

## Trotskyist Martyrs Who Fought Nazism

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# THE MILITANT

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## Huge Peacetime Army Planned By Congress

By Joseph Hansen

Servicemen and their families are exerting enormous pressure on Congress to release the millions of men drafted into the armed forces. The people want the boys brought back home from the foreign battlefields. They want immediate discharges for those now in the United States. The political representatives of Big Business, however, are plotting to maintain a huge military force of some 3,000,000 men.

This scheme is outlined in a statement made before the Senate Military Affairs Committee September 12 by Maj. Gen. S. G. Henry. This general is characterized by Senator Hill of Alabama as "the highest authority in the Army, under the Chief of Staff, on the question of personnel." Senator Hill placed Maj. Henry's statement in the Sept. 14 Congressional Record.

According to this official plan, the Army will be held at 2,500,000 men after July 1, 1946. Other sources disclose that the Navy plans to retain 500,000 men after September 1, 1946, bringing the total armed forces to 3,000,000. This figure is subject to revision, depending on the military situation in Asia and Europe.

### OCCUPATION TROOPS

Where the Navy plans to station its men has not been revealed. But the Army plans 500,000 for Europe; 900,000 for the Pacific area, and 1,100,000 for the continental United States.

The purpose of this enormous "peace-time" force can be gathered from an incautious declaration of Steward of Oklahoma in the House of Representatives September 17:

"If we cannot raise an adequate army by the volunteer method, I think we are agreed. . . that it will be necessary to resort to methods of conscription. We are all conscious that we must play the leading role in policing the countries we have conquered. . . We are told upon the best authority we have that an army of occupation in the European and Pacific theaters is very necessary and we are advised likewise that it will be necessary to maintain an army of more than a million in the interior of the United States. To do this, the limitation which prohibits a peacetime army of more than 280,000 must be repealed."

How do these rabid militarists hope to maintain such tremendous forces in the face of the manifest will of the people to bring the men back home?

(1) By refusing as long as possible to declare an end to the "duration" of the war. "After the last World War it took 3 years for Congress to finally decide that hostilities had ended," Representative Miller of Nebraska points out. Representative Andrews of New York likewise mentions this legal joker:

"The present term of an induction is for the duration plus six months. After World War I the duration necessarily continued for more than 2 years after the armistice. After this war the duration will necessarily continue

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### Bring Him Back Home!



## ANGRY LETTERS PROTESTING DELAY IN DISCHARGES FLOOD CONGRESSMEN

Widespread dissatisfaction over the delay in discharging servicemen has resulted in a deluge of angry letters to Congress and the press.

Army Air Force men held a mass protest meeting in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, reports the September 1 N. Y. Times. They wrote a letter signed "The Voice of the 2,000" which said in part: "The men are dejected. They are starting to wonder what all their fighting was for if the Government wasn't ready to take them back to civilian life. They are wondering what influenced them to elect the present Government officials."

### LETTERS MOUNT

"At present, these men aren't a bit interested in tax reductions, lend-lease, the inquiry of Pearl Harbor, or any of the other things that Congress is busy with. These men want out. Out of the Army and fast."

Reacting to the pressure of

such demonstrations and the mounting volume of letters, Congress has been discussing the question of demobilization. Typical of their demagogic remarks, which nonetheless illustrate the

## Packed Hall Hears Wright Lecture

By M. Garber

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 19 — An interested and enthusiastic audience which crammed the Labor Forum hall to overflowing, tonight heard John G. Wright, Trotskyist editor and writer, speak on the Labor Party victory in England and its meaning to the American workers. Militant readers made up the bulk of the workers present. For some, this was the first time they had heard a Trotskyist analyze political his-

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### How Foster Fights U. S. Imperialism

"We must also insist that the peacetime armed forces of the United States be no larger than is required for us to carry out our military obligations under United Nations agreement, which would mean an army of less than a million members."

— William Z. Foster, head of the American Stalinists, at Madison Square Garden, New York, Sept. 18. Quoted in the Sept. 19 Daily Worker.

## UAW Ranks Force Strike Vote In Auto Industry

### Fascist Vermin Renew Activities In New York City

By FARRELL DOBBS  
and LOUISE SIMPSON  
Trotskyist Candidates for N. Y.  
Mayor and Councilman

Next week, for the first time in four years, the anti-labor, anti-Negro, anti-Semitic organization founded by Father Coughlin, the Christian Front, will hold a public meeting in New York City.

Yes, these hate-spewing rats are coming out into the open again, we learn from eight-page leaflets widely distributed in Queens, announcing a meeting for Saturday night, Oct. 6, at Springfield Boulevard and Jamaica Ave., Queens.

"The Christian Front must be and is being rebuilt," says the leaflet. New York workers will remember what that means—how, in the years before the war, gangs of Coughlinites provocatively invaded Jewish and other workers' neighborhoods, peddling anti-Jewish and anti-labor propaganda, beating up protesting workers.

### ONE OF MANY

And the Christian Front is only one of a number of such fascist

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## IN THE NEWS

### Just Fine — for Capitalists

"After careful study and long discussion," wrote the national affairs committee of the Atlanta (Ga.) Chamber of Commerce to Senator Wagner on the question of full employment, the committee has concluded that "private competitive capitalism requires a floating number of unemployed."

### Imperialist Unity

A United Press dispatch from Saigon, Indo-China, September 16, reports: "United States troops had to intervene to halt rioting by the natives against French residents in Hanoi, capital of the Indo-Chinese Province of Annam, it was disclosed today. The report was the first to tell of anti-French rioting in northern Indo-China, although an even more serious disturbance had been quelled in Saigon with the help of Japanese and British forces."

### Rewards Loyal 'Worker'

At a celebration to honor employees with more than 30 years service, the Sterling Wheelbarrow Co., Milwaukee, awarded a Gruen watch and \$50 to one, I. R. Smith. His full name is Irving R. Smith, the owner of the company.

### Saving Wall Street's Dough

Rep. Barry (D-N.Y.) last week proposed a national lottery to aid disabled war veterans, arguing this would "make unnecessary any appropriations for disabled veterans . . . and substantially reduce taxes."

### What the Nazis Get

"Although most of the territory in the United States zone of occupied Germany has been in Allied hands six months, the Nazis who actively helped Adolf Hitler mobilize the nation's resources for aggressive war still hold some of the best jobs in commerce and industry." (Raymond Daniell, in the N. Y. Times, Sept. 20).

### And What Nazi Victims Get

Four months after the surrender of Germany, some 200,000 Jews from all over Europe are still "behind barbed-wire fences in German concentration camps," reported Rep. Price (D-Ill.) to Congress on September 18, on his return from a tour of the German camps, now run by the Allies.

### In the Dawn's Early Light



Two militants who helped man the picket lines at the crack of dawn in the determined strike of the Kelsey-Hayes Wheel workers, members of the CIO United Automobile Workers in Detroit.

## Striking CIO Oil Workers Demand "52-40 Or Fight"

(Special to THE MILITANT)

By Mike Bartell

HAMMOND, Ind., Sept. 22 — "52-40 OR FIGHT!" is the slogan of thousands of striking oil workers in the Calumet area here as they join nearly 30,000 of their union brothers in the national battle of the CIO Oil Workers Industrial Union for a 40-hour week with no reduction in take-home pay.

Last week, OWIU Local 210 closed in rapid succession all major refineries and pipe lines in this area with the exception of

### Toledo CIO Oil Workers On Strike See Page 8

Standard Oil which has a contract with its own company union, and the small Phillips refinery, employing 60 men, under contract to the AFL operating engineers union.

On Monday, September 17, the 400 workers at Socony-Vacuum struck their jobs. They were followed on Tuesday by 550 City Service workers and the next day by 1,700 at Sinclair and 125 at Shell. These refineries are the chief source of gasoline and oil for industry and transport in the Chicago vicinity.

### WIDESPREAD SUPPORT

Russell Graves, Public Relations Director of Local 210, in a personal interview told me that offers by Socony-Vacuum and

## Veterans' Wives Fight Closure of Phila. Nurseries

By John Haas

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 21 — Working mothers, beset by post-war threats that face all workers, have additional problems which are peculiarly their own.

Not only do they face cutbacks and wage cuts, but the sudden collapse of child care centers has put these working mothers in a difficult position even when they still have a job to go to. Servicemen's wives, whose breadwinners are in the armed forces, and who are forced to supplement their puny allotments by working, are particularly affected.

Sixty servicemen's wives gave a demonstration in Philadelphia the other day on how to get some action. Unionists take note.

They pounced on the Council chambers at City Hall. They took seats in the balcony, sent a delegation to hear the Council in its

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## WORKERS SHOW FIGHTING MOOD IN WALKOUTS

Resist Union Leaders  
Moves to Stall Action

By Kay O'Brien

DETROIT, Mich., Sept. 23 — Undaunted by the timid and delaying policies of their International union leaders, Detroit auto workers, members of the CIO United Automobile Workers, are pushing ahead in local after local here to vote for strike action as a reinforcement of the union's demand for a 30 per cent wage increase.

Yesterday, the huge Ford Local 600, following the example set last week by the General Motors locals, voted unanimously to ask for a strike vote under the terms of the Smith-Connally act. Budd Local 306 passed a strike vote today. A number of Chrysler

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'United Labor Action'  
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locals have done likewise. Briggs Local 212 voted for strike action over two weeks ago.

### RANKS ARE READY

The rest are expected to pass strike votes within the next few days. Most of the remaining major auto locals in this area which are not meeting today to take strike votes, have such meetings scheduled during the coming week.

The intentions of the ranks of the auto workers are clear. After going through the war with their wages frozen while prices skyrocketed, their paychecks have now been further reduced since the work-week was cut to forty hours or less with the end of the war. They want no further delay in obtaining a thirty per cent in-

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## SENATE ACTION LEAVES UNEMPLOYED TO STARVE

By Art Preis

Demonstrating utter indifference and contempt for the needs of the unemployed, the Senate on September 19, after brief debate, overwhelmingly voted down the section of the Kilgore Unemployment Compensation Bill providing a maximum of \$25 weekly for jobless workers.

Only a token battle was put up by its sponsors for retention of the measure, which had been drafted according to a proposal made last May by Truman and which he declared in his recent Congressional message was "must" legislation.

"READY TO COMPROMISE"

That the presumed supporters of the bill were committed to its emasculation weeks ago is generally acknowledged. Kilgore, author of the bill, was reported by the Associated Press on September 11 as indicating his readiness to "abandon the drive." Truman, on September 17, two days before the Senate vote, was reported in the N. Y. Times to have informed his Senate leaders that "he would accept the best compromise he could get."

During the debate on the Senate floor, Republican spokesmen contemptuously pointed out that Truman himself had "walked out on" his own program. Senator Vandenberg, who sat in the Senate committee hearing where

Truman's memorandum indicating the \$25 provision was not "indispensable" was read, cynically spoke of reading about the memorandum "in the newspapers."

### NO REAL ATTEMPT

Even the union leaders, who hailed the Truman proposal for a wholly inadequate \$25 weekly maximum which would average out to about \$15 per recipient, could no longer conceal the deceit and demagoguery of Truman.

CIO President Philip Murray, in a message to a delegation of some 1,000 New York City CIO members and officials who came to Washington in a last-minute effort to pressure the Senate, acknowledged the fact that the

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## Stalinists Slander "Militant" With Lies Invented By Bosses

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 19 — Minnesota Labor, a CIO paper controlled by the Stalinists, on September 14 published an editorial renewing the Communist Party's slander campaign against The Militant and the Trotskyist union leaders who organized Minneapolis into a union town.

The editorial complains about the widespread circulation of The Militant among the CIO workers here and then claims that The Militant's editor, Farrell Dobbs, was a "Minneapolis leader of the Teamsters union during the time it was gangster-ridden, and when the Coreoran and Brown slayings brought disgrace upon the labor movement. It was the period when farmers bringing their products into the cities, were being terrorized."

As every Minneapolis driver knows, it was none other than the infamous employers' organization, the Citizens Alliance, and its successor, Associated Industries, which first circulated these same slanders against all Local 544

leaders, including Dobbs, during the heroic strike struggles of the Minneapolis drivers.

### OPEN-SHOPPERS' LIES

The open-shop employers always labelled the militant drivers and their leaders as "gangsters" and "terrorists," especially after the 1934 strike when hundreds of "special deputies" unsuccessfully attempted to break the strike with armed violence. The Citizens Alliance, in an effort to mobilize the farmers against the strikers, then also raised the cry about farmers being "terrorized." The farmers, however, aided the strike.

The Minnesota Labor editorial is clearly stamped with the Stalinist trade-mark when it repeats the slander of the Moscow Frame-Up Trials that the "Trotskyites plotted with the Hitlerites." This despicable slander was thoroughly exposed by the International Commission headed by Professor John Dewey. The findings of the Commission are embodied in two books, "The

Case of Leon Trotsky," and "Not Guilty," published by Harpers.

When 18 Trotskyist leaders, including Farrell Dobbs, were convicted under the anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act in the historic 1941 Minneapolis Labor Trial, the government charged the defendants not with being "Hitlerites," but the very opposite, revolutionary socialists, advocates of Marxism and Leninism.

Indeed, it was brought out in the trial that the Local 544 leaders had organized union defense guards to protect the union from physical attack threatened by the fascist Silver Shirts and that this action was sufficient to scare the Silver Shirts here back into their rat-holes.

This government persecution itself grew out of the struggle of the Trotskyist leaders of Local 544 for union democracy against the attempt of AFL Teamsters Czar, Daniel J. Tobin, to impose a dictatorship on the union.

As "proof" of its lies, the Stalinist editorial cites only that the Minnesota CIO, under Stalin-

ist control, endorsed the government's prosecution of the Trotskyists and that the Minnesota AFL followed suit. But the Stalinists "forget" to mention that over 600 union bodies, including the CIO United Automobile Workers and the AFL International Ladies' Garment Workers, went on record condemning the government's anti-labor prosecution and imprisonment of the Trotskyists.

### WHY THE SLANDER

The Stalinists are scared and hysterical because of the rapid growth and increasing influence of The Militant among the workers. Workers, in ever more thousands, are recognizing that the Trotskyists and The Militant have fought consistently for a program that truly defends the interests of American labor against Big Business. But the workers are heaping increasing contempt on the Stalinists for their repeated betrayals. That's why the venomous Stalinists hurl any filth they can grab at The Militant.

# Auto Workers Press Demand For Strike Action

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crease which would bring their wages more nearly in line with the rising cost of living. They are ready to strike right now to obtain their full demands.

## TOP LEADERS HOLD BACK

However, the intentions of the top UAW leadership are not to push ahead, but to hold back. After the International Executive Board, which met recently in Flint, Michigan, announced that the union would ask the entire industry for a 30 per cent average wage boost, and that it was ready to back up its demands by strike action (of course against only one company at a time), UAW President R. J. Thomas started to retreat.

"We don't want a strike" he whined, and added the hope that the demands could be settled "without a work stoppage." He also appealed to the auto corporations to make at least a "good faith" offer similar to the twelve per cent raise offered by the Studebaker Corporation.

While the ranks of the auto workers are heartened to learn that Studebaker has already offered twelve per cent, they are in no mood to discuss at this time partial raises or compromises. This is indicated by the fact that many locals have already initiated negotiations for the full thirty per cent raise. Others, including all Chrysler locals, will start similar negotiations in the next two or three days. As Bill Jenkins, president of Local 490, Chrysler, Highland Park, stated, "You don't discuss a twenty per cent raise when you're asking for thirty."

## "IT'S SLICED TOO THIN"

Thomas' conciliatory tone, while serving to undermine the confidence of the ranks in their International leadership, at the same time has emboldened the auto magnates. Leo Jacques, manager of the Motor Products Corporation in Detroit, followed Thomas with a statement of his own. "The proposed thirty per cent wage increase," he said, "is just a lot of baloney."

However, the Motor Products employees, members of UAW Local 203, have not been deterred by this typical arrogance of management. Through their local president, Frank Donley, they notified Mr. Jacques that his own salary "of more than \$25,000 a year isn't baloney, nor is his pension which is being financed by the workers of Motor Products."

Local 203 is one of the auto locals where negotiations for a full thirty per cent raise have already been started, and where at a membership meeting called for today, a strike vote is expected to pass. Donley stated that the local believes negotiations at this time for a partial raise would be "slicing Mr. Jacques' baloney" too thin.

## LEADERSHIP DELAYS

In addition to raising doubts in the minds of both workers and management as to their seriousness about a thirty per cent wage increase, the top UAW leadership is placing further difficulties and delays in the way of the ranks by insisting that all strikes, in order to obtain the "authorization" of the International, must be conducted under the strict terms of the Smith-Connelly anti-strike act.

This vicious piece of legislation requires a thirty-day wait after notification by the union of its intention to strike, and then a strike vote under government supervision when the thirty days are up, before the strike can be launched. It is regarded by the workers here as a purely wartime emergency act. Even during the war, local after local, goaded beyond endurance by company provocations, was forced to ignore the Smith-Connelly act entirely.

Yet the top UAW leadership, instead of fighting this anti-labor law by every means at its

## Striking Ford Workers in Canada



Striking members of Local 200, CIO United Automobile Workers, marching through streets of Windsor, Canada, to picket lines around the Ford plants where 10,000 are out. This is the first strike authorized by the UAW International Executive Board since Pearl Harbor.

disposal, lends strength to the enemies of labor by insisting that the local unions conform to its terms. Thus the precedent is established for submission to the Smith-Connelly act in peacetime, opening the door for even more vicious anti-labor legislation in the future. This cowardly policy is dictated by the fear of the International leadership to lead strikes. Any kind of delaying action, no matter where it leads, appears preferable to the UAW bureaucracy.

## RANKS FORCE STRIKE VOTE

Local unions, whose members are opposed to observing the Smith-Connelly act, are nevertheless being forced to vote for strike action under its terms, lest the International use the alibi of an "unauthorized" walkout to sabotage their efforts to win wage increases and settle other grievances.

