

# Hands Off China! Halt American Imperialist Intervention!

## Significance Of Chiang's Fight With Stalinists

BY THE EDITORS

The bandits of American imperialism have embarked upon active intervention in the internal affairs of China. Drunk with power at the successful conclusion of their "war for democracy," the Wall Street money barons now seek to take the place of the Japanese imperialists as the exploiters and oppressors of the Chinese people.

After eight years of bitter and costly struggle for the independence of their country, the Chinese people are ready to sweep away the native oppressors, the capitalists and the landlords, and take their fate into their own hands. The cruel and bloody Kuomintang dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek faces destruction. It is at this point that the American imperialists, bent on dominating China, have interposed themselves. They aim to defeat the aspirations of the Chinese masses and fasten upon them once more the chains of colonial slavery.

### Wall Street's Promises and Acts

American intervention exposes in the most glaring fashion the fraudulence of the pretended war aims of American imperialism. The Atlantic Charter promised freedom and independence to all peoples. It promised them governments of their own choosing. Yet everywhere the armies of American imperialism have gone, these promises have been cynically violated. In Europe, puppet governments, subservient to the will of the Wall Street bandits, have been set up over the people. In the Philippines, first of the Oriental lands to experience American "liberation," a puppet regime rules under the protection of American bayonets, while the popular organizations of the masses are stamped out. Now the Wall Street "liberators" are getting busy in China.

Long before the outbreak of the second World War, the Trotskyists declared that the U.S. imperialists would fight Japan, not in order to free the colonial slaves of Japanese imperialism, not in order to bring independence to the teeming millions of Asia, not in order to assist the Oriental peoples to rebuild their lives and free themselves from poverty — but in order to substitute themselves for the Japanese imperialists as the enslavers and spoilers of half the human race.

### Corroboration of Events

This estimate of the role and purposes of American imperialism in the Orient has already been confirmed in the case of the Philippines. It now receives fresh confirmation in the American intervention in China. This vast land of 400 million people is, with India, one of the richest colonial prizes. It represents a huge potential market. It has abundant natural wealth. Its poverty-stricken but industrious people are a source of cheap labor which promises lush profits to investors. China was the greatest single stake in the Pacific war. Wall Street is intent upon subjugating this great country and enslaving its people. That is the meaning and purpose of American intervention.

The defeat of Japan has posed the question: Who is to rule China? There are only two fundamental alternatives. Either China will continue to be ruled by the capitalists and landlords through the bloody dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang, or the masses will take power into their hands and set up a government genuinely representative of China's millions.

Chiang Kai-shek's government rules over the Chinese people with an iron hand. Because it fears the masses it is incapable of conducting a real struggle for China's independence. On the contrary, it becomes the tool of imperialism. In turn it has served the predatory interests of the British and Japanese imperialists. Its patrons today are the Wall Street finance-capitalists.

In 1937-38 Chiang Kai-shek's armies were expelled from China's coastal provinces and driven into the interior by the Japanese invaders. The authority of the Kuomintang regime was banished from all the great cities, ports and industrial areas. During the ensuing seven years, Chiang proved totally incapable of driving out the Japanese invaders from any of the occupied territory. Corrupted to the core, fearful of mobilizing the masses for a war to the death against the imperialist violators, the Kuomintang clique watched helplessly while the dismembered country plunged ever deeper into ruin.

Chiang employed his forces to suppress the Chinese masses, (Continued on page 2)

## U. S. AIDS KUOMINTANG IN CHINESE CIVIL WAR

Civil war has broken out in China. Troops of the Stalinist-led 8th Route Army have clashed with Chiang Kai-shek's troops in Shansi province. In other parts of the country Chiang's troops are engaging 8th Route Army units endeavoring to take over Japanese-held territory. Japanese army commanders in China have appealed to General MacArthur, the American supreme commander, to intervene in China to end the "mad scramble" and make possible an "orderly Japanese surrender."

Unable to effect rapid reconquest of Japanese-held territory, and fearing popular uprisings of the masses, Chiang Kai-shek has ordered Japanese troops to keep their arms and use them, if necessary, to "preserve law and order."

### WASHINGTON AIDS

Acting on instructions from Washington, General Wedemeyer, the American commander in China, has placed American transport planes at Chiang's disposal so that Kuomintang troops can be flown to Japanese surrender points. Wedemeyer has warned that "if American planes were fired on by anyone, whether Japanese, or Chinese Communists, in the course of carrying

Nationalist (Kuomintang) troops, the Americans would reply with fire." (Chungking dispatch to the N. Y. Post, Aug. 17).

In issuing this threat, Wedemeyer disclosed that 20 divisions of Chiang Kai-shek's troops have been fully armed with American lend-lease, including artillery, and that 19 additional divisions have been armed 50 to 75 per cent.

### STALINIST MOVES

Stalinist troops of the 8th Route Army are reported to have moved into Japanese-occupied territory in North China to invest the great cities of Peiping and Tientsin. To the south, in the Yangtze valley, Stalinist troops of the New 4th Army are reported ready to occupy Nanking, Chiang's former capital, and the great port city of Shanghai.

Meanwhile, flying columns of 8th Route Army fighters have advanced deep into Inner Mongolia to effect a junction with the Soviet Red Banner Army under Stalin's Marshal Rodion Malinovsky.

General Chu Teh, commander-in-chief of the Stalinist armies, has appealed to the United States to "stop immediately lend-lease to the Kuomintang government." He declares that the danger of civil war has now become "extremely grave."

# THE MILITANT

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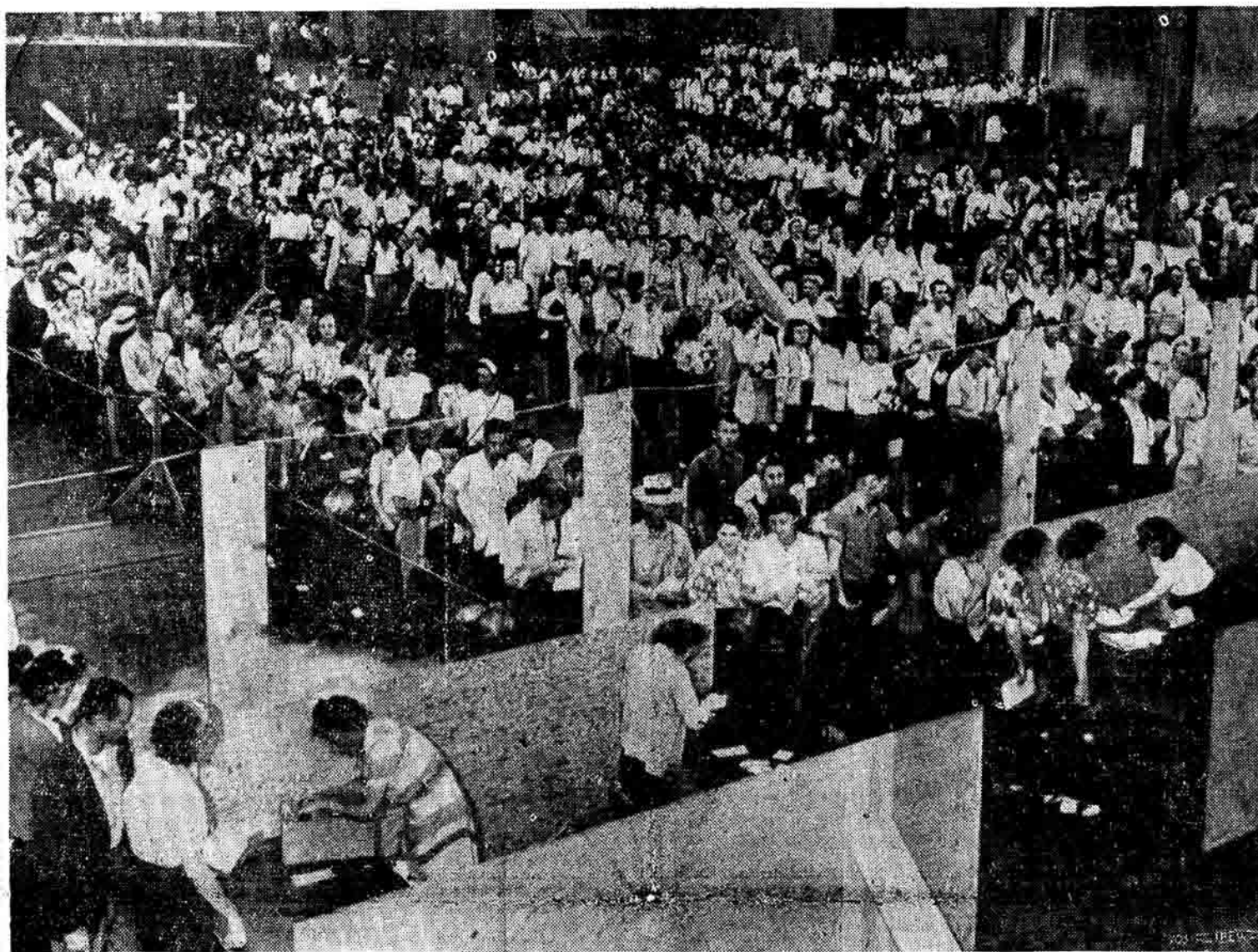
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# JOB'S BILL IS BIG FRAUD

## THE LAYOFF IS THE PAYOFF



This photograph by the Associated Press shows workers being laid off at the Long Beach, California Douglas Aircraft Company plant on August 17 when "some of the 11,900 employees... lined up for their final pay checks." The AP adds, "contract cancellations and military cutbacks caused the lay-off." The same scenes are being repeated on an increasing scale throughout the country.

## Inland Steel Strike Forces Corporation To Reinstate Fired Union Committeemen

By J. Lyons

INDIANA HARBOR, Ind., Aug. 20 — As a result of the militant five-day strike last week of the 9,000 Inland Steel workers here, the company was compelled today to reinstate two grievance committeemen who had been fired outright and escorted from the plant by company guards. Although the reinstatement order stipulates a 30-day suspension, the workers defeated the company's aim of permanently eliminating two militant union leaders from the plant.

Inland's "disciplinary" discharge of the two committeemen and its arbitrary one-week lay-off of William Malhofer, vice president of Local 1010, CIO United Steelworkers, was the final provocation in a long series of attacks on the union which com-

pelled the Inland workers to shut the plant down tight from August 10 to August 15.

The workers, in a thoroughly fighting mood, agreed to return to the job last Tuesday only after USWA President Philip Murray, the War Labor Board and the company assured the strikers of immediate negotiations on their grievances. The workers voted to return only after issuing a stern warning that they were prepared to renew the struggle if they were not given satisfaction. Today's results vindicated their militant action.

Last week's general walkout had been preceded several weeks before by a successful strike of the Tin Mill workers, joined by the Cold Strip Mill men and units from other strip mills. This arose over a dispute involving work schedules in the Tin Mill,

where the refusal of a handful of workers to bow before the company's threats inspired a spirit of militant resistance throughout the mill.

When a local union officer in the Tin Mill refused to handle work done with equipment on which foremen and supervisors had worked in violation of the union contract, he was sent home by his foreman. Before he had left his locker, his unit walked out, followed by the entire Tin Mill and the next day by the Cold Strip Mill.

The strike was ended only after five days, with the workers giving a 16-hour ultimatum to the company to settle their grievances. Within 16 hours the company yielded on all important demands, even adding settlements

(Continued on page 4)

## Tammany Challenges Election Petitions Of S.W.P. Candidate

NEW YORK, Aug. 21 — The grubby, filthy hand of Tammany Hall — New York's boss-dominated political machine — was revealed early this week when the petitions bearing 14,914 signatures in support of Farrell Dobbs, Trotskyist candidate for Mayor in the November elections, were challenged by a Mr. Richard R. Witte, a registered Democrat.

At the same time the Tammany machine announced in the press that all minority parties would be challenged. If this shoddy attempt to deprive the minority parties of their rightful place on the ballot fails, the ward-healers plan to squeeze the names of minority parties on the last line of the voting machine. This would place the candidates of the boss parties at the top with some candidates being listed on two or more lines, depending upon the number of party endorsements wangled in back-room deals with political bosses.

### TAMMANY'S "CHALLENGE"

Tammany's "challenge" is therefore likewise designed to "rig" the proper sequence and arrangement of candidates' names and party designation on the vot-

ing machines in order to insure top-billing for the old-line capitalist stooges running on the Democratic and Republican tickets. Immediately upon being notified that the petitions of the Trotskyist candidate for Mayor had been challenged, C. Thomas, City Organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, notified the American Civil Liberties Union of this attempt to deprive a minority party of its rightful place on the ballot.

Mr. Foster, Acting National Secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union announced he would make a thorough investigation of the matter and that any illegal practices by the major parties would be fought. If this Tammany-inspired attempt to maneuver the minority parties off the ballot is carried

## IN THE NEWS

### No Atom Bomb Cutbacks!

"Although the war has ended, Oak Ridge (Tenn.) workers stayed on the job today instead of celebrating," reports the Associated Press, August 15, about the effect of the Japanese surrender on work at the huge atomic bomb plant. "After the first victory enthusiasm, workers were told by Col. Kenneth D. Nichols, district engineer, that they had no time to lose."

### Bosses' Postwar Plans

Unions in Seattle, Wash., are protesting the purchase of seven armored cars by the city police department for use in "handling" striking workers. Documents obtained by union leaders revealed a well-planned secret program to reorganize the police department along military lines for "postwar disturbances."

### Highly Beneficial, But —

"In years past our corporate heads have devoted their best energies to such things as production, excellence of products, profits, etc., all of which have been highly beneficial to our economy but not entirely satisfactory from a social standpoint." (Ralph Hendershot, Financial Editor, N. Y. World-Telegram).

### Just Around the Corner

On the same day John W. Snyder, Reconversion Director, announced there would be at least 8,000,000 unemployed by spring, Ira Mosher, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, predicted that the number of unemployed who might be out of jobs for more than 30 days would amount to less than 1,500,000.

Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to The Militant

## Truman Backs Totally Worthless Legislation

By Art Preis

As a tidal wave of mass layoffs and wage slashes swept over American labor, President Truman on Thursday, August 16 finally indicated the basic measures he intends to advocate when Congress gets around to reconvening after Labor Day.

He declared that a "full employment" bill is "must" legislation. This has been generally interpreted to mean that Truman had decided to support the Murray-Wagner-Patman bill, the principal measure of its type before Congress.

Since its introduction last December, this bill has been hailed by the assorted liberal and labor leaders as a sure-fire guarantee of "full employment" and prosperity under the "free enterprise" capitalist system.

After persistent silence about the Murray-Wagner-Patman bill, Truman has now seized upon it in an attempt to persuade the American workers that he has an effective answer to the economic crisis. There can be little doubt that the British Labor Party's electoral victory, with its inevitable influence upon American labor, added urgency to Truman's decision.

Yet, few measures ever introduced into Congress with the ballyhoo surrounding the "Full Employment" bill have been so fraudulent and worthless. It is a fact, openly admitted by its very sponsors, that the bill contains not a single specific measure to fulfill its stated purpose — full employment.

Thus, in a letter to the N. Y. Times, August 5, Senator Wagner undertook to answer reactionary critics of the bill by stating that "there is not as much difference between the sponsors of this bill and its critics as might be supposed." In fact, their criticism is based on a "misunderstanding" of what the bill really is.

"The truth is," reveals Wagner, "there is no guarantee of any kind in the bill." It will not "put the govt in competition with private enterprise." The bill, he points out, was "carefully drawn" in order to "preserve undimin-

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## THE UNIONS' DUTY

An Editorial

To the labor-hating corporations the present nation-wide sweep of unemployment is a golden opportunity to advance their union-busting offensive. They do not look on an army of hungry, jobless workers as an evil. They welcome a "floating pool" of labor which they might use to undermine union wages and organization.

Such unions as the CIO United Automobile Workers and Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, whose members have been largely engaged in war production, anticipate layoffs in the next few weeks affecting more than half their members. What will happen to these union men and women?

Will they be forced to scatter over the country in desperate hopes of finding jobs? Will they be permitted to drop out of the unions, thus weakening organized labor in the face of a tremendous economic crisis and a furious union-smashing offensive by Big Business? Will they be forced by the employer-dominated USES into, low-wage, open shop jobs, a constant menace to union wages and conditions?

If the unemployed are not to be converted, as the employers would like, into a direct threat to the unions' they must find organized support in their fight for unemployment relief and compensation, in their struggle for jobs at decent pay. The employed and unemployed workers must be welded together in solid, organized unity to battle for a program of full employment and permanent security.

These unemployed workers are men and women who have helped to build the unions. All their hopes and aspirations for a decent life are bound up in the unions. Will the unions now turn their backs upon the discharged workers, as they have in the past? That can spell disaster for the entire working class.

The immediate, crying need of the unemployed workers is for organized aid and protection, such as only a union was able to give them while they were on the job. They must continue to secure full, direct union representation and organized support.

To hold the union ranks together, to fight for the needs of the unemployed, every union must have an official body devoted to this problem. Every union should immediately establish an Unemployed and Placement Committee to plan and launch an organized struggle for relief and jobs on behalf of the unemployed union members, and to give them full union representation and support. That is a MUST task—now!



