

FREE THE 18!

THE MILITANT

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Stalinists Try To Knife Effort To Free The 18

By John Adamson

The Stalinist red-baiting campaign against the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners was climaxed this week by their passage of a resolution at the Minnesota State CIO Convention, meeting at Duluth, which upholds the frameup of the 18 Trotskyist leaders. "The facts are," states the Stalinist resolution as reported in the September 13 *Daily Worker*, "that this group was convicted for seditious statements against our government and our war effort."

This despicable act of the Stalinists represents a 'new low' in the history of the American labor movement. Union bureaucrats have at times in the past turned a deaf ear to labor defense cases, or have refused to support victims of capitalist frameups. But this is the first time that a trade union body has permitted itself to be used in this fashion: to declare its solidarity with the infamous frameup of labor leaders under a vicious anti-labor law that has been condemned by the whole labor movement.

Actually, the action of the Minnesota State CIO Convention has little significance except to demonstrate the reactionary depths to which the Stalinists have sunk. This action also shows that the Stalinists will attempt to use the CIO unions under their control as pawns in their loathsome and treacherous campaign to smear and slander the jailed Trotskyist leaders and to discredit the defense campaign on their behalf.

WIDE SUPPORT

The truth of the matter is the Stalinists have been thrown into panic by the wide sweep of labor support for the Minneapolis labor prisoners. They know that this support exposes their own scabby role in the case and menaces their influence in the labor movement. They know that their campaign of slander and red-baiting against the Trotskyists has thus far boomeranged and only exposed and discredited the Stalinists themselves. That is why in their desperation they have pushed through at the Minnesota State CIO Convention this anti-labor resolution in an attempt to use the CIO label to sugar-coat their anti-labor campaign of calumny.

They will not succeed! The Minnesota CIO is in the main merely an aggregate of small white collar and other unions wholly dominated by the Stalinist machine. It is interesting to note that this Stalinist-dominated Minnesota State CIO Convention was addressed by Robert S. Mars, President of the Duluth Chamber of Commerce, and that the convention concurred in his recommendation to set up "a form of exchange membership" between the unions and the Chamber of Commerce to "strengthen" labor-management relations.

MINNESOTA LABOR

The bulk of organized labor of Minnesota is in the AFL un-

NEGRO YOUTHS SENTENCED TO DIE IN FLORIDA LYNCH TRIAL

Efforts to halt the legal lynching of three Negro youths by the white-supremacist courts of Florida, are being made by Attorney Bradford Williams, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the International Labor Defense, and the Southern Negro Youth Conference, who are urging Governor Spessard L. Holland to grant a stay of sentence.

The prisoners, James Williams, 28, Fred Lane, 19, and James Davis, 16, were condemned to be electrocuted after a two-hour secret "trial" for "rape" and "attempted murder" of a white woman. The "trial," a star-chamber proceeding without a jury, "took place with armed militia being required to protect defendants inside the courthouse from a mob of 300 outside," according to reports of Florida papers. Negro citizens of the town were ordered off the streets during the proceedings!

As in the infamous Scottsboro case and many other cases of victimization of Negroes on "rape" charges, no real evidence was produced, and the woman involved was not questioned in detail. The guilt or innocence of the Ne-

UAW Militants Stage Revolt Against The Unconditional No-Strike Pledge

Stalin's Armistice Saddles Rumania With Indemnity

By Ralph Graham

The predatory and reactionary character of the war on the part of the imperialists and the extent to which the rotten Kremlin gang have become the imitators and accomplices of the imperialist bandits, are revealed once again in the armistice terms imposed on Rumania by the Allied governments, including the government of the Soviet Union.

Signed in Moscow on September 12, the armistice pledges Rumania to fight with the Allies until victory over Germany is won, for which purpose Rumania is required to put twelve infantry divisions in the field under the general direction of the Soviet High Command. Rumania is also required to pay to the Soviet Union, over a period of six years, an indemnity of \$300,000,000 (with further indemnities to be fixed later for the rest of the United Nations), and return all property taken from the United Nations. Further, Rumania has agreed to recognize the 1940 frontier line which gave Besarabia and northern Bukovina to the Soviet Union. These are the main points of the armistice.

Lucretiu Patrascu, who negotiated the armistice in Moscow for the reactionary government of King Michael, said "we don't have a right to be dissatisfied with the terms." The N. Y. Times described the armistice as "lenient." Actually, the terms are oppressive in the established imperialist tradition.

HUGE INDEMNITY

The \$300,000,000 indemnity to the Soviet Union—and the Anglo-American imperialists are going to impose more indemnities later

(Continued on page 4)

Panel Report Says Labor Fleeced By WLB Wage Freeze

By R. Bell

After months of "fact finding" the steel panel of the War Labor Board has submitted its report on the wage demands of the United Steel Workers union. The major demands of the union were for a 17 cents per hour wage increase, severance pay and the guaranteed annual wage. The essence of the steel panel report was that the cost of living had risen sharply beyond the 15 percent allowed under the wage freezing Little Steel formula and was higher than the 25 percent indicated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics living cost index. The CIO-AFL cost of living survey estimates the rise at 45 percent since January 1, 1941. As the function of the steel panel was confined to that of "fact finding" and it was expressly prohibited from making "recommendations," the report will be submitted to the National War Labor Board "for consideration."

The findings of the steel panel confirms the contention that government agencies have been falsifying cost of living statistics in order to hold the wage freezing line against the workers. The N. Y. Times reports that public members of the panel endorsed the CIO union claim "that the Bureau of Labor Statistics index of living costs is inaccurate and needs upward revision." These established facts give the lie to the "hold-the-line" report issued last April with the blessing of Roosevelt which contended that: "The general cost of living has not been permitted to rise. Indeed, the cost of living as a whole is slightly lower than it was a

Every person interested in justice and the abolition of discrimination and "legal lynching," must write or wire immediately to Governor Holland at Tallahassee, Florida, demanding that he issue a stay of sentence at once. The execution, set for the week of September 18, can be halted only by the mass pressure of the American people.

(Continued on page 2)

Trying to Stem the Flood



Dalrymple's Expulsions Key Issue At Rubber Convention

By Frank Lawrence

NEW YORK CITY, Sept. 19.—The United Rubber Workers' ninth annual convention which opened yesterday in the Park Central hotel unanimously passed a motion, introduced by Harley Treen of Firestone local 7, immediately after the approval of the convention call, instructing the general secretary to wire the commanding officers of Ray Sullivan and Howard Haas, and request special leave for these two men to permit them to attend the convention.

Ray Sullivan and Howard Haas, past presidents of General Tire and Rubber local 9, Akron, led the fight in behalf of the 72 band-builders who had been expelled last January from the union by International President Dalrymple and then fired from their jobs by the company. Dalrymple thereupon expelled Sullivan and Haas from the union. They were blacklisted in the industry, their draft deferments were withdrawn and they were then immediately drafted into the army. This bureaucratic action of Dalrymple was denounced by the Akron CIO council.

After the convention took this first step of solidarity with the expelled men, the delegates settled back to listen to speeches by Newbold Morris, President of the City Council of New York, and Philip Murray, CIO President. Murray, just returned from a trouncing at the UAW Convention, reiterated for the benefit of the Rubber Workers his program of surrender. He consumed an hour and a half of valuable time to explain that the war is not over, that the no-strike pledge must be reaffirmed, that the most important task facing labor is to get out the vote for Roosevelt. He concluded with a personal endorsement of the Dalrymple regime.

The first test of strength between the Dalrymple machine and the opposition took place in the afternoon of the second day. The issue was a minor one: a constitutional change which would

make appointment of field organizers subject to approval by their local unions and prohibit any member of the International Executive Board from serving as a field organizer. The debate on

Full Employment? No!

Fortune Magazine, organ of the million-dollar coupon-clippers, polled big business executives on the question: "Do you think it is a function of government today to see to it that substantially full employment is maintained?"

66 percent answered "No." Only 30 percent answered "Yes."

This question showed that members of Akron's local 9 who proposed the amendments were primarily interested in a roll-call vote which would provide them with a test of strength at the convention. The constitutional amendment was defeated by 774 votes against 387. The 387 votes represented the vote of the delegates from the largest and most militant locals. Dalrymple's machine, however, received the support of numerous small locals scattered throughout the country as well as the Stalinist-dominated west coast locals.

The real test of the opposition strength will come however later in the convention, when the question of Dalrymple's bureaucratic expulsions, as well as the no-strike pledge comes up for debate.

Auto Delegates Vote To Hold Referendum Within 90 Days

Newly Organized Caucus Advances Militant Program in Fight Against Both Top Cliques

By Art Preis

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich., Sept. 18.—The more than 2,300 delegates to the CIO United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers Ninth Annual Convention, in day and night session since last Monday at the Civic Auditorium here, last night adjourned the stormiest national gathering of the union's history.

They are returning to their locals with the key convention issue, the no-strike pledge, placed for final decision in the hands of the entire membership through referendum to be held within the next 90 days. This final disposition of the no-strike issue was voted overwhelmingly by the militant rank and file delegates in opposition to most of the top leadership, after a precedent-shattering four-day bitter conflict.

Most important and decisive development of this history-making convention of America's largest and most dynamic industrial union was the rise of a new, militant force, led by the recently-established Rank and File Caucus, which in its first struggle against the entire International leadership not only made the no-strike surrender the dominant issue of the convention but rolled up a vote of 36 per cent for outright scrapping of the no-strike pledge.

Although unable to win a majority for their own resolution, the Rank and File delegates led a successful fight to vote down the two counter-resolutions, both calling for unconditional reaffirmation of the no-strike pledge although differing in tricky and meaningless phrases, put forth by the unprincipled cliques among the officialdom divided between the Adles-Frankenstein-Stalinist and the Reuther factions.

Only by resorting to what was correctly termed by a leading delegate as the "dirtiest trick" in the history of UAW conventions did the united Adles and Reuther factions finally gain a majority vote for reaffirming the no-strike pledge "for the duration." But when the aroused delegates within a few minutes awoke to the fact that they had been hoodwinked by a shoddy trick, they then gave a two-thirds majority for a resolution to hold a referendum of the entire union membership on the issue.

THE LONG TERM MEANING OF LINE-UP

The real long-term significance of the new militant line-up within the UAW was further emphasized by another important development during the election of officers Saturday. For the first time in the five years since the split with the Homer Martin faction, a top official's reelection was contested by a candidate running exclusively on a rank and file program against the combined opposition of all the top leadership factions. This was the first expression of the rank and file movement to break up the old factional lines and begin the fight for an entire new militant leadership elected not on petty personal and clique issues but on the basis of fundamental principles and program.

Robert Carter, President of the Greater Flint (Mich.) Industrial Union Council, ran against the incumbent R. J. Thomas for the UAW presidency on a program calling for rescinding the no-strike pledge and withdrawing the UAW members from the War Labor Board. Endorsed by the Rank and File Caucus, but without making any big campaign, Carter secured approximately 1,300 votes out of less than 8,000 cast when he halted the roll-call to save the time of the convention.

Never has the rank and file of the UAW expressed itself so fully and powerfully on a fundamental issue against the leaders

(Continued on page 3)

Wall Street Aim Of World Domination Advanced Further At Quebec Meeting

By James Cowan

Continuing the practice of secret diplomacy under which they have fashioned their imperialist war program from the very beginning, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill held another of their periodic conferences in Quebec last week.

