## What Akron Strike **Means For Labor**

- An Editorial

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

These Akron strikes are another great forward step: because 60,000 rubber workers, comprising the heart of the rubber industry, have demonstrated their understanding that the War Labor Board, the major labor arm of the United States government, is nothing but an agency to hold down the workers, keep their wages frozen, bust up their strikes, and throttle their trade union organizations. And essence-they have prepared the way for the next battles of organ-

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

The Akron rubber strikes have already encouraged and inspired the labor movement because they have demonstrated anew, in action, the great solidarity and militancy of which the workers are capable when they fight under a leadership that they trust and which truly guns at the parade but did not represents their interests. This powerful labor demonstration in fire. Akron will, both by its successes and shortcomings, help prepare the whole labor movement for the next steps ahead in the unfolding class struggle in America.

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

#### Akron Leaders Understand and Practise Solidarity

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

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

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

#### Operate Industry Under Workers' Control!

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

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

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

## **GREEK REACTION PLOTS** TO RESTORE MONARCHY

By Paul Abbott

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

Thrives Under Allies

Berlin may be under Allied

control, but it's still better for

the rich "ex"-Nazis than for the

starving workers, as a dispatch

in the London Daily Express,

July 6, points out. The dispatch

from Berlin by Selkirk Panton

reports that under Allied rule

extensive black markets are

Panton reported that a person

could get anything he wanted

in Berlin, "but you will have

to pay for it." English eigaret-

tes, Panton learned, "will cost

you one pound (about \$4)

Prices per pound on the black

market are: Butter, \$188; sugar,

\$30; dried peas, \$15; meat, \$30;

bread, \$10; coffee, \$140; and

tea, \$190. A man's suit costs

\$1,000 to \$1,200 and a cake of

flourishing.

a piece.

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

### MONARCHISTS PREPARE

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

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

(Continued on page 6)

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. IX-No. 28

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



PRICE: FIVE CENTS

## **American Tanks** In Milan Strike **Against Hunger**

"Down with capitalism!" was one of the placard's prominently displayed in a two-hour demonstration of thousands of Milan workers July 5. American tanks, ordered out by the Allied Military Government, pointed their

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

#### UNIDENTIFIED PLACARDS

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

See Editorial Withdraw the Troops!" Page 8

be identified with any one party; workers' demonstration."

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

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

### 11-POINT PROGRAM

When the paraders reached the Milan arena, they listened to a speech by Giuseppe Alberganti, "general secretary of the workate institution of the emergencypay system headed the list. The

(Continued on page 4)

## **Negro Machinists Resist Jim Crow**

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

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

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

WHEREAS: Lodge Number 751 of the International Association of Machinists holds a closed shop contract with Boeing Airficers who always went along craft Corporation, and

WHEREAS: Lodge Number 751 as well as the Grand Lodge of the International Association a consistent militant policy, re- 1331, largest in the Mahoning of Machinists excludes racial minorities from membership, grantng them only permit cards, and

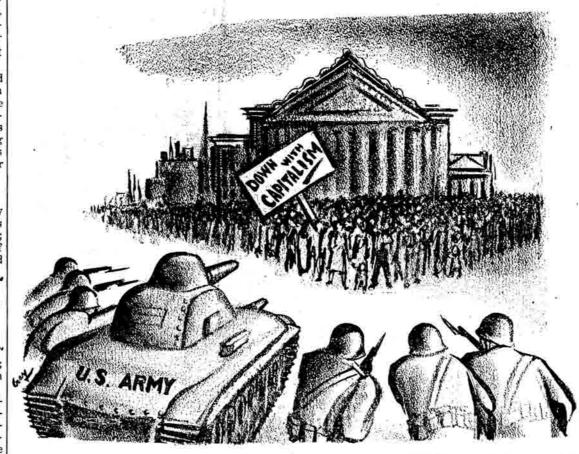
WHEREAS: These policies deny the victims of this discrimination seniority and other important union rights, and

WHEREAS: Several locals of

(Continued on page 7)

## having understood this fact, they acted on it. For 19 days they defied the government strike-breaking agencies and by this magnificent demonstration—for that is what the Goodyear strike was in essence—they have prepared the way for the next battles of organ—they have prepared th Drive To Crush Their Union

Allied "Democracy" in Milan



## NMU Forces 'Unanimous' Convention Vote For 'Pledge'

By M. Stevenson

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

This bureaucratic command set barrage of slander was thrown at the whole tone of the Stalinist- the four delegates who had the idden convention. From then on, the machine-dominated conven- policies of this stacked convention steamrollered everything through "unanimously."

vention, Stalinist vice-president slander would swing ALL the Myers introduced the resolution delegates into line; so a motion to reaffirm the no-strike pledge to "reconsider" was passed. The "for the duration of the war." leadership demanded nothing less But even this wording was con- than UNANIMOUS approval of sidered too "radical" by some of their no-strike policy. the stooge delegates. They expressed fear that "the memberphraseology, and wanted it understood that the NMU would not "pull the pin" immediately after the war ends.

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

After the "delegates" were told that such "irresponsible" acagainst the no-strike pledge. Then, after the vote, a terrific

In local after local, the work-

militant policies by removing of-

was supported by the internation-

al officials, for the first time was

defeated. Traehorne, a militant,

won the election two - to - one.

Youngstown Sheet and Tube Lo- Pochiro.

with the Murray leadership.

with little opposition.

Youngstown Steel Locals

**Elect Militant Officers** 

ose the hetrava tion. The Stalinists were confident that their usual methods of On the second day of the con- terrorization, intimidation and

### FOUR CONDEMNED

One stooge after another rose to condemn the four delegates as sneaks, snakes, enemies of labor, disruptors, provocateurs. attack became so envenomed at one point that even the arch-Stalinist Curran ruled one of his stooges "out of order" because of the vile remarks.

Through the weight of these "arguments" the four delegates were commanded to change their vote. Curran pointed out that they "could not" disregard the "welfare of the union as a whole' tion as striking would never be and "the Nation." He warned countenanced, the question was them against following instruccalled. The Stalinists were hor- tions from "small disruptive rified to discover that four rank groups" on the ships, reminding and filers stood up and voted the delegates that those days are

(Continued on page 3)

Murray machine.

Jerry Beck, who opposed the

machine. Pete Bauer, a former

and Tube Local 2163, the incum- ary in attempting to prevent dis-

## IN THE NEWS Not in the Newsreels

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

### Congress Is "Busy"

The July 2 CIO News observes "By June 28, almost one month after President Truman asked Congress to provide emergency unemployment benefits up to \$25 a week for 26 weeks, no bill had tion over the 4,000 Donnelley been put into the Congressional workers organized the "Organ- piece-work prices. The Local 2 hopper. Yet the House Ways and Means Committee has found time to think about more tax gravy via the carry-back method for big corporations."

### Four Freedoms in India

On July 4 police fired on crowd of people in the Rangpur district who were seeking clothing permits during "a riot precipitated by an acute clothing patch from Bombay.

#### V-U 'Unemployment Day' "They gave the workers Army-

Navy E's and told them to go YOUNGSTOWN, O., July 6 - | cal 2162 elected Langley, a milihome because the government The militant workers in basic tant of long standing, badly deand Mr. Ford didn't want the steel have delivered a series of feating Murphy, former presiplant any more. Nobody wants defeats to Philip Murray's mach- dent, who had lined up with the Willow Run, the \$95 million factory that produced almost 9,000 it is reported, may take similar ine candidates in the CIO Steel- international officials in pressing Liberator bombers. Nobody wants action. workers' local union elections held | charges against militants of the here in June, final election reports | Sheet and Tube Briar Hill Local. the 51,950 pieces of machinerylathes, mills, presses, shapers, George Taylor, WLB chairman, Local 1330, largest local of etc., the 28,000 portable tools, stated: "On behalf of the 27,000 Carnegie-Illinois Steel here, electthe 988 typewriters and adding members of Local 212, UAW ers registered their dissatisfac- ed Sam Camens to head the tion with Murray's policies and union, removing Philip O'Toole, machines, the 1,450 autos, trucks CIO, I wish to protest the recent and tractors, the 2 beautiful air- action of the National War Labor their desire for a change to more long recognized as a tool of the ports (one bigger than LaGuar- Board in suspending the shift dia Field in N. Y.), the \$25-mil- premiums and paid vacations for One of the most significant relion war housing community. And the Goodyear workers, members sults was the defeat of Mike Po-Two locals, 2216 and 1462, chiro, who had the blessing of nobody wants the more than 20,- of the United Rubber Workers, F where the leadership has shown Murray's district office, in Local 000 human beings who go with CIO. the plant, too, over 100,000 if you elected the incumbent officers Valley. Pochiro figured promincount the workers in plants which has worked tirelessly for years supplied Willow Run." ently in the district office's use In the large Youngstown Sheet of terrorist methods last Febru-

### A "Minor" Exception. . .

bent president Mathews, who tribution of election leaflets for be several million unemployed. is carried out it will only bring president of Local 1331, defeated Yet, for all but the unemployed, a chaotic condition within the there will be prosperity. . ."

## By Joseph Andrews

FIRESTONE LOCAL MENACED

**GOODYEAR PLANTS "SEIZED"**;

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

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

## **Printing Trades Strike Continues Against Donnelley**

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

Westinghouse Electric, etc.

Donnelley's has never knowingly hired a union man since 1903, when a lock-out was started against all union workers. Until 1942, no known union man was permitted to remain on a job at this plant.

the 16 craft unions with jurisdic- to the corporation campaign of

ern in the country. This is the greatest blow for unionism struck since 1905 against what the Chicago Federation of Labor Council to Unionize Donnelley's calls an "octupus to take over the entire printing industry in America." Donnelley controls the publication of the telephone directories, most of the big mail order catalogues, including Sears-Roebuck and Montgomery Ward, and such powerful magazines as Time, Life, Reader's Digest, Farm Journal, The Woman, Science Digest, etc. It also publishes the "house organs' for General Motors, U. S. Steel

In 1942, a joint committee of

(Continued on page 3)

But the Goodyear workers, members of Local 2, CIO United Rubber Workers, went back to work knowing that they had demonstrated in action the firm solidarity of their ranks. They did not go back defeated, but rather they returned as a militant army that had acquitted itself

tinue the battle at the next stage. "WE WILL NOT GO BACK"

with great courage, ready to con-

Meanwhile 16,500 Firestone

workers were still on strike, and for the seventh day continued to challenge all the powers of the governmental strikebreaking machine, boldly following the determined path of the Goodyear strikers. I. H. Watson, Firestone Local 7 president, flatly rejected a War Labor Board back to work order, stating, "We will not go cack on the same conditions under which we went out."

The Goodyear workers day by

### Where Is Boyer?

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

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

On May 28 the Goodyear workers turned out a three to one vote in favor of a strike in an NLRB ballot. This was their challenge wage-cutting and slashing of

(Continued on page 2)

## **Briggs Union Backs AkronRubberStrike**

DETROIT, July 5 - President John J. Murphy, speaking for 27,000 members of the shortage so bad in some areas militant Briggs Local 212, CIO that cases of suicide have been United Automobile Workers, reported by people obliged to go today wired a vigorous protest naked," says a United Press dis- to the War Labor Board against the union-busting drive of the its strikebreaking use of "sanc- rubber manufacturers and the tions" in the Akron Rubber strike.

> ing of a message of solidarity to Goodyear Local 2 on strike in Akron together with Firestone Local 7, CIO United Rubber Murphy's telegram to Dr.

This action follows his send-

"The organized labor movement in making these major gains which you are denying the Rubber Workers. We of Local 212 urge the National War Labor Pioneer Notes Writes a recent issue of the Board to reconsider the decision United States News: "There will they have rendered. If this policy country."

The telegram of solidarity to Goodyear Local 2 President C. V. Wheeler, stated: "On behalf of Briggs Local 212, I wish to inform you that we wish to solidarize ourselves with you and your membership in your fight against War Labor Board. I have already sent a communication to the War Labor Board denouncing their attacks upon your union and have appealed to our international officers to do likewise. Any further steps you may suggest to us, which might be of aid to you, Workers. Other auto locals here, will receive friendly considera-

#### ON THE INSIDE Briggs Resolutions

VIII Convention	0
rotskyist Election	
Campaign in N. Y.	4
V. Y. Newspaper Delivery	
Unionist Tells Story	5
ascist Smith in L. A.	5
tory of the Bastille	6
COLUMNS AND FEATURES	
rade Union Notes	2
Diary of Steel Worker	3
he Negro Struggle	

Shoptalk on Socialism

International Notes

Workers Forum ..

Militant Army ..

# Rubber Workers Fight Magnificent Battle RADE UNION Against Great Odds To Safeguard Unions

executive board and bargaining stalling on grievances in order to committee had beat against a cost the union more money until solid wall of company arrogance we reach the point where we and blunt refusal to give an inch | can't afford to negotiate. We have on the union's demands.

At midnight Sunday, June 17, the government agencies in the workers began to walk out of the field, except striking, and have Goodyear plants. By that after- obtained negligible results." noon, the Local 2 executive board had officially sanctioned the strike, which was quickly approved by a cheering, rousing conciliating during a strike," and mass meeting of the local. Picket demanded that the WLB take imlines were posted at every plant mediate steps to conciliate the gate, marking the third time | grievances. since 1935 that the great Goodyear fortress of the rubber barons was humbled by the organized might of the workers.

#### IGNORE WLB ORDER

Labor Board in Cleveland issued a blunt back-to-work order to C. V. Wheeler, Goodyear Local 2 they said as the good word spread president, and to the Goodyear that their leaders had stood up workers. The Goodyear strike and challenged the Cleveland leaders immediately showed their regional WLB. The leaders and mettle by ignoring the ultimatum. the striking workers spoke the Wheeler stated, "The WLB has

no authority insofar as a legal strike is concerned. This strike was authorized under the terms of the Smith-Connally act, by a National Labor Relations Board speak in the same tongue as the vote of Goodyear production workers who voted three to one in favor of striking."

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

gave us that right." Sherman Dalrymple, URWA International president, made his first comment on the strike in a press statement: "The URWA hae not approved, sanctioned or authorized the present strike at Goodyear. . . The war is still on had gathered dust in the overand our no-strike pledge still flowing files, was finally dug up

#### FIGHTING SOLIDARITY As though in reply to all the

attacks on the Goodyear strikers, almost 11,000 Firestone workers certain terms: "This is not a case poll only a few hours after the to one for a strike.