Even where the locals conform to International policy, the top leaders hold back. An entire week passed after the unanimous strike vote of all General Motors local representatives while the ranks waited for their petition to be filed. Not until yesterday, after several GM locals in Flint had proceeded on their own to take local strike votes and submit their own petitions, was Walter Reuther, vice-president of the UAW in charge of all GM locals, finally dragged into filing the week-old petition for a corporation-wide strike.

Meanwhile a number of "unauthorized" strikes in the Detroit area are holding firm despite terrific pressure not only from the auto barons and the government conciliators who are pouring into the city in great numbers, but from the International as well.

## STRIKES HOLD FIRM

The 4,500 Kelsey-Hayes workers, who have been on strike since August 23, are still out. Efforts of R. J. Thomas, and of Richard Frankenstein, a UAW vice-president, to get them to go back have proved unsuccessful.

Efforts are now being made by the UAW officialdom to persuade the 50,000 Ford workers, who have been locked out on the pretext of lack of auto parts which Ford buys from Kelsey-Hayes, that there is "some truth" to what the company says about Kelsey-Hayes.

Such assertions were made at a mass membership meeting of Ford Local 600 held yesterday at

the Masonic Temple. Not only Thomas and Frankenstein, but also Joe McCusker, president of the local, claimed "unauthorized" strikes as having considerable bearing on the present unemployment of Ford workers, even though "the Ford company magnifies the shortage of parts." Thus, the plight of the locked-out Ford auto workers is laid at the door of 4,500 union militants who have the courage to fight for the preservation of their union. Instead, it should be charged to the International leaders and their cowardly refusal to back up the Kelsey-Hayes strikers and force management to settle by reinstating three unjustly fired union militants.

## "GRAND STRATEGY"

At this Ford Local mass meeting the attempt was made not only to blame the workers for current "unauthorized" strikes, but to forestall those which the workers may be goaded into in the future by claiming that any such strikes will interfere with the grand "strategy" of the UAW leadership to strike one company at a time, at some unspecified date in the future.

While the Ford workers want to take action now, the meeting was told "when the time is ripe" your leadership will tell you when to supply that kind of support. The difficulty with this strategy is that the workers lack confidence in their leaders. Meanwhile not only Ford workers, but auto workers throughout Detroit, are being held in check with vague promises for the future.

# Stalinists Betray Strike Of New York Painters

By Bill Morgan

NEW YORK, Sept. 19 — A seven-day strike involving some 10,000 painters, members of the AFL Building Trades here, was terminated today after the Stalinist union leaders came to terms with the Master Painters Association with none of the major grievances settled.

The painters were clamoring for decisive action last August 1, when the contract expired and when they were in the best position to press their demands. Louis Weinstock, Secretary-Treasurer

of District Council No. 9, AFL Painters, and head of the Stalinist machine, curbed the painters with the excuse of the "no-strike pledge" and the "war effort."

With the war over, Weinstock finally yielded to the pressure of the ranks and called a strike. It was supported solidly by the painters, who were anxious to make a real fight for substantial demands.

## NO SHORTER HOURS

This strike was conducted at a time when virtually all sections of the labor movement are pressing for a shorter work week and shorter work day. The 6-hour day, 30-hour week had been a standard for a number of the building trades unions in New York before the war. But Weinstock did not even raise this key demand. The painters were sent back to work on the seven-hour day.

While millions of organized workers are demanding wage increases of 25 and 30 per cent above the wartime Little Steel formula limit, the Stalinist administration of District Council 9 agreed to a 2½ per cent increase in wages that brought the total pay increases of the painters just up to the 15 per cent limit granted by the War Labor Board under the Little Steel formula. Before the end of the war, the painters had received only a 12½ per cent increase, less than they were entitled to even under the government wage formula.

Negotiations for a new contract began last April and were conducted in complete secrecy for six months by the Weinstock machine. The old contract expired on

are in no mood to go back. This attempt by the company to divide them from the war veterans does not frighten them, for more than half the pickets are veterans of either the first or the second World War.

Moreover, their ranks are solid with "no trace of the old methods formerly used to divide workers along racial lines." They have more persons volunteering for picket duty than they can use. They can double their picket lines "at a moment's notice." Their strike kitchen is well organized and "serving the best meals in Detroit." They are turning out a daily strike bulletin. They are receiving unsolicited help of financial and other "material" nature from other locals. So tightly is the plant closed down that the local flying squadrons, which are very much in evidence, have no other function at present than to regulate the picketing.

## STRIKE COMMITTEE VIEWS

Four of the six members of the rank and file steering committee of the strike, William Service, G. E. Williams, Steven Yehl, and H. T. Laird, who gave a statement to *The Militant*, said that in their opinion it would be "utter suicide" to dream of going back "as Thomas proposed. They believe that the Smith-Connelly act is 'just a war law' and that 'things are happening too fast nowadays to stay in the plant for thirty days after you decide to strike.'"

Those thirty days of delay, they pointed out, are an opportunity for the employer to "cut our throats" and had the Murray workers waited thirty days, while the company "utterly disregarded the union, there would have been no union left."

While this steering committee emphasized that all decisions regarding the strike could be

## For a Rising Scale Of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

made only by the ranks, they were certain that the strikers would say that they could not go back until the grievances which drove them out of the plant were settled, and that even when they did reach an agreement and return, it would be with considerable suspicion of the company.

## INSPIRED BY OIL STRIKE

In addition to the fighting spirit evinced by the Murray and Kelsey-Hayes strikers, Detroit auto workers have received further encouragement from the militant action of the CIO Oil Workers, who not only in Detroit, but all over the country are remaining firm in their strike to obtain a 30 per cent increase in spite of partial raises offered by the oil companies. This resolute courage is a good omen for the great struggles which lie ahead, of which the present strikes are but preliminary skirmishes.

# Bills Aim to Give Government Ships To Private Owners

By F. J. Lang

The end of military hostilities has sharply reduced the shipping needs of U. S. imperialism and confronted American seamen with the prospect of mass unemployment. But the solution proposed by the Bland and Bailey bills in Congress is to give away the government-built ships to "private industry."

Disposal of the huge wartime merchant fleet is the key question so far as future wages and working conditions of seamen are concerned. On this question the leaderships of all maritime unions have supported the idea of "private ownership."

The Stalinist leaders of the National Maritime Union (CIO), in their recently adopted "peace-time program," have stated their opposition to "fly-by-night speculators who have no interest or experience in the operation of ships and who intend only to use them for quick resale or for use as scrap to depress wages and living conditions of seamen or to place experienced and sincere American ship operators at a disadvantage." (Our emphasis.)

Thus, the Browder policy of "collaboration with sincere capitalists," allegedly repudiated by the reorganized Communist Party under Foster's leadership, finds expression in the program of the Stalinist-controlled maritime union.

## "SINCERE OPERATORS"

The "experienced and sincere American ship operators" here referred to must mean those who have been in the business for a number of years. These are the gentlemen who made a racket of government mail subsidies in the years following World War I. They brought the maritime industry to such a decrepit state that the government, in preparation for war, had to begin rebuilding the fleet in 1936.

These same "sincere American operators" brought wages down to \$50 a month for American seamen prior to the 1934 maritime strike. They moved into the government maritime agencies and grew fat during World War II on "operator fees" paid to themselves. They now favor scrapping the 50 million ton wartime fleet and envisage peacetime shipping reduced to a 10 million ton "quality fleet."

These "sincere operators" testified at recent WLB hearings against any adjustment in seamen's basic wages, claiming that \$200 a month for seamen would "ruin the industry." Yet these are the people whose whole history in the industry is indeed one of ruin.

## GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

The maritime industry has been subsidized by the government since World War I. The only "profits" it shows comes from these government subsidies. It is therefore more economical for the government to retain ownership. Government ownership, however, will benefit seamen only if the maritime unions exercise control over the industry.

In this way the government subsidies can be fixed to meet the needs of the seamen. The demands for \$200 a month and introduction of the four-watch system can then be won. These measures will help to solve the unemployment problem. The first step is to kick out the "private operators." Kick them out of the government maritime boards! Kick them out of the industry!

Committee" of three bosses and three Weinstock appointees.

This committee will "study the evils and conditions in the industry." Cases of unfair dismissals will be "heard" by this committee, but "nothing contained herein shall limit or interfere with the right of the employer to freely take on and lay off journeymen for just cause." In plain language, real job security was thrown out the window behind a slick formula.

The hospitalization plan, which was an important but incidental issue to the painters, but which Weinstock turned into the main issue, was granted by the Master Painters Association with virtually no resistance. That was the least the bosses could do for Weinstock and his machine in return for their cooperation in the negotiations.

The Stalinist betrayal of the New York painters must be considered for what it represents in the light of the national labor struggle for better wages, hours and conditions. It was a particularly harsh blow to the painters here because of their long history of militancy and struggle for better conditions which in the past helped pave the way for improvements in the entire building trades.

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

# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

## Uniformed Vets Picket

Discharged veterans, members of CIO United Automobile Workers Local 65, Cleveland, donned their uniforms, army, navy and air force, and picketed the struck Murray-Ohio Corporation plant during a recent strike.

The 45 uniformed pickets, along with hundreds of other strikers, were fighting against the company's violation of the union agreement providing vacation pay for veterans, and against the firing of 39 of them contrary to provisions for cumulative seniority during their war service.

That's an example to be followed. It's the way to answer the attempts of the corporations to use the returned veterans against the unions as a spearhead for attacking wage standards and labor organization.

## Lumber Strike Looms

Some 60,000 Pacific Northwest Lumber and Sawmill Union (AFL) members are getting set for a strike, scheduled to begin 12:01 AM, Monday, September 24, unless the operators concede to the union's demand for a \$1.10 an hour minimum wage. Such a walkout may spark a general strike in the entire lumber industry, where the workers have reached the point of revolt against intolerable conditions.

The LSWU committee, issuing the strike call, declared that "at no time did the employers agree to meet and negotiate or make any wage offer whatsoever."

## Ward "Seizure."

### Aftermath

A strike "applied to the Montgomery Ward empire all over the country" is threatened, writes the current issue of National Spotlight, organ of the CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, if Sewell L. Avery's company continues to refuse to bargain in "good faith" with the union.

Since the announcement that the government is returning the properties "seized" last year to break the "Monkey" Ward strikes in Chicago and Detroit, it has become clear that open-shopper Avery is preparing for an all-out union-busting campaign.

Avery successfully defied WLB orders to sign a union contract. The Roosevelt administration, under the pretext of "enforcing" the WLB rulings, stepped in, broke the strikes. To this day, Avery continues to defy the WLB order. The "seizure" has left the workers exactly where they were before. But Montgomery Ward last week reported net profits for the six months ending July 31 of \$8,401,102, as compared with "only" \$6,846,736 for the same period last year.

## Talked Too Soon

AFL President William Green came out with unstinted praise for Truman's "recovery program" as voiced in the President's Con-

gressional message. "It is up to Congress to implement the President's program by enacting the measures he recommended. First and foremost of these is the Kilgore Unemployment Compensation Bill. The American Federation of Labor joins President Truman in placing this bill at the top of its 'must' legislation..."

By the time Green's statement was in print, Truman had sent a secret memorandum to the Senate Banking Committee hearings on the Kilgore bill. This memorandum, read to a closed committee session by Senator George, did not list the Kilgore bill for \$25 maximum weekly unemployment compensation as a "must." His memorandum helped to kill the proposal.

Green and similar trade union officials are all too eager to accept as good coin anything a capitalist politician like Truman promises and rush to hail him for the demagogic issues for public consumption while he prepares privately to knife labor in the back.

## Licksplitt Unionism

When a boss who has just laid off all his workers is then made an "honorary member" of the union, that's carrying class collaboration to the lowest depth.

In St. Paul, on September 14, officials of Twin Cities Ordnance Plant Local 23220, AFL Federal Labor Union, held a "victory" party at which a "surprise" feature was the conferring of "honorary membership" in the union on Charles Horn, president of Federal Cartridge Co. The Twin Cities Ordnance Plant of Federal Cartridge closed down at the end of the war.

The AFL Weekly News Service, September 11, even used up good space printing in full Horn's "letter of farewell" to the workers being thrown out on the streets.

## Afterthoughts on Pledge

Now that the workers have tossed the no-strike pledge out the window and the war is over, we are beginning to hear some revealing, though belated, comments in the official trade union press about the frightful price American labor paid for submission to the no-strike policy during the war.

One such comment is contained in a recent issue of Labor, organ of a number of the railway unions. Labor laments: "The fact that 16,000 cases, in which bosses admit their employees should have had increases, are tied up before the War Labor Board indicates the extent to which many have been gipped during the war... Workers paid a frightful penalty for the no-strike pledge. For example, by disarming themselves of their major weapon, they lost many millions of dollars in wage increases which they were entitled to, and might have won had they resorted to strike."

# FLINT BUICK LOCAL 599 PROPOSES LABOR PARTY

FLINT, Mich., Sept. 18 — The powerful and influential Buick Local 599 here is submitting a resolution calling for the formation of a national labor party, to the next convention of the CIO United Automobile Workers. Its resolution is featured as the leading front-page article of the current Local 599 Headlight, issued today.

In what is undoubtedly only the first of many similar resolutions from other UAW locals, Local 599's resolution is directed "to the coming Tenth International Convention of the UAW-CIO calling upon this powerful body to issue a call for a National Conference of all Labor Organizations — AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods and independent unions, for the purpose of organizing a National Labor Party." The resolution is to be sent to all other UAW locals.

## LABOR 15 MILLION STRONG

Declaring that "labor organized 15 million strong is entering the political arena on an ever widening scale because of the pressing political problems," the resolution deplores the fact that "the labor movement does not have its own party and is forced to rely on the corporation-controlled Democratic and Republican Parties for political expression." It declares that "company unionism on the political field results in a complete disregard of labor's problems during reconversion and the post-war period, which finds labor without a single

labor representative in Congress." Emphasizing the example of the British Labor Party, the resolution states: "The magnificent electoral victory of the British Labor Party proves that labor can organize politically to run the country."

## OPPOSE GOVERNMENT CURBS

Another important resolution which the local has adopted and sent to the UAW International Board, warns against the purposes of the industry-government-labor conference being engineered by Truman to establish peacetime machinery to curb labor.

This resolution "insists and demands that our leaders in the UAW and the CIO unequivocally and forthrightly reject any proposals even remotely suggesting that labor surrender for any length of time its powers of movement and its rights to action," and "that should these leaders of labor make over our right to strike and restrict our movements of action to safeguard our gains that they can expect our complete lack of confidence and our unabating opposition."

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## Our Martyrs

Comrades Who Died in the Cause of Communism  
Under the Terror of the Gestapo and Its Puppets

### France

MARCEL HIC, General Secretary of the Trotskyist party and organizer of the European Executive Committee of the Fourth International. Seized by the Nazis in 1943 in the course of fraternization and propaganda work among soldiers of the German Wehrmacht. He had edited *Arbeiter und Soldat* (Soldier and Worker), a newspaper circulated among the German occupation troops by the Fourth International. Died in the Hitlerite underground factories at Dora, after long tortures undergone there and at Buchenwald concentration camp.

JEAN MEICHLER, journalist, for a long time publisher of the Russian Bulletin of the Opposition edited by Trotsky, member of the Central Committee of the party. Seized as a hostage by the Gestapo at Paris shortly after the occupation and shot while in prison.

MARC BOURHIS, teacher, active for a long time as a Trotskyist in the French Teachers' Union. Shot in the mass slaughter of Communist Party and Trotskyist Party militants at Chateaubriant on October 21, 1941.

PIERRE GUEGUEN, Trotskyist mayor of Concarneau. Shot at Chateaubriant on the same date. The Chateaubriant martyrdom is regarded as the outstanding page in underground heroism by the whole French resistance movement.

ANDRE LEBACHER, metal worker. Shot by the Gestapo in Paris.

ROBERT CRUAU, postal employee. Felled by the Gestapo in street fighting at Brest in September, 1943.

THIOLON, teacher. Shot by the Gestapo.

HENRI KUNSTLINGER, member of the Central Committee. Shot by S.S. troops at Lyons in July, 1944.

VAN HULST, metal worker. Killed by Darnand's fascist Militia, at Suresnes, during the insurrection of August, 1944.

LAURENT, head of the Military Committee of the Trotskyist party. Killed in Paris during the insurrection of August, 1944.

YVES BODENEZ, branch organizer of the party at Kerhuon in the Finistere district. Killed at Buchenwald on March 11, 1944, at the age of 23.

HENRI SOUZIN, painter. Former treasurer of the Paris district of the Young Communist League of France. Under the Nazi occupation, a leader of the building trades union council in Paris and of an illegal revolutionary committee of trade unionists. Member of the Central Committee of the party. Arrested in 1941. Died in deportation.

HENRI COLLIARD, member of the Central Committee of the party, organizer of the Lyons district. Arrested by Laval. Deported to Buchenwald. Died in deportation.

LUCIEN BRASLAWSKI, 24 years old. Party functionary in the Paris district. Arrested in April, 1942. Deported. Died at Auschwitz.

JULES JOFFE, 25 years old. Student. Functionary of the party in Paris. Arrested in April, 1942. Deported. Died at Auschwitz.

ERIC SCHULTZ, 23 years old. Mechanic. Political commissar of the party in military underground. Arrested in June, 1943. Disappeared in deportation.

REBOUL, sugar refinery worker. Branch organizer of the party in Marseilles. Joined FTP partisan organization. Killed in the maquis fighting.

SALINI, salesman. Branch organizer of the party in Marseilles. Joined the FTP. Killed in the maquis fighting.

SADEK, grocery clerk. Joined the FTP. Killed in the maquis fighting.

TRESSO, former general secretary of the Italian Communist Party. Broke with Stalinists in 1930. Member of the Central Committee of the French Trotskyist party for many years. Arrested with comrades Reboul, Salini and Sadek by the Vichy police in Marseilles in 1943. Escaped from imprisonment at Puy together with these comrades in October of that year. Joined the FTP with them. Killed in the maquis fighting.