The question of union democracy is a crucial issue at this rubber convention. All the major URW locals are up in arms against the bureaucratic actions of the Dalrymple machine, in expelling 72 band-builders last January without a trial, in direct violation of the union constitution. These high-handed expulsions are directly tied in with the no-strike policy of the Dalrymple leadership. Unable to secure the redress of grievances or to halt the anti-union provocations of the rubber corporations, Dalrymple has attempted to squelch all opposition inside the union ranks by methods of terrorism. The Dalrymple machine has taken on the job of policemen for the labor-hating War Labor Board and the rubber corporations.

Leading the fight against the Dalrymple administration are the Akron Goodrich, Firestone, General Tire and Goodyear locals. The opposition is aware of the necessity of rescinding the no-strike pledge if the union is to protect its membership and go forward.

In these words it is not difficult to discern the fact that at Quebec, as at Dumbarton Oaks where a "new post-war world organization" is being worked out, the Anglo-American imperialists continued their work on plans to save world capitalism from destruction by the oncoming forces of the socialist revolution and to

demarcate their respective spheres of interest in a post-war world in which they intend to dominate, oppress and exploit.

JINGOISTIC HATE

In an attempt to whip up a spirit of jingoistic hate against the Japanese nation, just as he and Roosevelt have done and are doing in the case of Germany, Churchill announced the Allied intention "to bend that evil and barbarous nation to the will of those whom they have outraged."

But it was precisely here that (the words again are Churchill's) a "little bit of friction" arose over the desire of the British for a greater part in the final Pacific campaign. Nevertheless, the dispute was "amicably resolved" and the conference concluded in "a blaze of friendship."

The bandits of British imperialism are greatly concerned over their empire in the Far East. They fear that if the American colossus is permitted the lion's share in the campaign to vanquish Japan, the end of the war will see the U. S. in effective control of eastern Asia, including the British possessions seized by their Japanese rivals.

To safeguard these possessions,

Churchill probably proposed that British forces be employed to recover Burma, Malaya, Hongkong and to oust Japanese troops from those portions of China which were spheres of British interest. Britain, it may be recalled, preferred to surrender Burma to the Japanese imperialists rather than admit Chinese troops to aid in its defense in 1942. For reasons equally strong, Churchill doesn't want the troops of Yankee imperialism on British colonial soil.

The Yankees out of the Netherlands East Indies and perhaps French Indo-China, leaving to them the task of recovering the Philippines and vanquishing Japan's homeland.

EMPIRE MENACED

With good reason the British colonial slave drivers see their Empire menaced by the Yankee imperialists. The ruthless, profit-hungry Wall Street plutocrats are casting their greedy eyes on India, too.

That was revealed with complete clarity in the recent Phillips-Roosevelt correspondence on India, in which Phillips raised the question of India's "liberation" from British rule. (See editorial)

in The Militant, September 9. Wall Street wants to break the British monopoly stranglehold on this rich colonial prize and open it up to American trade and investment. This would mean, not the liberation of India, but a new subjection by the pitiless pirates of American finance-capital.

At Quebec, therefore, in addition to the agreements arrived at, there were flashes of rivalry between the two greatest imperialist powers. As Churchill himself remarked previously, the "war for democracy" is becoming "less and less ideological." The ominous reality of Anglo-American imperialist antagonism breaks with increasing frequency through the brittle crust of the military alliance and pacts, in which the workers will be called upon to die for the enrichment of the criminal ruling classes.

These antagonisms, springing from the program of world domination being pushed by Roosevelt for the Wall Street plutocrats, were given point in a letter by the President to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, published (Continued on page 2) **10**

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Harry Martell

Daily casualty lists published in the newspapers of soldiers killed or wounded in the slaughterhouse of war have come to be an accepted fact. It is taken for granted that loss of life or limb is an expected consequence of the organized business of mass murder. The prayer of the participant or of those related to him is that he shall be spared through an "accident."

Just the opposite is true of those who are engaged in the business of peace—the workers. An "accident" in civilian occupation, where there are no lethal weapons in the hands of men trained to use them for that purpose, makes a casualty of the victim. Yet these casualties are not episodic, "accidental" facts. The figures of those killed or maimed in industry—the "accidental" civilian casualties—have assumed such enormous proportions that they begin to rival the "expected" casualties on battlefields of the war.

"Since Pearl Harbor there have been 18 times as many industrially wounded as war wounded. Workers permanently disabled by industrial accidents number 4/5 of all war wounded. (The National Safety Council reports that up to January 1944, 3,600 workers have been killed and 4,710,000 injured since Pearl Harbor). Of the injured, 210,000 were permanently disabled. War casualties, as of mid-July 1944, were 63,000 dead and 253,000 wounded."—Published in the August issue of the supplement to the CIO Economic Outlook.

The primary cause for this appalling death and accident toll of workers in industry has been established time and again. Lack of safety devices, speed-up to the point of fatigue, negligence or corruption of government inspectors. The greed of the capitalist class for ever greater profits turns civilian industry into the shambles of a battlefield.

At the current United Mine Workers Convention it was reported that there are five times more accidents in the United States coal pits than in any other country. Production problems, the report stated, are put above safety. Lewis correctly urged: "The time will have to come when this union will have to take stern action to avoid the slaughter of our people in mine accidents."

While the convention was in session rescue squads were bringing up the bodies of 66 miners killed and entombed in the Powhatan, Ohio mine disaster.

The logging industry runs mining a close second for high accident ratios. Basing itself on accident reports for the Douglas Fir company, the International Woodworker (organ of the CIO International Woodworkers of America) draws the conclusion that "on an average, one out of fifty men working in the industry will be killed or seriously injured each year."

The editorial minces no words: "Life has been held too cheaply in the woods; human safety too often disregarded, and much too much blood has been mingled with the sweat of those who labor to bring the logs down out of the timber. It is a senseless, unjustifiable waste of human life and human happiness that must be stopped."

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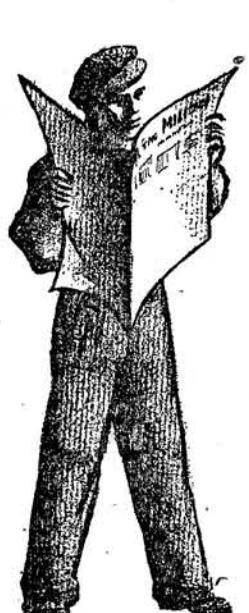
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Goal Of 10,000 Trial Pamphlets Set In SWP Literature Campaign

By Campaign Manager

10,000 Minneapolis Trial Pamphlets is the goal set for the branches of the Socialist Workers Party, in the campaign to place the special sets in the homes of new readers of The Militant in the course of the call-back visits.

Early reports received thus far, show that the goal can be reached and surpassed if the comrades conscientiously visit the new subscribers. In New York, one comrade in four visits sold four sets—sixteen pamphlets! In Buffalo, 108 pamphlets were sold in a single week!

Workers who have been reading The Militant for the 3-month period of the trial subs, are demonstrating their interest in the ideas and principles of the Socialist movement, by asking our comrades numerous questions about the Socialist Workers Party's position on current problems and renewing their Militant subscriptions. These workers are eager to read the pamphlets, which comprise a brief, clear introduction to Marxism.

The four pamphlets, offered to new readers of The Militant at the special price of only 25 cents, include: James P. Cannon's "Socialism on Trial," a transcript of court proceedings during the Minneapolis trial; Albert Goldman's summation to the jury, "In Defense of Socialism," "Why We Are In Prison," explaining the motives behind the persecution; and the Civil Rights Defense Committee publication, "Who Are the 18 Prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case?"

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party have been assigned quotas totaling 10,000 pamphlets, and their standings will be reported weekly on the scoreboard. We urge every branch to send in its sales and news of its work promptly, for the information of other comrades in other sections of the country.

WEEK'S MAIL BAG

From this week's mailbag, we take some of the interesting early news of the call-back and literature campaign:

Buffalo: We have sold 27 sets—that's 108 pamphlets—and expect to have the rest of our present supply sold very soon. Rush us the balance of our 400 pamphlets!

New York: The immense value of the call-back and literature campaign as a political activity of the highest order is illustrated by an experience of a comrade working in Harlem. A Negro woman worker, a member of the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union, upon being visited, said that she had had an interesting day in her shop. That morning a new young Negro girl had been hired, and in the course of the day, the new girl began telling about The Militant. Some of the other girls said that they also subscribed to and liked the paper, and that their friends read it. The woman bought the set of pamphlets, after renewing her sub to The Militant.

Another comrade visited four homes in one evening, and in every home, the subscribers renewed his sub to the paper and bought the four pamphlets! We are expecting to get further details from this comrade, on how to average 100 percent!

In Brooklyn, one woman who was visited said that her husband, a seaman, had taken a sub to the paper. At first she paid no attention to it, but one lonely evening she picked it up—and read every word! She has read every issue since then, renewed her husband's sub, purchased the pamphlets, and told us she would like to come to lectures and forums. Another Brooklyn comrade reports that he sold a set of pamphlets (and a sub renewal) to a Negro couple who had been so much impressed by The Militant that they attended the New York Trotsky Memorial Meeting. They intend to come to future affairs, as well.

San Francisco: This Sunday we begin our renewal work on the campaign subs. It should be interesting and enlightening to get the comments and criticisms of The Militant from our new readers.

Detroit: Our new drive is starting and I hope we go over the top as we did on the previous one. The fever of activity in the coming period will be a great lesson and benefit. Our new people are quite enthusiastic.



Workers who have become acquainted with The Militant through our trial offer of 13 issues for 25c. are so enthusiastic about the paper that they in turn are introducing it to their friends. For instance—

A worker in Oakland writes: "Please send me at once one dozen 25c. subscription cards. I am going to peddle them at the shipyards and those fellows are going to buy them. I am sold 100 percent on The Militant."

As if these Navy "Brass Hats" were not appointed by Roosevelt, and acting with his approval!

The whole issue is expected to come to a head in the case involving the New York marine shops, which is now before the Shipbuilding Commission of the WLB. Over 2,000 workers face pay cuts if the Navy orders are carried out.

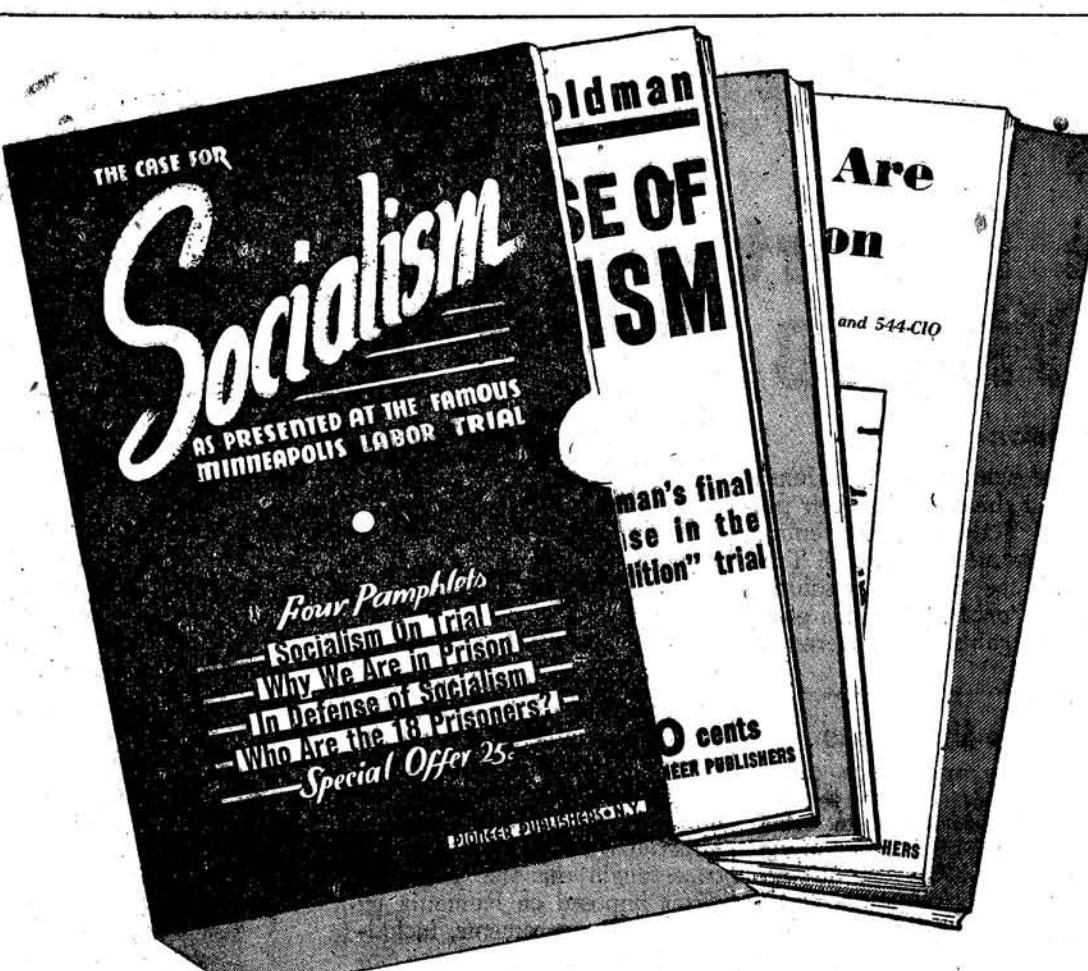
A worker in Ohio: "I have been waiting for some time to read a