This vote of fighting solidarity was a great morale builder at nation's policy of full production. Goodyear. It showed the Goodyear The order of the fifth regional workers they were not the only labor board to return to work ones fed up with the unionbusting tactics of the companies, the vicious run-around of the WLB, and the cowardly dotional union's top leaders.

Cleveland regional WLB let out good faith, live up to companystrikers and issued a "showcause" order to the union leaders ling on rates," the Goodyear to appear in Cleveland and ex- strike leader stated. plain themselves. On the same day Undersecretary of War Pat- had "told them off." The strike from any governmental agencies to comply with the no-strike terson telegraphed Dalrymple went into its sixth day. The or from the international union pledge. By now Dalrymple's exasking him to "take steps to end Goodyear local held its second to settle the controversy. Instead hortations were not even news to the strike." All this rolled off the mass meeting of the strike, and of help. . . they have been sub- the workers, and were considered backs of the strikers and their the strikers in the jammed union jected to order after order to just a part of the strikebreaking leaders like water off a duck's hall on Case Avenue backed their back. They were prepared for the leaders to a man. barrage of "orders."

#### LEADERS STAND FIRM

day, June 20, the Local 2 ex- volition. ccutive board went to Cleveland and rejeted the back-to-work

night and day to settle grievances accompanied by W. I. Vaught, but have settled nothing of significance," Wheeler testified. "The membership voted overwhelmingly in favor of a strike the train for Washington under and the officers try to represent the will of the members in a democratic way.'

"We spend \$2,000 a month for the grievance committee," WLB and took the offensive. Van er ... and to another depression. Wheeler continued, "The mem-

tried every other method with all

Max Johnstone, union attorney stated that "there is no regulation which prohibits the WLB from

#### WORKERS INSPIRED

The leadership's defiance of the regional WLB was a tonic to the Akron rubber workers. A wave of militancy and high spirits spread On Monday, the regional War through the city. The Goodyear picket lines were jubilant. "I guess they really told them off," same language.

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

The Goodyear strike was certified on Thursday, June 22 to the national WLB. The WLB immediately issued a back-to-work order. Case 111-16459-D, which by the WLB.

#### AGAIN DEFY WLB

Wheeler replied by wire to the back-to-work order in no unwent to the NLRB-supervised of willingness or unwillingness of local officers to end a strike. This strike at the East Akron Good- is a case of government machinery year plant began, and voted six totally failing to meet the situation, and totally failing to keep the company in line with the was unanimously rejected by the membership."

"We ask the government to take the necessary steps to force By Tuesday, June 19, the statutes and war aims, bargain in formula. . . without stalling, and quit chisel-

On the seventh day of the strike

the National WLB issued a "show The union leaders decided to go | cause" order and commanded the to Cleveland and give the WLB strike leaders to appear in Washofficials a full dose of "show ington. By this time the leaders cause." Backed by a unanimous were sick and tired of "orders' vote of almost 1500 workers at a and "commands." They refused mass meeting, held on Wednes- to go to Washington of their own

#### THE "MORAL LAW"

The WLB immediately served subpenaes on the strike leaders. "Union officers have worked and Wheeler, Local 2 president, treasurer, W. H. Tidrick, vice president, Carl Baker, secretary, and attorney Johnstone boarded compulsion, and appeared before the WLB.

These leaders flung the backto-work order in the face of the A. Bittner of the CIO and Elmer

This Coupon and 50 Cents Entitles You to a 6-Month Subscription to

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Published in the interests of the Working People

The only newspaper in this country that tells the truth

about labor's struggles for a better world

I enclose 50 cents (coin or stamps). ......

I enclose \$1 (coin, stamps or Money Order). .....

Name .....

Street ..... Apt .....

You may start my subscription to The Militant for 6 months.

Send me The Militant at your regular rate of \$1 for 12 months.

(Please Print)

#### Goodyear's Operator

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### STRIKERS' ANSWER

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

"The Goodyear Tire and Rubber company changed conditions in the Akron plants to such an extent that they became intolerable," a statement by Wheeler on June 27 said. "Literally bundreds of rates have been cut by management without consultation with the union. The cost of living is not being reduced. It is steadily rising. The WLB has steadfastly held to the Little Steel Formula but has failed and nothing policy of the Interna- the Goodyear Tire and Rubber refused to grant Akron rubber company to comply with federal workers even the benefit of that

> strike, which was forced upon the ing." workers of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., they have received Once again, the strike leaders no effective help or any help, return to work without the settlement of the conditions which shots. led to the crisis.

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

to immediately settle grievances. expeditious or proper handling of as well as maintenance of memtheir intolerable working conditions by the WLB. We see in the present policy of the ... company an attempt to break the union. If that attempt is successful here and elsewhere it will inevitably lead to lessened purchasing pow-

"Does anyone think that the bership feels the company is Walker, of the AFL machinists, people of America will remain

#### On the Picket Line in Akron





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

quiescent again under such heart- and night shift bonus of the as oppressed them in 1929 and the early 30's?"

"WEAR THEM OUT" As the strike went on into its 8th. 9th and 10th days, it was obvious that the government was trying to wear the strikers out. "It is very apparent," Wheeler said, "that the urgency of military production impressed upon both Cleveland and Wash-If lives are being lost because of | coal strike of 1943. this lack of production; why

Wheeler declared, "and try to settle our gnievances, and "UNION-BUSTING ATTEMPT" cies and our own international order to draft strikers. "Since the beginning of this union to arrange such a meet-

peration?

Dalrymple replied with an advertisement in the daily press, once again ordering the workers scramble of the Washington big

WASHINGTON FRUSTRATED Washington officials were undoubtedly frustrated by the stubborn refusal of the union leaders to break. After a dozen days, the government sent in its reserves and began to throw its heavy ammunition. On the order of stabilization director Wm. H. Davis, ". . .the officers of Goodyear selective service ordered the ter-Local 2 were skeptical that the mination of the occupational de-War Labor Board would proceed ferments of all strikers. . . Two days later the WLB threatened That skepticism was justified... to apply sanctions by withdraw-The workers cannot expect any ing vacation pay and shift bonus,

> bership, from the union. On the same day, the Goodyear workers in mass meeting once again defied the WLB. On Sunday, July 1, the Goodyear leaders again demanded, this time in a telegram to Rep. Smith and BATTLE NOT ENDED Senator Connally, that the government force the company to negotiate the grievances which provoked the strike.

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

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

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

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

breaking and ruinous conditions Goodyear workers. Having thrown everything in the book at the Goodyear strikers, the WLB then took steps to certify the case to president Truman.

Thirty-seven thousand rubber workers were out on strike. Nothing the WLB could do had shaken the strikers. It was clear that the Firestone strike leaders were working in close harmony with the Goodyear leaders, and would ington is not nearly so impor- also hold out. This was now the tent as first represented to us. greatest wartime strike since the

The city of Akron was a tinder hasn't the government taken box. The Goodrich and General steps to get the plants back in Tire and Rubber companies shut preparations for our convention. down for repairs during the week "We are ready to sit down any from July 1 to July 9. would happen next week?

we have been trying to get the the widespread sympathy for the scheduled for September, "is in ance of membership contract had We can but welcome this senti-WLB, other governmental agen- strikers by rebelling against the tended to prolong and continue been signed by the company. A ment, even though belated. We hould not be forced to become Riddle, local draft board chair- flected in recent conferences, membership clause was revoked or right now - took some conman stated.

REAL UNION LEADERS

is for the President or some reswhich have caused these strikes."

Knowing that the last weapon resorts." in the government's arsenal was scizure of the plants, Wheeler RULING ACCEPTED and Watson stated, "There is absolutely no necessity for the

governmental agencies on every back-to-work order, and what is more they did not say to the workers that government seizure was a desirable conclusion to the strike. They consistently demanded that the government force the company to deal with the union, and that genuine collective bargaining be enforced.

year under military rule. What the outcome will be is unknown.

The Firestone leaders are holding firm, and it is expected the tual problems and the necessity government will rapidly move to- for closest collaboration to defeat ward a seizure there after ex- the union-busting attacks of the hausting its strikebreaking diccionary in this case also. The cutbacks have reduced the peak WLB orders to the Firestone workers now have a hollow ring. Briggs plant here to 16,000, with They are monotonous repetitions of what has gone before.

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

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

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

Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to The Militant

## **Local Auto Union Heads Demand UAW** Convention

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

DETROIT, July 8 - Meeting ere today in special joint session for the first time in their history, he Executive Boards of Briggs ocals 212 and 742, CIO United Automobile Workers, urged the orthcoming Detroit UAW local residents' meeting to call the nternational Executive Board and op officers to account for their failure to take even the first steps toward implementing the pro-JAW members.

the International Board petition do anyway." for an industry-wide NLRB strike reduced take-home pay.

#### DO-NOTHING POLICY

In protesting the do-nothing policy of the International leaders and their stalling of the De roit conference demands, the oint session of the Briggs execuive boards also adopted by unanimous vote a resolution deounding that "the International carry out the mandates of our Constitution and proceed with the

This resolution points out that What the Office of Defense Transportation's refusal to authorize the The local draft board reflected U A W convention, originally "We a policy for the union movement company official boasted that suspect, however, these are just which no longer represents the when the Army departed the words. a strikebreaking agency," J. P. desires of the membership as re- WLB order for a maintenance of strike actions, etc.'

The resolution points out the anti-labor intent of the ODT in On the 4th of July, Wheeler barring union conventions while and Watson, the two strike lead- permitting "horse racing syndi-'All that is needed," they said, operate their money-making projects with the use of transportasponsible government agency to tion facilities needed for these ensponsible government agency to order the Goodyear and Firestone terprises" and while "no steps RUBBER UNIONISTS companies to sit down and nego- have been taken to restrict the tiate the hundreds of grievances travel of the idle rich to and from their summer homes and

It is noted in the resolution that the "rulings of the ODT overnment of the United States carry weight only as recommendo seize either of these plants..." ations and the ODT lacks author-These were obviously leaders of ity to invoke penalties for the new order. They defied the refusal to accept and abide by its rulings," but the "top leadership is apparently intent upon accepting the recent ruling banning our convention."

Briggs executives marks a real local union officers and members, the corporations, the WLB, and advance in the cooperative rela- and the International Executive against the criminally reactiontions of the two locals. Although Board. all Briggs workers in this area were originally under the jurisdiction of Local 212, bitter factional rivalries in the Interna-But the government played its tional Union in 1940 resulted in last strikebreaking card. The the establishment of a separate workers are now at work in Good- Briggs Local 742 in their newlyconstructed Conner plant.

Now the Briggs workers have become highly aware of their mucompany. During the past period, employment of 40,000 at more layoffs each day.



By Joseph Keller

ODT's "Sophistication"

claims that the Office of Defense y sophisticated about labor afban on union conventions, which his year have promised to cause plenty of headaches for government and labor officials who want to depend on the capitalist govto keep the no-strike chains on ernment to protect their interests the workers. Only conventions against the open-shoppers. authorized by the ODT may be Thus, the CIO United Rubber

Workers has been denied the right rention will make it much harder five months of 1944 and this year. for the rank and file to reverse the official no-strike policy." On the other hand, the ODT

ist Josesph Curran's CIO National week, notes Business Week. The fore! ODT's technical reason for approving the NMU convention was claim New York as their home be no great strain on transporta- country. tion facilities.

not refrain from pointing out how ion conventions to break the noneatly the ODT's decisions as to strike policy. It is being smashed what union conventions can or to pieces through direct strike gram of action adopted on June cannot be held fits in with the action. The workers are "voting 4 by the Detroit regional con-terence, representing 400,000 straightjacket on labor. "It is the plants in hundreds of thoucompletely safe to assume that sands. The June 14 conference, voted the NMU convention will do nothoverwhelmingly to demand that ing that the officers would not Talk Is Cheap

What Curran did at the openvote to break the Little Steel ing of the NMU convention was in the AFL and the perwage-freezing formula. The con- call for continued unconditional ference also went on record to enforcement of the no-strike polfight for a 40-hour week at 48 icy "for the duration." No doubt bor, pious William Green, head nours pay to offset layoffs and ODT officials now feel confirmed of the AFL, finally issued a in their opinion as to the "best" ventions can or can't be held.

#### Avery Scores Again

When the government "seized" Montgomery Ward's Hummer issue of the American Federa-Springfield, Illinois, on May 20. 1944, it was presumably to en-Officers and Executive Board force a WLB order directing the on upon race, religion or andefiant company to sign a main- cestry, it is helping to create a tenance of membership contract potential anti-labor army that with AFL International Union of can be used by labor-baiters to Machinists.

restored full control to Sewell destroy its effectiveness," said Avery's company, no mainten- Green. 'automatically."

the government to get really ers, for instance.

|"tough" with Avery and the company's continued unrestrained un-The July 7 Business Week jon-busting, the union was finally forced to accept a contract ex-Transportation "has become high- cluding maintenance of membership. This has been the main fairs." The ODT has placed a point at issue in all the Montgomery Ward cases.

