

# "The History Of American Trotskyism"

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# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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## British Despots In Nigeria Ban Native Papers

Special to *The Militant*

LONDON, July 16 — Two Negro-edited newspapers in Nigeria which have espoused the cause of the terribly oppressed and exploited population of that country have been suppressed by order of Governor Richards, according to cabled advices received here.

Nigeria is a British crown colony in Equatorial Africa, one of the largest and wealthiest of British possessions, with a population of over 21,000,000. It is ruled through the Colonial Office in London.

Suppression of the two papers, the *West African Pilot* and *Daily Comet*, was accompanied by a threat on the part of the British Government to banish the editor, Nnamdi Azikiwe, from his homeland.

These repressive acts have arisen from a strike of over 150,000 Nigerian workers, including all the railroad men, coal miners, civil servants and others. The strikers are demanding a minimum wage of 60 cents a day. Their present pay averages two shillings a day, the equivalent of about 50 cents.

Under British imperialist rule the natives are subjected to inhuman conditions of exploitation. Children between nine and twelve work even in tin and coal mines, 12 hours a day, carrying heavy loads up to 65 lbs. Colored bus drivers and conductors receive less than one-third the wages paid to European workers for similar work.

The workers of Nigeria are organized into 64 trade unions corresponding to the various industries and occupations. These unions are combined in the Nigeria Trade Union Congress which held a convention in August, 1944.

At the convention resolutions were adopted calling for the industrialization of the country and nationalization of important industries. They called for the introduction of unemployment and health insurance and for the improvement of housing conditions and educational facilities.

## Persecuted Nigerian Editor Appeals to U. S. Labor and Negro Organizations for Support

NEW YORK, July 17 — Cablegrams were received this week by the Socialist Workers Party and the Civil Rights Defense Committee confirming the suppression of the two Nigerian newspapers and the threat of banishment for their editor, Nnamdi Azikiwe.

Additional information regarding the widespread strike of Negro workers in Nigeria was obtained by *The Militant* from the American Council on African Education, 55 West 42nd St., New York. This organization has received a cabled request from Azikiwe for aid and support against persecution by the British colonial authorities. Azikiwe informed the American Council on African Education as follows:

"I have reason to believe that my life is in danger, in view of the fact that all local high officials wrongly suspect me to be at the bottom of present general strike because I am a journalist

with strong views. . . It is obvious I cannot rely on official protection. . . Latest rumor that I may be banished from Nigeria for supporting strikers demanding 60 cents daily wage."

The Council informed *The Militant* that African organizations in Great Britain had dispatched cables to the "Big Three" leaders in Berlin, informing them that "colonial fascism" is rampant in Nigeria. The Council is sending urgent appeals to the NAACP, African Students' Association (ASA), CIO, Council on African Affairs, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Congressmen Powell and Mitchell of New York and Chicago, National Urban League and other civic and religious groups to mobilize public sentiment throughout America on behalf of Azikiwe and the strikers by sending telegrams of protest to Governor Richards of Nigeria and the Colonial Office in London.

## SWP Starts Fund For Trotskyists In Europe

By FARRELL DOBBS  
Campaign Director

A campaign to raise a \$5,000 International Solidarity Fund by September 15 has been launched by the Socialist Workers Party. This action is taken in response to appeals for aid from our Trotskyist co-thinkers abroad against whom the Anglo-American imperialists, the Stalinist counter-revolutionists and the puppet governments are striking their heaviest blows.

In Belgium, Trotskyists are being arrested by the puppet-government and the Trotskyist paper, *"La Voie de Lénine,"* has been suppressed. The DeGaulle government has jailed a number of Trotskyist militants and the French Trotskyist paper, *"La Verité,"* has been suppressed. No less than 250 Trotskyists have

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## GPU In Italy Spreads Vile Frame-Up Slander

*The Militant* of June 23, in reporting the Stalinist attack upon the Italian Trotskyists, quoted the Stalinist slander sheet *Rinascita* which attacked "two Trotskyist leaders, Mangano and Girone," as "paid agents of the Fascist OVRA" (Mussolini's police).

Our Italian comrades inform us that only one of these men is a Trotskyist. Mangano, they report, is one of the best known labor leaders in the province of Puglia. He was one of the first to rally to the banner of the Fourth International in Italy.

Girone, on the other hand, is a notorious OVRA agent. The Stalinists deliberately linked the two names together in a typical

GPU amalgam. Their objective is to besmirch the name of Mangano.

Unable to counter the Trotskyist program by other means, the Stalinists are more and more resorting to slander and gangsterism. In Puglia they are carrying on a vicious campaign against Mangano and the Trotskyists. A comrade who visited Puglia following the recent riots there, reports that Mangano disappeared during the subsequent military intervention and wave of arrests. Mangano's fate is not yet known. He may have been arrested by agents of the military authorities or he may have been murdered by the Stalinists.

## Trotskyist Runs For Parliament In Chile Election

By Henriquez

SANTIAGO, Chile, July 4 (By Airmail) — The Partido Obrero Revolucionario, Chilean section of the Fourth International, ran a candidate in last week's by-election for a parliamentary deputy to represent the city of Concepcion, third largest of the country and second largest in industry.

The POR delegates at the election tables counted 400 votes cast for our candidate, but the official figures gave us 321 votes.

### POLITICAL SITUATION

However, the figures do not tell the story. The situation in the working class must be understood.

Four months ago the general parliamentary elections took place. The rightist conservative-liberal bloc, representing the landlords and the big bourgeoisie, won a majority away from the Democratic Alliance which had had the majority since 1941. The Socialist and Communist parties (part of the Democratic Alliance) lost 40 per cent of their electoral votes and a third of their deputies. The Stalinists lost nearly 10,000 votes and two deputies, while the Socialist party dropped from 80,000 votes to 38,000 and from 18 deputies to six.

The reason for this was that a large part of the laboring masses abstained from voting.

The workers were skeptical and

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## IN THE NEWS

### Lies At Any Price

During the newspaper deliverymen's strike in New York City, members of the stock-exchange and penthouse crowd have been "doing their bit" against the striking workers by encouraging a black market in newspapers. The gentry have been skulking in dark places and paying as much as \$1 for a bootleg copy of their favorite anti-labor sheets.

### Cost of Capitalist War

The first reported American "basketcase" of this war Sgt. Frederic Hensel, of Corbin, Ky., was recently interviewed in the Percy Jones General Hospital, Battle Creek, Mich. Sgt. Hensel, who has lost both legs and both arms, stated: "I'd make a good picture for propaganda against the next war."

### 'Free Enterprise'

After a session on July 11 between the WPB Automotive Division, OPA and representatives of the automobile corporations on the problems of reconversion, Henry P. Nelson, WPB's co-director for reconversion said he hoped it would be the last such conference. "The next time I hope I can tell them, 'The lid's off. Go out and cut each other's throats all you want.'"

### Life Begins for Goering

According to a report from Britain, in the newspaper *Scotsman*, top-flight, Nazi Herman Goering has been flown to Britain along with other big-shot Nazi leaders and Wehrmacht officers. He has been taken to Windsor, where he and other leading Nazis are relaxing on a large country estate.

### Solidarity Forever

A Reuters dispatch from London July 11, reports that American seamen held in port by a London dockers' "go slow" movement are extending open support to the dockers. Members of the crew of the American ship *"Isaac Mayer Wise,"* from Savannah, lying in the Surrey Docks for over a month, told reporters "They should give the little guys more money," and "I don't think they are paid half enough. I would not do the work for the money." Crew members of a Norwegian ship said: "We are all in sympathy with them."

### Sign of the Times

A sign in a Minneapolis bakery reads: "Due to prevailing conditions, we have been forced to lower the quality of our bakery goods." An inquiry revealed no change in prices.

## New York News Delivery Strikers Check Union-Busting Assault

### Congressional Lynchers at Work



## Southern Bourbon Spokesmen Succeed In Lynching F.E.P.C.

By Joseph Hansen

Negro-hating Southern Bourbon Congressmen, under the leadership of Mississippi's venom-spitting Senator Bilbo, have succeeded in lynching the Fair Employment Practices Committee. In a shameful spectacle that brands Congress as reactionary to the core, these advocates of race prejudice, discrimination and segregation put the proponents of FEPC to complete rout, cutting down the appropriation to \$250,000 and including a proviso that this sum shall be used to liquidate the committee.

Senator Bilbo, American spokesman of race theories identical with those of Hitler, not content with even this triumph, added in a vicious snarl: "If I had my way, FEPC would not get one cent."

### NO REAL POWER

From its beginning, FEPC had no real power to fight Jim Crow. It was limited to the war industries. It could not enforce its decisions. Its funds were so stringently limited it could not even make an adequate survey of the enormous extent of racial discrimination in employment in America. It was scheduled for dissolution with the end of the war. FEPC was nothing but a sugared sop tossed to the Negro people when they threatened

### Bilbo Incites Race Riots in Detroit

Senator Bilbo of Mississippi, ranting on the floor of the Senate July 12: "I believe in segregation. . . Today, I asked a gentleman, 'What about a riot in Detroit for a change?' He said, 'We are expecting to have one almost any day.' Mr. President, it will come; it is bound to come. It is sure to come. . ."

Isn't it high time the working class put its own political representatives in Congress to properly answer such inflammatory calls for a pogrom?

hatred against the Negroes and the House Appropriations Committee cut out the FEPC altogether from the bill which carried appropriations for other agencies amounting to \$770,000,000. Through a parliamentary maneuver, the advocates of FEPC then held up the appropriations

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## Simpson Hits FEPC Foes

NEW YORK, July 16.—Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidate for New York City Council, today made the following statement on the fate of the Fair Employment Practices Committee:

"FEPC has been dealt a crushing blow by Congress. The original request for an appropriation of \$599,000 was slashed to \$250,000. This is little more than one-half of last year's woefully inadequate appropriation. It sounds the death knell of FEPC."

"Total salaries alone for Committee members and employees last year amounted to not less than \$352,000. Since FEPC must pro-rate its appropriation in 12 equal portions for the coming fiscal year, its personnel must be greatly reduced. If the war

with Japan ends in the meantime, FEPC will be immediately dissolved. Thus the Committee may not even receive the full \$250,000."

"Yet last year alone 5,000 job discrimination cases were docketed. With the evil of Jim Crow growing more deadly every day, FEPC obviously will not be able to do so much as adequately survey the situation, much less do anything about it."

"Both Republicans and Democrats formed a united front on this question. They agreed to kill FEPC by reducing its appropriation. They even agreed to put in an amendment specifying the Committee should be liquidated. This amendment gives the green light to every employer who believes in the race theories

## COMPEL WLB TO ISSUE ORDER ON PUBLISHERS TO ARBITRATE

### BULLETIN

NEW YORK — A general membership meeting of the Newspaper Deliverers Union here, held just before *The Militant* went to press, voted to end the 18-day strike halting circulation of 14 metropolitan dailies, after the War Labor Board issued an order to the New York Publishers Association to arbitrate as the union had demanded.

By John Locke

NEW YORK, July 16 — The powerful New York Publishers Association has teamed up with the War Labor Board to try its hand at union-busting. But so far the newspaper-government all-out drive to smash the striking deliverers' union hasn't passed first base.

## Dobbs Blasts Role Of LaGuardia in Newspaper Strike

Farrell Dobbs, Trotskyist candidate for mayor in the New York City elections, has issued a statement denouncing the strike-breaking role of Mayor F. H. La Guardia in the current strike of the New York newspaper delivery workers. The full text of the statement is as follows:

Mayor LaGuardia's pious mouthings about "law and order" in the New York newspaper delivery men's strike are nothing more than the time-worn alibi of the governmental strike-breaker.

Neither O'Dwyer nor Goldstein, the Democratic and Republican candidates to succeed La Guardia in office, have spoken in condemnation of La Guardia's strikebreaking tactics. By their silence O'Dwyer and Goldstein show that they, too, are supporting the wealthy publishers against the striking newspaper delivery men who are fighting for a decent standard of living.

### LAGUARDIA THREATENS

Faking impartiality, La Guardia said in his July 13 radio speech, "I warn both sides that if there is any violence that force will be used to suppress force, in the maintenance of law and order." However, this self-styled champion of "law and order" had nothing to say about the attempts of the arrogant, labor-hating publishers to use young children who don't know any better as strikebreakers. Nor did he deem it important to speak about the fact that two strikers have been stabbed by the publishers' thugs.

When La Guardia talks about "law and order" he is actually talking only to the strikers, and

Yesterday the deliverers met and tossed a "final" return-to-work-or-be-fired order back into the teeth of the publishers. As this report is being written, the small but fighting independent Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union is still standing firm — trading blow for blow with the most powerful group of capitalist newspaper owners on earth.

### NEWSSTANDS EMPTY

The thousands of newsstands in the New York area are still empty. The 8,000,000 circulation of 14 metropolitan dailies, ranging from the frankly reactionary *Daily News* to the so-called "liberal" *New York Post* has been cut to a fraction of normal.

Using the slogan of the fighting coal miners, "No contract no work," the deliverers, 1,700 strong, walked out June 30 after taking a strike vote under the provisions of the anti-labor Smith-Connally Act. They struck after the publishers had flatly refused to negotiate the most reasonable of contract demands — demands that the wealthy owners of the press had been forced to grant to most other labor groups in the industry.

The deliverers struck in the face of a clearly fake proposal by the news bosses that the demands be submitted to the War Labor Board's Newspaper Commission for settlement. As the union's president, Joseph Simons, put it, "both the publishers and we know the Commission has no right under the WLB policy to rule on the demands until a dispute has been certified to it through negotiation — and the owners have refused to negotiate."

The shut-down was effective immediately. Newsstands carried only the *Marshall Field* publication, PM, which had met the union's demands. What papers did go out were limited to over-the-counter sales at the newsstands.

Finally, in the second week of the strike, enraged by the failure

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## LOS ANGELES CIO COMBATS FASCISTS

LOS ANGELES, July 17 — Organized labor has announced its first counter-action against attempts by Gerald L. K. Smith, fascist demagogue, to establish a base for his movement in Los Angeles.

The CIO council has organized a mass meeting of workers at Olympic auditorium, which has a seating capacity of 10,500, to be held on the evening of Friday, July 20, the same night for which Smith has scheduled his fourth Los Angeles meeting. The fascists will use the Shrine auditorium, which seats 7,000. Their June meeting at the Philharmonic auditorium drew half that number.

All the forces of the Socialist Workers Party, Los Angeles local, are being mobilized to support the anti-fascist campaign of the labor movement. Trotskyist speakers addressed a meeting of 1,500 workers last Sunday at a local church, urging them to attend the CIO meeting on July 20. Myra Tanner Weiss, Los Angeles SWP organizer, was the first to issue a call for a united

front of the labor movement against the fascist menace, over a month ago.

Although the CIO commented at that time on Smith's meetings, this is the first concrete step taken to combat his movement. It must be supported by every worker, and every minority group in Los Angeles, as the opening shot in the battle against native fascism.

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# News Deliverers In New York End 17-Day Strike

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of threats and the completeness of the tie-up, the publishers and the War Labor Board launched their all-out offensive to smash the union.

The WLB led off. From the beginning the board had repeatedly ordered the deliverers to return to their jobs. Now it raised its tone. "Back to work," the bosses' board bellowed at the deliverers. "Back to work or suffer the penalties."

The deliverers didn't go back to work. So the War Labor Board — its strike-breaking role never more clear — announced the penalties. The contract between the publishers and the union, it said, was voided. The strikers, it claimed, had lost their closed shop guarantee, seniority rights and all privileges. The publishers, it said, were free to hire strike-breakers.

**PUBLISHERS MOVE**  
Given the go-ahead signal by their War Labor Board, the publishers acted. They announced they were "taking steps to break the strike" and lifted the two-copy limit on over-the-counter sales.

The drive was spearheaded by the New York Daily News. The News managed to get some newsboys — misguided youngsters who didn't realize what they were doing — to buy papers in bunches of 50 to 100. On the night of Wednesday, July 11, while trying to stop the strikebreakers, two strikers were stabbed.

The following day New York City's police commissioner, Valentine, announced that he had been "informed that the publishers were going to try to move the strike-bound trucks to central distribution points. He ordered scores of extra police and plain-clothesmen out to reinforce police details already around the newspaper plants. The strikebreakers would be protected.

But for some reason the publishers didn't try to move the trucks. Thinking perhaps it hadn't been heard the first time, the War Labor Board announced "formally" that it had revoked its contract extension order of June 14 "by unanimous vote."

The publishers, it repeated, were free to hire whomever they chose and smash both the strike and the union.

For their part, the publishers delivered another arrogant ultimatum. They told the strikers to return to work by Monday, July 16 or be discharged. Then the publishers made it absolutely

clear that they were out for nothing less than the complete smashing of the union. When the union offered to return to work on the basis of submitting all disputed issues to arbitration, the publishers turned it down and repeated their demand of unconditional surrender.

As the week ended, finally realizing that the publishers-WLB attack on the deliverers was nothing less than the beginning of a general union-busting offensive, trade union groups began to give verbal support to the deliverers.

The greater New York CIO Council called on the publishers to agree to arbitration "as proof that it is not your purpose to break the union." Under pressure of the aroused ranks, the Stalinist leaders of the New York CIO dared not oppose such action.

Support also was voiced by the CIO Newspaper Guild of New York, the National Maritime Union, the Shipyard Workers of America, the New York Newsboys Union Local 471, the Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers Local 39, Local 1 of the News Distribution Guild and N. Y. Local, United Office and Professional Workers. But the deliverers union will need more than the support of words.

**TRY TO USE VETS**  
Following Sunday's vote to remain on strike the publishers undoubtedly soon will begin even more vicious strike-breaking action. Within the next few days they'll probably try to move the trucks with scabs — perhaps using misguided war veterans, as they have threatened. The newspaper PM says it is reported that the Daily News has already printed quantities of signs reading "this truck is driven by a war veteran."

The deliverers are faced with the frank and open hostility of the New York City police force. They're being harangued and threatened over the air by the city's mayor — bumptious, blatting Fiorello La Guardia.

Their backs to the wall, under attack from all the forces the powerful publishers and their capitalist government can muster, the deliverers are battling for the life of their union and by that token, for the security of all labor. It is the duty of every class-conscious rank and file union man in the country to say to the embattled independent Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union: "We are on your side. Your fight is our fight!"

# N. Y. News Strikers Welcome "Militant" On Picket Lines

It was Saturday night. At newspaper plants in New York City, pickets of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union marched for the fourteenth day. The New York local of the Socialist Workers Party dispatched comrades to sell The Militant containing Evelyn Atwood's story of the strikers' vile working conditions, at two main points.