BELLA LEMPERT, 23 years old. Arrested in April, 1942. Died at Auschwitz concentration camp.

REGINA FELSCHWALBE, 22 years old. Arrested in August, 1942. Deported in November of that year. Disappeared.

SIMONE FERLEGER, 21 years old. Stenographer. Arrested in August, 1942. Deported to Birkenau concentration camp. Disappeared.

PIERRE BARTHELEMY, metal worker. Arrested in August, 1942, deported in January, 1943. Disappeared.

JACQUES LEBRUN, 21 years old. Electrician. Arrested in 1942. Died at Mauthausen on April 29, 1945.

JANINE MARCOUX, 27 years old. Teacher. Arrested in July, 1944. Deported to Ravensbrueck concentration camp. Escaped. Recaptured by SS guards. Driven insane by tortures.

### Belgium

LEON LESOIL, miners' leader at Chateleineau, founding member of the Communist Party of Belgium and later, of the Trotskyist movement. Member of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International from its foundation. Arrested by the Gestapo June 22, 1941. Died at Neuengamme concentration camp in Germany May 6, 1942.

FERDINAND MICHAUX, metal worker from Chateleineau, arrested June 22, 1941. Died at Neuengamme.

JOSEPH FRANQUET, militant miner from Jemappes. Arrested June 22, 1941. Died at Neuengamme.

JOSEPH BEUGNIES, office worker at Jemappes. Arrested June 22, 1941. Died at Neuengamme.

MARIUS NOPERE, miner, from Cuesmes, arrested June 22, 1941. Died at Neuengamme.

LOUIS MARCOUX, miner, from Cuesmes. Arrested June 22, 1941. Died at Neuengamme.

VICTOR ROUSSEAU, miner, from Cuesmes. Arrested June 22, 1941. Died at Neuengamme.

FRANCIS VAN BELLE, metal worker from Liege, one time Provincial Councillor. Arrested June 22, 1941. Died at Neuengamme.

LUCIEN RENERY, of Liege, long time member of Executive Committee of the Belgian Trotskyists. Administrator of La Lutte Ouvriere. Arrested June 22, 1941, sent to Neuengamme, assassinated there by S.S. troops.

LEON DE LEE, of Antwerp. Arrested June 22, 1941. Died at Neuengamme.

HENRI BRIDOUX, of Brussels. Arrested in 1941. Died in 1943 at the concentration camp of Mauthausen.

ELIE SZTOKFEDER, Jewish comrade who lived in Belgium as an immigrant. Hanged at Auschwitz, Germany.

DAVID, of Brussels. Died at Auschwitz.

HERMAN, of Antwerp. Shot at Auschwitz.

JACOB, of Antwerp. Died at Auschwitz.

## 25,000 Workers In Ceylon Strike For Better Conditions



Cover of pamphlet, "The Struggle of the Trotskyists Under the Nazi Terror," published by the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, French Section of the 4th International. The pamphlet presents the record of this fight throughout Europe and a list of Trotskyist martyrs, part of which appears at left.

## C.C.F. Spokesman Fights In Parliament For Labor

(Special to THE MILITANT)

OTTAWA, Sept. 17.—Canadian

labor has won an important voice in Parliament. At the last election the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (the form the Labor Party has taken in Canada) gained 28 seats and would undoubtedly have had more were its general policies more militant.

Among the newly-elected left-wing CCF members in particular, Canadian labor can expect militant representation in Parliament. Harry Archibald of British Columbia, for instance, boldly advanced the interests of labor in his maiden speech on September 13.

Archibald, a war veteran and former boiler-maker and leader of the unemployed, attacked the official government proposals for the legislative session advanced in the "Speech to the Throne." The "Throne" speech traditionally outlines the Parliamentary program of the Canadian capitalists.

### INDUSTRIAL WORKER

"As a new member of the House of Commons, and an industrial worker—when there is work"—began Archibald; "I should like to give my impressions of this parliament for the short time I have been here. It seems to me so divorced from reality, from the everyday struggle on the job, that I sometimes wonder if our efforts are not in vain."

Archibald outlined the possibilities open to the Government: "It is within the power of the administration to give full employment; it is within the power of the administration to see that every worker has a job, that every worker is well clothed, that every worker is well fed. It is also within the power of the administration to stop a depression that will be far worse than the one we had before. We all know of the advances that have been made in technology; we all know that these advances have removed the worker from the job, but at the same time they have added more wealth to the country."

The Government program, however, is not designed to bring about full employment. In fact it reminded Archibald of similar demagogic programs during the depression. "I speak from personal experience," he remarked, "because I took part in many of

the demonstrations and unemployment strikes of that period."

He exposed the falsity of the Government's promises during the war: "Canada was plunged into this war with a promise of peace, a promise of more democracy, a promise of security. But today in all Canada fear is universal, fear of unemployment, fear of want and fear of a third world war."

The next world war may very well wipe out the whole of humanity. But this is the reality that faces us: the promises of the Liberal government about the war have not been borne out by events. Those promises sound like a hollow mockery when considered in the realities of the present day."

The representative of Canadian labor exposed the Government's lack of concern over the jobs: "The Liberal government speaks of a high level of employment, but that government does not contemplate an adequate program of public works nor does it contemplate the reconverting and operating of publicly built war plants which could wipe out scarcities overnight."

"The factories are there and they are idle. The workers are there and they are idle. The Canadian capitalists were unable to provide jobs during the peace—I am not talking about war now; I am talking about peace—so that the working class knows what to expect in times of peace."

VETERANS' FUTURE

Speaking of the failure of the Government to provide adequately for the veterans, Archibald declared: "The majority are industrial workers who prefer to work in a factory along with their fellowmen. Therefore their problem is directly tied up with the war workers and we can begin to see the handwriting on the wall as to what is happening to them. They face general unemployment; they face a grim future."

Archibald contrasted the Government's attitude toward the war profiteers and toward the workers during the war. "It might be argued that the onerous conditions placed upon the workers during the war was due to a wartime economy; but already we are beginning to see that they are being asked to take worse conditions and lower wages, that the

onerous conditions will continue to be imposed upon them in time of peace, in spite of a more highly developed industrial technology, in spite of the wealth that could be produced in this country."

He predicted that if the Government continues "the same principles of economics to which they adhered during peace we can expect an even greater depression in the next few years. To go back to the economy that we had during peacetime in the 1930's just means that you will be building up for social upheavals of a tremendous nature."

Archibald pointed to the Government's anti-labor record: "Let me again call to the attention of the house how the demands of the workers were met during those intolerable times of peace. We were met with tear gas and clubs in the hands of the police. During those days the blacklist was common on the job, especially in the logging camps."

OPERATE THE PLANTS!

"In the light of this shameful record during peace time, how can we expect any improvement during the coming period? If we are to judge from past performance, the speech from the throne does not foreshadow a period of prosperity and jobs for everyone. On the contrary it is the prelude to mass unemployment."

As an immediate "important measure" to provide jobs, Archibald proposed "we rule out profits and run the economy for use. I should like to see them continue the operation of the government-financed and government-built plants. I should like to see them come in with a program of public works to cover irrigation, the building of hydro-electric power projects and so on."

Archibald declared that "members of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation have come to the conclusion that only through the socialization of industry and the financial institutions will living standards rise and there be a continuous expansion of industry."

Labor's representative ended his maiden speech with a declaration of his basic political views: "I claim that a new system has to be brought into being, a system

More than 25,000 workers went on strike in Colombo, Ceylon on September 19 to enforce demands for increased pay, greater employment opportunities, an 8-hour day and old-age security, according to a United Press dispatch.

Ceylon is an island colony situated off the southern extremity of India. Its British ruled economy has been largely confined to agriculture, with emphasis on export crops, principally tea, rubber and coconut.

Like India, Ceylon was plunged into World War II in 1939 by the British imperialists. Also as in India, the industry and agriculture of the islands were made to serve the war needs of British imperialism to the serious detriment of the already low living standards of the masses.

### GROWING ACTIVITY

Today, with the war at an end, the masses are striking out with increased vigor against their exploiters and oppressors, falling into line with the growing activities of the oppressed peoples in the other colonial lands of Asia.

The United Press report on the Colombo strike states that, in addition to economic demands, the strikers demand "political freedom." Thus, as in all the colonies, the fight for improved living conditions fuses with the political struggle against the foreign overlords of the country.

British repressions in Ceylon have been as vicious as in neighboring India where close to 400 million people are held in colonial servitude. After plunging Ceylon into the imperialist war, the British despots outlawed the organizations of the masses and arrested their leaders.

### TROTSKYISTS PERSECUTED

First to feel the brutal hand of the colonial tyrants was the Trotskyist party, the Lanka Sama Samaja (Ceylon Socialist Party) which was formed in 1935 and became, in a very few years, the most popular political organization of the masses. In September, 1939, the Trotskyist leaders were arrested and imprisoned without trial, their printing plant seized and confiscated, their party proclaimed illegal.

On June 24 of this year 11 of the outstanding leaders of the Lanka Sama Samaja were set free by the British authorities following mass demonstrations throughout the island which demanded that they be liberated. Along a 140-mile route from the prison to Colombo cheering crowds gathered to greet the Trotskyist fighters, among whom were N. M. Perera and Philip Gunawardene, two outstanding leaders of the Lanka Sama Samaja.

## British Officials Order Deportation Of Pierre Frank

British Trotskyists are doing their utmost to stop the labor government from deporting comrade Pierre Frank, member of the French section of the Fourth International, reports the mid-August Socialist Appeal.

The labor government claims to protect political refugees, but apparently such protection doesn't apply to revolutionary socialists.

Comrade Frank came to England in 1939 at the outbreak of the war after being sentenced to eight years imprisonment by the corrupt prewar regime of Daladier.

The sentence was imposed for writing articles saying the French ruling class would rather get together with Hitler than risk revolutionary action by the French workers.

In October, 1941, Frank was arrested for illegal entry into England and spent more than three years in British prisons and on the Isle of Man. At that time a deportation order was issued against him. However, under working class pressure, the office of Herbert Morrison, the Churchill government's Home Secretary, promised there was no intention of deporting Frank to a country where he would be persecuted.

Now, with labor voted to power, the Attlee government is going back on a promise that even the reactionary coalition regime of Churchill was forced to make. Police told Comrade Frank that he would be deported back to France on September 10.

of socialism which is both national and international in outlook because it includes all those who need things in this world. Therefore, though I will support every measure that is introduced which will benefit the country, I maintain that only socialism will bring about real freedom and social justice."

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

### France

The removal of price controls on food (reported in the Sept. 8 Militant) has resulted in such a leap in prices that the women of France are beginning to take matters into their own hands. In Toulouse, September 16-17, a crowd of 1,500 women attacked a slaughter-house, a cold storage plant, outdoor markets and military barracks. They took 8,000 fowl to supplement their meatless Sunday dinners. De Gaulle's police moved in to quell the demonstration.

Last month Pineau, Minister of Food, promised that the weekly ration of 3½ ounces of meat would be increased. However, meat disappeared entirely from the market and the price of chicken jumped from \$1.40 a kilo to \$9.

In Paris on September 16 about 300 women raided a poultry shop in the Faubourg St. Antoine.

Food "riots" are traditionally one of the storm signals of revolution. When masses of women begin storming food centers and warehouses, the class struggle has reached a very sharp peak. This is particularly true of France.

Many housewives, according to N. Y. Post correspondent Paul Ghal, are saying, "We were better off by the Germans than we are by General de Gaulle."

### Nigeria

Copies of the Daily Comet up to the middle of June have just been received in the United States. The Daily Comet is one of the newspapers suppressed by the British overlords of Nigeria for supporting the recent general strike. The news in these issues makes clear why the British despots have demonstrated such concern about the growth of anti-imperialist sentiment in Nigeria.

At a June 15 mass meeting of 1,500 unemployed workers in Lagos, Tony Enaharo, editor of the Daily Comet, declared: "Unemployment is a colleague of the capitalist system. . . wherever production is directed to meet the needs of finance instead of the needs of the majority of the people there must be unemployment."

There was no doubt in Enaharo's mind, stated the Comet, "that the soil and forests of Nigeria contained enough wealth to provide good food, clothing and shelter for its 22 million inhabitants. But the country's resources had not been developed, and nothing was being done about industrializing the country."

Enaharo advocated, according to the Comet, that no man, woman or child should suffer poverty or insecurity through causes beyond his control. The speaker held that the government should provide jobs for every citizen ready to work to earn his living.

The editor of the Comet pointed out that "The purpose of government was to ensure the safety and happiness of the governed. If the government was unable to guarantee even food and the ordinary necessities of life for as many as 1,500 citizens in only one town and in wartime too, then there was something wrong which needed to be put right before things got worse."

The mass meeting passed a resolution demanding legislation to provide employment for all the people of Nigeria; exemption from taxation of all unemployed; free health service; and immediate relief allowances. To provide funds for relief, the resolution called for higher taxation of profits made in the Nigerian trade.

The resolution likewise called for the industrialization of Nigeria through planned development.

Germany

The Allied conquerors are approaching the problem of enforcing a "hard peace" on Germany very realistically, to judge from a September 17 Associated Press dispatch. The conquerors have ordered shovel squads to begin digging graves for the thousands of Berlin workers and poor people scheduled to die from starvation this winter.

The fuel shortage will not permit cremations. Moreover, if the graves are not dug until the victims die, the ground will be frozen so hard costs of grave-digging would mount unduly. Hence the cheapest solution and one most in accord with the realities of Allied rule, as foreseen by the conquerors, is to dig the graves now while the ground yields easily to pick and shovel.

The American rulers, speaking for the record, doubt there will be "mass deaths" from starvation. They concede however that the death rate will undoubtedly be very high especially among old people — and among infants, who will be most "susceptible to disease" and the "rigors" of the approaching winter.

The British imperialists are more frank. They note that the death rate is now five times the prewar toll under Hitler. They

add that as soon as the city's shattered mains are repaired and gas service is restored "suicides may soar."

The German capitalists and Nazis, meanwhile, are settling down in comfortable spots, acting as agents of the Allied conquerors. N. Y. Times reporter Raymond Daniell wirelessly September 19 that six months after the collapse, "the Nazis. . . still hold some of the best jobs in commerce and industry." The Allied rulers "ignore, evade or circumvent" the official order to purge the Nazis.

If the American Military Government finds it politic to remove a Nazi in a key position, "Army officers" order him reinstated. Gen. Patton, who likes to be called "Blood and Guts," succinctly expressed imperialist policy toward German capitalism when he said that it would be "silly" to attempt to get rid of "the most intelligent" people in Germany.

On September 20, Danfö reported that in Munich, of nineteen industrial firms, "six are still operating under the same old management, seven have been cleared of Nazi managers and six others are in process of being 'purified.'" Five breweries, he adds, are "operating under Nazi management." In the Munich city administration "top officials of about two of every three agencies are still in office despite their Nazi backgrounds."

In heavy industry 64 directors in 20 corporations were "Nazi party members." These are typical instances of the sheltered position Nazis are finding under the wings of the American eagle.

The Allied conquerors undoubtedly expect that the German workers will not die of starvation without putting up a desperate struggle to overthrow capitalism and set up socialism. The conquerors are teaming up with the German capitalists and Nazis in preparation to put down that struggle.

### Mexico

Some 300,000 Mexican workers imported into the United States during the wartime period are returning home with bitter firsthand experience of the practices of W. A. L. Street imperialism. Brought into the country for exploitation when war profiteers were rolling up lush fortunes out of cost-plus contracts, they are now being booted out of the country — dumped on the scrapheap as part of the "expendables" of peace-time. A few instances of what happened to them is recounted in the September 10 N. Y. Post.

"One who had his tonsils removed was charged \$175 for the job, an extortion which absorbed all of the savings he'd hoped to take home from his U. S. adventure."

"Another was operated on for appendicitis and charged \$250."

"One received \$1.13 for two weeks' work, after deductions for food, savings, retirement pension and medical service."

About 130,000 of these Mexicans were employed by the railroads. "This group," continues the Post, "paid \$4,000,000 into the railroad retirement fund. These contributors are eligible for pensions when they reach the age of 65 — provided they can be found some 40 years hence, which seems highly doubtful. Their chances of collecting are further reduced by the fact that the average life of a Mexican worker of this class is 34 years."

Most of these workers were lured to the United States by promises of high wages. But after deductions were made they found very little left to send to their families. To add to their disillusionment, many of them paid as high as \$5 to \$80 for the privilege of signing up for jobs.

In many of the camps there was bitter complaint about housing conditions, says the Post; "overcrowding, lack of washing facilities, isolation, lack of recreation, etc. Hundreds of the Mexicans, completely disillusioned, left before their contracts were completed and paid their own fares home."

Italy

Pietro Nenni, secretary of the Socialist Party of Italy and close collaborator of the Stalinists, is no longer supporting early merger with the Stalinist Party. At the national conference of the SP in Rome July 29 to August 1, he proposed continued collaboration with the Stalinists but advised postponement of consideration of merger "to a more appropriate time."

An opposition led by Ignazio Silone and Giuseppe Modigliani fought for two propositions: (1) A clear commitment against unity; (2) United action with the Stalinists only on specific issues. The opposition received about 30 per cent of the votes.

This was the first open challenge to the Nenni leadership since Nenni got control of the party as it came out from underground.

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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

## United Labor Action

Recent actions of Congress and the Truman administration further underscore the soundness and urgency of the proposal, unanimously adopted September 15 by the National General Motors Conference of the CIO United Automobile Workers, for the united labor movement to convene a Congress of American Labor in Washington.

In two instances last week, Truman demonstrated, despite all his demagoguery to the contrary, that his attitude toward labor differs in no fundamental from that of the labor hating Wall Street interests whom he really represents.