Here is a perfect illustration of hew futile it is for the workers

#### NLRB Strike Polls

The tremendous upsurge of lae hold a convention by the ODT. For militancy in the past four Slyly, Business Week observes months is recorded by the comthat a URW convention "would parative figures for NLRB strike be a cinch to revoke the no-strike polls under the Smith-Connally pledge" and "e iminating the con- anti-strike law during the first

From January through May 1944, a total of 42,922 workers participated in NLRB strike votes. gave the "green light" to Stalin- In the same period of this year 558,570 union men and women Maritime Union to hold its con- participated in such polls - 13 vention in New York City last times as many as the year be-

The biggest upsurge so far has come in the past five weeks, with that half the NMU members hundreds of thousands not only voting for strike but actually port and the convention would manning picket lines all over the

It is clear the workers aren't However, Business Week can- waiting for the formalities of un-

Under pressure of the hundreds of thousands of Negro workers sistent pounding of the progstatement condemning racial dismethod for determining what con- crimination in AFL unions, a number of which are notorious for their "lily-white" anti-democratic policies of Negro exclusion or segregation. Green's statement was published in the July

"When and if organized labor predicates membership in any unfight labor unions, weaken labor's But when the Army recently collective bargaining power and

meaning if Green in the past crete steps to enforce this policy Between the unwillingness of in AFL unions - the Boilermak-

## ers, jointly appealed to Truman. cates and baseball magnates to URW HEADS BETRAY

AKRON, O. - The Goodyear | the top clique and have rallied and Firestone strikes have to the side of the Akron bloc. brought to a critical point the long-standing struggle between ber strike has dramatized the inthe local leadership of the rubber ner union situation. It has clearworkers and the CIO United Rub- ly exposed the strikebreaking polber Workers' top International icies of the top officers. Many clique led by Dalrymple, Buch- local unions in outlying cities master and Eagle.

rymple's abortive attempt to en- locals. force the no-strike policies of the A rapidly growing section of top officers by suspending 72 the rubber union has gravitated bandbuilders of General Tire and towards the progressive, militant Rubber Local 9, the gulf has wid- Akron leaders who are showing Today's joint session of the ened between the militant Akron the way, both in the fight against

### FORCED TO RETREAT

This previous bureaucratic and ate pressing problem. Time dictatorial attempt to oust a whole group of militants failed miserably as a result of the de- ON GUARD! termined opposition of the whole Akron leadership, backed by the members. Dalrymple was forced to retreat and to reinstate the perate move by the top officers suspended members.

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

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

### RALLY TO AKRON

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

The current great Akron rubhave telegraphed their sympathy Since URW President Dal- to the Goodyear and Firestone

ary policies of the Dalrymple clique. This confronts Dalrymple and his cohorts with an immediworks against them.

The Akron militants and their supporters everywhere would do well to be on guard against a desof the union to smash the powerful combination in Akron, to use | the bureaucratic club to wipe out their opposition. That is the only answer Dalrymp'e knows in his right against militants who now speak for the great majority of the rank and file.

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

## New York

SOCIALIST YOUTH FORUM July 18, 8 p. m.

"The Fight for the FEPC" Questions...Discussion Speaker: LOUISE SIMPSON

130 West 23rd Street

Free Admission

## NMU Officials Evade Real Struggle Against Seamen's Bonus Slash

man of the Wage Negotiating Committee of the CIO National Martime Union, yesterday presented to the NMU national convention the details of what he described as a "political blitzkrieg" to stave off the bonus cut for merchant seamen. McKenzie's "blitz" was launched by the NMU convention,

SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1945

which voted unanimously to take the following action: 1. Send a rank and file dele-gation to Washington to picket Admiral Land and the War Ship-

ping Administration; 2. Wire all ports instructing NMU branches to picket the

3. Call upon all maritime unions to join this demonstration and request full support from the CIO. action by the maritime unions. This action followed a sharp rebuff in Washington to NMU lobbyists who were trying to carry out the Stalinists' so-called "wage policy." These lobbyists were a special convention delegation, headed by John Rogan.

#### WASHINGTON REBUFF

convention last Saturday that no-strike pledge, that the NMU Maritime War Emergency Board Chairman Macauley, Economic demonstrating seamen are not on Stabilization Director Davis, and strike but on furlough from their War Mobilization Director Vinson ships. had been interviewed. They heard the plea that bonus cuts, which will mean a 40% reduction in cessfully conducted only under voyage pay-off for Atlantic the banner of independent work-Ocean runs, be postponed until ing class action. For this the seaa WLB decision on seamen's de- men must first free themselves mands for wage adjustments is from the shackles of the no-strike ization Committee of Chicago was rejected out of hand by these support from the WLB and deagencies involved.

Captain Macauley, speaking They must conduct a campaign tions Board finally found the comfor the MWEB, told the union against the plans of the WSA to delegation bluntly that the bonus hand over the government-owned cut would go into effect on July ships to private owners, thus 15 as previously announced. And guaranteeing millions in profits "Stabilizer" Davis said that the to the parasitical ship-"owners" case could not be heard until in this government-built and gov-

NEW YORK, July 9-How- | ble for him to postpone the bonus D ard McKenzie, Stalinist chair- cuts because that would be inconvention the details of what with him, after announcing that he could give no immediate an-

swer to the union's proposal.

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

#### WHAT KIND OF "BLITZ"

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

for these agencies. Pickets sent to Washington are parading with placards which boast that the NMU convention Rogan reported back to the has unanimously reaffirmed the "keeps 'em sailing," and that the

The seamen's fight for living wages can be seriously and suc-July 19 and that it was impossi- ernment-operated industry.

## **NMU Convention Sidelights**

spicuous by their absence from Committee encouraged the deleg- Roebuck and "America First," the visitors' gallery of the Stal- ates to read this Stalinist bilge and Edward McGrady, RCA offi- American production had nearly the sweat and toil and blood of inist show playing currently at sheet. seamen, who came as a spectator, was kicked out when he attempted to defend himse f from the for arm-chair admirals and other "charges" brought against him brass hats, assorted labor fakers, on the floor.

Apprehensive of a move seem- Company. ingly underway to "dump" him, National Treasurer Hedly Stone made haste to disburse the sum of \$7,000, from former convention forth be sent to shipowners and in the electrotype foundry have funds, to all "needy delegates." other "outstanding public offi- crossed the picket lines daily. If Who determined who were the cials." "needy delegates?" You guessed wondering whether The Pilot may would be completely throttled. it - Stone!

It is not unusual for a Stalinist interests it supports. to make such motions as: move to close discussion and to accept the report UNANIMOUS- filer" reported on his meeting LY." Literally EVERYTHING with CIO President Philip Muris passed unanimously by this ray. Asked how he preferred to rubber-stamp convention.

Rank and file seamen are con- special praise, and the Press of Time, Robert Wood of Sears-

into a veritable parade ground congressmen, social workers, and other "guests" of Curran and

not really COME from the

An NMU self-styled, "rank and be addressed, Murray replied: "Just call me PHIL, I'm a rank The Daily Worker came in for and filer too."

The cutback and layoff situa-

tion in St. Louis is typical of other

Only some 10,000 applications

city. Tens of thousands of laid-

Carbon, 1,300; and Amertorp Cor-

tions and their government agents

poration, 5,500.

ments of death.

## Huge Small-Arms Plant Shutdown In St. Louis

ST. LOUIS - A complete result in unemployment for an shutdown of the world's largest additional 100,000 workers in a small-arms plant, operated here number of subcontracting plants. by the U. S. Cartridge Company, will be completed by October I, the War Department have been large'y concealed. Layannounced suddenly last week. offs already total some 45,000 in Following the government's this city. Selective Service offi- orders. usual policy, the announcement cials also expect the return of

was made without any previous about 30,000 war veterans. warning to the 16,000 workers under way for over two months. | ployment Service office in this It is estimated that the closing

IN THE COMING

### **New York Elections VOTE AGAINST:**

Capitalist Hunger Capitalist Misery Capitalist War

### **VOTE FOR:**

Socialist Plenty Socialist Prosperity Socialist Peace

said.

## **Printing Trades** Strike Continues **Against Donnelley**

(Continued from page 1) sentatives from that agency, sals. The National Labor Rela-

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

ed down on 19 issues, offered to arbitrate all issues, including the union shop, before an employerslanted board of Henry R. Luce to arbitrate the union shop is-The convention hall was turned sue, the Pressmen alone walked that tens of billions of dollars out on May 27.

have a closed shop agreement armed forces were diverted from defeat of the Pressmen would production was possible - for It was announced that the prove disastrous for all the other war. NMU paper, The Pilot, will hence- unions involved. The stereotypers But some seamen are they joined the strike, the plant dollars were poured into huge

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

One of the most inspiring aspects of the strike has been the Chicago and throughout the country, as well as the support of many CIO workers who either ofcially or unofficially are joining the boycott against Donnelley's publications. The UAW, for instance, is boycotting the General Motors house-organ, General Motors Folks. The CIO, bound by major cities, although the facts the no-strike pledge, has offered no official support, although the company is in defiance of WLB

Union printing shops elsewhere have responded magnificently to the "struck work" clause which still employed. Layoffs at this by employers for workers are the Chicago printing unions have government-built plant have been now on hand at the U. S. Em- put into effect. This is to halt work on all material "destined to or from" Donnelley and on jobs of the U. S. Cartridge plant will off workers are already finding like Time and Life, which are it next to impossible to get new partly done in union shops.

The WLB has issued its usual Other major plants in this area strike-breaking back-to-work orwhere big layoffs have taken der, but it does not seem to have place, or are announced for the shaken the strikers. As usual, the can see before him? immediate future, are Standard WLB's main blast is against the Steel Spring, 3,500 workers; Mc. workers who are seeking to en-Quay-Norris plant, 6,500; Cur- force the government's own ortiss - Wright, 12,300; National ders.

Striking workers and local of-Like the shutdown of the huge have been working together, be-Ford Willow Run bomber plant, cause they realize the need for the closing of the tremendous unity. The greatest threat to the small-arms plant here dramatizes strike flows from the rival juristhe fate in store for the workers dictional conflicts among the top

when the war-enriched corpora- international officials Nevertheless, the local strikers can no longer profitably employ are making great sacrifices, DOBBS & SIMPSON! the workers to produce instru-sticking together despite craft

## Rammed Through **NMU** Convention

(Continued from page 1) gone forever when men came to NMU conventions to carry out the wishes of their shipmates who had elected them. This had only caused "disruption," he

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

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

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

Reconversion — I

Workers like those at Willow? Run, who yesterday were being to converting the U. S. Treasury handed down. The union proposal pledge. They must withdraw all Printing Trades Unions" to sign incredible feats of production, are into an open grab-bag for Big up the workers. The workers had being ruthlessly tossed cut on the heads of the three government | mand the recall of labor repre- to fight vicious company repri- streets. The plants the government built with the people's money are called "experdable as a battleship." The workers who constructed and operated these plants-they too are regarded as

#### ABUNDANCE POSSIBLE

Yet the war has proved one the plants, the machinery, the materials, the workers to produce | the corporations for a song. for plenty. For the purposes of American people - the workers and farmers-have produced more goods in shorter time than ever before in all human history.

Within three years, by 1944. cial. When the company refused tripled over the best peacetime years. So vast was the production, in goods, were virtually given However, all the other crafts, away in lend-lease to other counexcept the AFL Stereotypers who tries. Some 12,000,000 men in the with a subsidiary of Donnelley's, potentially productive work, but have joined the walkout, since a still this torrential flood of

> To achieve this tremendous productivity, the government built new, vast plants. Billions of productive facilities for steel, aluminum, magnesium, planes tanks, bombs, artillery. And this gigantic outpouring of labor, natural resources, wealth was expended under the slogan of the Four Freedoms" - the first of which was "freedom from want," not just for America, but the whole world!

### A HOLLOW MOCKERY

While the thunder of the war solidarity of the AFL workers in for the "Four Freedoms" still roars in the Far Pacific, the slogan of "freedom from want" already rings like a hollow mockery in the ears of American labor. A million and a half airraft workers are slated for the scrap heap by the spring of 1946. A million shipyard workers are to be laid off by the end of this year. Mass layoffs have soared by the hundreds of thousands in all the basic industries since the end f the war in Europe. Cutbacks, resulting in reduced working tours and elimination of overtime premium pay, are slicing huge hunks out of the workers' weekly wages. And returning millions from the armed forces will swell he army of job-seekers.

What has the government done -what is it planning to do-to meet the looming catastrophe that every worker and veteran

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

> "relief for the greedy" has become the dominant slogan in jobs," has boiled down in action provide the workers steady emissue.)

banded Army-Navy "E" flags for and the government-built plants

Trampled in the Dust!

### PROFITS GUARANTEED

**Government Aids Profiteers:** 

By Art Preis

**Ignores Workers' Vital Needs** 

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

The federal tax laws were destruction and slaughter, the rigged to permit the greedy corporations to make the Second World War the greatest profitssteal in history. Despite the socalled "excess profits" tax, American corporations milked out of the American workers, in the plants and in uniform, double a treble their best peacetime profits. In 1944 alone, admitted net corporate profits were more than \$10 billion-two and half times the amount for 1939.

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

### TAX REBATES

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

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

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

#### THE GEORGE BILL The only provision for the un-

employed is the George Eill, or that the Trotskyists were diswhich permits "states rights" unemployment insurance as low in some states as \$2 a week for only 6 weeks-\$12 a week for 16 weeks ployment, decent jobs at decent on the average. And even though wages. Only organized labor, President Truman, under pressure | through united, militant action, is from organized labor, last May capable of advancing a "reconadvocated state unemployment in surance up to \$25 a week for a maximum of 26 weeks "in any tive workers and farmers. year of unemployment," Con-Not jobs for the needy-but proposal. Truman has said not a for post-war employment and word since.

Washington, All the talk of "post- capitalists and their government sion" policies of the top union war planning," for "60 000,000 will never of their own volition leaders, will appear in our next

## A post-war economic catastrophe threatens the American Layoffs Spread

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

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

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

## Trotskyists At Milwaukee Picnic

MILWAUKEE, July 5 - Led y Ned Sparks, Communist Political Association official, local nic destroyed the papers which four members of the Socialist Workers Party were distributing outside the gate. The papers were copies of The Militant featuring an article analyzing the

iatest CPA shift in line. When threatened with violence the SWP group at first refused to leave, but later departed when a party who said he was the proprietor of the grounds ordered the Militant distributors off the property outside the picnic grounds. The group was told to rietor when they asked the bounds of his property.

As the group departed, Ned Sparks and two henchmen attack ed and struck down an SWP mem ber carrying a bundle of the papers. At this point Sparks attempted to incite some of the picnickers who had gathered to view the lesson in democracy. He shouted, "There's a Trotskyite rat! Go get him!"

When there was no response Sparks began using profane language on the girl distributing copies of The Militant. When Jack O'Connell, SWP organizer, protested, the papers were torn up in his face by Sparks who proceeded to strong-arm and push O'Connell around. Sparks added, 'Someday we'll shoot all of you

The Milwaukee Journal, the leading newspaper of the city and winner of the 1919 Pulitzer prize for its Americanism campaign, printed the Stalinist slandtributing fascist propaganda.

version" plan in the interests of the great majority, the produc-

(This is the first of three gress has simply ignored the crticles on the Trotskyist program workers' security. The next It is abundantly clear that the article, analyzing the "reconver-

## Diary of a STEEL WORKER

A couple days ago, Helen told me a story that a girl friend of hers told her. I suppose you'd say it has a happy ending. Any-

By Theodore Kovalesky

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

way, you hear much sadder stories than this nowadays.

