

THERE IS NO PEACE!

Only World Socialism Can Save Mankind From Atomic Destruction In Another Imperialist War

Workers Of America! You Must Take Power Into Your Own Hands!

MANIFESTO

of the

National Committee

of the

Socialist Workers Party

WORKERS, FARMERS — TOILERS OF AMERICA!

The second imperialist world war has ended. Six years of wholesale slaughter and devastation have been brought to an awful climax with the discovery of the atomic bomb and its use, with frightful effect, against the people of Japan.

The din of battle has ceased. Mankind now must contemplate the destruction and the ruin, the pain and the heartbreak, which the war has caused. People in every land are celebrating the end of the carnage, not so much with joy as with a sense of relief that it has come to an end. They do not and cannot feel secure. Over their celebrations, like a lowering cloud, hangs a grim foreboding of things yet to come. Here in America, where the civilian population has been spared the monstrous agony endured for long, unbroken years by the peoples of Europe and Asia, joy that the war has ended is also tinged with dread for the future.

Revulsion and Anxiety

The atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with a combined population of 600,000 men, women and children, has sent a wave of revulsion and anxiety throughout the world, especially among the toiling populations who are the principal victims of war. It is universally realized that mankind has been saved from total annihilation in World War II only because the atomic bomb was invented so late. There is also the conviction, amounting to certainty, that another world war will mean the doom of the human race.

Hatred of imperialist war, and fear of what the future holds, is driving the workers to revolutionary political conclusions. The imperialist rulers, who alone have profited from the war, seek to prevent this at all costs. They want to sidetrack the workers from the struggle to end the capitalist system and establish socialism, which is the only sure guarantee that another war will be impossible.

All the organs of ruling class propaganda are mobilized to deceive the masses into thinking that the end of the war means the dawn of true and lasting peace and that peace can be preserved without revolutionary social change. As a second line of deception, they are trying to persuade the masses that even if another war should come, the American people need not fear annihilation because means will be found to "control" the use of the atomic bomb and insure that it will not be used against this country.

Illusions Being Spread

Among the illusions now being sown is the idea that the unlocked secret of atomic energy possesses such ghastly destructive power that the capitalist rulers will refrain from using it in future wars. But the entire history of imperialist warfare refutes this contention. Between two world wars the most frightful instruments of death were invented and perfected. ALL HAVE BEEN USED! During World War II other death-dealing weapons were invented and perfected. ALL HAVE BEEN USED! Demolition bombs of enormous weight were dropped on helpless civilian populations. Incendiary fire-bombs were used to wipe out whole cities and burn their inhabitants to death. The unspeakable flame-thrower was employed by all the belligerents to burn masses of men to a crisp. The only reason poison gas was not used was its unreliability as a weapon, the danger that it might destroy its users.

To annihilate their opponents, the imperialist criminals will employ every deadly weapon in their arsenals. Let no one deceive himself that the atomic bomb will not be used!

Another illusion being sedulously fostered is that the atomic bomb is "our secret," that it will be kept "our secret" under tight government control and monopoly, and that therefore America will be safe. But the fact is that it is NOT EVEN NOW an exclusively American secret. It is known to the British imperialists, who collaborated in the scientific work from the

THE ONLY VICTOR



very beginning up to the time of discovery. It is known also to the capitalist ruling class of Canada, which likewise took part in the project.

Truman declared that Britain and the United States "do not intend to reveal the secret until means have been found to control the bomb so as to protect ourselves and the rest of the world from the danger of total destruction... We must constitute ourselves trustees of this new force — to prevent its misuse, and to turn it into channels of service to mankind."

But with the defeat of German and Japanese imperialism, the rivalry between British and American imperialism becomes one of the greatest potential sources of another world war. The interests of these two powers meet and clash in every corner of the globe. Unless the whole world system of capitalism and imperialism is destroyed, war between them is more than probable. Can anyone in his sane senses doubt that in the event of such a war the antagonists will use the atomic bomb in the effort to destroy each other?

Cold-Blooded Extermination

And what does Truman mean by "misuse" of the atomic bomb? Was the deliberate and cold-blooded extermination of 600,000 Japanese a high act of humanitarianism? In the sly language of the imperialist criminals, a weapon is "misused" only when it is employed by their opponents. The Nazis "misused" the weapon of aerial bombardment when they blasted Warsaw, Rotterdam and Coventry. The Japanese imperialists "misused" it when they blasted Canton, Hankow and Chungking. Then the Anglo-American imperialists improved on the performance of their rivals and wiped out dozens of German and Japanese cities and hundreds of thousands of civilian inhabitants. They just "forgot," and hoped their own peoples would forget, their previous pretended indignation.

The atomic bomb, no matter what may be decided in Washington and London, will not remain even an Anglo-American-Canadian secret. Sir James Chadwick, chief British scientist in the atomic bomb project, stated in Washington on August 12 that this deadly weapon was "not a strictly British-American

secret" and that "any nation could learn the secret in about five years of experimentation, assuming it had access to the necessary raw materials."

Consider, too, the ominous import of the following extract from a Washington dispatch to the *New York Sun* on August 8: "Twenty-four hours ago, members of Congress were earnestly debating among themselves whether or not the new discovery should be given to the United Nations Security Council and to other Allied governments. Today their thinking is growing up, and they are beginning to comprehend the fact that even if the blueprints and formulae for this new invention were to be destroyed, the scientists of other nations would discover the secret anew in their laboratories."

The dispatch then continues: "More awesome still is the realization that the political development of the world has not kept pace with its scientific knowledge — THAT WE KNOW OF NO WAY TO PREVENT THE MISUSE OF THIS NEW DISCOVERY. The thought of negotiating an international series of treaties renouncing the use of atomic explosives in war inspires no confidence in any one."

Two terrible world wars have proven — and the foregoing quotation underlines the fact — that capitalism is incapable of utilizing the great advances in science and technique for the enrichment of human life. In "peace," capitalism condemns the masses to poverty and insecurity amidst potential plenty. In war, it conscripts industry and science for the mutual destruction of the peoples.

Admission of Bankruptcy

THEY KNOW OF NO WAY! This admission of bankruptcy and helplessness comes from the most powerful ruling class on earth. Out of their own mouths they are condemned as the murderers of the human race. With an insane calmness they tell the people to await their doom.

Let no man deceive himself with the thought that because Germany and Japan have been defeated, a new war, at least during the lifetime of this generation, is unlikely. Capitalist appetites and imperialist rivalries remain. Only the focus of

the antagonisms has shifted. War is the end result of the ceaseless capitalist hunt for profits, markets, colonies, spheres of influence. It is a lie that war can be prevented by treaties and agreements among the imperialist bandits. The League of Nations could not prevent war. It was dead and buried before World War II broke out. The United Nations organization will not be able to prevent a third world war. Its very formula of "peace by force" implies war and not peace. In unguarded moments the imperialists admit that they know of no way to prevent war. The admission is implicit in the maintenance of gigantic armaments. First Washington dispatches on the atomic bomb quoted official quarters as saying this new weapon would "revolutionize all future warfare." Could anything be plainer?

America Will Not Escape

Nor should any man deceive himself that America will escape the annihilating blasts of the atomic bomb in a future war. Air power and sea power will afford no sure protection. Scientists already tell us that an air force will not be necessary to carry this new missile on its deadly mission. It will be fired immense distances in the form of a jet-propelled rocket that will speed to its target at a lightning rate and with unerring accuracy. New York or Detroit or Los Angeles will be as vulnerable as Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

It is at this point that the liberal apologists and defenders of the bloody capitalist system come forward to explain that the new weapon makes future wars "unthinkable," because its extensive use would mean the utter annihilation of the human race. Thus another dangerous illusion is sown.

After World War I these same liberals declared that another war was "unthinkable." Now that mankind has suffered another terrible blood-bath, do they seek to inquire why the "unthinkable" came to pass? They do not. For honest inquiry leads straight to the conclusion that under capitalism wars are inevitable and inescapable, and that once war begins all the diabolical instruments of killing and destruction are brought into play. The liberal fakery is employed, and generously paid, to cover up for capitalism, to mislead the masses by sowing illusions, and thus divert them from the struggle for socialism which alone can end the horrors of war for all time. That is why, while quaking in their shoes at the realization of what the atomic bomb means, they can only mutter the senseless incantation that a new war is "unthinkable."

THEY know of no way!

But there IS a way — THE WAY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

No Time to Lose!

Capitalism in its death agony, writhing in the toils of mortal crisis, has perfected an instrument of all-embracing annihilation. This deadly destructive force, held in the grip of the criminal capitalist rulers, will be used to decimate mankind unless it is snatched in time from their murderous grasp. The workers must awake, and awake quickly, to the realization that war with all its horrors is the product of the capitalist system.

To conceal the true source of war, capitalist propagandists divide the nations into "aggressors" and "peace-lovers." This is a lie. The people of every nation hate war, for they are its victims. They are plunged into war by the capitalist rulers, who alone profit from it. It contributes exactly nothing to an understanding of the profound social causes of war to say that Germany or Japan started it. Germany and Japan have been defeated. Yet the germs of war are STILL lodged in the heart of capitalist society. No trust whatsoever can be placed in the "peace-loving" declarations of the statesmen of capitalism in this or any other country. Only the utter wiping out of capitalist rule throughout the world can insure that atomic explosives will never again be used for mass murder.

We Always Told the Truth

Toilers of America! Years before the war and right up to the moment of its outbreak, the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyists, warned that war was inevitable if capitalism was allowed to live. We told the workers the truth!

When war began, we exposed the lie that it was a war for "democracy." We laid bare the truth that it was an imperialist war. We have never ceased to proclaim this truth. We proclaimed it alone against all the liars and deceivers of the people!

This truth was proclaimed by our comrades in other lands, in Europe and in Asia. Under the proud and stainless banner

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Rally For Socialism! Nation-Wide Trotsky Memorial Meetings -- See Page 4

Wall Street Imperialists Cynically Describe Atomic Bombings As "Humanitarian" Acts

American imperialist propagandists are seeking to counteract the widespread revulsion and horror aroused when hundreds of thousands of Japanese victims were exterminated by two atomic bombs unleashed on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Adding hypocrisy to brutality, government officials and the capitalist press are trying to depict these most frightful single acts of indiscriminate slaughter ever perpetrated, as veritable acts of "humanitarianism."

DEALERS IN "MERCY"

President Truman, in his radio address last week, represented the obliteration of Hiroshima, a densely populated city of 344,000, as a virtual act of mercy. "The world will note that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a military base. That was because we wished in this first attack to avoid, insofar as possible, the killing of civilians."

Reports of officers who conducted the atomic attacks give the lie to Truman's sanctimonious claim. Both Hiroshima and Nagasaki were selected accidentally, after the attacking planes were over Japan, with no thought of "avoiding the killing of civilians" or whether the targets were strictly "military bases."

"We selected Hiroshima as the target when we made the landfall," reported Lieut. Col. Paul W. Tibbets, Jr., pilot of the first atomic bombing plane. As for the bombing of Nagasaki, "the crew disclosed that, had it not been for bad weather, thousands of Japanese in Nagasaki, a city of 252,630, might still be alive today," reported the United Press on August 11. The plane was prevented by bad weather from attacking another city, so one of the officers "suggested trying Nagasaki."

CAPITALIST GHOULS

Subsequently, the Guam correspondent for the liberal N. Y. Post gloated: "Conditions for destruction at Nagasaki were even more favorable than at Hiroshima... the congestion among the city's population of 253,000 had caused the cave-to-cave building pattern to be described as 'a sea of roofs.'"

On the day after the bombing of Hiroshima, the Associated Press reported a "military authority" in Washington as claiming that the atomic bombing of Hiroshima "rather than densely populated Tokyo... may have been made to save as many lives as possible."

What a monstrous hoax! For last May 31 the American press carried an official military summary on the effects of the fire-bombing of Tokyo itself, "one of the highest concentrations of population in the world." This official report stated: "The attacks this week (following five others) burned with a similar speed and destructive results and it is possible that 1,000,000, or maybe even TWICE THAT NUMBER of the Emperor's subjects perished."

People who could gloat over the burning to death of several million men, women and children didn't bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki in order to "avoid, insofar as possible the killing of civilians."

Recalling the howls of the American press about the Nazis' indiscriminate bombing of British and European cities, many people are asking what could be more indiscriminate than dropping a bomb so destructive that it will destroy all life in an entire city.

NEAT DISTINCTION

But with juridical finesse, the spokesmen of American imperialism draw a neat distinction be-

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

tween the Nazi bombing atrocities and Wall Street's. The Inter-American Juridical Commission meeting in Rio De Janeiro, reports an August 10 dispatch to the N. Y. Times, has decided that "the flying bomb is an unlawful weapon (the Nazis perfected the rocket bomb), but the atomic bomb is lawful."

The American delegate, Professor Charles Fenwick, "stressed that the flying bomb's blast could not be directed to any given point, but the atomic bomb could be guided so as not to hit undefended areas."

If American imperialism had perfected the rocket bomb before the Nazis, and the Nazis had first secured the atomic bomb, undoubtedly the Inter-American Juridical Commission would have reversed its judgment on the relative "lawfulness" of these weapons.

FRAUDULENT ARGUMENT

The argument that if "we hadn't used it first, it might have been used on us," is sheer fabrication. American experts were well aware that neither Germany nor Japan was in a position to utilize atomic bombing for a long time to come.

On August 11, the U. S. War Department itself revealed a statement by Prof. N. D. Smyth, included in his voluminous study on atomic bombing made for the head of the government's project, in which Smyth declared that "fortunately... the magnitude of the necessary industrial effort has been demonstrated, so that the fear of German success weakened even before the end (Germany's surrender) came. By the same token, most of us are certain that the Japanese cannot develop and use this weapon effectively."

Victor H. Bernstein, PM correspondent wrote from Munich on August 13 that "perfection of the German atomic bomb was anywhere from one year to 10 years away when a U.S. plane laid the world's first atomic egg over Hiroshima last week." This was based on admissions not only of German scientists whom Bernstein interviewed, but "the American engineers to whom I have spoken."

Throughout the war, the Allied propagandists have contrasted the "barbaric" methods of the Axis powers to the more "humane" methods of warfare of the "democratic" imperialists. The liberal apologists for Allied imperialism have croaked incessantly on this theme.

LERNER'S "HORRORS"

Max Lerner, an editor of the liberal PM wrote with "horror" on June 26 against the proposal of the N. Y. Daily News to use poison gas on the Japanese. "Do we want to set the precedent for future wars by letting down the few bars that still stand between man and complete irresponsibility in the infliction of death?... gas operates over a whole area... there is no escaping, for civilians or fighters, combatants or non-combatants... If America... flings to the winds every consideration of the laws of warfare, it will be hard for her to take the lead in holding high the standard of law in the future. That may mean another war... 'You Can Cook 'Em Quicker With Gas' says the Daily News. What depths of sadism... what a terrifying vista it opens of evil in the human mind... (it is) to view the world with a fascist contempt... to turn yourself into something bestial."

But these revolting hypocrites aren't yelling "sadism" and "bestiality" about the use of the atomic bomb on Japanese civilians. PM screamed in headlines the day after the extermination of Hiroshima: "Thank God, It's OUR Atomic Bomb!"

What is an "unlawful," "inhuman" method of warfare for the capitalist imperialists? It is the use of a more destructive weapon by the rival imperialists. What is "legal" and "humane" warfare? It is the use of any weapon, no matter how frightful, against which the rival imperialists cannot retaliate in kind.

"Freedom From Want" - France, 1945



Hungry French children hunt through the garbage pails for food, as misery mounts in Europe. This photograph, released by the French government in a plea for relief, shows graphically the conditions which de Gaulle fears will drive the French people to revolution, as the worst winter in their history draws near.

Atomic Energy: Its Nature and Properties

By V. Grey

What is an atom? And why does it have so much energy inside it? These are the questions many people are asking since the atomic bomb crashed the horizon.

An atom is the smallest particle into which an element can be divided. It is extremely complex, containing electrons, neutrons, protons, positrons, etc. There are more than 90 known elements ranging from hydrogen to oxygen, to gold, to lead, etc., thence to uranium, the last of the known list. All matter is composed of one or more of these many elements.

Why cannot the "smallest" particle of matter—the atom—be cut in half and again in half, just as half a pie can be cut into two fourths, and so on? But that is the whole point.

COMPOSITION OF MATTER

Matter isn't at all what we think it is from looking at it or touching it. It's made of billions upon billions upon billions of these atoms—atoms which aren't made of smaller atoms in turn, but of something entirely different. Each atom is an "infinity" and an "emptiness" with charges of energy waves and particles racing swiftly around and around inside.

"If a good-sized railway station were emptied of everything but six specks of dust, the station would be more crowded with dust than space is with stars." Sir James Jeans said this about the heavenly bodies, the largest known things in the universe. The same thing could be said, with very little alteration, about the smallest things in the universe—the component parts of an atom.

An atom of fluorine, for instance, has a nucleus something like our sun, with nine electrons whirling around the nucleus, as the earth, Mars and other planets whirl around the sun. Tiny as the atom is, smaller than the eye can see with a powerful microscope, still the distance separating the electron "planets" from their nucleus "sun" is relatively the same as that which separates the planets from the real sun.

There are said to be the same number of protons in the nucleus, as there are free electrons far out in the infinitesimal space of the atom. The protons are positively charged; the electrons negatively. The atom itself is neutral, because the positive and negative are perfectly balanced. If we could give the atom a personality, we would say that it was determined to remain neutral. The negative clings for dear life to the positive, keeping the energy of the atom well chained.

