

READ

"The History Of American Trotskyism"

SEE PAGE 6

THE MILITANT

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Real Meaning Of Latest Shift In Tactical Line Of American Stalinists

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

The new policy of the Communist Political Association is a tactical maneuver, a maneuver intended to serve the power politics of the Soviet (Stalinist) bureaucracy, not the interests of the working class. This maneuver is designed to shield the Stalinist leaders, in the United States and elsewhere, from the rising anger of the workers and their own rank and file against countless betrayals. It is a maneuver to deceive the war-weary masses by radical phrases. It is a maneuver to enable the Stalinist leaders to head the struggles of the masses — in order to behead them. It is a maneuver against the working class, against Socialism.

The new Stalinist tactic represents not a break with the policy pursued up to now, but its continuation under a more radical mask. There is no break with class collaboration policies; no break with the cowardly line of surrender to the imperialists. In this country, the Stalinist leaders propose to continue their support of the war of American imperialism in the Pacific and the subjugation of Germany.

They demand the continuation of national unity: "support every effort of the Truman administration to carry forward Roosevelt's program" and the "broadest national coalition of all anti-fascist forces, including all supporters of Roosevelt's anti-axis policies." (Resolution of the C.P.A. National Committee. Our emphasis.)

They continue openly to stand for class peace and strikebreaking: "Continue uninterrupted war production and uphold labor's no-strike pledge for the duration."

The new Stalinist tactic serves exclusively the purpose of shaping the Stalinist organization into a more effective bargaining agency in the

Kremlin's game of power politics. With the crushing of Germany, the inherent conflict between the Soviet Union and Anglo-American imperialism has come to the surface. This is at the root of the current crisis in the "Big Three" coalition. Stalin's promise of a lasting harmonious coalition with the imperialist "democracies" — the very basis of the policy of his agents up to now — has been shattered. This fact is at the root of the new "turn."

Why The "Turn" Was Proclaimed

When Churchill turned "lend-lease" planes and tanks against the Greek workers, the Stalinists saw no need of a new "turn." When Roosevelt froze wages, when Congress passed one anti-labor measure after another, the Stalinists hewed to their line of class peace. Why? Because the "Big Three" coalition then appeared more or less solid. Only now, when the coalition is gravely strained, do the Stalinist leaders proclaim a "turn." By using the Stalinist parties as an internal threat in the capitalist countries, Stalin hopes to wrest greater concessions from his imperialist "allies" and in this way to continue "collaboration." The interests of the workers are

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FARRELL DOBBS, 'MILITANT' EDITOR, RUNS FOR MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party this week announced its candidates in the November election. For Mayor it will run Farrell Dobbs; for the City Council, Louise Simpson.

Farrell Dobbs, 38, editor of *The Militant*, was one of the 18 leaders of the SWP and Minneapolis CIO Truck Drivers Union railroaded to prison in 1943 under the notorious anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act for opposing imperialist war and advocating revolutionary socialism. The Minneapolis Labor Case attracted nation-wide attention. Labor groups representing almost six million members gave it their support.

FOR CITY COUNCILLOR

Louise Simpson, 21, is a militant young Negro trade unionist.

In 1937 he was elected secre-

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TROTSKYIST CANDIDATE FOR MAYOR



Farrell Dobbs

NEW YORK — Grace Carlson, sole woman among the 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders imprisoned in the Minneapolis Labor Case, will speak on "Women in Prison" at a mass meeting in New York, Friday, June 22, 8 P. M. at Webster Hall, 119 East 11th Street.

As a result of her experience as a prisoner in a federal penitentiary, Grace Carlson has unusual understanding of the plight of thousands of women in the prisons of America. She believes them to be victims of capitalist exploitation and poverty — one of the products of depressions and imperialist war. Her talk in New York is the second in a national tour she is now making to bring this burning social problem to the attention of advanced workers.

CANNON TO SPEAK
Farrell Dobbs and Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidates in the New York mayoralty election will also speak. The chairman will be James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Both Dobbs and Cannon were among the 18 imprisoned for opposing the Second World War and advocating revolutionary socialism.