A dozen of us went to the Daily News building, where the strongest attempts to break the strike were made. Others went to the Times Annex building.

**PICKET IN THE RAIN**  
Since early evening there had been a steady drizzle, yet hundreds of people stood in line to buy the Sunday edition. Damp, tired, but determined, the pickets walked quietly in front of the entrance.

As our comrades began to call out "Read the labor side of the strike in The Militant!" the pickets greeted us with smiles. One comrade showed his union card to the picket captain, who pulled a Militant from his pocket and said, "This is a real labor newspaper!"

For some time we stood in the rain, urging everyone who passed to "Read the strikers' side!" One worker, rushing by, stopped short. "Give me one," he said. "I want to get at the bottom of this. I haven't been able to find out anything in the other papers."

"Read the workers' side," I called to another. "The Daily Worker? THAT sheet?" he spat scornfully. Reassured that this was The Militant, which supports every struggle of the workers, he handed me a nickel for a dripping copy.

**YOUNG STRIKEBREAKERS**  
Most of the strike-breaking was being done by young boys, ten or twelve years old, who thought this was a chance to make "big money." Yet they were worried about scabbing. At least a score of our papers were bought by kids who changed their minds.

"We're getting rooked too," one lad told me. "I gave one of those guys (a news dealer) \$3.50 to buy papers for me, but I never saw head or tail of him again!"  
One of the pickets, a man of middle age, looked gratefully at our women comrades who were showing that a union struggle is every workers' struggle, man or woman. "My own wife and 5-year-old child were on the line earlier in the week," he said proudly. "It's good to have women help us picket."

He spoke of the companies' use of children to break the strike. "The company sells kids all the

By Ruth Johnson  
papers they can carry. But if a driver ever sold papers from his truck to a boy, he'd be suspended!" Another strike-breaking stunt of the News, he added, was to send thousands of papers out to New Jersey in milk trucks, and hire boys there to sell them.

**COMRADESHIP**  
As the drizzle changed to a pelting downpour, one of the pickets took off his own coat, put it around the shoulders of a girl comrade, and told her, "Wear it home, too — you can bring it back

to the union office any time. We appreciate what you're doing here tonight."

The picket captain invited us to join the line. Extra signs were found for several of the comrades. The rest of us, too, marched with the pickets, who showed new spirit as their ranks increased.

At midnight, with the crowd dwindling away, we said goodbye to the pickets. "If there's ever anything we can do for you, we'll do it!" One of them promised as we left, expressing the thanks of the strikers for the Militant's support.

**DOBB'S BLASTS ROLE OF MAYOR IN STRIKE**  
(Continued from page 1)  
he means, "Don't dare to defend yourself from the publishers' violence or my cops will club you into submission." This meaning becomes all the clearer when LaGuardia reports the decision of the publishers to resume deliveries "with the least possible disturbance" and adds threateningly, "THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO DO THAT."

At the same time, he calls the strikers "men whose employment has terminated and are without a contract." "Go back to work," he orders the strikers. "You are losing ground. . . . Eventually you will have to go back (to the WLB) if you have an organization at that time which the War Labor Board will recognize."

**INVITES STRIKEBREAKING**  
LaGuardia does not demand that the publishers deal with the strikers; he does not condemn the acts of violence against the strikers; he does not arrange for the city to provide relief for the strikers and their families to prevent the publishers from starving them out. No! That would be serving the ends of justice.

Instead he invites the publishers to try to break the strike; he threatens the strikers with police violence; he tells them they have no jobs, no union contract; he warns them to go crawling back to the publishers or their union will be smashed, too.

As a cover for his strikebreaking policies, LaGuardia uses the

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# Publishers Fight Newspaper Unions All Over Country

On April 26 the American Newspaper Publishers Association held its annual meeting in New York. This ultra-reactionary organization at this meeting laid down its plans for a head-on offensive against the labor movement, particularly the employees of members of the association. The Militant declared at the time that these representatives of Big Business were lining up for "concerted action."

"Wages, they are convinced, can be forced down to a new bottom" in the post-war period, declared the May 19 Militant.

The ANPA is now beginning to carry out this union-smashing program. Besides the spectacular stoppage in New York, the capitalist press is forcing its employees out on the picket lines in a number of cities.

**STRIKES IN JERSEY**  
In New Jersey the Jersey Journal and the Bayonne Times have been closed down since June 12. The ANPA forced the International Typographers to take strike action when the publishers arbitrarily refused to recognize ITU laws which have been part of the collective bargaining procedure between the publishers and the union for the past 22 years.

In Ft. Wayne, Indiana the Journal Gazette and the News Sentinel have not been published since July 6. The Ft. Wayne printers at first refused to work overtime, so that no advertising copy could be set. From June 21 until July 6 these newspapers appeared without ads. Then the printers walked out. They accuse the publishers of a lock-out.

In Pittsburgh a three-day strike of the Pittsburgh Press was caused when the Teamsters Union and the paper disagreed on contract procedure over a demand of the truckdrivers to take over delivery of certain papers previously handled by district circulation men.

In St. Louis, the Newspaper Carriers, who recently voted the AFI Paper Carriers Union as its bargaining agent, took a strike vote which may close down the city's three dailies. The union demands the management's recognition of their right to be considered members of a collective bargaining unit.

Another newspaper strike is in progress in Birmingham, Alabama.

# Goodrich Layoffs Violate Contract With Local Union

AKRON, O., July 14 — Threatened lay-offs of three hundred women workers has precipitated a critical situation at the Goodrich rubber company here.

Goodrich Local 5, CIO United Rubber Workers, has in its contract with the company a provision that there shall be no lay-offs until the work week has been reduced to allow transfers. However, the War Manpower Commission, claiming that it cannot relax the 48-hour work week ruling in Akron as long as it is a critical manpower area, has refused to permit a cut in the work week for women to allow the 300 women to transfer into other departments.

CIO members of the War Manpower Commission, Gideon Lowe and George Bass, have demanded a reduction in the work week for women at Goodrich to prevent layoffs.

**PROMISES ACTION**  
John Saylor, Goodrich Local 5 president, stated at a WMC meeting Friday, July 13: "The Goodrich local will put its own work week schedule of 36 hours into effect if the 48-hour week is not relaxed for these women." The union representatives on the WMC declared that "the girls will not work 48 hours while others are laid off."

Area WMC Director Harry C. Markle, however, refused to relax the 48-hour week ruling. "If this is not done it will be the WMC's fault if a strike occurs," Charles McCarter, Goodrich committeeman said at the WMC hearing.

At a previous session of the WMC, Markle stated that the city needed women workers in laundries, household service and other low pay jobs. "If they get hungry enough they'll take those jobs," he said. Then this arrogant, petty dictator, added, "My wife works in a war job, and I need somebody to wash my shirts."

**VOTE FOR DOBB'S & SIMPSON TROTTSKYIST-CANDIDATES IN THE COMING NEW YORK ELECTIONS**

# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

## Want Militant Action

The militant auto workers in Flint, Michigan, are clamoring for a return to the fighting policies that built the CIO United Automobile Workers locals in this area.

Members and leaders of AC Spark Plug Local 651, who have engaged in one big walkout this year, were burned up at the action of the UAW's international board representative, Regional Director Carl A. Swanson, in calling off a request for an NLRB strike vote last week.

Swanson contended that all but two issues were settled at a mediation meeting, but Local 651 officials charged that "absolutely no grievance" was settled. William Rogers, chairman of the shop committee, and the local's president, Archie Myers, publicly voiced defiance of Swanson. Myers stated: "If we must defy the international to have the vote, we'll do it."

Flint auto workers are indignant over the do-nothing policies of the international union leaders. A recent meeting of officers of nine Flint UAW-CIO locals adopted a resolution calling on the UAW leaders to "establish and set in motion at once the necessary procedure for the UAW-CIO to revoke unconditionally its no-strike pledge" and endorsed the resolution of the Detroit Regional Conference demanding that the UAW officers petition for an industry-wide NLRB strike vote to smash the Little Steel formula.

Presidents of four Flint locals have been named as a committee to collaborate with the presidents of the Detroit locals in carrying out the joint demands of the Detroit and Flint auto militants.

**Union-Busting Layoffs**  
When some 2,500 members of the CIO auto workers union returned to work on July 12 after a 16-day strike at the Mack Truck plant in New Brunswick, N. J., the company immediately instituted a big layoff under seniority rules which had provoked the New Brunswick walkout and sympathy strikes of 5,400 other workers at the Mack plants in Allentown, Pa., and Plainfield, N. J.

At the same time, an Army official announced sudden termination of war contracts, effective July 31, which will result in layoffs for some 2,000 workers in the Mack plants by September 1. About 500 workers were fired at the New Brunswick plant at the termination of the strike and 400 more will be laid off in 30 days. Some 850 will be laid off at the Allentown plant by August.

For a year, the Mack company has been stalling the proposed new contract, which provides for a seniority system on a plant-wide basis instead of the old departmental basis. The company had agreed to the new system, but violated its agreement in order to disrupt the union.

Commenting on the company's provocation, the Toledo Union Journal, July 13, noted: "Provoking the workers by unjust firings and petty sniping is on the increase among reactionary managements. One of the best illustrations of this is seen right here in Toledo where the Spicer Co. fired one of its office girls for allegedly being late for work. The strange thing in the Spicer case and similar firings is that it is always the best union members who are discriminated against. It would be strange indeed if the workers did not resent such treatment and retaliate as best they can against the industrial Bourbons."

# SWP BRANCH ACTIVITIES

AKRON — Joseph Andrews, writer of The Militant articles on the Akron strikes, will discuss "The Meaning on the Rubber Strike," Sunday, July 20 at 7 p. m., at the Akron Militant Club, 405 Everett Building, 39 E. Market St.

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

California readers can obtain copies of The Militant and Fourth International and other Marxist books and pamphlets as well as information about the SWP at the following places in the Los Angeles area: LOS ANGELES, Socialist Workers Party, Rooms, 200-05, 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-7936.

Make your reservation now for the WEST COAST VACATION SCHOOL. Situated at the Workmen's Circle Camp, Carbon Canyon, San Bernardino County, it is two miles from Laidla 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.

## Chevrolet Unit Calls For Strike Vote

Toledo, Ohio — The Chevrolet Unit of Local 14, UAW-CIO at their regular meeting held July 8 passed a resolution calling upon the UAW International Executive Board to initiate an industry-wide strike vote under the Smith-Connally Act.

The resolution, already passed by a regional conference in Detroit, and by many local unions, called for a 30-hour week with no reduction in "take-home" pay.

## 'Overwhelming Victory'

CIO President Philip Murray and CIO-PAC Chairman Sidney Hillman seem to be able to talk two ways at once.

Last week these "labor statesmen" issued a joint statement on the occasion of the launching of a "new educational" campaign by the CIO Political Action Committee. "PAC recognizes that while the overwhelming victory won by the democratic forces in the 1944 national election represented a serious setback for the forces of reaction those forces have not been routed."

"On the contrary, and particularly with the defeat of Hitler and the assurance of military victory over Japan, those forces have sharpened their attacks against labor and the people."

It's a peculiar "overwhelming victory" which finds those who received a "serious setback" more firmly in the saddle than ever. During more than eight months since the last national elections, the labor leaders who helped to put this "democratic" Congress in office have not been able to point to a single progressive act by this Congress or administration.

As the saying goes, "one more such victory, and we are lost."

## An Injury to One . . .

With the slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all," 6,500 CIO auto workers at the Spicer Manufacturing Company Toledo, Ohio, walked out on a solid strike when the company fired an office worker who is an active unionist. The firing of the union office girl was a deliberate attempt to intimidate the office workers, whose contract has been stalled for months by the WLB.

Commenting on the company's provocation, the Toledo Union Journal, July 13, noted: "Provoking the workers by unjust firings and petty sniping is on the increase among reactionary managements. One of the best illustrations of this is seen right here in Toledo where the Spicer Co. fired one of its office girls for allegedly being late for work. The strange thing in the Spicer case and similar firings is that it is always the best union members who are discriminated against. It would be strange indeed if the workers did not resent such treatment and retaliate as best they can against the industrial Bourbons."

# SINISTER WALL STREET FORCES IN ATTACK ON THE NEWSPAPER UNIONS

"Once every year the American Newspaper Publishers Association, the House of Lords of our press, meets in secret," declares George Seldes in his book Lords of the Press. In these "closed meetings they discuss ways and means of fighting labor and their own employees who demand higher wages. . . they defend the employment of child labor, they take united action against a Congressional measure which would keep drugmakers from poisoning or cheating the American people, and they gloat over their own strike-breaking department which offers scabs not only to members but to anyone who wants to fight unions."

The current newspaper strikes in New York and elsewhere provide fresh evidence of the truth of the sensational charges leveled by Seldes in his exposure of Big Business control of the American press. As Seldes remarks: "What conspiratorial plans are

made to fight labor at the secret sessions we can judge best by what happens."

Alfred McKee, historian of contemporary journalism, declares flatly that the ANPA "has sometimes been a powerful adjunct in legislative circles to the lobbies of the United States Chambers of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and the trade associations of specific industries."

On the basis of carefully documented investigations, Ferdinand Lundberg charges in his book America's 60 Families: "The journalism of the United States, from top to bottom, is the personal affair — bought and paid for — of the wealthy families. There is little in American journalism today, good or bad, which does not emanate from the family dynasties. The press lords of America are actually to be found among the multimillionaire families." The ANPA is the organ-

ization through which Wall Street engineers its strategy in the newspaper field against the American working class.

The ANPA sets the policy of playing up vicious hate stories directed against racial and national minorities. The ANPA plots the campaign of lies to besmirch the labor movement. The ANPA consistently displays the rapacious American imperialists as benefactors of humanity.

To fight this sinister organization effectively, labor must demand full investigation of ANPA's ties with the power and banking trusts, with the powerful Wall Street oligarchy which dominates the country.

Open up the books of the publishing interests! Track down the sources of the subsidies which give command of the great newspapers of America! Drag Wall Street's secrets into the light of day!

Although the union's central contractual demand for an overall increase of 17 cents an hour is not included in the new contract, the negotiations were an important victory for the three locals involved. Each of the four previous contracts with this bitterly anti-union corporation had been secured only after fourteen to fifteen months of fruitless negotiations followed by War Labor Board arbitration and decisions.

As a result of militant action, including an eleven-day walkout and a unanimous strike vote under the provisions of the Smith-Connally Act, the present contract was secured in twenty-eight days of direct negotiation, free from the hamstringing interference of the WLB.

Now that they have put an end to the company's practice of utilizing WLB arbitration as a weapon against them, the men feel that they are in a far stronger position to preserve and extend their hard-won union conditions in the face of the rapid cutbacks.

# St. Paul Union Demands Pardon For Patterson

ST. PAUL, Minn., July 14 — Local 209, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association, Railroad Department, has gone on record in support of William Patterson, the Pennsylvania coal-miner recently sent to prison under the Smith-Connally anti-strike law. The text of its resolution follows:

WHEREAS: William Patterson, who for 22 years has fought for the interests of his fellow-workers, is locked behind prison bars today and

WHEREAS: Murray, Green and Lewis denounced the Smith-Connally law as a mortal menace to the most fundamental right to strike and

WHEREAS: William Patterson couldn't possibly have worked in

the mine by himself when it was shut down and must therefore be the victim of a plot of the mine-owners to scare stewards and committeemen into giving up the struggle for their just rights

BE IT RESOLVED: That Local 209, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association is against this unfair and unjust violation of a worker's rights and asks the President of the United States to immediately release William Patterson and restore him to his job, home and family.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That copies of this resolution be sent to President Truman, Local 2399, United Mine Workers, Richfield, Pa., and to William Patterson who is in Fayette County Prison, Uniontown, Pa.

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# THE MILITANT

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# Stalinists Tighten Stranglehold On NMU; Force Delegates To O.K. Policy of Betrayal

NEW YORK, July 16 — The fifth convention of the National Maritime Union (CIO) ended last Friday, July 13, after twelve days of "unanimous decisions" which strengthened the organizational grip of the Stalinist leadership with a convention endorsement of the sell-out policies introduced by the national council of the union.

From president Joseph Curran's opening dictate that delegates reaffirm the no-strike pledge to the closing session of the convention, discussion was carefully directed along lines of political support for "labor's friends." The whole tenor of the convention was against independent action by the union. The resolutions adopted embody the idea of labor-management cooperation and bolster the myth of government impartiality.

## WHAT WAS DONE

Thus the convention went on record:

(1) To use every method possible, short of strike to prevent wage cuts by a pressure campaign against the War Labor Board and the War Shipping Administration.

(2) To lobby in Washington for "progressive win-the-war legislation," against "the reactionary dominant bloc in House and Senate, Republicans and Democrats alike."

(3) To call for a conference of government, labor and industry to take initial steps in planning nation-wide reconversion, and create a three-party board which will function throughout the transition period from war to peace.

This "program of political action," proclaimed as "the main weapon in the struggle for seamen's demands for adequate wages and conditions," cannot win the demands it advances. It is a beggar's program.

Legislation asked for by the

NMU includes demands for full employment, job security and controlled prices. These demands in and of themselves are meaningless. The problem facing the entire labor movement is how to win them.

## SUBSERVIENT POLICY

Instead of launching an effective program of independent political action, the NMU convention adopted a policy of political subservience to the ship operators and their government. The legislative program calls for a "realistic Ship Sale Bill" to set "reasonable" prices on government-built and government-owned ships. These ships, turned over to the greedy ship operators at "reasonable" prices, will then be operated at government expense through subsidies provided for in the 1938 Merchant Marine Act.

These same ship operators have already announced that they can use at most only 18½ million tons of the 45-million-ton wartime merchant fleet. Twenty-six and one-half million tons of shipping will go out of commission when the war ends. So far as seamen are concerned the much-touted program for "full employment" will be converted into a scramble for berths on the ships that remain in operation.

## NO REAL PROGRAM

Advancing their own program, the ship operators have already launched an attack upon the maritime unions in conjunction with



CURRAN

the Maritime War Emergency Board.

Proposals that would have prepared the NMU for defensive action against the attacks of the ship operators and their government flunkies in the maritime war boards received no consideration by the convention. Four delegates who voted against the no-strike pledge were forced by the Stalinist machine to change their votes. A suggestion for immediate formation of a Labor Party was withdrawn. Similarly, the idea of government ownership of the maritime industry under control of the union was hesitantly expressed on the convention floor in the form of a proposal for "nationalization," but this, too, was quickly sidetracked.