# The Significance Of The Conflict Between Chiang And The Stalinists

(Continued from page 1)

the genuine opponents of Japanese imperialism. Intent only on preserving Kuomintang rule, and the interests of the capitalists and landlords, he silenced every voice of criticism and stamped ruthlessly on every movement of opposition to his reactionary regime. The prisons of Kuomintang China are filled to overflowing with genuine fighters against imperialism, champions of China's freedom and independence.

Meanwhile Chiang's regime grew moribund. Devastating economic crisis brought on by the ravages of war loosened the ties of landlord-capitalist rule. Peasant revolts flared in various parts of the country. Chiang's own generals, observing the growing weakness of the regime and anticipating an opportunity to replace Chiang in the seat of power, conserved their weapons and military supplies and refused to move their troops into battle against the Japanese invaders. Chiang, for his part, hoarded his American lend-lease supplies and conserved his armies for use against rival warlords and against the revolting masses.

## Axis of Popular Revolt

The growing popular revolt in China has crystallized around the Chinese Stalinists and the Yen'an government in the northwest province of Shensi. This dual regime arose in the rural interior following upon the defeat of the Chinese revolution in 1927 and was the product of the peasant struggle which continued long after the revolutionary workers in the cities had been crushed. The Stalinists took the leadership of this struggle. It was they who set up the Yen'an government.

The Yen'an regime represents a movement of agrarian reform and as such has gained widespread support among the peasantry. This is the source of power of the Yen'an regime and the Stalinists who control it. The Yen'an regime rules over a vast territory containing a population estimated at more than 80 million people. It has at least 500,000 men under arms and in addition controls large guerrilla forces in other parts of the country.

Ever since the formation of this Stalinist dual government, Chiang Kai-shek has tried to strangle it by blockade and military action. The acute antagonism between the Kuomintang and Yen'an is the political reflection of the irreconcilable contradiction between the needs and aspirations of the Chinese masses, on the one hand, and the Chiang Kai-shek regime of capitalist-landlord exploitation on the other. Yen'an represents a mortal danger to Chiang's regime.

American imperialism's main aim in the Pacific war was to replace Japan as the imperialist overlord of China. That is why the Wall Street gangsters cannot and do not intend to remain neutral in the unfolding struggle between Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese masses. American imperialism is determined to prevent, if it can, a revolution which, by wiping out capitalist-landlord rule, would automatically destroy the basis of imperialist domination. That is why Washington and Chungking are in alliance, conspiring to crush the new beginnings of the Chinese revolution.

## The Kremlin's Policy

Stalin and the Kremlin bureaucracy enter into this complicated situation as the inspirers and directors of the policies of the Yen'an government. With Germany and Japan defeated, Stalin's possibilities of diplomatic maneuvering in the imperialist world have been tremendously narrowed. The Soviet Union is confronted in the East as in the West by the mighty power of victorious American imperialism.

The Kremlin bureaucracy, with good reason, fears the unbridled power of this imperialist colossus even more than it feared yesterday the might of imperialist Germany. It is more apparent today than ever before that only the extension of the socialist revolution can provide sure protection for the Soviet Union. But the Kremlin oligarchy has betrayed the Russian Revolution. It has imposed upon the first workers' state a vile, reactionary dictatorship. It has sold out the revolutionary struggle for socialism in one country after another. It stands in mortal dread of revolutionary uprisings anywhere, because it realizes that the workers' revolution will sound the death-knell of Stalin's counter-revolutionary regime.

Stalin is attempting to duplicate in China his European policy of establishing on the borders of the Soviet Union capitalist states "friendly" to and influenced by the Kremlin. This is the meaning of Stalin's campaign, through Yen'an, to counter American pressure on Chiang Kai-shek. He seeks to "democratize" Chiang's bloody dictatorship. His immediate aim, shown clearly in the demands of the Chinese Stalinists, is to secure in China a coalition government in which the "Communists" and the Kuomintang will share power.

But Chiang has a rich and powerful patron in Wall Street. He is in no mood to make serious concessions to the Chinese Stalinists, much less share power with them. Hence his ominous moves in the direction of a showdown at arms. The Kuomintang regime has fallen within the fast expanding orbit of American imperialism.

The American workers must clearly understand the nature of the forces at work in the present Chinese situation. The role of the Chiang Kai-shek regime and of the American imperialists is absolutely clear: to keep the Chinese masses in perpetual servitude. It is necessary to realize, however, that the rising mass movement in China is at the present time under the leadership of the Stalinists who control the Yen'an government. These leaders already have a long history of sell-outs and betrayals of the Chinese masses.

In 1925-27, the Stalinists led China's great revolution to catastrophic defeat by uniting with Chiang Kai-shek in the criminal "bloc of four classes," the first example of a "People's Front." After Chiang Kai-shek had consolidated his reactionary rule on the ruins of the revolution, they switched to a policy of irrespon-

## Soldiers of the Chinese 8th Route Army



Pictured above are Chinese fighters of the Eighth Route Army, largest unit of the armed forces of the Stalinist government in Yen'an. It is soldiers such as these, many of them extremely youthful, that are engaged in combat with the Kuomintang troops of Chiang Kai-shek in Shansi province. Some of them are taking over Japanese-occupied areas in North China. Others have marched into Inner Mongolia to join forces with the Soviet Red Banner Army of Stalin's Marshal Rodion Malinovsky.

sible adventurism. When Japan attacked, and Chiang Kai-shek was compelled to take up the defense of the country, they led the growing anti-imperialist movement of the masses back into the fold of the Kuomintang, where Chiang was able to strangle it.

To achieve a "People's Anti-Japanese United Front" with the Kuomintang — which was a repetition of their infamous bloc with Chiang in 1925-27 — the Stalinists ceased all criticism of Chiang's bloody regime, abandoned the class struggle, gave up their agrarian program, made their peace with the landlords and capitalists. How fatal was this policy can be seen now from the fact that, far from bringing about a united and effective defense against Japanese imperialism, the struggle against Japan was weakened and undermined.

Having rejected the teachings of Lenin and Trotsky on the colonial revolution, the Stalinists "overlooked" the fact that Chiang Kai-shek, and the Chinese capitalists and landlords which his regime represents, never have been interested in freeing China from imperialist domination. The end of imperialist domination means the end of their own rule. Chiang fought against the Japanese imperialists only within the limits dictated by the interests of the Chinese landlords and capitalists. Meanwhile, the Stalinists kept the masses bound and gagged by means of their infamous "People's Anti-Japanese United Front." The "unity" of the Stalinists with the Kuomintang led to the strangulation of the genuine anti-imperialist struggle and opened wide the gate to the domination of China by Wall Street, into whose service Chiang has entered very readily.

## The Real Menace

Now China's struggle for independence, the strivings of the Chinese masses for relief from servitude and poverty, are menaced by Wall Street imperialism in alliance with Chiang Kai-shek. The only way to meet the developing attack is to unfold the anti-imperialist mass movement in its full scope.

To draw the vast peasant masses into the struggle, the program of the agrarian revolution must be revived. Land to the peasants!

To activate the workers in the cities, the program of socialist struggle must be unfolded. Expropriate the factories! Elect Soviets to take over the powers of government!

Arm the masses! Disarm the class enemy!

Chiang Kai-shek is trying to use the Japanese troops in China to curb the mass movement. Appeals should be addressed to the Japanese soldiers, themselves workers and peasants, to make common cause with the oppressed of China. They will readily respond!

But what are the Chinese Stalinists doing? On the very eve of civil war they are setting arbitrary, artificial and dangerous limits to the class struggle. They are trying to limit the aim of the struggle to the establishment of a coalition government with Chiang Kai-shek in a bourgeois-democratic regime. However, bourgeois democracy is least of all possible in war-torn, poverty-stricken China. Only the most radical program can serve the desperate needs of the masses and inspire them to struggle. Only a thorough-

going revolution can lift the country from chaos and decay. Even if some compromise is reached between the Stalinists and Chiang Kai-shek, this would be but a passing phase. Chiang Kai-shek will utilize any such agreement to further prepare his forces for a new bloody settlement with the rebellious masses.

China again stands at the crossroads. Again the Chinese workers and peasants face the fundamental alternatives: Forward to the Soviet power or deeper into the mire under Chiang Kai-shek and his imperialist allies.

The program of the Chinese Stalinists, essentially the same as their program of 1925-27, can only lead the Chinese masses to another appalling disaster. It will mean a repetition of the recent debacle in Greece on a far vaster scale.

## The Need of the Hour

China's industrial proletariat, which is sure to rise again and take the lead in the unfolding revolutionary struggle, must this time break decisively with Stalinism and its treacherous People's Front policy. It must forge a new revolutionary party based on the program of Lenin and Trotsky under which the Russian workers achieved the great revolutionary triumph of October 1917.

The cadre of this new party is already in existence in the Chinese section of the Trotskyist Fourth International. Only under the banner of the Fourth International, and under no other, can the Chinese masses realize their aspirations and win victory over the combined forces of imperialism and native reaction.

In the period between the first defeat of the Chinese revolution in 1927, and the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the Trotskyists in China and in every other land gave all the support they could to the Chinese Red Army (now the Stalinist 8th Route and New Fourth armies) in the fight against Chiang Kai-shek, while never ceasing to criticize and condemn the ruinous policies of the Chinese Stalinist leaders.

When Japan invaded China in 1937, the Stalinists abandoned all opposition to the Kuomintang regime. The Trotskyists, on the other hand, gave complete and unconditional support to China's struggle against Japan, but refused to make peace with the hangman Chiang Kai-shek. Not for an instant did we suspend our opposition to Chiang's bloody and reactionary regime. On the contrary, we pointed out time and time again that China's struggle for freedom could never be successful under the leadership of Chiang and the Chinese bourgeoisie. This has now been proved to the hilt.

## The Trotskyist Position

We condemned the Stalinist leaders for abandoning the class struggle and entering into a bloc with Chiang and the Kuomintang. This dishonest and treacherous pact only helped to shield the Kuomintang regime from the revolutionary wrath of the Chinese masses and enabled Chiang Kai-shek to sell out China's struggle to the American imperialists.

Today, once again, the class lines are being drawn. Japanese imperialism has been defeated. China's millions now face the predatory and ruthless imperialists of Wall Street. Using Chiang Kai-shek as the instrument of their policy, the Wall Street plutocrats are bent on bringing China under their brutal sway.

In the unfolding civil war the Trotskyists stand unreservedly on the side of the Chinese workers and peasants against the rapacious American imperialists and their Kuomintang allies. We stand with them even though their movement is at present led by the Stalinist traitors. Where yesterday we supported China's struggle against Japanese imperialism, today we stand on the fighting line with China against American imperialism.

The American workers have a direct and vital interest in China's struggle for emancipation. Every blow struck by Wall Street against the Chinese masses is a blow at the American working class. It builds up the power of the Wall Street plutocracy and aids them in fastening the chains of exploitation more tightly on the American workers. Contrariwise, every blow which the colonial peoples strike at the imperialist oppressors helps the working class in its struggle for socialism.

The American workers must proclaim their solidarity with the Chinese workers and peasants. They can paralyze the arm of imperialist intervention. They can and they must strike the poised weapon from the hand of the Wall Street bandits. From the ranks of organized labor a thunderous demand must go up:

**Hands off China!**

**Down with imperialist intervention!**

**Withdraw all American armed forces from China!**

**Let the Chinese people decide their own future!**

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

### 'Suitable Employment'

One of the major problems facing the unions is the squeeze-play being engineered by the corporations, U. S. Employment Service and state unemployment insurance agencies to force hundreds of thousands of fired war workers into low-wage, sweated and non-union jobs.

When an unemployed worker, especially a union man, now goes to the USES for a job, he is usually offered one at sub-standard wages or far below his customary wages. If the worker refuses to take such "suitable employment," he is denied state unemployment compensation. On a nation-wide scale, this policy is being used as a powerful employers' weapon to destroy union wage standards.

An important case now being pressed by the CIO United Automobile Workers has arisen out of the shutdown of the huge Willow Run bomber plant. Many UAW members who refused jobs at drastic reductions in their wages or which would not utilize their full skill have been denied unemployment compensation by the Michigan Unemployment Insurance Compensation Commission.

UAW officials, preparing appeals and suits on the issue, charge the commission "is forcing labor to set a lower wage scale—something the unemployment act was never intended to do."

### Union Conventions

A number of the big CIO unions, the national CIO and the AFL have had their annual conventions banned this year by the Office of Defense Transportation.

This is a particularly dangerous blow to the union ranks at a time when the workers are faced with desperate problems of mass layoffs, wage cuts and a concerted union-busting offensive by the corporations.

Last week, the ODT lifted its restrictions on pleasure travel to sports events, including horse racing, and for "group travel" under the auspices of tourist agencies. But it continued to ban conventions of more than 150 people.

The UAW-CIO, whose scheduled convention this September was banned, last week served notice it may defy the ODT ruling. UAW Secretary Addes declared that he would recommend "that we hold a convention in spite of the irresponsible action of the ODT." He cited the action of the American Legion which has scheduled a large convention for November in Chicago.

### 'We Will Not Budge'

In his testimony last June before a War Labor Board hearing on the International Typographical Union strikes that forced suspension of the Jersey Journal and Bayonne Times, Jersey City and Bayonne, N. J., ITU President Woodruff Randolph flatly told the WLB and Associated Publishers:

"For a hundred years the printing industry has recognized the application of union laws. It is an established condition and policy that union laws are not subject to arbitration and that is a position from which we will not budge... The publishers are going to recognize ITU laws or

they are not going to run newspapers."

For 66 days the Jersey Journal and Bayonne Times publishers did not run newspapers. On August 15, they finally accepted a union contract which includes the ITU laws, the main issue of the strike. This decisive victory in what has generally been regarded as a test case is expected to have important bearing on 35 other cases where the organized publishers have held up contracts in a planned campaign to undermine union organization and conditions in the news industry.

### Hunger Wages

A recent report of the Pepper Senate committee on wartime substandard wages reveals an astounding picture of starvation wages paid millions of American workers during the period when the workers were supposed to be wearing "silk shirts."

According to the Senate committee's findings, more than 17,000,000 workers at the height of war production received less than 65 cents per hour, \$26 for a 40 hour week, equivalent in purchasing power to about \$15 at prewar prices. 5,000,000 received only 50 cents an hour, and 2,000,000 less than the wage hour minimum of 40 cents.

These figures were introduced in support of the Pepper bill to raise the 40 cent minimum wage to 65 cents. This was one of the measures, supported by the CIO, which was pigeon-holed when Congress adjourned.

### Back to 'Normalcy'

A week before the first Japanese surrender announcement, the workers of the Sperry Corporation, Long Island, received a four-page printed "Message From Your President" on "The Future Of Sperry."

"What About Postwar?" asks the message, and replies: "We have no 'reconversion problem' in the generally accepted use of the term, since the development and manufacture of precision equipment is our normal business... We now employ about 19,000 people... Our guess, and it can only be our best guess, is that a low point of 6,000 to 8,000 employees will be reached within one year after the victory over Japan."

### Ward 'Seizure'

Now that the war in the Pacific has ended, it is reported that the government is planning to restore full control to Montgomery Ward of its "seized" properties. These were taken over last year by the Army to halt strikes against the WLB's failure to enforce its orders against the company.

Presumably, the company, headed by the notorious open-shopper Sewell L. Avery, will regain control without complying with the WLB orders which it has successfully defied for several years.

The total effect of the "seizure" will have been merely to prevent the union from conducting militant actions to secure the contract to which even the WLB conceded it was entitled. The company increased its profits during the "seizure," while the government laid out several million dollars of public funds to operate the properties it took over.

## BREWERS IN MILWAUKEE STRIKE FOR CONTRACT

MILWAUKEE, August 11 — The Schlitz Brewing Company bottling plant here is completely shut down in the third day of a rank-and-file strike protesting the stalling of contract negotiations.

With over 1,600 Schlitz workers out, the strike threatens to paralyze the Milwaukee brewing industry. Sections of the Pabst and Blatz breweries have answered the Schlitz workers' appeal to spread the strike.

### COMPANY STALLS

Burning with anger, the men and women of the Schlitz plant walked out Thursday over the company's delay in signing a new all-city contract. The proposed contract includes substantial wage increases, two weeks' vacation with pay and plant, rather than departmental, seniority.

The shipping room employees initiated the strike. Following their example, the bottling machine girls then went to the dressing room to change to street clothes. A foreman tried to persuade them to stay. An attractive, red-haired girl called out: "Where are all the men?" "They've left," he admitted.

"What are we waiting for girls? Let's go!" responded the red-headed spokesman. Out they went to the consternation of the would-be scab-herder.

Company attempts to hire scabs to replace the shipping room workers inspired a mass walkout. Among numerous grievances, strikers charged the company with refusing to rehire servicemen and not replacing them on their former jobs.

E. B. Brody, corresponding secretary of Brewery Workers Local 9, and Edward Hughlett, international union representative, have tried to order the workers back to the job, claiming the strike is "unauthorized." They have threatened strikers with loss of their jobs and union membership.

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# Reconversion Head Sees 8 Million Jobless Soon

Unable to conceal the terrific economic crisis and fearful of political repercussions in America inspired by the British Labor Party victory, the Truman administration last week began to put on a show of "doing something" to stem the onrushing plant shutdowns which in one week have thrown millions out of jobs.

The administration's "plans," as well as its first "candid" admission of the true scope of the crisis, were embodied in a 6,000-word report by Truman's Reconversion Director, John W. Snyder, made public on August 16.