INSIDE THE ATOM

Now if this mutual affinity is split, with the positive and negative hurtling off their separate ways, a tremendous amount of energy is released (especially when you consider that there are billions and billions of atoms to an inch).

The idea of splitting the atom in order to release and harness its energy occurred to scientists almost as soon as the structure of the atom became known. The atoms of radium, they found, tend to disintegrate spontaneously, but slowly. Even though infinitely more generous by nature than atoms of other elements, the ra-

dium atoms are nevertheless too "stingy" to part voluntarily with more than a fraction of their energy. Their slowly-released energy is the famous radium ray.

Thousands of experiments were carried on for years to "smash the atom." A tremendous machine called the cyclotron was developed to do this. At great expense and enormous use of electrical power, it was proved that atoms could be made to release some of their energy by parting company with a few of their electrons. But for a long time this remained only an interesting laboratory experiment.

U-235

Then U-235 was discovered. This symbol stands for a special kind of uranium, of atomic weight 235. It is 235 times as heavy as hydrogen, which is the lightest element. When the cyclotron "bombed" this atom with tiny neutral particles, the atom was literally split. This splitting (or fission) meant a great release of energy. Scientists realized at once that if this U-235 could be isolated in large enough quantity, and pure enough, a slight bombardment of neutrons would explode a few uranium atoms, each of which in turn would release neutrons to explode other atoms. With trillions and trillions of atoms doing this, the result is the "atomic bomb."

This tremendous explosive energy—a pound of U-235 is estimated to equal 20,000 tons of TNT—is the result of splitting the uranium atom and releasing only some of its energy. Future research will doubtless result in finding ways to release more and more of it as well as to harness it for socially beneficial purposes.

The tapping of atomic energy has only begun. The whole question is who will do the tapping and for what purposes?

World-Wide Commentaries On The Use Of Atomic Bomb

United States

"The first reaction... was relief that this engine of immeasurable destruction was not in the hands of the enemy... But in this relief was no elation; it was mixed with wonder, fear, and great misgivings... Make peace, (the bomb) says, or perish... It is impossible to imagine any government spending \$2,000,000,000 on a laboratory or any other experiment that would bring peace to the world." — Anne O'Hare McCormick, N. Y. Times.

"Canada (which has one of the largest known deposits of pitchblende) should make itself our exclusive ally. If it won't do so — well, we now have the jump on the rest of the world... and enough patriotic Americans to see to it that Canada does the right thing by us." — N. Y. Daily News editorial.

"It gives the world but two alternatives; the end of war or the end of humanity. We are compelled, at one step, to bridge the gap between the scientific genius which produced this marvel and the social sluggishness which has made lesser marvels a too-great tax upon our powers of adjustment. There is no escape." — PM.

"Frankly, I am scared. I'm scared because I fear people won't fully realize that from this day on, war is impractical. (This bomb) is the power to reach the stars and the power to kill the human race." — John W. Campbell, PM.

"The Navy expects the principle of the atomic bomb to be extended in time to naval shells and rockets." — Associated Press Washington dispatch.

"A revolution in science and a revolution in warfare have occurred on the same day... Civilization and humanity can now survive only if there is a revolution in mankind's political thinking." — N. Y. Times editorial.

"The president was smiling and buoyantly happy as he made the announcement." — United Press dispatch.

"Yesterday we clinched victory in the Pacific, but we sowed the whirlwind of hate." — Hanson Baldwin, N. Y. Times.

"I sincerely believe that in a few years human beings will know how to destroy the human race." — Commander Agar, aide to ambassador Winant.

"There's no jubilation in Washington over the atomic bomb. There's a sense of horror and reluctance to destroy Japan." — David Lawrence, N. Y. Sun.

"America... has to decide how that energy is to be harnessed so that it will not destroy mankind. That decision will shape the political, economic and social structure of the world for centuries to come." — Sylvia Porter, N. Y. Post.

"The answer is prayer. I suggest... that we pray for a speedy cessation of hostilities in this war, thereby eliminating further resort to the use of this terrible weapon." — Dr. Earl F. Adams, Protestant Council, New York City.

Victory gained by the atomic bomb would be "at the price of world-wide moral revulsion against us. The Orient has long

perceived that Anglo-Saxon diplomacy is based not on Christian principles but on a canny imperialistic expediency. Now it has been shown that our methods of war are cosmically and cold-bloodedly barbarous beyond previous experience or possibility. We annihilated 100,000 persons at one shot, most of them civilians, and then in spite of 'universal horror,' repeated the performance at Nagasaki. American religion and democracy stand discredited in all Asia and elsewhere, too." — Rev. Dr. Bernard Iddings Bell, Providence, R. I.

"The free peoples of the world have now in their possession a weapon so terrible that for the present, at least, nothing can stand against it. The saving grace in this situation, the outward and visible sign of God's merciful providence, is that this weapon is in the hands of American, British and Canadian peoples, and not in the hands of a Hitler or a Japanese war lord." — Major George Fielding Elliot.

"It constitutes... an appalling military, social and political problem. One need not exaggerate implications which are grave enough on the simplest plane." — N. Y. Herald-Tribune editorial.

"For the moment, those responsible for world security are thanking their stars that the secret of the awesome engine is still in the hands of people who believe in international law and order." — William Philip Simm, N. Y. World-Telegram.

"The atomic bomb that has shaken the world far beyond the shattered Japanese cities... will affect our social organization and its purposes, our forms of government. Man's ability to use science to improve his modes of living is about 300 years ahead of his ability to organize society so that everybody can enjoy what the scientific mind evolves. Whatever the gap is, it's got to be shortened now." — Thomas L. Stokes, N. Y. World-Telegram.

"We have nothing but applause for the pure intelligence that went into the perfecting of the atomic bomb. But the news of its success is appalling... Our savage generation cannot be trusted with it at all. It is a triumph of research but unfortunately it is also a superb symbol for the Age of Efficient Chaos." — Rev. Robert Gannon, president, Fordham University.

"At New York University, students in a graduate seminar in sociology could talk yesterday only of the dire psychological and social changes in human outlook, with the Damoclean threat... One student had predicted youth's motto would be 'eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die'." — N. Y. Herald Tribune.

"Another evidence of the courage and foresight of Franklin Roosevelt." — Bernard Baruch.

"The public should not become unduly alarmed — this development has been placed in unusually competent hands, those of men who are unselfish and non-political." — Dr. Serge Korff, physics research director, New York University.

"The crew said 'My God' and couldn't believe what had happened." — Associated Press.

"A more hideous weapon of destruction than ever haunted the dreams of a madman... The

morality of war cannot overlook the existence of helpless non-combatants. Voiceless peoples cannot be ruthlessly victimized for the sins of their leaders." — The Pilot, official organ of the Catholic Archdiocese of Boston.

"A telegram deploring atomic bombing of the enemy as 'ruthless murder' was sent to the president yesterday... signed by 176 of 250 members of the Evangelical and Reformed Church Family Camp." — Associated Press.

England

"Sir James Chadwick, British scientist, said today that some of his colleagues refused to help work on an atomic bomb for fear they might be creating a planet-destroying monster." — Associated Press.

"The Archbishop of Canterbury... today expressed his fear that the real danger of the atomic bomb lay not in endless destruction but in the increased leisure it offered mankind." — Reuters dispatch.

"The indiscriminate massacre of civilians by whatever means creates appalling precedents for the future." — H. Stanley Jevons, in wire to Truman and Attlee.

"Its 'unparalleled terrorism disgraces the United Nations.' — Rev. A. D. Belden and Rev. Joseph Jones, in wires to Truman and Attlee.

"Many British people who know more than most about the destructive effects of modern bombing, remarked during the day that they were horrified by the potentialities of the new weapon." — Clifton Daniels, to the N. Y. Times.

The Vatican

"The Vatican deplores the use of the atomic bomb." — August 7. "Pope Pius was quoted today by an American newspaperman as denying that anyone had been authorized to express the Vatican view on the use of the atomic bomb." — August 8.

USSR

"The government newspaper izvestia printed the story on its foreign news page without comment."

Atomic Energy Won't Serve Man Under Capitalism

The pen-prostitutes of capitalist journalism are having a field day, painting the beauties of the atomic bomb. Rushing to the pamphlets of the scientists, who have sold their souls for a bloody mess of postage, they find the words to mock an already betrayed humanity with lying promises.

Atomic energy will do this. And atomic energy will do that. The refrain is getting as tiresome as yesterday's popular song, and just as hollow. It is a companion to the lie of 60 million jobs. The capitalist class did not have the intention and does not have the intention now, of making these or any other good things available to mankind.

PROFITS COME FIRST

They are not going to make life abundant and beautiful for humanity. This would interfere with their profits. It would destroy the basis of their whole system. Can one imagine what the capitalists would do to an invention that made it possible for a worker to get his food and clothing by virtually reaching for them out of the air? Moreover, the use of atomic energy will throw billions of dollars worth of capital on the junk heap, the coal mines, electric power plants, oilwells, etc. etc.

The whole working class will live easier once it is done. But General Electric, Standard Oil and all the rest of them will resist such improvement with all their might.

Under capitalism atomic energy will and can be used for nothing but destruction. The profit system dictates it. Only under socialism which is a cooperative society, wherein production is for use and not for profit, shall we have every motive for using atomic energy in every productive way we can. And only under socialism shall we be able to use it.

Socialist society is not going to be tied down by the idea of lush profits for a handful of leeches. We're going to free production from their bloodsucking grasp. Socialism will make mankind far richer than the rich are today, richer materially and infinitely richer spiritually.

THERE IS NO PEACE!

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of the Fourth International, the Trotskyists everywhere fought against the imperialist war and for the socialist future of the working class!

Today, at this great turning point in history, we bring our message of hope to toiling humanity. We point out the road of salvation!

Let the cataclysmic horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki serve as a clarion call to the working class! The workers must wrench the power from the hands of the blood-drenched capitalist criminals and take their destiny in their own hands. The fight for socialism is now more than a fight to end poverty and inequality, to abolish the exploitation of man by man. Today the fight for socialism is a fight to prevent the annihilation of the human race. Mankind must now exterminate the capitalist system — or be exterminated!

Plunging Toward the Abyss

Time is of the essence. At an ever faster pace capitalism is rushing mankind toward the last abyss of destruction. The end of the second world war does not mean peace, but only an interval between wars, marked by smaller conflicts. This interval will be shorter — much shorter — than the last, because the contradictions of decayed capitalism grow ever more acute and capitalism can survive only by means of war. This breathing-space must be utilized by the progressive forces of society, the working class and its allies, to smash the capitalist system and usher in a socialist society.

Socialism — or perish! These are the alternatives. There is none other. Only the working class, which suffers the cruelties of capitalism in peace and war, can deal the death-blow to this foul system. The workers can rally the broadest masses to their liberating banner and can change the world. Having abolished capitalism, they can harness the productive forces and the wondrous discoveries of science to the service of human needs.

The release of atomic energy opens up grandiose vistas for the development of human society. It holds the promise of eliminating all poverty and raising the living standards of all peoples to undreamed-of heights. Hazardous and unhealthy occupations can become things of the past. The drudgery and servitude of ugly and unnecessary toil can be ended. There can be leisure and comfort and cultural advancement for every man, woman and child on earth.

All on one condition — that capitalism, the strangler of human progress, is destroyed!

Toilers of America! Working men and working women in the factories and on the farms! The Trotskyists summon you to the struggle for the socialist revolution! Enlist with us in the great battle for a new world in which permanent peace and well-being will be assured for all!

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9,000 East Chicago Inland Steel Workers Strike Against Firing Of Union Militants

BULLETIN

INDIANA HARBOR, Ind., Aug. 14 — A mass meeting of Inland Steel strikers here tonight voted to return to work on assurances from CIO Steel Workers' President Philip Murray, the War Labor Board and the company that all grievances will be negotiated immediately. The strikers gave thunderous approval to warnings by rank and file leaders that a new strike will be called if the grievances are not settled satisfactorily.

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

EAST CHICAGO, Ind., August 12 — Nine thousand steel workers walked off their jobs at the Inland Steel Company plant here Friday. The strike was provoked by the company's arbitrary suspension of two grievance committeemen and disciplining of the local union's vice-president.

A departmental work stoppage began Friday morning when it was learned that William Maihofer, vice-president of Local 1010, United Steelworkers of America, had been denied entrance to the plant and suspended for one week.

The suspension was given to Maihofer because he had taken his two-week vacation to which he was entitled by the union's contract.

As the stoppage spread through the Bar Mill, E. C. Johnson, the grievance committeeman, left his post in the motor room in order to negotiate with the management. Although it was shortly after midnight, he was met by the Superintendent of Industrial Relations who promptly fired Johnson and ordered two company guards to escort him to the street.

STRIKE SPREADS

Word rapidly spread through the plant that a union grievance committeeman had been fired. One by one the departments in this huge steel plant began to shut down in protest against this union-smashing on the part of the company. When the walkout had spread to No. 2 Open Hearth, the largest in the world, Harry Powell, another grievance committeeman, was charged with responsibility for the stoppage and was likewise fired. Within a few hours after Powell's discharge the whole plant was shut down.

The following afternoon the workers jammed the Auditorium Hall to hear what their leaders had to say. Maihofer reported that a committee had met with the District Director of the International Union. The International Union advised the committee to send the men back to work and promised to "use all its power" in an effort to reinstate the discharged men. This proposition was very coldly received by the membership.

After the committee's report, a telegram from the War Labor Board was read. The telegram bluntly demanded a return to work. It was greeted with a volley of boos.

Most of the local leaders had no recommendation to make. However, Donald Lutes, chairman of the grievance committee and chief supporter of the District Office, took the floor and suggested a return to work.

REFUSE TO RETURN

He was quickly followed by a militant Negro worker, William Young, a grievance committeeman, who took a stern position against any return to work and urged the men to stay out in defense of their fellow workers. Others, including the fired committeemen, followed Young's lead, and the membership cheered loudly for the position of staying out.

The meeting adjourned when Maihofer informed the membership that a special executive board meeting would be held that evening. They were assured of a decision and recommendation by Sunday afternoon.

The executive board met for over three hours that night. One after another, the rank-and-file leaders attacked the policy of the War Labor Board and the international union leaders. The meeting finally adjourned with a decision to recommend to the membership that the shutdown be extended to every corner of the plant, and that there be no return to work until the fired men are reinstated.

CHEER DECISION

On Sunday afternoon the membership meeting was attended by twice as many members as the one on Saturday. Vice-President Maihofer reported the executive board's decision to extend and continue the shutdown. The hall rocked from the volley of cheers and a motion to support the re-

commendation was carried unanimously.

One speaker after another then arose to encourage the members to stick by their decision. The leaders who on the day before were confused and appeared not to know what course to take, now took a clear-cut position in favor of staying away from the job. Each speech was greeted with more response from the membership.

One of the last speakers described at length the anti-labor record of the War Labor Board, pointing out its strikebreaking role in the mine strikes and its refusal to grant wage increases to the steelworkers. He recommended a mass parade through the town and the plant gates to establish picket lines, a suggestion which the workers cheered loudly.

Just as the meeting was about to adjourn, Joe Jeneske, international union representative, asked for the floor. He started to tell the workers to return to work in compliance with the no-strike pledge, but he could not be heard over the boos and cat-calls.

"How much are you getting from Inland?" was the question thrown at him from several parts of the hall. The workers refused even to listen to Jeneske, and when he did stop talking, there was prolonged booing. The workers then filed into the street, and without the customary parade permit from the city hall, marched to the plant gates in an impressive demonstration of union solidarity.

The strike has clearly demonstrated thus far the willingness of the workers to fight in defense of their union. The position of the top officials of the United Steelworkers of America in demanding a return to work shows clearly that Murray and his lieutenants are too cowardly to fight even when it is a matter of preserving the very existence of their own organization. This is another demonstration of the crying need for a militant, organized left wing in the trade union movement to combat the surrender program of the officialdom.

IN THE NEWS

We'll Take Socialism

"Use of the atomic bomb has created one of the gravest problems in all human history and the only answer to it is prayer, Dr. Earl F. Adams, executive director of the Protestant Council of the City of New York, said yesterday." (N. Y. World-Telegram, August 8).

Singing Another Tune

As ex-Prime Minister Churchill walked into the opening session of the new British Parliament on August 1, the 200 Conservatives and others in the minority sang "For He's A Jolly Good Fellow." But "the nearly 400 Labor members countered with 'The Red Flag,' the revolutionary song," reports the N. Y. Times.

Not Shaving Boss Lawns

In Stamford, Conn., 500 workers at the Schick electric razor plant went on strike in protest against the use of plant workers to mow lawns and trim hedges at the homes of company executives.

Love for Love's Sake

When the Alien Property Custodian was asked to reconsider an order cancelling a public auction of German and Austrian films, Rep. Hugh Delacy (D-Wash.) opposed release of the film because "a love scene in any American film is just a love scene. But a love scene in even the most inconsequential German film is propaganda because it tends to create sympathy towards the Germans."

Watch Your Pockets!

OPA recently introduced the "Honor System" to permit manufacturers to calculate their own price ceilings on the basis of their own statements of costs and profits.

Youngstown CIO Mobilizes Support For Steel Strike

YOUNGSTOWN, O., Aug. 14 — The War Labor Board has agreed to hold a hearing here this Friday on the demands of the 2,000 members of CIO Steel Workers Local 1462 who have been on strike since July 30 at the Brier Hill plant of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company. Previously, the WLB had refused to consider the workers' grievances before they called off their strike.