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

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

And then Jim went away, and

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

#### A STACK OF UNDELIVERED LETTERS

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

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

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

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

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

### AND THEN JIM RETURNED HOME

When the day came, she sat in the house, small and pale and Sta inists holding a July 4th pic- forlorn, expecting she knew not what. And when she heard a knock on the door ("Oh it went right through me!" she told Helen) it was all she could do to open it for her Jim, who stood there big as life, looking at her without speaking.

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

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

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

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

JULY 13, 1935

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

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

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

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

on petitions to put Farrell Dobbs on the ballot as Trotsky- collecting signatures on 125th But He'll 'Get Along' ist candidate for mayor in the Street when a neighborhood gang coming New York City elec- started giving me a bad time and tions began this week. Signatures chalked up the first five protect my petitions. Lo and days totalled 4,250. The total required is 7,500.

July 29 is the opening date for circulation of petitions to put to get my petitions filled." Louise Simpson on the ballot as the Trotskyist candidate for City HARLEM MINISTER Council. The total required forma councilmanic candidate is 2,000.

DOUBLE LEGAL NUMBER

"New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party intends to churches, signed and stopped to double the number of signatures chat with me for a while. After legally required to put our candidates on the ballot," declared his card and invited our candi-Caroline Kerry, manager of the campaign. "To accomplish this we are asking the aid of every voter who supports the Trotskyist platform of independent working class political action in friendly minister: "I have the opposition to the boss-controlled name and address of a minister in

Voters circulating the petitions report enthusiastic response wherever they have sought signatures. Frankie Ricco's experience is typical: "While we were out we ran into many members of the National Maritime good contacts while getting Union. With the exception of a signatures at 116th Street and few Stalinists, they all signed. Seventh Avenue that I hardly One man insisted upon paying us know where to begin to report. for a one-year subscription to First of all I made contact with The Militant, for he had read a very fine person who insisted our paper at a friend's house." | upon paying me for a subscrip- ments will be served.

on "Women in Prison" before an

almost all of them rubber work-

ing. Grace Carlson's expression

tribute to Comrade Carlson. He

taken. One worker signed an ap-

the Armory.'

Frank Lang reports: "I was I thought I'd have to physically behold, just in the nick of time an equal number of Militant readers in Harlem strolled along and stood guard while I continued

Sylvia Stein had an interesting experience: "While collecting signatures at 116th Street and Seventh Avenue, a minister and his wife from one of the Harlem a short discussion, he gave me dates to speak before his congregation and collect signatures there.'

Florence Hall likewise met a political machines of Wall Street." Harlem who signed my petition and invited me to speak before his congregation. He was sure that his people would not only sign our petition but would help us in our campaign.'

Justine Lang "made so many

Grace Carlson's Tour Greeted

BUFFALO, N. Y .- Fifty work-

Relating her experiences in the

She told about the Jim Crow

cluded her speech on the note

been participating in the Akron great majority of workers of the approach, and many remarks

The question and discussion

With Enthusiasm In 3 Cities

AKRON-Grace Carlson spoke Buffalo Audience

enthusiastic audience of forty- Hears Grace Carlson

ers-Thursday, July 5. The great ers attended a meeting here July

militant strike of the rubber 2 under the auspices of the Mili-

workers reflected itself in the tant Forum, to hear Grace Carl-

of our solidarity with all the lay- Women's Penitentiary at Alder-

ers of oppressed and persecuted son, West Virginia and dealing

humanity brought forth a deep with the social causes of crime

response from the listeners, many among women, Comrade Carlson

of them workers from the South. held the close attention of the

During the question period one sudience, which followed with

of the Militant readers attending evident interest and appreciation

his first meeting paid a glowing her account of prison conditions.

said "I wish that every worker set-up in prison, which followed

in Akron could have been here in every detail the general pat. . I wish we could have filled tern of the South. Grace con-

Despite the fact that many of that Socialism would put an end

those attending the meeting had to the conditions that deprive the

plication card for membership period was a lengthy one, reflect-

and many present expressed their ing the real interest of the audi-

interest in participating in the ence in this subject. They en-

activities of the Socialist Work-ers Party. joyed tremendously Comrade Carlson's interesting and human

strikes, a collection of \$26.00 was | right to a decent life.

spirited atmosphere of the meet- son speak on "Women in Prison."

Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors, complained in the Detroit Times, July 1, that despite his huge salary of \$460,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, "I had to borrow money to live on."

He tried to claim that his "take-home pay" after taxes was "nearer \$20,000." theless," he remarked with a grin, "We'll get along all right." Does he think GM workers are worried?

tion to The Militant, although had no receipt to give him.' INTERESTED IN SWP

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

"Next full mobilization for gathering of signatures," stated Caroline Kerry, "will be Saturday, July 14 at 6 p. m., at 116 University Place, headquarters of the election campaign. I am sure friends of The Militant will come down for petition blanks to help us in putting the Trotskyis candidates on the ballot."

Following the mobilization, the Campaign Committee plans a social at Chelsea Workers Center, 130 West 23rd Street, Refresh-

GRACE CARLSON

The meeting unanimously

Pennsylvania miner now in pris-

ous Smith-Connally Act.

the Socialist Workers Party.

Carlson Addresses

Rochester Meeting

ROCHESTER, N. Y. - Speak

ing to an interested audience un-

bare the economic causes respon-

sible for many women becoming

From her own experience in

Grace Carlson was able to give

an authentic picture of the pris-

on system which punishes its in-

mates for "crimes" for which the

capitalist system is responsible.

a testimonial to the interest of

the audience in the subject and

their desire to aid in the fight

against the Smith "Gag" Act (un-

der which Grace Carlson was im-

prisoned) and to enable her to

continue her tour.

The collection of over \$20 was

this country.

### N. Y. Trotskyist Candidates



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

## **GRACE CARLSON TELLS** ABOUT VISIT IN AKRON

By Grace Carlson

AKRON, July 6 - Some of the Akron friends took me to the Rubber Room of the Portage Hotel for lunch today. This is one of the show places of Akron. The walls of this dining room are covered with murals, showing all of the steps in the manufacture of rubber. And all of these murals are made of rubber — beautifully colored pieces of rubber which are skillfully fitted together

to form the pictures.
I gathered, from looking around at the other diners and listening to snatches of their conversation, that Akron's rubber bosses bring visiting dignitaries to the Rubber Room in order to impress them with the romance and glamor of he rubber industry.

LITTLE RESEMBLANCE But life is not so romantic and glamorous for Akron's thousands of rubber workers. The beautiful factories depicted in the Rubber Room's murals bear little resemb ance to the hot, dirty, noisy rowded rubber plants in which Akron's rubber workers put in so many long hours at back-

I wish that I had the time and space to tell of all the conversa- skyism is meeting a real need, as lication later. We plan to write erations as proposed by Earl by Collins or others of the before and after last night's meeting. What a magnificent Detroit who is now attending the in the Workers' Forum column. spirit they show!

breaking labor.

adopted a resolution giving full support to William Patterson, evidence of close solidarity beon as the first victim of the vicitween white and colored trade miner from Harlan, Kentucky, she unionists. This is even more en-A collection of over \$25 was couraging when one recalls that taken to assist Comrade Carlson most of the workers in the Akron to continue her tour. The chairrubber plants came here from man of the meeting was Bill Gray the South only a few years ago Western New York organizer of There's nothing like fighting together against a common enemy to break down race prejudice!

### WORKING TOGETHER

I saw this same encouraging phenomenon in Buffalo. Numbers of white and Negro trade on "Women in Prison" on the attitude, their questions, their comments all indicated an underevening of June 30. She laid standing of the fact that white and Negro workers must learn to work together or the capitalinmates of penal institutions in ists will cut their trade unions to pieces.

But we didn't deal with racial problems alone at the Buffalo meetings. In the hour-long question and discussion period ranged over almost all of the problems facing workers today. There were, of course, many questions about aspects of prison life but there were also questions about reconversion and unemployment, veterans and the trade unions, the role of the U.S. Army in Europe, the Socialist Workers Party's answer to war, etc.

As an additional indication of port in the fight to free William the desire of those present to Patterson, militant miner impriscontinue the battle to aid all class- oned under the Smith-Connally war victims of capitalist injus- Act. The resolution included a tice, a resolution was unanimous- demand on President Truman for ly adopted expressing full sup- a full pardon.

### GRACE CARLSON'S TOUR SCHEDULE

Sat. to Mon.

Chicago, Milwaukee,

St. Louis, Los Angeles,

San Francisco,

Plentywood, Twin Cities,

## Pioneer Notes

in The Militant of James P. Canletter is from a new comrade in Mid-West Vacation School in We are going to have a singing Most inspiring of all was the Grass Lake, Michigan. The wife party! of an auto worker who is an exwrites:

the background of the party, but chef we have here. Comrades taken up with the children and helpings. With the terribly high the household, and then when my cost of food these days, it is quite husband came home from work, there wasn't time to pick up and for hungry citizens! union workers from the steel and read a whole book. But now I aircraft industries attended the read the serial every week and from all sections of the country. July 2 meeting in Buffalo. Their am really learning about the We have just received word that party. I plan now to make ar- two comrades are coming from rangements so that I can do more work for the party."

> read the whole book writes enthusiastically:

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

## **Worker Praises Vacation School In Opening Week**

By Joe Morgan GRASS LAKE, Mich. - This is the first week of the Midwest Vacation School. The workers and their wives have enjoyed the swimming, boating, hiking and other outdoor and indoor activities. The camp is situated on the "exceeds all the adjectives in the circular," as one friend put it.

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

#### START WITH 37

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

William Warde gives classes in the first period, from 9:30 to 11:00 A. M. on historical materialism. At the same hour Mac Ingersoll gives the basic train-July 14 to 16 ing course for the newer work-Tuesday, July 17 ers. In the second period, from Thursday, July 19 11:00 to 12:30, George Collins Thurs. to Wed., gives the history of the Third In-Aug. 2 to 8 ternational, and Warren Creel Fri. to Sun. gives a beginner's course in Marx-Aug. 10-12 ist economics. On Monday after-Tues. to Thurs., noon, since the weather was cold, Aug. 14 to 16 at the suggestion of the comfor about an hour and a half.

#### SONGS SET DOWN After the classes, it is indeed

inspiring to sit around with the comrades discussing different phases of the working-class struggle. And last evening we wound up with a songfest for entertainment. Some of our friends are setting down the publication of one song a week

We are most fortunate about food. Our cook is turning out dishes from fried chicken to "And now I'm reading every spiced meat loaf that makes the week the installments of Can- food something to rave about, to non's History of American Trot- write home about. No chef anyskyism. I've wanted to read it for where ever put better food become time in order to learn about fore a man or woman than the I never had the time. It was all take two and sometimes three an achievement to run a camp

Workers are continuing to come Seattle, Washington to attend the Midwest Vacation School. I urge A reader in Boston who has every worker who can scrape together \$25 and take a week away from the grind, to come to this camp and spend a week among American Trotskyism I realized other workers playing together for relaxation and planning together for a better world.

## **American Tanks** trip to Moscow and his reading Threaten Workers In Milan Strike

(Continued from page 1) food problem and distribution of goods were also included in the

The representatives of the paaders did not bother to send their demands to the Italian puppet government, but presented it to

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

The order for the use of Allied tanks to intimidate the paraders originated with the American Fourth Corps. According to The History of American Trot- Bracker, "at least one high offiskyism by James P. Cannon. cer of the Allied Military Gov-Clothbound \$2.75, paperbound \$2. ernment privately expressed Order from Pioneer Publishers, strong disapproval of the policy 116 University Place, New York under which the tanks had been

## The NEGRO

"Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black

skin is branded." -KARL MARX STRUGGLE by CHARLES JACKSON

#### Sharing initiana amanana amanana amin'ny arandrona amin'ny arandrona amin'ny faritr'ora dia kaominina amin'ny Negroes and the Stalinist Movement

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

The utter confusion within their @ half to apologize for support of capitalism and "class peace" and out policies with Marxism-Leninism. One of the greatest crimes of the Stalinists was to use the prestige of the Russian Revoluthousands of class-conscious miliants into the blind alley of 'making capitalism work,"

#### FOLD NOT TO FIGHT

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

Here is how Edna Lewis of the East Harlem Club puts it in the June 29 Daily Worker:

"The Teheran accord did not bring liberation for the Negro people. Witness the struggle in that was a lie. Congress against the FEPC, and the anti-poll tax bills, while Jim-Crow conditions in the armed forces still ride high. . .

"On the other hand the Negro people and the workers, will not Friday, Aug. 17 rades, we had a discussion on par- accept poverty and unemployment Sunday, Aug. 19 ty policy in the trade unions. as their lot. They have lived George Collins introduced the through the bitter experiences topic with some general remarks of this war and they have learned and a lively discussion followed a lot. They know what they want and they will fight for it if they get the proper leadership. . .

#### SHARED THE 'ERRORS'

"Our Negro comrades in the National Committee share in the responsibility for the errors. NE-GRO COMMUNISTS HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO masses. Any type of militant THE NEGRO PEOPLE. Our mass protest against this secondknowledge of their suffering class status, such as the March The publication in serial form words of all the working-class should have kept us on guard on Washington Movement which songs that each of us knows so against accepting a program of was responsible for the FEPC, ron's History of American Trot- that they can be collected for pub- compromise to last for many gen- was attacked in scathing terms Browder." (Emphasis ours).

Of course, in condemning Earl dividuals who resorted to the Browder (who publicly admitted courts to protest the discrimina-"ignoring" Jim Crow in the armed tion in the armed forces were forces) and in condemning the officially advised to drop such Negro Stalinists on the National cases and support "our" govern-Committee, Miss Lewis is also ment, The "little poll-tax Hitlers" condemning herself, whether she over here, you see, would lose realizes it or not. As a Negro, their stinger as soon as "Big she knew such policies were false Hitler" across the pond was taken for her people all along. Why did care of. she wait until Stalin gave the (Next week: Tasks of the Negro word to Duclos, and he to Foster,

ranks is obvious as letter after and it was decided to make letter tries half to condemn and Browder the scapegoat for the entire leadership, thus whitewashing the policy of betrayal which the entire party has followed?