## APPALLING PICTURE

Entitled "From War to Peace: A Challenge," Snyder's report was chiefly significant for its appalling picture of swelling mass unemployment and its utter vagueness about specific, effective measures to ensure full employment and expanded production.

While he insists that "the outlook is bright," the actual facts cited in the report belied the report's optimistic tone. "It is expected that there will be 5,000,000 or more unemployed in three months. By spring unemployment may reach about 8,000,000."

Demobilization from the armed services will return at least 7,000,000 men to civilian life within the next year. But, we are assured, "we are not going back to long periods of mass unemployment."

This assurance is fortified solely by the hope that a "free economy" — that is, unrestrained capitalist piracy — will achieve the goal of "a peacetime production vastly expanded over anything this or any other nation has ever seen."

## TAKE IT ON FAITH

How is this to be realized specifically? "This report makes no attempt to picture a complete program. There is no place in our free economy for a master blueprint which will rigidly prescribe each move at every turn of the road."

We are told to take on faith, however, that "nevertheless, careful plans have been laid by various agencies of Government under the guidance and direction of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. They will be revealed by the heads of agencies and by these subsequent acts of these agencies as the nation proceeds to unwind its wartime economy and to switch to peacetime production."

While the workers are waiting for these "careful plans" which will be "revealed by the heads of agencies" at no specified time in

the future, they must rest content with the bland assurance that "we have a pent up demand at home and abroad that together will tax for some time our capacity to produce."

## BLIND ALLEY

In short, the administration is hoping that there will be enough mass purchasing power, both at home and in foreign countries, to provide the American capitalists with sufficient profit incentive to keep the plants in operation.

But how will eight million unemployed bolster mass purchasing power to realize "peacetime production vastly expanded over anything this or any other nation has ever seen?"

The report admits that the only present means for their subsistence is state unemployment insurance "down to \$15 or \$16 (maximum) in fourteen states" for "as low as fourteen or sixteen weeks (maximum)." It emphasizes: "No person is entitled to unemployment compensation if he refuses any 'suitable' employment," and adds significantly, "the definition of 'suitable' varies from State to State."

Truman, the report states, will request Congress to supplement this up to \$25 per week MAXIMUM for a MAXIMUM of 26 weeks of unemployment in any year. Even such improved benefits, it is obvious, would be only crumbs compared to the reduced purchasing power in loss of regular wages, plus the billions in wage-cuts with a return to the 40-hour week.

## NO WAGE INCREASES

Further, "as long as there is a threat of inflation the 'hold the line' stabilization program must remain." Only such wage increases will be permitted "which will not increase prices"—a ready pretext for denying higher wages to meet the already tremendously inflated prices.

But the ceilings—which have long since become a joke—we are told "will be maintained" only for commodities "in short supply," and, naturally, there will be "individual adjustments in hardship cases." What profiteer-

ing corporation doesn't plead "hardship?"

Boiled to its essence, the administration's "program," aside from a few meager palliatives, is the hope that "somehow" American monopoly capitalism, which could not halt the economic disaster of 1929-39 short of a plunge into war, will now "pull the trick." The hope is vain!

## Truman Retains Curbs on Labor

(Continued from page 1)

thorized the War Labor Board "to release voluntary wage increases from the necessity of approval."

This, however, contained a big joker, namely: "upon condition that they (wage increases) will not be used in whole or in part as the basis for seeking an increase in price ceilings." Any employer can thus evade wage increases by insisting upon higher prices, even though he is well able to pay more wages from

## Truman's Wage Policy

"In Independence, Mo., Harrison J. Irving, 24, following close on the heels of the Harry S. Truman's ex-cook, delivered himself of a lengthy peroration to reporters before resigning as caretaker of the Truman lawn. Reason for the resignation: Harrison wants more money and he wants to be paid on time." (Los Angeles Tribune, Aug. 6).

## swollen profits.

In a previous statement, issued August 16, Truman outlined in more detail his long-range plans, as well as his immediate objectives. Immediately, he called on labor to renew the crippling no-strike pledge and comply with the directives of the War Labor Board.

## OFFERS A "SUBSTITUTE"

But Truman is well-aware that the War Labor Board is almost completely discredited among the workers and is no longer an effective agency to stall labor's demands. He therefore proposed to substitute for the War Labor Board another elaborate machinery of government arbitration—"voluntary," of course!—through the Department of Labor.

As in the war, the administration needs the active collaboration of the top union leaders to put over its policies of hamstringing labor. Truman therefore announced that "in the near future I shall call a conference of representatives of organized labor and industry" to create machinery for capital-labor "peace."

From present indications, Truman intends to elaborate into government policy the "peace charter" fraud adopted last spring by CIO President Philip Murray, AFL President Green and U. S. Chamber of Commerce President Eric Johnston.

## ROLE OF "PEACE PACTS"

This would commit labor to giving up its effective methods of enforcing its demands, particularly the strike weapon, while permitting the employers and their government, behind a "peace" smokescreen, to break down union standards and slash the unions to pieces. That has always been the net effect of such "peace pacts" in the past.

Both Green and Murray have already shown their desire to "cooperate" in Truman's plans. They have publicly reaffirmed their adherence to the no-strike policy. And while both have been begging for general wage increases, it is clear that they are ready to submit to Truman's "reconversion" wage formula.

It was Murray himself who called for wage increases "where there will not mean price increases." However, the union ranks are in no mood to submit to the surrender policies of the top union leaders. Everywhere they have been demonstrating their eagerness for militant combat against the union-busting drive of the corporations. And the organized workers are going to have the final say!

## STILL AGAINST STRIKES

At the UAW convention last year, Thomas boasted that he had authorized more strikes than any other union president "before the war," and "after the war," he "plastered" he would "do it again." Now, he virtually gloated over the fact that mass unemployment would make it more difficult to conduct strikes because "I've never been able to figure out how



## Reports On Layoffs

### Detroit

"R. J. Thomas, president of the CIO United Automobile Workers, estimated war's end will cost 250,000 jobs. Representatives of management and government said his figure was conservative." (N. Y. World Telegram, Aug. 14).

### New York City

"At least 70,000 New Yorkers awoke after their Jap surrender celebrations today to find themselves out of work, and the number of unemployed or temporarily displaced workers was expected to rise to 300,000 within

the next three or four weeks." (N. Y. Post, Aug. 15).

### New York State

"500,000 war workers in New York State will be out of jobs in the next few days," said a report of N. Y. State Secretary of Commerce M. C. Catherwood, Aug. 18. Governor Dewey declared: "This state... is ready to show the way toward a new level of prosperity."

### Buffalo

Over 50,000 already laid off, including 35,000 at the huge Curtis Wright plant. Rochester and Syracuse are also heavily hit.

### Philadelphia

A 25 percent layoff at the big Cramp Shipyard on Aug. 14. Total shipyard employment declined by 50,000 even before Japanese surrender. Over 25,000, including 5,200 at Bendix Aviation, laid off on Aug. 17 throughout the city. A report of the Philadelphia Federal Reserve Bank estimated one year after "V-J day" there "would be 320,000 unemployed in eastern Pennsylvania."

### Baltimore

Last week saw 20,000 without jobs in this aircraft and shipbuilding center, according to first reports.

### Pittsburgh

"Pittsburgh had 45,000 laid off up until midnight last night." (N. Y. World Telegram, Aug. 18)

### Bridgeport, Conn.

"Bridgeport is Calm," says the N. Y. Times headline on a report that 25,000 of the city's 75,000 workers have been fired.

### New Jersey

About 160,000 New Jersey workers have lost their jobs in the past week, according to official estimates. An additional 80,000 are expected to be laid off in three months. Officials, however, minimized fears of "widespread" unemployment.

### Ohio

Jobs already number 500,000 throughout the state, according to WMC report, which finds "overall picture promising rather than black."

### Cleveland

Between 75,000 and 125,000 of Cleveland's 300,000 war workers to be laid off.

### Chicago

Over 80,000 already jobless. Soon 525,000 in this area will have to "seek other jobs," say officials. USES offices are so besieged that "a new system to receive applications was devised." (N. Y. Times, Aug. 19).

### Los Angeles

"A scant 48 hours after the announcement of peace," states a local report, "the number of those laid off had reached the figure of 21,160. More than 200,000 are expected to be laid off by the end of the week."

### United States

ARMED SERVICES TO RELEASE 8 MILLION IN THE NEXT 18 MONTHS — United Press Dispatch.

## Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalsky

The war is finally over!

We got the news up on the furnace while we were all sitting on the steps, weak and drenched with sweat from one of the worst days we've had all summer. Whistles suddenly began to blow like mad all over the plant. The engine that brought our cinder lades a little later was blasting away so loudly with its horn that we had to hold our ears when it went by. The phone in the shanty began to buzz crazily, and another engine tore by with its whistle blowing and its bell clanging like a fire engine.

I felt as though something had slipped its moorings down inside my chest, and for a moment I thought the tears were coming into my eyes. Then I began to grin. I said, "Well, I guess the kid'll be getting home."

Tom looked out into the yard. "I got one kid brother coming home," he said, "but the other one's going to stay there."

Reuben turned toward him. "How long's it been now, Tom?"

"Don't remember for sure. It was that explosion out on the coast when all those colored fellows got blown up loading ammunition."

Jimmy said, "I had three brothers in the service, two in the navy and one in the army. Joe got killed in the South Pacific, and Otis got wounded. He's still in the hospital now. But Art, the one in the army, he's been lucky: been through a lot but never got hurt."

I looked out into the yard again. I felt filled up with a bubbly kind of happiness. The kid would be coming home, and he'd be all right. I hadn't heard from him for a while, but then I hadn't had any telegrams from the War Department, like when he was wounded that time. For a few minutes that was all I could think about. The kid would be coming home again!

Then I heard Jimmy's voice saying, "Now they can send us out in the street again," and the picture of the huge, empty Willow Run plant loomed up in my mind.



## From Capitalist Butchery to Capitalist Bread Lines

"Yeah," I said, agreeing with Jimmy, "It takes a war to make work nowadays. If millions of people aren't being murdered, we've got millions starving, out of work."

"There's a million unemployed right now according to the radio," Reuben said. "What's it going to be in a little while?"

Pete Rossi from the disintegrator walked up behind us. "Hey," he yelled, "how do you get to the Relief Office?"

"Don't you remember from last time?" Tom asked.

"I remember, all right! Cripes, I'm sure glad the damn war's over, but I hate the thought of working two, three days a week again."

"All over the country," I said, "people are thinking things like this. What's going to happen? When's the job going to fold up? How will we get along? That's the kind of world we live in! There are people in need. There are raw materials in the earth. There are factories and machines to take these raw materials and make them into things that would take care of the needs of the people. And there are millions of people who need jobs in the factories. But the factories shut down, and the raw materials stay in the ground, and the people are out of work and hungry and ragged."

"And then along comes a war, and that's the only way there's ever full employment. Either mass murder or starvation. You pays your money and you takes your choice."

Pete Rossi cursed. He always goes almost into a rage when he hears you talk like that. "By God," he said, "it's sure time we did something about it."

"Pete," I told him, "we're going to do something about it. When all those of us that get callouses from tools instead of from swivel chairs get together and take over the factories and set up a real workers government, we won't have any more wars and depressions."

I looked out into the yard again, but I wasn't really seeing the brown dirt and the railroad tracks. I was looking out in a daydream at the kid that would soon be coming home to us after being so long away.

## Price Gougers Receive Presidential "Go" Sign

Bowing before the concerted pressure of the big business profiteers, the administration last week gave the green light to all-out price-gouging in the "reconversion" period ahead. In his executive order of August 18, President Truman revealed that the government intends to sustain prices at the high wartime inflationary levels and pave the way for even higher prices.

The basic policy, according to Truman, will be "to take all measures required by law to support prices... (and which) may be necessary to prevent any collapse in values..." In addition, Truman authorized the Office of Price Administration to "make such adjustments in existing price controls as are necessary to remove gross inequities or correct maladjustments which would interfere with the effective transition to a peacetime economy."

This means that the administration will permit the profiteering manufacturers to blackjack the consumers under the heading of correcting "inequities" and "maladjustments" in prices. The manufacturers are to be "encouraged" to produce by guaranteeing them unrestricted prices and profits.

## END PRICE CONTROLS

Anticipating Truman's promise "to move as rapidly as possible... toward the removal of price controls," the OPA last week began removing all price controls on scores of "luxury" items, in a move to pave the way for total elimination of price ceilings.

Chester Bowles, OPA head, announced that firms doing less than \$200,000 business a year will be allowed to "regulate" themselves. ALL companies will be permitted individual adjustments upward "to fit unusual conditions." Every company, naturally, can be expected to claim "unusual conditions."

Meanwhile, the War Production

## Truman Supports Fake Jobs Bill

(Continued from page 1)

ished the full power of Congress over any expenditures. IT COMBATS THE GOVERNMENT TO NO PROGRAM EXCEPT TO HAVE A PROGRAM FOR CONGRESS TO CONSIDER." (Our emphasis).

## "MEANINGLESS RHETORIC"

To this, the N. Y. Times responded acidly. If, as Wagner admitted, the bill contains "no guarantees of any kind," then its promise "to assure... sufficient employment opportunities to enable all Americans... to exercise this right to full-time employment," declares the Times, is "meaningless rhetoric, which ought to be stricken out."

The two-day Senate hearing last month on the bill provided even further evidence of its complete fraudulence.

In his testimony on the bill, Wagner made the astounding admission that it "is not dissimilar to the Employment Stabilization Act which I introduced in 1928." This was the bill actually adopted by the Hoover administration in 1931. But, Wagner complains now, "it was too late." This is virtually the same measure Wagner — and Truman — want to palm off on the American people a second time.

Wagner went even further to assure the capitalists and their Congressional agents that the bill is nothing but a lot of window-dressing. "We must not overlook the fact," he told the Senate committee, "that it (the Murray-Wagner-Patman bill) will not take the place of specific measures and programs. It will not redress the sad circumstance that Congress thus far, has done too little and been too late in acting on matters of reconversion and postwar economic affairs."

## WHAT IT ADDS UP TO

What, then, does the bill provide? Nothing more than that the President make "an annual appraisal of the jobs needed for full employment," submit proposals — unspecified — to Congress, and then Congress may — or may not — adopt these pro-

posals. That is the flimsy substance of the bill — nothing more!

In his review of the bill before the Senate hearing, Representative Patman devoted most of his testimony to "what the bill does not do." It "does not call for 60 million jobs or any other specific amount of employment... does not propose to guarantee specific jobs to anyone... does not provide for the Government to set production quotas for any industry... does not authorize either the continuation of wartime controls or the imposition of new economic controls... does not authorize Government operation of Government-owned or Government-financed war plants... FINALLY, THE BILL DOES NOT SET FORTH ANY SPECIFIC SET OF PROGRAMS FOR MAINTAINING FULL EMPLOYMENT."

## A MERE PHRASE

Patman emphasized that the bill has "twin objectives." The first is "to foster free competitive enterprise (capitalism) and the investment of private capital."

The second is "to assure at all times sufficient employment opportunities for all Americans."

It is the mere inclusion of the latter phrase which has raised such a howl from Big Business agents outside and inside Congress. That phrase alone has been sufficient to make the so-called Full Employment Bill "certain now to lead to the greatest legislative struggle yet to develop in the Truman administration" (N. Y. Times, Aug. 20).

But it is also for that crumb of a phrase, "meaningless rhetoric," that the CIO and AFL leaders are trying to mobilize labor support and to divert the American workingclass from a militant struggle for a genuine program of full employment, a program that must have as its keystone: "NO IDLE PLANTS! GOVERNMENT OPERATION OF ALL IDLE AND GOVERNMENT-BUILT PLANTS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!"





# Inland Steel Union Militants Are Reinstated By Strike

(Continued from page 1)

on other cases for good measure. This smashing victory, the first in over three years since the union was handcuffed with the no-strike pledge, inspired the entire union.

## FURTHER PROVOCATION

Then the company provoked a dispute over vacation schedules in the Bar Mill, denying scheduled vacations on a false pretext of manpower "shortages." When Vice President Maihofer, and other active unionists, announced they would take their vacations, the company threatened them in advance with "discipline" and made preparations for a possible work stoppage.

On his return from his vacation, Maihofer was denied entrance to the plant and informed of a five-day suspension. His fellow-workers began walking off the job. Then grievance committee member E. C. Johnson, who left his job to handle the case, was fired on the spot and put out of the plant by two company guards. More workers began to strike. Then another committee member, Harry Powell, was fired. This provoked a complete plant shutdown.

## RANKS REBEL

The following day the workers met in the union hall. They were informed that the union's district director, Joseph Germano, had urged them to return to work immediately. This position was supported by Donald Lutes, chairman of the Local's grievance committee. After a militant demand by William Young, a Negro grievance committee member, that the strike be continued, a meeting was scheduled for the local

executive committee, shop stewards and department leaders that same evening.

Next day, Sunday afternoon, the expanded executive committee, now in reality a strike committee, advocated defiance of the international union officials and a WLB back-to-work order, and continuance of the strike until assurances were received that Powell and Johnson would be reinstated.

The packed hall thunderously endorsed their stand and vigorously booed Lutes when he again tried to sell a return-to-work proposition.

William Young issued a scathing denunciation of the War Labor Board which was wildly cheered. Powell and Johnson, the victimized committeemen, received ovations for their militant talks.