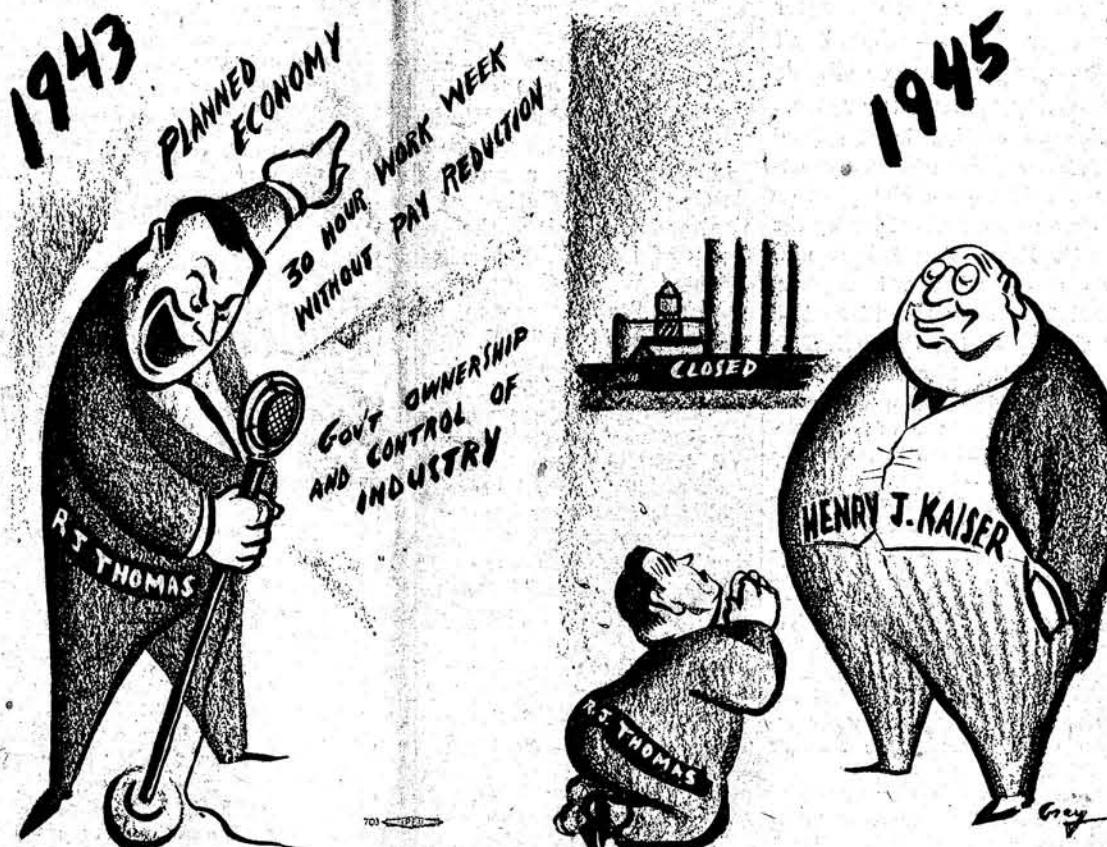
A special feature of the evening will be a report by Art Preis, correspondent of *The Militant*, who has just returned from the Pennsylvania coal region.

He will tell how William Patterson came to be the first trade unionist in the country to be

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Union Leaders Fail To Fight For Effective Jobs Program

From Words — To Deeds!



First Anti-Strike Law Victim Appeals To Labor From Prison

By Art Preis

UNIONTOWN, Pa., June 8 — I am writing this in white-hot anger. Just a half hour ago I talked with a courageous, loyal and sincere union man, William Patterson, coal miner from Daisytown. He was locked behind the grey walls and thick black iron bars of the Fayette County prison here. He is American labor's first imprisoned victim of the vicious Smith-Connally anti-strike act.

I hope I can transmit my feeling of protest and outrage to every worker in this country. Because after talking to him this morning inside his grim prison, I am more convinced than ever that not Bill Patterson but those who framed him up and conspired against him are the ones who should be behind bars.

"This is not a case just of personal persecution," was the first thing he said to me in his quiet, firm voice with a trace of southern accent. "This case involves all labor. It affects every laboring man who ever comes under the conditions of the Smith-Connally act. It would take his civil rights away, his freedom of speech and make him an industrial slave."

