

"Four women comrades sold 100 pamphlets within one-half hour. Many who bought the pamphlets asked us questions on who we were and what our literature contained. Of course, with people moving into the Garden ten abreast, it was difficult to give adequate answers."

"One young comrade, in the party a few months, sold 30 copies of 'The Struggle for Negro Equality.' She had an enthusiasm that imparted itself to the crowd and the workers stopped to buy the pamphlets as fast as she could sell them."

"The success of this mobilization proves that we can sell our literature in greater quantities than ever before. Wherever workers meet, the party should be there with our literature and our program of action."



FIGHT FOR THIS PROGRAM:

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

A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!
A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!
Operate all government-built plants under workers' control!

2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

Rescind the no-strike pledge!
Withdraw union representatives from the War Labor Board!

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

4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities! Down with Jim Crow!

5. Working class political action!

Build the independent labor party!
Establish the workers' and farmers' government!

6. Tax the rich, not the poor!

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

7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!

Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

8. Hands off the European and colonial peoples!

Withdraw the Allied Occupation Troops from Europe!
Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the European and colonial peoples!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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

I would like:

- ☐ To join the Socialist Workers Party.
- ☐ To obtain further information about your organization.
- ☐ To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

Name (Please Print)

Address

City Postal Zone State

VOTE TROTSKYIST!

In the Coming New York Elections

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

CONTINUE TO OPERATE THE GOVERNMENT-BUILT PLANTS!

War production expanded industry enormously. Now the Wall Street politicians are turning government-built plants over to capitalists or closing them down indefinitely. These plants could produce peace-time goods in vast quantities. Let them continue to operate! To protect them from the predatory capitalists who want to continue the economy of scarcity, place them under control of the workers!

During conversion to peace-time production, the government protects the profits of the bosses. But the workers are left to starve. The worker's income must be insured during this critical period! Keep every worker on the payroll at his full rate of pay!

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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

Support Patterson!

The Militant was the first labor newspaper in the country to call attention to the significance of the imprisonment of William Patterson, first victim of the vicious anti-labor Smith-Connally Act. Now two important union bodies, the Buffalo Area Conference of the United Automobile Workers and the Northwest Ohio Regional Conference, UAW, have addressed resolutions to President Truman demanding a pardon for Patterson and denouncing the Smith-Connally Act.

The labor movement is thus beginning to recognize the importance of the Patterson case to every militant trade unionist in the United States. The incarceration of Patterson sets an ominous precedent. If this coal miner can be imprisoned because he did not cross the picket lines of his union brothers, then no striker is safe. By putting Patterson behind bars, the coal barons and their political stooges opened the road to wholesale jailings of other strikers.

But Patterson can be freed and the case can become a boomerang, warning the whole capitalist class they cannot railroad strikers to prison with impunity. To accomplish this, pressure is required — the mighty pressure of the American trade unions. The Buffalo and Northwest Ohio Conferences have blazed the trail with their resolutions. Now similar resolutions should be passed by every labor body in the country.

Britain's Lackeys

When the Indian National Congress endorsed the policy of open fight for independence against British imperialism in August 1942, it met with widespread sympathy among American workers, who now must be reading with some perplexity the news of the negotiations of the Congress to enter the Viceroy's Executive Council.

It is obvious that the India Congress is getting no more now than it could have gotten in 1942: some jobs as ministers in a council over which the British-appointed Viceroy retains totalitarian powers. Why do they now accept it?

India Congress policy has fluctuated from cooperation to opposition and back again to cooperation. For example, from 1935 until the war broke out, the Congress participated in the ministries of the various provincial governments of British India, obviously a form of cooperation with the British.

When does the Congress cooperate and when does it go into opposition? That depends on the immediate interests of the class which controls the Congress—the Indian landlords and capitalists.

And its decisions to cooperate or oppose are based not only on what the British imperialists are doing at a given time, but also on what the third force in the situation is doing—the Indian workers and peasants. For the struggle in India is in reality a three-cornered one; the contending forces include not only British imperialism and the Indian capitalist-landlord class, but also the Indian proletariat and peasantry.

In 1942 the workers and peasants were determined to take advantage of Britain's defeats and fight for independence. The Congress party had to go along. But it went along in its own way. Its opposition never took the form of revolutionary struggle for independence. For revolution would unleash the great masses, who would demand not only political independence but also economic freedom — freedom from usury at the hands of the native capitalists, freedom from exorbitant rents at the hands of the native landlords, etc. The native capitalists and landlords fear for their property and consequently fear the masses. They showed the lengths they would go to resist the economic demands of the masses when Congress-controlled police shot down striking workers in Bombay and Cawnpore in 1938.