At a huge mass meeting called by the Mahoning County CIO Council here last Sunday, all industrial union labor in this steel valley pledged its support to the Brier Hill strikers. The meeting was organized by the CIO Council after it had voted 80 to 4 to give full moral support to Local 1462.

ISSUES IN DISPUTE

The issues in the dispute are the same as those which provoked a 10-day strike last May, which was terminated on the assurances of the War Labor Board and James C. Quinn, the district steel union director, that a directive settling the grievances would be issued "immediately." After waiting 52 days for the promised directive, the workers again struck, closing the plant down tight.

Officials of the striking local met with Philip Murray in an effort to persuade him to sanction a strike of all the steel locals in this area. Murray, who is opposed to the slightest militancy, refused to give any aid, despite the testimony of his own personal representative, John Gent, that the Local 1462 walkout resulted from intolerable company provocations.

At the CIO Council's mass meeting today, representatives of the strikers explained the immediate issue, the company's arbitrary shifting of pipefitters, electricians and millwrights to unfamiliar work, the elimination of one maintenance shift and use of skeleton, instead of full crews. The workers are aware that this is part of a move to reduce the working force and institute layoffs.

Sam Evans, grievance Chairman of Local 1462, and Bill Welsh, Maintenance Grievance man, told the mass meeting that the strikers would not go back under the same conditions that provoked their walkout.

LOUD BOOS

District Director Quinn was greeted with loud and prolonged boos when he tried to argue that the War Labor Board would issue a directive just as soon as the men went back on the job. He lauded the WLB and the international union officials.

When he cried, "Don't strike or Congress will even keep you from meeting like this," someone brought the house down by shouting from the floor, "They didn't do it to the coal miners!" When Quinn pleaded, "Leave it up to the international, the international is strong enough to settle your problem," another worker replied: "Why didn't they do it before we went out?"

RESOLUTION PASSED

A resolution was introduced from the floor to establish a broad CIO Council committee to aid the Local 1462 representatives in handling the case. This was opposed by Quinn and Griffin, one of Murray's staff representatives, who complained that such action violated the Steelworkers' constitution, that it was the exclusive business of the international union, etc.

A local union militant, Shifka, answered: "We'll have to do something to get the international to live up to its principles, and this resolution is the thing. If we have to do the wrong thing to get the right results, we'll just have to do it, that's all." The resolution was passed almost unanimously.

Trotskyist Candidates in N. Y. Elections



Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidate for City Council, and Farrell Dobbs, Trotskyist candidate for Mayor in the forthcoming New York elections. Petitions were filed for both candidates.

N. Y. Trotskyists Reach Election Petition Goal

Over the top!

The petition campaign to put candidates of the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in the municipal elections in New York City came to a glorious finish with all banners flying! A grand total of 19,595 signatures were signed by New York workers on the Trotskyist petitions—nearly double the amount required by the election laws. The petitions were filed with the Board of Elections on Tuesday, August 14th.

The successful conclusion of the petition campaign was accomplished by the hard-working comrades who not only went out to collect signatures but who performed the tedious task of sorting and arranging the petitions according to Election and Assembly Districts in accordance with the provisions of the election laws. This work was made doubly difficult because complete elec-

tion district maps were only made available less than a week before the final filing date. Groups of comrades worked far into the night to complete the work.

FINAL COUNT

The final count was announced by Caroline Kerry, campaign manager, who reported that 14,914 signatures were signed to the Farrell Dobbs petitions and

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

4,681 to the Louise Simpson petitions. The actual number of signatures required for Farrell Dobbs, candidate for Mayor, was 7,500 and for Louise Simpson, candidate for City Council 2,000. "The comrades have done a magnificent job," said campaign manager Caroline Kerry, "and our sympathizers were especially helpful. In the heat and rain our people went out day and night, gave up their week-ends and stayed on the job until the last petition was filled. Many people who signed our petitions took subscriptions to The Militant. It was a bang-up campaign and a real demonstration of Trotskyist ability to plan and carry out an important task."

Frankenstein Is Victor In Detroit City Primaries

DETROIT — For the first time in Detroit history a genuine labor candidate topped the field in the mayoralty primary race, when Richard T. Frankenstein, a vice-president of the CIO United Automobile Workers, led the other six candidates with a vote of 82,936 in the municipal primaries on August 7. Frankenstein outdistanced his nearest rival, Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., by 14, 182 votes. Third in line was James D. Friel, County Auditor, who polled only 35,720 of the 201,000 vote total.

Frankenstein's record-breaking victory sent a thrill of elation down the spine of every worker in this area, even those who neglected to cast their ballots last Tuesday. This triumph, following closely on the smashing British Labor Party victory, has served to convince the Detroit workers of the correctness of independent class political action as the only means to drive back the tide of reaction that has swept over them in the war years.

Encouraged by the election results, the entire working class organized in the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods, as well as those still unorganized, are more determined than ever to wage an energetic campaign for the election of Frankenstein as Mayor in next November's run-off against Jeffries.

STILL BIGGER SUCCESS

In the contest for Common Council, labor achieved an even more outstanding success. All three CIO Political Action Committee-endorsed candidates qualified for the run-off in November when nine candidates will be elected from among the highest 18 in the primaries.

Lieutenant George Edwards, of UAW-CIO Local 174, outstripped the field of 66 candidates with 78,136 votes, leading John C. Lodge, Council President for the last decade, by more than 6,000 votes. Rev. Charles A. Hill, only Negro candidate and also PAC-endorsed, finished ninth with 47,588 votes. Tracy M. Doll, of UAW-CIO Local 154, attained eleventh place with 44,427 votes.

Despite the seeming apathy which pervaded this mid-summer primary, as many voters cast ballots this time as in the primary two years ago when Fitzgerald topped Jeffries by 35,000 votes. At least 75,000 more voted this

year than had been previously forecast.

Although Frankenstein, as well as the other candidates, skirted the real issues, there was a growing awareness on the part of the electorate of the stakes involved. This brought about a last-minute rush to the polls.

THE REAL ISSUES

The Detroit Citizens League, leading boss-controlled organization, declared the major issue of the campaign to be "Labor Rule." This tool of the employers thundered: "The issue is whether the City government should be turned over to organized unions."

But government in which the "organized unions" have the dominant role was precisely what the people wanted and voted for. They know that this would stand as an obstacle against the fascist menace in the coming days of unemployment and union-busting. They realize that a CIO Police Commissioner, appointed by a labor mayor, would lessen the danger of police brutality against the working class and Negro people. They further understand that a labor administration would make it virtually impossible for a well-known fascist like Gerald L. K. Smith to obtain free use of public school auditoriums to foster race hatred, as was permitted under the Jeffries regime.

Thus, the class lines were sharply drawn despite Frankenstein's pussyfooting in his campaign pronouncements. This was borne out by the decisive margins which Frankenstein obtained in all working-class districts.

VICIOUS ATTACK

Now that the Detroit workers have shown their class consciousness, it is expected that the capitalist press will cast off all restraint in the coming election

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

In the summer time the sky looks clean and cool and beautiful where the smoke doesn't seep into it and spoil it. The lake stretches out into the sky past the last point of the hazy far shore, and it looks clean and cool and beautiful, except where the smoke settles down on it and dirties it, and except where the red-brown flue dust from the furnaces and the filth of the factories color and clog it.

In the summer time the woods are cool, and it's swell to lie on the sand at the beach and soak up the sun in your naked back and plunge into the cool, clear water and go down and down and see the golden bubbles where the sun follows you right down under the surface. It's swell, if you get the chance.

But in the summer time you go to work and put on your stinking clothes that are stale and wet from yesterday. Or you go into a shop to tend a lathe or mill. And the cutting oil flies onto your face and into your hair so you feel greasy from head to foot, and the fishy stink of the oil mixes into your sweat and you feel like a damn pig.

You sleep with the windows open wide. You leave them open all day long hoping that the breeze that must come sometime will bring a little coolness into the house; but all day it never seems to come, and the windows gape there, waiting and waiting for something that doesn't come, like baby birds holding open their mouths waiting for the mother bird to feed them. But if the mother bird never comes, the little ones just starve to death and rot in the nest; and when the coolness doesn't come the windows keep on gaping and waiting, and nothing happens, except that you get irritable and touchy and sweaty and think, "God, I wish the damn summer would hurry up and get over with."



Summer Time in a Steel Town

Still, there's always something that comes into the windows, even if there doesn't seem to be any breeze to carry it. The dirt sifts in and powders down on the window sill so that when you lean your forearms on it, the sweat soaks up the dust and dirt, and you carry it away with you.

And the heavy vapors from the coke oven go rolling into your house along with the smells of the other plants. The garbage out in the back yard sends up an invisible cloud that crawls into the windows and glues itself into the hot air of the kitchen.

The sun beats down on you in the summer time, stabs through the roof, drops down through the rooms, and piles up heavily from the floors to the ceilings; and when you go to bed at night, the smoky pilings of the sun are still there in the darkness, weighing you down on the heated mattress.

The concrete sidewalks burn into your shoes like the blast furnace runners, and you long for the beach or the woods. You wish you had the money to live in one of the tree-shadowed country homes on the lake shore, where they have private beaches and tennis courts. Or you wish you could even have a home in some part of the city where there are green hedges and tall old trees and soft, wide lawns that smell of earth and grass and clover at night when the dew soaks into them.

But what's the use of dreaming about things like that as long as you're a worker under capitalism? You don't need a crystal ball to see that all you can look forward to is a lifetime of summers of cement and sweat and smells, and factory yards and corrugated iron walls, and quarrelling with your wife in the hot weather and almost hating the kids for running around and yelling, summers of work and monotony and discomfort, maybe ending up with a stroke when you get old and can't take it any more.

Still, if you do want to dream about having a chance to enjoy the summer time and about living like a human being in a home fit for human beings, remember this: even if you can't get these things as long as you're a worker under capitalism, you COULD have them and WOULD have them under socialism. Yes, you could really live and enjoy living... all year round.

French Imperialists Fear For Indo-China Colony

Japan's surrender, coming sooner than they expected, has caused considerable uneasiness among the colonial bandits of French imperialism who have been dreaming of recovering their colony of Indo-China, snatched from them by the Japanese imperialists in 1941-42.

They fear that Indo-China will fall either into the hands of the Anglo-American imperialist "liberators," or, worse still, the Indo-Chinese people.

The latter fear is uppermost. According to a Paris dispatch to the N. Y. Herald-Tribune on Aug. 10, "French officials feel there is a danger, if the Japanese there

(Indo-China) capitulate, that some political group or other may seize control." They hope they may be able to return there quickly, but they lack shipping, and the distance from France is great.

The masses of Indo-China have fought the Japanese imperialists as previously they battled for their liberation from the French colonial despots. They certainly will not be content to exchange the new gang of slave-drivers for the old. They will fight for their independence. The French bandits know this. That is why they are disturbed. That is why, as the Paris dispatch asserts, they are anxious to move in their troops and administrators as quickly as possible.

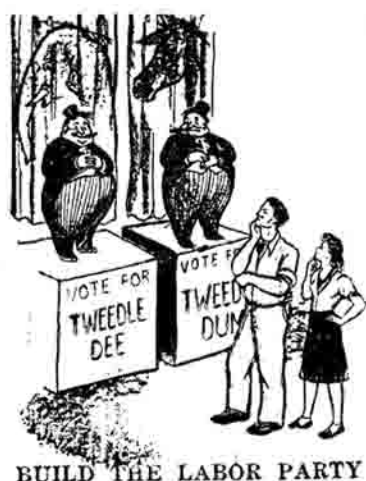
mies of labor head on. He must not will under the lies and slander of the capitalist press and radio commentators. Not only will all labor rally to Frankenstein if he openly and boldly defends the interests of the workers, but as the British events have shown the middle class will likewise come over to labor's banner.

This primary has also demonstrated what happens to an independent party which forsakes the labor movement and seeks to base itself largely on an appeal to the middle class. The three Common Council candidates endorsed by the Michigan Commonwealth Federation ran forty-third, sixty-first and sixty-third. Meyer Schneider obtained the highest total of the three, with only 6,192 votes, and Louis Steigerwald received only 2,756 votes. In turning its back on the mass labor movement and looking predominantly to the middle class, the MCF alienated not only the workers but also the middle class, who will eagerly follow the labor movement if the latter embarks on a bold and independent struggle.



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BUILD THE LABOR PARTY

Wright Aircraft Workers Laid Off On V-J Day Eve

By Dinah Sanders

PATERSON, N. J. — The big shots at the Wright Aeronautical plants in this area worked overtime last week, getting ready for "V-J Day." They almost beat Hirohito to the draw.

When Friday's newspapers headlined Japan's offer of peace, workers carried copies of the papers into the Wright plants, excitedly spreading the news. The excitement swiftly died down, however, when word got around about the bulletins the company had already posted in the corridors.

Entitled "Subject: V-J Day Procedure," the bulletins gave the workers a graphic if brutal picture of what "victory" would mean to them. They would be out of jobs!

The wording of the bulletins seemed deliberately designed to confuse, but the gist of the company's orders was simple: "Immediately upon receipt of the announcement from the President that hostilities with Japan have ended," — close the plants! Don't stop to clock out — get out of the plants in a hurry!

The company's fear showed starkly through the warning: "Plant Protection will arrange to provide the proper number of guards to handle the evacuation in an orderly manner." Precautions would be taken by the company against "uncontrolled demonstrations" within the plants, etc.

Wright is planning its layoffs well — no dramatics, but a "quiet, orderly evacuation." Take a "vacation," all of you, all the 150,000 of you, in 16 plants except supervisory and office personnel needed for a week's inventory. Sure, take a nice, long "vacation" — without pay, of course. We'll call you back when we need you. Perhaps, by the next war—World War III to make the world safe for...

Meanwhile, Wright is waiting for "advice" from the U. S. Government. Oh, yes, they forgot to put that in the bulletin, didn't they? But it was in a newspaper story some of the workers took into Plant 7 Friday midnight, and compared with the bulletins. Wright was closing all its 16 plants immediately upon receipt of an official "V-J Day" announcement — closing them for "48 hours" — and then?

"Plans for operating at the end of this period will depend upon advice from the government con-

cerning production contracts and will be announced at the earliest possible moment."

The bulletins said it a little differently: "...employees not required to work during the inventory period will receive notice by mail, telegram, radio or newspaper announcements as to the date when they will return to the plant to which they are assigned."

It's as simple as that — for the corporations. Just tell the workers to go home and wait until they're called. But it isn't that simple for the workers, who have to worry about rent, gas, grocery bills. Foreboding for the future was the mood in the corridors and at the benches of the huge Plant 7 at Wood-Ridge, N. J., Friday night.

ANGRY VOICES

Groups of bewildered men and women were clustered around the bulletin boards. There was practically no conversation, no discussion in the halls. Just a grim silence as they tried to figure out what they were supposed to do next. But back in the departments, at the benches, there were taut, angry sentences.

"So now we get peace — and no jobs!"

"Yeah, that's right! Why can't we have peace and jobs? Why is it we can't work except when there's a war on?"

"Well, there're welfare agencies, and I'm not too proud to put my kids there to keep them from being hungry..."

"But you know what's goin' to happen, don't you? People are goin' to be killing each other for food — they're going to have to."

General Office employees and salaried supervisors were discussing matters, too.

"I've been going over to the Park Avenue offices for a week now, checking seniorities and getting pay-offs ready. The atmosphere is so tense around here you can feel it crackle."

"Everybody's got the jitters. Got 'em myself."

That's the way it goes. The only way the capitalists can prepare for peace is — to send workers home, give them a "holiday," a good long endless "holiday" — without pay. The Wright Corporation has planned its "V-J Day" well. No dramatics about its layoffs. A quiet, "orderly evacuation." And now for the long grind again — job hunting, rent due, no-more-groceries-until-you-pay, relief, breadlines...



LEON TROTSKY

November 7, 1879 — August 21, 1940

Trotsky Memorial Meetings

This week is the fifth anniversary of the assassination of Leon Trotsky. Socialist Workers Party branches throughout the country are holding meetings in honor of this great proletarian revolutionist.

In New York City a mass meeting will be held Wednesday, August 22, at 8 P. M. in Webster Hall, 119 East 11th St., New York City. James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will deliver the memorial address. Comrade Cannon was the founder of the Trotskyist movement in this country, and has been its chief standard bearer for seventeen years.

Brief speeches will be made by the Trotskyist candidates in the New York City Elections. Farrell Dobbs, candidate for mayor, and Louise Simpson, candidate for city council, will speak on the issues confronting the voters in this campaign. They will present the program of the Socialist Workers Party.

All readers of the Militant, friends and sympathizers of the Trotskyist movement are invited to attend the New York meeting and the meetings in the other cities. The meeting places are listed on this page.

Fifth Anniversary Of Trotsky's Death

Five years ago, Leon Trotsky, founder and leader of the Fourth International, was murdered by an assassin in the employ of Stalin. Through the slaying of Trotsky, Stalin not only destroyed the outstanding Bolshevik opponent of his counter-revolutionary regime, but world imperialism secured the removal from its path of the greatest revolutionary fighter against its Second World War.

On the evening of August 20, 1940, in Coyoacan, Mexico, an agent of Stalin's GPU fatally struck down Leon Trotsky, with a pick-axe blow to the brain. As he lay dying, the great Bolshevik leader branded for all time the perpetrator of this monstrous crime against the world working class: "I will not survive this attack. Stalin has finally accomplished the task he attempted unsuccessfully before."