Why, even the most non-political Negro worker knew that the line of the Stalinists was against ion to divert the energies of his interests. The Stalinists told us that Stalin at Teheran had demanded and got a promise from Roosevelt to give the Negroes equality after the fall of Hitler. The Negro workers found that one hard to swallow. The Stalinists, including the dark ones like Doxey Wilkerson, Ben Davis and James W. Ford, urged the Negroes to support Roosevelt and his Democratic Party of the solid south and not to agitate for an independent Labor Party. They said that Roosevelt could and would be another Abraham Lincoln to the colored people. The Negro worker hoped for the best but he had his doubts.

#### PIE IN THE SKY

The Stalinists told the Negroes to be patriotic even to a country which has a Jim Crow army. They said we would gain equality AFTER this "war against fascism." The Negro worker knew

The Stalinists said we should support the capitalist system which makes race prejudice profitable. The Negro worker also knew that was a lie. The Stalinists backed (and still do) the nostrike pledge which ties the hands of all labor-black and white. They tried to get the National Service (slave-labor) bill enacted which would have made it a federal offense for a Negro working for four dollars a week on a Southern plantation to leave and come to Chicago to work in a factory.

Their greatest crime in this respect was to throttle down the militant struggle of the Negro tongued Negro stooges. In-

Communists.)

## Pioneer Paragraphs

## WITHOUT CORRECT LEADERSHIP THE REVOLUTION CAN BE LOST

tor in a period of slow, organic and posing, for instance, such a development can remain quite a question as: would we have seizsubordinate one. Then diverse ed power in October had not Leproverbs of gradualism arise, as: nin arrived in Russia in time? 'slow but sure," and "one must not kick against the pricks," and so forth, which epitomize all the tactical wisdom of an organic seize power. The resistance of epoch that abhorred "leaping over the party heads - for the most stages." But as soon as the ob- part, incidentally, they are the jective prerequisites have matured, the key to the whole historical process passes into the hands of the subjective factor, that is, the party.

Opportunism which consciously or unconsciously thrives upon the the necessary course in time, and inspiration of the past epoch, always tends to underestimate the role of the subjective factor, that riods, a few days sometimes deis, the importance of the party and of revolutionary leadership. All of this was fully disclosed during the discussions on the lessons of the German October, or the Anglo-Russian Committee

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

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

The role of the subjective fac- iction whatever between Marxism

There is much to indicate that we might not have been able to same people who determine policies today - was very strong even under Lenin. And without Lenin it would undoubtedly have been infinitely stronger. The party might have failed to adopt there was very little time left at our disposal. During such pe-

(From "Third International After Lenin," pp. 84-85, Pioneer Publishers, 1936).

### LOS ANGELES

SOCIALIST YOUTH CLUB FORUM

July 26

Topic: "A History of Germany —

1918 to 1945" Speaker: C. FREDERICKS

232 S. Hill St., Rooms 200-202

8:30 p. m. Refreshments

## **SWP BRANCH ACTIVITIES**

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

California readers can obtain copies of The Militant and Fourth International and other Marxist books and pamphlets as well as information about the SWP at the following places in the Los Angeles area: LOS ANGELES, Socialist Workers Party, Rooms, 200-05, 232 S. Hill St.; SOUTHGATE, Labor Book Shop, 8026 Seville Ave.: SAN PEDRO, Socialist Workers Party, 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214. For additional information phone VA-7986.

Make your reservation now for the WEST COAST VACA-TION SCHOOL. Situated at the Workmen's Circle Camp in Carbon Canyon, San Bernardino County, it is two miles from Lavida Hot Springs and 32 miles from Los Angeles.

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

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

Carlson speak on "Women in

MILWAUKEE - Hear Grace Murdock 1064.

MAKE YOUR RESERVATIONS NOW! Mid-West Vacation School

from July 1 to August 31

from September 1 to September 15

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

Visit the Milwaukee Branch of the Socialist Workers Party at der the auspices of the Socialist its headquarters, 926 Planking- Workers Party, Grace Carlson ton Ave., Room 21, any evening made a very informative speech between 7 and 9:30 p. m.

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

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

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

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

GRASS LAKES, MICH.

West Coast Vacation School

#### EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA MILITANT Readers' PICNIC

SUN., AUG. 5 - ALL DAY FROM 11 A. M.

Stop 84 - Follow Signs. Main Speaker: Art Preis Associate Editor of The Militant

ALLENTOWN - QUAKERSTOWN Joint Auspices READING & PHILA. BRANCHES

ADMISSION FREE - LUNCHES Adults 50c, Children 25c

at HOWARD STUMP FARM - 3 Mi. S. of Quakerstown on Philadelphia Pike No. 309-3 Squares from "LIBERTY BELL"

- Games & Prizes -

LOS ANGELES, Cal. - Recognizing the significance of 9

Gerald L. K. Smith's campaign to establish a base for his fascist

organization in Los Angeles, the Socialist Workers Party, Los

Angeles Local, has sounded an alarm to the labor movement

of the Los Angeles Local of the June 5, for Gerald L. K. Smith.

point here.

movement.

Fraternally,

and to outstanding organizations of minority groups.

Myra Tanner Weiss, organizer

Socialist Workers Party sent communications to the AFL Cen-tral Labor Council, the CIO Council, the Citizens Emergency

Committee (of the Negro Coun-

cil), the Jewish Labor Committee

and the Anti-Defamation League,

calling upon these labor and min-

crity groups to form a united

front to stop the growth of fascist

movements in Los Angeles, and

pledging the support of the So-cialist Workers Party to such a

In addition the following letter

was sent to the local Communist

Los Angeles County Committee,

Communist Political Association

united front.

UNITED FRONT

olitical Association:

Dear Mr. Sparks:

N. Sparks, President,

Los Angeles Trotskyists Call

They boast of their intention of

establishing national headquar-

clearly planning a concentration

This is a direct threat and chal-

izations. Immediate formation

labor and minority group organ-

fascist movement before it es-

tablishes a base in Los Angeles.

us the possibilities of joint ac-

Socialist Workers Party.

Owing to the pressure of the

Myra Tanner Weiss,

We invite you to discuss with

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

NEW YORK, July 6 - Several pickets were walking slow- day. "But our union officers told ly and with dignity up and down before the Times Annex build- us all to assemble at Bryant Park ing on West 43rd Street. In other parts of the city more pickets before we went to work," said were walking up and down before offices of 13 other metropolitan Cantor. "There they told us 'Call morning and evening papers. Inside the buildings the thundering presses poured out their daily stream of capitalist news. But the Sunday paper . . . and we for seven days now the news has been backed up at its source.

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

#### WORKER'S CASE

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

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

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

#### BAD CONDITIONS

Suddenly he turned toward me and said with indignation: "The big industrialists are out to get your flesh and blood for their some time on a Saturday night owner, who is such a big-shot and see the horrible conditions we charity lady in the Society pages, have to work under. Do you know, come down here on a Saturday to their chopping us down." at least 70 percent of the men are night and see what goes on! 1 half of them get ruptures and to say about our conditions!" other internal disorders." His anger flared higher.

speed. We have to pick up the noon, ordered all the Friday night story."

of the war program in their insistent demands."

The FEPC was originally a sop?

march on Washington.

FEEBLE MEASURE

ployers everywhere.

limited. It was scorned by em-

ed with the decayed aristocracy

of the South. These degenerate

scions of the old slave-holders

and dealers in human flesh be-

lieve in segregation, discrimina-

gress for continuance this year,

Yet even this demagogic ges-

workers to report early on Saturup and say you are sick.' We wanted to kill the distribution of did!" he related with triumph.

#### BOSSES BURNED UP

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

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

#### NO BIG MONEY

HARRY CANTOR

And it's all on a split-second

something awful.

A HELL HOLE

the 'hell hole'.

**NEGRO-HATING CONGRESSMEN WAVE** 

ists," etc. etc. Their disgusting

ravings on this subject have no

interest save for mental special-

FEPC retreated like snivelling

In the House, the spokesmen

the bill reached them, they threw

FLAG IN CAMPAIGN TO KILL FEPC

schedule. We have to keep up with All the men are thoroughly inthe presses and we have to hurry ensed at the runaround given to meet the train schedules. That's them by the Publishers Associawhy there are so many casualties. "Men get ruptured from the heavy bundles and the speedy work. Sometimes you will pick up by throwing the case into the War Labor Board. But we say the on it. That's because the man who hurt himself doesn't even have it. They never do anything anyway, except stall. Besides we time to go and get bandaged. It's a terrible, nerve-wracking have a right to strike. The owners business. The men are driven have been chopping down our little gains every year, more and more. Ard it's the same with all even worse.

"And you should see the room here we work-low ceilings and "They try to tell the people that no ventilation whatsoever. They we are getting big money with say there's a blower system but overtime, but that's a lie. I'm a day man and I don't get any you wouldn't know it from the overtime. My take-home pay is way we steam and sweat. In the Daily News building they call it around \$45 a week, after deducthe 'foundry,' but we call ours tions. Do you think that's so much? Some of the men have big At this point Cantor said with families to feed. What's behind it Trotsky. sarcasm: "I would like to see all is they're afraid to grant the profits! You should come down Mrs. Sulzberger, the wife of the least concession because it might set a precedent for the whole inaustry. But it's time to call a halt

As we left the cafeteria, crippled by this work. More then would like to hear what she has Cantor concluded: "The men are sky's organization. determined to stick it out. They through this association was to The strike vote, Cantor told me, have driven us too hard and it's gain access to Trotsky's houseger flared higher.

Was taken by the union Friday at finally got under our skins. We're hold in 1940 in Coyoacan, Mexico.

Those are powerful and speedy the Hotel Diplomat. The Times, going to get our rights. The gen
"Jacson" was the GPU killer who presses," he declared. "They turn anxious to get the Sunday paper cral public has no idea what it's sank a pick-axe in the brain of out almost 50,000 papers an hour. delivered before the old contract all about, and that's why I am the great revolutionary leader. And we have to keep up with that with the union expired, on Sunday glad you are going to publish our

### labor movement, Smith has been Fascists plan a public meet- denied the use of public auditoing in Los Angeles, Monday, riums in San Francisco. In Los tion, negotiating body for all 14 newspapers. "They tried to duck KLEMENT, 1938 VICTIM Labor Board. But we say the WLB has got nothing to do with it. They never do anything any-

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

> There may have been another pressing reason for his murder. In the summer of 1938 a mysterious person named "Jacson" had established intimate association in Paris with a member of Trot-"Jacson'

### WHY HE WAS KILLED

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

ing the assassination of Trotsky. In the letter of confession, written by "Jacson" before he supporters of FEPC felt a stiffen- murdered Trotsky and found on ng of the spine. They struck him by the police afterward, the ist movement, Stalin struck many assassin claimed: "At this time

Fourth International. . .' Klement had devoted many years to the struggle for revolumovement as a youth in Hamthe Southern hate-mongers as burg. During Leon Trotsky's exile of the GPU who had broken with in Turkey from 1929 to 1934, Stalinism and joined the Fourth An able linguist, he translated many of Trotsky's writings into German. Unable to return to Gerto building the Fourth Interna-

World Congress of the Fourth In- ceeded in murdering him. ternational was scheduled to be held "somewhere" in Europe. Klement had an important role 'democracy" are a sham and a before the Congress, he discover-

tional.

HAND OF GPU Two days after he disappeared, dered by lily-white draft boards July 15, one of the leaders of the imperialism indicates beforehand to fight and die for "democracy" International Workers Party (the from what side mortal danger grease in France." French Trotskyist group) receiv- will threaten it in time of war. . (4) Only genuine working class ed a carbon copy of a letter os- At present, sections of the Fourth representatives can put up a tensibly sent by Klement to Leon International exist in thirty forceful fight in Congress against Trotsky in Mexico. This letter countries. True, they are only the (5) The workers and farmers a small town near the Spanish if today, prior to the war, we had marriage. border. It was an obvious GPU mass revolutionary organizations, of all colors, to protect their common interests, must get together product. It declared Klement had then revolution and not war would left the Fourth International be- be on the order of the day." cause it was "impotent." It ac- As we pay homage to the mar-



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

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

In 1937 and 1938, determined

to behead and crush the Trotskyblows at its ranks. Erwin Wolfe. (1938) I became acquainted with a former secretary of Trotsky, a member of the bureau of the was kidnapped and murdered in Barcelona. Another victim was Hans Freund, one of the movement's most active figures in the tionary socialism. He joined the War. In September 1937 Ignace Klement served as his secretary. Stannism and joined the Klement served as his secretary. International, was machine-gun-German, Unable to return to Germany after the rise of Hitler, he became a political refugee in his son, Sedov. On February 16, France, devoting all his energies 1938, Leon Sedov died mysteriously in a Paris hospital after an operation. The circumstances left In the summer of 1938 the First | little doubt that the GPU had suc-

### DEATH WAS SYMBOLIC

To the Trotskyists, the death in its organization. Some time of Klement was more than a blow depriving the working class of a reaffirming "faith in fundamen- ed he was being trailed. Five days devoted revolutionary leader on tal human rights" as set forth in before his kidnapping, a portfo- the eve of great events. Shortly them as the "international bankthe highly advertised United lio containing important docu- before his death, Trotsky wrote, ers who are our real enemy." He "the assassination of Klement, because he was the secretary of the Fourth International, is of for everything from OPA violaprofound symbolic significance. tions and high interest rates to the GPU disclosed its hand. On Through its Stalinist gangsters, veterans, to he "use by the U. S. bore the postmark of Perpignan, vanguard of the vanguard. But but I will not stand for inter-

cused the Fourth International of tyred Rudolph Klement, slain in by aliens while American citizens off on a plant-wide basis, in ac-lentown plant voted UNANIMobjective collaboration with the the battle for a socialist world, are unemployed. This is directed cordance with the provisions of OUSLY to remain out in symfascists." It was typewritten in we know that the day of avenging against the hundreds of thousands the new contract. This part of pathy with New Brunswick. The "Rudolf Klement," which in turn will reach fruition in the triumph California, many of whom im- agreed upon by the company, rtes, and loud cheers greeted the was counter-signed with a pen of the Socialist revolution.

#### Fascist Demagogue

For Struggle Against Fascists have to get it out of their system, see? So that's we people of this world are too pugnacious—that's all."