THREAT TO OTHERS

His very next thoughts were not about himself, but the 29 other union miners who have had a suspended sentence hanging over their heads since the 1943 national mine strikes when 30

See Editorial

On Patterson Case

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instances of his imprisonment after a hearing on June 1 for alleged violation of his probation. They had 11 strikes chalked up against me when I appeared at the hearing. There were a bunch of men from the mine (Jones and Laughlin Steel Corp's Vesta No. 4, Richeyville, Pa.) to testify that I wasn't responsible for the strikes, but the judge wouldn't let them testify. I told the judge that every man was essential to the other in the mine, and I couldn't work when a strike was on, even if I wanted to. But I guess they wanted a test case and I was a victim of "circumstances, so I'm it."

I knew every word he spoke was the truth. I had confirmed it in advance from the officers of UMW Local 2399 at Richeyville where I had attended the union meeting on June 3, the day after Bill was sent to prison. He had been snatched without warning from his wife and two children and shot off to jail after a speedy hearing on June 1.

As he spoke, I peered closely through the heavy steel screen and poor light at the man I had come hundreds of miles to interview so that he might have the chance for the first time to be

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THOMAS PLEADS WITH BOSSSES WHILE UNEMPLOYMENT MOUNTS

UAW-CIO Head Ignores Union's Program For Government Operation of Big Industry

By Joseph Keller

Mass unemployment is no mere prediction. It is already a cruel reality. More than a million war workers are officially admitted to be seeking jobs. By the end of October, 4,800,000 war workers and returned veterans will be on the 'no longer required' list, according to WPA Chairman Krug. He hoped it would be only 'temporary.'

Typical headlines of the past week proclaim: "6 Million War Workers To Lose Jobs V-J Day," "12,500 To Be Fired By July 31 At Lockheed Plant in Burbank," "First Mass Layoffs Hit Indianapolis; GM Fires 5,000," "Cutsbacks Hit Reading." Multiply these headlines for every city and town in the land. An appalling picture emerges.

A GRIM REALITY

There is no denying the grim reality. Nor is there any denying of the fact that Big Business which dominates American economy and politics, its government and political agents, have no program to provide either adequate relief for the unemployed or jobs.

The action was taken in a resolution passed by veterans of the present war who are members of the United Auto Workers (UAW-CIO), and was adopted by the Los Angeles District Auto and Aircraft Council on May 25.

The resolution points out that

"a jury in Placer County, California, acquitted three persons accused of using rifles and other means of force to discourage the return of Japanese-Americans to their former homes."

It states that "we, the undersigned, veterans of World War II, strongly condemn this lawlessness" and calls upon the governors of California, Oregon and Washington to "take public steps to prevent further recurrences of this incident." It also demands that police be instructed to carry out their duty of protecting the residents of their various communities.

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IN THE NEWS

Sad — Ain't It?

Multi-millionaire Wall Street promoter and speculator Barney Baruch at a fashionable restaurant turned down a fair lady's plea to buy more war bonds with "I've bought all the bonds I can afford this week." Then, reports the N. Y. World-Telegram society column, June 9, "the best dressed of the nation's financiers," succumbed to the "so sad" look of the lady and said: "Here's a check for \$10,000 worth. I'll have to do without cigarettes this week."

Segregated in Death

"No Negro fighters are in the Navy's film of Iwo Jima, though Sec. Forrestal saw 2,000 Negro Marines on the island. So Forrestal ordered a special film showing Negroes in various Naval services." (Drew Pearson, N. Y. Mirror, June 10).

Slave Labor

U. S. Army officials in Paris on June 9 revealed plans to retain 600 German prisoners of war as "laborers" for the American army, although the war in Europe is officially ended. In addition, Allied authorities announced completion of arrangements for transferring 200,000 to 250,000 German slave laborers, now prisoners of war, to France.

Buy An Apple, Mister?

Ohio's House of Representatives recently passed by a vote of 110 to 0 a bill to permit World War II veterans to obtain free peddler's licenses in Ohio.

Shh — Don't Talk!

New York's Mayor LaGuardia recently criticized Robert E. Hannegan, Democratic National Committee chairman and new Postmaster General, for saying: "If rewarding your friends for political favors is spoils, put me down as a spoils politician."

LaGuardia chided: "Shame on you, Hannegan! In this day and age intelligent people do not talk that way."