## Shipping Commission Offices Picketed By Maritime Unions

NEW YORK, July 16 — The week-old picket lines thrown around offices of the War Shipping Administration in every major port in the country and in Washington, D. C. by the National Maritime Union (CIO) were joined by other maritime unions and as the July 15 deadline for bonus cuts passed and the War Labor Board continued to stall on the seamen's wage cases now before it.

These picket lines are part of a publicity campaign to win "public support" for seamen's wage demands. The base wage for an able seaman today is \$100 per month. Wartime bonus rates brought this up to around \$200. The bonus cut which became effective yesterday reduces the seamen's pay-off for the Atlantic Ocean run by approximately 40 per cent.

WANT MINIMUM SCALE

Thus an able seaman now earns little more than \$120 per month. Further cuts in the bonus would bring his earnings back to the base scale of \$100. Figured on an hourly basis, this amounts to 42 cents per hour for a 56-hour week. Seamen are demanding that the War Labor Board adjust their wages in accordance with the 55-cent standard minimum scale.

Pickets are carrying signs which advertise the fact that the maritime unions are not on strike and will not strike. Their only purpose in picketing is to "publicize" the wage case. Leaflets are handed to all passers-by, explaining the seamen's wage demands and urging that letters and wires be sent to WLB chairman George W. Taylor.

Because of the very limited character of this picket line The Maritime War Emergency Board refused to postpone the bonus cut. However this action has forced the WLB to step up its hearings and a decision is expected this week.

STALINIST LINE

Originally the Stalinist leadership of the NMU tried to impose more severe restrictions on the action. The decision to picket was taken at the NMU convention and pickets were to be limited to 15 or 20. Although a motion was passed to call upon other maritime unions for support, no call was sent out to the Seafarers' International Union (AFI).

West Coast Firemen and the Marine Cooks and Stewards joined the picket lines with their own banners last Thursday. These unions brought some signs which exposed the super-profits of the shipping companies, but these have since been removed. Nevertheless the ranks of the pickets have swelled to nearly 200 at the offices of the WSA in the port of New York. The NMU leadership is now threatening a mass picket line.

This sort of public demonstration will likely result in some

adopt two fundamental propositions if it wishes to prevent mass unemployment and the beating down of its living standards to coolie levels:

1. The workers must have a program which, in the interests of the many, deliberately and unhesitatingly over-rides the profit interests of the greedy few;

2. The workers must be prepared to advance that program in independent, united and remorseless class struggle on the economic and political field;

Do the present top labor leaders in this country offer such a program? Are they prepared to fight for it in the only effective manner? Do they have the courage and wisdom to tell the American workers what must be done and to lead the battle for its accomplishment?

(The third article in this series will appear in next week's Militant.)

Whether this limited action benefits seamen even to a small extent is not the major concern of the NMU leadership. They are employing it primarily as a maneuver against the rival SIU. That is why they do not want joint action of the two unions, even though both are affected by the bonus cuts and have identical wage cases before the WLB.

Whatever the outcome of this maneuver, the NMU leadership has a potent argument for all seamen. If the WLB grants a small increase, it will be the result of the NMU demonstration. If the demands are denied, the NMU leadership will place the blame on the do-nothing policies of the SIU.

What the Stalinists in the NMU fear most is that the picket lines will be joined by all seamen and, in the event of a flat rejection by the WLB, develop into full-blown strike action with the aim of tying up the ships until wages are raised.

AKRON, O., July 14 — The militant thirteen-day strike of 16,500 Firestone rubber workers ended today when 3,000 Firestone Local 7 members voted 3 to 1 in a membership meeting to return to work.

By Joseph Andrews

The fight is far from finished. The union is still pressing for a contract with the Firestone Tire and Rubber company. The Local 7 leaders have still to face the inevitable showdown fight with the CIO United Rubber Workers' international officers, who have done everything to split the local's ranks and to break the spirit of the membership during the strike.

The stormy Firestone local meeting met in Goodrich Local 5 hall, while a heavy downpour of rain drenched those who, not finding room in the packed auditorium, crowded the sidewalk. For four hours the workers debated the difficult decision. The most compelling reason for the back-to-work vote was the workers' fear of the consequences of a Navy seizure such as occurred at the Goodyear plants following a 19-day strike.

Disturbance seizure

"What have we to gain by waiting for a Navy seizure?" a shop committeeman asked. "Aren't we better off to go back without the restriction of military control? As a shop committeeman I can go to bat for the workers in my department under company management, but what can I do when the Navy moves in?" It was this justifiable distrust of Navy seizure that convinced a majority of the militant Firestone workers of the necessity for a termination of the strike.

Nevertheless their strike, together with the Goodyear strike, was a magnificent demonstration of defiant courage, and served more than any other strike during the war to unmask both the anti-labor strikebreaking War Labor Board and the cowardly top union officials who have helped provide a cover for the government's anti-labor policy.

The back-to-work vote followed a quick succession of events in which the WLB and the URWA international officers tried to bull-doze the Firestone local leaders into line.

DEFY THE WLB

On July 10 the Firestone strike leaders appeared before the WLB in Washington at a "show cause" hearing, after being subpoenaed. At the hearing the public and labor members of the WLB arrogantly commanded the strike leaders to end the strike. They threatened to take away the union's maintenance of membership and check-off provisions, to take back the liberalized vacation program and night shift bonuses previously granted. They also stated that the Firestone local was without a contract and would have no legal bargaining rights under a Navy seizure.

These threats were met with defiance by the strike leaders. Max Johnstone, the union attorney, speaking for the Local 7 officers, stated, "The Firestone local is serving notice now that it is not going to be beaten by the Firestone company, either with or without the War Labor Board's assistance. If the WLB removes the maintenance of membership and check-off sections of the union contract the dues lines and gate parties we have had in the past will be resumed by Local 7."

The WLB added insult to injury by inviting to appear before them four members of the Firestone bargaining committee as well as the four union officers. This was to give C. L. Richmond, a Dalmatian stooge who consistently opposed the strike, a chance to

## Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalsky

When night falls, the birds glide down to their nests, and the field animals seek the shelter of their little dens. And there was a time, long ago, when men, too, at evening put aside their labor, laid away their tools and lay down to sleep until morning. Yes, there was once a time when men walked abroad in the light of noonday and slept deeply through the night.

But today there are great wheels that turn without stopping for darkness or day. There are immense furnaces that must be tended whether it be light or dark. There are mills and factories that buzz and roar and clang week in and week out from one year to the next without ever ceasing. And there must be men to tend these wheels and furnaces and presses. The machines never stop; and the men bound to them never stop.

If you have never worked on the night shift, you don't know what it means to the worker. If you have, perhaps you recall these things:

Feeling dead tired and sleepy early in the evening, because you know that you must be awake until tomorrow comes to end your shift.

Looking enviously out of the bus windows at the people who lead normal lives, who are out enjoying themselves while you are on your way to the factory, who will be soon returning to their homes, to wives and children, and to bed.

A feeling of resentment, of hatred toward the company, that you should have to stand apart from the ways of normal people, that you must live like a mole in the darkness, like a bat that sleeps all day in a musty belfry.

Joking enviously with the afternoon shift in the locker room: "You're lucky. I've got it all ahead of me!"

Starting the job with a feeling of weakness in your legs that angers you because you know it's just the knowledge of the long night ahead of you that causes the weakness, and not any actual weariness... yet.

Looking out at the black sky occasionally as you work, watching all night long to see the light blue glow and then the dead gray of dawn that doesn't come and doesn't come until sometimes you almost think that there won't be any more day, that there will just be night from this time on throughout all eternity.

The spells, the paroxysms of drowsiness that threaten to conquer you and send you plunging down into the depths of sleep, while you fight painfully to keep awake.

The "night shift taste" in your mouth, which makes your lunch even less appetizing; and the invariable indigestion that follows eating it.

The first glow of dawn that has come up and caught you unawares, because, perhaps, you had finally given it up for lost.

## WEARINESS AT END OF NIGHT SHIFT

The dark bulk of the trestle with its string of lights receding into the distance, and the massive blackness of other buildings and objects that first become apparent in the faint, pre-natal light of the coming day.

The last terrific fight against sleep that comes when night is almost gone.

Then the reawakening of your mind as the dawn swells into day, and the feeling that despite the weariness of your body you will not be able to sleep now that the time for rest is finally coming.

And at last the envious joking of the day shift in the locker room, where they say, "You're lucky. We got it all ahead of us!" And the long bus ride home, tired out as you look out the windows at the people who lead normal lives and are moving briskly about in the sunshine of the new day.

But this is the lot of the worker.

For the great wheels must turn day and night.

And the huge furnaces must be tended in darkness and light. And there must be men to toil in the factories and struggle and sweat both night and day.

For the factories are grinding out profits for the capitalists, profits so great that you and I cannot encompass them in our minds.

That is why the factories cannot be idle at night, and men cannot all sleep at night, but some must go out in the darkness to work.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

JULY 20, 1935

AMSTERDAM — The Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party of Holland registered important gains in many municipal elections, increasing from 16 to 25 the number of posts held by Trotskyists in various administrations.

DETROIT — The American Youth Congress, controlled by the Stalinist party, concluded a 4-day meeting in Detroit with the adoption of a social-patriotic program. The convention marked the second anniversary of the AYC, which included in its ranks representatives of the Young Communist League (Stalinist), Young People's Socialist League (Socialist Party), Spartacus Youth League (Trotskyists and Proletarian Party youth.) The YCL, following the class-collaborationist position of Stalinism on the international arena, viciously attacked all proposals for a revolutionary program against capitalist war. "The answer is clear," wrote The Militant in 1935. "Should the United States enter a multi-lateral pact similar to the Franco-Russian (non-aggression) pact, the YCL stands ready to suspend all activity against a war waged by American capitalism with, possibly, Germany."

## EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA MILITANT Readers' PICNIC

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## Reconversion - II

## MONOPOLY PROFIT INTERESTS SABOTAGE FULL PRODUCTION

By Art Preis

The war has proved once again the material capacity of America to produce plenty for all. But it has also demonstrated that the present economic system, dominated by a handful of big business monopolists, is incapable of providing permanent security and decent living standards for the working people, the vast majority.

For ten years before the war,

the "free enterprise" of American capitalism meant a jobless army of 11,000,000 to 17,000,000 — "one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-clothed." Only under the "forced march" of war could American monopoly capitalism maintain production near capacity — and for only a brief three years.

This was made temporarily possible by the monumental blood sacrifice of more than a million American soldiers; colossal and deliberate destruction of material resources; incalculable drain on the physical energies of American labor; restriction of all prime necessities for living; and a titanic burden of over \$300 billion in war debt.

But not even this "best effort" of American capitalism, in the peak productive years of the war, could provide decent living standards for most of the working people, though it further enriched the biggest capitalists "beyond the dreams of avarice." Here are some facts:

## BARE SUBSISTENCE

A recent wage survey by the Research Division of the CIO, in conjunction with the U. S. Department of Labor, reveals that during the war 37 per cent of the wage-earning population received wages of less than 65¢ an hour — an average of \$19.24 for a 40-hour week. Over half the workers earned total annual incomes below \$1,752. For an average family, this would at present prices, provide a subsistence lower than called for on the WPA Emergency Budget of 1935.

This same study shows that if the present volume of production is continued, but with a shift to the low-wage consumers goods industries, the 1944 total payroll of \$90-billion will be slashed to \$70-billion. Reduced hours resulting in loss of overtime and premium pay, have already sliced other billions from the take-home pay of millions of American workers. So critical is the situation that even Economic Stabilizer William H. Davis, while insisting on continuance of the wage-freeze, has conceded that it will take a general national 40 per cent hourly wage rate increase to compensate for the loss in take-home pay during the "reconversion" period.

But, admit government economists, with the return of 12,000,000 veterans it will take a national annual income of \$200-billion to provide the 60,000,000 jobs needed to prevent mass unemployment in the postwar years. In 1944 — the best production year in American history — the

total income was only \$150 billion.

Where is the mass purchasing power to come from to sustain industry and agriculture even at the present level? The capitalist propagandists have been shouting from the house-tops: "Look at the huge backlog of savings!"

## HUGE PROFITS

Yes, there is indeed such a huge backlog. But in whose hands? The kept press did not feature in headlines a recent Department of Commerce report — and warning — that "there is reason to believe that a relatively large share of cash savings are in the hands of the numerically smaller high-income groups, who may, on the whole be more inclined to retain their savings in the investment markets. For this reason accumulated savings cannot be counted upon as a major determinant of the level of economic activity in the transition period."

Purchasing power, the wage-earners income, is rapidly declining, not increasing. Inflation alone is daily imposing hidden pay cuts on every worker. Soon there will be a vast army seeking jobs — 4,800,000 by October, 1945, according to the conservative estimate of War Production Board Chairman Krug. With the end of the war in the Far Pacific, this number will soar to 19,000,000.

It won't be the workers who will be buying the new autos, television sets, kitchen gadgets, refrigerators with which the corporation advertising copy writers have been tantalizing the people all through the period of war shortages.

The problem which confronts the American people — and one which cannot wait on any distant solution — is full production. Unless all the plants and productive facilities are operated at full capacity, providing goods for the needs of the people, a catastrophic economic breakdown is inevitable.

## WHAT IS REQUIRED

On the very face of it, the mere beginnings of a program for full production and employment require: 1. a drastic reduction in the work week to divide the available work among all who need jobs; and, 2. a steep boost in wage rates to maintain even the present mass purchasing power.

Not even this, however, will touch the nub of the problem. How can mass purchasing power be increased, how can jobs be provided for all, if the capitalists and their government refuse to

permit the vast government-built and government-owned plants to operate? Their intention is to "junk" these plants, to remove them from competition.

Their perspective is to operate industry at the minimum capacity consistent with maintaining their profits. To accomplish this they plan to drive wages down and prices up, to create an army of hungry, desperate, jobless workers willing to sell their labor power at any price, to destroy union conditions and the labor movement.

That is the essence of all the legislation the political agents of Big Business are ramming through Congress.

The greatest, the insurmountable obstacle to full production, full employment and higher living standards is the profit and monopoly interests of the capitalists. The private ownership and control of the means of production and distribution, the exploitation of labor to enrich the few, is a steel straightjacket on full production.

## NO IDLE PLANTS!

No program for full employment and higher incomes can be effective unless it boldly smashes through this basic obstacle to full production — the profit interests of the ruling capitalist few. No program can hope to provide the needed 60,000,000 post-war jobs unless it demands squarely: NO IDLE PLANTS! Don't let the monopolists shut them down! Don't let them get their hands on the government plants built and paid for by the people! Let them be government-owned and operated under the control of the producing class, the workers!

This program, which strikes at the heart of the problem, will inspire savage resistance from the capitalist rulers. They will use their executive committee, the capitalist government, to fight the slightest infringement on their "rights." As they have amply demonstrated, they will never willingly yield to the needs of the great majority. They arrogantly reject even the smallest concessions.

Thus, any program which proposes to invade the preserves of profit and vested privilege is not worth the paper it is written on unless the American labor movement is ready and willing to conduct an all-out, show-down fight to attain it. It won't be handed to labor on a silver platter for the asking. It will be won only in bitter struggle — as every other gain in the past has been won.

American labor, then, must



adopt two fundamental propositions if it wishes to prevent mass unemployment and the beating down of its living standards to coolie levels:

1. The workers must have a program which, in the interests of the many, deliberately and unhesitatingly over-rides the profit interests of the greedy few;

2. The workers must be prepared to advance that program in independent, united and remorseless class struggle on the economic and political field;

Do the present top labor leaders in this country offer such a program? Are they prepared to fight for it in the only effective manner? Do they have the courage and wisdom to tell the American workers what must be done and to lead the battle for its accomplishment?

(The third article in this series will appear in next week's Militant.)



# Southern Bourbon Poll-Tax Congressmen Lynch Fair Employment Practices Committee

(Continued from page 1)

on these other agencies, demanding a roll call vote on FEPC.

## THE AMENDMENT

Finally the House committee reported out the Senate bill but tacked on the following amendment:

"For completely terminating the functions and duties of the Committee on Fair Employment Practices, including such of the objects specified in the appropriation for such agency for the fiscal year 1945 as may be incidental to its liquidation, \$250,000."

Representative Colmer of Mississippi attempted to make this clause the sole one to govern the expenditure of funds. However, it was too raw for the advocates of FEPC who required a face-saving formula to cover their retreat. As the sole clause it was voted down 188 to 116, but was included with the following clauses as part of the final amendment:

"Provided, that if and until the Committee on Fair Employment Practices is continued by an act of Congress, the amount named herein may be used for its continued operation until an additional appropriation shall have been provided:

"Provided further that in no case shall these funds be available for expenditure beyond June 30, 1946."

If the war with Japan should end before that date, FEPC will likewise be summarily ended.

This weasel-worded amendment permits the advocates of FEPC in Congress to claim a "victory."

The clauses, however, are quite clear. The first clause specifies the liquidation of FEPC. The

second clause says the funds MAY BE USED for "continued operation." The "MAY BE" apparently lies within the discretion of the committee itself, which is dominated by friends of the Southern Bourbon congressmen. It is evident that FEPC is dead as a dodo.

The liberal PM, which follows a consistent policy of white-washing the administration, is forced to admit in its July 13 issue: "It is clear that the wartime agency to outlaw job discrimination suffered a substantial defeat."

The killing of FEPC was so raw that neither the House nor the Senate took a roll-call vote. They passed the measure by voice vote, thus preventing the position of individual Congressmen from becoming known to the public. These tools of Big Business who claim to be "representatives of the people" fear to let the people know how they voted!

Even the Republican Party, reactionary as is its record on Jim Crow, was able to make capital out of the debacle. Senator Morse, Republican of Oregon, declared that the amendment was "designed in fact to thwart FEPC" and played "into the hands of those who want to destroy FEPC. . . I do not think my party has lived up to its pledge (concerning the FEPC) in the Chicago Convention; otherwise it would never have accepted this compromise."

The Senator then revealed why it was even a Republican could make political capital out of the death of FEPC: "The record of my party is so much better than that of the other major party

that it should leave no doubt as to what party is standing for the protection of minority rights." When the party of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover can claim a better record than the Democrats, that record must really be bad!

But there are people so low they are willing to whitewash even the Jim Crow record of the Democratic Party. Marcantonio of the American Labor Party declared the "compromise" was satisfactory to him. "We won't even try to amend it," he declared blandly. And then, in direct contradiction to the facts, he concluded: "It leaves no string tied to FEPC. It can go on through the fiscal year."