paper like The Militant, especially the articles on capitalism, how they exploit the American laborers, so I'm subscribing for six months. P.S. I have a friend that would like to subscribe to The Militant with your introductory offer."

A worker in Fort Wayne: "As the situation is such that I am not in a position to approach a number of these workers here personally for subs, I am carefully selecting out several in my local and arranging for The Militant to be sent them. I watch for reactions, then follow up. I'm already getting encouragement."

You agent in San Francisco: "You will notice that one of the renewals doesn't begin until November; his trial sub started in August. But he likes the paper so much, he is afraid of missing a single issue. He tells us that he has no time to read the paper at home, so he takes it with him to work in the shipyards; but there too he can't read it because all his fellow workers clamor for the copy. Consequently he took 10 trial sub cards to sell so that he can keep his own copy of The Militant and read it in peace. He and his friends like Jackson's column on the Negro Struggle especially, and when he renewed his sub he told us: 'You people better get busy with that paper of yours. It's the best thing I've ever seen, and there are lots of people who think so!'"

Another proof that The Militant is being spread far and wide is the constant increase in number of trial subscriptions sent to us on the coupon clipped from the paper. Among these are subs from Omaha, Neb.; Cairo, Ga.; Olympia, Wash.; Carbon, Ind.; Mumford, N. Y.; Wasco, Calif.; Roanoke, W. Va.



The four pamphlets above, packed in an attractive box, are being offered to new readers of THE MILITANT for only 25c, by Pioneer Publishers. The regular price is 40c.

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Roosevelt's Fortune

Do you know the source of the wealth of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President of the United States?

Warren Delano, Roosevelt's grandfather, was an oldtime opium smuggler. Delano, partner in the American firm of Russell and Company, was one of the group of American and British opium merchants who were imprisoned by the Chinese in the walled-in area of Canton, the event which led to the so-called Opium War. The vessels owned by the firm of Russell and Company soon controlled the opium trade and became known as "opium clippers."

Delano died in 1898, leaving a personal estate of \$1,338,000. When Roosevelt's mother died, the state transfer tax appraisal filed indicated that the fortune had been kept almost intact.

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Panel Report Says Labor Fleeced By WLB Wage Freeze

(Continued from page 1)

year ago today." This fantastic assertion, invented to head off labor's insistent demand to scrap the Little Steel formula, appeared over the signature of Roosevelt's four top "stabilization" directors. CONSCIOUS DECEPTION

By the method of conscious deception combined with government repression the Administration has held the wage freezing line against the workers in the face of a constantly rising cost of living. This has resulted in a steady lowering of the standard of living. All this occurred during a period in which corporation profits rose to the highest levels in all history. Now, when the curtailment of war production is resulting in the practice of downgrading, elimination of overtime, etc., with its reduction in "take home wages;" when the impending collapse of Germany is expected to result in the "disemployment" of 8,000,000 workers, Roosevelt's henchmen "discover" that the government's cost of living statistics are false and that "maybe" the workers are entitled to a slight hourly wage increase—which will in no way compensate for the decrease in earnings due to cutbacks, plant shutdowns and unemployment.

The major demands of the union for severance pay and a guaranteed annual wage to protect the steelworkers against the growing menace of unemployment is given short shrift in the steel panel report. The workers have been the victims of a gigantic swindle. The government protected the interests of the employers in a tight labor market by freezing workers to their jobs at frozen wages. Now, when the major problem confronting the workers in the next period will be that of unemployment, the government makes a feeble gesture in an effort to further deceive the workers and divert them from their struggle for economic security. It would be impossible to succeed in this task without the aid rendered by the treacherous labor bureaucrats. CLUTCHING AT STRAWS

The labor skates have seized upon the panel report to broadcast the "rumor" that the Little Steel formula will be "liberalized" by their "friend" in the White House.

They have clutched at the report like a drowning man at a straw. Faced with a growing number of "unauthorized" strikes with the movement to revoke the no-strike pledge gathering force and the increasing difficulty in "holding-the-line" against their own membership, the labor fakers needed some kind of a "victory" to bolster their waning authority and, incidentally, to refurbish the tarnished "liberal" reputation of their candidate for President. The rumor that Roosevelt is going to revise the Little Steel formula is used in an attempt to head off the independent action of the workers, to garner votes for their "friend" and to divert the attention of the workers from the central problem of the coming period—mass unemployment, insecurity and want in the midst of potential plenty.

Roosevelt's labor lackeys are passing off the "fact finding" report of the WLB panel as a sure-fire bet that the workers will be granted a wage increase. The N. Y. Times was quick to see the significance of the timing of Roosevelt's letter to Hull with the Quebec meeting. "Some observers," he wrote, "could not understand why the President should take his stand just before his conference with Prime Minister Churchill... because the British have in general been partial to the use of cartels."

But Roosevelt's move is very easy to understand. It was not intended as a shot in the phony trust-busting campaign of his administration, but as a diplomatic move in the growing rivalry of American and British imperialism—a rivalry which in time will produce yet another devastating war unless the workers put an end to the capitalist system and establish socialism—the only basis for genuine international cooperation.

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But the workers are learning the lessons of their experiences: No dependence on the perfidious "friends of labor" in the camp of the capitalist class. Only the independent action of the workers can wrest concessions from the employers and their

Delegates to the 1944 UAW Convention at Grand Rapids, Michigan



UAW Militants Stage Revolt Against No-Strike Pledge; Auto Delegates Vote To Hold Referendum Within 90 Days

(Continued from page 1)

as in the bitter contest over the no-strike pledge at this convention. With the very beginning of the convention business, the report of the rules committee on the opening day, it became clear that the one issue the delegates were determined to discuss was the no-strike pledge. The hand-picked rules committee came in with a unanimous report containing provisions which would have permitted a diversion of the discussion of issues into another typical top factional feud for posts and would have prevented a resolution calling for scrapping the no-strike pledge even to appear on the floor.

The committee proposed to hold the election of officers in the middle of the convention, on the fourth day, and to limit all committee reports to two, a majority and minority. Immediately, the delegates began to rise in protest against these two rules.

First, Delegate Murphy of Detroit Briggs Local 212, which was one of the locals spearheading the offensive against the no-strike pledge, demanded amendment of the rules so that elections should be held on the final day, permitting discussion of the "important issues first and then deal with the officers last."

ADDES AND REUTHER FOR NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

Then Delegate Garrison, of Ford Highland Park Local 400 and the sole opponent of the no-strike pledge on the hand-picked resolutions committee, took the floor to expose the intent of the rule to limit committee reports to only two. As the delegates applauded and shouted their approval, he pointed out that the Addes and Reuther factions planned to bring out a majority and minority resolution "both for reaffirmation" in order to prevent discussion of the real resolution opposing the no-strike pledge. He branded this as a "subterfuge" about which "the delegates sitting here won't be very pleased."

Committee Chairman Zeller, of Chrysler Local 3, tried to talk down the delegates by sneering against the introduction of "super-duper" reports, but evoked only boos and jeers. After several more delegates and officers spoke pro and con, a minority report that the "election of officers take place as the last order of business" was introduced by Delegate DeLorenzo, Brewster Aeronautical Local 365. This was adopted overwhelmingly.

To avoid a further stinging rebuff to the leaders, the committee itself hastily revised the rules right on the platform, adding to its original "all committee reports be restricted to a minority and majority report" the phrase, "with the exception of the No-Strike Pledge issue." This was then adopted.

The next day, the Addes and Reuther factions cooked up an even cruder maneuver to ram through one or the other of their no-strike reaffirmation resolutions before the delegates could review them. First the resolutions committee introduced a partial report covering 15 resolutions, none of which included the no-strike issue. The impression was given that this question would not come up for debate until the following day.

At 3 P.M. in the afternoon, CIO President Philip Murray was escorted to the platform with a big fanfare and demonstration. Murray, wielding the club of his prestige as head of the CIO, "poured it on" the delegates for a solid hour and half of impassioned oratory, using every demagogic trick he could muster to confuse the issue, intimidate the opponents of the no-strike pledge and swing the convention into line behind the surrender policies of the leaders.

He worked on the pro-Roosevelt sentiments of the delegates, declaring that they would hurt Roosevelt's chances for re-election if they rescinded the no-strike pledge, that the union itself would be "jeopardized," that there "is still some blood to be spilled" before the end of the war. "War, war-war occasioned the No-Strike Pledge," he beat upon the emotions of the delegates, "war with all of its terrifying aspects, with its letting of blood and its loss of limbs and its culmination in death and mass killings."

ANOTHER GRAND MANEUVER TRIED

The last words of Murray had scarcely been spoken, when shortly before the regular adjournment time, with the delegates tired and hungry, the leadership attempted another grand maneuver against the opponents of the no-strike pledge. While Murray's emotional appeal and flag-waving utterances, his dire warnings, were still ringing in the delegates' ears, Thomas suddenly announced that the Resolutions Committee would immediately report out a "supplementary resolution"—on the No-Strike Pledge. This was obviously a move to catch the militants unprepared and use the best psychological moment for rushing through reaffirmation of the no-strike policy.

But an instantaneous boozing and groaning greeted Thomas's announcement. The delegates were in no mood for such shoddy maneuvers. When Delegate Crump of Flint Buick Local 599, which was solidly opposed to the no-strike pledge, arose to ask "if it would be permissible for this resolution to wait" until the next morning, there was a deafening outburst of cheers and applause. The leaders on the platform showed open concern. They realized at once that their trick had back-fired and did not try to press the point. Quickly, Thomas put the motion to postpone debate until the morning.

As the first order of business on Wednesday morning, three resolutions on the no-strike pledge were reported out of committee. The convention hall was jammed, the atmosphere was grim and tense, electric with the atmosphere of the impending struggle. At last, the rank and file had the chance to come to grips with the

servile policies of the leadership, that policy which had cost the workers one after another of their hard-won gains, that had permitted the corporations and the government to heap new burdens on them under the pretext of "wartime necessity," that had allowed the freezing of wages, the abrogation of collective bargaining rights, corporation union-busting provocations and the victimization of local militant leaders and members.