The first was his blow to American labor when he named Senator Burton, co-author with Senators Ball and Hatch of the most vicious anti-labor bill ever introduced into Congress, to a seat on the U. S. Supreme Court. This was a demonstrative gesture of friendship toward the most reactionary elements seeking to shackle organized labor.

Truman also revealed where he stands in the fight for a shorter work week with no reductions in weekly take-home pay. Just after the auto, steel, rubber, railroad and other workers put forth demands for average wage increases of 30 per cent, Truman made it clear that the government supports the profit-bloated corporations against this just demand of the workers.

When asked by reporters what he thought of a statement, attributed to Economic Stabilization Director Davis, to the effect that wages should be raised 40 to 50 per cent in the next five years, "Mr. Truman lost his smile and in a noticeable change of expression said flatly that in making the assertion, Mr. Davis was certainly not speaking for this administration." (N. Y. Times, Sept. 19). Even though he had been misquoted and had done yeoman service for Wall Street in enforcing the wartime wage freeze, the next day Davis "volunteered" his resignation.

As for Congress, in the face of millions of unemployed, it has brutally killed a proposal to increase unemployment compensation even to the miserable subsistence level of a \$25 weekly maximum. The Senate, basing itself upon a secret memorandum from Truman, last week ran rough-shod over the \$25 measure. The House this week threatened to table the bill "indefinitely" on the pretext that strikes are "blurring the unemployment picture."

The weight of the capitalist government is being thrown behind the corporations' wage-cutting offensive and Wall Street's hunger program. Labor can place not an iota of reliance in the Big Business government.

Only united labor action, such as the GM workers propose, can halt this hunger program. A Congress of American Labor, representing every union local in the United States, should be called in Washington to draft a real program in the interests of the workers and to spearhead a militant mass fight to secure its adoption.

## Spoils Of War

If proof were still needed that World War II, like World War I, was a war among imperialist bandits for the redivision of the earth, it is furnished in the most striking fashion by the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in London.

At the very beginning, in its labors over the terms of the peace treaty to be concluded with Italy, the London conference has exposed itself as an obscene wrangle over the spoils of war. Even Herbert L. Matthews, N. Y. Times correspondent in London and a notorious bootlicker of American imperialism, was constrained to write:

"Already there is a striking parallel to Versailles in 1919. The grab for colonies is no different than it was in those days. One finds here now the same struggle for economic mastery. . . the intense na-

tional rivalries, the secret treaties secretly arrived at, the spirit of revenge and domination."

The first big bone of contention is the former Italian colonies in Africa. Over these juicy morsels the imperialists are snarling at each other like so many hungry jackals. Britain seeks to bring them within her sphere of influence. France is attempting to snatch a tid-bit or two. The United States, largest and hungriest of the jackals, wants the former Italian colonies and their inhabitants to become subjects for exploitation by Wall Street.

The Atlantic Charter, to which all the jackals subscribed, bars any "territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned." But the imperialist brigands are busy disposing of the Italian colonies behind closed doors and behind the backs of their inhabitants. They would be shocked at any suggestion that the native peoples of Libya and Eritrea should be consulted.

Into this trough of imperialist wrangling and skull-duggery, the Stalinist gang in the Kremlin intruded its ugly snout with a demand that the Soviet Union be made the "trustee" of Tripolitania, one of the provinces of Libya. Speaking at a press conference, Soviet Foreign Commissar Molotov made it quite clear that the Kremlin, like the imperialists, is opposed to freedom for the Italian colonies. He declared that the "principle" of "trusteeship" laid down at the San Francisco conference "is correct and it should be applied."

In this one declaration it is revealed how far the counter-revolutionary Stalin regime has traveled from the liberating principles and policies of the Soviet Union as laid down by its great founders, Lenin and Trotsky, who proclaimed and steadfastly fought for the unrestricted right of all peoples to freedom and self-determination.

The principle of self-determination, the right of the colonial peoples to complete independence, is upheld today only by the Trotskyists, only by the parties of the Fourth International.

## Witch-Hunt

In a revival of its witch hunts against labor, the renovated Dies Committee, now named the House "Committee on Un-American Activities," has subpoenaed four leaders of the renovated Communist Party. Earl Browder, the recently deposed head of the party; his successor, William Z. Foster; Benjamin Davis, vice-president and New York City Councilman candidate; and Jack Stachel, publicity director, have been summoned to appear Wednesday in Washington before this notorious crew of labor-haters and red-baiters.

Despite a fresh coat of liberal paint, the new Dies Committee is dominated by such ultra-reactionaries as Representative Rankin from Mississippi. The Committee affords them another avenue to spread their anti-Semitic ravings, their lynch-inciting attacks upon the Negro people and their poisonous fascist propaganda. Their activities are designed to harass organized labor and to suppress all progressive tendencies in American life. That is why *The Militant* together with every other progressive force demands the abolition of this hateful instrument of reaction.

The Communist Party cannot in any respect be regarded as progressive. As the servile agency of the Kremlin bureaucracy, the Stalinists acted as rabid war-mongers, treacherous strike-breakers and bloodhounds for the bosses against the militants in the unions during the war. When in 1941 Roosevelt's Attorney-General arrested and railroaded to prison 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers' Local 544-CIO, the Stalinists shamefully applauded this assault upon revolutionary socialism and the democratic rights of labor.

They exerted every effort to sabotage the defense of the 18 and to prevent the labor movement from rallying to the support of the Trotskyists. The August 16, 1941 *Daily Worker* said: "The leaders of the Trotskyist organization. . . deserve no more support from labor and friends of national security than do the Nazis. . ." The labor movement answered this slander campaign by mobilizing six million strong behind the fight of the Civil Rights Defense Committee on behalf of the 18.

Now the actions of the Stalinists are recoiling upon their own heads. No sooner do they mouth again a few of the radical phrases they discarded during the war than the Congressional watchdogs of Wall Street have begun to nip at their heels. Their servile conduct and sell-out policies have not won them immunity but served to embolden the reactionaries to attack them at the first favorable opportunity. A kick in the teeth as a warning to behave — this is the reward they get today from the official agents of the capitalist class.

Although we are uncompromising opponents of Stalinism, we defend the Communist Party against the red-baiting witch-hunts of the capitalist politicians. On both counts our policy is determined by the same principled consideration: to defend the working class against its enemies. The entire labor movement must unite and fight against attacks from such agencies of the capitalist class as the "Committee on Un-American Activities" which aim to divide labor's ranks. This is the only way in which the militants can facilitate their task of eliminating the menace of Stalinism from the labor movement without playing into the hands of reaction.

**Vote Trotskyist!**  
for  
**DOBBS & SIMPSON**  
In the Coming  
N. Y. ELECTIONS



"I really don't see how they can expect Congress to give them money if they don't WORK for it!"

## Workers' BOOKSHELF

**"JOBS FOR ALL! — A Fighting Program for Labor"** — By Art Preis. With drawings by Laura Gray from cartoons originally published in *The Militant*. Published for the Socialist Workers Party by Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Price 10 cents.

"Must the workers, whose labor creates all, meekly submit to an outlived system in which the means to produce plenty are perverted to the interests of a profiteering few?"

The answer to this question and to many other questions related to the struggle for full employment are brilliantly presented in a new and timely pamphlet entitled "Jobs for All! — A Fighting Program for Labor" by Art Preis, labor reporter for *The Militant*.

Already a best-seller, this pamphlet will prove an invaluable guide to a clear understanding of the many problems facing the wage workers and poor farmers

of America today. It should reach every trade unionist, every Negro militant, every woman worker and every returning veteran.

### PACKED WITH FACTS

Packed with a wealth of facts, figures and quotations, all from the record, it cuts through the maze of confusion surrounding the vital problems of strikes and lockouts, of layoffs and wage cuts. Clearly and in hard-hitting language the author has drawn a sharp and shocking picture of the real situation confronting the working class.

Outlining the problem, the author demonstrates how America, under capitalism, during the war achieved three times more average production than during the immediate pre-war years. So vast was this production, that tens of billions of dollars in goods were transferred in lend-lease to other countries. Some 12,000,000 men and women in the armed forces were diverted from productive work but still the torrential flood

of goods was possible — for war. But what happens when the war is concluded? Mass layoffs and idle plants! Why? The answer is simple. Profits! Unless the capitalist system can provide profits the plants are useless to the owners. Factory after factory is closing down. Not only millions of laid-off workers are looking for work — there are 12,000,000 returning veterans who will need jobs.

### GOVERNMENT "PLANS"

What is the government planning to do about this? What bills have been proposed? What plans are being made by Big Business to prevent another depression? Absolutely none! Art Preis has analyzed the George Bill, the so-called reconversion plans, the proposed bills that Congress is considering, and his findings are a complete indictment of the industrial big shots, the Democratic and Republican politicians and, yes, the top leaders of the CIO and AFL.

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

What do the top leaders of the unions propose? Jobs for All sums up their answer in a single paragraph: "Ask your Congressman what he is going to do to protect the wage workers. . . Ask your Governor and Mayor and their Councils what they are planning. . . Ask your employer how soon he will make up his mind and chart plans. . . Write or wire your Congressmen about what you want them to do. . . etc." Such are the feeble gestures of the union officials.

### PROGRAM FOR LABOR

The effective answer, says the pamphlet, must be a program for labor, drawn up and supported militantly by labor. This program must override the interests of the profiteering few and provide for the interests of the many. And, in order to advance this program, the workers and poor farmers must unite in independent class struggle on the political as well as the economic field.

"Millions of workers and their dependents face idleness, hunger and misery because the profit interests of a handful of parasites stand in the way. . ." The most important immediate step toward eliminating this intolerable situation is for the workers to demand now that the idle and government-built plants be operated by the government under workers' control. To combat the wage cuts and loss of overtime pay, the pamphlet advocates a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living. "Reduce the hours of work for all with no reduction in pay! For the 30-hour week with no loss in take-home pay!" is the slogan advanced.

In summing up the whole situation, the pamphlet goes on to state that the American labor movement stands today at the crossroads. With 16,000,000 organized workers and millions more who would rally to fight for a realistic and militant program, now is the time to build an independent labor party in America.

The pamphlet is illustrated with the cartoons done by Laura Gray. These cartoons, known to the thousands of readers of *The Militant*, have been reprinted by many labor papers in this country and abroad.

Reviewed by  
**BILL MORGAN**

## PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

### Educational "Benefits" Must Be Made More Than An Empty Gesture

Of all the provisions of the much publicized and falsely labeled "G. I. Bill of Rights," the section dealing with educational "benefits" has received the most praise and the least criticism. Capitalist propagandists gushingly refer to "the unprecedented educational opportunities" offered by this "wonderful bill."

But this Hollywood press agent technique has not been successful in obscuring its shortcomings.

Under provisions of the bill the Government will pay up to \$500 a year to the educational institution for tuition and fees. The Government will pay to a single man \$50 and to a married man, or a man with dependents, \$75 a month for subsistence. If the veteran works part time, these subsistence payments may be reduced or cut off entirely.

But who can live on \$50 a month? No one. Those who go to school must have additional aid from their families or friends.

Even the youngest men have become matured beyond their years by service in the armed forces and will not be satisfied with anything less than complete financial independence. They justly feel they have lost many precious years of their youth. On being demobilized the veteran is anxious to get a job at a decent wage, get married and raise a family.

Many veterans doubt that education will help them earn a better living. Or they realize that adequate training will require more time than the bill provides. Many will not qualify for the four years maximum. But even one or two years is an imposing time obstacle for the man who has just completed a long period of deprivation. The educational road to a job that pays a decent wage and provides security is too remote, too uncertain and, for many, too alien.

There are 5,000,000 men in the armed forces who, according to army statistics, did not graduate from grammar school. For them academic education is an impractical solution: it has been so long since they have been to school that they have lost the habits of study and mental discipline.

Even for the average soldier, who according to the same statistics, left school in the tenth grade, further academic training is a difficult proposition for the same reasons.

These men have declared their preference for various types of industrial training. But nothing has been done as yet to provide it. Nor has any provision been made for telescoped courses in which these men can make up for educational deficiencies if they wish to pursue an academic course.

To date only about one per cent of the men demobilized have returned to school. Under changed circumstances some of them will want to attend school at a later date. But they will not be able to qualify for aid under provisions of the bill unless they make application within two years of their discharge.

Those over twenty-five years of age at the time they were drafted, whose education was not interrupted or impeded by induction, are barred from more than a year's benefits under provisions of the bill.

Unless the educational provisions of the so-called "G. I. Bill of Rights" are to remain little more than a gesture, the subsistence payments must be increased to a living wage. Educational institutions and programs must be established to meet the varied requirements of the veterans. The age limit must be abolished; all men who served in the armed forces must be aided in getting as much education as they need. Limitation of the benefits to two years after discharge must be done away with so that men can return to school whenever they find it advantageous.

## How Billionaire Ford Did Business With Nazis

While Henry Ford is locking out upward of 50,000 workers — the workers who sweated out profits for Ford during the "War Against Fascism" — it is timely to recall the close collaboration and profitable dealings of the billionaire auto magnate with the Nazis. Ford directly aided the Nazis in the critical pre-war years, publicly boasting about it. When the U. S. entered the war, he secretly continued doing business with the Nazis.

The Ford corporation still owns 52 per cent, a majority, of the stock of the Ford-Werke A. G. of Cologne, Germany. Before Pearl Harbor, Henry Ford's son, Edsel (now dead) and Charles E. Sorenson, president and vice-president of Ford Motor Company served on its Board of Directors and established its policy.

In the three years prior to the war, when all the world knew that Hitler was feverishly preparing for the war, Ford made a series of profitable barter deals which piled up stocks of rubber, pig iron and non-ferrous metals for the Nazi war machine. The German Ford company provided Hitler with the bulk of its trucks, command cars and troop carriers. At the service of Ford-Werke, Ford placed his entire production technique and experts. He built his plant, in accordance with Nazi specifications, in the "safe" zone of Berlin.

So close was the relationship between Ford and the Nazis that in 1939, four months before the Nazis overran Poland, Ford presented a gift of 35,000 Reichsmarks to Hitler on his 50th birthday. His German house-organ was filled with praise for Hitler.

After Pearl Harbor, when formal relationships were severed, Ford secretly operated a plant in Cologne known as Arendt G.M.B.H. in close collaboration with the Nazi High Command. Thus, while the auto czar was piling up stupendous profits playing both sides of the world slaughter, the battlefields and cities were running red with the blood of American and German workers.

Moreover, the imperialist powers of both sides took special care to protect the properties of their Allied collaborators. Early this year American soldiers and press correspondents on the scene sarcastically pointed out that after three years of terrible devastation from Allied bombings of the Ruhr areas, American and British plants, including the Ford plant remained undamaged. General Arnold, chief of the Army Air Forces at that time, laughingly intimated: "I could say something about that, but I won't!"

# 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.

## Elated Over West Coast Vacation School

Editor:

I have just completed a week at the Socialist Workers Party West Coast Vacation School, and am staying over for another week. Words cannot express my elation over the wonderful way this school is run. I have learned more about socialism in one week than I could in a year of intensive reading on the subject.

Anyone who is interested in the class struggle would do well to attend the West Coast Vacation School. The teachers are excellent exponents of Marxist theories, and their lectures are so concrete and concise that one does not have to be a Marxist to get the full appreciation and value of them.

The camp is well organized in providing various sports and the food is par excellence.

The friendly and comradely attitude of everyone connected with this school makes you feel that you belong in the ranks of working class people in a working class party.

Yours for a bigger and better West Coast Vacation School next year.

Walter Patrick  
Carbon Canyon, Calif.

## A Letter to Victor Howell

Dear Mr. Howell:

In the August 18 issue of The Militant, I read your wonderful letter as to why you were glad to be a Negro. (This letter, under the heading "Urges Negroes to Cast Votes for Trotskyists," describes what "the American way of life" is for the Negro under capitalism, and tells of Comrade Howell's estimation of

the Socialist Workers Party as the only hope for the Negro people).

Being a Negro myself, I was very enthused over your letter, and jotted down in my notebook some things I didn't want to forget. Being a Negro in Bremerton, and "fresh" from the South, I can get the feeling of your letter more strongly than one who has not suffered unjustly under the kind of system there is in the South.

F. W.  
Bremerton, Wash.



BILBO

## Seeing Through "Jaybird Bilbo"

Editor:

I am very glad to read your paper every week. I get so much out of it. I only went through the second grade of school; I had no mother or father to send me to school, so I sent myself in 1908 and 1909 when I was 12 years old. Then I went to work in the lumber business and have been working there ever since.

As I say, I went through the second grade, and I am able to read behind Mr. Bilbo's words. Between the lines, I see Mr. Bilbo. He squabbles at this—he squabbles at that—he squabbles at the dog and at the cat—he squabbles at the Negroes, Mexicans and "Dagoes;" he squabbles at the Jews and all nations.

Why, if I had my freedom you couldn't make me marry a Bilbo with a B-29 and six atomic bombs! He rates all women so low that they ought to tell him to go—between the lines!

I live in a country that's said to be free, and I don't see any "different" nations. All nations are here to stay.

My best friend asked me, "Did I ever think Mr. Bilbo would rule Truman's job?" I replied to him, "Yes, when someone walks the water like the good Lord did, and the Hebrew children put their foot back into the fires, and little David takes up a brick and kills Goliath, and I go back to the picture of my prime, and Jonah goes back to the belly of the whale."

Bilbo will rule when monkeys are born without tails, when the sunken Titanic comes back up, floating on the top of the ocean. That's special to The Militant, from one of the H. Lumber Company workers in San Pedro. All of their seven or eight plants, AFL, are out on strike, so I am not working and have plenty of time to read a Jim Jaybird (Bilbo's) stuff.

Lumber Worker  
San Pedro, Calif.

## No "Militants" On Wall Street

Editor:

You state that The Militant is on sale at all newsstands in New York. I do not find this to be so.

I cannot buy The Militant at any of the newsstands in the financial district, although they have other left-wing publications.