Proof of Stalin's Complicity

The hireling who committed the murder went under the various names of Jacques Monard and Frank Jason. He had struck up an acquaintance in France with a young woman follower of the Trotskyist movement. Through her he had been introduced to Trotsky, and on one pretext or another, sought access to him in Mexico.

Pretending to seek advice on an article he had written, Monard or Jason succeeded in obtaining an audience alone with Trotsky in his study. While the Bolshevik leader's back was turned, the assassin took a pick-axe which he had under his raincoat and plunged it into his victim's brain. Despite a terrible wound, Trotsky managed to grapple with his assailant and cry for help.

Two guards rushed in and overpowered Jason, who in his fear cried out: "They made me do it. Otherwise they would have killed my mother." "They" were the GPU, Stalin's police-murder apparatus. This was further confirmed by a prepared "confession" found on the assassin's person. It clearly was fabricated by the Kremlin's police agents. The assassin was also armed with a revolver and dagger.

The complicity of Stalin was shown by previous assassination attempts. On May 24 of the same year, a gang of Stalinist gunmen broke into Trotsky's home at night, machine-gunned his bedroom and kidnapped his young American secretary-guard, Sheldon Harte, whose slain body was found a few days later. Subsequently, most of the murder gang were rounded up, and a number of them made full confessions.

Kremlin Protects Its Agents

The powerful arm of the Kremlin reached out to protect its agents. For five years, the leaders of the May 24 attack and Trotsky's assassin have escaped retribution. Jason had the aid of the best legal talent Stalin could buy, and inexhaustible funds to fight his conviction. Little more than a year ago, he was finally sentenced to 20 years imprisonment — maximum penalty under Mexican law for premeditated murder.

On August 21, 1940, Trotsky died. His last words were an expression of supreme confidence that the workers would reach their historic socialist goal, and an exhortation to his followers to continue the great work for which he lived and died. He said: "I am close to death from the blow of a political assassin — Please say to our friends, I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward!"

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

by CHARLES JACKSON

Throughout the war the Negro people have had to endure racial discrimination in almost every phase of their daily lives, in travel, in employment, in the military and in a thousand other ways. What was still worse they had to stand by and swallow the crap of the capitalist war propagandists. This was a war of "the democracies against the fascist oppressors," we were told.

But what capped the climax in this hypocritical farce of acting one way and talking another was when Harry Truman, president of capitalist America where Jim Crow is not only accepted but is enforced, signed the Potsdam declaration which states that discrimination in Germany shall "not be tolerated."

If the Big Business government of America is so concerned about bringing "democracy" and "justice" to the rest of the world why doesn't it clean up its own back yard by correcting some of the injustices which it fosters against Negroes here at home?

While Truman was in Potsdam preaching American democracy 200 Negro citizens in Tuskegee, Alabama were refused the vote by the legal authorities. In Macon County with a population of around 30,000 of which number 80 percent are Negroes only "about ten" colored citizens have been certified to vote.

While Truman stirs the stew of "justice" in Potsdam three Negro WAC's sit down in the "white only" section of a waiting room in Louisville, Kentucky. They are called abusive names, beaten over the head and dragged across the floor by the civilian representatives of "law and order" and then court-martialed by the military for violation of the ninety-third article of war.

While Truman talks of educating the Germans in democratic ideals the schools, the church, the movies, the radio and the newspapers, in America all unite to brand the Negro as a lazy, ignorant, criminal half-man, and in this way to perpetuate the myth of white supremacy.

While Truman spouts that discrimination in any form will "not be tolerated" in Germany, the very army Brass Hats that got him there continue their rigid practice of separating the Negro soldiers into Jim-Crow units where they can be given the lowest and dirtiest duties. In the case of an exception that was

made to build up the illusion that Negroes were making gains from this war, this is "corrected" and the Negroes who had been allowed to volunteer for combat are again reduced to the status of "service" units. I refer to the Seventh U. S. Army Provisional Company No. 2, which served in the European campaign with the Twelfth Armored Division with much courage and honor but which has now been again condemned to unskilled labor duty by Mr. Truman's war department.

While Mr. Truman affixes his signature to a document which demands "equality under the law..." without distinction as to race... a federal judge representing all the authority of the ruling class government decrees that a Federal Housing project in Hamtramck, Michigan which was built with the funds of black and white alike shall only be occupied by members of the white race.

We could go on endlessly to expose the lies of the American capitalist spokesmen when they claim to be for equality and justice but the important point is to understand why they do this. As Mr. Truman, himself admitted in his radio address of August 9, the conditions of economic chaos and human misery in Allied controlled Germany are terrific. The imperialists, in order to cover up their real aims to enslave the German workers and to exploit that country, have donned the robes of guardian angels who are there to see that democracy, justice and equality are carried out in that unhappy land.

Their actions, however, expose them as both national and international liars. They worship greed not justice, profits not democracy, hatred not equality. The capitalist government not only "tolerates" but it enforces discrimination here while granting a fake "political freedom" to starving Europe over whose carcass it is snarling like a hungry wolf.

NATION-WIDE RALLY FOR SOCIALISM

at the Socialist Workers Party

TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETINGS

NEW YORK READERS! HEAR

JAMES P. CANNON

National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, Speak on

"The Heritage of Trotsky and the Tasks of His Disciples"

OTHER SPEAKERS:

FARRELL DOBBS, Candidate for Mayor

LOUISE SIMPSON, Candidate for City Council

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 22, 8 P. M.

WEBSTER HALL

119 East 11th Street

(between Third and Fourth Avenue)

Air-Conditioned Hall

ALLENTOWN

Speaker: V. GREY, 'Militant' Columnist

Tuesday, August 21, 8 P. M.
HOTEL ALLEN, MAIN BALLROOM
Centre Square

AKRON

Friday, August 24, 8 P. M.
405-06 Everett Bldg., 39 E. Market Street
Speaker: T. GRANT
Cleveland Organizer, SWP

BOSTON

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL CENTER
30 Stuart Street
Speaker: L. TRAINOR
Friday, August 24, 8 P. M.

BUFFALO

A moving picture history of the October Revolution
Saturday, August 25, 8 P. M.
MILITANT FORUM
629 Main Street, 2nd floor
Chairman: BILL GRAY, Western N. Y. Organizer, SWP

CHICAGO

Speaker: ALBERT GOLDMAN
Minneapolis Case Defendant and Attorney
Sunday, August 26, 8 P. M.
BUCKINGHAM HALL
59 East Van Buren Street

CLEVELAND

Speaker: JACK WILSON
Youngstown Organizer, SWP
Friday, August 24, 8 P. M.
PECKS HALL
1446 E. 82nd Street, off Wade Park

DETROIT

Speaker: IRVING NORTH
3513 Woodward, Room 21
Sunday, August 19, 8 P. M.

LOS ANGELES

Sunday, August 26, 8 P. M.
EMBASSY AUDITORIUM
South Hall, Ninth and Grant
Speaker: MURRY WEISS
Featuring "CZAR TO LENIN"
World-Famous Film of October Revolution

MILWAUKEE

Speaker: MIKE BARTELL
Chicago Organizer, Socialist Workers Party
Sunday, August 26, 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS
926 N. Plankington Avenue, Room 21

MINNEAPOLIS - ST. PAUL

TWIN CITIES SWP
Tuesday, August 21, 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS
10 South 4th Street, Minneapolis

NEWARK

Films of Trotsky in Coyoacan
Speaker: BILL MORGAN,
'Militant' Feature Writer
Friday, August 24, 8 P. M.
PROGRESSIVE WORKERS SCHOOL
423 Springfield Avenue

PHILADELPHIA

Speaker: V. GREY, 'Militant' Columnist
Monday, August 20, 8 P. M.
LABOR FORUM
405 West Girard Avenue

SAN FRANCISCO

Speaker: ROBERT CHESTER
San Francisco Organizer, SWP
Sunday, August 26, 8 P. M.
SAN FRANCISCO SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
305 Grant Avenue, 4th floor
Special Features!

SEATTLE

Speaker: DAN ROBERTS
Seattle Organizer, SWP
Sunday, August 26, 8 P. M.
1919 1/2 Second Avenue

TOLEDO

Sunday, August 19, 8 P. M.
ROI DAVIS BLDG., ROOM 30
905 Jefferson Avenue
Speaker: GEORGE COLLINS
—also—
Baritone solo by Robert Kendall

YOUNGSTOWN

Speaker: DAVID LANDS
Cleveland Branch, SWP
Sunday, August 26, 8 P. M.
YOUNGSTOWN SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
225 N. Phelps Street

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

There Is None So Blind...

Sidney Hillman, chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, said of the British Labor Party victory: "The results in England parallel the successful efforts of labor, liberal and progressive forces in this country in 1944." Let's see!

The American workers, led by PAC, in November 1944 helped elect the chief political leader of American imperialism, Roosevelt. The labor leaders maintained their coalition with the Democratic Party of capitalist big city bosses and Southern Bourbons. Not a single genuine representative of labor today sits in Congress.

In England, however, the workers kicked out the leading spokesman of British imperialism, forced their leaders to break the political coalition with the capitalist Tories, and gave labor a thumping majority in Parliament.

If these events are "parallel," as Hillman claims, then the only ones who can really see straight are those with cross-eyes.

No Severance Pay

Before the shutdown of the world's largest small-arms plant, the government-owned works in St. Louis run by U. S. Cartridge, the CIO Electrical and Radio Workers had negotiated a severance pay plan, accepted by the company and approved by WLB, to tide over the 25,000 workers being tossed out on the street.

Just as the plant was being closed on August 1, William H. Davis, director of economic stabilization, rejected the severance pay plan, although Congress has made no provisions for reemployment or adequate unemployment compensation.

The 25,000 workers face hunger and destitution. The plant their taxes helped to build lies idle. But the company, which made millions in profits without risk, is protected by federal law. It will receive full and immediate compensation for the war contract termination.

Army Strikebreaking

Forty-two workers at the asbestos plant of the Keasby & Mattison Company, Ambler, Pa., were forced on August 6 to report for pre-induction physical examination because of their participation in a strike last month. The strike was broken when the men returned to work after they were reclassified to 1-A.

These victims of government strike-breaking are married, over 30 years old, and many have children, according to Peter V. Fletcher, president of Local 2409, United Textile Workers, AFL.

Inasmuch as the government broke the strike and forced the men back, Lieut. Col. Hartman, acting state selective service director, "generously" announced that this fact would be "taken into consideration" before final induction notices are given.

Tobin's 'Courage'

Daniel J. Tobin, "Czar" of the AFL Teamsters, in the August issue of his organ, The International Teamster, gives some ad-

Class Consciousness

The supremely class-conscious spokesmen of Big Business are greatly disturbed over evidence of the growing class-consciousness of American labor. Thus, Business Week, August 11, informs its corporate clientele:

"The change which has led from mass picketing... the skeleton picketing, that may be symbolized by the Detroit rubber strike (U. S. Rubber Company), is of considerable significance. It suggests that the authority of a picket line has found a large measure of acceptance among American workers: that strike-solidarity — an important facet of class-consciousness from which American workers were so long thought to be free — has really developed in this country."

And that isn't the only facet, as Business Week might have pointed out. The Detroit primaries have just shown the growth of class-consciousness in the political arena, where Richard Frankenstein, vice president of the United Automobile Workers, scored a thumping victory over six rival candidates for the office of mayor.

vice to union leaders in an article, "Labor Leaders Must Have Courage."

Tobin says he has "no use for the 'softie' business agent or officer." In bold-faced type, he adds "To be an official of a corporation or of a labor union, you must have the courage to disagree."

"Not only are you sent out to administer the ordinary laws and rules, but your duty is to settle disputes on the spot very often, from your understanding of the laws and rules, and to settle those disputes EVEN IF THEY ARE AGAINST YOUR OWN MEMBERS."

Well, it's sound advice for the big boss of a corporation. Or maybe, that's where Tobin got the idea in the first place.

End of a Career

Albert Schneider was one of Daniel Tobin's agents who in 1941 helped to form the "Committee of 100" that fought the militant and progressive leadership which organized and built the famous Minneapolis Drivers Local 544.

When the members of Local 544 voted to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO, Schneider actively participated in the campaign of physical terrorism unleashed by Tobin's "muscle-men" to force the drivers back into the AFL. He and his brother Fred were rewarded by Tobin with jobs as organizers and business agents for 544-AFL.

They did most of their organizing around taverns, built up a police record for assault, disorderly conduct and drunkenness. A couple of weeks ago, Albert Schneider's career as a "labor leader" was abruptly terminated. He got into a tavern brawl with a petty underworld associate, ended up a corpse with four holes from a .38.

SWP BRANCH ACTIVITIES

CLEVELAND — Open meetings are held at Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park N.) on Friday evenings, 8:30 p. m.

LOS ANGELES — Socialist Youth Forum, Thursday, August 30, at 8:30 p. m. Topic: "What Is the Significance of the British Elections?" Speaker: M. Feldman. Free admission; question and discussion period. SWP headquarters, 232 S. Hill St., Rooms 200-204. Obtain The Militant 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. 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 in Carbon Canyon, San Bernardino County, it is two miles from Laidla Hot Springs and 32 miles from Los Angeles.

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

MILWAUKEE — Visit the Milwaukee branch of the SWP at its headquarters, 926 Plankinton Ave., Room 21, any evening between 7 and 9:30 p. m.

MINNEAPOLIS — Hear Grace Carlson speak on "Women in Prison," Sunday, September 9, at 7:30 p. m. Socialist Workers Party headquarters, 10 So. 4 St.

NEWARK — Lectures are held every Friday at the Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave., at 8:30 p. m.

PHILADELPHIA — Open forums every Thursday evening on current topics, at Labor Forum, 405 W. Girard, 8:30 p. m.

Socialist Youth Group meets Friday evenings, 8:30 p. m.; all young people are invited. Labor Forum, 405 W. Girard.

SAN FRANCISCO — Visit the San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., corner of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor; open from 12 noon to 3 p. m. Monday through Saturday, and 7 to 9 p. m. Monday through Friday.

TOLEDO — Forums held every Sunday evening at 905 Jefferson Ave., Room 304. All Militant readers, friends invited.

End Of Pacific War Looses An Avalanche Of Layoffs

By Art Preis

Government operation of government-owned plants which private corporations refuse to operate was demanded last week in Washington by representatives of leading CIO international unions, who called on federal agencies for drastic action to stem the disastrous tide of mass unemployment accompanying the imminent surrender of Japan.

Their proposal was given tremendous urgency last Friday by Japan's formal surrender offer, which immediately precipitated a national avalanche of plant shutdowns, wholesale layoffs and widespread slashes in take-home pay through reductions in the work-week.

Government officials, lacking any effective program to meet the economic crisis that struck this week like a thunderbolt, merely promised to "weigh" the CIO proposal, drafted by a conference of the CIO auto, steel, rubber, shipbuilding, electrical and radio, mine, mill and smelter, and federal workers unions.

American labor tasted the bitter fruits of imperialist "victory" simultaneously with the announcement of Japan's surrender offer. Right after the very first radio flash, for instance, 150,000 workers in 16 Wright Aeronautical and Curtiss-Wright plants were informed they faced a lay-off, announced as a "48-hour holiday" without pay. This "holiday" order was accompanied, however, by an ominous statement that "plans for operating at the end of this period will depend upon

advice from the government concerning production contracts." Other large aircraft concerns made similar announcements.

What that "advice" will be was indicated within 24 hours, when it was announced "unofficially" from Washington that aircraft cutbacks would amount "perhaps" to 90 percent of current production, and an even higher percentage for many types of ammunition, ordnance, chemical supplies and signal corps supplies." (N. Y. Times, Aug. 12).

HUGE CUTBACKS

The Associated Press reported that war material cutbacks amounting to \$12-billion were under way. The War and Navy Departments officially announced immediate contract terminations of \$4-billion, "the first of the expected flood," as the Times admitted.

"The ending of the war will deliver a staggering jolt to the industrial economy of the nation," the N. Y. Herald-Tribune confessed. U. S. Budget Bureau officials said the war's end will mean an immediate \$30-billion federal budget slash in war spending — the sole temporary prop for America's capitalist economy.

Government officials could no longer conceal the terrible fate now immediately in store for the American workers. "A high-ranking Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion official estimated that 8,000,000 persons inevitably would be jobless within the next six months," the United

Press reported the day after the surrender offer.

"UNPREDICTABLE HELL"

From the same source came the prediction that no less than 5,000,000 workers will be tossed out of the war plants within 60 days. And the War Department revealed that some 5,000,000 war veterans might be released within the next 12 months to swell the army of jobless.

CIO officials predicted not less than 10,000,000 unemployed within 30 days of Japanese capitulation — not counting the returning veterans.

Detroit, for instance, "is preparing for a war-end impact expected to displace 250,000 workers, with industrial production pared to 30 per cent within two weeks after war contracts are terminated," reported the United Press on August 11. An official of the CIO United Automobile Workers was quoted as forecasting "ninety days of unpredictable hell."

The imminent end of the Pacific war saw not only millions of workers headed for the scrapheap, but a concerted campaign of wage-slashing through elimination of overtime pay and reduction of the 48 hour week to 40 hours.

WAGE SLASHES

This, according to the statement of Labor Department officials on August 11, will mean an annual slice in national wage totals of up to \$19-billion from the 1944 peak of \$90-billion.