## STALINIST FAKERS

The Daily Worker official organ of the Stalinists went even further. The July 13 issue hails the amendment as a "smashing defeat for red-baiting, as well as a victory for the right of Negroes, Jews, Mexicans and other minorities to work without discrimination."

The Stalinists have given the Roosevelt regime vociferous support. In the New York election they are now throwing their forces behind O'Dwyer, Democratic candidate for mayor. To justify this support they are willing to go to any lengths in white-washing the Democratic Party. In signaling the FEPC amendment cooked up by the Southern Bourbon Congressmen as a "victory" for racial minorities they are simply following the dictum of Hitler and Stalin that the bigger the lie the more people believe it.

## TROTSKYISTS PREDICTED THE FATE OF THE FEPC

When Roosevelt set up the Fair Employment Practices Committee in 1941, supporters of the New Deal hailed this act as the beginning of the end of racial discrimination and segregation in America. The Roosevelt regime, they claimed, had taken up the battle against Jim Crow.

Even after a two-year test, demagogues in the labor movement still pointed to FEPC as evidence that the Roosevelt regime had championed equality in hiring for the Negro people. James W. Ford, one of the Negro Stalinist leaders, declared for instance in the Daily Worker of April 10, 1943:

"The government has a well-established policy against discrimination of Negro citizens in war industries. That policy was established by President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, issued June 25, 1941. One cannot deny that much has been accomplished in the elimination of job discrimination, that many hundreds of thousands of Negro workers have been put to work in war industries. The Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) was an effective instrument in exposing cases of discrimination and forcing employers to hire Negroes. . ."

## FORETOLD FEPC FATE

Of all the political parties, the Trotskyists alone told the truth about FEPC and correctly foretold its fate. Albert Parker, well known columnist of The Militant, now in the armed forces, wrote as follows in his pamphlet Negroes in the Post-War World, published July, 1943:

"... Executive Order 8802... gave... no powers to force anyone to do anything. The FEPC was set up by Roosevelt to ward off the projected March-On-Washington in the summer of 1941, and was a concession without any teeth in it. The FEPC helped a little by a few open hearings to publicize the scandalous situation in industry, and it prevailed on a few employers to hire some Negro workers. Its ineffectiveness was amply demonstrated when it held a hearing in Birmingham (Alabama) in 1942, where it was more or less openly defied by the Jim Crow employers."

"Despite its impotence, the FEPC was the object of much opposition, especially from the Southern Democratic poll-tax bloc in Washington, who hated it as a symbol of the government's right to 'encroach' in any way on the right of the states to treat the Negroes as they please. This



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order establishing a new FEPC which like its predecessor has no power to abolish Jim Crow in industry. There isn't an informed person in Washington who honestly believes after these developments that the new FEPC will meet a happier end than the old one.

"The fate of the FEPC is a sign of the things to come. To this it should be added, for the benefit of those looking ahead to the postwar period, that the FEPC had authority to investigate only war plants and was never intended to function after the war anyhow."

## ANALYSIS CONFIRMED

This fine analysis of FEPC by the Trotskyist writer, Albert Parker, has been confirmed to the hilt. The Southern Bourbon Congressmen utilized their control over its finances to strangle the FEPC. Although the Committee will still exist on paper for a short period, its sole real activity will be to carry out its own liquidation. Thus, far from using the FEPC to end Jim Crow, the government did just the opposite; it plotted with the advocates of Jim Crow to end the FEPC. The lesson for the Negro people is clear. If trust is placed in a reactionary government to end discrimination, the battle is lost from the start. Only through militant struggle can even the mildest concessions be gained.

## GOOSE COOKED

"But the goose of the FEPC had already been cooked in spite of these typically Rooseveltian assurances. A month later Jim Crow scored another victory in Washington when Mc Nutt, against the expressed wishes of the FEPC members, suddenly called off an already scheduled hearing on discriminatory employment policies of the railroads, a hearing which Negro leaders had described as a 'key test' of Mc Nutt's attitude toward the Negro."

"In the four months after this, the FEPC achieved absolutely nothing: some of its members resigned; Roosevelt promised, again after many protests had been made, that the railroad hearings would be held after all; Mc Nutt and Attorney General Biddle called a number of organizations to a conference to suggest means of reconstituting and strengthening the FEPC; Mc Nutt explained many times after that conference that the delay in further action was due to the difficulty in getting a new chairman for the agency. Finally a new chairman was secured, Mr. Francis J. Haas, dean at Catholic University which has barred Negro athletes from its track meets, and on May 27, 1943, Roosevelt issued a new executive

## Modern Welding And the Welder

The greatest teachers of the working class — Marx, Lenin and Trotsky — have pointed out that lessons of theory are to be gleaned from various processes, whether they occur in nature, society or the mind. This point is excellently illustrated by an article on welding which appeared in The April 1945 Fourth International. The whole approach of the author is a clarification of how, in the common industrial processes, work in which millions are engaged, theoretical questions are at bottom involved. An extract follows:

"When I was a school kid, there was a sentence in Brigham and McFarland's big geography book that held real charm for me. I read it again and again, and unconsciously memorized it: 'A man can stand within the shortest distance of the hottest bonfire, but he seeks the shade of a tree to escape the heat which has traveled 93 million miles.'"

"On entering the factory workshop I was confronted by a far more amazing example of the same phenomenon. I saw a man guide a six thousand degree flame — a temperature comparable to that of the sun itself estimated at 11,000 degrees F. — across a piece of metal with a little 3,000 degree pool of molten iron under the flame, that cooled each moment, as the flame traveled on, to a solid red heat of 1200 degrees, and then more slowly to 'normal.' And all this time, if he was working on sheet metal, he used his bare hands, bracing himself with one hand on the metal only a few inches from this terrific heat. This seeming paradox need only to be clearly stated to be grasped. The quantity of heat is one thing while its quality is something else again. For example, a cupful of boiling water will make hardly more than a dent in a 25 pound cake of ice. But place this ice in a tub of lukewarm water and it will quickly disappear."

From the article Modern Welding and the Welder, in **FOURTH INTERNATIONAL** for April 1945.

discontented an escape from their misery. But in reality, the working class showed itself incapable of leading the way. Instead it was fascism which exploited the discontent of these various social strata, aroused them against the organized proletariat, and what is worse, succeeded in detaching from organized labor certain proletarian groups.

(From "Fascism and Big Business," by Daniel Guerin, pp. 27-28. Pioneer Publishers, 1939).

## The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

## An Open Letter to Negro Communists

Comrades:

Every Negro who proudly calls himself a Communist — who believes that communism is the only hope for Negro equality and for working-class security, who hopes and works for the abolition of the rule of the "Sixty Families" and for the establishment of the Socialist United States of America where exploitation and racial discrimination would be public crimes numbers one and two — every such Negro, if he belongs to the Communist (Stalinist) Political Association, has an immediate duty to perform.

Whether you carry out this task now may well mean the difference between victory and defeat of all you strive for — the difference between Negro liberation under Socialism or Negro extermination under American fascism. Important as it is, it is not a hard job but an easy one; not a dirty job but a refreshing one.

## DECIDE NOW!

Your job, comrades, is to honestly and conscientiously review and reevaluate the program and tactics of your party and decide now whether, as genuine Communists, you are in the right party or the wrong party. You must make this reevaluation not in the prejudiced sense of friendship ties or blind loyalty to the CPA, but in the impartial light of hard facts and loyalty to the revolutionary socialist program.

The Stalinist party, as we pointed out last week, no longer comes up to the qualifications of a revolutionary party. The name 'communist' in this case is a treacherous misnomer. Many honest Negro militants are still being duped into believing that this party really means to lead the workers of the world to power.

The Stalinists in America are pursuing a reformist, not a revolutionary socialist policy. They are not out to destroy the outworn capitalist system but to patch it up. They resemble the discredited Social Democrats of Germany who were responsible for the failure of the German revolution after World War I.

## REFORMIST POLICIES

Cooperation with the "progressive" capitalists, supporting the imperialist war, accepting the paralyzing no-strike pledge, advising against militant, mass protests in the struggle for Negro rights, supporting the Roosevelt and Truman administrations of Big Business profiteering and of Jim Crow armies — all these are reformist policies. Furthermore, regardless of the new fake "turn" to the left, the Stalinists are still backing in their new resolution each of the policies listed above. What kind of a fight for Communism is that? What real Communists in the rank and file can be expected to support such a program of betrayal?

Why does your leadership take such a course? The Trotskyists — the real Communists — have pointed out for years that the world Stalinist parties are only a pawn in the counter-revolutionary diplomacy of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. They masquerade in the guise of revolutionists but they are always — as in Italy, Belgium and Greece — ready, by their cooperation with the Allied imperialists or in other ways, to kill the revolution when push comes to shove. They do this because they know that the world revolution would also mean the return to workers' democracy in the Soviet Union and therefore an end to the parasitic domination of Stalin and his bureaucracy. The Stalinist leaders understand their task and are working toward it. Can you say the same?

## LENIN'S VERDICT

When the Second International turned patriotic as a result of the pressure of the last War Lenin pronounced it dead and went on to form the Third. Wake up to the fact that the Third International is dead as far as the fight to overthrow capitalism is concerned! Only the Fourth International can lead the coming progressive social overturn.

To quote The Militant of June 16: "The Socialist Workers Party and the world Trotskyist parties are the only workers' organizations which can hold their heads high with pride in their unsullied banner. We are the only organization which pursued a Marxist — Leninist policy throughout the war in the great tradition of Liebknecht and Lenin. Ours was the only true struggle against fascism; ours was the only true defense of the USSR. Not for a moment did we suspend the revolutionary socialist struggle. We did not tell any lies about the character of the war. We told only the truth. We tirelessly exposed the deception of the Stalinists, the Social Democrats and all other flunkies of imperialism. For this 18 of our leaders were thrown into prison. But our party was not destroyed, not even weakened. It grew stronger under persecution and is now rallying more and more revolutionary militants under its banner of uncompromising struggle against the rotten system of capitalism with its wars, its poverty, its oppression."

Dark-skinned comrades within the Stalinist snare: You will have to answer in the future not only to the workers as a whole, but especially to the doubly-oppressed Negro people. The social-patriotic reformists of yesterday are scorned today; while Lenin, the "fanatical" revolutionist, is revered by the world's workers. You can be hero or heel. The Negro workers will decide tomorrow which choice YOU made today.

Yours for Getting There

CHARLES JACKSON

## Midwest Vacation School Students Learn Marxism, Enjoy Happy Time

The second week of the Midwest Vacation school was as big a success as the first in the opinion of the more than twenty workers and students who attended.

Serious study alternated with indoor and outdoor recreation in providing an interesting and enjoyable week of relaxation from the grind of everyday work. Classes were held in the mornings from 9:30 'til 12:30 and the remainder of the day was left open for the comrades to engage in all sorts of sports from swimming and rowing to softball and badminton. In the evening groups of workers gathered in the recreation hall to play ping-pong, chess and checkers, to dance, and

very often to engage in informal political discussions.

The food was varied, well-cooked, and served in prodigious quantities. One comrade was heard to "complain": "Meat, meat — every day the same thing!"

Four classes were held in all, two at the same time. During the first hour-and-a-half Wm. Warde taught a group in the Marxist philosophy of Dialectical Materialism while Mac Jagersoll led the less experienced students in a basic Marxism course. During the second period George Collins led a class through the history of the Fourth International with special emphasis on the growth of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. At the same time War-

den Croel instructed a large number of comrades in the principles of Marxist economics.

Workers attending the school came from many different parts of the country. A large number were from New York, including several from the Trotskyist Youth Group. There were also representatives from Toledo, Akron, Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis and Seattle.

Many comrades expressed a desire to return to the camp later in the summer, and some are planning to do so. Any worker who can possibly get the time to do so should join these advanced fighters for socialism for at least a week of study and recreation at the Midwest Vacation School.

## Open-Air Lakeside Class at Vacation School



Students and teacher enjoy an outdoor class at the Grass Lake, Michigan Midwest Vacation School. Here, on the beautiful shoreline of the sparkling lake, William F. Warde leads a discussion on Marxist philosophy.

## Pioneer Notes

Thousands of new readers of The Militant are following the accounts of the national tour of Grace Carlson who is speaking, from first-hand experience, on the subject "Women in Prison" to branches of the Socialist Workers Party throughout the country. Many of the new readers have been able to attend the meetings at which Comrade Carlson has spoken and to make the acquaintance of the sole woman among the 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders who were imprisoned in the Minneapolis Labor Case.

It is timely to call to the attention of new readers the pamphlets which have been put out by Pioneer Publishers on the Minneapolis trial, the major case during the war involving rights of labor and freedom of speech which resulted in the imprisonment of Grace Carlson and the 17 other fighters for the working class. Four pamphlets, in an attractive box under the title of **The Case for Socialism**, are being sold at the special price of 25 cents. The pamphlets are **Socialism on Trial** by James P. Cannon, **In Defense of Socialism** by Albert Goldman, **Who Are the 18 Prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case?** and **Why We Are in Prison**.

**Socialism on Trial** is the official court record of James P. Cannon's testimony in the Minneapolis trial. A dramatic primer of the revolutionary movement, this testimony covers a wide range of Marxist theory. Never before have the ideas and program of socialism been so systematically presented in a capitalist court. In **In Defense of Socialism** is the official record of the final speech for the defense by Albert Goldman who was defense attorney as well as one of the defendants.

**Who Are the 18 Prisoners con-**

## Plan "Militant" Picnic In Eastern Pennsylvania

PHILADELPHIA, Penn. — Delegates from the three Eastern Pennsylvania branches of the Socialist Workers Party met Sunday, July 8 to launch plans for a Militant Readers' Picnic to be held all day Sunday, August 4 at the Stump Farm in Quakertown, Pennsylvania. The 30-acre Stump Farm is very close to the "Lib-

erty Bell" Station 84. A cold, clear pool and spring brook in a beautiful grove, with fields for games and ample parking space, make this an ideal picnic spot.

There are hundreds of new Militant readers in the Allentown Quakertown - Reading - Philadelphia area. Here they will be able to become better acquainted with each other and meet those who are helping to make The Militant the leading workers' paper in America. As many as possible of the Militant readers near by will be personally invited to join in the day's outing.

Plans call for a sports program for children and adults. Refreshments and food will be provided at low prices that cover only expenses. Admission will be free.

Readers wishing further information or those who wish to help distribute tickets may write to: Picnic Chairman, care of Labor Forum, 405 W. Girard Ave., Philadelphia 23, Pa.

## Pioneer Paragraphs

## FASCISM USES MIDDLE CLASS TO ESTABLISH ITS MASS BASE

Fascism is not born solely from the desire and subsidies of capitalist magnates. "To declare," Silone observes truly, "that these organizations are only a diabolic invention of finance capital, wishing to preserve its rule, is not enough for an understanding of the nature of these forces which rise from the depths of society."

Doubtless, in the beginning, when they are still playing merely the role of "anti-labor militia," the fascist bands recruit many adventurers with the mentality of mercenaries. But as fascism orientates itself towards the conquest of power and becomes a great mass movement, the motives that bring to it thousands of human beings become more complex and require painstaking analysis. The capitalist magnates could never, in spite of all their

gold, have "set marching" such human forces if the masses had not previously been in a state of instability and discontent that conditioned them for conquest.

As a matter of fact, in Italy as in Germany, the various social layers intermediate between big capitalist bourgeoisie and organized proletariat, who were victims of both the developments and the crisis of capitalism, were profoundly discontented with their condition, material as well as moral. They dreamed of a radical change. At once the question arises: why did they not turn to socialism? No doubt a number of clashing interests and certain antipathies separated them from the organized proletariat. But these conflicts would have been surmounted if the revolutionary proletariat had opened up for the

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# Socialist Workers Party's Fighting Platform For The Election Campaign In New York City

## PREAMBLE

This year's municipal elections are perhaps the most important in the history of New York. The postwar depression, now looming on the horizon, will sweep through the country's largest city with devastating effect. Already sky-rocketing prices, staggering taxes, and frozen wages have cut deeply into the standard of living of the people. Shortages are growing. Rationing is becoming more unbearable. The black market is tightening its stranglehold.

Mass lay-offs are now under way. Wage slashes are in store for those who manage to hang on to their jobs. Compulsory arbitration and government strikebreaking are on the order of the day.

### What Does the Future Hold?

Millions of workers in uniform returning to their homes will find, not 60,000,000 jobs, but a permanent army of conscripts and a vast army of unemployed. Heroes today, will they face the same future as the veterans of World War I: Hoovervilles, tear gas, police clubs?

What do the capitalist political parties in New York offer the workers as a solution to their burning problems? They offer political stooges of Wall Street, hand-picked in smoke-filled back rooms by the bosses of New York's corrupt political machines!

The Tammany-dominated Democratic Party represents the real estate corporations, the wealthy merchants and the Wall Street plutocrats. Tied in with vicious rackets, Tammany Hall—graft-ridden, rotten and venal—has long been a by-word for the worst in city politics. Wall Street politicians running on a so-called "reform" ticket have promised again and again to clean out this sink of corruption. But Tammany Hall simply draws back into the shadows, manipulates behind the scenes, and plots a comeback. This year Tammany Hall is maneuvering to take over the city administration once more.

### There Are No Real Differences

The Republican flunkies of the Wall Street bankers have no real differences with Tammany Hall. Their perspective, too, is another depression, permanent conscription and a Third World War. The Hoover-Dewey-Goldstein machine lays claim to office solely as a more efficient executor of Wall Street's program.

The American Labor Party at one time represented the hope of New York workers for an independent party that would fight the Wall Street political machines. The large vote cast for the ALP in past elections came from workers seeking an independent voice in city politics. They have been cruelly betrayed by the ALP leaders. These treacherous politicians lined up in the camp of LaGuardia. They supported LaGuardia despite his having turned the police on strikers and unemployed demonstrators. They supported him

despite his refusal to bargain collectively with city employees. They supported him despite one of the worst scandals ever uncovered in New York—LaGuardia's payment of hundreds of millions of dollars to the transport companies for the city's own subways!

And now the ALP leaders have formed an unholy alliance with Tammany Hall in this election. In a sordid evil-smelling back room deal, they agreed to throw their support to O'Dwyer—fresh proof that they are captives of the Wall Street political machines.