Only those who have nothing to lose but their chains can fight for independence. Having misled

the independence movement to defeat, with the masses temporarily broken by that defeat, by British-made inflation and famine, the Indian bourgeoisie grabs for the junior partnership offered it by British imperialism.

Words And Deeds

The professional diplomats at the San Francisco Conference decorated the Charter of the United Nations Organization with beautiful phrases about "democratic" ideals. But even as they polished their fair-sounding words, a group of their political friends from the Bourbon South were busy with a lynch rope in the Senate, plotting to kill the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

The framers of the Charter declare they are "determined" to "reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person." They declare they are "determined" to "practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors." They are "determined," they say in this imposing Charter, "to achieve international cooperation. . . in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for the fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

A political innocent might imagine that the first place where these gentlemen should be "determined" to apply these shining ideals is right here at home. He might imagine that Congress would abolish discrimination in employment because of "race, sex, language or religion." He might imagine that Congress would heed the voice of 13,000,000 colored American citizens who have fought for years to end such discrimination.

But fair words in a Charter are one thing; fair practices in employment quite another. That, at least, is the political theory of the framers of the Charter and their friends in Congress. When the question of providing funds for the FEPC came before the Senate, the distinguished Southern gentleman from Mississippi, Senator Bilbo, wildly waved his arms in a long harangue about "interbreeding" among Negroes and whites. This decayed aristocrat, it seems, has concluded from his long experience in the Senate that under capitalism there is no real distinction between "democracy" and a Mississippi brothel.

Senator Eastland, likewise of Mississippi, shares Bilbo's singular judgment. And his imagination — or ability to lie — are no less a credit to the Southern Bourbons. Funds to implement democratic practices in employment? Why, replies Eastland, bouncing on the Senate floor, French Negro Senegalese troops dressed in American army uniforms locked 5,000 white German girls of Christian families in a subway at Stuttgart for five days, "kept them there and criminally assaulted them."

If the framers of the UNO Charter were really "determined" to carry out their finely-phrased ideals, they might have demanded that these degenerate Southern filibusterers be held for psychiatric examination. But the truth is that the authors of the Charter agree in principle with their Southern friends. That is why they did not break the filibuster. That is why they permitted this small minority of the Senate to kill the FEPC. That is why they are "determined" that the democratic ideals outlined in the Charter shall be permanently buried in the government archives and never carried out in practice so long as they remain in office.

Socialism Nowhere

Last week the German Stalinists announced that they intend to bolster capitalism in Germany because that country is not yet ripe for socialism. This line of argument is not original with the German Stalinists. The Kremlin representatives in Greece before and after the civil war that ravaged that unhappy land likewise said now is not the time for socialism.

Nor are Greece and Germany the sole instances. The French Stalinists proclaim that now is not the time for socialism. Likewise the Italian Stalinists. And the Belgian Stalinists. And the British.