I am sure that a number of newsstands that now have The Militant do not bother to put it on display. I found this to be true with a downtown newsdealer.

Here's to the day when The Militant will become a daily paper. Keep up the good work.

A Reader  
New York

## du Pont Rights To Atom Bomb

Editor:

I am copying word for word the following paragraph from a statement addressed "to all employees of E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Co." by its President, W. S. Carpenter, Jr. on August 24, 1945. First of all Mr. Carpenter states that du Pont was very reluctant about taking over the job for the government of making plutonium for the atom bomb, but finally agreed. In Mr. Carpenter's own words:

"We did, however, insist upon two conditions. The first was that du Pont make no profit whatever from the work we did. The contract accordingly gave du Pont a fixed fee of one dollar on work that ultimately was to necessitate the expenditure of about \$350,000,000, and the design, construction, and operation of by far the largest plant that du Pont ever built or operated. The second was that no patent rights growing out of du Pont's work on the project should go to du Pont. Our feeling was that the importance to the nation of the work on releasing atomic energy was so great that the control, including patent rights, should rest with the Government. The Government accepted this condition, too."

We du Pont workers weren't stupid enough to believe that. It may be true that slaving to concentrate more and more wealth, and more and more economic power, in the hands of the du Pont family may make some of us FEEL like saps, but even without proof to back up our opinions, we KNEW Carpenter's story was phony.

This week, though, we found out exactly "what's wrong with that picture." Frank Kingdom, speaking over radio station WMCA said, "the State Department wants to turn over the atomic bomb, with all its secrets, to the du Pont Company."

This is further corroborated by a London newsletter, "The Week," which reveals the tremendous advantages du Pont reaped from its atomic bomb work:

"In all the zigzags of U. S. policy during the past few years," the article states, "the firm of du Pont has acted as the unswerving leader of the most reactionary element in American Big Business." And now "the du Ponts have the principal knowledge of the manufacturing process of the atomic bomb—which means that

Editor:

I received a letter from Italy, written in July, which I think might be interesting to your readers. Of course I deleted most of what was of a personal nature, but the rest of it goes like this:

I received your letter and you will never know what happiness I felt in seeing your most desired letter and in reading your news.

I have received your hundred dollars and I wish to thank you ever so much and I hope I can come and visit you some day.

You wanted to know how conditions were over here. Well, the people are in a revolutionary mood especially in the cities.

The Anti-Fascists are now taking revenge on the known Fascists wherever they can catch them.

It is just impossible to exist any more, taxes get heavier and heavier day by day. In fact it is next to impossible to earn enough to pay the taxes. People have just about given up hope. Many have turned to banditry but most all of them get caught sooner or later by the police and then they really get the works.

Every day there are strikes and riots, but I guess you already know that from your newspapers.

On one occasion the people fought against both police and soldiers and removed their firearms; and then the air force stepped into the picture and machine gunned the people and still the people fought back. They did not seem to care whether they were killed or not, because it is impossible to live like this anyway. I do not know how it will end.

We do not even know who is supposed to be in command; everyone wants to give orders. There are six different political parties and they are all different from each other. I hope they have an election soon so that we know who is who.

My only hope is that some day I may be able to come to see you. Here things are in a terrible condition. We work and the Government takes it all in taxes and we can turn to no one for help, and that is why the people are in a state of rebellion and killings go on every day. People live like animals.

I guess I have spoken enough on politics. I hope you can help me by sending me some clothing, not anything luxurious, but just some work clothes.

I would like a suit of clothes and about four colored work shirts and some handkerchiefs. But the most essential object of all is sewing thread because there is not any of it at all and we have to go around in rags because we have not even the means to repair them. I wish you could send me a pair of shoes. Here you just cannot buy anything, therefore do not send any money. With the money you did send I bought a pair of work shoes for eight thousand liras (\$80.00).

A Reader  
Los Angeles

they have also the knowledge of the potential civilian uses of the new power."

The atomic bomb is the most revolutionary and far-reaching scientific discovery of all time. Its principles will mean abundant life or total death for all mankind. Is it to go into the hands of du Pont?

Don Roberts  
Minneapolis, Minn.

## Navy Discharges -- For Officers and Men

Editor:

It is no accident that the American officer is the most hated man in the world today. Here is another example of the discrimination which follows the enlistment of the day of his discharge.

Men are now returning from overseas with 24 to 36 months of rugged sea duty. Those having the necessary points are sent to overcrowded separation centers. They are not given the 30-day rehabilitation leave, but are put up in crowded barracks to wait around for their discharges. Sometimes this is a matter of

weeks, so slow is the Navy demobilization machinery. After they go to an endless number of lectures on how to readjust themselves to civilian life (given by young punks in officer's uniforms who never did a day's work in their lives) they get their physicals and are discharged.

Now you'd think that the average G. I. would be willing to forego the leave if he has the prospect of a discharge. But there is more to it than that. The day a man is discharged his pay and family allowance stop. For a man with a wife and kids, the \$300 separation money (which, by the way, he gets in installments) isn't going to go very far. By the time the new vet gets a suit of civies and a few other necessities he's broke.

That means that your overseas vet goes from the fight to stay alive to the fight to stay fed, almost the day he gets home. No chance to rest up for him,

# Pioneer Notes

Enthusiasm for the new pamphlet, JOBS FOR ALL! is mounting as the Socialist Workers Party branches find increasing response to Pioneer literature at union meetings, reconversion demonstrations and in individual contact work.

From Minneapolis we hear: "We have had success at selling the pamphlet JOBS FOR ALL! at union meetings. Last week we sold 24 copies at CIO halls while we distributed The Militant. We are planning on having a mobilization for the sale of the pamphlets again this week."

Detroit writes: "The JOBS FOR ALL! pamphlet made its successful debut at the Labor Day parade and demonstration at Cadillac Square, with 364 sold."

"Kay O'Brien and M. Marsh sold 100 copies each. Five comrades helped plug them, at the same time distributing 1200 copies of The Militant to a milling crowd, 30,000 strong. The workers were very receptive notwithstanding Stalinist hecklers."

"In addition to selling them at union meetings, we are now planning a house-to-house mobilization to guarantee an early sale of our quota."

And once again we hear from Reading: "Please send us, immediately, 50 more copies of JOBS FOR ALL! Our supply has dwindled from our quota of 150 copies to just 5. And this with very little effort too. For instance, this evening we canvassed a local Steel Union meeting and sold 16 JOBS FOR ALL! as well as several copies of both the Labor Party and Jim Crow pamphlets, all in about 45 minutes."

JOBS FOR ALL! — A Fighting Program for Labor, by Art Preis, 10c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

he's got to get to work—if he can find it. The way the system works out the vet loses about \$250 on the deal, which is just under what the separation money the government "gives" him comes to.

But "our" officers are treated a little more gently. They get their discharges in a matter of 8 hours after they report to the separation centers. They are given a 5c a mile travel allowance to get home. (And since most of the officers have the "ins" by which they can arrange free air transportation, this is just so much gravy). And to top the whole rotten deal, they are given "termination leave" up to 120 days. They collect for every day of leave they have coming since they came into the Navy. And at an officer's pay rate, that ain't bad.

As I say, this is just one final twist of the screw that is clamped on the enlisted man all during his stay in the Navy.

A Detroit Sailor,  
c/o F. P. O.  
San Francisco

## WHERE YOU CAN BUY THE 'FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

### AKRON

Militant Bookshop, Everett Bldg., 39 E. Market Street, Rm. 405.

### CHICAGO

51st St. Station; News Exchange, 51 S. Main. Ceshinsky's Bookstore, 2750 W. Division St.; University of Chicago Bookstore, 5802 S. Ellis Ave.; Randolph News Shop, 63 W. Randolph. Newstand, N.W. corner 51st and Cottage Grove. 160 N. Wells, Room 317.

### DETROIT

Family Theater Newsstand, opposite theater, Carls Book Store, 9109 Woodward Ave. Cass Newsstand, Cass at Michigan Ave. Militant Bookshop, 3513 Woodward, Rm. 21.

### LOS ANGELES

Workers Book Shop, 232 S. Hill, Room 200-05. NE Corner, 5th and Main; 326 W. 5th Street; Consolidated Bldg. 6th and Hill; 2210 1/2 Bklyn. Ave.; 1680 N. Calhoun and Hollywood Blvd.; 1665 N. Los Palms and Hollywood Blvd., 335 1/2 S. Hill St.

### MINNEAPOLIS

Labor Book Store, 10 South 4 Street.

### NEW YORK

Newsstands on 14th Street, between 2nd and 6th Aves.; 42nd St. between 5th & 6th.

### NEWARK

Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave.

### PHILADELPHIA

13th and Market Streets.

### PITTSBURGH

Kauffman's Dept. Store, Book Dept.

### SAN FRANCISCO

Duncan's Newsstand, 1988 Sutter St.; Rays Smoke Shop, 1174 Sutter St.; MacDonald's Book Store, 867 Mission St.; Golden Gate News Agency, 81-3rd St.; Fitzgerald News Agency, 21-4th St. San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., 4th Fl.

### BERKLEY

Sather Gate Book Shop, 2335 Telegraph Ave.; Whitey's corner Bancroft and Telegraph Ave.

### SAN DIEGO

242 Broadway.

### SAN PEDRO

Socialist Workers Party, Rm. 214, 1008 S. Pacific Ave. Williams Book Store, 284-6th St.; Johnson's Pool Hall, 531 Beacon St.; LaRue Pharmacy, 1309 Pacific; Abrams Pharmacy, 1002 South Gaffey.

### SEATTLE

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

### ST. LOUIS

Foster's Book Store, 410 Washington Ave.

### TOLEDO

'Militant' Book Shop, 905 Jefferson Avenue, Rooms 228-230.



Almost each mail carries reports from our literature agents from coast to coast, citing interesting reactions to articles contained in The Militant. The news stories and analyses of events which debunk the so-called temporary reconversion layoff and present an accurate picture of what workers face in the coming period, have an appreciative reception among a wide audience.

In this vein, M. Garber of Philadelphia writes: "Five hundred copies of The Militant were distributed at the CIO Job Rally Meeting held in Philadelphia at Convention Hall. The workers received the paper enthusiastically. The fighting headlines in the September 8 issue — 'Congress Faces Growing Jobs Crisis,' fitted in with the character of the meeting and the workers' own sentiments on the do-nothing policy of Congress."

"The Militant was to be seen in the hands of workers throughout the hall. After listening to the capitalist politicians, who made up the greater part of the speaking program, many workers turned to the pages of 'The Militant' for a true account on the fight against lay-offs and for job security."

"It was noticeable that no Militants were to be found in the litter of papers that is usually on the floor at mass meetings. One subscription was obtained, and many contacts were made for future subs. It was noteworthy that The Militant stood out in comparison to the many other publications that were distributed at the meeting."

Dorothy Lessing of Newark writes: "We have been distributing our bundle of The Militant at the United States Employment Service office each week for the past month. Both of the war plants which we were covering have been shut down for 'inventory' and 'reconversion.'"

"The thing that struck the distributor most forcibly was the fact that every unemployed worker who opened the paper would invariably be attracted by the headlines, and would immediately start to read the articles. No copies were discarded, and at the conclusion of the distribution it

was a thrill to walk down the street and see workers waiting for the bus, or street car — all reading The Militant."

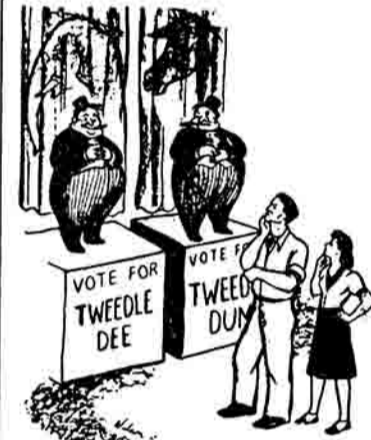
M. Forbes of Boston writes: "I have been reading your excellent paper in the Boston Public Library. I hope the library will continue to get it, but I should like my own copy to read at my leisure, so I enclose \$1.00 for a one year subscription."

H. M. Smith of Chicago sends this very enthusiastic note: "Here are six new subs. all turned in by a new member who joined just this week."

Militant Army statistics this week again reveal a large influx of new subscriptions. It's getting to be quite difficult to "make" this column unless a large number of subs are sent in.

Flint is top scorer with 38 subs, New Haven is next with 22, San Francisco sent in 20, San Pedro and Detroit tied with 10 each.

Special mention must also be made of two areas from which we expect big results in the very near future — St. Louis and Cincinnati. The former has made a good start with six 6-month subs, one 1-year renewal, and two 1-year combination subs to The Militant and the Fourth International. And the latter has obtained five 6-month and two 1-year new subs in addition to one 6-month and one 1-year renewal, plus two 1-year combinations.



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 .....

## NEW YORK

Hear

JOHN G. WRIGHT, Associate Editor  
of

The Militant and the Fourth International  
speak on

The British Labor Victory --  
Its Meaning for American Workers

Added speaker:

LOUISE SIMPSON

Trotskyist candidate for City Council  
8 p. m., FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 28

WEBSTER HALL

119 EAST 11th STREET  
(between 3rd and 4th Avenues)



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# Fascist Vermin Renew Their Drive To Win Foothold In New York City

(Continued from page 1)

organizations springing up in New York City. There is the National Party of former Sen. Robert R. Reynolds of North Carolina; the Christian Veterans of America, one of several setups being formed by Gerald K. Smith; another one by the reactionary radio commentator, Upton Close; John C. Scott's "Christian America," and so on.

Each one of these would-be fascists would like to head the fascist movement in America and pocket the funds which union-busting capitalists are beginning to hand over to the fascist gangs. But already, it is clear, the various fascist gangs are getting together. The Christian Front leaflet praises not only its founder, Father Coughlin, but also Reynolds and his Nationalist Party.

And Gerald K. Smith, in a New York City meeting on Sept. 16, advocated Father Coughlin's return to the radio, while spokes-

men of other fascist organizations present at that meeting assured their audience that Coughlin, Reynolds, Upton Close and Gerald K. Smith would soon be working all together.

So there is a real threat of a united fascist movement, and the first signs of activity by them in New York City—not only the Christian Front meeting next week, but fascist gangs in the past weeks beating up Jewish workers in the Brighton Beach section of Brooklyn and in the Jerome-Gunhill section of the Bronx.

Do we have a united labor movement to stop these fascist thugs? As yet, unfortunately, the answer is no.

We mean really stop the fascists. The labor movement as a whole is, of course, opposed to the fascists, for even the most conservative trade union officials know that the anti-Negro and anti-Jewish line of the fascists is in reality directed against the organized labor movement as a whole. Just as in Nazi Germany, the fascists in America will serve as strikebreakers and if they were ever victorious they would destroy the trade unions and political parties of the workers.

## ACTION NEEDED

But to know this is one thing, to DO something effective against it is another story. Now, as before the war, the trade union officials and the officials of the American Labor Party and the Communist Party limit their fight against the fascists to such things as begging the city fathers not to let the fascists have halls and meeting-places in New York.

How useless are such methods, will be recalled by those who were active in the fight against the Coughlinites and Nazis in 1939. The trade union officials and the Communist Party vainly appealed to Mayor LaGuardia to bar the Nazi Bund from meeting at Madison Square Garden on February 20, 1939, but LaGuardia instead sent 1600 cops to protect the meeting.

It was then that we Trotskyists showed the way. We didn't waste our breath asking city and government officials to stop the fascists. We spent our time arousing the workers of New York to throw a picket-line around Madison Square Garden.

And, as a result, February 20, the night of that meeting, saw 50,000 anti-fascists mobilized around the Garden! Woe to the fascist who didn't get away under police escort!

Then, six months later, came a test of strength with the native fascists. The Christian Front announced a march from Columbus Circle to Union Square, the traditional meeting-place of radical labor. It was a brazen challenge to the labor movement. But the trade union officials and the Communist Party again did nothing more than to beg La-

Guardia not to give the Coughlinites a permit to march. Again LaGuardia wouldn't stop the fascists.

But we acted, we of the Socialist Workers Party. We called a counter-demonstration of anti-fascists in Union Square, to be there when the Coughlinites marched in.

August 19 was the day. And two days before that, Father Coughlin telephoned from Detroit to his followers to call off their march. He and they dared not go through with it, in the face of our call to the New York workers to confront the fascists in Union Square.

## UNIONS MUST ACT

We proved, by action, the militant way to fight the fascists. That way must now become the policy of the united labor move-

# WEST COAST VACATION SCHOOL OPENS WITH LARGE ENROLLMENT

By J. Blake

CARBON CANYON, CHINO, Calif., Sept. 15—The West Coast Vacation School for Workers, which is being held here, 32 miles from Los Angeles, chalked up the first half of its two-week session as an inspiring success. Shipyard, aircraft, steel, garment, office, longshore and many other types of workers are registered among the 42 adults and 5 children at the camp. They came from Portland, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles and San Pedro. The majority are registered for both weeks with a larger enrollment expected for the second week.

How useless are such methods, will be recalled by those who were active in the fight against the Coughlinites and Nazis in 1939. The trade union officials and the Communist Party vainly appealed to Mayor LaGuardia to bar the Nazi Bund from meeting at Madison Square Garden on February 20, 1939, but LaGuardia instead sent 1600 cops to protect the meeting.

## SCHEDULED CLASSES

While many of these workers are already the victims of cutbacks, or expect the axe soon, that fact has only increased their determination to prepare themselves through study for the tasks ahead, and to enjoy this vacation to the full.

The morning schedule of classes included the following: first period—Basic Principles of Socialism (L. Scott); Introduction to the Study of Karl Marx's Capital (James Dill); An Introduction to Marxist Economics (Bob Chester). Second period—Imperialism (D. Roberts). Third period—History of the Third and Fourth Internationals (M. Weiss).

A study group in the History of the Russian Revolution was led by Murry Weiss the hour before dinner, and a Seminar in Marxist Philosophy was chaired by Buddy Lens the hour after dinner.