### Dirty Role of the Stalinists

The Stalinists, organized in the Communist Political Association, have played an especially dirty role. In 1941 they supported LaGuardia, joining the Social Democrats in swinging the ALP along with them. They painted O'Dwyer in that election as a follower of the "divisive Hitler technique." Among O'Dwyer's supporters they listed "the Coughlinites," "Beobachter," the official organ of the New York Bund, and the "Tammany corruptionists," who for window dressing nominated "O'Dwyer, a tiger washed and ironed into the shape of a crusading District Attorney."

Now, in the 1945 elections, the Stalinists are supporting this very same Tammany "tiger"! The Daily Worker even says O'Dwyer was "always close to labor!"

The Liberal Party is controlled by the Social Democrats and plays just as miserable a role as the ALP. This party, too, received a large working class vote in the last election, clear proof that the workers of New York are sick and tired of capitalist politics and want an independent labor party. But the heads of the Liberal Party launched this organization in the first place through a split from the ALP that had no justification in principle. They did not consult the rank and file. They did not abide by majority decision. They were concerned with posts, not the principles of independent working class political action. They never really wanted to build an independent labor party. They split in order to free their hands for shady deals with capitalist candidates; in many cases the very same candidates supported by the ALP. In this election the Liberal Party has been converted into the tail of the Republican elephant.

The worker who wants independent political representation, and who intends to voice this need and demand, can do so only by voting for the Trotskyist candidates. The Socialist Workers Party has become the major political force carrying on the fight for independent working class political action. A vote for any of the capitalist candidates is simply a vote thrown into the sewer of boss class politics. A vote for the Trotskyist candidates, on the other hand, is a powerful blow for labor's independent political action!

## Ten-Point Platform of the Trotskyist Candidates

### 1. For Independent Working Class Political Action!

City politics are doomed to remain the monopoly of corrupt political machine bosses until the workers organize their own independent party. All the gains made by labor through decades of struggle will be menaced by the Wall Street sharks until the working class voters put in office their own representatives. The worst crime of the ALP and Liberal Party is their support of Wall Street candidates. This is the politics of company unionism! If the workers of New York City become organized on the political field as they have in industry, they can fill the municipal posts with men and women who really represent the interests of labor. Think how much easier it would be to safeguard the interests of the workers when the postwar depression paralyzes the city!

Break Wall Street's grip on City Hall! Build an independent Labor Party!

### 2. Full Employment and Job Security For All Workers and Veterans!

The capitalist politicians promised 60,000,000 jobs after the war. But even before the return of the bulk of the men in the armed forces, unemployment is growing by leaps and bounds. When the hundreds of thousands of workers coming back from the battlefields ask for work will they be answered with police clubs and tear gas?

A working class administration in the world's richest city can do a great deal to provide jobs for everyone. It can institute a program of public works. It can set up a sliding scale of hours for all city employees and for all city projects. It can join with the unions to force the employers to institute a sliding scale of hours. It can put pressure on Congress for federal legislation to provide a sliding scale of hours everywhere.

Spread the work by reducing the number of hours each man spends on the job—but with no reduction in take-home pay!

During conversion to peace-time production, the government protects the profits of the bosses. But the workers are to be left to starve. The workers' income must be insured during this critical period! Let the municipal government of America's largest city utilize all its power during conversion to force the employers to keep

every worker on the payroll at his full rate of pay!

### 3. Operate Government-Built Plants Under Workers' Control!

Industry in the New York area expanded enormously as a result of war production. Government funds built new plants and increased the capacity of old ones. The capitalist candidates remain completely silent while Wall Street takes over these plants and improvements financed out of taxes from the pockets of the poor. Factories Wall Street doesn't want are being closed down. These plants could produce peace-time goods in vast quantities.

End the dire shortage in household goods! Operate the idle factories!

Trotskyist candidates in office will use the power entrusted to them to combat the profit-hungry capitalists who plot to limit and throttle production. As an effective over-all check on the activities of these capitalists, the Trotskyist candidates call for workers' control of production. Exercised through democratically-elected committees, workers' control would prevent the capitalist management from sabotaging production. The committees would check the books, investigate the secret deals and understandings of the bosses, and reveal how much profits are really being drained into the bank accounts of the stockholders. These committees would powerfully reinforce the unions in defending the interests of the employees against vindictive action by the management.

### 4. Full Equality For Negroes and National Minorities. Down with Jim Crow!

The record of the boss political machines in New York is one of lies and broken promises to the Negro people. Harlem is one of the worst slum areas in the country. Under the rule of the capitalist politicians, Negroes are segregated in crowded districts where they are compelled to live under inhuman conditions. Protected by the capitalist politicians, landlords impose outrageous rents for dangerous firetraps; and merchants jack up the prices for food and clothing of inferior quality. They know the segregated Negroes cannot easily go elsewhere. On top

of this, race hatred, secretly fostered by the capitalist politicians, creeps through the city like a deadly plague.

Despite all the glib promises of the boss politicians to utilize the power of their offices to establish fair employment practices, once elected they tear up their promises as so much campaign propaganda and lend aid and comfort to the Negro-haters and Jew-baiters. Negroes are forced into the most menial low-paid jobs. When lay-offs come, they are the first to be kicked into the streets.

Defend the Negroes' right to decent jobs at decent wages! Fight segregation and discrimination everywhere! Make democracy a reality in New York!

A vote for the Trotskyist candidates is a vote for genuine struggle to kill Jim Crow!

### 5. Full Recognition for the Rights of the War Veterans!

The New York bankers and capitalists are carefully preparing for the return of the armed forces. As the veterans seek to change the unbearable conditions of the postwar world, Wall Street hopes to turn them against racial and national minorities, poison them against the labor movement and organize them into reactionary fascist-like gangs.

Through its control of the city administration, Wall Street hopes it can make New York a model for other would-be fascists like Mayor Hague of Jersey City and thus set in motion powerful forces that could crush the labor movement in America.

The workers of New York, on the other hand, can inspire the whole country with a model example of the right way to greet the returning veterans. First of all, the labor movement should help them organize in the fight for their rights. A gain for the war veterans is a gain for labor! And the other way around!

At the beginning of the war the government took over big hotels to house the draftees. Now let the city administration take over the big hotels, the swank apartments, the million-dollar mansions to provide immediate housing for the war veterans and their families!

Billions were spent to feed and clothe the draftees. Now let the city administration do its part for the war veterans by providing them jobs at decent wages through an adequate program of public works!

The Trotskyist candidates believe the trade unions should fight for the rights of the war veterans as a vital issue. Vote against capitalist maneuvers to exploit the veterans! Vote for candidates who will defend the interests of the veterans! Make the struggle for veterans' rights a union fight in this election!!

### 6. Safeguard the Workers' Standard of Living!

The LaGuardia administration promised to keep down the cost of living in line with the promises of the Washington bureaucrats. What colossal hypocrisy! It was LaGuardia who levied a city sales tax for the first time in New York's history. The capitalist candidates seeking to succeed LaGuardia are silent about this tax levied against the poor. That means they support it and intend to continue it!

Prices in New York have skyrocketed beyond the reach of the average family. Instead of fighting these price rises, the capitalist politicians have protected the profiteers. Instead of helping the workers to increase wages to meet the rising cost of living, the boss political machines have fought tooth and nail to keep wages frozen. Among the lowest paid sections of workers are those employed by the city itself, the teachers, librarians, firemen, transit, sanitation, hospital and park workers.

To preserve the standard of living, let the city administration begin by instituting a sliding scale of wages for its own employees! Wages should and must rise automatically with the rising cost of living!

The black market in New York is one of the worst in the nation. Despite all the blown-up promises of the capitalist politicians to do something, every working class family in the world's richest city is getting less and less food. LaGuardia has promised over and over again to end the acute meat shortage with trainloads of meat. Instead, meat is rapidly becoming a luxury available only to the rich on Park Avenue and Riverside Drive, who can afford private locker refrigerators or dine in swank restaurants.

Smash the black market system protected by the Wall Street politicians! Organize consumers' committees to check prices and stop the diversion of goods into the black market! Neighborhood committees of housewives, and committees of union members, can start by calling on the small grocer and butcher. If the small man is not responsible, they can enlist his aid to reach the sinister black market higher-ups.

Bad as the housing shortage was in New York when the Second World War began, it has since steadily worsened. Rents have long been notorious as the highest in the country. Landlords are now raising them still higher by cutting down on services and chiseling on rent controls. The city administration could ease this intolerable situation by an adequate program of housing projects. Expand housing in ratio to growing population needs! Replace the slums and fire-traps in the Lower East Side, Harlem and other areas with modern low-rent apartments! Make work for the building trades! Build homes instead of bombers!

Fathers in the armed forces and mothers in factories cannot easily give adequate care to children left at home. Let the city administration build and operate neighborhood nurseries staffed by trained child specialists and nurses. Let the city safeguard and properly care for

children left at home by working mothers!

Scandal after scandal has exposed the insufferable conditions in the city-administered hospitals. Woefully under-staffed, the hospitals cannot possibly give decent care to patients. Appropriations are so low that not even proper food can be provided, let alone proper medical care. In many wards insanitary conditions prevail. Recent exposures prove the city hospitals must be overhauled from top to bottom, new buildings added to existing facilities, and the staffs expanded.

### 7. Modernize the Subway System!

Transportation in New York has deteriorated steadily. The elevated lines torn down at the beginning of the war for scrap iron have not been replaced by new subway lines. Equipment already dangerously run down when LaGuardia took over the subway lenses from the private companies, is worn out. Wrecks endangering the lives of thousands of passengers can occur at any time! Public safety requires immediate replacement of all worn-out equipment. It is high time to junk the antiquated cars still in use and install modern, noise-proof, air-conditioned trains!

Expand transportation to eliminate dangerous congestion! Put the Transport Workers Union in charge of overhauling the transport system! No one knows better than the subway workers what is required! Operate the subways under control of the subway workers!

Between election years, the boss politicians have many times proposed raising the five-cent fare to ten cents. They are strangely silent about this when they ask the voters to put them in office. But so long as these politicians have a monopoly of city politics and are free to carry on their back room deals, the five-cent fare will not be safe. They let private companies bleed the subway system white and then paid them hundreds of millions of dollars for the leases. That is the only reason the subways do not show a huge profit on the books!

### 8. Tax the Rich, Not the Poor!

Big Business has rolled up the most phenomenal profits in all history! The merchants, landlords and bankers of New York have made their greatest financial gains since the First World War. But the boss politicians have placed the staggering burden of taxation on the working people. The city sales tax is wrung out of the poor. On top of this outrageous tax, the lower wage brackets have been shouldered with grievous income taxes that slash heavily into the family budget. Wall Street reaps bloodstained profits from the battlefields while the poor are forced to pay the terrible costs of imperialist war. Tammany Hall, the Republicans and all the rest of the political agents of the rich seek office in order to perpetuate this ruthless system.

Abolish the city sales tax! Levy a heavy tax on the greedy real estate interests. Petition Congress to abolish all taxes on incomes below \$5,000 a year! Demand confiscation of all war profits!

### 9. Make New York a 100 Percent Union City!

Trotskyist candidates in office would foster trade unionism, utilizing their power to break up the employer-police-court combination. Above all they would see that the city administration itself recognized the principles of unionism. For the first time the city employees would be able to break the deadlock in their relations with the city administration. Trotskyist candidates recognize not only collective bargaining but the right to strike.

Throughout the city, the trade unions have been tied hand and foot by the no-strike pledge. But the bosses never kept their side of the agreement to freeze prices and share the burdens of the war. Instead, their political representatives froze wages and let prices shoot skyward as profits poured into the bank vaults.

It is time to put union men in office who will represent the workers in labor disputes! Free the trade unions from the shackles forged by Big Business!

### 10. For a Socialist Society!

Capitalism has given mankind the agony of two world wars in a quarter of a century. Big Business now wants permanent conscription in preparation for a Third World War. So long as capitalism endures, depressions, unemployment, hunger and war will ravage the world. Only by taking industry out of the hands of the greedy profiteers and organizing it rationally according to the needs of the people is further progress possible.

The fate of civilization depends on the working class taking power and establishing a Workers' and Farmers' government. In this mighty struggle the workers of New York can play a leading part. By setting out on the road of independent political action, they will by their example encourage the workers throughout the country. That is why this New York election is of great importance! That is why a vote for the Trotskyist candidates will bring closer the socialist society of peace, plenty and prosperity for all!

READ  
"THE FOURTH  
INTERNATIONAL"

## N. Y. Trotskyist Candidates



Louise Simpson, 21-year-old member of the ILGWU, the Trotskyist candidate for New York City Council, and Farrell Dobbs, editor of *The Militant*, who is the Trotskyist candidate for mayor. Their platform appears in full on this page of *The Militant*.



By V. Grey

We were working the four to twelve shift last week. One night when it was raining, a little bunch of us stood at the outside door of the washroom where it opens into the driveway. It had been awful hot and we were trying to enjoy the rain a couple of minutes before going back to work.

Over across from us, maybe a quarter of a mile, the strip mill stands. A flash of heat lightning broke from the clouds right over it, and a big clap of thunder came a second later. "Gee" Shorty said, "It looks just like a bomb dropped on the strip mill, doesn't it?"

Slim thought a minute, and he said "Yeah. I was just thinking we're lucky not to be Japanese steel workers tonight. If a couple of bombs hit this mill how could any of us escape?"

Nobody said anything. But when you're standing in the dark after working hard your thoughts are clearer, somehow. And they seem to just slide out of you.

### Japanese Steel Workers Are Like Us

When you stop to think of it; there they are just like us working in the heat—sweating their heads off for Bethlehem-steel or whatever the Japanese steel corporation's name is. Their wages and conditions are ten times worse than ours. And maybe they can't even take a minute after lunch to look at the rain.

Johnny Dylek said, "That's who always gets it in a war—the working people." Johnny is Polish. His aunt and uncle haven't been heard from since 1940.

"And the worst of it is they don't have anything to do with it either," Shorty added. "I mean they didn't start it," he said, realizing that it is the working people after all who have to fight the wars for their bosses.

So we got talking about different little things—how Johnny had a letter from his brother in Silesia. And his brother was sore because he couldn't talk to any Germans. And he couldn't talk to any Polish refugees either. How he had a Polish girlfriend that he couldn't see any more, and a lot of other things.

That reminded Shorty of a letter from his cousin in Belgium. His cousin wrote him how the American officers were getting to be pretty nasty. "Just like Stebbins," his cousin said. And Stebbins was the general foreman we used to have, who was a little swagging dictator. A regular Hitler.

### Things You're Not Supposed to Think About

"It's the same in the Pacific," Slim said. "Only you don't hear about it because they still censor the mail there. And the movies and everything else want to keep your mind on the fighting. You're not supposed to think of anything but how many boys get killed. You're not supposed to think of WHY they get killed."

"The only people that win on either side," Tony said, with his face getting dark, "are the goddamned capitalists. And that's the truth."

Another heat-lightning flash came over the strip mill and made us think of the bombings in Japan again.

"But what are you going to do?" Shorty said. "Hirohito and all the Japanese capitalists have got those people hypnotized. Look at the suicide attacks and all that."

"Maybe," Slim said after a long minute. "Maybe they have—but if we can think like this and talk like this, I bet the Japanese steelworkers can think and talk the same."

## New York Mass Meeting THE DOWNFALL OF BROWDER



J. P. CANNON

HEAR  
**JAMES P. CANNON**  
National Secretary, SWP

Other Speakers:

### TROTSKYIST CANDIDATES IN NEW YORK ELECTIONS

**Farrell Dobbs**  
Editor of *'The Militant'*  
For MAYOR of NEW YORK

**Louise Simpson**  
Member of ILGWU  
For CITY COUNCIL

**Friday, August 3, 8 P. M.**  
**WEBSTER HALL**  
119 E. 11th Street (between 3rd and 4th Avenues)



# Socialist Workers Party Opens Fund Campaign To Help Persecuted Trotskyists In Europe

## International Solidarity Fund

### SCOREBOARD

BRANCH	Quota	Paid	Percent
Reading	\$25	\$25	100
Newark	100	43	43
Allentown-Quakertown	60	22	37
San Francisco	375	134	36
Youngstown	85	20	24
Philadelphia	125	19	15
Chicago	500	53	11
Akron	75	0	0
Bayonne	100	0	0
Boston	125	0	0
Buffalo	125	0	0
Cleveland	75	0	0
Detroit	400	0	0
Los Angeles	750	0	0
Milwaukee	30	0	0
New York	1000	0	0
N. Y. Youth Group	15	0	0
Pittsburgh	25	0	0
Rochester	15	0	0
St. Louis	25	0	0
San Diego	25	0	0
Seattle	350	0	0
Toledo	100	0	0
Twin Cities	250	0	0
Members-at-Large and Friends	245	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$5,000</b>	<b>\$316</b>	<b>6</b>

## Vote Trotskyist!

### In the Coming New York Elections

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

#### HANDS OFF THE EUROPEAN AND COLONIAL PEOPLES!

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

## Hungry Prisoners

Kansas farmers are complaining that War Department food allotments for German prisoners-of-war, now being employed on private work, are so skimpy that the prisoners cannot do a "full day's work" because of loss of weight.

L. C. Aicher, superintendent of a private agricultural experiment station at Fort Hays, Kansas, complained in a letter to Rep. Frank Carlson that it was "the Army's business" if it was to punish POW's "for what happened in Europe," but Aicher was concerned for the Kansas farmers who were "paying good money for prisoners and then not getting a day's work out of them."

(Continued from page 1)

cution at the hands of the British imperialist police.

Our Trotskyist co-thinkers abroad are compelled to endure not merely starvation and disease, which is the plight of the peoples of the world following the war, but they are singled out for special persecution. They are thrown into jail and their press is suppressed because they dare tell the truth, because theirs is the only program that would put an end to misery, the only program that points the road to a brighter future.

Yet the Trotskyists in all countries manage to carry on heroically despite persecution and oppression. They answer every blow descending upon them with intensified activity, with ever greater determination to build the parties of revolutionary socialism. The most effective aid which can be given to them right now is financial assistance. It is the elementary duty of every class-conscious militant to make all possible efforts to lend this assistance as promptly as possible. We appeal to all readers of The Militant for support in this campaign.

Buffalo: "The branch has accepted its \$125 quota and the full amount has already been pledged by the comrades and friends. We will send it in as quickly as we can collect it."

Chicago: "We accept our quota of \$500 and we can assure you it will be sent in in good time."

Detroit: "We expect to meet our quota of \$400 on the International Solidarity Fund by Sept. 1st."

San Francisco: "Enclosed is our first contribution of \$134 toward the International Solidarity Fund. Of this sum \$39 was raised through a collection taken at our July 1 forum, the balance through pledges paid up at once. We are sure that we will reach our quota."