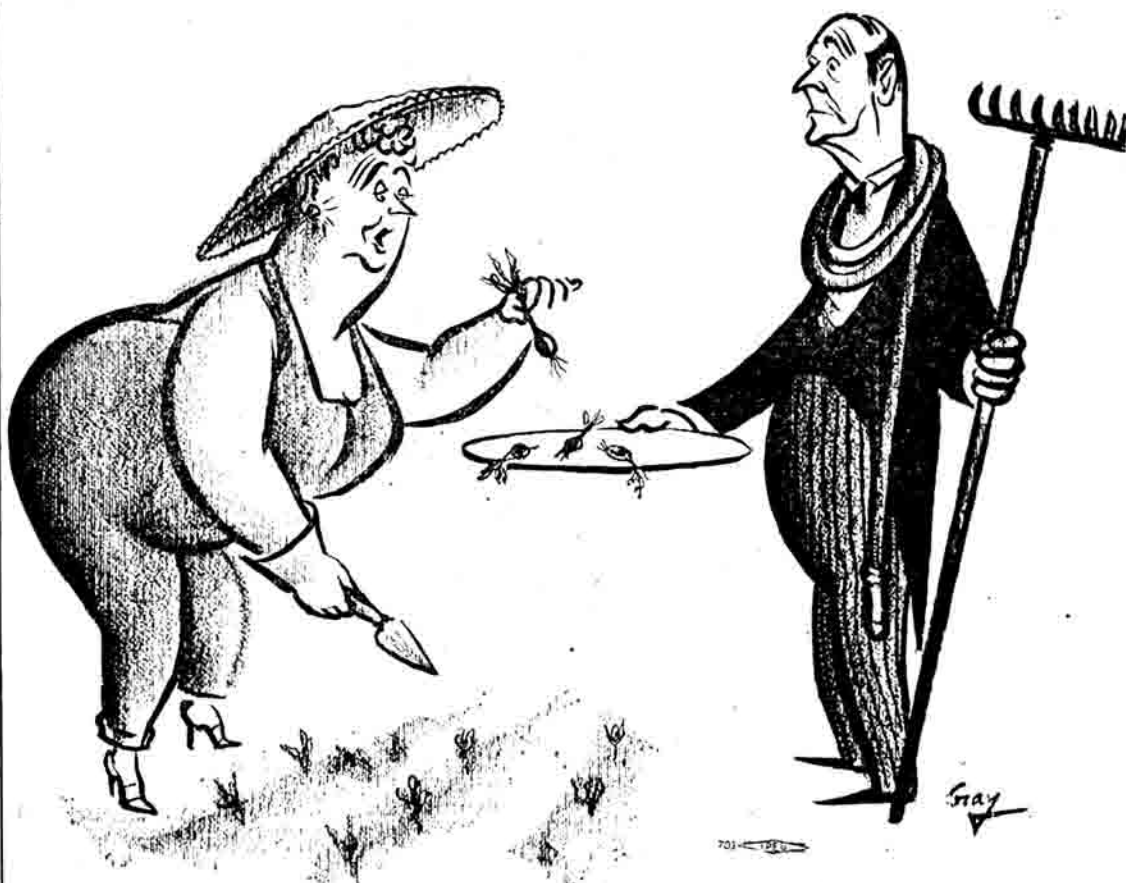
Even in the United States, the most highly developed industrial country on earth, the Stalinists during the war announced that now is not the time for socialism and that it is necessary for the workers to continue bearing the yoke of decaying capitalism.

This policy is the end result of Stalin's notorious theory of building "socialism in one country." Advanced in 1924, Stalin's theory maintained that the best way to overthrow world capitalism was to concentrate on building socialism in the Soviet Union. Trotsky predicted that the attempt to build socialism in one country, meant building it in no country.

Trotsky's warning received tragic verification. After the defeat of the German revolution in 1923, Stalin's leadership led to the defeat of the Chinese revolution of 1927, then to the defeat of the Spanish revolution. The worst catastrophe of all was Stalin's paving the way for the rise of Hitler in Germany. With Nazism in the saddle, and the world working class shunted from the path of socialist revolution, a Second World War became inevitable.

Stalin's theory of building socialism in one country opened the road for armed assault on the Soviet Union by the most powerful armies in Europe. Within the USSR, Stalin's theory undermined the foundations of the workers' state so that their defense against world capitalism was placed in jeopardy.

Now at the close of the Second World War, when the continued existence of capitalism threatens the total eclipse of civilization, Stalin's 1924 theory has reached its logical conclusion, foreseen by Trotsky, that is, of turning against the building of socialism everywhere.



"Why—farm work isn't hard at all. I'm enjoying every minute of it!"

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Egypt

In May, 1944 the authorities of Egypt suppressed the Trotskyist paper Al Majda Al Jadida because of its political opposition to British imperialism. Following this blow, one of the leaders of the Egyptian Trotskyist organization died, another was railroaded to prison.

Despite these serious setbacks, the Egyptian Trotskyists have carried on their work valiantly. They published three pamphlets in French and a book of short stories in English. They translated into Arabic and published an "Open Letter to the British Labor Party."

They made considerable gains in the Egyptian general elections of last December and January. Unable to run their own nominee, they gave critical support to the independent socialist candidate. As a result of their election activity, they recruited a number of class-conscious workers and university students, and widened considerably their contacts in the labor movement.

Since then they have organized an intensive educational program for their recruits and contacts. Social and economic studies now in preparation are scheduled for early publication in a series of pamphlets.

Algeria

Adrien Tixier, French Minister of the Interior, admitted in a radio speech July 1, that 50,000 persons had taken part in the May revolts in Algeria. This is five percent of the Algerian native population. Previous figures leaked through the tight de Gaulle censorship mentioned 10,000 casualties in the bombings carried out by French armed forces with lend-lease planes.

Tixier, as reported in the New York Times of July 2, said that 88 Frenchmen had been killed and 150 wounded. In reprisal, de Gaulle's troops killed between 1,200 and 1,500 natives and arrested 2,400. Of the latter, only 517 have been released.

Blame for the uprising, according to Tixier, lies with the leaders of the "movement called the Friends of the Manifest and to sections of the illegal Algerian Popular party."