Students spent afternoons reading in the well-stocked Marxist library. Some relaxed in the shaded park, or swam in the pool. Organized entertainment in the evenings included skits, a birthday party, ping-pong, chess and checker tournaments, a barn dance, games and group singing. Camp chores were assigned to all workers' songs.



FARRELL DOBBS

ment of New York. Every worker should press for that policy in his union. For, very soon, we shall have to put down the growing fascist menace.

Vote for labor candidates. But not even militant labor officials in city hall can alone stop the fascists. It's the job of the whole labor movement, of mass action, militant action.

# Workers Jam Phila. Hall To Hear Wright Lecture

(Continued from page 1)

tory in the programmatic light of the Socialist Workers Party.

Literature was sold, contacts made and solidified, and future recruitment is sure to follow. One worker expressed his intention to join at once. Despite the fact that a number of listeners had recently been laid off, a good collection was taken up.

The response to Comrade Wright's talk indicates the awakening of the workers to those issues which concern them, and there is no doubt that the same reception will greet Wright throughout the rest of his coast-to-coast tour.

## BRITISH LABOR HISTORY

In a brief sketch of English working class history from the

## HEAR:

### JOHN G. WRIGHT

Associate Editor of 'The Militant' and 4th International' speak on

### "The British Labor Victory—Its Meaning for American Workers"

#### BUFFALO

Friday, October 5, 8 p. m. Militant Forum, 629 Main St.

#### YOUNGSTOWN

Sunday, October 7, 8 p. m. 225 No. Phelps Street

#### AKRON

Friday, October 12 405-6 Everett Bldg., 39 E. Market Street

#### CLEVELAND

Sunday, October 14, 8 p. m. Carnegie Bldg., 1220 Huron Road (off Euclid) Rm. 914

Chartist struggles in the early 19th century, Wright compared the English workers' Labor Electoral League of 1890 to the present day Political Action Committee in the United States. This electoral league also tried to obtain "friends" in the capitalist parties. The English trade unions soon learned better.

The speaker pointed out that the relative slowness of the American working class to move toward independent political action does not mean that the movement for an American labor party will be a slow, painful process. The American workers have shown that their militancy is second to none. The five-year transition from the old AFL craft-union set-up to the powerful industrial basis of the CIO logically sets the tempo for the coming labor party in this country.

Comrade Wright concluded his lecture by relating with pride the role that the various sections of the 4th International played during the war. "The fate of mankind," he emphasized, "is linked with the growth and development of the Trotskyist international movement." He appealed to the workers at the meeting to join the Socialist Workers Party and participate in the creation of the future society that will bring peace and plenty for all.

## Reading Unionists Hear J. G. Wright

READING, PA., Sept. 21—An enthusiastic audience of more than 50 workers, most of them trade unionists from railroad shops, last night heard John G. Wright, Associate Editor of 'The Militant' and Fourth International speak on "The British Labor Victory—Its Meaning for American Workers."

This afternoon Comrade Wright spoke again at a meeting attended largely by unionists. The majority in attendance at both meetings were new readers of 'The Militant'.

## TREMENDOUS INSPIRATION

Comrade Wright pointed out the tremendous inspiration given

to American workers by the British Labor Party victory. He showed how the collaboration between the British labor leaders and the Tory government during the war was similar to the actions of the Murrays and Greens in this country. In both cases the reactionary bureaucrats acted as brakes upon the workers in their struggle for better conditions.

American workers must now tear themselves away from both capitalist parties and build an independent Labor Party of their own, Comrade Wright concluded.

## JOHN G. WRIGHT TOUR SCHEDULE

CITY	DATE
NEW YORK	Thursday, Friday, Sept. 27-28
ROCHESTER	Sun., Sept. 30-Tues. Oct. 2
BUFFALO	Wednesday, Friday, Oct. 3-5
YOUNGSTOWN	Sunday, Tuesday, Oct. 7-9
AKRON	Wednesday, Friday, Oct. 10-12
CLEVELAND	Saturday, Monday, Oct. 13-15
TOLEDO	Tuesday, Thursday, Oct. 16-18
DETROIT, FLINT	Friday, Wednesday, Oct. 19-24
CHICAGO	Fri., Wednesday, Oct. 26-31
MILWAUKEE	Thursday, Friday, Nov. 1-2
TWIN CITIES	Monday, Friday, Nov. 5-9
SEATTLE	Tuesday, Friday, Nov. 13-16
PORTLAND	Sun. to Tuesday, Nov. 18-20
SAN FRANCISCO	Friday, Monday, Nov. 23-26
LOS ANGELES, SAN DIEGO	Thurs., Nov. 29, Wed. Dec. 5
KANSAS CITY	Monday, Tuesday, Dec. 10-11
ST. LOUIS	Thursday, Friday, Dec. 13-14
PITTSBURGH	Sunday, Tuesday, Dec. 16-18

# The History Of American Trotskyism

## HOW THE TROTSKYISTS STARTED MASS WORK

By James P. Cannon

I have remarked that the most important of all questions for a political group or party, once it has elaborated its program, is to give the correct answer to the question: What to do next? The answer to this question is not and cannot be determined simply by the desire or the whim of the party or the party leadership. It is determined by the objective circumstances and the possibilities inherent in the circumstances.

We have discussed the first five years of our existence as a Trotskyist organization in the United States. During that time our small numbers, the general stagnation in the labor movement, and the complete domination of all radical movements by the Communist Party, imposed upon us the position of a faction of the Communist Party. Likewise these circumstances made obligatory that our primary work be propaganda rather than mass agitation. As has already been pointed out, in the terminology of Marxism quite a sharp distinction is drawn between propaganda and agitation, a distinction which is slurred over in popular language. People commonly describe as propaganda any kind of publicity, agitation, teaching, propagation of principles, etc. In the terminology of the Marxist movement, as it was defined most precisely by Plekhanov, agitation and propaganda are two distinct forms of activity. Propaganda he defined as the dissemination of many fundamental ideas to a few people; what we perhaps in America are accustomed to call education. Agitation he defined as the dissemination of a few ideas, or only one idea, to many people. Propaganda is directed toward the vanguard; agitation toward the masses.

## Communist Party Losing Authority

At the end of our last lecture we came to a break in the objective situation in which our party had been working. The Comintern had been shattered by the debacle in Germany; and at the fringes of the Communist movement it was losing its authority. Many people, previously deaf to anything we said, were awakening to an interest in our ideas and criticisms. On the other hand, the masses who had remained dormant and stagnant during the first four years of the cataclysmic economic crisis, began to stir again. The Roosevelt administration was in office. There had been a slight revival of industry. The workers were streaming back into factories, regaining the self-confidence which they had lost to a large extent during the terrible mass unemployment. There was a great movement toward trade union organization, and strikes were beginning to develop.

This sweeping change in the objective situation posed wholly new tasks for the Trotskyist movement, the Communist League of America, the Left Opposition, as we called ourselves up to then. The German debacle had confirmed the bankruptcy of the Comintern and started a movement away from it on the part of the most advanced and critical-thinking workers. Conversely, the moribund Social Democracy was beginning to show new life within its Left Wing because of the revolutionary trend in the youth and proletarian sections. Independent movements with a radical inclination were growing up, consisting of workers and some intellectuals who had been shut off from the Communist Party by its bureaucratic life and not yet attracted to the Social Democracy. The American labor movement was awakening from its long sleep, stagnation was giving way to new life and a new movement. The Trotskyist organization in this country was confronted with an opportunity and a demand, inherent in the objective situation, to make a radical change in orientation and in tactics. This opportunity, as I said, found us fully prepared and ready.

We lost no time in adapting ourselves to the new situation. We transformed the whole nature of our work and our outlook. We shook our membership to the bottom with discussions of the

proposals of the leadership to change our course and break out of our five years' isolation. With our limited forces and resources we took advantage of every opportunity to work in the wider environment. All our activity from then on was governed by one general concept concretized in the slogan: "Turn from a propaganda circle to mass work"—and to do this in both fields, the political as well as the economic.

It was one of the great proofs of the viability of our movement, and of its firm principled foundation, that we carried out a uniform and symmetrical transformation of our work in both fields. We leaped into the mass movement at every opportunity without getting bogged down in trade union fetishism. We concerned ourselves with every sign and every tendency of a leftward development in the other political movements without neglecting trade union work. On the political field our leading slogan was the call for a new party and a new International. We approached other groups which previously had confronted us solely as rivals and with which we had previously had no close contact. We began to study these other groups most attentively, to read their press, to have our members establish contacts of a personal nature with rank and file members to learn what they were thinking. We tried to familiarize ourselves with every nuance of thought and feeling in these other political movements.

We sought closer contact and cooperation with them in joint actions of one kind or another, and talked of amalgamations and fusions leading toward the consolidation of a new revolutionary workers party. On the economic field we reaped the first fruits of our correct trade union policy, at which we had hammered away for five years. We had counterposed this policy to the sectarian, dual unionist trade union policy espoused by the Communist Party during its ill-fated "Third Period," the period of its ultra-left swing. Likewise, in counterposition to the opportunist policy of the Social Democracy, the policy of subordinating principles to seeking offices and acquiring fictitious, not real, influence, we had given a clear line to all the militant elements in the trade union movement who followed our press. We had considerable influence in directing them into the main current of the trade unions which was at that time represented by the American Federation of Labor.

## Breaking Into the Labor Movement

Despite the great conservatism, the craft-mindedness and the corruption of the AFL leadership, we insisted at all times that the militants must not separate themselves from this main current of American unionism and must not set up artificial and ideal unions of their own which would be isolated from the mass. The task of the revolutionary militants, as we defined it, was to plunge into the labor movement as it existed and try to influence it from within. The American Federation of Labor held a convention in October 1933. This convention, for the first time in many years, recorded a sweeping increase in membership as a result of the awakening of the workers, the strikes and organization campaigns which, nine times out of ten, were initiated from below. The workers were streaming into the various AFL unions without much encouragement or direction from the ossified bureaucracy.

In preparing the notes for this lecture, I looked over some of the articles and editorials we wrote at that time. We were not merely critical. We did not merely stand aside explaining what fakers and betrayers the leaders of the American Federation of Labor were, although they were that without doubt. In an editorial written in connection with the American Federation of Labor convention of October 1933 we said that the great movement of the masses into the trade unions can be seriously influenced only from within. "From this it follows: Get into the unions, stay there, work within." This key thought permeated all our comments.

We expanded our activities on the political field. The Militant of that period, October-November 1933, records a tour of Comrade Webster who was at that time the National Secretary of our organization. He had returned from Europe where he had visited Comrade Trotsky and had attended an International Conference of the Left Opposition following the German collapse. His tour carried him as far west as Kansas City and Minneapolis, reporting on the

Previous installments of Comrade Cannon's book described the emergence of the American Communist Party out of the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1919, the expulsion of the Trotskyists in 1928, the formation of a new party and the preparation for mass work.

International Conference, proclaiming the message of the new party and the new International, addressing larger audiences than we had known before, acquiring new contacts, giving wider advertisement to the revived Trotskyist movement.

In November, according to The Militant, we held a banquet in Stuyvesant Casino to celebrate the Fifth Anniversary of American Trotskyism. To this banquet came as a guest speaker one of the former leaders of the Communist Party who had been instrumental in expelling us from the party five years before. This was the well-known Ben Gitlow, who, having made the practice of expulsion somewhat popular, had himself become a victim of it. He had been expelled along with the other Lovestonites. Four and one-half years later, he came to a break with the Lovestonites and was circulating around as an independent Communist. As such he attended this banquet of ours at Stuyvesant Casino, November 4, 1933.

In October of that same year, while these developments were being recorded on the political front, the Paterson silk workers engaged in a general strike. Our small organization plunged into this strike, tried to influence it, made some new contacts in the process. We devoted an entire edition of The Militant, a special edition, to the Paterson strike. I mention this as one of the symptomatic illustrations of our orientation in that period. We were seeking openings and grasping at every opportunity to take the doctrine of Trotskyism out of the closed propaganda circle of the vanguard and bring it, in an agitational form, to the mass of the American workers.

On the political front, in November The Militant carried an editorial addressed to the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. The Muste organization was about to hold a convention where, it was projected, the CPLA would be transformed from a network of trade union committees into a political organization. We were right on top of that new development. We wrote an editorial in a very friendly tone, recommending to them that at their convention they take note of our invitation to all independent radical political groups to discuss the question of forming a united party, and especially suggesting that they interest themselves in the question of internationalism. The CPLA had been not only a strictly trade union group, but also a strictly national group without international contacts and without much interest in international affairs. In this editorial we pointed out to them that any group aspiring to organize an independent political party must interest itself as a fundamental requirement in internationalism and take a position on the decisive international questions.

## Workers Defense Guards Against Attacks

I note that in November we had an editorial entitled, "United Front Against Hooliganism." This was written in connection with a meeting that had been held in Chicago where Comrade Webster spoke on his tour. The Communist Party had revived its hooligan tactics of earlier years; a gang of Stalinists attempted to disrupt the meeting. Fortunately our party was prepared and gave them more than they brought. The most they succeeded in doing was to interrupt the meeting until the comrades of the guard disposed of them.

In connection with this event we carried an editorial calling on all workers organizations to cooperate with us in organizing a united front workers guard in order, as the editorial said, "to defend free speech in the labor movement and teach a lesson to those who interfere with it." Sporadically, over the entire thirteen, nearly fourteen, years of our existence, the Stalinists have resorted to their hooligan attempts to silence us. Each time we not only fought back, but sought the assistance of other groups for cooperative defense. While we never succeeded in forming any permanent united

front defense movement, we had partial success on each occasion. It was sufficient to secure our rights, and so far we have managed to maintain them. This is very important to remember in connection with a new attempt of the Stalinists in one part of the country to silence us. At the present time, out in California, The Militant reports such an attempt and you see our party right back in the groove, forming united fronts, running in all directions for support and scandalizing them all over town, forcing the Stalin gang to back down. Our people are still distributing the paper at the forbidden places in California.

I read in the December 16, 1933 issue of The Militant a statement to the Communist Party by a group of Brooklyn comrades announcing their break with the Communist Party, denouncing the hooligan tactics of the Stalinists and their false policies, and declaring their adherence to the Communist League of America. Especially significant about this particular statement was the fact that the leader of this group had been the captain of the hooligan squad of the Communist Party in Brooklyn. He had been sent out with others to break up the street meetings of the Left Opposition. In the course of the fight he saw our comrades not only stand their ground and give back blow for blow, but also give the ignorant, misguided young hoodlums a propaganda speech and a tract for the good of their souls. He was converted right on the firing line. That happened continually.

Many of the people who were the most active militants in the early days had been ignorant young Stalinists to begin with. They started out to fight us and then, like Saul on the road to Damascus, they were struck by a blinding light, converted and made into good Communists, that is, Trotskyists. That is an important thing to remember now if you are attacked by Stalinists in front of union halls: Many of these ignorant young Stalinists sent out to attack us don't know what they are doing. In time we will convert some of them if we combine the two forms of education. You know, in every well-regulated trade union they have educational committees and "educational" committees, and they both serve very good purposes. The one arranges lectures for the education of the membership and the other provides for the education of scabs who won't listen to lectures.

There is a legendary story of a debate on educational activity in the Barbers Union of Chicago years ago. This union had an "educational" committee and part of the duty of its members was to take care of the plate glass windows of the scab shops. They rode around in automobiles. A wave of economy and radicalism combined had been sweeping through the union, and one impractical radical made a motion that they take the automobiles away from the "educational" committee in order to save money. He said: "Let them ride bicycles." An old timer asked indignantly: "Where the devil will they carry their stones on bicycles?" So they let the "educational" committee keep their automobiles, the educational committee arranged a good program of lectures at the union meetings, and everything was fine.

At the turn of that eventful year of 1933, an organization movement began among the hard-pressed hotel workers in New York City, who had been without union protection for years. After a series of unsuccessful strikes and the disruptive work of the Stalinists, union organization had dwindled down. It had become reduced primarily to a small independent union, a relic of old times, with a few shops under its control, and a special "red" union of the Stalinists. This revived organization movement offered us our first big chance in the mass movement since 1928. We had an opportunity to penetrate this movement from the beginning, to shape its development, and eventually to have the leadership of a great strike of hotel workers in New York. The affair ended in a disgraceful debacle through the incompetence and treachery of some individual members of our movement who were placed in key positions. But the experience and the lessons of that first attempt, which ended so disastrously, paid rich returns and assured later successes for us in the trade union field. We are using the capital of that first experience even to this very day in trade union questions.

(To be continued)

# How Ruthless Allied Imperialists Deliberately Planned The Fire-Bombing Of Working-Class Homes In Japan

The horror of the masses of the world over the bombing of civilians by the German imperialists at the beginning of the Second World War was exploited to the utmost by the Allied propagandists. In contrast to the Nazi's indiscriminate bombing of industrial cities such as Coventry, said these propagandists, the Anglo-American imperialists insisted on "pin-point" and "precision" bombing of military objectives only.

The Allied propagandists, however, did not tell the truth. Not only did the Allies use the Nazi practice of bombing civilians, they went to even more atrocious lengths. This was revealed by the indiscriminate bombing of Hamburg, the deliberate bombing of civilian districts of Tokyo, and finally the two most atrocious crimes in human history, the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

A still more horrible aspect of Allied bombings of civilians has now come to light. The N. Y. Times of September 2 reveals that the Army deliberately studied the homes of civilians, and particularly workers in Japan, to find the most effective way of bombing them.

## DELIBERATE HORROR

Out on the salt-flats west of Salt Lake City, Utah, Japanese villages, complete down to the minutest detail, were constructed for practice bombing. Duplicates of workers' homes included the "books on the shelves, the grass mats on the floors, the fences, the furniture, the bedding and all structural and architectural features."

When the "exact type of grass and fiber mats which the Japanese use were found not to be available in this country, the Navy brought them in from Hawaii." Even the "moisture content of the wood" was examined to be "certain the results would be the same as



when a real factory home neighborhood in Tokyo, Yokohama or some other Japanese center was hit."