Washington estimates place anticipated loss in overtime pay at \$14-billion. Shifts to low-pay industries will take another \$5-billion from the wage-earners' annual pay checks. Elimination of night-shift differentials alone will cost American labor \$500,000,000.

Although the government was fully aware of the impending catastrophe, the event itself found Congress on a scheduled two-months vacation, after previously scuttling every proposal for maintaining full employment or providing adequate unemployment relief and compensation.

Aside from the various state unemployment insurance provisions ranging as low as \$2 per week for six weeks, and for which tens of millions of workers are disqualified by discriminatory state laws, the only provisions so far made for the unemployed are Congressional blue-prints for a \$1-billion public works program that would give jobs, at relief wages, to not more than 250,000, if Congress should make the necessary appropriations.

Nevertheless, numerous leading Senators and Representatives complained at a proposal to cut their vacations short by reconvening Congress after Labor Day, Sep. 4. Senator Barkley, after a conference with Truman, stated that Congress might be called in session on September 4, if "emergency legislation" can be made ready; "but I am not prepared to state that definitely."

Meanwhile, the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion offered as an immediate "program" the advice that fired workers should register with the U. S. Employment Service for jobs, which the employers should post with the USES—if they have the jobs. For the rest, the OWMR and Truman were primarily concerned with trying to maintain some order in the mad scramble of the various corporations for such limited materials as the government intends to release for civilian production.

All other measures must wait on a dilatory and reactionary Congress, which by its whole past record has given ample proof that the workers can expect no aid from that quarter.

Least of all, can the workers expect Congress to keep the huge government-built and owned plants in operation. Big Business and its Congressional agents plan to "junk" these government plants or turn them over as gifts to the monopolies, which could then remove them from competition or operate them only if they can realize profits.

It is with this key problem, the continued use of the government-built plants, that last week's CIO proposal deals. Its answer — government operation — is a progressive step in the direction of the program advocated throughout the war by the Socialist Workers Party and The Militant.

The Trotskyists have consistently warned of the hunger plans of Wall Street and pointed out that the first major attack on these plans must be government operation of all idle and government-built plants under workers control.

This capitalist government, however, will savagely resist any such infringement on the "free enterprise" system of monopoly capitalism. The attitude of the government, is indicated by an OWMR official, who on August 11 informed the United Press that the government would not undertake public works or other measures which "would place the government in a position of competing with industries for materials."

Thus, the advocacy of government operation of government-built plants is meaningless, if it is accompanied merely by a plea to the present government agencies controlled completely by corporation "dollar-a-year" men. Their exclusive concern is to safeguard capitalist monopoly interests.

This, or any other progressive demand of the labor movement, can be achieved only through a program of action, of militant, united mass struggle. It is up to the ranks of labor not only to compel their leaders to advocate government operation of idle plants under workers control, but to force the initiation of a serious, fighting program of action to attain this demand.

SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM

By V. Grey

Our gang was on the afternoon shift. It was Monday. We were in the locker room at about six o'clock, just doing ordinary things like eating sandwiches or squirting water on somebody from the drinking fountain. Tony was trying to tell a joke. And you could see it wasn't going over. It was a very hot day, even hotter as night began to come. Nobody gave a damn about anything.

Then everything changed, just like it does when you tap a lazy looking furnace at the open hearth, and all hell breaks loose. Shorty came running in with his eyes bulging. "They just blew a whole city off the map — with one bomb!"

That can't be true, everybody thought. It doesn't make sense. But just to look at Shorty's face, you could see it was true. "What city," Breezy asked, trying to be smart but sounding awfully dumb.

Just Some Place in Japan

"I don't know. Some place in Japan," Shorty said still in a daze.

"Good thing it's them and not us," cracked Breezy. "It's an atomic bomb! It blows everything apart for miles around. Just think! You could be walking down a country road and say a town gets bombed a couple of miles away. You just fold up, that's all!"

"Jesus Christ," Slim and Tony said at the same time. A couple more fellows came in from the parking lot where they'd been listening to auto radios. They told the same story. They explained what they had heard about the way the bomb works, and how the radio announcer said it would shorten the war.

Pop Philiber uncrossed his legs. "How many people were in that town?" he asked.

"Three hundred and some thousand," Shorty said.

"Well supposin'—just supposin'—that this new bomb shortens the time of the war, it don't shorten the trouble none. It don't make it any easier for the working people. Three hundred thousand of them get it in five seconds, instead of five years. So what if it does shorten the war?"

Scissorbill Sam Speaks Up

"Aw, they'd all commit suicide anyhow," said Scissorbill Sam, the boss's man. "What do they care?"

Nobody laughed at Scissorbill Sam. "Nobody likes to die—ever!" said Pop, as though he wasn't thinking of Japanese people in particular. "Especially kids. Half of all the people in that town must have been little kids."

Pop didn't say anything more. He didn't figure there was anything to say. The fellows didn't say anything else either. That is — all they talked about was atoms, bombs, and electrons. What more could be said about the thing itself? If the war is too terrible to feel the murder of it, how can you feel it any deeper when multiplied by a million?

Atomic Bomb Wipes Out Defenseless Civilians in the City of Nagasaki

Made in U. S. A.

It was a "race," they say, between German and Allied scientists to get there first with the atomic bomb. Had Germany won the race and dropped an atomic bomb on, say, Philadelphia, this would have been an act of the barbarous "Huns."

Hiroshima is different. Aren't the Japanese just sub-human monkeys? "Thank God," says Truman, that American imperialism won the race. And so the most diabolical death-dealer will bear an exclusively American label — for a time!

DEATH OF A CITY

Twelve hours after the atomic bomb had been dropped, Robert Shaplen, war correspondent of the National Broadcasting Company, flew within a few miles of "what was left of Nagasaki." He said "it was like looking over the rim of a volcano in the process of erupting... Nagasaki was still a mass of acrid flame and smoke. The blazing area extended at least ten miles. We saw four huge towers of flame shooting skyward to several thousand feet, indicating that explosions were still going on. The tongues of shooting flame leaped into the smoke layer, a weird orange color. Watching this tremendous fire, the funeral of a whole city, it was obvious that nothing could have a chance of survival."

Airmen 70 to 250 miles from the scene of this man-contrived disaster reported all through the following night by radio that they could see Nagasaki burning "fiercely." Flyers as far as 250 miles away who saw the actual bombing described it as "too tremendous to believe." One said he saw "a fiery yellow orange ball shoot into the sky for 8,000 feet, followed by a column of smoke which rose to at least 20,000 feet."

This was the terrible fate of Nagasaki's 250,000 people. Four days earlier, the 344,000 inhabitants of Hiroshima had been obliterated by an atomic bomb. "ALL LIFE AT AN END IN HIROSHIMA" was the jubilant

headline in one New York newspaper which printed accounts of the awful catastrophe given out by the Tokyo radio. This is what the Tokyo radio said:

"Medical relief agencies that were rushed from the neighboring districts were unable to distinguish, much less identify, the dead from the injured. The impact of the bomb was so terrific that practically all living things, humans and animals, were literally seared to death by the tremendous heat and pressure engendered by the blast. All of the dead and injured were burned beyond recognition. With houses and buildings crushed, including the emergency medical facilities, the authorities are having their hands full in giving every available relief possible."

"The effect of the bomb was widespread. Those outdoors burned to death, while those indoors were killed by the indescribable pressure and heat."

In his radio report to the American people on August 9, President Truman declared, with an air of icy unconcern, as if he were talking about the extermination of cockroaches: "The world will note that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a military base." Then came the nauseous, hypocritical cover-up: "That was because we wished in this first attack to avoid, insofar as possible, the killing of civilians."

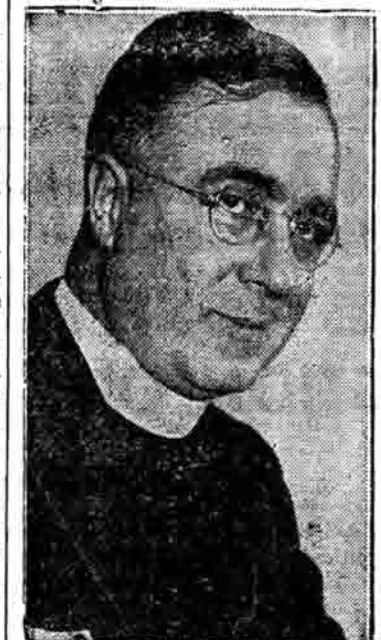
VOTE TROTSKYIST!

In the Coming New York Elections

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

ORGANIZATION OF THE WAR VETERANS BY THE TRADE UNIONS!

The forces of native fascism are lying in wait for the veterans. They want to turn them against racial minorities, poison them against the labor movement, organize them into fighting detachments and establish fascism in America. The trade unions must act in time to save the people from this fate. Make the struggle for the veterans' rights a union fight!



used to repeat, "Adolf Hitler is the greatest leader in the history of the world." The appearance of McWilliams as a lieutenant of Reynolds signifies the growing unification of the forces of American fascism.

Propaganda Battlefront reports that McWilliams, "using Jack Williams as an alias... called on Cleveland industrialists from mid-May until mid-June. With W. Malone, Reynolds' 'public relations director,' McWilliams helped to visit or phone prominent men in nearly 30 Cleveland firms. Before going to Ohio, he worked Boston along with J. A. Forsland, another organizer and solicitor for Reynolds' Party."

The sales kit of the Nationalist Party solicitors contains photostatic copies of several checks, including one for \$2,500 alleged to be from the Republic Steel Corp. Republic Steel, however, says its books fail to disclose the record of any such check. According to A. F. Weber, one of the Cleveland industrialists, the sales talk of Reynolds' solicitors goes like this: "The Nationalists expect to get into office and help industry. They would do away with all business regulations, lower taxes, and make unions incorporate. The Nationalists would put an end to the Communists and the foreigners in this country."

The calculated drive of Reynolds for funds from big industrialists demonstrates that he thoroughly understands the necessary connection between monopoly capitalism and fascism. Like Hitler, whom he admired and studied, he knows that to be successful he must cement his ties with Big Business.

The Nationalist Party is a dangerous growth that can become a major threat to American labor if it is permitted to thrive without opposition.

(To Be Continued)

Native Fascism -- II

American Big Business Finances Fascist Scum

By Joseph Hansen

Fascism in its initial stages appears as a motley assortment of divided groups and competing leaders. All shadings of race hatred, bigotry and superstition have their special representatives, so that the movement presents many facets to the disoriented masses. Left by themselves, these malignant groups would eventually fade out of existence. But they are not permitted to die a natural death.

A great unifying force begins to influence them. This unifying force is Big Business. The ruling class understands very well that the free development of the labor movement means the doom of capitalism. Consequently, at a certain stage, the leaders of Big Business foster the fascist groups.

BIG BUSINESS TIES

The fascist movement and Big Business then become closely bound together. The individual demagogues vying for leadership seek the patronage of Big Business. The tycoons of industry single out the most promising fascist demagogues to receive tremendous sums of money for the expansion of their influence.

The fascist groups begin to coalesce; a dominating leader moves to the foreground; the other contending leaders become subalterns. A unified fascist apparatus spreads throughout the embittered sections of the population. A streamlined political machine begins carrying the ideas of fascism into action.

Under the conditions of great social crisis, mass unemployment, misery, hunger, the fascist movement can record spectacular growth. Its natural field is the middle class, but it can likewise effect the fringes of the working class, particularly if the working class lacks a revolutionary political party ready to fight fascism to the death. Today the United States is rapidly nearing the brink of such a social crisis — the postwar depression. The working class has not yet organized an independent Labor Party.

SINISTER FIGURES

The readiness of Big Business to foster fascism in America was demonstrated beyond doubt during the terrible crisis that racked the country from 1929 to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939.

As long ago as 1934, Major Smedley D. Butler revealed that certain sinister figures of Wall Street, principally connected with the Morgan interests, had approached him with the idea of organizing a militant political movement of World War veterans. \$50 million was available as a starter. Butler's revelations made a tremendous sensation at the time.

Shortly thereafter, the fascist demagogue Father Coughlin skyrocketed into prominence. He built a million dollar shrine. He broadcast over a wide network of radio stations, distributed an

expensively printed magazine throughout the country without advertising or acknowledged subsidies, and stood behind such native fascist organizations as the mushrooming Christian Front and Christian Mobilizers. The mysterious sources of his vast funds have not been unveiled to this day. Investigation of his friendship with William Randolph Hearst, the Ford family, other moguls of the automobile industry, and his connections with big-time operators on the New York Stock Exchange, would undoubtedly prove highly revealing.

TRUMAN AND REYNOLDS

Today ex-Senator Robert R. Reynolds and Gerald L. K. Smith are moving into prominence as fascist demagogues in America. Reynolds, organizing the Nationalist Party, is operating in close contact with the political fountainhead of American capitalism. His marriage with the wealthy heiress Evelyn ("Hope Diamond") McLean greatly bolstered his already prominent political standing in reactionary circles. According to Drew Pearson, the Washington columnist, members of President Truman's cabinet are frequently seen in the fashionable drawing room Mrs. Reynolds maintains.

Reynolds' drive to tap funds from Big Business is well organized. "George Faist has the New York 'territory,'" reports Eugene Segal, staff writer of the Scripps-Howard chain in a July 18 syndicated article; "and solicitors in Chicago are one O'Toole and Harry E. Prettyman, a high-pressure promoter who was in the real estate business in Florida until his license was revoked... At least 20 men are out soliciting funds for Reynolds' nationalists."

Among the organizers of Reynolds' fund-raising campaign is Joseph E. McWilliams, the Yorkville tough better known as Joe McNazi. It was McWilliams who organized the gangster-like Christian Mobilizers as part of Coughlin's Christian Front. Among the Mobilizers he organized shock troop units known as the Mobilizer Guards. Aping the pattern laid down by Mussolini and Hitler in their rise to power, these "Guards" were among the chief culprits in the beatings, stabbings and hoodlumism that swept the streets of New York in 1939. In September, 1939 McWilliams was elected to the National Supreme Council of the Ku Klux Klan and in the following year he organized his own group, the American Destiny Party. He

International Fund Drive Passes Half-Way Mark

By FARRELL DOBBS
Campaign Director

The half-way mark has been passed in the Socialist Workers Party's \$5,000 International Solidarity Fund. With \$2,774.90 raised at the end of the fourth week, the over-all score is 55 percent.

The Pittsburgh and Allentown-Quakertown Branches have joined the 100 percent group, making a total of five branches which have already sent in their full quota. Milwaukee, San Francisco, Bayonne, Los Angeles and Youngstown have all passed the three-quarter post and are now in the home stretch.

FROM THE BRANCHES

The Socialist Workers Party is raising the \$5,000 International Solidarity Fund to provide ur-

gently needed aid to our Trotskyist co-thinkers in the war-torn countries.

AKRON: "Last Friday night the Akron Branch had a mobilization to collect funds for the International Solidarity Drive. Each pair of comrades was given a list of Militant subscribers, a collection can and a copy of the paper with your article on the fund drive.

"We went from door to door asking people how they liked the paper, and explaining the International Solidarity Fund. We asked them to participate with us in this drive. Everyone we spoke to was very enthusiastic about the paper and very understanding about our need for funds to aid our co-thinkers abroad. We collected almost \$7.00 in small change, and many people asked

us to come back for money as they hadn't received their pay checks for the week. As one woman said, 'I'm poor and I've always been poor but I'll share with those who have less than I have.'

"After the mobilization we went to the house of one of the comrades for sandwiches and cold drinks, and to discuss the mobilization. As we paid for the sandwiches and pop, we made a few more dollars for the Fund.

"This is the first tag day we've had here, and even if we didn't raise a lot of money we had a very rich experience. First, we had a chance to visit and talk with some of our new Militant readers, and second we feel that we brought them closer to us by asking them to work with us in this very concrete way of contributing to our International Fund.

"We were all very pleased, and although our agenda is quite full we plan to have another mobilization before the campaign is over."

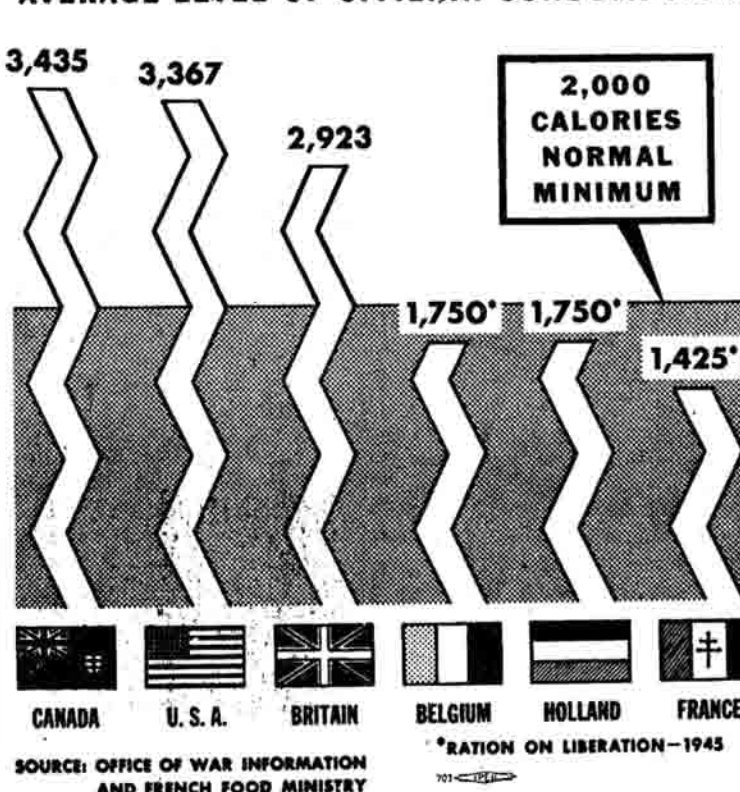
SAN FRANCISCO: "We are sending you \$45 on our quota. \$10 of this is a contribution from a sympathizer. That leaves us with another \$100 to send you, and I feel certain that we will meet it."