GERALD L. K. SMITH

erted against Smith came from iberal organizations who offered rothing more than verbal protestations. The labor movement

Smith's meetings in the Labor Ordinary Mortals Who Were Scared

the pattern of liberalism in "answering" the fascist campaign. The June 26 issue lamely reprints against renting the local Philharcarries an announcement headed Southland to answer Gerald L.

K. Smith delivers his hate harangue in the Philharmoric, a program based on the needs of the

program sponsored by the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and

for a fully democratic America." destroy the labor movement.

#### See Editorial "Halt the Fascists!" Page 8

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

Willis Allen, leader of the defunct Ham and Eggs movement Smith's movement, appearing as a speaker at the Philharmonic ing the use of the Ham and Eggs

The support which Smith has received from such sources has been reflected in the composition of his meetings. For the most in the New Brunswick, N. J., abide by the agreement to which part he has attracted the aged, Plainfield, N. J. and Allentown, ceeded to lay off workers on a clearly representing the member- Pa. plants, are entering today departmental basis. The union ship of the Ham and Eggs movement, and religious elements. His main attack has been consistently directed against communism, which he identifies with fascism, as a brand of totalitarianism.

anti-Semitic poison, Smith took a crack at the Negro people. "I'm opposed to racial discrimination,

migrated during the war.

has taken no official action.

Herald, official California CIO headquarters in Los Angeles.

K. Smith," which reads

and there will be drama.

Smith has held three large

At a meeting in the Ham and Eggs hall, he launched a vitriolic attack against the Jews, labelling piled accusation upon accusation against the Jews, blaming them army of American butter as axle

mobilize reactionary sentiment to divide the working class, he stated his opposition to job-holding

Organizer, Los Angeles Local, Angeles, the only pressure ex-

The CIO has commented on

"Just two days after Gerald L.

"Fuehrer Smith is busy slandby sketching in... the perspective Nowhere does the People's World characterize Smith's movement as a force seeking to

neetings in the downtown Los

Hall for his meetings.

In addition to spreading his

Indicating how he intends to

#### fight out the window. We all had heard that argument before and didn't have enough energy to turn around and answer it anyway. And besides we had a few bets laid and we wanted to see which dog

would win the fight.

Bernard Shaw Had Same Idea

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

 $= B_V V. Grey =$ 

just like people-just like whole countries in fact. Just naturally

have to get it out of their system, see? So that's war for you. The

vest-pocket soap box in Lingel's bar while us fellows watched a dog

"There, look at them two dogs. Look at 'em fight!-Now that's

Scissorbill Sam (the bosses' man) was holding forth on his

"War? Why do you have wars? I'll tell you why.

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

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

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

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

Then, too, the papers began talking about captured German and newspaper, without, however, Japanese soldiers who looked like a pretty sorry lot-not "supermen" to counteract Smith's proclama- at all, but just ordinary guys that were scared . . . sort of like I tion of the establishment of his would be if I was captured. Well gee, I thought to myself, how did these fellows get into the war at all? They haven't got so much The local Statinist press, the pugnacity. It doesn't look like they're so very anxious to get their daily People's World has followed heads blown off-not any more than I am.

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

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

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

### ering the creative artists of Holly- It's the Big Shots Who Are Pugnacious

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

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

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

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

## is prominently associated with Smith's movement, appearing as 8,000 Auto Workers Auditorium meeting and providing the use of the Ham and Eggs Strike At Mack Plants

By Paul Mason

ALLENTOWN, Pa., July 8 -Over 8,000 Mack Truck workers, came, the company refused to the third week of their strike. protested vehemently but in vain. The strike began on June 25 in The workers then resorted to New Brunswick, and spread a their most effective weapon, the few days later to the other plants. strike. The Plainfield and Al-The issue involved is again one lentown workers, realizing the of company union-busting at- need for unity and solidarity totempts, and once more the work- day more than ever before, folers, members of the CIO United lowed suit a few days later. Automobile Workers, have taken active steps to circumvent this.

tion is caused by cutbacks in back to work. Several back-toproduction, due to government work pleas from the Regional contracts cancellations. As a War Labor Board have been reresult, mass layoffs have begun. jected by the New Brunswick The old union contract, which ex- workers. On July 7 the National pired last January but was ex- WLB ordered strikers of all four tended by the WLB, provides for plants back to work immediately. layoffs on a departmental basis, stating it would refuse to con-However, the new contract, in sider the case until full producthe process of negotiation for a lion was resumed. full year due to company stalling, provides for plant-wide seniority, wick workers voted overwhelm-

and layoffs on that basis. ment was made between the un- a meeting held this afternoon in since the contracts of the other decision.

plants already have such provi-

But, as usual, when the layoffs

The workers at all four plants have taken a very militant stand The immediate point of conten- against all efforts to drive them

Nevertheless, the New Brunsingly to stay on strike until a Several months ago, an agree- full settlement was reached. At on and the company to lay men Allentown, the strikers at the Al-

## National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

by Roosevelt, came up in Con- priation to \$250,000!

The proposed appropriation for out FEPC altogether.

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

WEBSTER HALL, 119 E. 11 Street

### New York Mass Meeting JAMES P. CANNON

bitten reactionary bosses who Their first tactic was to follow

flouted its decisions. FEPC could the time-honored custom of South-

not even thoroughly investigate ern chivalry whenever equality is

the widespread evil of Jim Crow, discussed - venomously slander-

for its funds were stringently ing colored people as born "rap-

ture against discrimination rankl- ists investigating the fouler types

tion and lynching as part of their cowards before this offensive

"democratic" rights. When FEPC, torrent of incoherent, lying abuse

along with other agencies created and agreed to slash the appro-

these champions of "democracy" of lynch law scented blood. When

of insanity.

POISONOUS FILTH

"THE DOWNFALL OF BROWDER"

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3. 8 P. M. Added speakers: Farrell Dobbs - Louise Simpson

The Negro-hating Southern Bourbon Congressmen are fighting tooth and nail to kill the Fair Employment Practices Com-By this time the monstrous mittee. Their latest tactic is to pose as super-patriots. They spectacle in Congress had so accuse those favoring FEPC of "willingness to imperil a part aroused public opinion that the tossed by Roosevelt to sincere FEPC was only \$599,000 - a back at the Southern lynch chambelievers in democracy who op- drop compared to the torrent of pions through parliamentary maneuvers which denied the other posed racial discrimination in em- billions pouring into the war maagencies \$618,000,000 in funds. ployment. Roosevelt designed it chine. But to block this small

to head off the militancy of the appropriation, the Southern Bour-THEY ARE SCOUNDRELS colored people. He feared they bons risked other appropriations It was this move which drew might carry out their threat to amounting to \$618,000,000 for cries of "anti-patriotism!" from agencies covered by the same bill. the Southern hate-mongers as The Southern champions of the lynch rope, who try to make out in the American flag. S. Johnson In practice, FEPC was almost they represent the people, spewed observed long ago: "Patriotism wholly ineffective, for it could their poisonous filth against the not impose penalties on hard- FEPC on the floor of Congress.

is the last refuge of a scoundrel.' That is where FEPC now stands - without funds, besieged by a powerful coalition, defended by faint-hearted Congressmen interested in the measure largely for vote-getting reasons. A number of instructive lessons can be

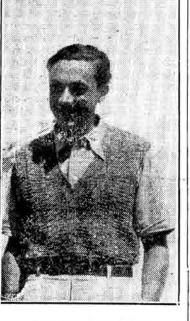
drawn from the fate of FEPC: (1) This Congress is reactionary to the core. (2) Its declamations about

But the Senate supporters of fraud. The shining talk about Nations Charter is absolutely ments was stolen from him. meaningless. It is meaningless above all to 13,000,000 colored American citizens, including the ast ranks of colored soldiers or-

on foreign battlefields.

Jim Crow.

and kick out these native exponents of Hitler's race theories. (6) Finally — and most important for immediate action labor must organize its own independent political party to put German, as was the signature his death is not far off. His work of Mexican workers in Southern the new contract had already been meeting lasted only fifteen minthe workers' own militant spokesmen in public office.



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

Ky Joseph Hansen

alism in Europe. It has entered increase the shouts of rage and into history as a symbol of the cries for vengeance. destruction of a decayed social order by the forces of a new the stone walls until they reached society in birth and as such is the massive chains holding up an important date on the revolu- the outer drawbridge. They tionary calendar.

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

of arrest) were often merely through the streets in joyous prosigned blanks given by the authorities to their class friends and hangers-on. All the holders had ly deserved. Revolutionists pored to do was fili in the names of over the prison archives and persons they wanted "put away" the long-kept secrets of a reacand the authorities did the rest.

#### MEN ROTTED AWAY

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

Thus, when the French Revolution burst upon the decadent feudal order, the people concentrated their first attack against the Bastille as the outstanding symbol of the cruel oppression the dead weight of feudalism of the monarchy and feudal nob- from the growing productive

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

#### ANGRY MASSES

Throughout the morning of July 14 the cry echoed throughout Paris: "TO THE BASTILLE!" A the people who were struck down other great leap forward.

The storming of the Bastille made their friends swear not to on July 14, 1789 was one of the give up until the hated prison most dramatic happenings in the was torn down. A cannon loaded great French Revolution which with grapeshot was fired over the sounded the death-knell of feud- crowd but the only effect was to

Daring workmen c'ambered up smashed the chains and the great Overlooking the river Seine in bridge dropped with a crash. The masses streamed across fortress. They were greeted with by a strategem, the revolutionary crowd succeeded in penetrating to the inner stronghold.

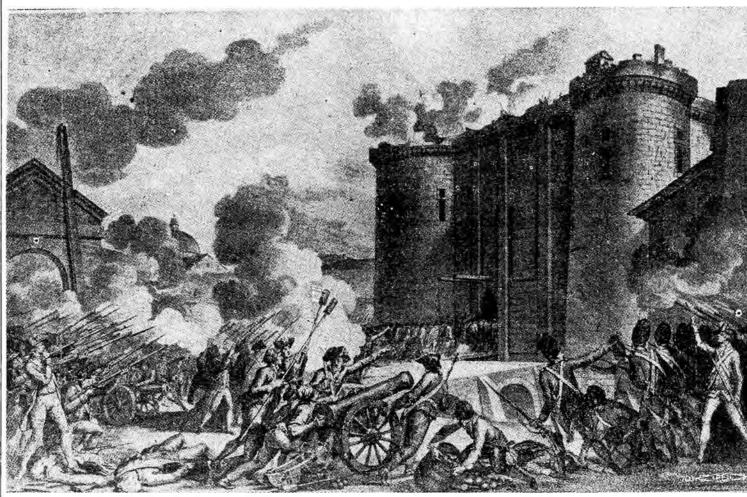
#### RAZED TO GROUND

With a roar of triumph they sought out the prisoners, cast off The lettres de cachet (warrants | their shackles, and paraded them cession. The defenders of the Bastille met the fate they so richtionary regime were published in the press of the revolution.

Then the masses attacked the Bastille itse'f with axe and crowand otherwise, were kept in the bar. They did not stop until the entire infamous structure was razed to the ground.

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

Today, the capitalist system has grown senile. Its early proaressive social role has long been outlived. Now, like the feudal progress. Capitalism came to birth in the womb of feudal sothrough the streets to surround has prepared the basis for a new the Bastille like a turbulent sea. social order — socialism. When Troops atop the battlements fired their muskets into the swelling the working class destroys capicrowd. With their dying breath talism, civilization will take an- crs' standard of living are to be United Ireland and a Socialist program, the RSP lists "a sliding



Engraving by Helman from original by Monnet,

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

## Trotskyists Active In Ireland

tions. Organized in the Revolu-

Analyzing the situation facing casts its shadow over the tical interests...' mass of angry humanity surged ciety. Likewise, capitalist society the Irish workers, the RSP de- "PEACE." through the streets to surround has prepared the basis for a new clared: "The Ministry of Food welcomed VE day by announcing reductions in the fat and meat ration. Other items in the work- workers to fight for a Socialist gram. Among the planks of this

tionary Socialist Party, Irish sec- third of her pre-war foreign mar- leadership, charging them with books and bank accounts; for the survived the bombings, fewer than tion of the Fourth International, lets. Ruined Europe cannot pay agoing "connived with the im- establishment of useful public 300 have been left behind by the they gave critical support to the for British goods. Meanwhile, perialists." "The Labor, Party will works, financed by taxing the Russian authorities, according to Labor Party candidates in North the poverty-stricken colonial peo- not lead us to socialism," continue rich, operated by workers' con- company records. reland. The Irish Trotskyists ples are striving to break the im- the Irish Trotskyists. "But it trol." The RSP calls for the system in 1789, it stands athwart did not run their own candidates perialist chains. The U. S. A., will place socialism on the order "right to self-determination of the rath of economic and social because, according to their electronest power on earth, plans of the day in the minds of the the colonial empire" and against fined to armament works. In the

SOCIALIST IRELAND

cut unless new markets are found United States of Europe.

The Irish Trotskyists have been to absorb British goods. Where In asking the workers to vote bat unemployment and high pectation of the arrival of the active in the British general ejec- will these markets come from? for the Labor Party, the RSP prices; for the right of factory British forces. . . "Britain has already lost a sharply criticizes the Labor Party committees to inspect the firm's tion leaflet, "our party is still to oust Britain everywhere. A workers by arousing their expectnew and lacks financial strength." THIRD WORLD WAR already ations and increasing their poli-

> The RSP asks the workers to vote for the Labor Party candidates and demands that they "agi-The RSP calls on the Irish tate" for a Transitional Proscale of hours and wages to com-

Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to The Militant

## **Allied Powers Looting Machinery In Germany**

Berlin zones to its "allies," took

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

#### REMOVE INSTRUMENTS

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

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

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

#### FACTORIES STRIPPED

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

"In districts now being taker over by American and Britisl troops factories were stripped cf heavy machinery four to eigh weeks ago.

"The vast Rheinmetall-Borsis armament works in the norther suburb of Tegel was evacuated by the Russians last Sunday in ex

"Of the 2,500 machines tha

". . . The Russian dismantling of German industry is not con-"imperialist intervention in Eur- Zehlendorf district, now under American control, a spinning mill, a sugar mill and variou: other plants have been thoroughly cleaned out."