## KEYNOTE SPEECH

A keynote speech, summing up the real sentiments of the rank and file, was made by Manny Terbovich, an old-time active rank-and-file member, who had been assigned to give the main talk by the executive board. Reviewing the whole anti-labor history of the WLB, he stated:

"What did the WLB offer the coal miners? It cut down their demands from two dollars a day to a miserable twenty-five cents. That's the way the WLB has given justice to the working man."

Terbovich went on to show that the strike, while immediately provoked by the firings, was in reality an answer to years of intolerable abuse by the company and government agencies, while the workers were tied with a no-strike policy. "The best answer we can give to the War Labor Board and the Inland

Steel Corporation is to adjourn this meeting and parade down to the plant gates and establish picket lines."

This advice was promptly taken. The meeting was adjourned and paraded in a body to the plant gates, despite an attempt by Joe Jeneske, an international organizer, to order the workers back to work.

## CHANCE TO SETTLE

By Tuesday, although the ranks were still absolutely solid, it became obvious that the strike could not continue much longer with the International Union officials putting full pressure on for a return to work and refusing any aid. Tuesday night, the local executive committee recommended to the mass meeting a return to work, to satisfy the International's plea for a chance to settle the grievances.

Terbovich, speaking for the executive committee, received an ovation when he stated: "We are going back only to give this international leadership a chance to handle the cases as they promised — but they better produce! Let there be no mistake. If this case is not settled satisfactorily and in a big hurry, then down she goes again!"

With this strike, Local 1010, third largest steel local in the country, has returned to the fighting policy which built the union. It was baptized in the fire of the 1937 Little Steel Strike, and before the war had won a reputation as one of the most advanced and militant steel locals. After experiencing for years the consequences of the disastrous no-strike policy, the Local 1010 ranks are beginning to show the way to steel labor once more.

## LAI-D-OFF WRIGHT WORKERS STAND HOURS FOR PAYOFF; WOMEN FAINT

By Jerry Baker

WOODRIDGE, N. J., Aug. 17 — Workers streamed by the thousands, from cars and buses, to be the first in line for the final pay-off today at the Wright Aeronautical Corporation plant here. Previously, two bus lines had an agreement with the corporation to bring the workers to the doors of the plant. Today, no such arrangement was made. The workers had to walk two miles or more from where the buses left them. They were

Lines formed for about six or seven city blocks in all directions. Although there was a loud-speaker system, and state police, plant protection and other boss representatives were present, no directions were given the thousands of confused workers on the pay lines and thousands still coming.

## LAST PAY DAY

Workers stood in line for hours, only to be told that they were in the wrong line for their department — a surge — a shuffle — and over again, another hour — or two.

By early afternoon, the influx of workers increased and still there was only one pay master for each line. A few steps forward and then waiting and standing some more. By this time three women had fainted on one line alone. They were carried to the grass, well-kept, newly-cut. There are first aid stations inside the plant, but no attempt was made to administer any aid.

The crowd was not noisy, but there was an undercurrent of curses and mutterings. From the middle of the line a worker yelled bitterly "So this is 'victory'!" Up and down the line workers exclaimed: "No war, no work," "this is the pay-off!" Some one yelled: "Everybody... LOOK! Look at this line, this is the kind of a line we need for a picket line." A woman holding a child by one hand, raised the other hand into a fist, shouting, "If we did, they'd be afraid to pay us off!"

## STALE NEWS

A newshy with a Woodridge daily walked down the line holding his papers high; displaying the headline: "WRIGHT'S ABANDON PLANTS." This was no news. Only a few papers were sold.

By late afternoon the declining sun became less warm. Children began to whimper. Women were worried about shopping and supper, and had no alternative but to wait. One woman said in dread, "I only got enough money to last next week." There were murmurs of sympathy from all the workers around. None of them have a surplus from their average wages of 75 cents an hour. So, with the fear of rent bills, doctor bills, grocery bills, they waited through long hours for the "victory" pay-off.

Many workers had worked two days of the last working week, and had two pay stubs. Only one was accepted. For the other, the answer was a nonchalant, "Come back next week." Workers seeking to obtain their own tool

another job... if they could find one.

A few workers could be seen inside the steel enclosure still working on odds and ends around the outside of the plant. But it was already dead. The last nails were being hammered in the coffin... the corpse had to be left in ship shape condition. Everything had to be just so for the "funeral." Even the grass was newly cut.

## TOLEDO CIO DENOUNCES STRIKEBREAKING BILL

TOLEDO, O., Aug. 11 — Training of a group of 350 military police here in armed strike-breaking, including a demonstration "battle" in driving "strikers" from the old Toledo University building in Scott Park, was denounced this week by the Toledo CIO in a protest resolution sent to President Truman and the War Department.

Aroused by the week-long practice drills obviously designed to train a special army force to use against workers striking or demonstrating for their rights, the CIO called for a national labor fight to halt such training.

## THE REAL ENEMY

While the Army officials in charge of the training referred to the "enemy" in the Scott Park demonstration as "snipers," it was pointed out in the CIO Council that the military police from Camp Perry referred to the "enemy" as "strikers."

"It is quite possible," stated Ollie J. Pecord, managing editor of the Toledo Union Journal, to the CIO Council, "that the purpose of the demonstration was to serve as a thinly veiled threat to intimidate labor with a not-so-subtle warning of what may occur in the postwar period, when labor casts aside its no-strike pledge and reverts to its economic weapon in its struggle for jobs and living wages."

"We demand a congressional investigation of the action of the War Department in sending troops into Toledo or any other city to demonstrate their effectiveness in subduing workers and holding over their heads the threat of violence as the answer to the workers' plea for full employment at living wages."

## "EMERGENCY" PRACTICE

Military police have been employed for the last few days in "directing traffic" downtown. The daily press has played this up, trying to claim that they are "great expeditors" of traffic, although they created much confusion and are far less efficient than automatic traffic lights. The papers explain they are practicing for "emergencies."

On Aug. 10, the military police

mother, brother, sister, mother-in-law.

"I like to do things right for my family," said Raffaele with pride. "They live in Bari, Italy. They used to have a little bread to eat. But now they can't even write if they have anything at all." Indignantly he showed me some censored letters. "They have no right to look at letters between a husband and wife."

## CENSORS AND JAILORS

I asked Raffaele what happened after the policeman was summoned to arrest him. "They took me to jail," he replied. "They wanted \$25. I said I didn't have \$25. So I stayed in jail until 11 o'clock that night." After a pause he remarked: "I did have the \$25 but it was in my sock. I was ashamed to tell them. When I took it out of my sock and gave it to them, they let me out. If I didn't give it to them they would keep me there for many days."

On the dingy walls were bunched numerous religious pictures and photographs of Raffaele's family. His brown eyes lit up as he pointed out the members of his family. "I was married in Italy in 1938 when I went for a visit. I want to bring my wife here. This is no life for a married man. But they tell me I should have \$1,500 and a steady job. Where will I get such money?"

Then he added with a kind of bewilderment: "I just heard about my cousin. He wasn't allowed to bring his wife here. And they wouldn't let him go back to Italy. For fourteen years he tried. Now he has hanged himself with a rope."

## The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

—KARL MARX

by CHARLES JACKSON

## Labor Says "Free the Fifty"

One section of organized labor has recently taken a significant step forward in the struggle to defend the rights of the oppressed Negro workers and to thereby further protect the interests of the working class as a whole. They have not only called for the full pardon of fifty Negro boys who are now behind bars on a frame-up charge of "mutiny" on which they were railroaded to jail when they objected to the Navy's unjust Jim-Crow policy, but they have also called for collaboration between the National Association for Advancement of Colored People and the organized labor movement in the mobilization of all forces which are willing to put up a militant fight to free these innocent boys. Such collaboration of the Negro people and the labor organizations united in mass protest is the only way, as has been frequently pointed out in The Militant, for the colored workers to gain real concessions from the capitalist oppressors.

## UNION ACTION

This union action which was in the form of a resolution passed by Detroit members of UAW-CIO Local No. 15, was reported in the August 18th Pittsburgh Courier. The resolution, signed by Charles Carmack, chairman of the meeting and Ernest Dillard, secretary of the Fair Employment Practices Committee of Local 15, reads:

"Whereas, sentences ranging from eight to fifteen years have been imposed by a Naval court-martial on fifty Negro sailors found 'guilty' on charges of mutiny arising from the disastrous explosion of a munitions ship, killing 327 Negro sailors, at Port Chicago, near San Francisco, July 17, 1944, and,

"Whereas, the charge of mutiny arose out of a petition asking for transfers to other types of work which allegedly had been circulated by the defendants, all of whom were involved in the catastrophe, being either survivors or among the squad which cleaned up wreckage and remnants of bodies dismembered by the blast, and,

"Whereas the Army and Navy have made a whole system of allowances for battle fatigue, shell shock and psychological reaction to the horrors of war, yet in this case, where the men went through one of the severest munitions disasters of this war, no consideration for this effect was made, and,

"Whereas, simply for exercising the democratic right of petition—a right included in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States—they have been found guilty of a conspiracy to mutiny in the Navy of American 'democracy'; and,

"Whereas, every one of the 327 casualties were Negro sailors who had been loading ammunition, while every one of the com-

pany executives who moved into the offices of the War Shipping Administration during the war are now back at their old desks as "private operators." John W. Bancker, former director of Tanker Operations for WSA, has been given the job of vice-president for the American Merchant Marine Institute, Inc. This is the association of all major Atlantic coast ship operators. Bancker served these people well during the war. He was with the WSA and the Maritime Commission from August 1941 until August first, this year. He is succeeded in the WSA post by a Standard Oil man, Roy E. Anderson. Anderson now takes over Tanker Operations as a government official. Thus, the ship-

"owners" keep their own men as government officials while reorganizing their "private" affairs.

## Postwar Notes For Seamen

Permanent cut-backs in shipping are officially estimated at 75 percent. Whereas the Maritime Commission has built a fleet of 5,500 ships, at public expense to the tune of \$16 billion, private operators see a postwar need for only 1,300 ships. This "need" is based on the restricted economy of peacetime capitalist production. It means 150,000 seamen will be presently thrown on the beach.

The shipping outfits, all of which live off government subsidies, never miss a chance to gouge as deep as possible. A wartime flyer called the Permanente Steamship Co., one of tycoon Henry J. Kaiser's interests, netted hundreds of thousands from the charter of two old rust buckets — "Phillips" and "Permanente" — to the War Shipping Administration. The WSA paid \$1 per bareboat ton for use of the "Permanente" and "Phillips" during the war. Kaiser is trying to recover over a million dollars more on these two old scows because he claims that, prior to WSA requisitioning of all merchant ships in 1942, these ships had been chartered to Navy subcontractors for \$3 per bareboat ton under provisions of a cost-plus contract. What has already been paid by the WSA for use of these two ships is far more than their sale price in prewar days.

The government is now handing over what remains of its \$16 billion investment in the maritime industry to the private shipping companies. This swindle of the taxpayers will be legalized if the "ship sale" bill now pending is passed by Congress when it reconvenes.

Some of the big-time shipping

Freedom from Want

## Union Control Over Government-Owned Merchant Marine Is Answer To Layoffs

NEW YORK, August 21—Official spokesmen for all maritime unions—both CIO and AFL as well as Independent—have closed their eyes to the prospect of mass unemployment for merchant seamen. While ignoring seamen's problems, these union officials have rushed to the support of profit-bloated ship-owners who are demanding that government owned ships be turned over to "private enterprise." The problem of unemployment, which the unions are now forced to face, is inseparably bound to the questions of ownership and control in the maritime industry.

All estimates for American-flag shipping in the postwar period place the required number of ships at about 1,300. This is less than one quarter of the 5,000 odd ships now controlled by the U. S. Maritime Commission. Of these ships, 85 percent are government owned. The remainder to which ship-owners have title have been paid for twice over by the government in the course of operation.

When four thousand of these ships are taken out of service it means that 150 thousand of the 200 thousand merchant seamen now employed will be on the

beach. Three out of every four seamen will be looking for jobs.

## NOTHING TO GAIN

Seamen have nothing to gain and everything to lose by allowing the merchant fleet to be turned over to the corrupt ship-owners. This can be stopped if the unions adopt a realistic program for government ownership and workers control of the maritime industry.

Here is an industry that is already government owned. The taxpayers of this country have a recent \$25 billion investment in it. To turn what remains of this investment in capital assets over to a gang of parasites whose whole history has been one of graft and mismanagement is a criminal swindle of the American people.

The postwar merchant fleet, however small, will not operate without heavy government aid. The U. S. Maritime Commission will continue to pour millions into the maritime industry. If this industry is turned over to "private enterprise," seamen's wages will be what the ship-owners can "afford" after they have diverted government operating subsidies into their own pockets.

Were it not for the fat cut that goes to the ship-owners, government subsidies would easily provide a minimum base wage of \$200 per month. And just as a living wage could be paid, so the hours of work could be shortened by instituting the four watch system aboard ship.

## REAL SOLUTION

Higher wages and shorter hours, thus creating more jobs, is the only way to solve the problem of unemployment. This can be accomplished under government ownership and workers' control of the industry. It is first necessary to kick-out the ship-owners.

To insure against continuation of ship-ownership graft in high government circles, organized seamen will have to exercise control over the maritime industry. Union control of hiring must be maintained. In addition to this, the unions should have access to the financial records of the Maritime Commission, and a quarterly finance report should be made to the membership, just as is the case with the union's own financial records. In this way government operating subsidies can be fixed to meet the needs of the seamen.

## Victimized Italian Longshoreman Tells His Story To "Militant" Staff Reporter

By Evelyn Atwood

Raffaele Panzarino, 30-year-old longshoreman stood at attention before the judge in Jefferson Market court on the morning of Aug. 6. He waited while the fat judge, gowned in black, finished telling a joke to his subordinates. When the judge turned again to fumble with the papers on the bar, the grin was gone from his pink, fleshy face. The clerk intoned the charges: "Seizure of Meat... Army Supplies."

"Guilty or not guilty," said the judge in a flat voice. The short, wiry Italian worker tried to say something in broken English. The judge leaned across the bar, thrust his arm straight out, pointing a stubby forefinger at the man in the dock. "All I want to know is — did you steal the meat or didn't you?" Raffaele Panzarino mumbled something... the case was closed.

"He pleaded guilty but he shouldn't of," said the red-haired Irish policeman in charge of the case, as the three of us left the courtroom. "Now it might go into a felony charge; it could be made a federal case. Army supplies, you know." Raffaele looked dazed. In his hand he held a new summons!

On the street the policeman stood arms akimbo, looking at Raffaele in disgust. "One pound of meat! Why didn't you take a big chunk at least?" He gestured a chunk that approximated half a cow. "Everybody knows hundreds of pounds of meat are taken from the piers," he said to me. "But those other men don't get caught!"

In Raffaele's dreary, cold-water

holds. "But I never touch anything in hold No. 3 where I work," he said emphatically. "On Sunday, when it happened, I worked half a day. Then at noon, when I came out, I saw a paper bag on top of the hold. I only wanted the bag to put my work clothes in. Then I saw there was a pound of meat in the bag. I smelled the meat and it was still good. So I took the bag and put it in my belt."

Twisting his cup with embarrassment, Raffaele continued. "But when I passed through the gate the guard asked me: 'What you got there?' He took me inside. I said to him: 'Please don't think I am a bad man because I took the meat.' We were alone — just the two of us. He said I must give him five dollars..." Raffaele broke off, groping for words.

"But I like to have things right!" he went on. "So I said to him: Why do you search only me, because I am Italian boy? Why don't you search everybody? He got mad. Then I said: If you think I am a bad man, take me to jail. But if I go to court I will tell the whole story."

The guard summoned the policeman to arrest Raffaele. "The policeman told me not to tell. He said it would only make trouble for me. He said they will be ashamed of themselves for making all this trouble for a pound of meat. He said why didn't you give him two, three dollars..."



RAFFAELE PANZARINO

Raffaele rose from his chair and went to rummage in his chest. "I am no bad man. I am a worker. I have been working for 17 years." He dug up a number of much-handled documents, including a musical score for a guitar that he used to play. He showed me his union card in the International Longshoremen's Association, AFL, which he joined three months ago. He pointed out his citizenship papers, obtained in 1933. Prominent among the miscellaneous papers were money orders. They were made out to members of his family in Italy; his wife, his father and





## Native Fascism - III

# American Fascist Organizations Collaborate In Spreading Poison

By Joseph Hansen

America's native fascists are not separated by rigid differences in principle or program. They move loosely from one organization to another and collaborate in many enterprises. The minor role of internal strife in the development of this reactionary movement attests the overpowering influence of Big Business. Where money is freely flowing, cynics, thugs and adventurers are not inclined to split hairs or argue too heatedly over questions of individual station in the eventual hierarchy of the fascist party. The line and tempo of assault against the labor movement is determined by political experts in the pay of Big Business. The ignorant or hypnotized dupes are trained to blindly obey the dictatorial orders handed down from above.

Only when labor offers stiff resistance and defeats the fascists in a number of encounters does demoralization and paralyzing factional strife set in.

**AMICABLE COLLABORATORS**  
Today in the United States, ex-Senator Robert Rice Reynolds, organizer of the Nationalist Party, collaborates amicably with the Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith. During the war Smith operated in Detroit. He mobilized a group of fascist "mothers" and led them on an expedition to San Francisco to demonstrate against the United Nations Conference. Smith does not really oppose imperialism war—on the contrary he supports it. But he is extremely anxious to capitalize on the anti-war sentiment, and the junket was part of his demagogic efforts to gather a following among those beginning to feel revulsion against the war.