The report of the five majority members of the committee, who included three well-known Stalinists, Nat Ganley, Tool and Die Local 155, Shelton Tappes, Ford Local 600, and William Dieter, White Motor Local 32, called for unconditional reaffirmation of the no-strike pledge "for the duration of the war." At the same time, as a "concession" to the sentiments of the ranks, it contained a completely misleading and dishonest "resolve" intended to leave the impression that the leadership would "review" the question "upon the termination of the war with Germany," after "consultation" with the National CIO and "the other boards of organized labor in the United States who gave the pledge."

Then Victor Reuther, brother of Vice-President Walter Reuther and secretary of the committee, read the Reutherites' so-called "Minority" resolution. There had been much speculation about what Reuther would finally propose, the rumor having been spread around that he would bring out a resolution which would "go a long way" to nullifying the worst effects of the no-strike pledge. In this fashion, Reuther hoped to hold the militants in his camp and prevent a genuine mobilization of the forces favoring repeal of the pledge.

But Reuther's resolution proved to be identical in principle and ultimate effect to that of the committee majority, except that it was even more dishonest and misleading. It too had as its principal "resolve" that "this Convention reaffirms its no-strike pledge for the duration of the war." To this was added an obviously confusionist and meaningless section, which subsequently was hammered to pieces by both major sides in the conflict, that "between the period after the defeat of Germany and the end of the war against Japan" the International Executive Board be empowered to "authorize strike action" in those plants "reconverted to the exclusive and sole manufacture of civilian production."

REUTHER "MIDDLE OF THE ROAD" POSITION

Victor Reuther, in presenting his report, tried to argue that he was a "middle of the road" position, which would satisfy both "the needs of our nation and the needs of our union." "Keep the no-strike pledge, keep it, . . . keep it on war work," he urged, "but when war work no longer exists in plants our Pledge should no longer be binding." The hoots and jeers of the delegates showed that they were aware that the Reuther proposal was intended to bind the UAW once more to the no-strike pledge while tricking the militants into believing that it paved the way for eliminating it.

The so-called "super-minority" resolution, which turned out to have at least 10 times the support of Reuther's "minority" resolution, clearly and unequivocally resolved that "this great convention rescind our no-strike pledge," and further proposed to prove that this position represented the real will of the ranks by a membership resolution to approve or reject the action of the convention.

Ben Garrison, the only representative of the almost 40 per cent of the convention opposed to the no-strike pledge to be appointed to the 9-man resolutions committee, contending against the organized disruptive heckling tactics of the Addes-Reuther-Thomas-Frankenstein-Stalinist cliques, brought resounding applause when he declared:

"We were assured by our leaders that industry was ready to make some sacrifices. We know that labor and labor alone exercises and maintains to the spirit of the letter the equality of sacrifice. Management betrayed that agreement and supplanted it with 'business as usual.' Management has taken advantage of the war to break down existing bargaining and render our grievance procedure inactive and void. The gains labor has made have been steadily taken away from us." Answering the arguments that rescinding the no-strike pledge would "hurt our boys in uniform," Garrison evoked a storm of applause by stating, "I want to make damn certain that a just share of victory means that a union will be here when they do come home."

At the very start of the debate, Thomas made a reference to the super-minority report as the "super-duper report." Before he could say another sentence, 50 delegates were on the floor shouting, "Point of order!" Thenceforth, throughout the debate, Thomas and most of the other officers and supporters of the no-strike pledge carefully avoided any disparaging jests about "super-duper" reports—they had to if they wanted to continue their remarks.

The debate on the no-strike pledge then proceeded throughout the morning and most of the afternoon sessions, with alternate speakers for each position expressing their views to a continuing accompaniment of boos, shouts, applause, piercing whistles, from all sides. The delegates, true to the great democratic traditions for which the UAW-CIO is noted, would not permit the resolutions to come to a vote until the discussion had been exhausted and everyone was satisfied that all points of view had been thoroughly explained.

Delegate Hill, Detroit Dodge Local 3, led off the floor attack on the no-strike pledge, which he charged had been "sugar-coated" by the promise that the War Labor Board "would weigh our grievances and we would get justice. But we know through past and bitter experiences we have not gotten any of our grievances settled satisfactorily." He declared that the workers are told to surrender the

strike weapon "in order that we can lick the European Fascists," and asked, "are we going to sit idly by and let all the American fascists knock the hell out of us?" He told of threatened company "discipline" facing Local 3 stewards and committeemen, reminded the convention of the pre-war Dodge strike for 58 days to win rehiring of fired union men. "If they are going to fire any of our stewards and plant committeemen now, let us be able to go back and defend them."

TWO RESOLUTIONS FAVOR NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

In assailing both the Addes and Reuther resolutions, delegate McGill of Local 599, Flint, stated that the "so-called Majority and Minority" resolutions "are only one resolution, and that is in favor of the no-strike pledge." He called the no-strike pledge a "sugar-coated pill" from which the sugar long ago dissolved and the workers are now feeling the "sting of the poison in that pill." He too called for revoking the no-strike pledge to bring "some semblance of collective bargaining back to the workers in the plant where it belongs."

Delegate Ferraza, President of Briggs Local 212, reminded the convention that "Brother Thomas has issued a pamphlet here telling us that the cost of living has gone up 43 percent, and our wages have not gone up accordingly. That is one good reason to rescind the no-strike pledge." He answered the flag-waving appeal made previously by Vice-President Frankensteen to "Remember Pearl Harbor" by pointing out how "management pulled a Pearl Harbor on the Brewster aircraft workers" by shutting the plant down almost without notice. "The no-strike pledge I think is the most vicious thing ever passed by this International Union."

Delegate Heckinger of the powerful Toledo Local 12 warned that the no-strike pledge held the danger of abject surrender to the National Association of Manufacturers. "I do not believe in inviting a group of unconscionable self aggrandizers to make saps out of us because we will not stand up and fight for our rights. Why should we invite the vested interests to bleed us unendingly? They certainly do not need a second invitation to line their vaults with money they steal out of our pockets while we stand looking on hopefully and helpless to do a thing about it because our hands are tied."

The deceptive, fence-straddling Reuther resolution was sharply assailed by Delegate Silver, Local 351, Detroit, who termed it "more vicious" even than the Addes-Thomas-Frankenstein-Stalinists majority resolution. The Addes resolution he called "a report of defeatism," the Reuther, "a report of confusion." He told the convention that the leadership had planned to bring wounded veterans down to speak for maintaining the no-strike pledge, but they reversed their plans when informed that the militant opposition would bring "trade unionists who have been wounded" to tell what they really think about surrendering labor's most powerful economic weapon.

"Why, down at Percy Jones Hospital, thirty-six miles from here, a member of Local 351, who was wounded at the Anzio beachhead in Italy, shot down by a machine gun, came back to our plant and told us what he thought of our giving a pledge and allowing the company to take away the union that was built by thirty-six days on the picket lines. He didn't like it."

VOTE 100% TO RESCIND PLEDGE

While the majority speakers were pouring out their threats and appeals, they were repeatedly interrupted by cheers as one after another was pasted up on the balconies announcing that various important locals "Vote 100% to Rescind the No-Strike Pledge."

Addes, who began by begging the delegates to "refrain from expressing their enthusiasm until I have concluded," told the delegates that all they had to do was "go out and do the job on November 7th" by reelecting Roosevelt and "we will be able to secure from this Congress all of those things that the workers are entitled to." Stalinist Ganley supported the majority resolution, although he indicated that even that wasn't iron-clad enough for him. Strikes, even in civilian production, he stated in horror, "are against the War Labor Board," although he conceded that the super-minority resolution was at least an "honest position" in contrast to Reuther's resolution.

Frankenstein pulled out the stops in his unrestrained appeal to "patriotism," winding up like an editorial out of the ultra-reactionary Chicago Tribune, "I say now 'Don't forget Pearl Harbor.' The Japs still have to be licked." He even raised the moth-eaten argument of the big business press that strikes would "start the pattern of rescinding all of the controls that we have." But he too was forced to reserve his real contempt for the miserable Reuther subterfuge. "I have more, much more respect for the people who are supporting the outright revocation," he declared, than for the Reuther resolution sponsors. "Why," he correctly pointed out, "is there any management, if they don't want a strike, who wouldn't be able to keep a little bit of war work in their plants while they are making their conversion?"

Real pandemonium broke forth when Grant of Ford Local 600, who is known to have close Stalinist connections, started to speak about showing "our wholehearted support to the election of President Roosevelt" by reaffirming the pledge. At this point, the entire Briggs delegation began waving tiny American flags in demonstration against the flag-waving tactics of the leadership.

The rank and file speakers for Reuther's resolution displayed in their remarks the utter confusion it was intended to create. In reality, those who defended this piece of contemptible double-talk, spoke either in favor of the no-strike pledge or against it. They found it impossible to maintain a fence-straddling position. Most of the Reutherite speakers, including Walter Reuther himself, dwelt mainly

on "reaffirming the no-strike pledge," twisting words like a Philadelphia lawyer in order to convey a false impression that the minority resolution was somehow "different" in fundamentals from the majority resolution. For the first time, the genuine militants saw clearly revealed Reuther's true role as "left" cover for the cowardly leadership.

After almost a full day's debate, the motion was finally put for a vote on the resolutions and closing of discussion. A request was made for a roll-call vote. Addes, who was in the chair, called the request for a roll-call out of order. There was a tremendous uproar, boozing, stamping of feet. Finally, the convention permitted Addes to put the super-minority resolution to a hand vote. Addes ruled the motion for the super-minority resolution lost. Another storm broke loose. A roll-call vote was demanded and secured.

When the roll-call was completed after nearly three hours, the advocates for the rescinding of the no-strike pledge had rolled up, in the face of the opposition of the entire top leadership both of the UAW and CIO, the total of 3,750 votes, 36 per cent of the total cast. This support came predominantly from the major UAW centers in Michigan and Ohio. It included the entire big Briggs local 212 delegation, 75 per cent of the huge Ford Bomber Local 50 contingent, virtually the entire Flint, Michigan delegation, the three biggest plants in Chicago, including Dodge-Chrysler with 30,000 workers, Brewster Aeronautical Local 365, Wright aircraft in Patterson, N. J., and scores of other important locals. Pratt and Whitney unit of Ford Local 600, largest local of the UAW, also swung solidly behind the super-minority resolution. Inroads were made, in fact, in almost all big locals, except those few like Detroit Local 155, completely controlled by the Stalinists.

The next morning the vote was taken on the Reuther and Addes resolutions. Reuther's position stood completely exposed. His resolution was voted down by a simple hand vote, with scarcely a hundred delegates favoring it. Then came the biggest upset, which threw utter consternation into the ranks of the leadership.

Thomas twice was forced to take a hand vote on the majority resolution, and then standing votes, each time declaring it "close" but lost. Finally, this resolution was put to a roll-call vote. When the votes were totalled, the resolution to reaffirm the no-strike pledge unconditionally was defeated by a vote of 5,232 to 4,988. Thus, the convention had clearly repudiated an unconditional no-strike pledge, with a powerful minority, almost 40 per cent, in outright opposition to the pledge in any form.

At the afternoon session, the leadership pulled off what Delegate DeLorenzo termed the "dirtiest trick" of any UAW convention. It was apparent that the delegates could come to no decisive decision on the issue and were prepared to place the matter directly in the hands of the membership through a referendum vote. The Addes-Reuther group joined forces on the resolutions committee to make a proposal on "procedure," which was to first vote on a straight motion to reaffirm the no-strike pledge unconditionally and then vote on a motion to hold a membership referendum.