Seattle: "Seven trade unionists are assessing themselves \$30 per person for the International Solidarity Fund. We ought therefore to raise the rest of our quota without too much trouble."

## CARLSON NOTES SWP GROWTH AT HER MEETING IN DETROIT

By Grace Carlson

DETROIT, July 12 — The audience at the Detroit meeting last night was five times as large as the audience to which I spoke when I was here on tour in 1941! This is certainly very gratifying evidence that the Trotskyists have gained many, many new friends in the great industrial center in a few short years.

I saw the same thing in Cleveland, Youngstown and Toledo. The audiences to which I spoke in those cities were not only much larger but they had a much bigger proportion of industrial workers. Many of these were friends and shop-mates to whom our comrades had sold tickets for the meeting — steel workers, auto workers, railroad men, etc. Some bring their whole families.

But The Militant can also claim some credit for increasing the attendance at these meetings. The Detroit, Youngstown, Cleveland and Toledo branches all sent out announcements of their meetings to Militant readers in their cities. And there are thousands of Militant

readers in the Ohio-Michigan area! In Youngstown, for example, the comrades sold about 1,000 subscriptions in the last 2 Militant sub campaigns. There are 43,000 homes in Youngstown and a population of 160,000. This means that The Militant goes to one out of every 43 homes in this steel center.

The Militant is popular with the workers. They like its fighting program and its honest reporting of facts which the other papers don't give. So, when The Militant backs anything, it really carries weight. I'm certainly lucky to have The Militant backing in this town!

There isn't very much time for having fun on this tour but the comrades have tried to squeeze as much fun as possible into the crowded tour schedule. There were nice socials held in Youngstown, Cleveland and Toledo after the meetings at which I met the many new comrades who joined the party while I was in prison, and the many new friends who have come close to us.

## Ohio-Michigan Audiences Hear Carlson Prison Talk

DETROIT, July 11 — An enthusiastic audience of over 200 friends and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party overflowed the Twelve Horsemen's Civic Center here tonight to hear Comrade Grace Carlson speak on "Conditions of Women in Prison." The speaker showed how poverty is the basic cause of almost all crime, and that the majority of so-called criminals are merely worker-victims of the capitalistic system which breeds poverty. It was brought out that most sociologists, penologists, and psychiatrists agree that poverty is the root of crime, but that only the Socialist Workers Party strikes at this evil source of crime by fighting for the overthrow of capitalism and the institution of socialism.

### Successful Meeting Held in Cleveland

CLEVELAND, O. — Despite the intense heat which sent workers in droves to the parks and lake-shore, the Cleveland branch of the Socialist Workers Party held its largest public meeting in years, to hear Grace Carlson on Sunday, July 8.

The audience of 50 sympathizers and friends listened attentively while Comrade Carlson illustrated from her prison experience that the majority of "crimes" for which men and women are sent to prison are "crimes" against the holy institution of private property. Under capitalism there is far more concern about protecting property and profits than concern for human life.

The exploitation and economic insecurity under the capitalist system, with the consequent bitter struggle for bare existence for the masses, drives increasing numbers of workers to despair, desperation, "crime," and festering destruction in the prisons.

Comrade Carlson denounced the federal government's Jim Crow system at Alderson, West Virginia, as a most vicious example of segregation and discrimination against Negroes. The prison officials draw a deep Jim Crow line of division between the white and colored inmates which covers every activity and hour of the prisoners' lives and is carried to the point of not permitting Negroes and whites to even speak to each other!

Comrade Carlson concluded by

## Grace Carlson On Tour



Grace Carlson, only woman defendant among the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners, photographed as she speaks in Detroit on "Women in Prison." Read her report of the successful meeting on this page of The Militant.

showing that only Socialism can blot out the prisons by abolishing the social system of capitalism which breeds the hideous practice of caging in steel pens, human beings whose only crime is poverty.

Ted Grant, organizer of the Cleveland SWP and chairman of the meeting, told the audience about William Patterson, the militant Pennsylvania coal miner who was railroaded to prison for refusing to scab, and is the first imprisoned victim of the Smith-Connally anti-strike law. A resolution calling on President Truman unconditionally to pardon and release brother Patterson was adopted unanimously.

The audience contributed \$45 in the collection of funds for party work in Cleveland. There were at least 10 new Militant readers who were attending an SWP meeting for the first time.

### Youngstown Workers Hear Grace Carlson

YOUNGSTOWN, O. — Speaking in Youngstown on July 7, Grace Carlson gave an inspiring talk to about forty interested workers. She painted a picture of the prisons for women — not the walls but the forces of society that have driven women from all walks of life and all ages into things that are considered crimes.

She showed how the social system of capitalism, because it gives no opportunities for the great mass of people and bars the huge majority from chances to earn a decent living, is the real criminal in society.

She went into the background

of many of the women in prison to show that inherently they are honest, but that they are driven to the acts because of the insecurity and lack of any real hope in the future.

### Carlson Talks to Audience in Toledo

TOLEDO, O. — Over 35 comrades and sympathizers came out July 9 to hear the message that Comrade Carlson brought back with her from the Federal prison at Alderson, W. Va.

Her interesting speech, dealing with the underlying causes for crime and the solution of this problem under socialism, held the undivided attention of the comrades during the entire time that she spoke.

After Comrade Carlson's lecture, which showed that the present economic system is the basic cause for most of the crimes committed, it became increasingly clear to all that only under socialism will we be able to rid ourselves of the evils that afflict the working class under the present capitalist rule.

### GRACE CARLSON'S TOUR SCHEDULE

CITY	DATE
Los Angeles	Thurs to Wed. Aug. 2 <sup>nd</sup> to 8
San Francisco	Fri. to Sun. Aug. 10-12
Portland	Tues.-Wed. Aug. 14-15
Seattle	Thurs. to Sat. Aug. 16-18
Missoula	Sunday Aug. 19
Plentywood	Tues., Aug. 21
Twin Cities	August 22

# The History Of American Trotskyism

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

\* \* \*

Our task was difficult. We had one copy of Trotsky's document, but didn't have any way of duplicating it; we didn't have a stenographer; we didn't have a typewriter; we didn't have a mimeograph machine; and we didn't have any money. The only way we could operate was to get hold of carefully selected individuals, arouse enough interest, and then persuade them to come to the house and read the document. A long and toilsome process. We got a few people together and they helped us spread the gospel to wider circles.

Finally, after a month or so, we were exposed by a little indiscretion on the part of one of the comrades, and we had to face the issue prematurely in the joint Foster-Cannon caucus. The Fosterites raised it in the form of an inquiry. They had heard so and so and they wanted an explanation. It was clear that they were greatly worried and still undecided. We took the offensive. I said: "I consider it an insult for anybody to cross-examine me. My position in the party has been pretty clearly established now for ten years and I resent anybody questioning it." So we bluffed them for another week, and in that week we made a few new converts here and there.

Then they called another meeting of the caucus to consider the question again. By this time Hathaway had returned from Moscow. He had been to the so-called Lenin School in Moscow; in reality it was a school of Stalinism. He had been all smartened up in the Stalin school and knew better how to proceed against "Trotskyism" than the local shoemakers. He said the way to proceed is to make a motion: "This caucus condemns Trotskyism as counter-revolutionary," and see where everybody stands on the motion. We objected to this on the ground—disimulatingly formalistic, but a necessary tactic in dealing with a police-minded graduate of the Stalin School—that the question of "Trotskyism" had been decided long ago, and that there was absolutely no point in raising this issue again. We said, we refused to be a party to any of this folderol.

### The Trotskyist Issue Predominates

We debated it four or five hours and they still didn't know what to do with us. They faced this dilemma: if they became tarnished with "Trotskyism" they would lose sympathy in Moscow; if, on the other hand, they split with us, their case would be hopeless so far as getting a majority was concerned. They wanted the majority very badly and they nourished the hope—oh, how they hoped!—that a smart fellow like Cannon would eventually come to his senses and not just go and start a futile fight for Trotsky at this late day. Without saying so directly, we gave them a little ground to think that this might be so. Decision was postponed again.

We gained about two weeks with this business. Finally the Fosterites decided among themselves that the issue was getting too hot. They were hearing more and more rumors of Cannon, Shachtman and Abern proselyting party members for Trotskyism. The

## HOW THE PIONEER TROTSKYISTS FOUGHT EXPULSION FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY

By James P. Cannon

Fosterites were scared to death that the Lovestonites would get wind of this and accuse them of being accomplices. In a panic they expelled us from the joint caucus and brought us up on charges before the Political Committee. We were given a trial before a joint meeting of the PC and the Central Control Commission. We reported that trial in the early issues of The Militant. Naturally, it was a kangaroo court, but we had full scope to make a lot of speeches and to cross-examine the Fosterite witnesses. That was not because of party democracy. We were given our "rights" because the Lovestonites, who were in the majority in the Political Committee, were anxious to compromise the Fosterites. In order to serve their purposes they gave us a little leeway, and we made the most of it.

The trial dragged on day after day—more and more party leaders and functionaries were invited to attend—until we finally had an audience of about 100. Up until then we hadn't admitted anything. We had confined ourselves to cross-examining their witnesses and tarnishing and compromising the Fosterites, and one thing and another. Finally, when we tired of this, and since the report was spreading throughout the party of what was going on, we decided to strike. I read to a hushed and somewhat terrified audience of party functionaries a statement wherein we declared ourselves 100 per cent in support of Trotsky and the Russian Opposition on all the principled questions, and announced our determination to fight along that line to the end. We were expelled by the joint meeting of the Central Control Commission and the Political Committee.

### The Trotskyists Are Expelled

The very next day we had a mimeographed statement circulating through the party. We had anticipated the expulsion. We were ready for it and struck back. About a week later, to their great consternation, we hit them with the first issue of The Militant. The copy had been prepared and a deal made with the printer while we were dragging on the trial. We were expelled on October 27, 1928. The Militant came out the next week as a November issue, celebrating the anniversary of the Russian revolution, giving our program, and so forth. Thus began the open fight for American Trotskyism.

We certainly didn't have too bright a prospect to begin with. But we gained steadily in the first weeks and built firmly from the outset because we started right. We broke the log-jam of unprincipled factionalism in the party with a charge of dynamite. With just one blast we rid ourselves of all the old errors and mistakes of the American party factions when we put ourselves on the ground of a principled program of internationalism. We were sure of what we were fighting about. All the little organizational machinations, that had loomed up so big in the old squabbles, were just thrown off like an old coat. We began the real movement of Bolshevism in this country, the regeneration of American Communism.

It was not too promising a struggle from the point of view of numbers. The three of us who signed the declaration—Abern, Shachtman and myself—felt pretty lonely as we walked down to my house to lay plans to build a new party that was to take power in the United States. All three of us had been working for the ILLD. We were immediately thrown out of there, with back wages coming to

us and not paid. We didn't have any money at all, and didn't know where we could get any. We planned the first issue of The Militant before we knew how we were going to pay for it. But we made a deal with the printer to give us credit for one issue. We wrote to some friends in Chicago who sent us some money and we got out the paper. We announced proudly that it was going to be published twice a month. So it was.

Very shortly after we were thrown out of the party, we discovered a group of Hungarian comrades who had been expelled from the party for various reasons in the factional struggles a year or two before. Independently of us, unknown to us, they had come into contact with some Russian Oppositionists working in Amtorg—the Soviet commercial agency in New York—and had become convinced Trotskyists. They certainly looked like an army of a million people to us. We found a little group of Italian Oppositionists in New York, followers of Bordiga, not really Trotskyists, but they worked with us for a while. We conducted a quite energetic fight. We answered accusations militantly. We began to circulate new material of the Russian Opposition through The Militant—Trotsky's criticism of the draft program, and so on. Soon one could see the beginning of the crystallization of a faction that had a future before it because it had a clear principled program.

### The Left Opposition Gains Supporters

While it was a small faction for a long time, it was a very convinced and fanatical and determined faction. We began to gain recruits throughout the country. Our most important big acquisition was from Minneapolis. Minneapolis has played a role not only in teamsters' strike struggles, but also in building American Trotskyism. We gained supporters in Chicago.

We were badly handicapped in many respects. We hadn't had time prior to our expulsion to communicate with the party members outside New York very much. The first that most comrades in the Communist Party knew about our position was the news that we had been expelled. The crude tactics of the party leadership helped us a great deal. Their method was to go up and down the country, putting a motion in every committee and branch to approve the expulsion of Cannon, Shachtman and Abern. And everybody who wanted to ask a question or to get more information was accused of being a Trotskyist and expelled forthwith. That helped us a whole lot; they pushed such comrades right into a position where we could at least talk to them. In Minnesota, where we had good friends of long association, the commissar of the Lovestone gang summoned them to a meeting and demanded an immediate vote on a motion to approve our expulsion. They refused. "We want to know what this is; we want to hear what these comrades have to say." They were immediately expelled. They communicated with us. We supplied them with the documentary material, The Militant, etc. Eventually, practically all those who had been expelled for hesitancy in voting to confirm our expulsion became sympathetic to us and most of them joined us.

We emphasized from the very beginning that it is not simply a question of democracy. The question is the program of Marxism. If we had been content to organize people on the basis of discontent

with the bureaucracy we could have gained more members. That is not a sufficient basis. But we utilized the issue of democracy to get a sympathetic hearing and then immediately began pounding away on the rightness of Trotskyism on all the political questions.

You can easily imagine what a tremendous shock our stand and expulsion was to all the party members. For years it had been drilled into them that Trotsky was a Menshevik. He had been expelled as a "counter-revolutionist." Everything had been turned upside down. The minds of the helpless members had been filled with prejudices against Trotsky and the Russian Opposition. Then, out of a clear sky, three party leaders declare themselves Trotskyists. They are expelled and immediately go to the party members wherever they can find them and say: "Trotsky is right on all the principled questions, and we can prove it to you." That was the situation with which a good many comrades were confronted. Many of those expelled for hesitating to vote against us didn't want to leave the party. They didn't know anything about Trotskyism at that time, and were more or less convinced that it was counter-revolutionary. But the stupidity of the bureaucracy in throwing them out gave us a chance to talk with them, to confer with them, supply them with literature, etc. This created the basis for the first consolidation of the faction.

### Individuals Recruited to Trotsky's Ideas

In those days every individual loomed up as enormously important. If you have only four people to start a faction with, when you can find a fifth one—that's a 25 per cent increase. According to legend, the Socialist Labor Party, way back in the old days, once made a jubilant announcement that in the election they had doubled their vote in the state of Texas. It turned out that instead of their usual vote of one they had obtained two.

I will never forget the day we got our first recruit in Philadelphia. Soon after we were expelled, while the hue and cry was raging against us in the party, there came a knock on my door one day and there was Morgenstern of Philadelphia, a young man but an old "Cannonite" in the factional fights. He said, "We heard about your expulsion for Trotskyism, but we didn't believe it. What is the real low-down?" In those days you didn't take anything for good coin unless it came from your own faction. I can remember to this day going into the back room, getting out the precious Trotsky document from its hiding place and handing it to Morgie. He sat down on the bed and read the long "criticism"—it is a whole book—from beginning to end without stopping once, without looking up. When he finished, he had made up his mind and we began to work out plans to build a nucleus in Philadelphia.

We recruited other individuals the same way. Trotsky's ideas were our weapons. We ran the "criticism" serially in The Militant. We had only the one copy, and it was a long time before we were able to publish it in pamphlet form. Because of its size we could not get it mimeographed. We had no mimeograph of our own, no typist, no money. Money was a serious problem. We had all been deprived of our positions in the party and had no incomes of any kind. We were too busy with our political fight to seek other jobs in order to make a living. On top of that we had the problem of financing a political movement. We could not afford an office. Only when we were a year old did we finally manage to rent a ramshackle office on Third Avenue, with the old "El" roaring in the window. When we were two years old we obtained our first mimeograph machine, and then we began to sail forward.

(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.

## Hayek's Book

Editor:

After recently coming off a ship, I read a book review in the June, 1945 Fourth International that stood out very sharply in my mind. Joseph Hansen's excellent analysis of Prof. Hayek's book, "The Road to Serfdom," really exposes the false approach of Prof. Hayek.

This is what happened on the ship. We had the June, 1945 Readers Digest aboard. In it was a condensation of "The Road to Serfdom." This condensation was at the beginning of the magazine with a foregoing note that it was one of the most important books of recent years. Usually, Readers Digest places its book synopses at the end of the magazine. After my shipmates and I had read it, I argued on one theme mainly.

Hayek claims that the co-operative or socialist method kills incentive and that unions likewise stifle initiative. It was easy to expose this lie by pointing out the limitless incentive, initiative and courage, required in building the unions and winning decent conditions, especially the seamen's unions. This was a strong point, since it takes even more initiative and courage to fight for new ideas and a better world.

I ended by pointing out that Hayek, who ran away from Austria where he failed to help stop the fascist onslaught, certainly had no right to tell us how to halt fascism. The militant workers will know how to smash fascism and its cause, capitalism; and Prof. Hayek may live to see some initiative from the workers that he never dreamed of.

B. Greggson  
New York

## Vet Flays Riesel

Editor:

I am a veteran. I am angry! I am about to "blow my top."

This is written to you and your splendid newspaper because I feel so sure that you will want to know why I am bitter and why many, many other ex-servicemen feel the same way. I do about the phony stuff you read in the big daily papers.

On June 28, a certain gentleman by the name of Victor Riesel writes a "Labor Comments" column in the New York Post—in fact, the odds are that at this very moment I write you HE IS WORKING BEHIND A PICKET LINE at the strike-bound offices of his paper. You see he is a "true friend" of labor. This yardbird writes from the US Naval Training Center at Sampson, N. Y. on June 28—but don't get the idea that he is in recruit training! Heaven forbid! Oh, no! He is there "mixing" with the common herd of bluejackets in the company of navy contractors, reporters, labor skates and others selected by the gold braid to "familiarize" themselves with training equipment, etc. And is he gratified? Well—how better show it than by writing a neat blast at the workers? And by saying that the sailors "resent strikes."

He says "some of us felt that it would have been a good idea for some of the leaders of the 90,000 war workers who are on strike to have been included in this visit."

Well, Mr. Riesel, there were plenty of workers represented

## A Word to Our Correspondents

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

THE EDITOR

— but they were not in your hand-picked delegation — they were in the ranks of the 35,000 you saw in dungarees and blues. They were the sons, brothers and husbands of the workers who have been compelled to strike against the union-busting auto, rubber, steel and oil bosses. Now you slander American labor when you speak of failure to bargain "at the table" instead of the picket line. It is precisely the failure of the EMPLOYERS to bargain in good faith at the table — it is because the Big Business boys smash at the unions through the discharging of stewards and committeemen!