Vote "Right," Or Else...

The Arab delegation at the San Francisco Conference were financially embarrassed when they overdrawn on the cash advanced them by Standard Oil. Their expense account was from payment on oil leases granted to Standard Oil in the Middle East.

five locals in that area empowered their joint executive boards to call a holiday in the packing plants if full employment at union rates is not provided.

The

District 2 resolution, calling for wage increases, demanded that "the packinghouse worker be no longer expected to live on patriotism, peace treaties, political action, etc., and that some gains be made immediately in their favor."

Speaking for the resolution to rescind the no-strike pledge, Ardell Nimitz of Local 9, Austin, Minnesota, said that the pledge of unions not to strike "was the greatest mistake we ever made."

Milton Siegel of Armour Local 4, South St. Paul, Minnesota, who also favored scrapping the no-strike pledge, stated: "The workers sacrificed everything, the employers nothing."

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Union Leaders Offer No Program For Real Fight To Maintain Jobs

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more than 50,000,000 of the 60,000,000 jobs promised. Full employment without a genuine government program — which does not now exist — would be only "accidental," he added.

Labor knows what leaving the question of jobs to "accident" means. That was Hoover's program of 1932, as it was also largely Roosevelt's. It was Roosevelt who larded over the plight of 11,000,000 to 15,000,000 unemployed with a couple of million WPA jobs at from \$19 to \$60 a month.

The question of jobs, of adequate compensation during unemployment, is posed squarely before the entire American labor movement. Nobody but the organized workers themselves are capable, ready and willing to fight for a bold and radical program of JOBS FOR ALL which will brush aside the profit and monopoly interests of handful of ruling profiteers and compel the government to operate the plants at full capacity.

But it is precisely at this crucial juncture that the leadership of the American labor movement has shown itself least capable or willing to offer an adequate program and to mobilize the forces of labor for the type of all-out fight, on the economic and political field, which can achieve it.

The real and official program of the top leadership of the CIO and AFL is summed up in their capital-labor "peace charter" with the Chamber of Commerce. This provides nothing less than a written guarantee from Murray and Green that labor will strive for the maintenance of monopoly capitalist "free enterprise" and "freedom from government interference" — the classic formula of the capitalist free-booters who insist on their "right" to exploit labor without restriction.

An even more graphic commentary on the "program" and conduct of the union officialdom in this crisis is afforded by the antics of R. J. Thomas, president of the CIO United Automobile Workers, the nation's largest union. In the single state of Michigan over 200,000 auto and aircraft workers have been fired; 21,000 have been emptied out of the \$100,000,000 government-owned Willow Run bomber plant, operated by Ford during the war for his own profit.

Yet all Thomas can think of in this situation is to run off hat in hand from Detroit to the west coast to a fat war profiteer like Henry Kaiser, who can't even keep his shipyard workers in steady jobs. Thomas can only plead with a Kaiser won't he please get the government to hand him some free plants like Willow Run and "give" the workers some jobs producing autos or whatnot. So we are treated to the spectacle of Thomas running from the "industrial genius" Ford to the "industrial genius" Kaiser — a "genius" at wrangling juicy government war contracts. But that angle's played out. If there were a nickel in it for Kaiser or Ford, they wouldn't be waiting for Thomas' pleas.

What's Thomas grovelling before the profiteering industrialists for? He has an official program adopted two years ago by the UAW-CIO — a program for full employment and security that he and the other UAW officials proclaimed lustily — when it wasn't a question of an immediate, show-down fight.

Consider that program, which occupied nearly two full pages of the United Automobile Worker, July 15, 1943. Consider some of its basic proposals and promises. "Our industries can no longer be operated to serve private interests where those interests

conflict with the public need," it boldly asserted. Point one on its program for full production and employment of "every able bodied person in America," read: "Government or municipal ownership and operation of monopolistic industries and of industries strategically essential to the national safety" and;

"Government control and regulation of other industries to prevent the abuses of monopoly and to assure production in the public interest" and;

"Reduction of working week to thirty hours without reduction of pay, as a result of a full production program."

There it is! That's the program adopted two years ago by the UAW-CIO Executive Board!