Garrison, the single minority, who had not participated in the Rank and File Caucus and who was playing unprincipled politics with the Leonard faction which split off from the Reuther caucus, suddenly offered a "compromise" proposal to "reaffirm the no-strike pledge until a referendum could be held" within 90 days of adjournment.

In the course of the ensuing discussion, the resolutions committee members and the officers, with Victor Reuther playing the chief role of deceiver, gave the delegates the impression that even if they voted for the majority proposal on the no-strike pledge, that it was agreed to hold a referendum. Thus, a good many delegates voted for the reaffirmation of the no-strike pledge in the belief that it was only for a matter of 90 days until a referendum would be held. On this (Continued on page 5)

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The Byrnes-Baruch Plan For "Post-War Reconversion"

By The Editors

The Director of War Mobilization, James F. Byrnes, more commonly known as the Assistant President, has recently submitted a report to Roosevelt on the "progress" of the government's plans for reconversion to civilian production. The Byrnes report urges that the Baruch-Hancock plan "should continue to be the guide for reconversion policies." This plan, drawn up by the Wall Street tycoons, Bernard Baruch and John Hancock, established the pattern of the government's "post-war policy and planning." It is the master plan of Wall Street for the preservation and extension of monopoly control of production, distribution and exchange—that is, of the economic life of the nation. The major sections of the Baruch plan have already been embodied in legislative form. Big Business which has amassed fabulous profits in war contracts is all set to reap a harvest of plunder in the "post-war" period.

Byrnes reports that the government's reconversion program is proceeding according to plan—the Baruch plan. For the protection of the cost-plus patriots: "Arrangements for prompt advance payments and for loans assure the war contractor of quick financing." For the disposal of government-owned plant and equipment to the monopolists at bargain prices: "It is obvious that any restrictions upon the sale or leasing of these plants that will delay their conversion to civilian production will cause unemployment." In the interest of inflated profits . . . "articles not now produced, such as automobiles, radios, refrigerators, may have to be priced somewhat above the prices prevailing in 1941 when civilian production of these articles was stopped." As a bonanza to the corporation profiteers: "With the ending of the war there should be an end to excess profit taxes." Byrnes "remembers" the workers also: "Unemployment compensation is our first line of defense against unemployment."

The pattern of the Baruch plan emerges as an integrated political program in the report by Byrnes on the "progress" of the government's reconversion program. As outlined by Roosevelt's first assistant this program provides for generous cash payments to war contractors, guaranteed profits for the corporations during the "reconversion" period, the disposal of government-owned plant and equipment comprising one-quarter of the total productive capacity of the nation, to monopoly capital for a song, restricted production at monopoly prices, and MASS UNEMPLOYMENT—with "unemployment compensation" payments under the Byrnes inspired "states rights" starvation bill. (In many states, compensation is as low as \$2 a week for those able to qualify.) The bulk of this program has already been embodied in legislative form. The main additional plank that Byrnes proposes in his report is the elimination of the "excess profit taxes" on corporations.

The campaign for the elimination of the excess profit tax on corporations is now in full swing! It is propagated by no other than Beardsley Ruml, author of the infamous Ruml "pay-as-you-go forgiveness" plan which forgave the rich millions of dollars in taxes, and shifted the tax burden to the shoulders of the poor. The campaign for the elimination of excess profit taxes

on corporations, if successful, will mean piling an additional tax burden on the working masses. Under the spurious slogan of providing employment for the workers, the plunderbund is seeking to shift a larger burden of taxes upon those least able to pay. The moneybags threaten that unless they are given this additional "profit incentive" the wheels of industry will slow down, factories will close, production will be curtailed and unemployment will ravage the land!

In the eight months that have elapsed since the Baruch plan was released Big Business has been granted its major demands with the one exception of the elimination of the excess profits tax. If past experience is any criterion this demand will also soon be granted by the Congressional time-servers. It is an integral part of the Baruch plan which is in essence the political program of the capitalist class. This program has been endorsed by both capitalist parties. The political deputies of Big Business in the Administration and Congress, both Democrat and Republican, have united in putting this program across. Roosevelt and Byrnes are the chief executors of this program, Congress its legislator and Wall Street its beneficiary.

Because of the bankrupt policy of the trade union leaders in limiting labor's political activity to supporting one or another of the two capitalist candidates and parties, the workers are deprived of the opportunity of advancing their own independent program. A plan, if put forward seriously, cannot be other than a political program.

To support the candidates of the Democratic or Republican parties means to support the program of Wall Street. The program of Wall Street is the Baruch plan. It is impossible to escape this conclusion: political support for the Democrats or Republicans means support for the Baruch plan. The treachery of the labor "statesmen" lies precisely in blinding the workers to this inescapable conclusion and preventing the labor movement from advancing its own program of full employment.

Labor can advance its own program only by organizing its own political party and running its own candidates on the basis of that program. Against Wall Street's Baruch plan of curtailing production in the interest of monopoly profits; of taxing the poor instead of the rich; of mass unemployment, insecurity and want in the midst of potential plenty, labor must advance the program of full utilization of the productive capacity of the nation by first nationalizing the government-owned industries under workers control of production as a step toward the complete nationalization of industry.

This must be one of the central planks in a rounded labor program which can only be achieved by the independent political action of the working masses. The first step towards this achievement must be the organization of an Independent Labor Party based on the trade unions. The taking of this first step will be worth more to the workers than all the votes cast for the perfidious "friends of labor" parading under the banner of Wall Street, whether they call themselves Democrats or Republicans.

Stalin Imposes Reactionary Armistice On The Rumanians

(Continued from page 1)

—places a burden of \$23 on every man, woman and child in Rumania's population of some 13 millions. This is a sizeable item when it is considered that the bulk of the people, the workers and peasants, are among the most poverty-stricken in the world.

Just as in all capitalist countries the poorest people are made to pay for the wars of their exploiters and oppressors, so it will be upon just this section of the Rumanian population that the load of the present indemnities will fall. The Rumanian masses are being made to pay for the criminal war into which they were plunged by their capitalist ruling class.

The imposition of the Soviet indemnity illustrates in striking fashion how far the Stalinist ruling clique has descended from the glorious, liberating practices of the early Bolshevik Government of Lenin and Trotsky!

One of the first acts of the newly-established Bolshevik Government in 1917 was to address notes to all the belligerent governments with a proposal for an immediate armistice in order to end the sufferings of the war-tortured peoples. Lenin and Trotsky called for a peace with "NO ANNEXATIONS, NO INDENMITIES."

"WAR GUILT"

Implicit in this call was recognition of the responsibility of the imperialists for the war and refusal to be a party to any "peace" which, through the imposition of indemnities or reparations, implying "war guilt," made the masses pay for the crimes of their ruling classes. Implicit, too, in the Bolshevik peace program, was the spirit of revolutionary socialist internationalism. The Bolsheviks, in contrast to the imperialists who sought to fan national hatreds by means of hue

war indemnities, proclaimed the fraternal union of the toiling and exploited masses everywhere and summoned them to a common struggle against capitalism and its wars.

All this, the heart and essence of Bolshevism, was long since thrown into the discard by the counter-revolutionary Kremlin gang. Where Bolshevism appeared before the European masses as a genuine revolutionary liberating force, Stalinism appears as the venal ally and tool of imperialism, an oppressor of the masses, the betrayer of their true interests. The Rumania armistice is another link in the ever-growing chain of Stalinist infamies.

Other of the armistice terms are in line with the main points. The Rumanian government is required to pay for the maintenance of Soviet troops on Rumanian territory and furnish to these troops the use of communications and means of transport, power stations, public utility enterprises and institutions, fuel stocks, food and other materials, and even personal services, as directed by the Soviet High Command.

The Rumanian government is required, also, to disband and suppress all "fascist type" organizations hostile to the Allied nations, in particular to the Soviet Union, and not to tolerate the existence of such organizations in the future. It is not hard to envisage that the Stalinist agents will use this clause to demand the suppression of organizations which oppose the imperialist war and above all, of genuine revolutionary socialist organizations fighting to end capitalism, which the Kremlin gang has pledged to uphold and preserve.

DECEITFUL CHARACTER

The deceitful character of this clause becomes clear on the background of Rumanian events. Stalin

Who Is James F. Byrnes And What Is His Record

By C. Thomas

Behind most of the anti-labor and pro-Wall Street measures emanating from Washington stands the sinister figure of James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization. By virtue of the tremendous political power conferred upon him by Roosevelt, Byrnes has been dubbed Assistant President. As Roosevelt's right hand man he has exercised his talent as a wire-puller and manipulator to put across the program of Big Business. Between the President and his Assistant there has developed a division of labor. While the President will play innocent on many unpopular issues in order to retain the shreds of his "or-liberal" reputation, his Assistant comes to the forefront as the spearhead of the reaction. The southern poll-tax Congressmen and other reactionaries "hate" Roosevelt, but they "love" Byrnes. The liberals and labor leaders "love" Roosevelt and "hate" Byrnes. The workers get in the neck from both!

Who is Byrnes and what is his record? Thanks to the poll-tax system, Byrnes spent 24 years in Congress (14 in the House and 10 in the Senate) as a representative from South Carolina. During this period he defended the poll-tax system, was a "white supremacy" crusader, who vented his spleen on both the Negro people and white workers. In a speech to Congress after the last war, he literally spat his "white supremacy" venom at the Negro people by issuing the warning:

TWO RACES

"If the two races are to live together in this country it may as well be understood that the war has in no way changed the attitude of the white man toward the social and political equality of the Negro. If, as a result of his experiences in the war, he does not care to live in this land without political and social equality, then he can depart for any country he wishes, his departure will be facilitated by the white people of this country who desire no disturbing factor in their midst."

In view of the fact that Byrnes has not changed his views to this day it is no wonder that he has endeared himself to the reactionary poll-tax "white supremacists" of Roosevelt's Democratic party. In 1938, Byrnes led a filibuster against the Anti-Lynch Bill in which he threatened to continue the filibuster for 100 years, until the year 2038, unless the bill was withdrawn. Since he was brought to Washington by Roosevelt and placed in a position of high authority, Byrnes has continued to lead the fight against any attempt to establish the slightest measure of political, economic or social equality for the oppressed Negro people.

This is the man whom Roosevelt elevated to the key position of Director of Economic Stabilization in October 1942, commanding him to the American people in a White House statement which said: "I know the American people can be sure that in keeping down the cost of living he will be fair to every one." What were the qualities that Byrnes displayed in his long record as a poll-tax politician which Roosevelt found so commendable?

ANTI-STRIKE RIDER

In 1937 Byrnes led the fight against the Wage-Hour Bill. It was he who introduced the anti-sidetown strike rider on the Guffey Coal Bill. Several years later, he introduced a resolution in the Senate to cut the appropriation for the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee in half. In 1939, working as usual through a coalition of reactionaries, Byrnes led a successful fight to cut the emergency WPA appropriations. While he consistently opposed any and all progressive labor legislation, Byrnes revealed a touching concern for the interests of Big Business. It was Byrnes' Special Committee on Relief and Unemployment that called for the repeal of the Undistributed Profits Tax and for a modification of the Capital Gains Levy. His conception of the function of a committee on Relief and Unemployment was to provide the "relief" for Big Business and the "unemployment" for the workers.

Having firmly established his reputation as an outright reactionary and oppressive "armistice" is the provision which requires the liberation of the Jews ("persons under arrest . . . owing to their racial origin") and the abolition of "all discriminatory legislation and restrictions resulting therefrom." Here is one great conquest of the October Revolution, the equality of all races, the abolition of race discrimination, which Stalin has not yet completely destroyed.