You say the "boots" consider the strikes to be over petty grievances. This is partly the truth — they are not told the whole truth — they are not told of how the workers are being kicked around every day in the shops. This is "at home." When they board the transports they will get even more of a one-sided picture! And when they reach the vermin-infested, fungus-soaked tropics they will be assembled nightly and given even more propaganda — more lies!

I know, Mr. Riesel! Three months in boot camp — 44 days on an old freighter along with 1,400 other expendables! Five months in the Guinea jungles! Long months in fleet hospitals teach you so that you don't forget. And never once did I hear BOTH SIDES of the story presented.

You learned — even in two days — that "these sailors want to go home, get a job, see the girl friend," etc. That they blame strikers instead of their real enemies is the fault of those who lie to them — or give them only one side of the story. Not one word did you mention about the employers! Your bread is well buttered, Mr. Riesel. The boss made no mistake in sending YOUR kind to Sampson to "mix" with the sailors.

Some day, these men will learn what the war is really about — just as tens of thousands of Seabees, amphibious seamen dough-foots ahead of them saw it "out there."

No, Mr. Riesel — the veterans have discovered — yes, and these boots will also discover the truth. And when they do learn the truth they will sweep aside the gold braid, the profit-hungry GM, duPont, Ford, Wright, Chrysler and Standard Oil — and then as a special feature, they will deal with reporters and columnists who prostitute the facts and at-

tempt to divide the worker from the worker thrown into uniform. Navy Vet Paterson, N. J.

## Race Hatred

Editor:

My brother Frederick has been overseas for almost two years; my sister, Katherine, has been in the WACS for three years, stationed at the General Hospital, Camp Atterbury, Indiana. My cousin was killed in this war and my uncle died on the battlefield in the first war.

I have served at home making regular purchases of war bonds and remaining on my war job although I could earn much more



EASTLAND

money at my trade as a book-binder, but I, too, wanted to solve and have a part in the winning of the victory.

I am not any different from thousands of other colored Americans who serve the country we call our own. We have done and are doing our part and now we ask for fair employment and in return we, as people, are insulted by such God-forsaken men as Senator Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi and others of his kind such as Senator Eastland. These Negro-hating men are blind, ignorant Nazi thinkers and shall be shown we refuse to let this issue be ignored.

Every time a Negro soldier kills the enemy it is as has been said: "There is a yellow man murdered by a black man, and the glory of the white man."

I say to each of you, white and colored alike, unless the FEPC is maintained there must be a march on Washington; we must let the world know about this democracy that America speaks of but does not practice with her own people.

Victor A. Howell  
New York

## Japanese Imperialism

Editor:

Please be kind enough to print in reply to Belle Montague:

What you say regarding Japan vis-a-vis the western "Allies" is very true, but did you ever hear of a country called China? Since you apparently did not, let me tell you a bit of history.

The Chinese are a peaceful people, who asked only to be left alone to run their country in their own way. By 1937, however, large sections of China had been taken over by the western "democracies." In 1937 the Japanese army, navy and air force attacked China, but not the part of China in foreign hands. For years the Japs carefully avoided invading foreign-held property and the Westerners were very glad to have the Japs move in and "teach the uppity chinks a good lesson." Westerners, safe in their concessions, watched the interesting show as the Japs bombed and burned square mile after square mile of the homes of humble Chinese workmen and their families.

No matter how heinous the crimes of the imperialist "democracies," I fail to see how you or Belle Montague can condone the frightful indignities and hideous torture inflicted on Chinese men, women and little children by the Japanese soldiers. Although Japan's rulers gave the word to start the invasion, it was the Japanese farm boys and young workmen who did the actual dirty work; who blindfolded and tied to posts living Chinese for bayonet practice, who tied Chinese together, poured oil on them and set them afire, who raped and mutilated with their bayonets little girls and old women.

All this and more was done by the Japanese workers. The Militant loves so dearly and is weep-

## WIN AN ORIGINAL LAURA GRAY CARTOON!

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

Three originals of these feature cartoons, personally inscribed to the winners by the cartoonist, will be awarded for the three best names submitted. First choice of the originals will go to the first-place winner; second choice to the second-place winner; third choice to the third-place winner. In case of ties, all who submit winning names will receive an original feature cartoon, by Gray.

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

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

ing for. The Militant seems to care less than nothing for the Chinese workers. Except for a slighting reference to "Chinese arithmetic" I have seen no mention of China in The Militant.

Dorothy Cheng  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Editor's Note: If Dorothy Cheng consults the files of The Militant she will find that we have consistently opposed and condemned Japan's imperialist rape of China from the time the Japanese armies marched into Manchuria in September, 1931.

We adhered and still adhere to this policy in the interests of both the Chinese workers and peasants and the Japanese masses, because the Japanese imperialists are the enemy of both. Never did we "condone" atrocities committed in China by Japanese soldiers.

Atrocities—and every thoughtful person will see how true this is—are inseparable from war. War is the supreme atrocity from which stem all the acts of frightfulness. If we were to join in a hate campaign against every nation whose armies commit atrocities, we would be abandoning our basic principle of socialist internationalism. We would become tools of the very imperialists who by hate propaganda keep the nations at each other's throats.

Had we followed the line which Dorothy Cheng's letter suggests, we could not even have stood for the defense of China against Japanese imperialism, for Chinese soldiers committed the vilest atrocities AGAINST THE CHINESE PEOPLE, notably in the crushing of the Chinese revolution of 1927. But the real authors of these crimes were Chiang Kai-shek and his clique. The soldiers were merely the instruments.

There is only one way to end all these horrors, and that is by ending the system of capitalism and imperialism which produces them.

## Treatment of Vets

Editor:

I am a disabled veteran, having lost both legs in the European theatre. Because of this I have followed with great interest the articles in The Militant on the treatment of disabled veterans. I would like to add one small example of the manner in which veterans' affairs are handled.

Many of the boys in my position have gone to the expense of spending around a hundred dollars for collapsible wheel chairs. After a good number of us had done so, the authorities got around to telling us that the government would provide these chairs without charge. This was enough to make our blood boil. If they had taken the trouble to tell us this before, we certainly wouldn't have spent our own hard-earned money for that purpose. Or do they think that a man needs two chairs?

J. T.  
Newark, N. J.

## Vacation School

Editor:

Having been at the Mid-West Vacation School, I feel it is my privilege to inform comrades and friends of the opportunities existing there.

Here is a chance for comrades and friends, especially those who are new to the movement, to lay a groundwork for future development. The teachers were excellent, and needless to say, there was none of the condescending attitude found in the capitalist schools.

There was plenty of food and all of it was well prepared. We had more meat at camp than our family has had in three weeks. In fact I'm very reluctant to give you all the virtues of the camp for fear that it will be swamped with reservations, thus eliminating my own possible return.

There is plenty of time for recreation such as swimming, boating, fishing, baseball, badminton, table tennis and dancing. At night there is community singing.

In conclusion I would like to

give you an impression I received from my association with the other comrades. It was a feeling of closeness that time and distance could not break. It was feeling the enthusiasm of the young and its injection into the old. It was feeling the determination of the old and its injection into the young. It was the feeling of responsibility by all in the building of a revolutionary party.

Patrick O'Connor  
Akron, O.

Editor:

The week I spent at the Summer Vacation School was certainly the fullest and most enjoyable week I have ever experienced. Swimming, boating and dancing were all a lot of fun, but most enjoyable of all was the satisfaction of knowing that all the comrades stand firmly convinced of our ideas. The overwhelming assurance of, and confidence in, our ideas inspires us to build an ever stronger revolutionary party. With a basis like this, how can the Fourth International fail!

K. Zelson  
Milwaukee

## German Stalinists

Editor:

In his article "Greek Reaction Plots to Restore Monarchy," July 14, Paul Abbott compares the Greek Stalinists' approach to the monarchist plot, with the German Stalinists' attitude towards Hitler's bid for power. "Hindenburg," they said, should stop Hitler.

Abbott errs. It was the German Social-Democrats' slogan: "Beat Hitler, vote for Hindenburg!" The Stalinists at that time took an ultra-radical point of view against a united front. Leon Trotsky's brilliant campaign for the united front against fascism ("What Next?" and other pamphlets) ought to be known to all our American comrades. It's true the ultra-radical attitude of the Stalinists helped Hitler just as much as the Social-Democrats' attempt to hide behind the broad back of the Field Marshal. But we should not confuse the facts.

A Comrade  
New York City

Editor's Note: "A Comrade" is correct in pointing to the Social Democrats as the ones who relied principally on Hindenburg instead of their own anti-fascist workers guards, to "stop Hitler." The Stalinist leaders covered themselves with radical verbiage and excused themselves from action against Hitler by pointing to the reformists' lack of action.

From 1929 to 1931 the Stalinist slogan was "Strike the fascists wherever you find them." After 1931, however, the party abruptly renounced physical struggle and helped bait the same trap prepared by the Social Democrats.

According to Daniel Guerin in his book "Fascism and Big Business": "When the Storm Troops announced their intention of parading on January 22, 1933, in front of the Karl Liebknecht House, the party leaders begged the Ministry of the Interior (under Hindenburg's presidency) to forbid the Nazi demonstration. 'The Communist Party,' they stated to the press, 'holds the authorities responsible for what will happen in the Bulow Platz. . . Send letters of protest to the Chief of Police: such was the instruction given the workers.'"

This is the same general tactic now pursued by the Greek Stalinists in their betrayal of the workers in that land. Upon announcing the discovery of a monarchist plot in Greece, these treacherous leaders followed in the footsteps of the German Stalinists, 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.

IN MINNEAPOLIS  
BUY "THE MILITANT"  
at the  
LABOR BOOK STORE  
10 S. 4th Street

## Arbitrator Backs Anti Union Firings At Bell Aircraft

BUFFALO—The right of the Bell Aircraft Corporation to "discipline" the 18 union members singled out and fired because of their participation, a few weeks ago, in a sit-in demonstration protesting mass layoffs, was upheld in an arbitration decision handed down recently.

"The demonstration was reprehensible," stated the arbitrator, the Rev. Andrew L. Bouwhuis, S. J., thus showing himself completely in accord with the company's view that any action on the part of workers to maintain their jobs is "reprehensible." All the 18 were penalized for their militant defense against rising unemployment and falling wages that are the blessings of reconversion.

Sixteen were suspended from their jobs for one to four weeks, and the firing of the other two, Anthony Marino, vice president of Local 501, and Morton Clurman, committeeman, was upheld by the arbitrator's decision.

## ARBITRATOR'S CUE

At the hearing the high-priced corporation lawyers spent most of their time building up cases against those of the 18 whom the company disliked because of their outstanding militant records. The arbitrator naturally took his cue from this and dealt out the severest penalties to those unionists against whom the company's attack was the heaviest. This was particularly so in the case of Vice President Marino, who had especially earned the hatred of the company because of his activity in the plant.

In his decision, the arbitrator admitted the responsibility of R. P. Whitman, general manager of the Bell Corporation, for the unrest that led to the demonstration, by his failure to notify the workers, as provided by the contract, as to how or when 8,000 of them would be laid off. But he nevertheless punished the 18 union members for a situation that resulted from the company's callous and anti-union actions! Passing by in silence the many flagrant violations by the company of its agreement with the union, the arbitrator brazenly lectured the union leaders and members to "live up to the terms of their contracts."

This decision came as a shock to many workers who were united by local and international union officials into believing that the union had a "good case" and that all the 18 would go back to work if the matter was allowed to go to arbitration. They are learning—the hard way—that only militant action on the part of the union can protect labor's rights.

## Trotskyist Runs For Parliament In Chile Election

(Continued from page 1)

indisposed to believe the Democratic Alliance which since 1938 has formed the government. During these years the living standards of the masses have fallen lower. Chile has a great infant mortality. Depreciation of the currency has gone on to proportions more serious than in any other Latin-American country. The danger of an end of work in the mines of the North (manganese, copper, saltpetre) is becoming now a black reality.

## CONDENZA RUNS

It was in this atmosphere that the POR nominated Edgardo Condenza, lawyer for the unions in the province and regional director of the party.

We had to campaign in an atmosphere of great confusion. The Democratic Alliance broke up when an openly reactionary candidate was nominated. The C. P. and S. P. workers protested against supporting this candidate. Thereupon their leaders designated an "independent" candidate, who was also supported by the Falange Nacional, a reactionary "youth" splittoff from the conservative party. The C. P. and S. P. workers refused to work for this candidate, who despite C. P. and S. P. support got only 1,900 votes. At least 50 per cent of the electorate abstained from voting.

Our party campaigned under the slogans: "Workers: let us unite against the offensive of the bosses and the government." "Demand that the Communist and Socialist parties pass over to class opposition against the bourgeois government of Rios." "Down with 'national unity' and class collaboration." We distributed many leaflets as well as the central organ of the party, El Militante.

We believe that our campaign served to begin raising the working class from the apathy in which it has sunk owing to the class collaboration policy of the Socialist and Communist parties.



A new subscriber, Gene Gannon of Wisconsin, sent in the following letter: "Seeing your coupon in the June 2 issue of The Militant, which I happened to find the other day on the street car in Milwaukee, I am subscribing for same as it sure is what the working class needs. Enclosed find \$1.00 for a one-year subscription." Thanks, Gene, we appreciate your comments. How about getting your friends and shopmates to send in subscriptions?

Our Youngstown agent, Mary Jones, takes the lead this week in the number of renewals. She sent in five one-year and six six-month renewals.

We welcome to The Militant Army a new San Francisco agent, Toni Price, who initiates her role in our ranks by sending in four six-month and two one-year subscriptions.

Another West Coast report, this one from San Pedro, where our agent writes: "Am sending six subscriptions, five six-month and one one-year. These subs were sold in front of the Longshoremen's meeting."

William Warde, instructor at the Midwest Vacation School, writes during his first week there: "It would do your heart and mind good to hear the praises of the paper from the comrades and friends of the party. They have an affection for it that would inspire a mummy. Here for example are the remarks of a new comrade in Detroit, wife of an auto worker, an ex-miner from Harlan County. 'I like most Kovalesky because everything he writes in so clearly pictured and so true to life. Then Grace Carlson's articles.' There is much praise for the interview and illustrations." Still another subscriber, J.

## NOTICE

The Militant needs a set of the Encyclopedia Britannica for the reference library of the editorial department. Will anyone willing to donate such a set please communicate with:

The Militant  
Business Manager  
116 University Place  
New York 3, New York

Downes of Grand Rapids, has written to us requesting that we send five extra copies of our May 26 paper which carried the cartoon entitled: "Capitalism in War and Peace." (Live Plants—Dead Men; Dead Plants—Live Men). This is the famous Laura Gray cartoon which has been reproduced in the labor press of several countries.

From all parts of the country our readers are sending in subscriptions for their friends; in last week's mail, K. M. Zwicker of Michigan sent in two one-year subscriptions for his friends.

Our Detroit Agent, Howard Mason sends in this very interesting communication, in addition to fourteen six-month subscriptions: "The Militant is getting well known in all the important locals in the city. Two comrades reported seeing the papers on the desks of a couple of local unions. While distributing the paper at a PAC meeting, one of the girls besides being told a number of times by passersby that they had already subscribed, sold five new subs — on wrapping paper."

Local New York comrades, actively campaigning for signatures to place Farrell Dobbs and Louise Simpson on the election ballot, are aware of the necessity to make every New Yorker a Militant subscriber. Our petition gatherers report a lively interest in our party and program by the people who sign their petitions and a brief discussion leads in some cases to a six-month or one-year subscription!

## LOS ANGELES

### SOCIALIST YOUTH CLUB FORUM

July 26

Topic:

"A History of Germany — 1918 to 1945"

Speaker: C. FREDERICKS

232 S. Hill St., Rooms 200-202

8:30 p. m.

Discussion Refreshments

## FIGHT FOR THIS PROGRAM:

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

A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!

A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!

Operate all government-built plants under workers' control!

### 2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

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

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

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

### 5. Working class political action!

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

### 6. Tax the rich, not the poor!

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

### 7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!

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

### 8. Hands off the European and colonial peoples!

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

## Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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

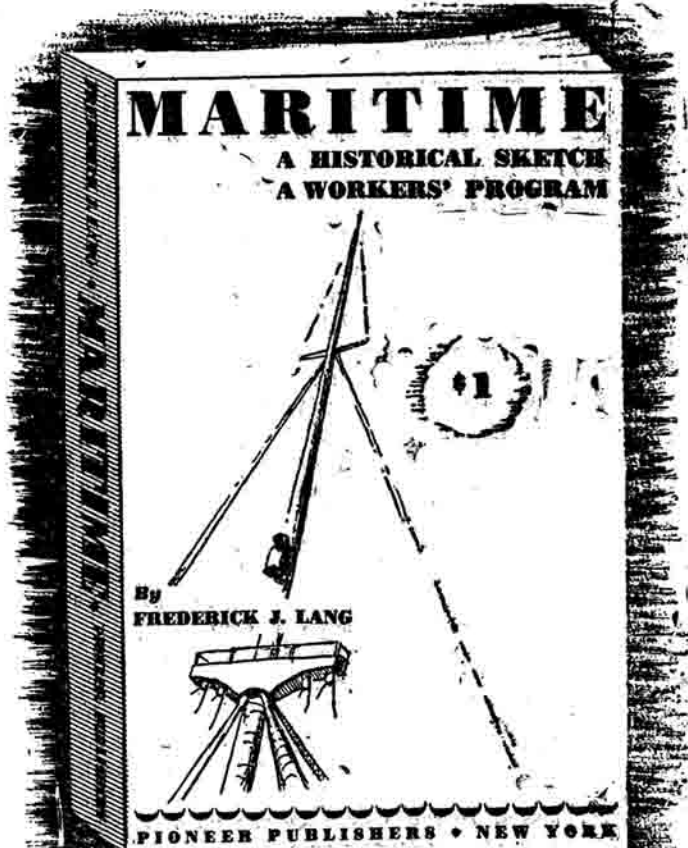
I would like:

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

Name ..... (Please Print)

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# THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the  
Working People

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



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

— Leon Trotsky

## A Warning To Labor

The frenzied attempt of the New York Publishers Association and the War Labor Board to break the heroic strike of newspaper deliverers has flashed a red-light warning to all American labor. For this attempt is an ominous preview of the pattern for strikebreaking which Wall Street and its government is elaborating for use against the resurgent American workers.