These facts indicate the rea situation in Germany between the Anglo-U. S. bloc and the Sovie government. Each considers its will happen."

The U. S. army, before evacuat- | zone in Germany as a base of ing Saxony and Thuringia to the operations in a future struggle Red Army, took away as much of against the other side. Each tries the industrial resources as could to strengthen the industrial be moved. Likewise the Red (tomorrow military) power of its Army, before evacuating the zone and to weaken that of the zone of the other side. Occupied away most of the industrial ma- Germany is being prepared as one of the principal battlefields of World War III.

## **Plot to Restore Greek Monarchy**

(Continued from page 1)

inspirers and organizers of the monarchist plot.

The Greek Stalinist leader. Nicolas Zachariades, deceives the masses by assuring them: "Nothing will happen. The movement has become abortive because of our denunciation of it and because of the dispositions of the Government." The German Stalinsts said the same thing. Hitler, hey declared, would never succed in taking power. The year 931, they claimed, witnessed the Leak of his strength. After Hitler was in power, they said his regime would not last.

#### A FATAL COURSE

Instead of sounding a warning signal and alerting the masses gainst their sworn foes, the Freek Stalinists pursue the fatal ourse of their German confreres. t would be hard to imagine a n:ore ridiculous assertion than the ne they make - that their denunciation" of the monarchist plotters will prevent a monarchist oun d'etat. The Nazis laughed at imilar denunciations.

#### GOV'T DOES NOTHING

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

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

## The History Of American Trotskyism

**HOW TROTSKY'S CRITICISM OF STALINISM** 

REACHED THE AMERICAN C. P. LEADERS

By James P. Cannon

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

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

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

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

### The Feel of the Labor Movement

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

The Question of a Finished Program The Sixth Congress undertook to adopt for the first time a

the attitude of practically everybody.

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

Congress of the Comintern was called in Moscow. We departed for

Moscow as usual on such occasions in a big delegation representing

all the factions; going there, I am sorry to say, not preoccupied

with the problems of the international movement which we as

representatives of one section might help to solve, but all of us

more or less preoccupied primarily with our own little fight in the

American party; going to the World Congress to see what help we

could get to fry our own fish here at home. Unfortunately, that was

On departing for the Congress I didn't have any hope of getting

real clarification of the Russian question, the dispute with the

Opposition. By that time it appeared that the Opposition had been

completely wiped out. The leaders were expelled. Trotsky was in

exile in Alma Ata. All over the world what sympathizers they may

have had were thrown out of the party. There seemed to be no

prospect of reviving the question. But it continued to bother me

nevertheless. And it bothered me so much that I couldn't take a

We immediately lined up our delegations in caucuses and begar

to see what we could do to cut each other down, drawing up mutua'

accusations and endlessly debating the thing before the commission

there. I was a more or less sullen participant in the business. Just

about that time they began to apportion the commissions. That is

the leading members of each delegation were appointed to various

commissions of the Congress, some on the trade union commission

some on the political commission, some on the organization com-

mission. In addition there was the program commission.

Naturally, we continued the faction fight when we got there

very effective part in our faction fight in Moscow.

I was put on the program commission, partly because the other faction leaders weren't much interested in the program. "Leave that to Bukharin. We don't want to bother with that. We want to get on the political commission which is going to decide about our faction fight; on the trade union commission; or some other practical commission which is going to decide something about some little two-by-four trade union question worrying us." Such was the general sentiment of the American delegation. I was shoved onto the program commission as a sort of honor without substance. And to In the late spring and early summer of 1928, the Sixth World | tell you the truth, I was not much interested in it either.

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

Trotsky's document was entitled, "The Draft Program of the Communist International: A Criticism of Fundamentals." Through some slip-up in the apparatus in Moscow, which was supposed to be bureaucratically airtight, this document of Trotsky came into the translating room of the Comintern. It fell into the hopper, wher hey had a dozen or more translators and stenographers with othing else to do. They picked up Trotsky's document, translated t and distributed it to the heads of the delegations and the mem bers of the program commission. So, lo and behold, it was laid in my lap, translated into English! Maurice Spector, a delegate from the Canadian Party, and in somewhat the same frame of mind ? myself, was also on the program commission and he got a copy.

### Trotsky's Document Illuminates Russian Question

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Trotsky's Criticism Is Smuggled to America

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

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

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

(To be continued)

## WORKERS' FORUM

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

### Forbidden to Speak

My son, who is in the occupational forces in Germany, says in Correspondents a recent letter that he has been engaged in getting about 20,000

Russian prisoners sent back home.

But he was not allowed to speak

to them in any way. He wants to know why so recent an ally as Russia has to be treated the same as the Germans. He says he knows the answer but was afraid to write more for fear I would get nothing about what was happening.

> H. G. Detroit, Mich

#### Stalinist Traitors Pilloried in Letter

Editor:

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

Belle Montague Cambridge, Mass.

Editor, Daily Worker:

We have just received your letter, urging us to renew our subscription to your paper, which you so aptly describe as "a fighting newspaper for fighting faction. . . for the present. Americans," also your appeal in behalf of Mrs. Raissa Browder. that we have no desire whatever for such a newspaper as yours including yourselves!

We would like to inform you that we have never heard in all our lives of such a crude betrayal of the interests of all the toilers as that carried out by your party..... beginning with the statement that "USA is fighting a just war in the Pacific" and culminating in the statements on the oc- What Kind of Party? casion of your "celebration" of Lenin's anniversary, in which you implied at least that Lenin led the October Revolution to victory Editor I noticed a letter from in order that the USSR might someone who labeled The Militant some day live to protect the in- an "organ of a party of reformterests of the American ruling crs" etc.

that we reached our final decision has played an active role in the NOT upon the occasion of the struggle for the day to day indisbanding of the Communist terests of the working class, I Party of USA-that was no surprise to us-we consider that Socialist Labor Party, which that you really disbanded upon the day when the Daily Worker be- has just withdrawn from circugan to gloat and jeer over Wall lation all of its documents and Street's murder of German CIV- pamphlets on the war. I might ILIAN workers and peasants, ask him: "Are they repudiating Hitler's accession to power he When we read in your paper such their former anti-war stand?" items as "hundreds going mad in Berlin," "now we control the air, let the Germans groan," "the "Americanism of Socialism" planes of RAF fly at night over which was printed with a red, England toward Germany, and white, and blue cover in imitation they have a comforting, friend- of a Stalinist publication of the ly sound," "let us give thanks to same nature. Like the Stalinist our brave airmen who are de- counterpart, it includes quotations fending the United States over from Jefferson, Lincoln, Wash-

## A Word to Our

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

ngton etc. This conception of

how to make Socialism palatable

to the workers is as opportunist

as anything I have ever wit-

And this party which doesn't

believe in supporting the daily

strugg es of the workers for their

oread (they label all the unions

es Capitalist) dares to call The

Militant reformist because it

takes the lead in the fight for

The answer to this was given

by the reaction of another Mili-

tant reader who had been follow-

ing this other party for several

years. Three months after seeing his first copy of The Militant he

sent in over twenty subscriptions

which he obtained from fellow

Lies About Germans

Letters I have received from a

oldier stationed in Cermany

being cast against the German

German girls had to be forcibly

held by GI's and girls who had

been imported for forced labor.

And in Hamburg and Hanover

girls had to be held off at the

point of a gun when the trucks

friendliness of large sections of

imposed for social relations be-

ers. Yesterday, though, I saw

two Cerman girls giving their

iddresses to a French soldier,

Andre, and urging him to write.

Andre was from Brest, politically

Search the newspapers - they

cparture and an opportunity to

reoccupy their homes. With the

older fellow was a young man of

"He took out two papers, offi-

cial documents bearing the seal

of the Third Reich. One showed

concentration camp for three

years, the second that he had

spent an additional three years in

camp. For what reason - was

he a leader of the local commun-

ists? No, he was simply a mem-

ber. He was a printer. After

had printed and helped to dis-

tribute illegal literature opposing

the Nazi regime. He was dis-

covered. In 1919 he had support-

ed Luxembourg and Liebknecht."

I felt very proud when the

letter I sent Grace Carlson was

printed in your paper, that you

thought it worth while referring

clipping from the Post, an inter-

view with a girl who has to work

as a nude model. It's supposed to

I remember when I once looked

for a waitress job at the World's

Fair, an amusement place offered

me a good salary for "doing

nothing." All I had to do was lie

in the grass nude-or almost

nude anyway, and people would

I didn't take the job but worked

hard for tips as a waitress. Some-

was running down my face and

I had no time to wipe it off, I

far down does a girl have to go

Maybe one gets "used to it

has an artist husband and a child.

Probably she supports all three

of them. But that doesn't interest

taxes taken out of it.)

thought for a moment of the nice

be funny, but it upset me.

pass by and look at me.

first?

I am enclosing another

Models Degraded

New York City

Buchenwald concentration

munists!

left, five years a prisoner."

those who were here."

Al Lynn

Los Angeles

better living standards!

workers.

Editor:

the city of Berlin," etc. - we could then see the handwriting on the wall. We knew that when you had reached the point of rejoicing over the butchery of noncombatant workers in Germany, you would also gloat and jeer at the plight of the workers of Amesame Wall Street! After that, it

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

But one last word to you. . we do not believe you will suc-Permit us to state in reply ceed in your attempt to aid Wall Street to conquer the world ... we still believe in the victory is at the present time; we are of the working class! Somenot at all interested in the suc- where, there must be some group cess or failure of Wall Street's or party which stands for the imperialist war for the conquest ideas of Marx and Engels. . . of the globe. The only conflict they have been betrayed before, in which we could take the slight- but always others have appeared est interest is the struggle of the to carry on their great ideas! You workers of ALL nations against are doomed to failure! History the capitalists and their agents ... will speak of you as the worst betrayers of the workers ever

WORKERS OF THE WORLD,

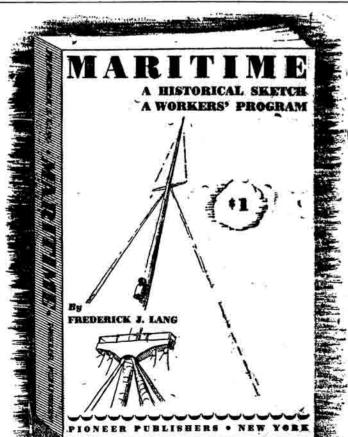
The Montague Family 6 Gracewood Park Cambridge, Mass.

Editor:

In last week's letters to the

Aside from the fact that The We also wish to let you know Militant is the only paper which would like to point out that the reader mentioned in his letter,

In addition to this I read a pamphlet of theirs called the



Order from Pioneer Publishers

116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

### WIN AN ORIGINAL LAURA GRAY CARTOON!

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

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

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

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

show in order to be able to eat? I could scream at the very thought of it. But then when I

back to me again. show up the vicious lies that are entirely different story. Under prevented from attending a dance nightclub life and prostitution.

> L. K. New York

## Vet's Problems

earing the foreign workers pulled out. Many wanted to accompany their sweethearts. The

Don't you think that a few up-to-date articles on points No. 3 the population has been obvious and 7 of your program pertinent? to most GI's with eyes to see. I would like to see you prod the Be ated recognition of that fact UAW-CIO in particular, on the by the paid propagandists may stand they took-I think at the bring surprised gasps from the Buffalo Convention-concerning a Stateside believers but not from UAW-CIO organization of veterans outside of the American The Allied rulers are not alone Legion. The American Legion is in prohibiting the mingling of now making hay as the sun shines the soldiers with the German and the silence of the UAW-CIO

people. All oppressors have the is aiding this along. same fear. The Nazi govern-I realize the no-strike pledge ment, too, had the rule - no and the Labor Party are points fraternization. "The Germans No. 1 in the union movement. But had a no-fraternization policy in who can doubt the importance of reverse. Strong penalties were the place of the veterans in the struggle that is not far ahead? tween Germans and foreign work- Civilians are accorded second class UAW-CIO. Perhaps this item citizen rights and the vet is given | could be used in The Militant to to believe that he deserves No. 1 contrast the leniency of the govplace in all walks of life. Un- eriment to the Amalgamated fortunately he is taking to this Baldheads against the clamping viewpoint. The vet must be won down on proposed union convenover to the side of Labor-or else. There is your fascist

won't tell us this. "The gray-haired man and his two young element. daughters had been awaiting our best of luck. Keep up the good work and tion system and deprive a soldier

or sailor on furlough of a seat

## 30. He (the former) said that he Contrast in Mexico

coposed the Nazis. I asked him whom he supported. The com-Editor:

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

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

But one thing worried them, when I said I was a socialist. One worker hastily warned me, 'Socialism, yes! Stalin, no!"

They had never heard if Trotskyism until I explained the dif-

R. J. New York

#### Allentown Layoffs

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

The history of the plant is a cool grass where I would just stormy one. Charges of poor man- him by referring to the fact that have to lie around doing nothing agement were made in Congress and getting paid for it. But who on April 1 of this year. It was under the Trades Disputes Act. can do a thing like that? How pointed out that \$44,000,000 had been spent and only two planes

had been built. Consolidated - Vultee had obthe reporter. Ninety cents an was used in New Bedford. This programs and their policies." hour! She worked seven hours plan was put into effect by that day for \$6.30. (Less, with embitious administrators of the illusions to the workers by the worst kind." WMC who were anxious to make promises of reforms under capital-My daughter is now only 41/2 use of and assist the move to ism, here is another quotation

months old but maybe some day pass the notorious "slave labor" she will have a nice figure. Will act, which had been advocated by she have to put herself out to President Roosevelt in several messages to Congress.

Some of the local workers, in

their fear of unemployment, have read The Militant, hope comes been anxiously concerned over those workers who have come to This letter sounds as if I am this community for work during against modeling in general. Of the period of war job expansion. course not. In "our kind of They feel that these workers will world," a socialist society, we will be a source of competition for have artists, too, and they will jobs. This fear has been played need models. Only that will be an upon to create a rift in the previous solidarity of the workthis rotten system only the poor ers. It has not been clearly rica, under the tyranny of that people. He writes, "In Hanover, have to do it and it is always pointed out that no matter where connected with degradation, these unemployed workers are they will affect the labor market. It is well known that because the south has been a source of cheap labor, the textile workers in this area have been hampered in their fights to obtain a decent wage.