## BY DAY AND NIGHT

The houses were bombed during the daytime with the "shutters open and the bedding put away in closets, according to Japanese custom." After studying and recording the results, new villages were constructed for bombing at night time "with the window shutters closed and the bedding in place."

Out of these experiments the gasoline jelly bomb was "perfected with the aid of Standard Oil and du Pont chemists." Fire-fighters utilizing "what was believed to be the equivalent of the best equipment available in a Japanese city to combat the incendiary bombings, found this type of bomb virtually impossible to put out."

The experiments were completed early in 1943 while the Allied propagandists were still pointing to German bombings of civilians. The experts boast how much more efficient they were in developing bombs for use against civilians than were Germans.

## Protests Against Discharge Delay Swamp Congress

(Continued from page 1)

job and wired for an extension of his furlough. He knew that not more than five days would be granted. He stated in the letter that until his wife and family are provided for he will "not willingly return to Camp Maxey."

"I am desperate, worried, and I think I am scared," wrote Pfauth. "I did not write this in order to promote sympathy. I wrote it because I do not want a dishonorable discharge, and I thought this explanation on the record might help me when I get my court-martial."

He didn't go through regular channels, he said, because "I have had too much experience with channels and red tape. . . Then, too, I saw two other fellows wait for dependency discharges for two months and then get turned down."

He said he wouldn't go back to the army camp in Texas and sweat it out. "You would have to lock me up, any way, because I would probably brain a Second Lieutenant the first week. Again, I say I do not want sympathy. It is as useless as advice from the chaplain; my wife cannot wear it, my children cannot eat it, and I do not want it."

## ONE OF HUNDREDS

Following the reading of this letter, Representative Reed said: "What the gentleman just read is one of hundreds of letters. And they are pouring in from all parts of the country. . ."

Congressmen report "a deluge of letters from servicemen," and from their wives and mothers and fathers, protesting delays in demobilization. A typical letter quoted by Representative O'Hara declares:

"I'm being kept here at Fort Benning, along with thousands of others, doing needless tasks or nothing at all. We all are tired of picking up paper, mowing grass, and digging holes—then alternately filling them up again."

## Senate Action Leaves Jobless To Starvation

(Continued from page 1)

administration had made no real attempt to get its \$25 measure passed.

"Three of the leading measures called for in the President's message of September 6," said Murray, "are threatened by lack of any organized effort by the administration or its supporters inside or outside of Congress. . . I do not consider that the administration and the leadership of the Democratic Party in Congress have shown sufficient exertion to date in these crucial measures."

Following Senate rejection of the \$25 measure, Murray charged the Senate had "voted for starvation wages, low living standards and a Hoover depression which will make the crisis of 1933 seem trivial in comparison."

But Murray and the other top union leaders have put forward no genuine and adequate labor legislative program. They have merely endorsed whatever proposals the Big Business administration has seen fit to promise—with no intentions of fulfilling.

## THEY MISLED LABOR

These union leaders have persistently misled the labor movement into placing reliance on capitalist politicians. They have discouraged and opposed any independent program of militant mass union action to compel the government to yield concessions. . . The Senate's action on the \$25 measure, forcing the unemployed to remain on "states rights" relief as low, for instance, as \$2 weekly in Alabama and \$5 in Indiana, is part and parcel of the Wall Street campaign to drive down wage and living standards. It is particularly ominous in the light of the developing union struggle for substantial wage increases. Big Business wants a desperate army of starving unemployed to use as a club over the heads of the employed workers.

The fate of both the unemployed and employed workers is clearly mirrored in this first action of the Senate on the question of mere subsistence for the workers. Congress, with only mock resistance from the administration, is hell-bent on deliberately imposing a hunger regime over labor.



## HUGE PEACETIME ARMY PLANNED BY CONGRESS

(Continued from page 1)

for such time as may enable an orderly reduction of the machinery of war." Congress thus envisages the "duration" lasting as long as two or three more years!

## CONTINUE DRAFT

(2) By continuing the draft. After V-E Day the draft was reduced to 50,000 men a month. No further reduction was made after V-J Day. Maj. Henry counts on "500,000 new men being inducted into the Army" during the next ten months. A large proportion of these inductees will be 18-year olds drafted under the wartime plea of urgent military necessity!

(3) By opening up a high-pressure campaign for volunteer enlistments. Congress is now considering a volunteer enlistment bill that would offer enticements to enlistees. Representative Sikes of Florida declares that "It is an effort to obtain by voluntary recruitment the personnel who otherwise would have to be inducted through Selective Service." Maj. Henry states: "Frankly we do not believe that sufficient volunteers can be acquired to meet our requirements. It is our most optimistic estimate that we can average 30,000 volunteers a month for the next 10 months." That makes 300,000 by next July. Navy plans have not been announced.

## "REPLACEMENT" RATE

The draftees and volunteers will be used to replace veterans. At the expected rate of 960,000 men inducted each coming year, it will take more than two and one-half years to replace the 3,000,000 marked to constitute the "peace-time" army!

Consequently, many Congressmen want to make the enlistment period for two or three years, or if it is shorter, to bar men now in the Army from enlisting. Because "instead of providing replacements overseas," it would offer, as Representative Andrews of New York puts it, "an easy way for many now in the service surely to get out with less than 2 years service." The "quickest way to get back home might be a one-year enlistment."

## DELAY RELEASES

(4) By unofficially delaying the release of men who have sufficient points. Sikes declares: "Many soldiers find it hard to obtain information from their commanding officers about demobilization. I receive letters almost daily from men who are eligible for discharge but whose commanding officers will not accept their application for discharge."

Representative Jensen of Iowa read into the September 17 Record a letter from a "high-ranking officer" which declares: "Slowing down of discharges by Army and Navy will be a 'hot issue.' Soldiers and sailors want out. Truman seems to be leaning toward a slow retirement. . . At present the point system has failed to operate because officers refused to release them."

Whitten of Mississippi implies that hardship cases are turned down by the Army. "The Navy too, says it is releasing men in hardship cases. I know of plenty turned down but none which has been approved. This has the ear-

## Trotskyists Defy Police Attempt to Wall Off Harlem

By Bill Morgan

NEW YORK, Sept. 24 — The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party, with an original quota of 1,800 copies, went over the top and sold 2,059 copies of the new pamphlet, "A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow" by Charles Jackson.

The final street sales to wind up the campaign were a top-notch success. On Saturday, September 22, a group from the Trotskyist Youth Organization went to Harlem and, meeting with a friendly and warm response, sold every copy they had taken along.

In the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn, members and friends of the Brooklyn Branch of the SWP on Sunday, September 23, likewise had a successful sale, returning to their headquarters after selling 50 pamphlets and distributing 2,000 copies of The Militant.

## DEFY "GHETTO" RULE

These two street sales were a continuation of the defiance by the SWP of the police campaign to keep white people out of the Negro communities in order to create a Jim Crow ghetto in New York.

This Nazi-like effort to isolate the Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant Negro communities is meeting increased opposition. The New York Local of the SWP intends to continue its defiance of this Jim Crow police policy. A series of meetings to present the election program of the Trotskyist candidates has been planned and a wide distribution of election platforms and other material will carry on the SWP's refusal to "Keep Out of Harlem!"

Following the street sales last Saturday, members and friends of the SWP gathered at party headquarters where many new friends and readers of The Militant came to express their approval of the party's program and activity in the Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant areas.

## EXPRESS APPROVAL

"After looking over the pamphlet, 'A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow,' one new friend said, 'This is what we've been looking for — a real militant organization to fight against discrimination.'"

Pioneer Publishers has announced its intention to re-issue this popular pamphlet in the near future and the New York Local of the SWP is certain that it will be able to sell at least another 2,000 within a few weeks after publication.

Congressmen, could just as well be released at the camps instead of first being sent to these centers, some of them hundreds of miles away.

In the face of these realities, how does the Administration meet the pressure from the people for quick discharges? Principally by demagoguery and buck-passing.

A typical instance is MacArthur's declaration that only 200,000 will be needed in Japan. MacArthur himself set 900,000 as the total needed for the Pacific Area and he has not changed this figure. Maj. Henry, a higher authority on this question than MacArthur, declared on September 12, a few days before MacArthur's statement: "In the Pacific we estimate it will be necessary to return 1,540,000 high score men while we ship out 540,000 new men."

The Congressmen promise stepped up rates of discharge, lowered points, a volunteer system to secure replacements for draftees. They orate about the need of Congress "doing something." They blame the Brass Hats. They procrastinate and promise. But the men remain in the armed forces.

## The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

## Origin and Significance of "Race"

We often hear heated discussions among Negro "intellectuals" as to whether the use of the term "Negro" is proper or not. Some contend that the word means black and should therefore not be used because there are very few pure blacks in America today, as a result of the fact that the Southern plantation owners practiced social equality to such a great degree during the time of chattel slavery.

Some say the word has taken on the meaning of someone low or base or innately inferior. This, of course, is but a reflection of the job the capitalist controlled society has done in an effort to pound into the heads of the white workers the myth of white supremacy. Some say "Afro-American" is more proper.

But after all, what's in a name? It is the origin, the present relationship and the future role of any group of people in our society that is really important.

## WHAT "NEGRO" MEANS

In America the word Negro means practically any race or mixture of races that is not white. It means a group of people singled out by the schools, the churches and the so-called law on a basis of dark skin color. In some states a Negro is defined as anyone who "has a drop of colored blood in his veins." In reality, of course, every living person has colored blood in his veins, for if his blood were colorless it would contain no hemoglobin, without which human life could not exist. Incidentally the color of the blood of all races is identical and scientifically indistinguishable.

Why, then, do people look different, one from the other, on the outside? Through perhaps dozens of millions of years of evolution, different tribes of man were subjected to different conditions of nature, such as burning rays of sun or snow-covered mountains. As a result of this process, different tribes were forced to change in appearance in order to exist.

## RESULTS OF ENVIRONMENT

Those in the Scandinavian peninsula, for example, became "taw-headed" blondes, while those in the tropical regions became frizzly haired and dark skinned so that they would be better protected against the dangerous ultra-violet rays of the sun. This is but another orderly process of natural selection which has tended to modify the external appearance of every animal from the tree toad to the zebra in accommodation to its particular environment for the purpose of self protection and thereby race preservation.

Therefore, call us what you wish, the very hypocrisy of the rotten economic system must force all the workers to recognize and struggle relentlessly for that group of doubly oppressed humans—the Negro toilers.

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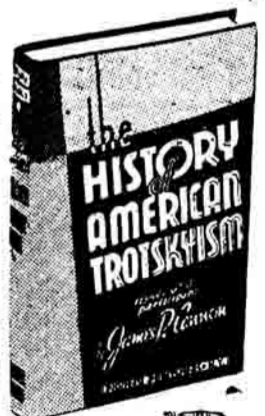
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## SWP BRANCH ACTIVITIES

National Red Sunday Mobilization to sell the new pamphlet, **JOBS FOR ALL**, by Art Preis, Sunday, October 7. Consult branch headquarters in your city

**AKRON**—Visit The Militant Club, 405-6 Everett Bldg., 39 East Market St., open Tues. and Thurs. 2 to 4 p.m.; Mon., Wed., Fri. 7 to 9 p.m.  
Open Forum Oct. 5, 8 p.m. Speaker, Dennis O'Kenny, on "Veterans in the Labor Movement."

**ALLEN TOWN-BETHLEHEM** — Public discussion meeting on current topics every Thursday, 8 p.m. at Militant Labor Forum, S.E. corner Front and Hamilton Streets, Allentown.

**BOSTON**—Office at 30 Stuart St. Open evenings (except Sundays) until 9:30; also Monday and Saturday afternoons.

Open Forum, Friday, Oct. 12, 8 p.m. Sidney Crabb will speak on results of London Conference — "The Victors Divide the Spoils."  
Saturday, Oct. 13: Pre-subscription Campaign Warm-Up Party. All invited.  
Sunday, Oct. 14 at 12 noon: Mobilization to launch sub-campaign.

**BUFFALO** — Open house every Saturday night at the Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor.

**CHICAGO** — Visit the Chicago SWP headquarters to obtain The Militant, Fourth International, Marxist books and pamphlets, as well as information about the SWP. Open 11 a.m. to 6 p.m. every day except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 7562.

**CLEVELAND**—Hear "The Fight Against Fascism" by David Lands, Friday, Sept. 28, 8:30 p.m. Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82 St. (off Wade Park N.).

**DETROIT** — All Militant readers invited to the SWP Open House held every Saturday evening, from 8 p.m. on. Music, dancing, cards, refreshments. Admission free. Room 21, 3513 Woodward.

Forums on topical questions every Sunday 8 p.m. Refreshments. No admission charge.  
Basic Training Class in Fundamental Principles of Marxism every Thursday 8 p.m.

**LOS ANGELES**—Buy The Militant, 4th International and other Marxist books and pamphlets and get information about the SWP at the following places:

in the Los Angeles area: **LOS ANGELES**, Socialist Workers Party, Rooms, 200-05, 232 S. Hill St. VA-7936. **SAN PEDRO**, Socialist Workers Party, 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

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

**NEW YORK**—Saturday, Sept. 29, 8 p.m. Evening of fun for all friends and members at Labor Temple Gymnasium, 242 East 14th St. near Second Ave. Folk dancing, games, group singing; refreshments.

**Trotskyist Youth**: Saturday, Sept. 29, 12 noon Meet at 116 University Place for a Bicycle Party; bikes will be rented.  
Friday, Oct. 5, 9 p.m. Socialist Youth Forum on U. S. Labor on the Offensive.

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

**PHILADELPHIA** — SWP Headquarters, 405 W. Girard Ave. Open forums every Friday 8 p.m. on current topics. Militant readers invited.

Socialist Youth Group meets on alternate Saturdays, 8 p.m. All young people invited.

**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.  
Sunday, Oct. 21 — "Unemployment. . . How to Fight It." Speaker: C. M. Hesser.

**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.

Sunday Night Forum, Oct. 7, 8 p.m. "Jobs for All, The Trotskyist Program." 305 Grant Ave., speaker, Robert Chester. Discussion, Refreshments.

**TOLEDO** — Forums held every Sunday evening at 905 Jefferson Ave., Room 304, 8 p.m. All Militant readers, friends invited.

Open House every Saturday night; dancing, refreshments.

## Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalsky

The newspapers have told us a lot about the atomic bomb; but there is much they don't tell us. I don't mean the technical information that the military censorship keeps from us either. I mean what the correspondents like to call the "human side of the news." But just use your imagination a little with me, and we'll see the whole picture.

Suppose instead of falling on Hiroshima and Nagasaki the bombs had landed on American cities, the cities where you live. The picture would be something like this:

The country is at war — a war in which the industrialists will add billions of blood-soaked dollars to the millions now in their hands. Workers have been drafted to kill and be killed for the capitalists. Men, young and old, kids out of school, have been wrenched from their families and loved ones and sent away on troop trains like cattle bound for the Chicago stockyards. Men and women have been put in jail for opposing the war. It is necessary to be careful what you say in public, for the government has spies listening for treasonable utterances.

The war plants are running full blast; it is possible to have full employment when machines of warfare are being constructed to bring desolation to the earth and murder to the peoples of the earth.

But life goes on in the towns and cities where the factories stand. Old Mrs. Kelley with her shapeless body and red, big-veined hands stands from early morning until late at night before her old fashioned, dilapidated washing machine, scrubbing and wringing the laundry she takes in, dreaming of the day that Mickey and Paul will come home from the navy.



### Life Goes On in Towns and Cities

Pete Sapowich next door snores behind drawn shades, as he has done every day for the last twelve years; for Pete has been working nights all that time. Pete's children have grown up with daily scoldings and spankings to make them keep quiet around the house, because Pete needs his sleep even more, perhaps, than a working-man who works in the daytime.

Larry Brown limps about the machine shop on his bad foot, the one that was crushed in the foundry four years ago. And Larry's wife, young, small, and slender, walks hand in hand to the grocery store with little Larry. Larry's sister is there too, pushing her little Bill in his carriage, where he lies grinning in his blankets, flinging his red little arms about and making quite a clatter with his rattle.

Doris Mulcahey and Mary Morini solemnly dress and undress their dolls and tend an imaginary household, while seven-year-old Joseph Mulcahey, who has just been punished, nurses a broken heart and tenderly caresses the soft ears of the sympathetic mongrel that sits there looking up at him with soft, loving eyes.

The men of the neighborhood, most of them (the ones that are working on the day shift), are straining their bodies at their jobs in the nearby mills or whipping themselves to the greatest possible speed in the shops. As they work they yell jokes at each other over the roar of the machinery, or they curse as they hit a run of bad luck. They long for quitting time, for the chance to get out of the shops and back home or to a show, a card game, or a tavern.

Clara Mueller sits on a hard steel stool before her machine in the factory, working with fast fingers, but her heart dreams of Sam; and thinking of him she is conscious of the inexpensive engagement ring that hangs on a string next to the soft flesh of her breast under the denim work shirt she wears. Beside her at the next machine sits Becky Rosenthal, whose boy friend is also in the army. Clara sometimes hears Becky sniffle; for Becky hasn't had a letter from Herb now in the last three months.

### A Single Plane Drones Overhead

A single airplane drones faintly overhead. Those in the factories don't even hear it. Only a few of those on the street look up, and they see a small parachute descending from the plane. It floats lower and lower as they watch it. . . lower, lower, and SUD-DENLY. . .

The newspapers report the dropping of the first atomic bomb. The government forbids them to speak of technical secrets. But they don't tell either about old Mrs. Kelley or Pete Sapowich, who never woke up from his day's sleep. Nobody reads of Larry Brown's little wife or his sister whose baby Bill chuckled and chattered toothlessly in his carriage in the sunlight in front of the grocery store.