The character of Smith's delegation of wealthy and reactionary women is clear enough from the fact that one of them, Mrs. Van Hynning, proposed and was the first to sign a petition sent to Congress from San Francisco calling for disfranchisement of all Jews.

Reynolds expressed his admiration for G. L. K. Smith in a telegram to the Rev. Jonathan Perkins, a Smith lieutenant in California, who organized a fascist rally in honor of Smith's arrival in San Francisco. Said Reynolds:

"You are fortunate in having the Honorable Gerald L. K. Smith in San Francisco at this vital crossroad in history when American Internationalists would accede to every request and demand of alien nationalists. Smith has had the courage to speak the truth and print the facts about New Deal domestic and foreign policies. He expresses the sentiments and convictions of millions of red-blooded Americans when he demands that this government rid itself of New Deal bureaucrats and Communists. And with millions of American Nationalists, I join in demanding a cessation of Lend-Lease bulletins to Pal Joey for fear that they may be used against us. It's time to call a halt." — Robert R. Reynolds.

## FASCIST DEMAGOGY

The Reverend Smith follows the line of propaganda advocated in Congress by such wheel-horses of the Democratic Party as Bilbo, Eastland, Colmer and Rankin. He demands that the Negro people should be deported to Africa "to solve the Negro problem honestly and realistically." He protests that "it is not a crime to criticize a Jew, a New Dealer or a Communist." He opposed admission of refugees from fascism in Europe. One of his diatribes on this subject bore the title: "Must America Forever

Absorb the Scum of the Earth?" This fascist demagogue is concentrating on the veterans. He has formed two organizations, the "Nationalist Veterans of World War II" and the "Committee of Veterans of World War II." They print attractive literature telling the veterans they "have been virtually deserted by our people" and they "belong to the Lost Battalion."

The Smith lieutenant at the head of the "Nationalist Veterans" is George Vose. A typical fascist type, he is a discharged Army man who was court-martialed for selling Army goods and passes to members of the armed forces at Camp McCoy, Wisconsin.

Main bait held out by Smith to war veterans is a demand for a bonus of at least \$1,000 for a year or more of service.

## CAREER OF A FASCIST

G. L. K. Smith is not a newcomer in the ranks of American fascism. In 1933, the year Hitler marched into power, Smith began his political career with Pelley's notorious Silver Shirts. His registration number as a member was 3223 and his wife's number was 3220. John Roy Carlson, in his book *Undercover* publishes an extract of a letter dated August 15, 1933, from Smith to Pelley:

"By the time you receive this letter I shall be on the road to St. Louis and parts north together with a uniformed squad of young men composing what I believe will be the first Silver Shirt storm troop in America."

Two days later, according to the same source, Smith "wrote Pelley from Hot Springs: 'We have held three mass meetings, two street meetings, and appointed key men for literature in six towns; no, seven towns.' And some of the lecture topics Smith used in promoting Pelley's cause were: 'Some Day 100 Million Americans Will Hide Behind the

Silver Shirts for Protection,' and 'Why I Left the Conventional Pulpit to Join the Christian Militia of the Silver Shirts.'"

**HUEY LONG'S LIEUTENANT**  
Soon after, Smith went to Louisiana. In Shreveport as pastor of King's Highway Church, he met Huey Long. "Every Man a King" Long persuaded Smith to become a lieutenant in his political machine, and Smith cut loose from the pulpit to learn and proselytize at the feet of the fascist prophet. When Huey Long was assassinated, Smith tried to take over the machine but was defeated by another lieutenant, Earl Christenberry. Smith headed for the Ohio-Michigan area where Father Coughlin was forging ahead.

In 1936, when Coughlin, William Lemke and Dr. Francis E. Townsend of Old Age Pension fame joined in an unholy political alliance, Smith described himself as a "contact man for the Union Party, director of the Townsend organization, a keynote speaker for Father Coughlin and supporter of Lemke for President."

He soon began organizing on his own account, setting up the "Committee of One Million" as a "nationalist front against Communism." According to a report in the New York Times Smith set out to "seize the government of the United States." He outlined his strategy as follows:

"You've got to be in a state of crisis to do things well. That means you've got to look over men and events, convince yourself that there is a crisis. Then you've got the mentality of a soldier in a trench. Nothing stops you. You're ruthless. When you're right and know you're right you should be ruthless."

This dangerous fascist demagogue is at present boring away in Los Angeles where he hopes to establish a strong base for his movement.

(To Be Continued)



G. L. K. SMITH

## Scientific Study Shows Europe on Starvation Diet

By Mary Kane

**MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Aug. 16** — In an experiment recently conducted at the University of Minnesota with 34 conscientious objectors as the living subjects, it has been demonstrated that the masses of Europe face starvation under present "reconstruction" plans of the Allied imperialists. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is particularly concerned with the results of the study, which has been conducted for the purpose of determining how little food a man can be given and still survive. Sponsored by the Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene at the University, various church service committees, scientific and medical foundations and government agencies, the experiment received "respectable" endorsement in the name of service to science and "solving the postwar problem of restorative diets" for Europe.

## "ASTOUNDING RESULT"

According to the St. Paul Dispatch, July 26, "One astounding and dangerous result already disclosed at the University, is this: That the political and economic reconstruction of Europe is impossible with any diet that does not give an average of 2,000 calories a day—and that amount of food looks impossible at the present time."

What the experiment has shown very clearly is that starved human beings become listless, ambitionless, lethargic, despite special study of subjects designed to fit them for social and economic rehabilitation. The Minnesota conscientious objectors were exposed to such supervised study, exercise and "busy work" during their six-month diet of 1600 calories daily in potatoes, cabbage, turnips, bread, the diet of starving Europe. The experimentees lost an average of 38 pounds each and the mental and physical energy to reconstruct their lives.

## "SOMETHING OF A MOCKERY"

"These experiments are of vital importance to the world's future," one University authority said to local reporters. "We are learning that the United Nations charter is going to be something of a mockery unless Europe can be fed enough so the people will have the strength to rebuild from the war. It is a grave situation that confronts humanity."

The problem of hunger cannot be solved by capitalism. The plight of starving humanity can be relieved only in a socialist society, where food will not be used as a political weapon for imperialist aggrandizement and where the resources of nature will be really utilized for the benefit of all mankind.

## VOTE TROTSKYIST!

### In the Coming New York Elections

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

**SAFEGUARD THE AMERICAN WORKERS' STANDARD OF LIVING!**

The Washington bureaucrats promised to keep down the cost of living. But prices have skyrocketed beyond reach of the average family. To preserve the standard of living, institute a sliding scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!

Smash the black market system fostered by the Wall Street politicians! Organize consumers' committees to check prices and stop the diversion of goods into the black market!

Replace the slums and firetraps with modern low-rent apartments! Make work for the building trades! Build homes instead of bombers!



WILLIAM PATTERSON

## Cleveland Auto Union Supports Smith Act Victim

**CLEVELAND** — Following similar action by the Buffalo area and Northwest Ohio regional conferences of the CIO auto workers union, UAW-CIO Local 207 here at its August 12 membership meeting voted unanimously to support the case of William Patterson, Pennsylvania miner who is the first imprisoned victim of the notorious Smith-Connally anti-strike act.

Local 207's resolution stated in part that the anti-strike law "is a deadly menace to the most basic right of labor, the right to strike" and that "the jailing of Patterson sets a precedent whereby any or all union gains can suffer a similar fate."

The resolution pledges "full support to Local 2399, United Mine Workers, in its fight to free Patterson and repeal the Smith-Connally act, and we demand that the UAW-CIO International Executive Board do likewise."

The Local 207 membership also voted \$15 to be sent to Patterson's local union to aid in his defense.



Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to **The Militant**

## Illinois Bosses Boast of Killing All Labor Bills

By Leigh Ray

**CHICAGO, Aug. 7**—A private bulletin, circulated for the exclusive information of the Associated Employers of Illinois, proves out of their own mouths how the bosses of this state have worked behind the scenes to block and kill every bit of progressive legislation introduced in the Illinois legislature during the past year.

This Special Bulletin, No. 256, boasts of the achievements of the employers' lobby during the session which adjourned June 30, 1945. The list of bills they claim credit for defeating clearly reveal the tremendous influence exercised upon the legislature by this reactionary organization of the bosses.

The Bulletin states: "Among the more important bills defeated were: Anti-Race Discrimination, Anti-Injunction, Equal Pay for Females, State Labor Relations, State Wage and Hour Statement of Deductions on Pay Check, Liability for Loss of Clothing by an Employee, State Insurance for Workmen's Compensation, Disability Unemployment Compensation, and a so-called Child Labor Bill was amended so that it was not objectionable." Bills amending the Workmen's Compensation and Occupational Diseases laws increasing benefits 2½ percent were passed but "it was felt that they were very modest in comparison with what was asked for by the labor union forces."

## UPHELD JIM-CROW

In addition to blocking pro-labor legislation, the employers lobby showed itself to be the main force behind the Jim-Crow system. The Bulletin complains that the Anti-Race Discrimination Bills introduced were "the most serious bills ever presented." Moreover, the officers of the Associated Employers proudly announce to its members that they were "most diligent in anticipating and in preparing for and carrying through the opposition to these bills. These bills were strongly supported by the CIO, racial organizations and some officials of religious organizations."

The Associated Employers of Illinois carefully guarded their right to discriminate against women workers by making them work at lower pay. A bill passed in 1943 presumably providing for equal pay for women was so full of loop-holes that the unions introduced in this session a new law with real teeth for its enforcement. The boss organization complains bitterly that since the law was much more serious than the previous law it was "much broader and much more dangerous." This bill they successfully killed in committee. They were, however, unable to defeat the passage of a Minimum Wage Law for Women.

On the other hand, they pushed through the passage of a bill of their own, HB682 on Garnishment, which allows them to force deductions of unpaid bills from the workers pay checks without the consent of the worker.

The Associated Employers of Illinois are now preparing plans to strangle any progressive labor legislation which may come up in the next session. The Bulletin predicts that the coming session "will again present most of the old problems and probably some new ones."

Without their own independent labor party the organized workers of Illinois are helpless to combat these reactionary conspiracies of the employers, who work behind the scenes through both the Republican and Democratic parties.

## Newark

The Militant and Fourth International can now be purchased at Market and Halsey Street Newsstand.



By V. Grey

"Say — I was reading about that atomic energy," Ed Barnes told us. "Do you realize what we can DO with it? The energy in the little cardboard of a railroad ticket could drive a big train around the world!"

"Yeah, I read that article, too," Shorty said. "A cupful of water has enough energy to run a big power-generating plant."

"Boy, think of the things we can do! I've been reading about this stuff in *Popular Mechanics*. They used to have diagrams of air liners and rockets to the moon. They'd be simple to work, with this atomic energy."

## How Capitalist Death-Dealers Use It

"Funny thing, isn't it?" said Pop Philiber, "how this thing is so wonderful — so wonderful it blew half a million people to kingdom come in less time than it takes to say 'atomic energy.'"

"Oh, that's the way it always works," said young Mike. "It takes a war to bring out these new inventions. Naturally they're used for killing at first — just like the airplane, see? — But later — when the war's over, they'll be put to use for progress and all that."

You could see that Mike read the editorial page of the evening paper. "Of course it'll take 10 or 20 years," he continued, since nobody stopped him. "But they have to discover ways to harness the atom for constructive work. That takes a lot of research."

"But the wonderful thing," Ed Barnes went back to his first thought like a man that was drunk with an idea — "the wonderful thing," he persisted, "is that we won't have hardly any work to do at all. Life will be peaches and cream. You can go fishing and hunting any time you want to and still live like a king!"

Pop didn't say anything more. But he didn't look much like a man who thought he was going to be a king.

Slim, the shop steward, didn't say anything either. He was looking down at the lay-off list the foreman had handed him, checking the seniority. Young Mike was getting the gate with 15 others. Ed Barnes had enough seniority to last 'til the next layoff, maybe a whole month.

## CHILDREN'S AID--FOR THE POOR AND THE RICH

Our children live in the wealthiest country in the world. In wartime our rich masters every week found some two thousand million dollars to spend on death—to blow cities, towns, villages, and human beings into dust. In "peacetime" they just can't dig up the few miserly "charity" dollars needed to feed even a group of neglected little kids in the city of New York!

With cool detachment, the N. Y. Herald-Tribune, August 4, reports the following: "NEW YORK — Arthur W. Renander, president of the Queensboro Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, revealed that a \$3,000 monthly deficit will force the society to

contrasted with the "plight" of Christopher Reynolds, mirrors the extremes of poverty for the workers and fabulous luxury for the ruling class, under capitalism. But in between?

There are over 40,000,000 children in America, nearly two-thirds of them in families whose income is below the minimum requirements for decent food and housing. Families with incomes of less than \$1,000 a year have twice as many children as families with incomes over \$3,000.

A national health survey in 1941, during the war-production period, revealed that nearly a third of the children in this country under 15 years of age, had no medical care during illnesses of a week or more. No doctors, no hospitalization, during the childhood diseases which so often leave their victims with damaged hearts, impaired vision, defective hearing! And this is not "exceptional"—it is the "common-place" fate of the children of American workers.



## Who Really Gains From the Myth of Race Superiority?

Where and why was the lie of racial superiority invented? Anthropologists have long since exploded the theory that one race is superior to another. Yet — of "the approximately two billion people inhabiting the earth today, only one third are white peoples of European descent, but they keep the other two thirds — the brown, black and yellow peoples — in colonial subjection," says Grace Carlson in an article entitled "The Myth of Racial Superiority" which appeared in the January 1944 issue of *FOURTH INTERNATIONAL*.

The history of the accomplishments of the Negroes has yet to be written. Grace Carlson raises these questions: "Why then have modern historians been silent about the high cultural attainments of the black peoples of ancient Ethiopia, glowing accounts of which have been preserved in the writings of such Greek and Roman historians as Homer (ninth century B. C.), Herodotus (fifth century B. C.), Pliny (first century A. D.) and Ptolemy (second century A. D.)? Why have the role of Negro blood and ancient Negro culture been denied their proper place in the historical explanations of the development of Egyptian civilization? Because, as Professor DuBois correctly points out, the needs of the white slave traders of the 16th, 17th and 18th century Europe and the United States made it necessary to distort and hide all favorable facts and interpretations of the history of the black peoples."

Back copies of *FOURTH INTERNATIONAL* may be obtained by sending 25 cents in coin or stamps to: Business Manager, Fourth International, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Now on Sale

## Fourth International

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## SWP Receives Urgent Appeal For Aid From Impoverished Comrades In Italy

By FARRELL DOBBS  
Campaign Director

An urgent appeal for aid has just been received from our Italian comrades. They write: "I have to bring to your attention a rather pressing matter—the need for assistance. It is causing us much concern, for obvious reasons!! I cannot stress too strongly our great need. With the knowledge that YOU ALONE can provide the wherewithal, we urge you to expedite this urgent help."

It takes very little imagination to understand the deep stress under which this simple but moving appeal is written. Daily accounts in the capitalist press give evidence of the starvation, poverty, the terrible suffering of the peoples in the war-torn countries.

### SAVAGE PERSECUTION

Our co-thinkers suffer all these hardships, and in addition bear the double burden of persecution at the hands of the Allied imperialists, the Stalinist counter-revolutionists and the puppet

regime in the occupied and so-called "liberated" countries. We must respond to this plea for aid by redoubling our efforts to send immediate contributions to our comrades abroad.

To date, we have raised \$3,297.15 of the Socialist Workers Party's \$5,000 International Solidarity Fund. About \$1,800 is still to be contributed. The Milwaukee, Newark and Rochester branches this week joined the 100 per cent group, making a total of eight party branches which have sent in their full quota for the fund. All other branches should make special efforts to complete their quotas in the shortest possible time.

LOS ANGELES SOCIALIST YOUTH CLUB: "We were very disappointed to find that we were not assigned a quota for the International Solidarity Fund. So we took it upon ourselves to originate a quota of \$16. To start things off with a bang, we contributed \$11 at the opening of the campaign. We are at present campaigning to raise more money. We would appreciate it very much, if at the end of the cam-

paign you let the fact be recognized that the Socialist Youth Club contributed money to the International Solidarity Fund. Also, we would like a quota assigned to us for other campaigns, because we feel we are a part of the Trotskyist movement."

As soon as we receive full information on the contribution of the Los Angeles Youth Group, these young Trotskyists will be given their place in our score-board.

### IN THE COMING

#### New York Elections VOTE AGAINST:

Capitalist Hunger  
Capitalist Misery  
Capitalist War

#### VOTE FOR:

Socialist Plenty  
Socialist Prosperity  
Socialist Peace  
Vote for

DOBBS & SIMPSON!

## French Trotskyists Defy DeGaulle



Despite all attempts of the de Gaulle government to suppress the Trotskyist movement, our French comrades are continuing to publish La Verite regularly.

The Militant on June 23 reported that "confirmation has been received of widespread arrests of members of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Internationalist Communist Party) of France, and the suppression of its organ, La Verite." Censorship still veils the details, but a letter from Paris warns of the danger that the Stalinists may succeed, under the auspices of the de Gaulle government, in staging a frame-up trial of the notorious Moscow type in which the attempt will be made to link the Trotskyists with the Nazis.