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

Enclosed is a clipping from the

Why would union delegates

"clog up" the nation's transporta-

Editor's Note: The clipping

sent by H. B. reports that "the

Amalgamated Baldheads of

America held a good-sized con-

vention in Port Arthur, Texas. It

would appear, in spite of the 'co-

operation' policies advocated by

R. J. Thomas (UAW President),

that the Amalgamated Baldheads

ment than he does. We also

noticed where a church organiza-

tion ordered its branches to

ignore the O.D.T. in holding their

The item concludes: "Why

'permission' and send out a con-

delegates could all shave their

domes and masquerade as 'Bald-

In The Militant for June 30 in

the Workers' Forum you print a

letter from C. B. of Englewood,

Colorado, wherein he implies

rather strongly that the SWP is

reformist. You answered him, not

by explaining the role of sup-

porting certain reforms in or-

ganizing the workers and expos-

ing the fakers, but by pointing to

your prison record. As a rebuke l

can do no better than to quote

from the Socialist Appeal, the

same Mid-May supplement that

the very same Militant for June

30, I mention above, quoted from

"Comrade Jock Haston was

he had been imprisoned last year

He prefaced his remarks that

such introduction had been sin-

cuite freely on other subjects.

annual Bible Conferences.

A Rebuke

Editor:

H. B.

Milwaukee

Just a Pfc. any more than the "Baldheads?"

June 15 "Spicer Unit News," of

Spicer Unit, Toledo Local 12,

A Reader Allentown

#### **Negro Machinists** The Baldheads

**Resist Jim Crow** (Continued from page 1)

Mahoning County CIO Industrial

Union Council here, at its last

meeting, July 3, unanimously

passed a motion to send a sharp

letter of protest to the WLB for

its strikebreaking action in the

Akron Rubber Workers strike.

The council denounced the move

of the WLB to take away from

the rubber workers the vacation

and shift differential benefits

the same to us steel workers."

they had previously won.

ernor-but never again.

battle for all labor.

they need help.

workers on strike.

Shipka, another militant dele-

Many other delegates took the

barons, as well as other aid, and

that now the steel workers should

assist the rubber workers when

At this same meeting, the CIO

Council voted vigorously to op-

pose peace-time conscription. It

was pointed out that one purpose

of such conscription is to regiment

workers into the army and then

attempt to use them against

Lodge Number 751 have already gone on record in favor of ending all racial discrimination in the Machinists Union; THEREFORE, we the under-

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

signed DEMAND that Lodge Number 751 and the Grand Lodge of the International Association of Machinists immediately grant full union membership and rights to ALL Boeing workers. The Pyramid Workers Alliance

was launched in the beginning of May of this year with a meeting at which 200 workers attended This meeting was reported in the have more drag with the govern- May 12 issue of The Militant.

In the intervening period the Pyramid Workers Alliance has centered its attention on defining its program and tactics, recruiting members, and consolidating a leadership. The Alliance has set doesn't the Int'l quit asking up a negotiating committee, which had its first meeting three vention call? Or perhaps the weeks ago with the head of Lodge Number 751.

CALLED BY UNION

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

At the conference with the negotiating committee the head of Lodge Number 751 alternated threats with vague promises, but did not indicate that anything concrete would be done to take the Negro workers into the union. The conclusions drawn from the

conference by the negotiating committee and by the membership of the Pyramid Workers Alliance as a whole was: "We have then mainly responsible for setting the worried! Full speed ahead with high political standard of the the building of our organization campaign. He mercilessly squash- and with the unfolding of our ed any attempt at popularizing | fight!"

> from the Mid-May issue of the Socialist Appeal:

"Dr. Jarmin, a prominent Stalinist in the town, asked gularly unfortunate—that some of Haston what he knew about, and the labor fakers had also been was prepared to do about, the after 15 years" like the girl said tained many workers by means imprisoned; that he hoped it did bad housing problem and tuberin the interview. And this night- of the local War Manpower Com- not foreshadow that he, too, culosis problem in this division club reporter is amused! The girl mission's action in initiating the would sell out the workers as The workers warmly appreciated "Allentown Plan," which was they had done; what was at Jock Haston's answer in which disputed and fought vigorously issue was not the personalities of he stated that unlike the other by the textile workers when it the three candidates, but their candidates he promised nothing under the capitalist system. That On the matter of holding out to do so would be duplicity of

> Mary E. Ingerson Powers Lake, N. D.

## Youngstown C10 **Supports Akron Rubber Strikers** YOUNGSTOWN, O.

their own paper, are selling subnumbers, eager to introduce their ers, who has acquired a high perfriends to the only newspaper in centage of the total number sent this country that tells the truth in by the Calumet Branch. When about labor's struggles for a bet- asked by comrades how he went ter world. Bill Crane, our agent about getting these subs, he jok-

Fred Dillard, militant grievance cubs. They were gotten by a better. committeeman from the Steelleader in a small but very miliworkers' Brier Hill Local of Youngstown Sheet and Tube stated, "if they can get away with this in Akron, they will de He also pointed out that the struggles of the rubber workers were the struggles of all workers and that Governor Lausche, who had received the support of labor and now had called on the selective service boards to draft all striking rubber workers, should two they sold him a sub."

be condemned for his strike-Grace F. Dey of Elizabeth, N. J. sent in a subscription for breaking activities. He said he friend in Hillside, N. J. had supported Lausche for gov-An anonymous friend in Tac ma. Wash, sent in two six-month subs for friends in Ray, N. Da-

gate who brought the question to kota. the floor, stressed the need of F. B. of Port Huron, Mich. labor unity. He stated that the writes: "Enclosed find 50 cents rubber workers were fighting a in stamps. Please send The Militant for six months to ---- Sev eral years ago he was as antisame stand and not one opposed union as you could find, articuthe fight of the rubber workers lately so. Today he is chairman Galusha, delegate from Steel of the bargaining committee in a Local 1234, pointed out that the UAW-CIO union. This first step ubber workers, during the Little was taken as a result of his ex-Steel strike, had sent thousands periences in the shop. I wish of dollars to help fight the steel

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

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

Cur new readers, wholeheart- the achievement of three ed y accepting The Militant as branch members: "These subs were brought in scriptions in ever-increasing by our newest member, A. Land-

n Milwaukee, reports an incident: ingly replied he just talked them "Enclosed are two one-year to death. However, we know

"It seems he is constantly on ant UAW Local which has the the alert to spot the class-conscibest shop and wage conditions in ous or people who express dissahe city due to the several strikes tisfaction about the present state they have carried out. This friend of world affairs or labor condiof ours was listed in the UAW tions, and he instantly proceeds Convention Report as one of those to point out interesting features who voted against the no-strike in The Militant to them. Amazpledge and we contacted him and ingly, he finds these people on sold him a sub. He has already street corners, in restaurants, on sold one trial sub and took our the bus, in the shop and in the organizer over to see the presi- union, and most anywhere he dent of the local and between the happens to be. Comrade Landers stated that he had had only two refusals. And from all appearances he is bent on continuing a one-man sub campaign.

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

"We are proud to acknowledge the abilities of these three gogetters. They are a true inspiraion to the movement."

## **Vote Trotskyist!**

In the Coming New York Elections

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

> TAX THE RICH, NOT THE POOR!

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

## FIGHT FOR THIS PROGRAM:

1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans! A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work

with no reduction in pay! A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the

increased cost of living! Operate all government-built plants under workers'

2. Independence of the trade unions from

the government! Rescind the no-strike pledge!

Withdraw union representatives from the War Labor

3. Organization of the war veterans by the

trade unions! 4. Full equality for Negroes and national

5. Working class political action! Build the independent labor party! Establish the workers' and farmers' government!

minorities! Down with Jim Crow!

6. Tax the rich, not the poor! No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

7. A working class answer to capitalist mili-

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 Work-

ers Party in my city. Name .....

(Please Print)

Address ..... City ..... Postal Zone .... State .....

## THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. IX-No. 28

Saturday, July 14, 1945

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

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

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

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



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

## Halt The Fascists!

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

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

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

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

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

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

## True To Form

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

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

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

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

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

## Withdraw The Troops!

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Truth About Germany

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

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

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

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

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



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

(Read about the cartoon contest - Page 7)

#### Holland

Living conditions in Holland be difficult for a frank statement on this question to be given in tory of the Allies. Instead, they have worsened. Discontent among the workers is steadily mounting.

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

while the reactionary officials of embittered professional army of anti-Semitism, Stalinists supportthe recognized trade unions join- Poles, ready for action at any ing de Gaulle would have to use

### Belgium

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

The members of the cabinet, charged with carrying out Ailied policies in Belgium, are alarmed removed from its agenda the quesover the situation, says the IFTU. Minister, declared in a recent prone to exaggerate or to dramatize events. Yet in view of the situation in which the country stands I do not hesitate to say that the present hour is grave, indeed very grave."

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

### Britain

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

The emigres in this army, comng largely from the Polish landords, capitalists, and their supporters, are bitterly anti-communst. Their open expressions of the last war? hatred for the Soviet Union are army will probably be long main- War I.

tained as a sort of 'foreign legion' | derstands it is his duty to combat of the British army, but it would this malignant symptom with al be difficult for a frank statement his energy.

The INS correspondent explains in numerical strength and is going to become progressively weaker.'

the House of Commons.'

In the coming armed conflicts during the so-called "peacetime," Britain expects to use mercenar- do not wish to "embarrass" their Canadian soldiers were forced ies to put down working class the British Government today will discuss the position of England in the possible event of France, Spain, and Italy becoming Communist, but it is conceded privately that democratic Britain would then be as isolated from the continent as she has during the last four years."

### France

July 2.

inists in France was glaringly of the French "Communist" Party tion of combatting rising anti-

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

## **QUESTION BOX**

Q: Is there much child labor in the United States today? A: There are approximately 3,000,000 children under 17 years of age working. About 1,000,000 of these hold full-time jobs.

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

Central America is com-A: posed of five republics: Guatamala, Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica. These 185,903 square miles with about

Q: How much more surplus war property is there as a result of this war than there was after a highly significant shift in the

A: Twenty times more. Alactorious. This hatred explains though \$265,000,000 worth of imperialist Britain's interest in goods and facilities have been third. Transport and metals are ing to an INS dispatch of July is estimated that by the end of by the following figures: 3, "Government leaders in Brit- the war with Japan there will be ain-both with the party in pow- over \$100 billions worth of such er and in the opposition - un- inventory. There was only \$5 to Transport derstand fully why the Polish \$6 billions left over from World Metals

The Stalinists, however, hold

posts in the de Gaulle government which fosters anti-Semitism. Bithat the British navy and airforce lou, president of the Stalinist Conis now adequate for European gress, who is also minister of puband Mediterranean needs against lic health, insisted that this burnterritories, but the army is weak agenda and considered only in secret session of the Executive Committee of the party.

A number of delegates protested, but protests were arbitrarily over-ruled. The Stalinist leaders representatives in public office. to take the place of the strikers, revolutions. "The existence of an Had the Congress decided to fight strike-breaking action by appeal- tedly a welcome auxiliary to the or reveal that they themselves ing to the strikers to "return to British land forces. No one in are among those who foster Jew-

### Palestine

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

The workers of both Jewish and Arabic origin, however, have Van Acker, the "Socialist" Prime Semitism. This was reported in powerful common interests which a special Paris dispatch to the draw them together. At Jaffa. broadcast: "I am not a man N. Y. Jewish Morning Journal on recently, at a conference of the Arab Socialist Union, the delegates emphasized the necessity for sofidarity between Arab and Jew ish workers.

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

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

### India

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

During 1944, the number of affiliated organizations leaped countries cover approximately from 30 to 222. Membership increased from 46,388 to 407,773 3,000,000 people. The plight of The industrial areas of India, the peoples can be judged from which were greatly expanded the fact that the net per capita during the war, provide the heavincome ranges from \$23 a year in lest concentration of members. Nicaragua to \$114 in Costa Rica. More than two-thirds come from the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Punjab.

Analysis by industries reveals economy of India. At one time textiles was by far the most important industry. Now it rates

Unions Mem'ship 45 138,399

## Tax "Relief" Bill Gives **Billions to Corporations**

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

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

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

The bill passed by the House amends the tax law to permit an immediate "readjustment" which in effect will reduce corporation excess profits taxes for 1944 and 1945 by \$1,600,000,000. That's some windfall for the most profitable years in corporation history.

The bill also provides increased profits tax exemptions for 1946, which will add an estimated \$160, 000,000 to corporation cash reserves next year. This is done by raising the excess profits tax exemption from \$10,000 to \$25,000.

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

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

Still another big bowl of gravy is provided in peedier tax amortization of government-built plants. Additional amortization, through tax refunds in 1945 and 1946, will amount to \$1,700,000,000.

Although current corporation assets are \$98,000,-000,000, double the 1939 figure, this gift to the warenriched corporations is being made with the excuse of providing "ready cash" for "reconversion."

## **Soldiers Shipped to Coast** In Vermin-Ridden Coaches

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

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

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

Water ran out. They could not wash, bathe or shave. Plumbing facilities clogged and became uned the military authorities in their time," continues INS, "is admit- their power of office in the fight usable. Vermin infested the seats. Meanwhile, the men observed long strings of empty pullmans going

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

## **Auto Industry Reserves Provides 15 Years' Profits**

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

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

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

The "Big Three," General Motors, Ford and Chrysler, made such huge profits before the war that their percentages of war profits increases do not appear as large as some of the smaller firms. Nevertheless, General Motors increased its gross profits from \$244,779,268 in 1936-39 to \$395,194,321. Chrysler showed an annual average increase of 38.5 percent. "During the four wartime years," says the UAW

survey, "General Motors and Chrysler salted away \$119,276,758 in postwar and contingency reserves, \$76,051,805 for GM and \$43,224,953 for Chrysler."

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

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

With their accumulated war profits and reserves, billions in profits tax rebates, guaranteed Treasury refunds to make up for postwar losses, etc., "in case of need the typical American corporation is protected against reconversion loss to the extent of 15 years of maintaining these troops. Accord- disposed of up to March 1945, it far in the lead. This is indicated normal net income," said Reuther.

Under these circumstances, the auto corporations are not eager to keep their plants running at capacity. They plan to drive down wages, create a "surplus" 101,836 army of unemployed, boost prices and still clean up 60,196 huge profits.