International Solidarity Fund

SCOREBOARD

BRANCH	Quota	Paid	Percent
Buffalo	\$125.00	\$145.00	116
Reading	25.00	25.00	100
St. Louis	25.00	25.00	100
Pittsburgh	25.00	25.00	100
Allentown			
Quakertown	60.00	60.00	100
Milwaukee	30.00	28.00	93
San Francisco	375.00	307.00	82
Bayonne	100.00	78.00	78
Los Angeles	750.00	575.00	77
Youngstown	85.00	65.00	76
Newark	100.00	71.00	71
Philadelphia	125.00	89.35	71
Rochester	15.00	10.25	68
Twin Cities	250.00	162.50	65
Boston	125.00	70.00	56
Toledo	100.00	52.00	52
Chicago	500.00	254.00	51
Detroit	400.00	164.00	41
New York	1000.00	371.00	37
Akron	75.00	23.50	31
Cleveland	75.00	22.00	29
Seattle	350.00	100.00	29
Members-at-Large			
and Friends	245.00	52.30	21
N. Y. Youth Group	15.00	0	0
San Diego	25.00	0	0
TOTAL	\$5,000.00	2,774.90	55

FOOD—A WORLD PROBLEM



The chart above shows the terrible hunger in "liberated" Europe, with food-consumption in France, Holland and Belgium less than half that in the United States. Germany, however, has been allotted still less by AMG—only 1150 calories a day.

Carlson Describes Progress Of Trotskyism On West Coast

By Grace Carlson

SAN FRANCISCO, August 11 — California is generally regarded as the center of anti-Japanese propaganda. Here, the bosses try to set the white workers against the Japanese workers by instilling race hatred into them just as the southern bosses divide the white and Negro workers.

But I have seen very little evidence of anti-Japanese feeling in the California cities which I have visited during the tour — San Pedro, Los Angeles and San Francisco. The conversations which I overheard on the trains and in restaurants and street cars expressed relief that V-J day is near, but I heard many condemnations of the American and English governments for using the atomic bomb against helpless civilians.

JUSTIFYING BARBARISM

Of course, the capitalist newspapers of California attempted to whip up anti-Japanese feeling. They knew that this was necessary in order to justify the barbarism of the Anglo-American annihilation campaign against Japanese civilians in the last days of the war. I suppose that some California workers may have been taken in by this



GRACE CARLSON

propaganda, but I haven't come across many of them.

The workers who have come to our meetings have been unanimous in their outspoken condemnation of the atomic bomb horrors. They are beginning to see more clearly what Trotskyists mean when they say that the outlook for humanity is either "Forward to Socialism" or "Backward to Barbarism."

POPULAR DEMAND

As the war draws to a close, there have been an increasing number of questions at the meet-

ings about the Socialist Workers Party's answer to unemployment. This has been especially noticeable in the California "war boom" cities which will be hit very quickly by the peacetime cut in production. Our proposal to operate these factories under workers' control, to produce the things which workers need is a popular one with the advanced workers of this area.

We are recruiting many such workers into the Party—but we have only made a start in comparison with what we can hope to achieve in the near future. We've made a very good start though! The San Pedro, Los Angeles and San Francisco branches are active, growing organizations. Each of these branches has spacious new (since I was in California on the last tour) headquarters, but they are all complaining that they have outgrown their headquarters.

And from the viewpoint of the large meetings we had in each of these centers, and from the glimpses I had of the rapid tempo of party recruiting, I can agree that these branches may feel a little cramped in their present headquarters. But "growing pains" are suffered gladly by Trotskyists and in California they'll cure them by moving on to bigger and better headquarters.

Conquerors Wine and Dine At Potsdam Like Barbaric Despoilers Of Antiquity

By Bill Morgan

History books describe the colorful victory celebrations of ancient Rome. Barbarian splendor combined with savage cruelty as the conquerors were entertained at lavish feasts of meat and wine while the beaten and mutilated victims were dragged in chains behind the gaudily bedecked chariots of the triumphant generals. Bouquets and precious gifts showered the victors as stones and whips drove the half-starved prisoners through the streets to the slave markets.

And in the land of the defeated, newly appointed governors collected heavy taxes, looted and enforced their wills with the aid of armies of occupation. • The

scholarly historians say this was a "pagan" and "inhuman" world — a barbarian civilization.

POTSDAM CELEBRATION

How will the historians of the future describe the recent victory conference of the "Big Three" at Potsdam? Will the future student of history read about the tons of rare and exquisite foods brought by airplane from the far corners of the earth to a blackened and ravaged Germany? And the trees, shrubbery and flowers hauled hundreds of miles by truck to decorate and make beautiful the vast grounds surrounding the palace at Potsdam where the victors were housed in the midst of wrecked buildings and ruined roads — will all this be

recorded for the future students of history? Now in the year of the event all the capitalist newspapers tell the story of the starvation, the slave laborers being carted off to work under drill sergeants and "ex-fascists." Today all may see the pictures and read the story of the hunger, disease and humiliation that is the lot of millions of German workers and poor farmers, their wives and children but what history books will tell this story?

In recent dispatches from the great conference comes a graphic picture of the condition of the defeated, the victims of the triumphant leaders of the great "Democracies."

"Half-famished boys and girls were still searching garbage pails

outside military mess-halls today for scraps to appease their gnawing hunger. One tiny macedonian about 8 years old came up to me today proffering a battered old Kiddy Kodak in exchange for which she hoped to obtain a little food. A nine year old boy offered me his harmonica in exchange for a candy bar," reports Gault MacGowan of the New York Sun.

Anti-Nazis, children of Catholic and Jewish families, children of American, Irish and Scotch mothers who had married German workers and who were therefore on suspect lists of the Nazis, suffer with the entire population, reports the same correspondent. Nazi and anti-Nazi alike are left to starve to death.

The History Of American Trotskyism

In earlier installments of his book, Comrade Cannon described the origin of the American Communist Party in the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1919. After four years of underground work, it became a legal party in 1923. Factional struggles began between the proletarian and petty-bourgeois tendencies within the party, culminating in the expulsion of the proletarian left wing for Trotskyism, October 27, 1928. Slandered, ostracized, and physically attacked by the Stalinists, the handful of Trotskyists persisted, and gradually won new sympathizers. Defense guards were organized to protect their meetings. Finally, in the spring of 1929, contact was established with Leon Trotsky, and the platform of the Left Opposition published in *The Militant*. The first national conference of American Trotskyists, in May, 1929, represented about 100 members. This is the thirteenth installment of Cannon's book.

Our last lecture brought us up to the first National Conference of the Left Opposition in May 1929. We had survived the difficult first six months of our struggle, kept our forces intact and gained some new recruits. At the first conference we consolidated our forces into a national organization, set up an elected leadership and defined our program more precisely. Our ranks were firm, determined. We were poor in resources and very few in numbers, but we were sure that we had laid hold of the truth and that with the truth we would conquer in the end. We came back to New York to begin the second stage of the struggle for the regeneration of American Communism.

The fate of every political group—whether it is to live and grow or degenerate and die—is decided in its first experiences by the way in which it answers two decisive questions.

The Vital Importance of Program

The first is the adoption of a correct political program. But that alone does not guarantee victory. The second is that the group decide correctly what shall be the nature of its activities, and what tasks it shall set itself, given the size and capacity of the group, the period of the development of the class struggle, the relation of forces in the political movement, and so on.

If the program of a political group, especially a small political group, is false, nothing can save it in the end. It is just as impossible to bluff in the political movement as in war. The only difference is that in wartime things are brought to such a pitch that every weakness becomes exposed almost immediately, as is shown in one stage after another in the current imperialist war. The law operates just as ruthlessly in the political struggle. Bluffs do not work. At most they deceive people for a time, but the main victims of the deception, in the end, are the bluffers themselves. You must have the goods. That is, you must have a correct program in order to survive and serve the cause of the workers.

An example of the fatal result of a light-minded bluffing attitude toward program is the notorious Lovestone group. Some of you who are new to the revolutionary movement may never have heard of this faction which once played such a prominent role, inasmuch as it has disappeared completely from the scene. But in those days the people who constituted the Lovestone group were the leaders of the American Communist Party. It was they who carried through our expulsion, and when about six months later, they themselves were expelled, they began with far more numerous forces and resources than we did. They made a much more imposing appearance in the first days. But they didn't have a correct program and didn't try to develop one. They thought they could cheat history a little bit; that they could cut corners with principle and keep larger forces together by compromises on the program question. And they did for a time. But in the end this group, rich

HOW THE PIONEER TROTSKYISTS SOLVED KEY QUESTION OF "WHAT TO DO NEXT?"

By James P. Cannon

In the course of development it was proved that all those who, whether from impatience, ignorance or subjectivity—whatever the cause might be—prematurely announced the death of the Russian revolution, were in reality announcing their own demise as revolutionists. Each and every one of these groups and tendencies degenerated, fell apart at the very base, withdrew to the side lines, and in many cases went over into the camp of the bourgeoisie. Our political health, our revolutionary vitality, were safeguarded, first of all, by the correct attitude we took toward the Soviet Union despite the crimes that had been committed, including those against us, by the individuals in control of the administration of the Soviet Union.

Understanding the Party's Tasks

On the other hand, if the group misunderstands the tasks set for it by the conditions of the day, if it does not know how to answer the most important of all questions in politics—that is, the question of what to do next—then the group, no matter what its merits may otherwise be, can wear itself out in misdirected efforts and futile activities and come to grief.

So, as I said in my opening remarks, our fate was determined in those early days by the answer we gave to the question of the program and by the way we analyzed the tasks of the day. Our merit, as a newly created political force in the American labor movement—the merit which assured the progress, stability and further development of our group—consisted in this, that we gave correct answers to both those questions.

The conference didn't take up every question posed by the political conditions of the time. It took up only the most important questions, that is, those which had to be answered first. And the first of these was the Russian question, the question of the revolution in existence. As I remarked in the previous lecture, ever since 1917 it has been demonstrated over and over again that the Russian question is the touchstone for every political current in the labor movement. Those who take an incorrect position on the Russian question leave the revolutionary path sooner or later.

The Russian question has been elucidated innumerable times in articles, pamphlets and books. But at every important turn of events it arises again. As late as 1939 and 1940 we had to fight the Russian question over again with a petty-bourgeois current in our own movement. Those who want to study the Russian question in all its profundity, all its acuteness and all its urgency can find abundant material in the literature of the Fourth International. Therefore I do not need to elucidate it in detail tonight. I simply reduce it to its bare essentials and say that the question confronting us at our first convention was whether we should continue to support the Soviet state, the Soviet Union, despite the fact that the direction of it had fallen into the hands of a conservative, bureaucratic caste. There were people in those days, calling themselves and considering themselves revolutionary, who had broken with the Communist Party, or had been expelled from it, and who wanted to turn their backs entirely on the Soviet Union and what remained of the Russian revolution and start over, with a "clean slate" as an anti-Soviet party. We rejected that program and all those who urged it on us. We could have had many members in those days if we had compromised on that issue. We took a firm stand in favor of supporting the Soviet Union; of not over-turning it, but of trying to reform it through the instrumentality of the party and the Comintern.

The Russian question always a test

The trade union question had an extraordinary importance then as always. At that time it was particularly acute. The Communist International, and the Communist parties under its direction and control, after a long experiment with right-wing opportunist policies, had taken a big swing to the left, to ultra-leftism—a characteristic manifestation of the bureaucratic centrism of the faction of Stalin. Having lost the Marxist compass, they were distinguished by a tendency to jump from the extreme right to the left, and vice versa. They had gone through a long experience with rightwing policies in the Soviet Union, conciliating the kulaks and Nepmen, until the Soviet Union, and the bureaucracy with it, came to the brink of disaster. On the international arena, similar policies brought similar results. In reacting to this, and under the relentless criticisms of the Left Opposition, they introduced an ultra-leftist overcorrection in all fields. On the trade union question they swung around to the position of leaving the established unions, including the American Federation of Labor, and starting a new made-to-order trade union movement under the control of the Communist Party. The insane policy of building "Red Unions" became the order of the day.

Our first National Conference took a firm stand against that policy, and declared in favor of operating within the existing labor movement, confining independent unionism to the unorganized field. We mercilessly attacked the revived sectarianism contained in this theory of a new "Communist" trade union movement created by artificial means. By that stand, by the correctness of our trade union policy, we assured that when the time arrived for us to have some access to the mass movement we would know the shortest route to it. Later events confirmed the correctness of the trade union policy adopted at our first conference and consistently maintained thereafter.

The third big important question we had to answer was whether we should create a new independent party, or still consider ourselves a faction of the existing Communist Party and the Comintern. Here again we were besieged by people who thought they were radicals: ex-members of the Communist Party who had become completely soured and wanted to throw out the baby with the dirty bath water; syndicalists and ultra-leftist elements who, in their antagonism to the Communist Party, were willing to combine with anybody ready to create a party in opposition to it. Moreover, in our own ranks there were a few people who reacted subjec-

tively to the bureaucratic expulsions, the slander and violence and ostracism employed against us. They also wanted to renounce the Communist Party and start a new party. This approach had a superficial attraction. But we resisted, we rejected that idea. People who over-simplified the question used to say to us: "How can you be a faction of a party when you are expelled from it?"

We explained: It is a question of correctly appraising the membership of the Communist Party, and finding the right tactical approach to it. If the Communist Party and its members have degenerated beyond reclamation, and if a more progressive group of workers exists either actually, or potentially by reason of the direction in which such a group is moving and out of which we can create a new and better party—then the argument for a new party is correct. But, we said, we don't see such a group anywhere. We don't see any real progressiveness, any militancy, any real political intelligence in all these diverse oppositions, individuals and tendencies. They are nearly all side-line critics and sectarians. The real vanguard of the proletariat consists of those tens of thousands of workers who have been awakened by the Russian revolution. They are still loyal to the Comintern and to the Communist Party. They haven't attentively followed the process of gradual degeneration. They haven't unraveled the theoretical questions which are at the bottom of this degeneration. It is impossible even to get a hearing from these people unless you place yourself on the ground of the party, and strive not to destroy but to reform it, demanding readmission to the party with democratic rights.

Fruits of the Correct Tactic

We solved that problem correctly by declaring ourselves a faction of the party and the Comintern. We named our organization the Communist League of America (Opposition), in order to indicate that we were not a new party but simply an opposition faction to the old one. Experience has richly demonstrated the correctness of this decision. By remaining partisans of the Communist Party and the Communist International, by opposing the bureaucratic leaders at the top, but appraising correctly the rank and file as they were at that time, and seeking contact with them, we continued to gain new recruits from the ranks of the Communist workers. The overwhelming majority of our members in the first five years of our existence came from the CP. Thus we built the foundations of a regenerated Communist movement. As for the anti-Soviet and anti-party people, they never produced anything but confusion.

Out of this decision to form, at that time, a faction and not a new party, flowed another important and troublesome question which was debated and fought out at great length in our movement for five years—from 1928 until 1933. That question was: What concrete task shall we set for this group of 100 people scattered over the broad expanse of this vast country? If we constitute ourselves as an independent party, then we must appeal directly to the working class, turn our backs on the degenerated Communist Party, and embark on a series of efforts and activities in the mass movement. On the other hand, if we are to be not an independent party but a faction, then it follows that we must direct our main efforts, appeals and activities, not to the mass of 40 million American workers, but to the vanguard of the class organized in and around the Communist Party. You can see how these two questions dovetailed. In politics—and not only in politics—once you say "A" you must say "B." We had to either turn our face towards the Communist Party, or away from the Communist Party in the direction of the undeveloped, unorganized and uneducated masses. You cannot eat your cake and have it too.

(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.

Urges Negroes To Cast Votes For Trotskyists

Editor:

It is often said we are fighting this war for freedom, to give the world the rights God gave to them but were stolen by Germany and Japan.

It no doubt gives free people pleasure to know if their blood must be given it is for freedom's cause. The French, Italians, Germans and others are now a happier people; America sent her finest men to liberate them, her sons, black and white, gave their lives for their freedom.

Now I ask, who is going to free the Negro? I am afraid the answer is the Negro; he must free himself.

Ask, if you dare, any Negro soldier what he is fighting for; can he say to preserve the American way of life? Indeed not. What is the American way of life for a Negro?

This is the American way of life for a Negro in a white world. Slavery in the modern manner in the South; low wages, poor housing throughout the country; insults from such men as Bilbo, Eastland and Rankin. These are but a very few of the ills of the American way of life for the American Negro!

Roosevelt tried to pretend to be a modern Abraham Lincoln but he fooled only the ignorant. He ignored the issues so close to every Negro heart and died leaving the same issues to be ignored by Truman. We really cannot even hope for any improvements now.

The Negro people must realize now there is but one hope left and that is the Socialist Workers Party. How can we believe in any other when each new term brings worse people to the highest offices in the government?

I want to urge every Negro worker to learn of this organization, read their literature, investigate their teachings, and you will realize it is our last hope.