A recent radio report from Paris by the United Press, reveals a current attempt to link up the Trotskyists with the Nazis. "Anti-Communist and anti-Semitic newspapers have begun clandestine publication in Paris," begins the dispatch which appeared in the Reading, Pennsylvania Eagle, August 6. It concludes: "The only publication to appear regularly is La Verite, a Trotskyist newspaper which was a recognized underground paper during the occupation. Most resistance papers were given permission to reappear openly after the liberation, but the government banned that of the Trotskyists."

La Verite (Truth) was the first underground publication to appear against the Nazi conquerors of France. It is the only paper in France today which offers a program capable of providing an end to misery and hunger—the program of international socialism. It is for that reason that French capitalism, aided by Stalinism, is centering its attacks upon the Trotskyist movement.

The continued publication of La Verite despite all threats and suppression, however, demonstrates the strength and determination of Trotskyism. Under terrible handicaps and surmounting tremendous obstacles in obtaining paper and supplies, our comrades are reaching the French workers.

### International Solidarity Fund

## SCOREBOARD

BRANCH	Quota	Paid	Percent
Milwaukee	\$ 30.00	\$ 38.00	127
Buffalo	125.00	156.00	125
Newark	100.00	111.00	111
Reading	25.00	25.00	100
St. Louis	25.00	25.00	100
Pittsburgh	25.00	25.00	100
Allentown-Bethlehem	60.00	60.00	100
Rochester	15.00	15.00	100
San Francisco	375.00	357.00	95
Los Angeles	750.00	625.00	83
Bayonne	100.00	78.00	78
Youngstown	85.00	65.00	76
Philadelphia	125.00	89.35	71
Twin Cities	250.00	162.50	65
Chicago	500.00	317.00	63
Detroit	400.00	231.00	58
Boston	125.00	70.00	56
Akron	75.00	40.00	53
Toledo	100.00	52.00	52
New York	1000.00	483.00	48
Seattle	350.00	160.00	46
Members-at-Large and Friends	245.00	87.30	36
Cleveland	75.00	22.00	29
N. Y. Youth Group	15.00	3.00	20
San Diego	25.00	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$5,000.00</b>	<b>\$3,297.15</b>	<b>66</b>

## Grace Carlson Notes SWP Growth In Seattle Area

By Grace Carlson

SEATTLE, Wash., Aug. 18 — When I was on tour in 1941, I talked at the first public meeting held by the new Seattle branch of the Socialist Workers Party. There were only 12 or 14 people at the meeting. What a contrast to the fine big meeting held in the New Washington Hotel on August 15. There were six times as many people at this meeting as there were in 1941 and that's a good record of growth for a four-year period.

But the record will be much better than that in the coming months. The Seattle branch is doing considerable recruiting of new members among the aircraft and shipyard workers in this area—workers who are already unemployed or who face unemployment in the near future.

### DISCUSSION GROUP

Much of the recruiting is done as a result of the contacts made in the yards and the shops but new members are also being brought in through a Militant Readers' Discussion Group. This is an inter-racial group which

meets in the home of a friend in the Negro housing project here. I attended a meeting of this group on August 16. I had intended just to sit and listen because I have been doing plenty of talking the past couple of months. But there was a Stalinist there who supported Truman and the so-called progressive Democrats and the debate with him grew so lively that I found myself taking a very active part!

### KELLY POSTAL

Portland is a very new branch and Tacoma doesn't even have a regular branch established as yet, but good meetings were held in both of these centers. I was telling the Portland and Tacoma comrades of the remarkable growth of the Seattle branch since my last visit to the Northwest and I predicted even more rapid growth for their branches.

I saw Kelly Postal while I was in Portland—the first time since June, 1943 when he was sent to Minnesota State prison in Stillwater. Kelly was convicted on a frame-up charge of embezzlement because as the Secretary-Treasurer of Local 544-CIO he

transferred the union funds from the AFL to CIO. AFL Teamsters' President Dan Tobin inspired the frame-up against Kelly just as he did against the 18 in the Minneapolis Labor Case.

Kelly was released on parole after a year in Stillwater and is still living under severe parole restrictions. He shows the effects of the strain of prison life, the tragedy of his wife's death and the restrictions under which he lives. He is very much thinner and looks very tired and worn but he has a good spirit. Kelly was never a whiner!

The name of Kelly Postal will always have a high place on our list of class war prisoners!

### Carlson Speaks to Tacoma Audience

TACOMA, Wash., Aug. 17 — In the third public meeting held by the S. W. P. branch in Tacoma, Comrade Grace Carlson spoke to 35 workers on "Women in Prison." Enthusiastic new friends of the Trotskyist movement asked questions from the floor, and contributed \$30 to the work of the party.

A resolution demanding unconditional pardon for William Patterson, Pennsylvania miner imprisoned under the Smith-Connally anti-strike law, was sent to President Truman. The meeting closed with the singing of "Solidarity Forever" and "The Internationale."

### Portland Meeting On "V-J Day"

By C. M. HESSER

PORTLAND, Ore., Aug. 16 — The Portland branch of the Socialist Workers Party held its first meeting on August 14 — "V-J Day." Nine friends and comrades braved the turbulent crowds to hear Grace Carlson speak on "Women in Prison." Comrade Carlson had to raise her voice many times to be heard over the noise of fire-crackers, horns, and the wild cheering of crowds in the street.

This is only the first of many forums that are being planned for Portland. All forums and meetings will be announced in The Militant.

### Good Turn-out At Seattle Meeting

SEATTLE, Wash., Aug. 16 — Grace Carlson last night spoke to 75 workers, members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party, on "Women in Prison." After the lecture, at the New Washington Hotel, questions were asked on the British Labor Party victory and the SWP program in America. The audience contributed \$50 to the collection, bought about \$5 worth of literature, and 12 new friends signed interest cards.

A resolution, presented by C. Taylor, calling upon President Truman to grant unconditional pardon to William Patterson, first worker imprisoned under the Smith-Connally Act, was passed unanimously. Correspondents from the Negro press and a labor paper were present.

The evening concluded with a social at the Seattle SWP headquarters, 1919 1/2 Second Ave. Today reporters from the Star and Post Intelligencer, two of the city's dailies, interviewed Comrade Carlson at a press conference.



GRACE CARLSON

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# The History Of American Trotskyism

In earlier installments of his book, Comrade Cannon described the emergence of the American Communist Party out of the left wing of the Socialist Party, in 1919. Factional struggles between the proletarian and the petty-bourgeois elements within the party began in 1923, 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 American Trotskyists began to propagandize and win over individual members of the Communist Party. They won new sympathizers who were revolted by the Stalinist methods. First contact with Leon Trotsky was established in the spring of 1929, and the platform of the Left Opposition published in The Militant. At the first national conference of American Trotskyists, in May, 1929, the decision was made to continue political activity as a faction of the Communist Party, despite the October expulsion. This is the fourteenth installment of Cannon's book.

The problem was to understand the actual situation, the stage of development at the moment. Of course, you have to find a road to the masses in order to create a party that can lead a revolution. But the road to the masses leads through the vanguard and not over its head. That was not understood by some people. They thought they could by-pass the Communist workers, jump right into the midst of the mass movement and find there the best candidates for the most advanced, the most theoretically developed group in the world, that is, the Left Opposition which was the vanguard of the vanguard. This conception was erroneous, the product of impatience and the failure to think things out. Instead of that, we set as our main task propaganda, not agitation.

We said: Our task first is to make the principles of the Left Opposition known to the vanguard. Let us not delude ourselves with the idea we can go to the great unschooled mass now. We must first get what is obtainable from this vanguard group, consisting of some tens of thousands of Communist Party members and sympathizers, and crystallize out of them a sufficient cadre either to reform the party, or, if after a serious effort that fails in the end—and only when the failure is conclusively demonstrated—to build a new one with the forces recruited in the endeavor. Only in this way is it possible for us to reconstitute the party in the real sense of the word.

At that time there appeared on the horizon a figure who is also perhaps strange to many of you, but who in those days made an awful lot of noise. Albert Weisbord had been a member of the CP and got himself expelled along about 1929 for criticism, or for one reason or another—it was never quite clear. After his expulsion Weisbord decided to do some studying. It frequently happens, you know, that after people get a bad blow they begin to wonder about the cause of it. Weisbord soon emerged from his studies to announce himself as a Trotskyist; not 50 percent Trotskyist as we were, but as a real genuine 100 percent Trotskyist whose mission in life was to set us straight.

His revelation was: The Trotskyists must not be a propaganda circle, but go directly into "mass work." That conception had to lead him logically to the proposal of forming a new party, but he couldn't do that very conveniently because he didn't have any members. He had to apply the tactic of going first to the vanguard—on us. With a few of his personal friends and others he began an energetic campaign of "boring from within" and hammering from without this little group of 25 or 30 people whom we had by that time organized in New York City. While we were proclaiming the necessity of propagandizing the members and sympathizers of the

## MAIN TASK OF COMMUNIST LEFT OPPOSITION WAS PROPAGANDA RATHER THAN AGITATION

By James P. Cannon

Communist Party as a link to the mass movement, Weisbord, proclaiming a program of mass activity, directed 99 percent of his mass activity not at the masses, and not even at the Communist Party, but at our little Trotskyist group. He disagreed with us on everything and denounced us as false representatives of Trotskyism. When we said, yes, he said, yes positively. When we said 75, he raised the bid. When we said, "Communist League of America," he called his group the "Communist League of Struggle" to make it stronger. The heart and core of the fight with Weisbord was this question of the nature of our activities. He was impatient to jump into mass work over the head of the Communist Party. We rejected his program and he denounced us in one thick mimeographed bulletin after another.

Some of you may perhaps have the ambition to become historians of the movement, or at least students of the history of the movement. If so, these informal lectures of mine can serve as guideposts for a further study of the most important questions and turning points. There is no lack of literature. If you dig for it, you will find literally bales of mimeographed bulletins devoted to criticism and denunciation of our movement—and especially of me, for some reason. That sort of thing has happened so often that I long ago learned to accept it as matter of course. Whenever anybody goes crazy in our movement he begins to denounce me at the top of his voice, entirely aside from provocation of any sort on my part. So Weisbord denounced us, particularly me, but we fought it out. We stuck to our course.

There were impatient people in our ranks who thought that Weisbord's prescription might be worth trying, a way for a poor little group to get rich quick. It is very easy for isolated people, gathered together in a small room, to talk themselves into the most radical proposals unless they retain a sense of proportion, of sanity and realism. Some of our comrades, disappointed at our slow growth, were lured by this idea that we needed only a program of mass work in order to go out and get the masses. This sentiment grew to such an extent that Weisbord created a little faction inside our organization. We were obliged to declare an open meeting for discussion. We admitted Weisbord, who wasn't a formal member, and gave him the right to the floor. We debated the question hammer and tongs. Eventually we isolated Weisbord. He never enrolled more than 13 members in his group in New York. This little group went through a series of expulsions and splits and eventually disappeared from the scene.

We consumed an enormous amount of time and energy debating and fighting out this question. And not only with Weisbord. In those days we were continually pestered by impatient people in our ranks. The difficulties of the time pressed heavily upon us. Week after week and month after month we appeared to be gaining hardly an inch. Discouragement set in, and with it the demand for some scheme to grow faster, some magic formula. We fought it down, talked it down, and held our group on the right line, kept its face turned to the one possible source of healthy growth: the ranks of

the Communist workers who still remained under the influence of the Communist Party.

The Stalinist "left turn" piled up new difficulties for us. This turn was in part designed by Stalin to cut the ground from under the feet of the Left Opposition; it made the Stalinists appear more radical even than the Left Opposition of Trotsky. They threw the Lovestonites out of the party as "right wingers," turned the party leadership over to Foster and Company and proclaimed a left policy. By this maneuver they dealt us a devastating blow. Those disgruntled elements in the party, who had been inclined toward us and who had opposed the opportunism of the Lovestonite group, became reconciled to the party. They used to say to us: "You see, you were wrong. Stalin is correcting everything. He is taking a radical position all along the line in Russia, America and everywhere else." In Russia the Stalin bureaucracy declared war on the kulaks. All over the world the ground was being cut from under the feet of the Left Opposition. A whole series of capitulations took place in Russia. Radek and others gave up the fight on the excuse that Stalin had adopted the policy of the Opposition. There were, I would say, perhaps hundreds of Communist Party members, who had been leaning towards us, who gained the same impression and returned to Stalinism in the period of the ultra-left swing.

Those were the real dog days of the Left Opposition. We had gone through the first six months with rather steady progress and formed our national organization at the conference with high hopes. Then recruitment from the party membership suddenly stopped. After the expulsion of the Lovestonites, a wave of illusion swept through the Communist Party. Reconciliation with Stalinism became the order of the day. We were stymied. And then began the big noise of the first Five Year Plan. The Communist Party members were fired with enthusiasm by the Five Year Plan, while the Left Opposition had originated and demanded. The panic in the United States, the "depression," caused a great wave of disillusionment with capitalism. The Communist Party in that situation appeared to be the most radical and revolutionary force in the country. The party began to grow and swell its ranks and to attract sympathizers in droves.

We, with our criticisms and theoretical explanations, appeared in the eyes of all as a group of impossibilists, hair-splitters, naggers. We were going around trying to make people understand that the theory of socialism in one country is fatal for a revolutionary movement in the end; that we must clear up this question of theory at all costs. Enamored with the first successes of the Five Year Plan, they used to look at us and say, "These people are crazy, they don't live in this world." At a time when tens and hundreds of thousands of new elements were beginning to look toward the Soviet Union, going forward with the Five Year Plan, while capitalism appeared to be going up the spout; here were these Trotskyists, with their documents under their arms, demanding that you read books, study, discuss, and so on. Nobody wanted to listen to us.

In those dog days of the movement we were shut off from all contact. We had no friends, no sympathizers, no periphery around

our movement. We had no chance whatever to participate in the mass movement. Whenever we tried to get into a workers organization we would be expelled as counter-revolutionary Trotskyists. We tried to send delegates to the unemployed meetings. Our credentials would be rejected on the ground that we were enemies of the working class. We were utterly isolated, forced in upon ourselves. Our recruitment dropped to almost nothing. The Communist Party and its vast periphery seemed to be hermetically sealed against us.

Then, as is always the case with new political movements, we began to recruit from sources none too healthy. If you are ever reduced again to a small handful, as well the Marxists may be in the mutations of the class struggle; if things go badly once more and you have to begin over again, then I can tell you in advance some of the headaches you are going to have. Every new movement attracts certain elements which might properly be called the lunatic fringe. Freaks always looking for the most extreme expression of radicalism, misfits, windbags, chronic oppositionists who had been thrown out of half a dozen organizations—such people began to come to us in our isolation, shouting, "Hello, Comrades." I was always against admitting such people, but the tide was too strong. I waged a bitter fight in the New York branch of the Communist League against admitting a man to membership on the sole ground of his appearance and dress.

They asked, "What have you against him?"

I said, "He wears a corduroy suit up and down Greenwich Village, with a trick mustache and long hair. There is something wrong with this guy."

I wasn't making a joke, either. I said, people of this type are not going to be suitable for approaching the ordinary American worker. They are going to mark our organization as something freakish, abnormal, exotic; something that has nothing to do with the normal life of the American worker. I was dead right in general, and in this mentioned case in particular. Our corduroy-suit lad, after making all kinds of trouble in the organization, eventually became an Oehlerite.

Many people came to us who had revolted against the Communist Party not for its bad sides but for its good sides; that is, the discipline of the party, the subordination of the individual to the decisions of the party in current work. A lot of dilettantish petty-bourgeois minded people who couldn't stand any kind of discipline, who had either left the CP or been expelled from it, wanted, or rather thought they wanted to become Trotskyists. Some of them joined the New York branch and brought with them that same prejudice against discipline in our organization. Many of the newcomers made a fetish of democracy. They were repelled so much by the bureaucratism of the Communist Party that they desired an organization without any authority or discipline or centralization whatever.

All the people of this type have one common characteristic: they like to discuss things without limit or end. The New York branch of the Trotskyist movement in those days was just one continuous stew of discussion. I have never seen one of these elements who isn't articulate. I have looked for one but I have never found him. They can all talk; and not only can, but will; and everlastingly, on every question. They were iconoclasts who would accept nothing as authoritative, nothing as decided in the history of the movement. Everything and everybody had to be proved over again from scratch.

(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.

## PEACE

By K. F. Ziska

We strive so earnestly for peace,  
We even rent it on lend-lease.  
Peace is a sweet and vagrant  
vision,  
A state of mind, and no decision  
Of either the big four or five  
Can keep the fragile thing alive.  
What are the dreams of little  
men  
That wars shall never be again?  
That any future disputations  
Be settled peaceably by nations?  
But dreams are not the stuff  
that quells  
The rotten deals of world  
cartels.  
To kill is not a mortal sin,  
If it will gain a hoard of tin,  
To stab your neighbor in the  
back,  
While he's not looking, shows no  
lack  
Of moral values. It shows  
strength

To gain your point — at any  
length.  
Oh, little men, you'd best keep  
mum;  
What's peace against aluminum?  
What if men die, and women  
blubber,  
If some large power corners  
rubber?  
Why not blot out some peaceful  
nation,  
If it will aid in exploitation?  
The Prince of Peace died on a  
cross,  
His sacrifice a total loss;  
And diplomats, well-steeped in  
oil,  
Will trade the world's blood-  
stained soil.  
They'll trade with it our liberty  
And set the stage for World  
War Three.