The communiques neglect to mention the sweating, straining, under-paid workers in the plants that were "vaporized." There are no obituaries written for Clara Mueller and Becky Rosenthal, whose young bodies have vanished without a trace.

And for all that the world is told, Doris Mulcahey and Mary Morini and their dolls, and little Joseph Mulcahey and his dog might never have existed.

For all that remains is a great, poisonous desolation. Where there was life, there is. . . nothing.

## 16,000 Stage Sitdown In Shipyard At Camden

(Special to THE MILITANT)

By SUSANA HILL

CAMDEN, N. J., Sept. 24 — Some 16,000 workers at New York Shipbuilding Co. this morning resumed a sit-down strike which began here last Friday.

Arthur Reeder and other leaders of CIO Marine and Shipbuilding Local 1 have demanded reinstatement of workers who were fired on charges of "inefficiency." According to the union, the company, at the instigation of the Navy Department, took this as a cheap means of laying off workers in order to save 20 hours' termination pay and vacation money due the workers.

The union declared that unless the company agrees to the demand

for reinstatement of the laid-off workers by 4 p. m. today, the sit-down strike will continue until all the mass of existing grievances are satisfied and a complete settlement is made of the contract issues now under negotiation. Contract demands include a 30 per cent wage increase.

### JEER OFFICIALS

All day long today thousands of striking workers were in the yard. They congregated around the gate and jeered company officials on the outside. As one worker put it, "We should have done this three years ago."

This afternoon at 2 p. m. a mass meeting of the strikers was held within the yard. Local 1 President Arthur Reeder told the meeting that the Navy has declared war on the shipyard workers.

At the conclusion of the meeting an opportunity was given to those wishing to leave the yard to do so. Not a single worker among the 16,000 left. When Reeder instructed the women to leave the yard by 4 p. m., they expressed their good-natured objection at having to leave. Many of the women stated that they would organize a picket line on the outside in support of the men.



# CIO OIL STRIKERS IN TOLEDO BACK FIGHT FOR 30% RAISE

(Special to THE MILITANT)

By Ted Reading

TOLEDO, O., Sept. 19 — "It's a finish fight for just demands," Clyde S. Shamblen, secretary of striking Local 346, CIO International Oil Workers Union, stated here today in an interview with this representative of The Militant.

Approximately 1,000 oil workers employed at Pure Oil and Standard Oil processing plants here have hit the picket lines, with more scheduled to follow if their national demands for a 30 per cent wage increase and other concessions are not met. The fight, stated Shamblen, is part of a nation-wide OWIU-CIO drive.

Shamblen pointed out that negotiations began immediately following V-J Day. Practically no progress was made. The corporations politely but firmly refused to grant any of the demands. However, as soon as the workers hit the picket lines, the company immediately began to offer concessions.

### ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDEST

"Actions speak louder than words," stated the union official. The workers received letters stating the company's willingness to grant at first a 10 per cent increase, then 15 per cent and finally 20 per cent. These offers of course have found no reception from the workers who are holding to their original demands.

The union is demanding a 40-hour week with pay for 52 hours, 5-cent and 10-cent shift differentials and eventual return to the pre-war 36 hour week when returning servicemen make sufficient manpower available. These demands, together with a flat 30 per cent increase in wages, are absolutely essential in order to maintain decent standards of living in the face of rising living costs. "The oil workers have had no increase in pay since the passage of the Little Steel formula," Shamblen stated.

### FIGHTING MONOPOLY

Since the oil industry is practically a nationwide monopoly, it must be fought on a nation-wide basis if substantial gains are to be made by the workers, Shamblen pointed out, stating that

## '52-40 Or Fight' Is Slogan of CIO Oil Workers

(Continued from page 1)

210 that "your picket lines now, may prevent breadlines later. The entire Indiana CIO supports your fight for a decent standard of living."

Meanwhile, 6,000 oil tank drivers affiliated with the AFL Teamsters, including the drivers of Standard Oil trucks, are preparing to join the struggle for "52-40" and are threatening to strike next week.

### ORGANIZING DRIVE

The huge Standard Oil refinery employing close to 6,000 workers remains in operation and is the chief obstacle to a 100 per cent walkout. Local 513, OWIU, is conducting a drive to organize the Standard Oil workers into the CIO.

Squads of CIO volunteer workers have been distributing leaflets and signing up Standard Oil workers at the refinery gates. It is the hope of all militant CIO union men that this strike will bring about the union conquest of the last major open-shop oil corporation.

There are practically no competing companies in the oil industry. They have been known to pour gas into each other's tanks if the occasion demanded it, and would not hesitate to supply a struck company in their fight against the workers.

The morale of the strikers is good and there is no sign of a let-up or compromise on their original demands. They are particularly incensed over being denied unemployment benefits while on strike and are convinced that this injustice can be corrected only through labor's independent political action. Provisions have been made to maintain the gas supply to police cars, fire trucks, public transportation and ambulances for the duration of the strike.

## Vets' Wives Demonstrate Against Nursery Closures

(Continued from page 1)

own den, vociferously balked at stalling, including the cute maneuver of putting out the lights, and threatened to dump their babies literally, actually and promptly right in the Councilmen's laps, diapers and all.

### UNCOMFORTABLE COUNCIL

This is the kind of baby-kissing politicians don't like. The Council had an uncomfortable four hours of it, which isn't a jot and tittle to that which is constantly borne by a working mother with a couple of kids on her hands.

While the results aren't all one could have asked, these fighting women did get the Council to appropriate \$23,000. Then they took a councilman practically as a hostage to accompany their delegation to the Board of Education, which has the job of manning and supervising the child care center.

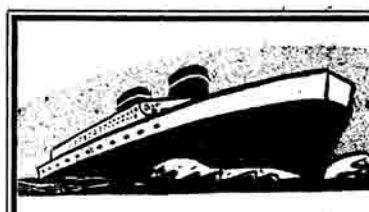
### STILL WORK TO DO

There they put the poor bloated ones on the spot, so far as taking advantage of any pending Federal appropriations is concerned. Previous appropriations have been discontinued with the cessation of military hostilities.

The women took their victory

somewhat dubiously and threaten to come back if anything goes wrong. Since their gains merely insure them that the child care centers will be kept open to October 15, there is still plenty of work for them to do.

These girls, bless 'em, are fighting not only for servicemen's wives. As one of them warned the Council, "We want the centers continued indefinitely. And not just for servicemen's children, but for all women who have to work."



The S/S William D. Bryant, operated by Black Diamond Line, was sunk by mines on August 15, five miles off Savona, Italy. This is one of 16 vessels known to have struck mines since May 8, this year. Of these 16 ships, 4 were sunk. Three of the sunk ships were flying foreign flags. Total American-flag ships hit by mines in four months is 9. The war dangers are not over for the seamen.

After the first World War, 121 ships were known to have been sunk by mines from 1919 to 1923. During the same four-year period 232 ships disappeared, presumably sunk by mines. This helped solve a small part of the "ship disposal problem" at that time, also the unemployment problem. They say a man should always stay with his ship.

More than a thousand Liberty ships are scheduled for the graveyards immediately. Wartime seamen will serve as pallbearers. The fee asked by the CIO National Maritime Union to take a ship from New York harbor down to the James River is a flat \$75 for each crew member, plus \$10 a day over a given time, plus traveling expenses back. The question these seamen want answered is what they are going to do when they get back.

Prospects for American shipping under the system of "free

### Texas Oil Strikers



CIO Oil Worker pickets at the strike-bound Texas Company refinery in Port Arthur, Texas, raise the slogan of 30,000 striking workers, "52-40 Or Fight." The workers demand no reduction in take-home pay for a 40-hour week. This would be a 30 per cent raise, maintaining weekly incomes equal to present earnings for 52 hours straight time.

## Boston Mothers Urge Nurseries

By J. Kitting

BOSTON, Sept. 19 — A representative group of mothers from nursery schools of this city have carried their fight for continuation of the schools through the governor's and mayor's offices to the School Committee.

The nurseries, set up as part of a nationwide drive to get women into war industries, were partially financed by Federal funds through the Lanham Act. Now that women war workers are not needed, the government plans to scrap this program and put women back in the home.

Women in this city responded immediately to the threat of discontinuing the nurseries October 31. Representatives from each section of the city, which has six government nursery schools, went first as a group, to the governor.

There the women stressed the economic needs, particularly of servicemen's wives and of widows and divorcees. Spokesmen for the group also brought out the need of workers' children for an environment such as a nursery school provides. "Let's keep our children off the streets," was the sentiment.

To underscore the remarks of the more polished speakers, one woman after another rose spontaneously to give her own story. One serviceman's wife, for instance, told of her own nervous breakdown after not hearing from her husband for many months.

### Postwar Notes for Seamen

The S/S William D. Bryant, operated by Black Diamond Line, was sunk by mines on August 15, five miles off Savona, Italy. This is one of 16 vessels known to have struck mines since May 8, this year. Of these 16 ships, 4 were sunk. Three of the sunk ships were flying foreign flags. Total American-flag ships hit by mines in four months is 9. The war dangers are not over for the seamen.

enterprise" can be seen through the looking glass of the past. This is clear to the ship-owners." P. V. G. Mitchell, former vice-president of the U. S. Lines Co., recalling the period 1918 to 1935, says "there is steadily accumulating evidence that we are about to repeat the cycle."

U. S. Imperialism has learned during two world wars that it must build its own fleet for war purposes. This task, in both instances, was undertaken by the government. Admiral Land, chairman of the U. S. Maritime Commission, now finds "our prewar fleet has quadrupled. V-J Day has confronted us with a serious crisis of idle ships and idle men. Hundreds of vessels must be laid up. Of our 240,000 seamen, thousands are faced with loss of employment. Stevedores, ship repair and other industries dependent upon shipping are confronted with drastic reductions in operation."

Seamen's earnings collapsed when war-risk bonuses were withdrawn by the Maritime War Emergency Board. Wages were pegged by the War Labor Board at \$145 per month, \$45 above the prewar scale, but 30 per cent below the average wartime earnings. This pay cut for seamen is the subject of an open debate between officials of the NMU-CIO and SIU-AFL as to which union "won" it. Both claim credit for the "\$45 wage boost."

### Figures Reveal Need for Nurseries

A survey conducted by the San Francisco Board of Education shows that 99.3 per cent of the working mothers expect to remain in that city in the postwar period. Practically all of them — 98.4 per cent — "say they need to continue working to support their families." But, according to the Board of Education, "88.7 per cent of the working mothers will be unable to make arrangements for the care of their children if Federal funds no longer are available."

The Red Cross contacted one of the nurseries and she was able to place her children there, while regaining her health and managing to hold her home together until her husband's return.

All of these women have learned through the wartime nurseries what such centers can mean to themselves and to their children. Now they don't intend to lose these benefits.

### TWO BRUSH-OFFS

The governor himself did not even appear before the delegation, but sent his legislative representative Kalus to give the women the brush-off. Not discouraged by this first rebuff, however, they took their story to Mayor Kerigan the following week. The mayor gave a good imitation of sympathy and proceeded to pass the buck.

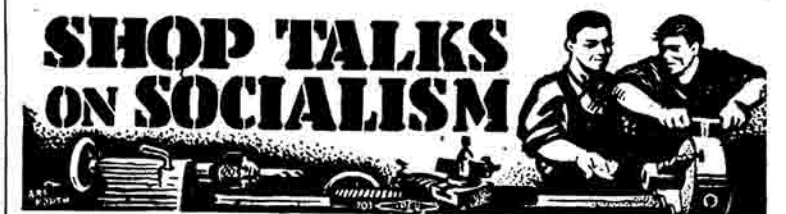
The only concrete proposal came when the working mothers visited a meeting of the Boston School Committee. The Committee voted to have the Board of Apportionment survey the school budget to see what funds could be used for continuation of the schools without federal aid, and to make up the difference through appropriations to hold until March 31.

All these women had to take time off from work to visit the officials, but as one mother put it, "Well, if I didn't take today off, I'd have to take a long time off."

## Red Sunday Called By SWP to Sell Jobs Pamphlet

The National Office of the Socialist Workers Party has announced a National Red Sunday Mobilization of all branches on October 7 to sell the new Pioneer pamphlet, JOBS FOR ALL! — A Fighting Program for Labor. All readers of The Militant are invited to participate in the mobilization. In some cities plans have been made to hold the mobilization on a weekday preceding October 7. Consult the Socialist Workers Party branch in your locality for the exact time and place.

The author of the pamphlet is Art Preis, labor reporter for The Militant. Giving the program of the Socialist Workers Party for full employment, this attractive 24-page pamphlet, with two-color cover, contains numerous illustrations by Laura Gray, Militant staff artist.



By V. Grey

Here we are down on the blast furnaces. Well—not on them exactly, but under them and around them. Slim and Shorty, Breezy, Johnny Dylek and a couple more of us are on the labor gang. We have to clean up the tracks where the cinder ladies overflow. We have to clean up in the stock house where the iron ore and limestone is always spilling from the overhead bins to the floor.

It took us a long time to make the grade, but now we're unskilled laborers for Bethlehem Steel.

They closed down the fabrication shop "temporarily." We're welders, pressmen, burners, etc. Our tools are all up in the shop. Our machinery is all up there. Our understanding and ability is up there in a way, too. What we don't know about a blast furnace would fill a book—a couple of books, maybe. How can we be very useful here?

But the company made their money out of the fabrication shop during the war. They're not worrying about its running right now. They're not worried about wasted skills and techniques either. Why should they be? They have their profits.

You used to hear about utilizing everybody's skill. The town had this War Manpower Commission to make sure that machinists ran machines and welders welded. You were an unpatriotic son of a so-and-so if you left your trade to take a different job. In fact if you took a day off there'd be a yellow card in the time rack for you to fill out with an explanation of your absence. Take it all in all you were an essential man.

### None Are 'Essential' Now

But none of us seem to be essential right now. That "essential" stuff only counted while the war was on. The years you took getting used to your trade—when you worked off and on, the years you took fixing things and making things for people to use, that was all just to get in practice for your "essential" mission in life, which was to make the materials for war.

But that's over now. We're locked out of the shop now. The machinery is locked in; and our ability to use it is locked up in our machineless hands, clumsy with unfamiliar tools.

Yes, the company will call us back to the old shop eventually; when they get enough orders for fabricated specialties—enough orders at the right price with the right profit for them. But in the meantime isn't it kind of wasteful for us to be away from our trades? We used to make rolled sheet-metal door arches, road building joists, pretty garden gates and lots of things like that. People need those things now too. More than ever, they say. But the orders aren't coming in the way the company wants them. So these things aren't essential.

In Europe the people need metal products desperately. They need thousands of new buildings and roads. The farmers need machinery and metal equipment as well as roads to get their products to market. And the city people are starving because they can't produce these things for the farmers. Our skills could be used making these things for the Europeans. But Europe can't pay the right price for the products. So the products are not "essential" either. And our skills are "not needed."

You don't see them putting in a "Peace Manpower Commission" to see that every skill is utilized. After training millions of people in "defense schools" and using their skills to destroy half the world, this capitalist society hasn't even got the gumption to put these skills to work to build it up again.

## "WE NEED DEPRESSIONS" SAYS CAPITALIST WRITER

Feeling a bit disturbed about losing your job or suffering a 30 per cent slash in take-home pay? You've got the wrong attitude, my good man, according to Mr. Ralph Blodgett, Des Moines advertising agency head.

You lack a proper appreciation of the glorious benefits afforded you by capitalist depressions.

"We Need Those Depressions" says Mr. Blodgett in the August 25 Opinion and Comment, University of Illinois bulletin. If you want to read his profound message of hope and joy, turn to page 8486 of the September 6 Congressional Record, where it is reprinted in full.

Maybe you don't know it, but if you regard a depression as a "great national catastrophe" you are simply "blind to many years of history." Because, rightly regarded, the "business recess" is a "perfectly natural, normal and wholly desirable rest period, overflowing with rich benefits."

### "GREAT HUMAN BENEFITS"

Not the least of these "great human benefits," explains Mr. Blodgett, is "a chance to make it a real recess in the school of life, a chance to relax and play and rest." Don't say you don't need a rest, that you've been loafing-around the USES office for two months already, or that you'd just as soon have stayed on the job. "Unemployment brings rest to millions," avers Mr. Blodgett, adding, "whether they are ready for it or not." If you are one who is not ready, your boss will fix that.

Mr. Blodgett is enthused over the "great human benefit" of depressions, he expands it in glowing terms. "It is to be hoped that depressions are never abolished, for they have many desirable features."

Not the least of these is the fact that "those who learn to ride the business cycle can find as many advantages in depressions as in booms—personal as well as

business advantages. Smart folks take advantage of the boom . . . they are then ready for depression-time bargains, bargains in every conceivable thing from a suit of clothes to a railroad."

### "VACATION TIME"

Now we're getting down to cases. If you had only saved up your tremendous wages, for instance, and learned to "ride the business cycle," instead of being taken for a ride, you'd be able to run down to the corner store and buy up a nice second hand railroad, or maybe Willow Run, or even a slightly-used overcoat to help you in the winter months as you enjoy your vacation — "somewhat comparable to a Christmas vacation"—on the line out in front of the unemployment compensation office.

The trouble with the last depression, which Mr. Blodgett concedes gave us "a chronic standing army of 10,000,000 unemployed," was that "we tried so hard to keep up wages and prices." We should have just let nature take its course.

### A NEW NAME, PLEASE!

But, by all means, get rid of the "very name 'depression' . . . Let us use some other name (which) suggests an interval of leisure for rest and perhaps play. . . Some economic research foundation might well offer prizes for suitable names."

So you see, instead of moping when you lose your job, enter a prize contest, win big money, say with a name like "Strength Through Starvation Period" or "Breadline Vacation." Stay off that "depression" talk!

NOW ON SALE!

## 'JOBS FOR ALL'

A Fighting Program for Labor

By Art Preis

Illustrations by LAURA GRAY

24 pages 10 cents

Pioneer Publishers  
116 University Place