On July 28, I visited The Militant at 116 University Place here in New York and had the privilege of meeting several of the staff members. I was honored to meet these people who are fighting such a noble fight for the Negro.

I want to remind my people of the years 1929 to 1941 and with those years in mind, investigate the Socialist Workers Party. When you have become aware of socialist teachings you will realize no other group offers so much for the Negro.

You have a vote here in New York City and I want every Negro man and woman to use it to the best advantage by voting for the Socialist Workers Party; all others have failed us.

If we will unite and give our votes to the Socialist Workers Party, the day will not be far away when men like Eastland, Bilbo, Rankin and other southern liars will be taught through experience the dignity of man regardless of his color, race or creed.

I want every reader of our Militant to make a friend a reader; give him your copy to read until he sees the light, then he too will get it weekly. We who are in the light must lead others from the darkness. As for myself, I am going to work without ceasing for our cause, because I have no other hope. How can I?

V. H.
New York

De Leon and the SLP

Editor:

Daniel De Leon was a founder of the IWW, a man hated and feared by that slimy, toady Gompers — a militant unionist, a trade unionist who saw clearly the historic task of the unions. But who today fears the Socialist Labor Party? Who has heard of Arnold Peterson? Where is the economic organization of the present-day SLP? How long has it been since he has participated in the class struggle?

Where are all, Oh, wisest seers, And where the SLP of other years?

In the Socialist Workers Party, in the international Trotskyist movement.

Yes, the inverted Stalinists, the anti-De Leonist leadership of the present-day SLP can't see the looming shadow of the Fourth International, but more and more rank and file SLPers can. I for one. Let's see some of De Leon's writings in The Militant, and the slogan "Industrial Republic — The Workers' Government." Publish in The Militant the contents of the six leaflets withdrawn from circulation by the SLP out of fear of the capitalist jails, and preceding each one, place De Leon's "The Party Stand." Then let them call us reformists!

R. S.
Bellaire, O.

Ball-Burton-Hatch Anti-Labor Bill

Editor:

Please convey my thanks to J. D. of Reading, Pa., for calling attention to the error in my article which listed Senator Hill as one of the formal sponsors of the Ball-Burton-Hatch "Industrial Peace" Bill. Hill has been repeatedly associated with the other three senators in the sponsorship of legislation. They earned the title of the "B2H2 Quartet." Writing under great pressure, I permitted this association to slip into the article.

However, I wish to point out that Hill was one of the chief behind-the-scenes backers of the bill, although the liberal and labor press have tried to spread the misinformation that he was not. The New York daily, PM, June 21, wrote, for instance, that

"it was significant that Sen. Lister Hill (D., Ala.), long a friend of organized labor, did not join his former associates in this project." This was for reasons of political expediency, because of the CIO-PAC support he had received in his election, and not out of friendship for labor.

The liberals and labor leaders would like to have the workers believe that one of the capitalist politicians they backed has really turned out to be a "friend of labor." But Hill, a Southern Democratic "white supremacist" who voted against the FEPC, cannot be so listed even with respect to the Ball-Burton-Hatch bill.

As the N. Y. Times, June 21, reported: "The three Senators (Ball, Burton and Hatch) said that Senator Hill, the fourth in the B2H2 quartet, was 'in thorough accord with the bill but did not have time to help draft it.'"

Art Preis
New York City

On Discrimination

Editor:

I would like to say a few words, or many, about discrimination. There is only one group of people in this country which is discriminated against, the Negro people. To mention Jews, Catholics, Mexicans and other groups in a class with them is simply humbug. And besides, neither the Negroes nor the Catholics are really a minority. They are many.

What about the Irish, Finns, Syrians, Danes, Norwegians, Spaniards, Icelanders, and all the others who are real minorities? They don't ask any special privileges. When people shook the old world, and came to this country, they should have left more than their poverty. I have often thought that it was too bad that this nation did not formulate a religion for all those who came here to make the USA their future home leaving all the tyrannical beliefs of the past behind them.

The Negroes were brought here to be slaves, and were denied education and opportunity, in a far different way from other immigrants. They have purposely been kept down, in ignorance and poverty, so as make them a low caste of untouchables. They are discriminated against for the col-

or of their skins and the form of their heads. But by the Eternal, they shall come up to the rest of the human race as equals, not a down-trodden degraded being halfway between man and beast. They are created humans, and shall be such, in spirit and in truth. But to try this building up of nationalities and races is not socialism.

I like the term "socialistic communism." Sometimes when I am not too downhearted, I dream of a time when my whole human race shall be free from all of capitalism's evils. When clean, happy and healthy people shall live on this old planet of ours, as the human race, not as this or that race or nationality. When we shall not try to destroy each other for financial gains, because we shall all have what we need, and we shall be content to let others have what they need. Because money in private hands shall have lost its power.

I will see if I can scrape up a dollar bill for the European cause, and wish the best of luck to the New York candidates. I hope that others will do likewise. Many small dollars make a big pile.

I also hope that Mrs. Carlson can open the eyes of many, and gather friends for your party, if it is on the level, which I hope it is, for your sake and the people's.

M. M.
Minneapolis

Coal for Europe

Editor:

In the August 4 issue of The Militant, page 8, there appears an article entitled "Ickes Plots Use of Coal to Stem Revolt in Europe." The article quotes Ickes as saying, "the race in Europe today is between coal and anarchy," and correctly indicates that what Ickes means by anarchy is working class revolution.

It further points out the real "anarchy" is the capitalist "anarchy" which prevents the organization of Europe's mines. Unfortunately, in developing what is substantially correct, the article also says something that is not only incorrect but outright reactionary and has absolutely no place in a working class, let alone revolutionary socialist, publication. Referring to coal that will be sent and indicating that it will go only to areas safe from socialist revolution, the article states: "This means that the homes of union men in the United States will be cold, so that the homes of scabs in Europe will be warm."

This is a statement catering to one of the most reactionary and backward attitudes in this country. The capitalist reactionary press has been steadily harping that we should not send "the bread out of our mouths to aliens abroad." It is of course true as the experience of the last war and this have already shown, that the imperialist states intend and do use food as a weapon of "conform or else." But it is fantastic and reactionary to identify the workers who may get a pitiful allotment of food or coal as "scabs," to make no attempt to separate these workers from their capitalist rulers, or as is implied, to blame them for defeat and identify them with reaction. This falls in the same category as those who identify Nazism with the German working class.

On the contrary we demand that not only coal be sent to Europe and all the devastated areas, but food, medicine, etc. be sent everywhere, and indiscriminately; and so that we can be sure of this, that the sending of this material aid be under workers' control — that is, trade union control.

Henry Martin
New York

Editor's Note — Our correspondent is correct. The passage to which he objects was unfortunate. Due to great pressure on the copy desk it got by the censorious eye of the editor. We hereby make amends and promise greater vigilance henceforth.

War Criminals

Editor:

I am enclosing an article by Dorothy Thompson which appeared August 2, in the San Francisco Chronicle — an independent paper which is considered "liberal." Dorothy Thompson says in part, "The discerning mind can observe in the resistance movements of all countries, where alone dynamic social forces are at work, twin movements, and twin yearnings — the yearning for freedom, and for an integrated and planned use of resources and

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. The Militant is conducting 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.

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.

man-power — some form of socialism. . . .

"There are those — Mr. Churchill is one — who believe socialism and civil liberty are incompatible. It is foolish to dismiss that notion as nonsensical. There is as yet little proof to the contrary. But if they are incompatible, then the European dilemma cannot be solved in any synthesis; freedom or socialism must perish, and I do not think it will be socialism."

Alongside of her article appeared a letter to the editor which protests bitterly against Wall Street's aid to Hitler and the corporations' responsibility for war.

"And today we hear rumors of big corporations just whetting their teeth for similar opportunities (to finance fascist states). Have these men no conscience? Can they look at our young men returning minus legs and arms, minus faces, and untold numbers of mental cases without feeling the finger of scorn pointed at them? Truly the blood guilt for this war is on their heads as on Hitler's and his criminal accomplices."

The juxtaposition of the article and the letter show a frame of mind which is developing in this country, I believe.

George Storen
San Francisco

Two Presidents

Editor:

As I look around, see and hear so many ideas about our great "Siamese twin" presidents, they seem like suicide to me. We are in danger as long as they last.

My neighbor told me the other day that Roosevelt was the best president we have had since our states were organized. I told him that Roosevelt had failed to employ the people and instead of taking industry out of the hands of the capitalists, the real robbers, he goes to Europe and shoots down innocent women and children who don't know what it is all about.

In other words, we draft men here, they draft men there; two innocent armies stand up and kill each other for the sake of profit for the few. I told my opponent that if someone had to be shot to favor me, I would not call him a very good president; all he had done was invite his "friends" to commit suicide.

The Bible says "fret not, worry not over evil-doers, for in a little time they are cut off." They have used the church. If the people are not on the road to hell, I will have to study my catechism over. They have chosen the blind to lead, and those with itching ears to turn the truth into fables. And for this same cause, God will send them strong delusions that they may all believe a lie that they all may be damned who take pleasure in unrighteousness.

L. B. Courts
Hamilton, O.

The Rationing System

Editor:

I am so nervous and upset over this food-shortage and the rationing system that I don't care to live any more. I can't buy anything to eat with my points, except lard and oleo and four points' worth of lunch meat or cheese, to pack one lunch for my husband. I can't buy any meat for a meal, not even for our Sunday supper!

It would be different if we didn't have the food, but we do, and plenty of it. But it's rationed on too many points. The OPA keeps promising us more meat, but then raises the point value and we get less instead. A little more than a month ago, they told us housewives that we would find more meat on the butchers' counters. At the same time, they raised the point value on oleo and 17 other red-point foods!

This doesn't look as if the government's trying to fight the black market dealers. It looks more like they are trying to help the black market make a big profit on us. As long as we don't have the points to buy food, we must depend on dealers to give it to us point-free at a high price. Many of us who can't afford

this are forced to live on eggs and fish while others are getting not only their share but ours, too.

I think it's a dirty shame the way some of us are forced to live without meat and butter and go around hungry, while food piles up and spoils in storage, and food-animals starve to death in the stockyards.

Now we hear that cute little Number Five ration books are being made for us so that we can live like this for another year! We housewives are just going to love them; some of us are just going to go crazy over them!

I think that if we must continue to live on rationing, our points should be lowered so we can buy more food. The people must eat. I hope we will be taken off rationing as soon as possible; I believe that is the only way to end this food chiseling business.

Disgusted Housewife
Homestead, Pa.

"Wartime Tragedy"

Editor:

It is too true that this is "just another wartime tragedy," as the local papers called it, but perhaps you would publish it in The Militant.

On August 3, the desperate, sick young wife of a soldier shot her 2½-year-old baby and tried to commit suicide because she was afraid he would be "kicked around" by relatives if she should die.

When she was told in the hospital that her little son was dead, Mrs. Lopez said, "At least I know my baby is safe now. I won't have to worry about him any more."

Her husband understood the wartime separation and strain that had driven his wife to kill their child. "Perhaps it's just as well Ronny didn't live to grow up and become cannon fodder, too," he remarked bitterly. He had just been promised a medical discharge—just too late.

Mary Clark
Akron, O.

Pioneer Notes

Two letters this week from the West Coast branches indicate the effects of the British elections on the American labor movement.

Our Los Angeles agent writes: "The effect of the British elections on the local labor movement is profound. Reports from all sources show that the workers are more aroused over this than most any other topic of the day. We can report that 15 copies of American Workers Need a Labor Party were sold at a street corner meeting last week. The 300 just received will sell like hot cakes we know."

From San Francisco: "Please send us 100 copies of the Labor Party pamphlet. We find our sales increasing and want to have more on hand."

American Workers Need a Labor Party by Joseph Hansen analyzes the basic-need of American labor for a political voice of its own; traces the growth of the "two-party" system which, up to now, has kept a vast majority of the population from ever exercising its political strength in its own interests. Hansen also answers the argument so often advanced by workers that "politics is dirty business, we want no part of it," when he says: "Politics is far more than a mere struggle over 'spoils of office.' The truth is, that basically considered, politics is the struggle to control the destiny of the nation."

This brief, well illustrated pamphlet is one which should be on every worker's bookshelf.

American Workers Need a Labor Party by Joseph Hansen, 15c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

News Deliverers Gain Concessions In WLB Decision

A War Labor Board subcommittee meeting last week in Chicago awarded favorable decisions on several of the demands of the New York News Deliverers Union which last month halted distribution of 14 metropolitan newspapers in a 17-day strike. Other important demands are still to be acted upon by the WLB.

The WLB interim decision included the award of up to two-weeks vacation for workers with only one year's seniority, time-and-a-half pay for six scheduled holidays, and retroactive pay from July 17.

Louis Waldman, attorney for the union, stated: "The decision just made by the WLB Newspaper Commission is an important step forward in the struggle of the union to improve the conditions and standards of the workers. These workers never had vacations with pay, nor did they ever receive time-and-a-half for work done on holidays."

The remaining issues before the WLB include the union's demands for shorter hours, a \$5 weekly wage increase, sick leave pay and an employer contribution equalling three per cent of the payroll for a union welfare fund. During the strike, the powerful Publishers Association and War Labor Board had teamed up in an attempt to smash the union. The workers' militant stand for 17 days forced the employers and their government agency to retreat.

Patterson's Wife Expresses Thanks

PITTSBURGH, Pa. — Mrs. William Patterson, wife of the miner who is in prison as the first victim of the Smith-Connally anti-strike law, has sent a letter of thanks to Eloise Black, Socialist Workers Party trail-blazer who recently visited her at Daisytown, Pa.

"In this morning's mail," the letter reads, "I received your Camel cigarette. Thank you very kindly and I am sure Willie will enjoy them."

"Some time next week his case will be re-opened by his lawyer. I thank you for every consideration you have given him, and any further help from you will be highly appreciated. Thanking you again — Mrs. William Patterson."

Comrade Black, forwarding the letter to The Militant, adds, "I wish we could do more." We urge all union locals to come to the support of Patterson, victimized by the government for his loyalty to the working class.

Race Hate Flares In New Zealand

The post-war economic crisis is already sharpening in New Zealand, breeding race-hate. According to a recent dispatch from Wellington, returning war veterans have launched a campaign for the expulsion of all enemy aliens, including Jewish refugees who arrived there after 1939, and urged that their property be confiscated.

The Jewish refugees have pointed out that they cannot return to Germany because that country, now occupied by Allied victors, is still infested with anti-Jewish hatred. The reactionary policy of the veterans' group is fostered by the British Government, which in a White Paper declared that immigrants will not be permitted in Canada or New Zealand "until returning servicemen are home and settled."

Read:

The life story of a great revolutionist and the power of his ideas, in

LEON TROTSKY --

Memorial Address

"To the Memory of the Old Man"

by

James P. Cannon

16 pp

5 cents

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



Lie of German Guilt

Further proof that Allied propaganda lies when it claims that the German people supported Hitler, was published in the British Evening Standard, April 28.

"American troops clearing out a pocket near the city of Wevelburg, miles behind the front," the report states, "discovered a military installation no one dreamed existed in Nazi Germany — a camp for conscientious objectors."

"How many people inhabited the camp is still unknown, for only 41 men survived at the time it was discovered. It was operated by S. S. troops, and also served as a concentration camp and crematorium."

have been taking The Militant to work with them and who want me to talk to a friend of theirs who is enthusiastic about the paper. It is almost an unending chain. One woman told me that when the first copy of The Militant arrived after she had subscribed for her husband, he took it to work with him to show his buddies in the mill. That night he told his wife he felt all right down — all three of his friends were also subscribers to The Militant and two of them had brought their copies to work to show around.

"Another woman, in fact, several of them in this project tell me there is lots of talk about our paper at the bus stop where the men congregate on their way to work. Most of the men pass the paper on to someone in the mill and I have a lot of Militant partisans now to look up."

WANTED

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

FIGHT FOR THIS PROGRAM:

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

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

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

Operate all government-built plants under workers' control!

2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

Rescind the no-strike pledge!

Withdraw union representatives from the War Labor Board!

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

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

5. Working class political action!

Build the independent labor party!

Establish the workers' and farmers' government!

6. Tax the rich, not the poor!

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

7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!

Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!

Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

8. Hands off the European and colonial peoples!

Withdraw the Allied Occupation Troops from Europe!

Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the European and colonial peoples!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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

I would like:

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

Name (Please Print)

Address

City Postal Zone State

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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

Japan's Defeat

Japanese imperialism's bid for domination of all eastern Asia has ended in military catastrophe, as the Trotskyists always predicted it would. Back in 1934, in the thesis on *War and the Fourth International*, the Trotskyists stated that "behind this greedy aggressiveness (of the Japanese imperialists) there are but few real forces. Japan may be the first to give the signal to war; but from semi-feudal Japan, torn by all the contradictions that beset Czarist Russia, sooner than from other countries, the call to revolution may sound."

These words were written by Leon Trotsky, the great founder of the Fourth International, the anniversary of whose death we mark in this issue.

In 1938, at the founding conference of the Fourth International, a thesis was adopted on *The War in the Far East and the Revolutionary Perspectives*. Here on the basis of a Marxian analysis of Japan's social structure and international position, the Trotskyists predicted that "Japanese imperialism will go down to defeat in the coming world war if its career is not brought to a speedier end by the proletarian revolution."