Reprinted from "Diesel Worker,"  
Local 207, UAW-CIO.

## Detects Fear in Hoover's Speech

Former president Herbert Hoover made a speech, Aug. 12 in Bixby Park, Long Beach, Calif., in which he stated that "America is the last citadel of free enterprise, and it must be a bulwark against communism or creeping socialism sweeping the world." In his speech one detects a fear of the doom of capitalism. To quote him further, "They are beginning in Asia. The causes lie deep in the holocaust of misery from the war, from power

## Carlson Meeting In San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 11—Grace Carlson, only woman among the 18 Trotskyists imprisoned in the famous Minneapolis Labor Case, spoke on "Women in Prison" to an intent audience of 75 workers in the Druids Temple here yesterday, the day the Japanese surrender offer was announced, and pointed to the fact that U. S. prison authorities are going ahead with their "postwar plans."

"It is significant," she said, "that in war time when millions of workers are employed in the production of war materials to kill and maim millions of workers of other countries, the prison population declines." But when 'peace' is achieved, bringing with it mass unemployment, the prisons once again do a thriving business. This proves again that the major cause of 'crime' is poverty."

## "DELINQUENT" GIRLS

The audience followed closely her descriptions of the women she met, the majority of them girls of 15 to 19 years of age, who were placed behind bars for committing offenses against the capitalist laws protecting private property. "Only under a socialist society," Grace Carlson said, "that will provide plenty for all, that will eliminate the driving economic pressure upon the most oppressed sections of the working class, will these institutions of unjust punishment disappear. Those relatively few anti-social individuals who commit crimes because of psychopathic disorders should be treated in hospitals and not in prisons."

## WAR VET SPEAKS

Maurice Watkins, young Negro war veteran, spoke on the background of the Minneapolis trial in which Grace Carlson and the 17 other Trotskyist leaders were convicted under the Smith "Cag" Act. "The Trotskyists told the workers they had nothing to gain from the imperialist war and for this they were imprisoned. But what do we see? After six years of conflict at the cost of more than one trillion dollars and millions of lives, the workers again face increasing unemployment and race prejudice. The Socialist Workers Party told the truth; Wall Street lied."

Bob Chester, local SWP organizer, as chairman of the meeting described the Trotskyist program and urged all workers to join the Socialist Workers Party in the struggle "to secure a decent future for ourselves and our children."

The meeting adopted resolutions demanding the pardon of William Patterson, Pennsylvania miner convicted under the Smith-Connally anti-strike law, and in support of the 150,000 Nigerian workers on strike for a minimum wage of 60 cents per day. A collection of \$67 was contributed to further the work of the SWP.

politics, from the impulse for any change from the bitter years which have passed and from the years of propaganda of a new utopia."

What does Hoover propose for the colonial masses of Asia and the toilers of the rest of the world? Nothing but the continuation of the capitalist system, its destruction of economy, its wars, fascism, unemployment. He preaches the same mumbo-jumbo: free enterprise, free speech, free assembly, free press, free men. He derides the spread of the "collectivist spirit" throughout the world. He ends—"You and I must not be marked as the generation who surrendered the heritage of America." What heritage is he speaking about? He is not speaking about the working people who built this industrial machine. Herbert Hoover is concerned about the welfare of America's 60 Families.

If he is so worried about free speech, free press, free assembly, why does he not demand that the British capitalist class grant these to India? Why does he not demand these be granted to Puerto Rico or the Philippines?

All militant workers should take renewed courage from this capitalist fear of doom and fight harder for socialism.

H. T.  
Los Angeles

## Excess Profits "Tax"

I think that the less publicized provisions of the excess profits

tax law constitute one of the greatest dangers to the postwar labor movement. In addition to being guaranteed a refund of 10 percent of all excess profits taxes paid, the corporations have legislated added benefits for themselves. If, during the five years following the war, their profits fall below their prewar average, or if losses are incurred, the government agrees to refund additional excess profits taxes to cover the deficit. If the corporation loses money before the war, a "normal" profit is computed and guaranteed; thereby assuring postwar success for even bankrupt or insolvent ventures.

The joker in the situation is that corporations do not have to produce or employ labor in order to qualify for benefits. Consequently, they have the green light for a labor-baiting, union-busting campaign that could last five years — with full profits assured even though the entire time was consumed in lock-outs or in resisting strikes.

As practically all of the super-corporations enjoyed fabulous profits during the war (after payment of all taxes) and the astronomical profits before taxes furnished a huge fund of returnable excess profits taxes, labor cannot expect to hold its position or make new gains with prewar methods. No union "war chest" could hope to compete with the U. S. Treasury. Political action by labor and for labor must be employed to sterilize this tremendous weapon now held by the owning class.

Gilbert Nelson  
Minneapolis

## Truman's Appointees

In the days just preceding the days of FERA (Federal Emergency Relief Administration), WPA (Works Project Administration) and other programs of the government to serve the purpose of alleviating the suffering of hungry Americans, the occupant of the White House was one Herbert Hoover.

"Herbie," who coined the phrase "prosperity is just around the corner," would not understand that just around the corner was not prosperity but revolution. When conditions that were making for revolution were getting to their worst there was a presidential election and "Herbie" was fired. The new occupant of the White House, realized that in order to keep down revolution drastic measures were imperative, so the alphabetical programs were inaugurated, not without

## 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.

bitter opposition by some members of Congress, particularly Byrnes of Virginia, who fought every appropriation asked for WPA.

It is evident to all thinking persons that with the war coming to an end, war plants closing, and our soldier boys returning home, seeking employment, that again we will find ourselves in a depression compared to which "Herbie's" depression will appear to have been a Sunday School picnic. Roosevelt is no more. Is the man now in the White House making preparations to deal with the situation which will confront us? Judging by the appointments he is making, he proposes to deal with the situation as did "Herbie." Byrnes, the arch-foe of WPA, is now Secretary of State. Fred Vinson, who prevented the underpaid railworkers from getting the increase in pay awarded to them, is now Secretary of the Treasury. Nearly all appointive positions are being filled by men known to be opposed to measures intended for the good of the common man.

Robert H. Miller  
Carbon, Ind.

## Atomic Bomb

Today I listened with indescribable horror to the voice of a radio commentator describing the catastrophic results of the first atom bomb raid over Japan. One small bomb! One super-fort to cradle it to its destination... and 60 percent of a city of 300,000 human beings had its life blown out!

Today, the capitalist press flaunts this news before the people. The screaming headlines pay homage to the atom bomb. They gloat over it, admire it, proudly describe its cataclysmic power, caress it with words of praise and approbation.

And a cold fear must have struck deep into the heart core of the people. Who, then, believes the hypocritical peace preachers of the San Francisco conference — the diplomats and politicians? Who believes their hopped-up phrases of a just and lasting peace and harmony among capitalist nations? Who believes the silken words of the Atlantic Charter?

The answer has been blasted out. It has been stripped of all the coddled hopes with which people attempt to soften reality. This universal fear of the destructive potentialities of the atom bomb can only be interpreted to mean that the workers have no faith whatsoever in the ability, or even the desire, of the ruling class to establish and maintain peace. That, on the eve of the end of the second World War, they see looming before them the threat of becoming the tomb of civilization.

And yet through the channels of commonly experienced fear, the consciousness of the working masses must have taken a revolutionary leap forward — toward a new and deep determination that the Third World War shall not occur; toward a new evaluation of the stinking capitalist system; and toward a more fundamental understanding of the revolutionary tasks ahead of them.

M. McGowan  
Toledo, Ohio

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.

PORTLAND — Visit SWP headquarters, 220 S. W. Alder St., room 500; open 1 to 4 p. m. daily except Sunday, and 6 to 8 p. m. on Tuesday and Friday.

Saturday, Sept. 1 — Open house and "Hard Times" Social, at 8 p. m.

Sunday, Sept. 16 — "Will the End of the War Bring Peace?" Open forum; speaker, C. M. Hesser. 8 p. m.

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.

Sunday, Sept. 9 — Watermelon Festival all-day outing. Ted Selander will speak on "Labor in Postwar World." Transportation from your home to picnic grounds in Temperance, Mich. provided. Adults \$1, children 50 cents. Beer, food, baseball!

## Pioneer Notes

This week Pioneer has ready for sale our newest pamphlet, *A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow*, by Charles Jackson, Militant columnist. This latest addition to our literature on the Negro Struggle is a 16-page pamphlet, with a two-color cover and numerous illustrations by Ruth Wilson and Ed Herron.

We have just received graphic proof that the Negro people find in the fighting program of the Socialist Workers Party, the answer to their needs. This is the story told by a young New York comrade who participated in the distribution of Negroes in the Post-War World at a Stalinist rally against Jim Crow in baseball, held on August 18 in Harlem. He said:

"75 pamphlets were sold by three comrades in about an hour and a half. The response to the pamphlet was terrific. Groups of four or five would gather around the comrades asking questions, and after a few moments of explaining our stand against Jim Crow, all of them would buy the pamphlet. The pamphlets were selling so fast that the Stalinists began to get hot under the collar. They sent a few of their muscle-men over to the street corner where one comrade was selling the pamphlet and tried to push him around, grabbing the pamphlets from him."

"Immediately seven young Negro workers, some of whom had already bought the pamphlet, dashed over and wrenched the pamphlets back. 'What's the matter with you,' one of them said to the Stalinist hoodlums, 'He's selling stuff that's good for us.' The Stalinist disappeared quickly and the group of young workers stood guard on the street corner until the remaining pamphlets were sold."

*A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow*, by Charles Jackson, 10c.

*Negroes in the Post-War World*, by Albert Parker, 5c.  
Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

## Embracing Hitler's Backers

The London Tribune, organ of the left-liberals (Aneurin Bevan and others) reports in its July 27 issue: "Allied Military Authorities are at present considering plans to reinstate the big Ruhr industrialists as owners and responsible managers of their properties — men like Krupp, Stinnes, Thyssen and others..."

## QUESTION BOX

Q: How much of her industry has Germany lost?

A: According to Wall Street estimates, about 15 percent of German industry was wiped out by bombings; and an even larger sector, about 20 percent, will be stripped away by the Potsdam agreement, thus eliminating more than a third of German productive capacity. Even more important than the percentages, is the fact that the industry to be demolished under the peace terms, is the basic industry upon which the whole economic structure of Germany rested.

Q: How long has the present Japanese dynasty been in power?

A: In reality, only since 1868, when the feudal princes of Japan combined with a growing merchant class to restore the monarchy as a "unifying force" to strengthen the country against the danger of invasion by foreign capitalist powers. For a fuller study of the way in which emperor worship was foisted on the people of Japan by the ruling class, we suggest that you read "Japan Faces the Abyss," by Li Fu-jen, in the April 1944 issue of *Fourth International*. Back copies are obtainable (for 25 cents) from Business Manager, 116 University Place, N. Y.

Q: How many industrial accidents were there last year?

A: According to the United States Department of Labor, 1944 took a toll of 15,900 men and women killed on their jobs; 1,700 totally disabled; 94,400 partly but permanently disabled; and two and a quarter millions injured.

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



Local New York comrades anxious to place the manifesto of the Socialist Workers Party on the end of the war and the use of atomic bombs in as many workers' hands as possible, distributed *The Militant* at busy street corners in Harlem. Florence Bronze reported: "Over 5,000 papers were taken by passers-by who were eager to read the story printed under the striking headline 'There is no peace!' We could have used many more papers."

Additional reports from this distribution give loud praise to *The Militant*. "Two different people remarked on seeing the headline: 'The guy who wrote that sure knows what he is talking about.' Numerous others said: 'That ain't no lie.'"

Another distributor advised: "On 135 Street I gave *The Militant* to a large group of men who were standing around discussing. One of them said to me: 'That's right, there really is no peace. I'm a veteran who just came back from the South Pacific, and from the way it looks they won't give me my old job back.'"

A member of the Trotskyist Youth reported these two interesting experiences: "A passer-by after glancing at the headline asked me for 25 copies of the paper to take back to his club. And still another man asked for 3 copies of the paper and added, 'That's 3 more votes for your candidate Louise Simpson.' All the distributors reported the papers went extremely fast, and there wasn't a single copy thrown away."

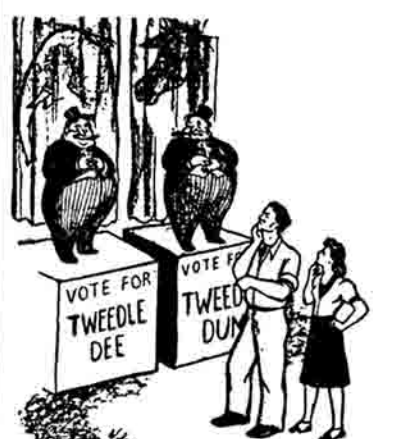
Minneapolis sent in three 6-month subscriptions and added this very instructive note: "One of the three subs was obtained by one of our railroad comrades. One day while his train was stalled, he went out into the field to help a farmer shock grain. While working they discussed world affairs. Result: one more sub to *The Militant*."

Maggie McGowan writes from the Mid-West Vacation School: "Enclosed is \$2.00 for two 1 year subscriptions. One is for Mrs. Cobbin of Detroit who took the

sub while she was visiting a neighbor of ours here at the summer school. She came to the office on her own initiative to find out what our paper was all about and not only took a year's subscription, but purchased pamphlets and expressed a desire to attend our classes at the school and to learn more about our party."

"The other sub is for Mr. Walker of Cincinnati. This new subscriber, visiting a camp across the lake from Mid-West had heard of our party, had read several copies of *The Militant* and James P. Cannon's 'History of American Trotskyism.' He is a young Negro social worker, and evidenced a great deal of interest in the Trotskyist movement. He drove around to Mid-West especially to meet and talk with members of the party and he expressed a desire to return."

More data for our statistics fans: Buffalo sent in three 6-month subs in addition to one 3 month and one 1 year renewal. Toledo, four 6 month and one 1 year renewal. Three West Coast branches make the record with the following: San Pedro four 6 month new readers, Seattle four 1 year and one 6 month new subscribers, and San Francisco nine 6 month and one 1 year new readers in addition to four 6 month and two 1 year renewals.



Build the Labor Party

## 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 .....



# THE MILITANT

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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

## Beware Of Them!

Anyone who may have been taken in by the recent highly-ballyhooed "left turn" of the Stalinists can easily convince himself that American Stalinism has not changed its pro-capitalist stripes. All he has to do is examine the Stalinist program on unemployment.

Since the termination of the war with Japan, the *Daily Worker* has raised a clamor about mass unemployment. It runs daily editorials "deploring" the failure of Congress to adopt a program to meet the economic crisis.

But nowhere in the program advanced by the Stalinists is there a single proposal that would infringe upon the "sacred rights" of the capitalists or that goes beyond measures advocated in the name of "free enterprise" by capitalist politicians.

The keystone of any genuine program to maintain full employment is the demand for continued operation of the government-built plants by the government itself, under workers control. It is a fraud to label any program a "full employment" program which does not contain this elementary demand.

Nowhere in the Stalinist program on "full employment" is this fundamental demand raised.

True enough, the *Daily Worker* is now compelled to modify its former unrestrained praise of the blessings of "free enterprise." It even makes bold to complain that "today the American people can see that private 'free enterprise' cannot plan for jobs and cannot guarantee jobs."

But the only means the *Daily Worker* proposes "to maintain high employment" is passage of the Murray "Full Employment" Bill — a bill without a single specific measure to halt unemployment — a bill which includes the major objective: "to foster free competitive enterprise and the investment of private capital."

By its reactionary, strikebreaking, anti-labor policy during the war, the American Stalinist party made its very name a stench in the nostrils of militant American labor. It was becoming so discredited, that its influence in the American labor movement was swiftly fading away.

Its recent "left" tactical shift was an attempt to bolster the waning prestige of the Stalinists. It was intended as a radical cover behind which the Stalinists might continue their fundamentally reactionary policies.

Today, with millions of workers facing unemployment and destitution in another capitalist depression, only a bold program driving straight to the heart of the profit system of "free enterprise" and capitalist private property can meet the needs of American labor.

Stalinism aims to mislead and behold any effective struggle for a genuine labor program on full employment while hiding its treacherous designs behind radical phraseology.

## Stalin And Japan

Why did Stalin declare war on Japan? Moscow's declaration was made on Aug. 8, just six days before Japan's surrender to the Allied powers, when the military defeat of Japanese imperialism was known to be a certainty.

According to the declaration, the Soviet Union entered the war against Japan because this was "the only means capable of bringing nearer peace, to deprive the peoples of further sacrifices and sufferings, and give the Japanese people the opportunity to rid themselves of those dangers of destruction suffered by Germany after her refusal to accept unconditional surrender."

There is nothing in the brutal and cynical record of the totalitarian Stalinist regime to support Moscow's claim to such lofty humanitarian motives. The true motive for Stalin's belated entry into the war against Japan must be sought in his mortal fear of the colossal power of American imperialism. He couldn't help foresee that the defeat of Germany and Japan would bring the Soviet Union face to face with this power both in the West

and in the East — face to face with a power which, by virtue of its preeminence in the imperialist world, has become the leading foe of the Soviet Union.

Stalin's aim, discernible even before the defeat of Germany, is to keep American imperialism as far away as possible from the Soviet borders. This has been his policy in Europe. Today, in order to meet the onrush of the American colossus, he is repeating the same policy on a far vaster scale in the Far East.