He was completely silent about the real causes. Unemployment is universal in Algeria. The famine paralyzing the country has become so desperate that thousands of natives can be seen wandering over the fields hunting for edible roots. On top of these catastrophes, repressive measures of the de Gaulle regime have added fuel to the flames of hatred for French colonial rule.

Tixier reiterated the promises of the de Gaulle regime to democratize the local administration, reorganize the Assembly and rejuvenate the French administration. What the Algerian people want, however, is freedom from French imperialist rule, a demand the de Gaulle regime is prepared to fight tooth and nail.

England

Leaders of the Labor Party are clinging desperately to Churchill's coattails in the general election. To Churchill's charges they intend to socialize industry, they answer with cringing servility that the charge is wholly unfounded!

In all essentials their program is not one whit different from Churchill's. Like him they support the imperialist war 100 percent. Like him they promise the profiteers that putting them in office would safeguard capitalist rule.

Herbert Morrison led the slavish chorus with a promise over the radio June 29 that "the Labor

Party's policy contains no threat to the legitimate investor." Morrison promised to settle "all this . . . not by confiscation, but by reason and fair play." The limit of Morrison's proposed program is a "measure of public ownership."

The crisis facing British industry and the British working man cannot be solved, however, by any other means than socialism. Against Churchill's program of the continued rule of Big Business, the only party in England counterposing a full program of socialism is the Revolutionary Communist Party, the organization of the British Trotskyists.

France

The social crisis ravaging France is beginning to bring the white collar workers out on the picket line. This is a characteristic sign of the approach of a revolutionary storm.

Paris postal employees on June 28 announced they had called a token strike of 20 minutes for the following morning to protest insufficiency of food supplies.

A resolution threatening "re-course to a strike" unless heeded is paid their "demands and conditions" was passed by the Executive Committee of the Public School Teachers' Union.

Meanwhile the Stalinists are doing their utmost to tame the rising militancy of the masses. They continue to support the de Gaulle regime and the capitalist system on which it is based. To maintain a following in the working class, however, they are forced to voice a few criticisms. Thus Maurice Thorez, at the first national convention of the Communist Party to be held since 1937, criticized the "tendencies to reaction" of the de Gaulle regime and "its secret police." He even went so far as to criticize "the

not very democratic character of the institutions that now rule us."

But he made it very clear that the Stalinists intend to continue supporting the de Gaulle regime and in the event of its change he envisaged "expanding Communist participation in coalition Governments."

If the Stalinists seriously meant their criticisms, they would oppose de Gaulle and take power themselves, the French Trotskyists point out. The Trotskyist program calls for an end to capitalism in France and construction of a socialist society.

Italy

A June 25 Reuters dispatch reports a general strike in Trieste involving more than 60,000 workers. The strike, believed called for 24 hours, protested repressive measures of the newly-installed Allied Military Government.

Anonymous telephone calls at dawn heralded the strike. Pickets posted at the docks notified workers who had not previously been informed. All work ceased on the docks, in the factories, and public transport services. People left the market square, stall holders stopped selling food and vegetables. Shops throughout the city closed down.

Despite efforts of British military authorities to interfere with the strike, it remained solid. Only power and water services were permitted to continue functioning.

Martinique

Martinique, scene of recent Hollywood films in a tropical setting, is likewise the scene of a sharp leftward trend in the political thinking of the workers. In the June elections the Communists (Stalinists) captured 29 seats out of 32 in Fort de France, capital of the island. In other areas the Socialist Party carried 11 communes, the Radical Socialists 7 and the Communists 3.

One of the French-owned islands in the Caribbean, Martinique has suffered terrible unemployment and starvation since the outbreak of the Second World War. Like the other imperialist exploiters of these highly productive islands, the rulers of Martinique have long concentrated on growing sugar cane and distilling rum. They have kept wages at rock-bottom levels, skilled workers earning between \$1 and \$1.80 a day — when they work.

Of Martinique's population, 9,000 are white, 243,000 colored. It is these colored workers whose votes in the June election show which way the political wind is blowing in the Caribbean.

Haiti

According to a June 6 dispatch from San Juan, Puerto Rico, published in PM and believed true by PM's editors, General Trujillo, head of the Dominican Republic has ordered his troops to kill natives of Haiti found near the border dividing these two tiny countries.

Trujillo, says the dispatch, is seeking additional territory at the expense of Haiti.

The sinister hand of Wall Street is visible in Trujillo's actions. He has been highly praised by Nelson Rockefeller, one of Roosevelt's appointees to the State Department. Wall Street may be seeking a pretext for intervention. Flanking the route to the Panama Canal, the island of Haiti constitutes an ideal site for air and naval bases.