Even here attempting to humiliate the Rumanian people and stamp them as an inferior breed, the concluding article states that although the armistice is written in the Russian, English and Rumanian languages, only

officials in Byrnes' office at the White House where he laid down the policy to be followed" which was relayed by telephone to the Congressmen at the Capitol. This is the man about whom Roosevelt said: "I know the American people can be sure that in keeping down the cost of living he will be fair to every one."

As the preponderance of Allied military power began to manifest itself in Europe, Byrnes bestirred himself over the problem of "post-war" adjustment. He appointed Bernard Baruch, multi-millionaire stockholder and John M. Hancock, Wall Street banker, to draw up a "blue-print of prosperity" for the "post-war" period. The Baruch-Hancock plan has become the blue print for the government's "post-war" policy. Under Byrnes' tutelage this scheme for the relief of Big Business is being given legislative form and pushed through Congress.

This watch dog of the interests of Wall Street, this bitter enemy of the interests of labor, is diligent in the use of his key position to favor the exploiters at the expense of the workers. When



JAMES F. BYRNES

religious group for refusing to pay license fees for the sale of their religious literature. This is the man whom Roosevelt selected as Director of Economic Stabilization to reign as supreme arbiter over wages, prices, rents.

WAGE FREEZING

From the time of his appointment as Economic Director Byrnes has held the wage freezing line against the workers while prices and profits have bounded upward. To the demand raised by the unions that wage increases be granted in view of the rising cost of living Byrnes replied in a radio address on February 9, 1943 that there "must be no further increases in wages beyond the Little Steel formula." A few months later he was condemned by both the CIO and AFL for manipulating the War Labor Board like a puppet from behind the scenes to block any wage increases to the workers. But again he was rewarded by Roosevelt who in June 1943 appointed him War Mobilization Director with the most extensive powers granted an individual in this war.

So appreciative was Roosevelt of the services of his Assistant that he gave the nod for Byrnes' nomination as Vice President at the recent convention of the Democratic party. But even the cynical labor bureaucrats who have screened Roosevelt's responsibility for the actions of his Assistant gagged at being asked to swallow this poll-tax Bourbon.

They want to go on "loving" Roosevelt and "hating" Byrnes in order to foster the deception that the President and his Assistant stand at opposite poles—thus concealing the true relationship in which they stand as two sides of the same coin.

Notice To Subscribers

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RESTRAINTS REMOVED

On the background of the "hold-the-line" report Congress proceeded to adopt a mangled version of the Price Control and Stabilization Act which removed all effective restraints from the greedy appetites of profit-hungry black market operators, price gougers and rent hogs. Under the whip of Byrnes, administration forces lined up in support of the amended price gouging bill. It was reported that "there was a meeting of top Administration of

SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM



By V. Grey

"It isn't only that crooks get into office so much and might do it here and there under socialism too. What about the honest guys who wind up the same as the rest after you put them in office? You see that in the union, too. You put an honest guy in office, and before long he turns phony too. What is socialism going to do about that?"

Well, it's true that a union office—from a local one to an international, can ruin an honest man almost as quickly as a job in a bank with a million dollars at his elbow. And that's because there's only one way to be dishonest in a bank—by stealing money. But in a union you can turn into a stooge, a hand-raiser, and finally a traitor to labor by a very simple road.

If you're handling somebody else's money, you only have to know one thing to stay honest. Namely, that it's not your dough, and it's not nice to steal it. But when you have a lot of peoples' hopes for a better life in your trust, and you don't know just how these hopes are going to come true, you're liable to listen to the officers higher up. Yes, you begin to take their advice and collaborate with them. And why not? They know more about it than you do. And you need something to tie on to.

It's easy to betray labor's trust. Because that trust is not always clearly understood. The rank and file expect the officers to fight for them, to tell them the truth, and not to rob the treasury. An officer can do the last two and think he's fighting too. And still he can be a failure. BECAUSE HE DOESN'T UNDERSTAND WHAT HE'S FIGHTING AND HOW TO FIGHT.

WHAT KIND OF A FIGHT

What kind of a fight are you putting up against the boss, for instance, if you campaign for the boss's banker to be governor? As banker he loans the boss money to tide him over when you strike. As governor he orders out the troops to smash your picket line. And the union official who helped elect the governor will tell everyone how the governor "betrayed" labor.

If you just put up a penny-ante fight and just argue with the company for weeks about the sinks in the washroom—are you going to be surprised when all the companies get together and use the government, the War Labor Board, and all the other boards to smash your union? Yes, you are going to be surprised, if you don't understand what you are fighting. Labor is fighting the whole capitalist system and its government. The only way it can win the fight is to set up its own system and government.

But the top union leadership is 100 percent in favor of the present government. They are one hundred percent in favor of the boss system. And they say so. Naturally they "co-operate" with the bosses' war machine. And that means in practice co-operating with the bosses' corporations. The local union officers soon become yes men for the international because it seems logical, and they see no other road. Most of the rank and file are for the present system of government too. But they want to fight the corporations, all the same. They don't see the tie-up. They're just burned up at conditions in the plant and figure the local officials are selling out if they don't improve them.

But there is one pretty sure way of making the leaders really fight. That's when you elect them on a PROGRAM. If the election fights are centered around principles—such as the faction supporting the no-strike pledge and the faction against it—then the man who gets in to fight the no-strike pledge really has something to hold on to. He has an anchor for his honesty: a program. An understanding of what to fight for.

ELECTED ON A PROGRAM

The fight against the no-strike pledge is not the whole fight against the boss parties and the boss system, to be sure. But it contains a lot of understanding of what labor's problems are. A man elected on a program like this not only has a pretty clear idea of what he's supposed to do, but he's in with a bunch of men and women who are also clear on what they want. It's easy for him to see he'd be letting them down, he'd be a traitor and a rat if he didn't support them. He'd feel as though he were stealing money. And his supporters, all us people in the shops, would treat him far worse than a thief and be very bitter about it.

Revolutionary Socialists—that is Trotskyists—have a conscience and a political program that disciplines them and governs them much better than a union program does. They have a tradition. They look at their program and their principles as more important than anything else in the world. And their supporters, their comrades in the revolutionary party, are far more demanding and watchful than the union member is with the best of union leaders. In the rare case where a Trotskyist purposely went against socialist principles to make things better for himself in the union or in the government, his own party would take the lead in condemning him as well as expelling him from its ranks.

Do you want to know how revolutionists will act when they are in office? Even when they are surrounded by capitalist enemies? Look at the fellows in Minneapolis. Look at Ray Dunne, Farrell Dobbs and the others. They were paid officials of the truck-drivers union, Minneapolis local 544. They were elected on a militant program. But they not only lived up to the demands of the membership. They SURPASSED them.

Lots of Minneapolis drivers used to speak almost reverently of the Dunne brothers, with great admiration for their leadership abilities. These leaders were excellent men. But first and foremost they were men of a party, men with a program. And a program that went beyond two by four shadow boxing fights against this or that boss, a program that sized up the real enemy—the capitalist class and its government. That's why they could argue the pants off the government mediators during the 1934 strike instead of letting the opposite happen. And that's why, when the bosses decided to enter the second world slaughter, these eighteen Trotskyists and union leaders were railroaded to jail.

HERE IS THE PROOF

Well, here's the proof in prison walls today—here's the proof that principle, socialist principle, makes men firmer and greater than their ordinary selves. They had the chance to stay out of jail. They had the chance to breathe the outside air. Some even had the chance to keep their salaried jobs in the union. All they would have to give up was their self-respect. Not a single one yielded. They all stand firm.

THE END OF THE COMINTERN

By James P. Cannon

The "LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

"Democracy" at Home and Abroad

Two official but divergent announcements appeared in the news last week that expose and emphasize once again the basic economic root of anti-Negro prejudice and discrimination. The role of the Negro in the coming class struggle takes on added significance and clarity with each new development across the pond.

Coincident with the entry of Allied troops into Germany the London headquarters of the Allied Military Government announced, with great fanfare, that, in occupied Germany, there would be no toleration of "discrimination because of race, color or creed." About the same time plans were made public for the establishment of several Jim-Crow Army rehabilitation centers here in the United States for the physical and mental building up of combat-fatigued soldiers who have seen particularly strenuous action overseas. The official statement revealed that the beautiful relaxation centers—forty-nine of them at Hot Springs, Ark., Santa Barbara, Calif., Asheville, N. C., Miami, Fla., and Lake Placid, N. J.—are to be restricted to white veterans only. The Army summarily took over Hotel Pershing on Chicago's over crowded South-side ghetto and announced that it would be made available as a Jim Crow Rest Center for the returning, combat-shocked Negro veterans.

SIMILAR CONTRADICTIONS

We have all seen many other similar contradictions in the racial policy of the Army brass hats and have often asked why, if a certain policy is in line with a "war for liberation of oppressed peoples," or even in line with efficient military prosecution of the war—regardless of its true aims—then why are certain spots and certain times picked to apply racial discrimination and certain other times and places picked to ostensibly carry out racial democracy.

The real answer is to be found in terms of dollars and cents. Regardless of whether a particular politician or commanding officer is "good" or "bad," or changes in his personal thoughts from one to the other, he will find it impossible under the impelling and degrading pressure of the decaying capitalist system to act, in the long run, in any other way than that dictated by the exploitative interests of the ruling class. Consciously, or not, those who mold the political and military policies of capitalist nation are the unerring agents of the profiteers both in war and peace. They make no exception on the racial question.

The AMG announcement on German policy, hopefully played up by the Negro press, was never intended to apply to Negroes. This needs no further proof that the fact that brown soldiers are working in service units today on German soil although many of them are qualified for different duty from which they are barred because of their color. Not a democratic army, but an army composed of separate lily-white and separate Jim Crow units is slaughtering and being slaughtered, in order that the AMG "racial equality" decree may be posted in each succeeding town. There is another phony aspect as far as Negroes are concerned. According to reports of Germans as well as American Negro tourists and entertainers there was no color discrimination in Germany before or

my cousin... but me, Oh Lord."

Pioneer Paragraphs

ONLY THE WORKERS' MILITIA CAN REPEL FASCIST ATTACKS

To struggle, it is necessary to conserve and strengthen the instruments and the means of struggle—organizations, press, meetings, etc. Fascism threatens all of that directly and immediately. It is still too weak for the direct struggle for power but it is strong enough to attempt to beat down the working class organizations bit by bit, to temper its bands in its attacks, and to spread dismay and lack of confidence in their forces in the ranks of the workers.

Fascism finds unconscious helpers in all those who say that the "physical struggle" is impermissible or hopeless, and demand of Doumergue (French Premier in 1934) the disarmament of his Fascist guard. Nothing is so dangerous for the proletariat, especially in the present situation, as the sugared poison of false hopes. Nothing increases the insolence of the Fascists so much as "flabby pacifism" on the part of the workers' organizations.

UAW To Vote On No-Strike Pledge

(Continued from page 3)

part of the "procedure" Reuther and Addes united. On a hand vote, the majority motion for reaffirmation was adopted by a 3 to 2 majority.

Then, the "hook" was revealed. The majority of the committee proposed that there be no referendum. A storm of opposition and boozing broke forth. Victor Reuther, trying to recapture support after he had blocked with Addes on the no-strike motion, came out for a referendum along with Garrison.

In the subsequent furious debate, the majority of the leadership with the Stalinists taking the lead, tried to claim that the convention had "taken a position," that a referendum would "disrupt our election campaign for the Commander-In-Chief," etc. But the delegates were thoroughly angered and disgusted. The cry was taken up through one speaker after another, "Vote for the referendum. Let the union membership speak!"