First, the government wheeled up the War Labor Board artillery. The WLB intervened as an open, undisguised strikebreaking agency. At the first nod from the publishers, the board commanded the workers to return to work. Then, without an iota of authority, it ordered the union's rights voided and gave the signal to the capitalist publishers to draw up their next battery of big guns—the mobilization of strikebreakers.

But the sickening, the shameful aspect of the WLB's strikebreaking intervention was the role of the labor members on the board. Here was a demonstration that the government is seeking to utilize the War Labor Board against workers not in war industries—in preparation for extending the WLB's strikebreaking powers into the postwar period. The WLB's labor members nevertheless voted for the board's strikebreaking actions.

Thus, these labor "leaders" continued to cloak the War Labor Board, the proven tool of the employers, with an aura of "impartiality" and sanctioned its strikebreaking. This situation can no longer be tolerated. The shout must go forth like thunder from the entire union ranks: **WITHDRAW THE LABOR MEMBERS FROM THE STRIKEBREAKING WAR LABOR BOARD!**

With the WLB's tacit sanction, the publishers drew up their next line of strikebreaking artillery. They sought to inject race hatred—the deadliest of venoms—into the conflict. While rounding up misguided youngsters, including a number of Negro boys, to peddle papers, the publishers' agents circulated the lie that the striking union discriminated against Negro workers.

This lie the union has exposed. It *does* accept Negroes without discrimination. But it has only a few Negro members. Why? The newspaper publishers themselves have persistently **REFUSED TO HIRE NEGRO WORKERS!**

Finally, came the most sinister aspect of the strikebreaking pattern—the open threat to use returned war veterans to smash the strike. In short, the maddened capitalists and their mouthpieces revealed their ultimate method for "dealing with" organized labor—the method used so effectively by Mussolini and Hitler.

Fortunately, the rising wrath of the New York workers and the determined stand of the strikers forced the Publishers Association and War Labor Board to retreat. The bosses dared not—this time—attempt to make good on their strikebreaking threats.

But let there be no illusions that what the employers and government revealed in the newspaper strike is just idle talk. It follows the basic pattern for their coming assaults on American labor. The workers have been warned in good time. Let them take heed and unite their ranks for uncompromising struggle.

## Liar Eastland

On June 29 Senator Eastland of Mississippi filibustered in the Senate against continuance of the Fair Employment Practices Committee. He flung two foul accusations against the Negro people. He said that "high-ranking generals" had characterized the Negro soldier as an "utter and abysmal failure." He said that French Negro Senegalese troops dressed in American uniforms had locked 5,000 Christian German girls of good family in a subway at Stuttgart for five days, "kept them there and criminally assaulted them."

The capitalist press gave great prominence to these accusations of the Southern gentleman. The capitalist press did not say whether the chivalrous

Senator was lying or telling the truth. *The Militant* on the contrary, flatly accused Eastland of lying.

Now this accusation of the Southern Bourbon Senator has been publicly exploded as a gross fabrication. In a speech before the Senate on July 12, Senator Wagner revealed that all the high-ranking generals had denied point-blank the truth of Eastland's accusations. The fact that most of these generals are themselves steeped in race prejudice gives their denial all the more weight.

As for the Stuttgart atrocity tale, inquiry made at the French Embassy and checked by them with the French High Command, according to Wagner, "has brought a categorical denial of this story. Thus this charge is not only irrelevant, but also untrue." Allied Supreme Headquarters likewise denied the truth of the story.

One single fact alone—aside from these official denials—blows up the Senator's fabrication about the subway rape: *there is no subway in Stuttgart!*

Yet in the face of these facts the capitalist press did not give equal prominence to the exposure of Eastland's lies. In fact most of the capitalist press did not even mention the exposure! So far as their record is concerned, Eastland's declarations still stand. Bigots who drink up such filthy propaganda will continue to circulate the story as genuine.

Could a more revealing light be thrown on the role of the capitalist press in besmirching the Negro people?

## Big Three Meeting

Like three vultures settling on the prostrate body of Europe, Truman, Churchill and Stalin are meeting in the ruins of Berlin. Each one knows that the Second World War is but the prelude to a still bloodier conflict if the capitalist system endures. They are therefore highly concerned over strengthening their individual positions in preparation for the Third World War, and will fight for the largest possible share of the booty now in their hands.

The three vultures are meeting, consequently, in secret. They are haggling in secret. They are measuring off each other's power, striving to cut each other down.

But the main business of the conference—ways and means of suppressing the rising tide of working class revolution—will take precedence over all other considerations. The establishment of workers' power would end the rule of capitalism and along with it the privileged position of the agents of imperialism represented, above all, by Stalin. They are therefore in unanimous agreement on the necessity to crush working class revolution wherever it may break out into the open.

This is the main point on the agenda of the Big Three.

## A Good Beginning

The Los Angeles CIO has taken a big step forward in the fight against native American fascism. On July 20, the same night Gerald L. K. Smith's organization was to meet in the Shrine auditorium, the Los Angeles CIO scheduled a counter-meeting in the much larger Olympic auditorium.

This counter-meeting can serve a most useful purpose. First, it can acquaint the Los Angeles working class with the danger of native fascism in the post-war period. Secondly, it can give the alarm signal to all the anti-fascists in the country that precious time must not be lost. Labor must begin right now to organize its defense against the challenge of Smith's plan to convert America into a stronghold of world fascism. Thirdly, it will serve notice on the American fascists that they cannot hope to emulate Hitler or Mussolini without meeting, from the outset, the mighty resistance of the labor movement.

America's native fascists have learned a great deal from the march of Mussolini and Hitler to power. They understand that to be successful they must begin with an aggressive attempt to mobilize tens of thousands of discontented middle class people. They know the most rabid of these people must be organized into shock troops. They know their next step is to turn these gangs against the labor movement and crush it through violence and bloodshed.

At its present stage of development, American fascism is concentrating on organizing its cadres and establishing a base of mass support in the middle class. This is the strategy the would-be dictator Gerald L. K. Smith is now following. This is the reason for his public activities in Los Angeles.

But the American labor movement has learned from the experiences of the European workers. The leaders of the trade unions in Italy and Germany, the heads of the Stalinists and the Social Democrats, followed a policy of non-resistance to the fascists. By their lack of militancy they guaranteed the triumph of fascism. If these leaders had organized a militant defense against the fascists, neither Mussolini nor Hitler could ever have seized power.

The next step in the struggle against Smith and his fellow demagogues is therefore the mobilization of labor's ranks and the organization of picket lines. Picket lines around the meetings of the native fascists, if organized on a sufficiently large and aggressive scale, can stop the fascist movement in its tracks.

The picket lines must be reinforced with anti-fascist workers' guards. These guards are necessary to meet the assault of the fascist thugs Smith and his cohorts are now organizing. They are necessary to protect union halls and other labor property from attack. They are necessary to protect the lives of union men.

The Los Angeles CIO has started the defense of American labor against native fascism. Now it must be followed up throughout the entire country!



"The cook threatened to strike — can't we have her arrested under your Smith-whatcha-ma-callit law?"

(See Cartoon Contest, Page 7)

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

### Italy

Devastating unemployment in Italy is making still worse the near-famine conditions facing the workers and poor people. The new puppet premier, Ferruccio Parri, has been forced to admit that about half the workers among the great industries of northern Italy are working only two to three hours a day or not at all.

In response to the mounting unrest among the Italian workers, Parri on July 13 addressed an appeal to his Allied masters to modify the terms of the secret armistice and give Italy "a better status than we have now."

Parri revealed that more than 20,000 Italian soldiers and 40,000 civilians had been killed in the struggle against the Nazis. New documents, he declared, showed that the Italian workers brought to Germany had offered stubborn resistance against the Nazis and German factory owners.

Parri declared "moral and material reconstruction is not possible for the Italians" under the terms of the armistice imposed by the Allies.

However, the limberness of spine of this representative of Italian reaction before the Allied imperialists is fully indicated by his cowardice in not even demanding publication of the shameful terms of the secret armistice.

### Sweden

A special dispatch to the June 30 Chicago Daily News reveals that even in Sweden, at present the most prosperous country on the European continent, economic conditions are swiftly deteriorating. "National incomes have decreased 10 percent since the war's beginning," says the dispatch, "and living standards have decreased in the same proportion."

Great dissatisfaction with conditions is visible among the working class. "For five months now, 125,000 workers in the metallurgical industries have been on strike, prostrating such great export firms as L. M. Ericsson, Bofors, Swedish General Electric, Electrolux and the great Götterborg shipbuilding works." The demands of the workers in this extraordinary strike are not specified.

In the political sphere, a leftward swing is rapidly taking place. Swedish political commentators expect the Social Democrats to form a labor government this fall when the present coalition breaks up.

### Germany

Despite increasing pressure from the ranks of the armed forces to relax the ban on fraternization with German civilians, the American generals remain adamant in their refusal to change their policy.

While admitting widespread violations of the order, the generals maintain that reversing it would lead to still greater fraternization. In a July 9 release to the press the army staff indicated the real reasons for the ban on fraternization. As summarized by the correspondent of The New York Times, the generals are in "fear of German uprisings during the coming winter." The generals expect "serious trouble" as a result of shortages in fuel and food.

This confirms the analysis advanced by *The Militant* from the beginning of the Allied occupation of Germany. *The Militant* declared that the Allies oppose fraternization because they fear a workers' revolution in Germany will gain wide sympathy among the ranks of the Allied troops. The Allied imperialists intend to

use these troops to put down revolution. In their own way they hope to continue the task of the Hitlerite regime—that is, preserve capitalism, in Germany.

In order to use the Allied troops most effectively in this bloody counter-revolutionary task, the imperialists want to prevent them from learning the truth about the opposition of the German workers to the Nazi regime. They want to prevent the Allied soldiers from learning from the lips of the German people the truth about fascism—that it is simply a product of capitalism which can be exterminated root and branch only by overthrowing capitalism itself.

An Associated Press dispatch gives a graphic picture of the sordid night life in Berlin where the officer staffs of the Allied conquerors regale themselves. "For a pack of cigarettes," says AP, "a foreign conqueror can buy everything from four percent beer to the questionable charms of a professional blonde."

Amid the terrible ruins of the cemetery-like city, "honkytonks as sordid as any old time Klondike dancehall cater to all with the time and money to spend."

The abysmal poverty of the German workers forces "girls of bobby sox" to stand about "in clusters eyeing prospective acquaintances."

"The night clubs... share with retail food stores the distinction of being the most active business enterprises in this grisly capital of partitioned Allied power." Few Germans haunt these bright spots in the general ruin. Those who do are "dazed white-collar folk splurging their last marks in an effort to forget the damp cellars to which they must return at dark. All look as if they were drifting aimlessly—their future a blank."

Mainstay of the night clubs is the officer caste. Special tables are reserved for them. Here Russian, American and British gold-braid wine, dine and sing while about them the broken wheels of a great industrial center of Europe gather rust.

## QUESTION BOX

Q: Did United States trade with Spain decrease during the present World War?

A: No—on the contrary, the United States last year bought five times as much from Franco-governed Spain as it did in the last peacetime year of 1939. According to figures recently announced by the Department of Commerce, imports from Spain were \$50,000,000 in 1944, as against \$10,000,000 in 1939.

Q: How much food are German civilians allowed by the AMG?

A: Only 1150 calories per day, roughly equivalent to six slices of rye bread. Such a ration means starvation. A medical commission of the League of Nations, a few years ago, found that even 1770 calories, one and a half times the allotment for Germany, would only maintain the life of a bedridden adult who had no exercise whatever.

Q: When the government takes over a plant, doesn't that plant suffer a loss in profits?

A: Not at all. The Montgomery-Ward mail order house, for example, under army management, made profits of \$4,767,955 in the first quarter of this year, after all taxes. This compares with \$3,430,324 in the first quarter of 1944.

### France

The Parisian paper *La Vie Economique et Financiere* (Economic and Financial Life) in its May 26 issue viciously attacks the French Trotskyists. The *de Gaulle* regime has persecuted the Trotskyists throughout France, arresting them and suppressing their paper *La Verite* (Truth), first underground publication to appear against the Nazi conquerors. Now *La Vie Economique et Financiere*, organ of French imperialism, joins the wolf pack howling against Trotskyism.

This reactionary journal insinuates that Trotskyism is an international plot. It points to the "disquieting synchronization" between the Belgian crisis, the French crisis and "even the British crisis," while levelling its fat banker's finger at Trotskyism as responsible for fomenting these crises. This is the traditional device of reaction. Instead of viewing the profound economic and social crisis of Europe as a product of the breakdown of capitalism and the end result of the most devastating war in history, reaction seeks out "agitators" whom it can blame and crucify. Trotskyism offers the only program capable of providing an end to misery and hunger. Reaction thereupon accuses Trotskyism for responsibility for these terrible conditions!

The journal, in a ludicrous attempt to bring in evidence for its calculated lies that might impress the unwary, refers to the widespread strikes in France and tries to show how the Trotskyists create dissension and turmoil. As if Trotskyist agitation were at the bottom of workers' unrest!

The crudity and brazenness of attacks such as these are obvious. It would be a grave mistake, however, to dismiss them as unimportant. French reaction is gathering its forces for a bloody settling of accounts with the workers. The attacks against Trotskyism are part of the preparation. When the tools of French Big Business set out to murder the most militant workers in France, they will do so under guise of stamping out enemies of the country and international plotters against France. The name they will give this "plot" will be Trotskyism.

### Algeria

De Gaulle's Consultative Assembly is now debating the rising unrest in Algeria. Instead of granting the independence the Algerians want, these spokesmen of French capitalism envisage a long-range program of tightening the coils of imperialism on this unhappy colony.

Last May, French armed forces flying American planes bombed the rebellious Algerians, inflicting more than 10,000 casualties. Andre Tixier, Minister of the Interior, hinted that the blame for the uprising rests with wealthy estate-owning colonists who refused to carry out even such a mild reform as granting 80,000 natives the right to vote.

Pierre Bloch, a "Socialist," accused reactionary economic interests in Algeria of "fomenting" the uprising, while Marc Rucart of the Radical Socialist Party saw the hand of "our Allies who look on Algeria with covetous eyes."

Most slanderous accusation of all, however, was levelled by the Stalinist, Etienne Fajon. This professional mud-slinger declared that the Algerian natives took part in a "fascist plot" fomented by agents of Vichy and Hitler! Thus do the agents of the Kremlin try to whitewash French imperialism by throwing filth on the martyred rebels of Algeria.

## Congress Shows No Hurry To Assist Unemployed

An administration-sponsored bill to improve benefits under the state unemployment compensation laws was side-tracked last week as soon as it was introduced into Congress.

Representative Robert Doughton, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee which must approve the measure before it is brought on the House floor, indicated strongly on July 10 that his committee would take no action for some time on the bill.

He emphasized that the bill was introduced only by "request" and that "it will be included in a number of other things under study." He further indicated that the bill may be held up in committee until Fall.

While Congress finds the time to vote itself a big salary increase, billions in tax rebates to the corporations and other measures to aid the profiteers, it pleads that it is "too busy" to consider the needs of millions of workers facing mass unemployment in the next few months.

The proposed measure, based on Truman's report to Congress last May would provide a federal subsidy to states to supplement their unemployment compensation funds if the state governments agree to raise their present standards to a \$25 weekly maximum for a period of 26 weeks during any entire year of unemployment. Most eligible workers would receive far less than the maximum, which averages out to \$12.50 a week over a year's time.

Meanwhile, the state governments are further tightening their rules for unemployment insurance eligibility. One of the chief means of denying workers unemployment insurance are legal residence restrictions. These would deny unemployment compensation to millions of workers who have been forced to migrate to different states for war jobs.

Recently the Pennsylvania legislature adopted a reciprocal relief law which permits aid to non-residents provided the state from which the applicant comes grants similar privileges to non-resident applicants from Pennsylvania. Only Rhode Island qualifies.

The Truman proposal would leave administration of unemployment insurance in the hands of the notoriously corrupt state political machines. But even this measure is regarded by the Big Business agents in Congress as "too much." They are proceeding to bury it "in committee."

## Du Pont, National Lead In Cartel Conspiracy

The National Lead Company and E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company, notorious munitions and chemical trust, last week were found guilty of violating the Sherman Anti-Trust Law by maintaining a monopoly in the manufacture and sale of titanium, an important war material.

In a 45-page opinion, Federal Judge Simon H. Rifkind also found the two indicted corporations guilty of participation in an illegal international cartel to limit production, fix prices and divide markets on a world-wide scale. The cartel conspiracy included German, Japanese, French, British, Canadian and other foreign corporations.

"Until the entry of the United States into the war," said Judge Rifkind, the American members of the cartel "regarded the war as a temporary interruption for which they would, after cessation of hostilities, make adjustments in a spirit of fairness and amity." He added that "there is a preponderant probability that the underlying conspiracy persists."

However, the punishment of these big business criminals who made millions from their conspiracy, will not fit the crime. Since they were tried in a civil suit, there is no possibility that they will go to jail or even pay big fines.

At most, it is expected that the judge will order the offending corporations to "cease and desist" from further law violations and release their patents for the use of other concerns on a royalty-free basis. For the guilty corporations, this constitutes a warning—to evade the anti-trust laws more carefully in the future.

## OPA Admits Black Markets Steal Billions Annually

Black markets are gouging an estimated two billion dollars annually in increased prices from the American consumers, OPA officials admitted last week in Washington.

They reported that the government's price control agency is so under-staffed and has such feeble powers that it is incapable of halting the ever-growing black market operations. Congress recently denied an OPA request for \$6,000,000 to double its enforcement staff.

Ceiling price violations and black market practices are almost universal for meats, poultry and textiles. Although OPA appeals to the consumers to refuse to buy at above-ceiling prices, this would mean simply going without meat and clothing altogether.

Actually the black market is to a large extent maintained by the regular dealers. These dealers, all the way from manufacturers to retailers, have devised numerous methods for price ceiling evasion.

Perhaps the principal method is that of the cash-on-the-side sale. The purchaser simply makes an additional cash payment that is not recorded on check stubs or invoices. The final price-hike is passed on to the consumer who is forced to pay "what the traffic will bear" or do without.

The textile and clothing industries are in the best position to get away with price gouging. Because of the factors of style, innumerable different materials, colors, etc., the textile and clothing profiteers are able to put out "new" items not specifically covered by the regulations, which fix the ceilings at 1942 levels. In this way, they can pass off shoddy materials at exorbitant prices.

None of the government cost-of-living statistics, on which the wage-freeze is based, take into account black market prices, quality deterioration and over-ceilings charges.