For this it was necessary to declare war on Japan so that the Soviet armed forces could plunge into Manchuria, Korea and Inner Mongolia, with the aim of either annexing these lands or bringing them under the influence of the Kremlin. Moreover, by entering the war against Japan, Stalin secures a place for the Soviet Union at the "peace" table. This carries with it the hope of securing juridical recognition of the territorial seizures.

When the Kremlin declared war on already defeated Japan, Stalin intended it as a defensive move against American imperialism, in the same way that the Red Army's invasion of Poland in 1939 was intended as a defensive move against Nazi Germany.

The Trotskyists condemned Stalin's invasion of Poland because, far from contributing to the real defense of the Soviet Union, it weakened it; and because it resulted in alienating the sympathy of the international working class and harmed the cause of world socialism.

Similarly we condemn Stalin's declaration of war on Japan and his policy of territorial seizures in the Far East. This undoubtedly has had the effect of antagonizing the Japanese workers and peasants and accordingly has weakened the defense of the Soviet Union in one of the most important spheres — the great colonial world of Asia.

The bankruptcy of Stalin's policy was revealed long ago. Stalin's participation with Hitler in the partition of Poland failed utterly to insure the Soviet Union against attack and invasion. Nor will Stalin's later territorial seizures, whether in Europe or in Asia, insure the Soviet Union against future imperialist assaults.

Moreover, if the Kremlin's power politics proved hollow and fallacious before, how utterly absurd and futile they appear now with the invention of the atomic bomb!

In a world of imperialist banditry there is but one sure defense of the Soviet Union: the destruction of imperialism and the extension of the socialist revolution. This was the policy of Lenin and Trotsky. Today, more urgently than ever, the success of this policy requires the revolutionary overthrow of the traitor Stalinist bureaucracy.

## Tammany Trickery

Tammany Hall has filed a blanket objection to the independent nominating petitions for Farrell Dobbs, Trotskyist candidate for mayor of New York. Other minority political parties have likewise been challenged. If these challenges are upheld, the people of the largest city in the world will be denied their right to consider at the ballot box any political programs, parties, or candidates other than those of the Wall St. political machines. Tammany's move is thus a direct blow at democratic rights. It is a blow aimed in particular at the vanguard political party of the working class, since Farrell Dobbs is the only candidate for mayor who represents the program of revolutionary socialism.

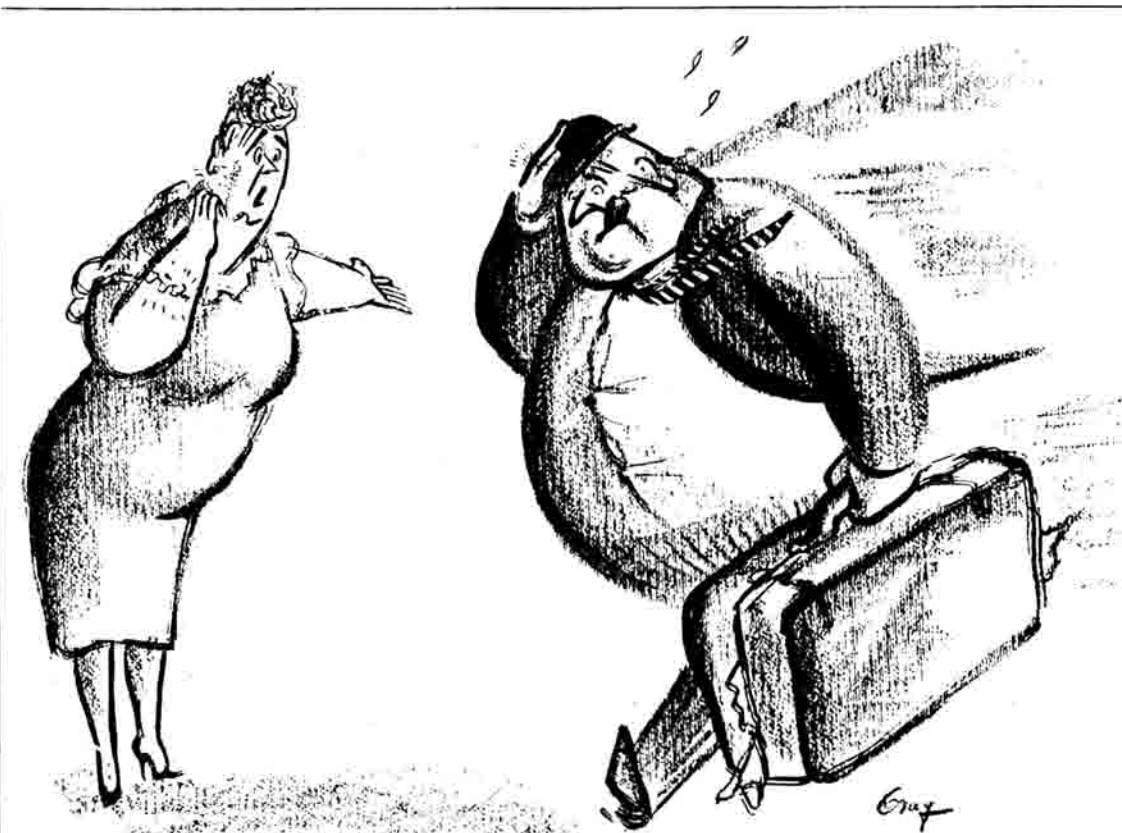
The professional political hatchet men in Wall Street's pay have by this action placed themselves on record as opposed in principle to normal democratic procedure. They want to prevent working class political parties from obtaining a place on the ballot. They want to limit the choice before the voters to the major parties of the capitalist class. This is the system Hitler upheld in his notorious plebiscites, where voters were forced to cast ballots for the hand-picked representatives of German capitalism.

The Election Board letter announcing the challenge is post-marked August 18, "V-J Day" was declared August 14. Thus four days after the official end of the Second World War for "democracy" the Wall Street monopolists, through their Tammany Hall political machine, served notice on the New York voters that "democracy" like war profits is their private monopoly.

This reactionary attempt to prevent the name of the Trotskyist candidate for mayor from appearing on the ballot attests the fear of the American capitalist class before the postwar crisis. They view the recent electoral victory of the British workers as foreshadowing a great political upsurge of the American workers. They are aware that Trotskyism offers the only realistic program for resolving the unemployment now spreading like a blight throughout the land. They are convinced that the program of Trotskyism to end imperialism wars by ending capitalism will become the program of millions of poor people in America, if it is permitted a fair hearing.

Tammany's challenge is a harbinger of Wall Street's future efforts to stop the American working class from taking its rightful place in the political life of the country. To accomplish their aim, the Wall Street monopolists will stop at nothing. Workers throughout the rest of the nation as well as in New York should view Tammany's challenge as a warning signal. Tammany has chosen to conduct the first postwar election with a brazen attack on democratic rights. Political life in the first weeks of capitalist "peace" begins in America's most populous city under an ominous shadow.

The march of reaction in America can be halted only if each anti-democratic action of Wall Street is met with a stinging answer from the ranks of labor. Tammany's attempt to bar minority parties from the ballot must be countered with widespread protest. Every class-conscious worker must warn his fellow workers of the meaning of Tammany's action.



"But won't the 'problems of peace' happen just as fast if you go on vacation?" (See Cartoon Contest, Page 7A)



## THE ONLY ROAD

Part of the front page of the July 7, 1945, issue of The Spark, central organ of the International Communist Party of Greece (Trotskyists, Fourth International) is reproduced here, with a translation of the leading editorial. This is the first printed issue of the paper, previous ones appearing as mimeographed sheets.

The Greek Trotskyists have carried on courageously under some of the worst conditions of starvation and terror in all war-torn Europe. The Nazis had executed at least 17 of our Greek co-thinkers before May, 1944 (The Militant, Jan. 27, 1945). As outstanding militant leaders, Trotskyists were in all likelihood among the 5,000 casualties of the Churchill-provoked civil war and among the 15,000 Greek workers deported to Africa by Churchill's orders (The Militant, March 31) and, most assuredly, among the 33,000 victims now in Greek prisons (The Militant, July 28).

Churchill, since ousted from the British premiership by the election victory of British labor, reserved his choicest epithets for the Greek Trotskyists. This same Churchill who organized Allied intervention against the workers of Russia in 1917, labeled the Greek struggle for independence "a hideous massacre... in which all forms of government would have been swept away and naked, triumphant Trotskyism installed..." He called it Trotskyism, he said, because that word "has the advantage of being equally hated in Russia."

The Stalinist *Daily Worker* (Jan. 11) applauded and offered aid for a purge. Then came word that during the civil war the Greek Stalinists in the Elás had murdered 100 Trotskyists (The Militant, June 23). Recently 250 outstanding militants, including many Trotskyists, were reported to have been killed by Stalinists in Salonica alone (The Militant, July 28).

Our country as well as the entire European continent finds itself today at the most critical juncture in the transition from imperialist war to imperialist peace.

Having escaped the gravest danger the bourgeoisie has faced in this war—the danger of being overthrown by the working masses—and having been "assured" that its exploiting system remains secure through agreements with the victorious Allies, our bourgeoisie is now trying its best to restore and strengthen its state apparatus and its economic and productive mechanism.

This endeavor has recently assumed more concrete shape: Barbaressos, a true representative of native and international finance capital, has proposed a series of measures designed to unload on the backs of the oppressed masses the burdens of the deep-going economic crisis that afflicts the entire capitalist system.

### REGIME OF BESTIALITY

The starvation wages Barbaressos offers the workers (no higher than the wage scale under the German occupation); the macabre game of deception practiced upon the slaves of the state-machine, the civil service employees; the savage taxation imposed on the middle classes, the professional and small business people; the exactions and impositions on the wretched masses of peasantry—all these acts of repression which Barbaressos calls "salutary measures" are being hurriedly put through by usurping edicts and laws. But the enforcement of the much vaunted tax measures on the big industrialists and merchants is indefinitely "delayed."

With such "nation-saving" measures the capitalist class enters upon the road to restoration. The various "stopgap" governments we have seen come one after the other—the governments of Papandreu, Plastiras, Voulgaris—have faithfully worked towards their class aim with the steadfast help and patronage of English capitalism. After fulfilling the role assigned to it by capitalism and having outlived its usefulness, each of these gov-

ernments withdrew from the stage in order to make way for its successor, which likewise labored faithfully, in its turn, for the restoration of the capitalist system. The same fate awaits the incumbent government, too. It is quite obvious, however, that this spectacle which the bourgeoisie is so brazenly enacting before the very eyes of the masses, is not proceeding very smoothly, nor have the masses failed to defend themselves desperately in covert and open day-to-day struggle.

### CLASS STRUGGLE

This is a struggle that acts to undermine and uproot the capitalist society: IT IS THE IMPLACABLE CLASS STRUGGLE. The strikes, erupting all over the country—some spontaneous, others organized; some local in character, others combined and far more comprehensive—these strikes continue to draw into the arena of struggle ever-increasing numbers of the slaves of capitalism. And now, with the imposition of Barbaressos' "economic restoration measures," all the oppressed classes—workers, employees, professionals, artisans—are gearing for the coming battle.

### ROAD OF BETRAYAL

What road will this battle follow?

Will it be the road proposed by reformist Stalinists and Socialists? Will it be the road of blunting this struggle—the road of cooperation and compromise with the capitalists, the road of parliamentary disputes over the number of representatives we shall have in the government to sit alongside the representatives of our executioners? Will it be the road of "popular democracy" which RESPECTS their property?

What have these two parties accomplished thus far? When they participated in the Papandreu bourgeois government they forbade strikes to better the workers' conditions. Today, under the pressure of the imminent workers' uprising, they are compelled to mouth phrases about struggles, political strikes and so on—while only yesterday

they were issuing official proclamations to the effect that all such acts resulted from royalist provocation. In fact, they raise this hollow din for no other purpose, except to convince the bourgeoisie that it is to the latter's benefit to cooperate with them in establishing a representative government.

Their aim is not to organize the struggle of the working masses at a time when the capitalist class strikes at the masses with a double-edged weapon—the weapon of hunger and terrorism. Their purely vocal exercises are not intended to unify the workers' struggles, or deepen them, or give them a class meaning, namely:

### THE EDUCATION AND PREPARATION OF THE MASSES FOR THE FINAL OVERTHROW OF CAPITALIST RULE

Their voices are not the voices of those who call for the proletarian road. They point to the road of the petty bourgeoisie, of the lackeys of capitalism, of all those who seek to reconcile the irreconcilables within the capitalist society that is being rent asunder by irrepressible class contradictions.

### THE ONLY ROAD

The road the workers must take is the one that capitalism itself is now imposing. Capitalism tries to rule, in city and country, with white-hot iron, with murder, massacre and imprisonment of workers by the thousands. It is civil war in one of its forms.

AN EYE FOR AN EYE! CLASS AGAINST CLASS! Resistance to and counter-offensive against all capitalist measures! Organize all of the workers' economic and political struggles! Defend the democratic liberties the workers have won with their blood! Create an invincible class front! CLASS AGAINST CLASS! This is the road that leads to the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of the Socialist Proletarian Democracy.

THIS IS THE ONLY ROAD. It is the road shown to the workers by our party and by the Fourth International.

## PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

Where Are the Jobs They Promised the Veterans?

Servicemen recall how their fathers and uncles returned from "the war to make the world safe for democracy" only to find that there were no jobs. Soldiers and sailors remember the breadlines and soup kitchens, evictions and Hoovervilles during the depression of the thirties.

They fear World War II will be followed by even worse conditions.

Lying capitalist propaganda promised over-and-over again in speeches and articles: "When this war is over, you'll come back to a better world, plentiful jobs — golden opportunities."

Supposedly, with the post-World War I experience as its guide, officialdom was to avoid "unpreparedness" for post-World War II problems. Officials assured men in the armed forces they would not fail in "the mobilization for peace" as they did following the First World War.

In March of this year General Hines, ex-chief of the Veterans Administration, summarized events following World War I in the following manner: "Uncontrolled events took their course. War contracts were cancelled overnight; price and production controls were removed; four million servicemen were demobilized within a year with \$60 separation pay and a railroad ticket home. Great numbers of them returned to communities where war workers were being dismissed by hundreds of thousands."

Hines assured his readers things would be different this time. Why? Because of the "benefits" given veterans by "The G. I. Bill of Rights" and other legislation. He lists some questionable "benefits" and concludes by pointing to the government's magnanimous offer of "aid in securing employment" — veterans will be "aided" in their search for non-existent jobs.

Where are the jobs? Where is the "better world" that was to await the returning serviceman?

Uncontrolled events are likewise taking their course following World War II. War contracts have been cancelled overnight. Price and production controls are being removed. Five million servicemen will be demobilized within 12 months. They will return to a country where millions of men are already unemployed.

Wherein lies the difference between this postwar period and the previous one? Certainly not in conditions being better, as General Hines falsely contends.

At the peak of production before the Second World War, approximately 45,000,000 persons were employed in this country. Officials estimate that 60,000,000 jobs are needed to provide employment for all workers. Nothing has been done to provide the additional 15,000,000 jobs.

This means millions of workers would not find employment after the reconversion of industry, even if productivity were maintained at peak war levels.

Congress showed its indifference and contempt for veterans and workers alike by adjourning without considering legislation intended to solve the problem.

Congressmen attempted to bury the real issue — full employment — beneath thousands of bills that have as their goal job-preference, super-seniority and other "benefits" for veterans. These proposals will not create the necessary jobs.

These proposals constitute a shameful attempt to divert attention from the true situation. Without jobs for all workers millions of veterans will be unemployed.

Reality is thus already giving the lie direct to the capitalist promises of a "better world, jobs for all — golden opportunities."

## Two Million New Yorkers In Run-Down Tenements

The majority of working people have to contend with shabby housing conditions all their lives. This has been especially true during the war, with the housing shortage preventing the working class tenant from even opening his mouth to the landlord.

A recent survey of New York City housing conditions reveals to a small extent the kind of buildings in which workers have to live. The magazine *Real Estate Reporter* and *Building News* made the survey and published the findings for its hard-boiled clients, the slick land-owners and construction operators.

In the hopes, perhaps, of encouraging the construction business, this magazine blandly reveals that 27 percent of New York homes were built more than 40 years ago (meaning that they are falling apart and could be replaced). There are 1,849,476 dwelling units in New York. This means there are nearly half a million families—close to two million people—living in these broken-down buildings.

Needless to say, only workers and their families have to live in such firetraps. Old buildings, as every working-class housewife knows to her sorrow, are breeding places of bugs and rats. The crumbling walls afford nesting places for the rodents. The cracked plaster, the old wall paper, and soft floor boards provide havens for the vermin.

It is emphasized, however, in this frank report to the "trade," that New York is far more advanced than other "modern" cities. Chicago, for instance, is reported to have 37 percent of its buildings in this same dilapidated condition. If New York and Chicago, the great modern metropolitan centers, have so much of this blight, what can be the housing conditions in the rest of the country?

The report boasts further that "only" four-tenths of one percent of the homes in New York City have no electricity, while in Washington, D. C., 4.1 percent of the homes lack this service.

Almost 74,000 homes in the financial capital of the world are lit by gas and candles. And Washington, the political capital, has proportionately 10 times as many. There can be few clearer exposures of capitalism's breakdown than this.

READ  
'THE FOURTH  
INTERNATIONAL'