Finally, the proposal for a referendum by mail, to be held within three months, was put to a hand vote. Addes, who was in the chair, conceded the motion had carried. His followers put up a clamor for a roll-call, which was granted. For the third time, a roll-call vote was taken during the convention. The motion for a referendum was adopted by two-thirds majority, 6,622 votes for, 3,354 against.

But this action did not end the conflict on the no-strike pledge. Last evening, in the very closing hours of the convention, a new militant upsurge broke forth over the report of the grievance committee on the case of the fired Ford aircraft workers, "disciplined" for allegedly "instigating" a strike. The committee brought in a report simply to set up a three-man committee to "investigate" the affair.

This almost created a riot. Delegates arose to demand that the union defend the fired workers. The committee motion was roundly defeated. A Local 140 delegate then made a motion that Ford Local 600 pay the lost wages of the fired workers until they were either "proven guilty" or rehired. The motion appeared to have very strong support.

But when the vote was taken, Addes, in the chair, pulled a trick. While the hands of those voting in favor were still raised, he quickly called for the no-vote, and then announced to the confused delegates that the motion was lost. The delegates were too tired to insist on another roll call.

During the course of the debate, Thomas tried to uphold the failure to defend the Ford workers and charged that the delegates wanted to "make a fool of the convention" because, he claimed, the convention had "reaffirmed the no-strike pledge." This latter remark was greeted by a tremendous volley of stamping, boozing and jeering, as everyone realized that the motion to reaffirm had been put over by a trick and did not really represent the feelings of the convention majority.

Finally, a motion by Addes was narrowly passed that the convention grievance committee be instructed to "make a study" of the case and agreed to pay for the lost time if the "findings" favored the men. This was clearly not what the delegates wanted. They wanted to defend the Ford workers, regardless of whether or not they had "instigated" a strike. But it was too late to argue further.

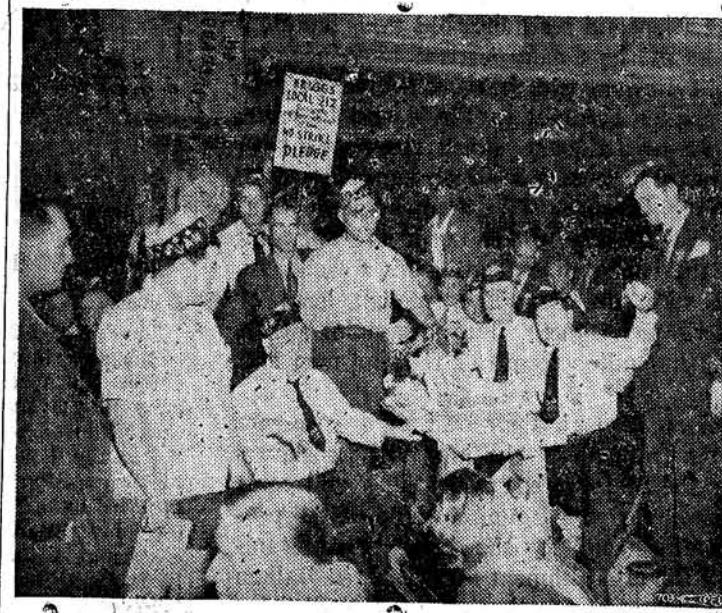
SUSPICIOUS OF TOP LEADERS

As usual in UAW conventions, the ranks repeatedly demonstrated their utter lack of respect for the whole leadership and their suspicion of the top officers. During the discussion of proposed constitutional revisions, the delegates simply brushed aside any measure which would add in the slightest to the existing powers, emoluments or privileges of the leadership. The word "porkchoppers"—the UAW term for functionaries who are simply interested in holding on to well-paid jobs—was repeated so often on the convention floor that even Thomas and the rest of the leaders found themselves speaking about "porkchoppers."

At the insistence of the delegates, International Representatives who were not elected delegates were forced to leave the convention floor during votes. A proposed amendment to increase traveling expenses for officers and international representatives to \$15 a day was rejected out of hand, despite the appeal of the whole leadership. Another proposal for a two-year instead of the present one-year term of office was similarly brushed aside by the delegates.

The leadership had undoubtedly planned to steamroller the convention into a big political jamboree for Roosevelt and the CIO-PAC political campaign. But they could never get really started. On the morning of the second day's session, a resolution endorsing Roosevelt for a fourth term was introduced. It was passed almost without discussion, except for the remarks of a couple of Stalinist delegates who tried to steam up the delegates unsuccessfully.

By and large, the delegates received the appeals to get out and campaign for Roosevelt with apathy. Delegate Tracy Doll, of Hudson Local 154, executive secretary of the Wayne County (Detroit) PAC, complained that in Detroit UAW shops only 30 per cent of the members are registered and local union officers say, "Oh, I am too busy on my grievances." Doll bemoaned the fact that "we have local unions, mind you big ones, that sit back and say, 'Democrats or Republicans, what is the difference; it is tweedledee and tweedle-dum.'" Sidney Hillman, CIO-PAC head, after being held up by the



The Briggs Local 212 delegates at the UAW-CIO Convention in Grand Rapids, who put a stormy fight against the no-strike pledge. The mascot—called "Referendum"—won, with the Convention referring to the membership a vote on the no-strike pledge to be taken within 90 days.

no-strike roll-call spoke late Thursday evening before a half-empty hall.

The election of officers once more revealed the unprincipled clique character of the contending factions in the top leadership. The chief issue was the fight between the Reuther and Addes-Frankenstein caucuses for the posts of vice-presidents. Actually, as the position of both cliques on the no-strike pledge issue revealed, there is no basic difference between the two factions on any principled question.

The entire convention constituted a sharp rebuff to the leadership. Although they were reelected, they suffered a further marked decline in prestige. The heaviest blows were struck at Reuther and the Stalinists, both groups exposing themselves because of their thoroughly unscrupulous maneuvers and tactics.

The Stalinists managed to sneak their way through the convention only by clinging tightly to the coat-tails of the Addes-Frankenstein clique. Their known spokesmen, like Ganley and Anderson, were repeatedly booed. Their maneuvers on the no-strike pledge were repeatedly frustrated by the ranks. Their viciously undemocratic attack on the proposal for a referendum revealed them in their true light even to some of their own followers. The Local 155 delegation, led by Ganley and Anderson, which traditionally goes 100 per cent down the line with Stalinist instructions, split on the referendum issues, five delegates bravely the terrorism of the Stalinist machine to vote for the referendum.

Reuther, who last year defeated Frankenstein for first vice-president, this year lost to him on the first ballot by over 800 votes. Many delegates who voted against the no-strike pledge, because they had no other choice, voted for Frankenstein rather than Reuther as a demonstration of their awareness of his treacherous, confusionist policies. Reuther, however, won by a very large majority over Leonard, a typical "porkchopper" who tried to play one faction against the other, although originally in Reuther's camp, in order to get himself a vice-presidency.

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Many large delegations voted in block first for Frankenstein and then for Reuther, thereby indicating their distrust of both and their desire to maintain a "balance of power" with one elected to "keep watch" on the other. But this is a state of affairs which will not exist for long. The membership is about fed up with supporting one unprincipled faction against another, while both unite on the basic questions against the rank and file. That is the significance of the support given to Carter when he ran against Thomas for the presidency. Thomas had been elected unopposed for five straight years. At this convention, he had the backing of both the Reuther and Addes caucuses. Nevertheless, over 1300 votes were cast against him in favor of Carter, who offered only token opposition and did not even run a campaign, except to announce by means of a small sign that he was running. Those who voted for Carter were voting not for an individual but for a program. This is the principle which is bound to gain tremendous force in the coming year. A brand new, militant leadership, free of the old clique ties, is already in the making and will in due time seriously challenge the old leadership.

This is ensured particularly by the growth of the Rank and File Caucus, which received a great impetus during the convention as the result of its struggle against the no-strike pledge. That struggle now has the possibility of continuing immediately after the convention in the campaign to win a majority for rescinding the no-strike pledge during the coming referendum.

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

Somehow I have trouble writing about Joey when he's right here. My mind just doesn't seem to work that way. But tonight I've got to put these things down, because I don't want to take a chance of losing any of them.

The time for him to be going is drawing closer. We haven't talked much about it, but I have been able to see that when Joey laughed his eyes usually weren't as happy as his mouth. It wasn't very noticeable, but Joey and I understand each other pretty well, and I could see it.

We had a long talk last night, just the two of us. We talked about the old days when Joey and Dick and Helen and Angie diRosa were all kids together along with the rest of the neighborhood gang;



how poverty killed Dick and Angie; Dick, bright-eyed little Dick, running around the streets until an auto stopped his legs forever, and Angie, energetic and resentful in his desperate attempt to escape poverty, lying on the pavement shooting back at the cops right up to the last defiant breath. We talked of the conditions that had driven Angie to his death, and we mused at the luck that had kept Joey from going out with a gun like some of the other kids had done, when they saw that life offered them no security. They had tried to find work, most of them. They had hoped to live normally, the way they had been told people should live in America; but they had found that there was no place for them in the capitalist "land of opportunity."

"You know, Dad," Joey said, "I've got both you and Helen to thank. If it hadn't been for you two, I might be lying next to Angie. Do you remember the talk you gave me when the cops took me in for stealing that bike? I was pretty young then, but I still remember it. You said that you understood why I took it, that is, because I wanted one like kids naturally want bikes, but that we were too poor to buy one. Then you told me that there are all kinds of ways of fighting against being poor, and that I had taken one of the most foolish ways. You told me how poor people had been fighting for years in unions and political parties, how they had organized, how they had suffered and even died, all in the fight against the system that causes some men to live in lazy luxury and other men to work themselves to death and still not be able to support their families. I was only a wild kid at the time, but you trusted and respected me enough to tell me that you were about to join a party that was fighting against the capitalists and for the working people of the whole world. That made a big impression on me then. (It still does, Dad.) I saw that I had been pretty foolish. I remembered those big cops that had shoved me around at the station. I thought about being too poor to buy things I wanted... but I began to see that the way to win wasn't to try to cheat the system; it was to change the system."

"Then too, Helen bawled hell out of me, and I felt like a dumb cluck. I was thinking about her a lot when I bought my job at the steel plant. Funny, even after all you had tried to teach me, I still had some ideas of 'working myself up.' I guess all kids have them until they really get out in the world and begin to work, or try to find a job. I haunted that employment office for weeks until someone slipped me the word that I'd never get in that way. They told me that I ought to go and see Dave Ryan, so I did. What a louse! He got me the job, and I gave him a week's pay; and then he handed out cuts of it to the employment manager and the general foreman."

We talked on. Joey told me things that had happened in the army, described the hellishness of battles, and the cold, impersonal brutality of the whole bloody mess. "The thing that scares me, Dad," he said, "is that I might get killed in this capitalist war and maybe not live long enough to help in the fight that I really want to be in."

Joey's eyes lighted up, and his face was once again the face of little Joey, bright with enthusiasm: "Gee, Dad, imagine living through all of it and seeing the workers ruling the world! Peace, plenty for the kids, plenty to eat, vacations at the seashore or in the mountains; no more wars or depressions. Kids won't have to steal or play in the busy streets. Dad, I've just got to live until we get it!"

Well, that's the way Joey spoke, courage, confidence, and enthusiasm. I guess there's nothing else that I can add to this. I'm sitting here, grinning like a fool and saying over and over again to myself: "That's my boy!"