Press dispatches on Japan's internal situation suggest very clearly that the country is on the verge of a revolutionary crisis. A Tokyo broadcast said that "disturbances" occurred in the capital when Japan's offer of surrender was first announced and that the disturbances were "suppressed." There were no details.

During the early part of this week, while Japan's surrender was being debated by the ruling class, the Tokyo radio broadcast frantic appeals to the people to remain "united" and to await the commands of the Emperor. The Tokyo *Shimbu* warned the people against discussing past developments. "It should be borne in mind," the paper said, "that such discussions might lead to a fatal dissension among our people, leading to a fatal internal split."

The Japanese people, tortured on the rack of war for 14 long years, are ready to settle accounts with the imperialist gangsters who rule their country. If they are left alone, there can be no doubt that they will sweep away the rotted semi-feudal, semi-capitalist ruling class and set their feet on the revolutionary road that leads to socialism.

That is why the Allied imperialists have "agreed" to "permit" the Emperor to remain at the head of the state under orders of their own Supreme Commander. They intend to use the Japanese monarchy, as they have used the Italian monarchy, to prevent the Japanese people from taking their fate into their own hands. Hirohito, hitherto the tool of the militarist-imperialist ruling clique in Japan, is now slated to become the puppet of the counter-revolutionary Allied conquerors.

Voice Of Capitalism

Just one day before the first Japanese offer to surrender precipitated an economic crisis in America, Representative Rayburn, the Speaker of the House, informed reporters at his home in Texas that he "saw no need" for reconvening Congress.

According to the Associated Press report, "he added that Congress already had disposed of much legislation directed toward reconversion and unless something unforeseen arose Congressional work was abreast of pressing tasks."

Not 24 hours later, on August 10, the first intimation that the war would quickly end inspired a nation-wide wave of plant shutdowns, production cutbacks and mass layoffs. From Washington officials came the ominous admission that anywhere from 5,000,000 to 8,000,000 workers would be out of jobs within 90 days to six months.

Yet Rayburn, who accurately reflects the views and sentiments of most Congressmen, could blandly insist that Congress is "abreast of pressing tasks" and has "disposed of much legislation" to keep production going and prevent wholesale unemployment and destitution.

The only "pressing task" Congress undertook in the last session was safeguarding Big Business. Con-

gress passed "reconversion" legislation ensuring the war contractors against loss of profits in war contract terminations. It provided the agencies and methods for turning government-built plants over to the monopolies as virtual gifts. It guaranteed the big corporations "normal profits" for years after the war through tax rebates and similar treasury handouts.

But what of the workers who will be tossed out of the plants by the millions in the next few weeks? Congress brushed aside every proposal, however feeble and inadequate, for maintaining full employment or providing unemployment compensation and relief. When Rayburn said he "saw no need" for quickly reconvening Congress, what he meant was that he saw no need for Congress to undertake any immediate measures in the interests of the toilers. To the Rayburns, who dominate and run Congress, the desperate needs of the workers involve no "pressing tasks."

Detroit Points Way

UAW-CIO Vice President Richard Frankenstein's victory in the Detroit mayoralty primary on August 7 is striking testimony to the growing desire of the organized workers for genuine independent labor political action.

Prior to the election, the capitalist press had predicted that the primary vote would be very small. After the election, they commented with alarm at the unexpected turnout of CIO workers from the plants to give Frankenstein an even higher vote than incumbent Mayor Jeffries received.

Anyone familiar with the views of the Detroit Auto workers knows they consider Frankenstein far from an ideal candidate. They certainly did not support him because of his record as a labor leader, his policies in the union nor his political program. Indeed, Frankenstein's opposition to militant policies, his public attacks on striking workers, his servility before the corporation and government officials have earned him the contempt of the bulk of the Detroit auto workers.

Nevertheless, with sound class instincts, the Detroit workers cast their votes for Frankenstein, not as an individual, but as a representative of the labor movement, as an independent labor candidate in opposition to all the capitalist candidates. They thereby registered their strong sentiment for class politics as against the old "company unionism" in politics.

This sentiment will unquestionably be reinforced by terrible economic blows. For the end of the war means layoffs of hundreds of thousands in Detroit — "nine days of unpredictable hell," as one UAW officer put it.

Inevitably, the Detroit workers will carry forward the program of independent labor political action, not only in the sense of supporting individual labor candidates, but in the creation of a genuine labor party with a fighting program.

The best way for the Detroit workers to lay the basis for a labor party is by mobilizing all forces for the election of Frankenstein and the CIO-PAC candidates for the city council next November. An overwhelming victory for the Detroit labor candidates will arouse American labor everywhere and help inspire an irresistible movement for a nationwide labor party.

Still Against Strikes

Upon the news of Japan's surrender offer, CIO President Philip Murray and AFL President William Green rushed into print with statements. American labor confronts desperate problems, drastic wage slashes, vast unemployment, corporation union-busting. But on these matters, Murray and Green had essentially nothing to say.

They spoke emphatically of the thing closest to their hearts — their abject fear that the end of the war and the dislocation of American economy might be the occasion for a militant wave of labor struggle. They hastened to assure the employers that they could be counted on to continue their policies of capitulation.

Green pledged that "V-J Day will not mean an automatic ending of restraint on strikes." Although formally the no-strike pledge was supposed to end with the termination of the war, he would not interpret the word termination "too rigidly."

Murray asserted that the CIO leaders will not permit any "rash of strikes" and that "no change will be made in the CIO's no-strike policy until the entire matter has been explored and the matter submitted to the executive board."

While Green exercises his notable "restraint" and Murray is busy "exploring," what are the workers supposed to do when the employers try to cut their unions to pieces, break contracts, fire the best militants, impose wage cuts?

During the war, the Greens and Murrys clamped the no-strike policy on the unions under the pretext of patriotism and in support of the capitalist "war effort." Now they reveal that their opposition to strikes, whether in "peace" or in war has the same character. It is bred-in-the-bone cowardice and servility to the employers.

Fortunately, the union ranks in the past months have been demonstrating on picket lines from coast to coast that Murray and Green will have little success in attempting to reshackle labor for the duration — of the "peace."

Vote Trotskyist!

for
DOBBS & SIMPSON
in the Coming
N. Y. ELECTIONS



"But don't you think we bombed Japan in a truly Christian manner? — we were very careful not to hit the really IMPORTANT people!"

(See Cartoon Contest, Page 7)

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

France

An example of the manner in which anti-Negro prejudice has been transplanted to Europe by the American brass hats is disclosed in the French daily *Le Soir*, published in Marseille. "Young women of Marseille, be careful," suggests the writer, Marguerite Polgy, posing a "delicate question." She repeats all the vicious Jim-Crow slanders against the Negroes; that they are "crap shooters, knife wielders, street-corner loafers" and bad fellows generally.

The Pittsburgh Courier of Aug. 4 states bluntly: "These slanderous attacks on the Negroes... are expressive of American and not French opinion. Whether in England, France, Australia or Germany, simple human contacts become very 'delicate questions' in the eyes of Americans and they set out to try to stop such fraternization if possible."

An American army officer in France admitted that "few people in France know that American Negroes live under laws different from those in France, for here there is no race problem... Put in America... every white American sucks it in with his mother's milk."

An answer to the slander came from Corp. Percy de Freitas of Brooklyn, N. Y. He wrote Madame Polgy on July 2: "It is unfortunate that the virus of American race prejudice has erupted amidst the French people at this time... German defeat was accomplished because of Nazi racism and any country which encourages race hatred will suffer a similar fate."

"All the sacrifices of this war will have been in vain if the race question is permitted to ruin the opportunity for liberty and accord among all the peoples of the world. Almost all Negro American soldiers are happier in France from the standpoint of freedom than they ever were in their own country. Racial propaganda has had no success in Australia, England and even in Italy. Let us hope that it will also fail in France. Quo vadis? Be careful! Perhaps Hitler is not dead!"

Italy

The industrialists and bankers in northern Italy are quaking in fear of an Italian revolution, according to an Aug. 9 dispatch from Milan. They say that the Partisans in Italy have surrendered less than 50 percent of the weapons and ammunition they possessed and are prepared to "turn their weapons against factory owners and the rich generally." The AMG ordered not only all arms and ammunition to be turned in, but even cameras, field-glasses, etc.

According to the May 26 Manchester Guardian, the liberation of Northern Italy took place with "lightning speed." The Nazis fled before the powerful action of the Partisans even before the Allied troops took over. The Allied armies found "Milan, Turin, Genoa, Spezia and 70 other northern Italian towns had liberated themselves." The Partisans preserved their own workshops from sabotage and public utility services were saved from attempts to blow them up.

What terrifies the Italian capitalists is the fact that in Turin the factories were taken over altogether by workers' committees. Some prominent industrialists were replaced by

"commissars," setting an example for the rest of Italy.

Since the "liberation," unemployment in the industrial cities is increasing as raw materials diminish. The workers are demanding higher pay to meet fantastic living costs. Moreover, "day and night on Italy's highways and railroads, tired, untidy and ill-fated men, women and children, repatriated soldiers and German slave labor stream homeward."

The frightened Italian capitalists point out that these semi-starved people may join the revolution against them when winter comes. They "make no bones" about their fears, aroused by the possibility that AMG may withdraw from Italy on Sept. 1. They know that only the Allied forces can preserve their rule.

Austria

In the name of "liberation," Stalin apes his imperialist allies in ravishing and destroying conquered countries, "enemy" and "ally" alike. A delayed dispatch to the N. Y. Times on Aug. 7 reveals that when the Russian soldiers occupied Vienna and other Austrian cities they began a wholesale looting and removal of Austrian productive machinery.

In Vienna alone ten large plants have already been stripped of their machinery and 11 others have lost almost all. Scores of smaller plants have also been stripped. All cars and trucks, with few exceptions, have been confiscated and not returned. Poor workers have been denoun-

QUESTION BOX

Q: What is the Hague Convention, and did the Allies violate it in using the atomic bomb?

A: The Hague Convention is a document signed at the Second International Peace Conference in 1907, at the Hague. It states: "seeing that, while seeking means to preserve peace... it is likewise necessary to bear in mind the case where the appeal to arms has been brought about," it was the purpose of the Convention in "the interests of humanity" to "revise the general laws and customs of war... confining them within such limits as would mitigate their severity as far as possible."

Article 22, Section 2, chapter 1 of the Convention states that "the right of belligerents to adopt means of injuring the enemy IS NOT UNLIMITED." Article 25 of the same section says that "the attack or bombardment, by whatever means, of towns, villages, dwellings or buildings which are undefended IS PROHIBITED."

Thus the United States did violate both the expressed purpose and the specific prohibitions of the Convention. The excuse that Japan was not a signatory, is false. The United States, Great Britain, and Japan were all signatories.

Q: How many women joined trade unions in the United States during the war?

A: Over 2,000,000. The number of women in unions increased from 800,000 before the war, to about three million at the peak of wartime production. In a third of the unions, women constituted half or more of the membership during the war.

ed as "capitalists" and their homes looted of their few possessions. Huge quantities of food have been requisitioned. Some of this food is being sold to the rich Viennese in return for objects of value in the "open-air black market" of considerable proportions.

Austrian workers were more shocked by the waste and destruction than even by the looting. Much of the machinery taken away was destroyed, either because it was not needed or because its use was not understood. This happened to small plants as well as large ones. Machines were ripped from their bearings and smashed with sledge hammers or thrown out of the window.

Algeria

In the second ballot of the Algerian municipal election, according to the London Radio of Aug. 8, the left-wing resistance organization, *France Combattant*, has won a decisive majority, winning 28 seats out of a total of 29. In the tremendous leftward sweep, "women and Arabs were voting for the first time."

The decisive defeat of the Conservative group will have a profound effect upon the French elections this fall, where the middle class Radical-Socialist Party has heretofore allied itself with the Conservative groups in many North African communities. The DeGaulle regime is unable to crush or divert the leftward swing of the Algerian masses. Unemployment, famine and disease, plus the repressive measures of the French imperialist rulers, drove the natives to revolt last May. DeGaulle sent French armed forces, flying American planes, to bomb the rebellious masses, inflicting more than 10,000 casualties. This electoral victory shows that the Algerian masses are far from subdued and are prepared to struggle to throw the imperialist parasites off their backs.

Germany

Dortmund, second city of Germany's great industrial heart, the Ruhr Valley, typifies the savage destruction heaped upon the workers of Germany by their Allied conquerors. Before the war, Dortmund had great coal mines and steel works and thousands of manufacturing plants.

Repeatedly bombed by the Allies, then flooded when the Mohne Dam was smashed, the city of Dortmund is half destroyed. Twelve hundred bombs hit its sewage system alone, paving the way for epidemics of disease. Its industrial wealth is more than half destroyed. According to an Aug. 7 dispatch from Dortmund, today's industrial employment figures are like these:

"A roofing felt firm, 30 workers; a wire rope firm, 8 workers; a timber board plant, 26 workers; a grain sack repairing firm, 35 workers; a bridge construction firm, 50 workers."

Some 350,000 of Dortmund's normal 570,000 population are back. They have returned to ruined industry, devastated homes, unemployment, hunger and disease. "Despite such circumstances," says the dispatch, "Dortmund is in relatively good shape among the Ruhr's desolated communities."

Ask Your Shopmate
to Subscribe to
The Militant

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

Pending Legislation on Veteran Employment

Almost 3,000 bills having as their ostensible goal the enlargement or definition of benefits for veterans have been introduced in Congress. One bill introduced by Harold Knutson, Republican of Minnesota, is emerging importantly. The purpose of the bill, according to Charles Hurd, specialist on veteran affairs, writing in the July 22 issue of the N. Y. Times, is to provide "opportunities to millions of young prospective veterans who did not have jobs before the war."

Under provisions of this bill any veteran seeking employment where seniority is a controlling factor would receive seniority credit for the time spent in service, plus credit for one and one-half days' time for each sixth day of service and double time for each holiday.

This additional time credit is offered, by Representative Knutson, as compensation to the veteran for the overtime pay received by civilians during the war.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars recently endorsed this bill. "This action," Hurd asserts, "automatically gave it sufficient importance to assure serious consideration." He believes it will reach the stage of debate when the house convenes after its recess.

In what way does this bill differ from labor's proposals? Organized labor has recognized the limitations of the re-employment section of the Selective Service Act which deals only with men who had permanent employment before they were drafted.

In order to provide benefits for veterans who wish to change their jobs or seek new employment, the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods established a joint policy urging the granting of seniority for time spent in the armed forces after the veteran has been employed and after he has completed the probationary period in effect in the plant.

Labor's policy automatically gives veterans, who secure jobs in plants operating under union contracts containing such provisions, three or four years seniority. With union control of this "imputed seniority" employers cannot use it to replace union militants with veterans, nor can they use it to break union contracts.

Under provisions of the Knutson bill, on the other hand, the veteran would have the seniority before even applying for the job he is qualified to hold. Seniority earned through service in the armed forces would become a matter of law.

If the employer decided a veteran was qualified, he could hire the veteran to replace any non-veteran with less seniority regardless of provisions in the union contract. Needless to say employers would find veterans qualified to fill the jobs of union militants.

Since seniority under the Knutson bill would be reckoned on the basis of an eight and a half day week for each of the weeks spent in the armed forces, veterans would have approximately 130 days a year more seniority than non-veteran workers.

The veteran "qualified" to take a job could demand that he be considered on the basis of the time he spent in the armed forces.

Employers believe that veterans without previous union experience will be hostile to the unions. They hope to be able to use the veterans as a battering ram against the unions. The Knutson bill provides legal covering, in the guise of "benefits" for veterans, for their union-busting plan.

The huge volume of legislation providing benefits for veterans and the support given the Knutson bill by the Veterans of Foreign Wars make it seem highly plausible that such legislation will find strong support in Congress.

Big War Profiteer Poses As a "Philanthropist"

Alfred P. Sloan, head of General Motors Corporation which has reaped nearly a billion dollars in admitted profits out of the bloody debauchery of the imperialist war, announced via the front page publicity of leading metropolitan dailies on August 8 a grant of \$4,000,000 for a Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research in New York City.

The N. Y. Times, for instance devoted two whole columns to this philanthropic gesture, replete with suitable photographs of the donors and other interested parties. Elsewhere in the Times could be read the details of how the government mobilized the finest scientific brains, the greatest industrial organizations and expended \$2-billion to perfect the fiendish atomic bomb.

Naturally, the whole \$4,000,000 will not be spent all at once. Sloan carefully explained, toward the end of the story, that it will be expended over a period of 10 years, thus, in his words, permitting a "program of maximum intensity."

Nevertheless, the general public has been given another capitalist press picture of the big-hearted multi-millionaires who are just pouring out lavish wealth in sheer generosity and overflowing humanitarianism to aid mankind.

For big business moguls like Sloan such publicity alone is worth a lot more than the outlay of \$4,000,000, which General Motors averages weekly in net profits. Actually, these "gifts" don't cost the capitalists a thing. As Ferdinand Lundberg demonstrated in his "America's 60 Families," the "control of the foundation investment portfolios, consisting of stocks and bonds of corporations dominated by the respective donors, has been retained by the donors through special, complicated charter provisions.

"By allocating funds to philanthropies, it should also be noticed the persons that retain control over these philanthropic funds have evaded payment of inheritance and income taxes... the philanthropist has actually increased his financial power by placing income as well as capital in personally controlled philanthropic funds."

Whatever discoveries are made by these foundations are turned into monopoly profits, as in the case of vitamins, insulin, synthetic quinine, etc., for which the sick have to pay phenomenal prices.