Ask Your Shopmate
to Subscribe to
The Militant

Public Utility Hijacks New York City Consumers

Privately-owned public utilities, such as electricity and gas, have been coining billions in added profits during the war on the pretext of "added costs" which have shot rates up sky-high to the helpless consumer.

One of the greatest public utility companies is Consolidated Edison of New York City, controlled by J. P. Morgan Company. It supplies electric power and gas fuel for the largest metropolitan area in the world.

An examination of the company's Annual Report for 1944, prepared for its stockholders' meeting on May 21, 1945, provides an illuminating study of how this giant corporation is exploiting its workers and milking the consumers, who are largely wage-earners.

We learn from the opening paragraph of the report that while the company's "total operating revenue was up 5 per cent over that of the year before (1943)" this increase "took place in spite of the fact that electric energy sales in kilowatt-hours were down 4 per cent." In short, the money taken in went up, the amount of power sold went down.

Who got this difference? Was it spent to pay higher taxes, greater material costs, or for larger payrolls?

The report states that taxes were \$1,346,186 less than in 1943. Coal prices rose 30 cents a ton, but "these increased costs were offset by reason of the fuel adjustment clauses (which) require an adjustment on the customer's bill."

Another report, the 1945 report of the N. Y. State Public Service Commission, listing figures for 1941, 1942 and 1943, tells us added labor costs definitely were not a factor in higher rates.

In 1941, the number of employees was 26,603. By 1943, it was reduced to 18,994. The wage bill in 1941 was \$60,164,833. In 1943 it was down to \$54,129,016.

However, the smaller number of workers, receiving less wages, increased electric kilowatt hours output from 8,164,685,350 in 1941 to 10,211,088,540 in 1943. And though labor costs per unit of output tremendously declined, operating revenues rose in the two years from \$215,861,551 to \$227,303,215.

The higher rates gouged from the consumers went to the corporation and its owners in increased admitted profits (net income), hidden profits ("reserve funds"); increased executive salaries and pensions, etc.

NAM Expend Big Dough In Anti-Labor Campaign

The National Association of Manufacturers spent nearly \$2,000,000 in 1944 to advance the interests of Big Business and undermine organized labor.

A recent statement to its members, "How Your NAM Dollar Was Spent," gives details of its expensive lobbying, propaganda and organizational activities on behalf of the open shop and reactionary legislation.

Included in the \$1,890,038 the NAM spent, was \$538,581 for general propaganda for "free enterprise" and the "soundness of management's position on current issues."

An important item was \$163,492 for NAM's "Law Dept." and "Industrial Relations Service"—aid and advice to manufacturers "on the most effective and up-to-date methods of fighting unions and union demands."

For "marshalling business support responsible for the many developments in the Price Control Act and its administration" (sabotaging price control), "removal of wartime controls," and "sound procedures in terminating war contracts," the NAM expended \$98,747.

Hitlerite Ideas Taught In U. S. Army Study Course

Hitlerian ideas of "Nordic" superiority, and attacks on racial and religious minorities, are being disseminated officially in the armed forces of the United States, despite the fact that these forces are supposedly engaged in fighting a war "for democracy against fascism."

A series of articles by Wilbur H. Baldinger in the New York newspaper, PM, last week disclosed that a correspondence course sent out by the U. S. Armed Forces Institute contains propaganda against Jews, Catholics and foreign-born minorities, as well as endorsement of the Nazi myth of "Nordic" superiority.

One of the lessons in this course, supposed to "contribute to your military effectiveness while your country is at war," calls for a written summary—"omitting no essential part"—of a section of a book called America Comes of Age, by a French writer, Andre Siegfried.

The very first paragraph the student is supposed to summarize reads: "In the American Melting Pot, the temperature at which fusion takes place varies with the different races. In certain cases it occurs at a very low degree. . . In others, however, a high temperature is needed, and then even after prolonged heating an insoluble residue is liable to remain. This is particularly true of the Jewish race. . ."

Those who are most "readily assimilated," says this vicious race-hate propaganda—are Hitler said it too!—"Protestants of Nordic origin." "Assimilation begins to be troublesome with the Catholics, even German and Anglo-Saxon Catholics," the soldiers are told. But "really obstinate elements" are "Latins, the French, the Finns and the Mexicans" who are "all anti-social at heart."

But "our argument applies with particular force to the Jews. . ." who are described as "restless and ambitious," "not without a certain vengefulness." "This pseudo-American ferment at the bottom of the Melting Pot, unassimilated to the end."

Although PM was led to believe the course had been dropped, it was later learned, the paper said on June 27, that this fascist-type propaganda is still being fed to American soldiers.