10 Years Ago In The Militant

SEPTEMBER 22, 1934

GENEVA—Accepting a Council seat in the League of Nations, the Stalinist bureaucracy embraced pacifism in a futile attempt to stem the tide of the coming war. "The pacifist illusions that the Stalinists are sowing in the ranks of the working class, both through the Comintern and the foreign office of the Soviet Union, can be compared to the role of the Second International on the eve of the last World War," said The Militant. "Now it is the Third International which competes with the Second International for these reformist honors, on the eve of a new world war."

Tracing the steps of Stalinism away from the Marxist principle of international revolutionary socialism, The Militant explained: "The adoption of the theory of socialism in one country, led to the rejection of the theory of the permanent revolution and of internationalism and laid the basis for revolutionary defeats on three continents. The low point was the bankruptcy of Stalinism and its collapse in the German revolution and the struggle against Fascism."

"The mistake of yesterday in relation to the struggle against Fascism in Germany has forced the Soviet Union to take dangerous expedients in the diplomatic field; among them is the entrance of the Soviets into the League."

WASHINGTON—With the ranks of the textile workers holding firm in the third week of their general strike, President Roosevelt intervened to save the situation for the hard pressed mill owners. His mediation board proposed to arbitrate the strike, on the basis of recommendations including: "that the strike be called off... that national settlement is not feasible, and (workers must be advised to) accept local mill agreement... that the Department of Labor investigate wage conditions." Thus Roosevelt once more gave proof that his NRA (National Recovery Act) known by the workers as the National Run-Around, was thwarting the organization of effective, national unions, and heading off the fight for wage increases by interminable "investigations."

Revolt Mounting Inside Germany

Paul Ghali, correspondent of the N. Y. Post and Chicago Daily News wired from Bern on Sept. 15 that "certain signs now indicate the brewing of something bigger and more 'popular' than the July 20 officers' assassination plot against Adolf Hitler. Even experts on German affairs here, who have been extremely skeptical concerning a mass uprising in Germany, are no longer so sure."

"Reports of anti-war demonstrations in German towns remain unconfirmed. But opposition groups in big industrial centers have organized peace discussion meetings under the nose of the Gestapo, according to news reaching here."

It is a question of our heads and the future of socialism. It is not that we deny the importance of the united front. We demanded it when the leaders of both parties were against it. The united front opens up numerous possibilities, but nothing more. In itself, the united front decides nothing. Only the struggle of the masses decides. The united front will reveal its value when Communist detachments will come to the help of Socialist detachments and vice versa in the case of an attack by the Fascist bands against Le Populaire and l'Humanite. But for that, proletarian combat detachments must exist and be educated, trained and armed. And if there is not an organization of defense, i.e., a workers' militia, Le Populaire and l'Humanite will be able to write

Just Published!

This book, appearing four years after the death of Leon Trotsky, testifies to the vitality of the movement founded upon the ideas of the great revolutionary Marxist. The volume is a history of the origin and development of Trotskyism in the United States. James P. Cannon, the author, is the founder of the American Trotskyist organization.

CLOTH \$2.75, PAPER \$2.00

Pioneer Paragraphs

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Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to The Militant

as many articles as they like on the omnipotence of the united front but the two papers will find themselves defenseless before the first well-prepared attack of the Fascists.

(From "Whither France," by Leon Trotsky, pp. 24-25. Pioneer Publishers, 1936. 160 pp., cloth \$1, paper 75c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.
9. The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

Marshall Tito

Through Marshal Tito, the Stalinist agents took over the leadership of the Yugoslav Partisan movement and soon bent it to their own reactionary purposes. The Partisan movement originated as an indubitable movement of the masses, whose worker-peasant sections aspired not only to drive out the Nazi conquerors but to abolish the rule of the rapacious and reactionary landlord and capitalist cliques represented by King Peter and his Government-in-Exile. The Stalinists betrayed the aspirations of their followers. Tito, in the name of the Partisan movement, united with the hated regime of King Peter and set up a class collaborationist government dedicated to preserving the capitalist set-up under the rule of the same old crew of monarchists, landlords, and capitalists.

Now, speaking on the second anniversary of the Dalmatian Brigade, Tito becomes the spokesman for the imperial ambitions and appetites of the Yugoslav ruling class. Tito demands that the territories of Istria, Trieste, Gorizia, etc. be incorporated into Yugoslavia. The same "territorial demands" were voiced by General Simovich, a reactionary monarchist politician, in a radio address of June 27, 1941. Simovich at that time was Premier of King Peter's Yugoslav Government-in-Exile.

In 1915 Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Minister, allotted Slavic Dalmatia to Italy. Today, the British imperialists, hoping to convert the Mediterranean into an English lake, are desirous of allying the Italian cities of Trieste, Western Istria, Gorizia, etc. to Yugoslavia. This fits in with the British imperial scheme of wrecking Italy and building up Yugoslavia in order to restore a semblance of the old "balance of power." (Apparently, Stalin now likewise desires the territorial strengthening of Yugoslavia in order to extend Soviet influence to the Adriatic.)

It is by such unconscionable juggling of racial minorities, now to one side of the border and now to the other, that British imperialism, in the past, succeeded in fanning national hatreds, in exacerb-

bating racial animosities, in keeping Europe dismembered and in upholding the decisive role of British imperialism. Stalin's policy today is predicated on the rehabilitation of capitalism in Europe.

The Stalinist program of betrayal is not, however, proceeding unchallenged. Already in Greece, active opposition and resistance has been reported in the ranks of the Greek partisan movement to the Stalinist traitors who have conspired to perpetrate a similar betrayal to Tito's, and to unite with the arch-reactionary Greek Government-in-Exile, representative of the Greek capitalists and landlords. In his speech Tito gives evidence that opposition has likewise broken out in the Yugoslav ranks. In the course of defending his treacherous agreement with Dr. Subasitch, present head of King Peter's government, Tito complains of "a lack of understanding from our fighting men and people."

The masses, through their own experience, are learning the truth about the imperialist enslavers as well as the Stalinist betrayers. They will come to understand that the fraternal union of the peoples can be built only by the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of a Socialist Balkan Federation as an integral part of the Socialist United States of Europe. They will organize their own independent forces for the coming socialist revolution. They will yet confound the imperialists, their Stalinist agents and all their criminal counter-revolutionary schemes.

WPB "Planning"

The conflict in the War Production Board between Nelson and Wilson was essentially a family quarrel. Donald Nelson, top official of Sears, Roebuck and Co., and C. E. Wilson, head of the General Electric Corporation, represented the interests of different sections of the capitalist class. While both defended the interests of Big Business, one favored the special group interests of the distribution (light) industry, while the other spoke for heavy industry. The squabble had little significance in relation to the question of capitalist "planning."

The new policy announced by Krug, ("industry would receive virtually a free hand in turning back to civilian production") should end all illusions that capitalism is able or willing to produce according to "plan."

The N. Y. Times reports that Mr. Krug "agreed with an estimate made earlier by Mr. Nelson that the civilian economy, as a result of... cutbacks, would be returned to a level of production about equal to that reached in 1939." The Federal Reserve Bulletin for May estimates that a return to 1939 production levels will mean unemployment for 15 to 19 million workers. This is the price the American people are asked to pay for the preservation of the "free enterprise" system.

War Atrocities

As the final assault on the German armies is mounted, there is to be noted an increasing number of anti-German atrocity stories in the capitalist and Stalinist press. These stories are part of the hate campaign which is being whipped up by the imperialists and their accomplices in Moscow to furnish cover for their plans to dismember Germany and strangle the German revolution.

On the outskirts of the Polish city of Lublin, after its occupation by the Red Army, the Soviet authorities and the Polish Committee in Moscow claimed to have discovered a Nazi "death factory" attached to a concentration camp, in which it was alleged that about 1,500,000 Poles and Jews were put to death in gas chambers and their bodies incinerated in vast ovens.

This gruesome story, repeated with lurid detail in the capitalist press, was the subject of an article by Dan Shelton in last week's issue of *The Militant*.

It is necessary to emphasize, however, the tainted source of the Lublin "disclosures," which originated with the murderous Kremlin gang who staged the infamous Moscow frame-up trials. The story becomes further suspect when one remembers that the imperialists, who are making such avid use of it, manufactured similar atrocity stories out of whole cloth in the first World War. The so-called "independent observers" who "confirmed" the Moscow story were merely newspapermen who were taken to view the Lublin camp after the expulsion of the Nazis. As to what actually occurred there during the Nazi occupation, they simply wrote into their dispatches supposed facts supplied by Stalinist and Polish officials.

There is no reason to doubt that atrocities occurred in the Lublin camp, that people were starved and even tortured to death, that the death toll was heavy, and that so great was the number of corpses that incineration was the method of disposal.

But in the hands of the Stalinist and imperialist propaganda manipulators, the real horrors are depicted in accordance with the need to make the Germans as a people — not just the Nazis! — appear to the world as sadistic savages. The outcry in the capitalist as well as Stalinist press against Nazi atrocities is simply part of the vile campaign to whip up hate against the German masses as a whole, designed to prepare "public opinion" for their attempt to crush the German revolution.

The tears shed by the imperialists over the Lublin victims represent the most nauseating hypocrisy. War itself is the supreme atrocity from which stems all the particular atrocities, such as Lublin. For this supreme atrocity all the imperialists, "democratic" and fascist alike, are solely responsible. War with all its horrors can be banished from this earth only by abolishing the system of capitalist-imperialism of which it is the inevitable product.

WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.

Thompson Products

The UAW-CIO, after trying for seven years to organize the plants of the Thompson Products Company in Cleveland, has just lost the NLRB election. The majority of the 11,000 workers voting in the election cast their ballots for "no union" in preference to the powerful UAW. This, after a campaign that cost the UAW in the neighborhood of \$150,000!

Fred Crawford, head of the company, a former president of the National Association of Manufacturers has used every tactic of Henry Ford's to prevent the union from gaining a foothold — terrorization, "paternalism," demagogic, and slander against the CIO. The company issued expensive leaflets two or three times daily during the UAW organizing drive, held mass meetings on company premises, distributed company uniforms and buttons — pointed out that a Thompson Products vice-president, Livingstone, was an influential member of the regional WLB. Crawford then played his trump card, the fact that the Toledo and Detroit plants of Thompson Products, organized by the UAW for several years, have still been unable to get signed contracts!

Fred Crawford's terrorism and "paternalism" would have been beaten by the union, as Ford's were, if the UAW had put up a campaign on a militant program and backed up by the strike weapon.

But the UAW did not intend to fight; it had thrown away its fighting weapons, and the workers knew that as well as Crawford did. The union campaign was conducted on a flabby program with its emphasis on slogans urging the workers to "buy more bonds," how patriotic the CIO was, etc.

The organizing drive at Thompson Products was a fiasco. Even the organizers didn't seem to have their hearts in the job; no call for help, financial or organizational, was made to the thousands working in the other UAW shops in Cleveland; and even the local union papers failed to play up the coming election. What

is a shabby farce, compared to the splendid work done by the UAW in the days when it wasn't afraid to strike and to keep on striking until the workers' demands were won!

The experience at Thompson Products should drive home to every UAW worker, the need to throw out the No-Strike Pledge and built a new, militant program for the workers' interests. That is the only way the UAW will even be able to hold its own, let alone organize the unorganized workers in the auto industry. It's the only way to beat the Fords, the Crawfords, and the rest of the bosses.

D. L.
Cleveland

Tobin's Nightmare

Editor:

It is amusing to find in the July issue of *The Teamster*, organ of the Teamsters Union, that Daniel Tobin, union dictator, is engaged in a strenuous campaign against Trotskyism. This particular issue has three articles blasting Dunne, Farrell Dobbs and the Trotskyists in general, to say nothing of Tobin's various militant opponents whom he lumps together with the former.

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