That's the program that Thomas — and a lot of other leading union officials — said THEN they were going to fight for! That's the minimum they said THEN was needed to provide postwar full employment and decent wages! Well, what's wrong with it today?

Nothing — not a thing! What's wrong is with the union leadership. Two years ago they were trying to clamp the no-strike, do-nothing policy on the workers who were beginning to resist the wage-freeze. Sit tight, take it, the union officials like Thomas advised. Don't worry, AFTER THE WAR we're really going to town. No more knuckling under to the corporations. If they don't provide jobs and the wages of decent living, we're going to be the first to say "hell with 'em, take over the plants and the workers will run them better without a bunch of profiteering parasites."

That's the kind of big talk, Thomas was spouting two years ago, before the issue really began to bang on his front door. Today he wants to forget all that — and hopes the auto and aircraft workers will, too.

BUFFALO WORKERS FACE INCREASING LAY-OFFS

BUFFALO, N. Y. — At the United States Employment Service office here, thousands of workers are crowding the spacious quarters to capacity day after day, waiting long hours to go through the lengthy procedures necessary to register for other jobs — that don't exist — and to become eligible for unemployment insurance.

Pictures carried in the local press show a sea of faces, mostly those of women and Negroes who have been hardest hit by the layoffs. Every day brings new reports of additional layoffs. About 1000 workers will be laid off shortly at the three Buffalo plants of the Chevrolet Motor Division of the General Motors Corporation because of cutbacks in Army Air Force airplane engine contracts.

Numerous small plants doing sub-contract work for the large concerns in this area are folding up silently, transferring their workers to the growing ranks of the unemployed. Victory shifts (specially designed for part-time workers working on four-hour shifts) have been eliminated entirely, thus cutting down the income of a considerable number of families.

It is becoming clearer every day to more and more workers that "reconversion" is just a fancy word that in plain English means an all-out attack of the bosses on the workers' organizations. It means unemployment and lower living standards. The Buffalo workers are not going to take this lying down.

Jobless Buffalo Workers



Hundreds of war workers, laid off as a result of army plane cutbacks in Buffalo, N. Y. plane plant, jammed the State Division of Placement and Unemployment offices on May 31 to file unemployment benefit applications.

Associated Press

NEGRO BOILERMAKERS GAIN LEGAL VICTORY IN SAN PEDRO

Special to The Militant

LOS ANGELES, June 7 —

The International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America, July 15, 1943. Consider some of its basic proposals and promises. "Our industries can no longer be operated to serve private interests where those interests

grant full autonomy, including the right to conduct contract negotiations with employers, to the all-colored auxiliary, A-35.

The decision, handed down in the case of Blakeney vs. California Shipbuilding Corporation, is considered in local Negro circles as an important legal victory for the workers.

Superior Judge Raymond

Thompson, who rendered the opinion, declared that the evidence sustained the charge of discrimination and that such discrimination is contrary to public policy.

He stated: "In my opinion, it is contrary to public policy that Negroes, whites, Jews, Gentiles or any other class of persons should be precluded from employment even in a single shop, factory or place of employment by reason of a closed shop and a union rule restricting union membership."

In their complaint and in the testimony before the court, the six Negroes who instituted the suit charged that though they had to pay the same fees, assessments and dues as paid by whites, they were allocated to an inferior status in a Jim Crow auxiliary and were discriminated against in job opportunities.

They asserted that they had no control over management of the auxiliary, no effective voice in union affairs, and were barred from many of the more highly paid and more skilled jobs, even when they were qualified for such jobs.

The decision of Judge Thompson substantiates their claims, and appears to go further than a decision in a similar case, that of Marin Shipbuilding Corporation in northern California, where the union was told it could not compel Negroes to join a segregated auxiliary. This latter decision has since been upheld by the California Supreme Court.

Although in the present case the judge found in favor of the Negroes, his decision does not necessitate the abolition of the Jim Crow auxiliary, which was

Truman's Double Standard

The New York Times

'Little Steel' Formula Stands, Truman Asserts, Pending Study

By LOUIS STARK

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, June 7—President Truman declared emphatically today that the "Little Steel" formula still stood and the interim formula drawn by his press conference was that for the present no revision of the wage formula and for early adjustment of wages in reconverted plants and industries.

When the labor leaders left the White House they told reporters that the President had made no

change in the wage stabilization yardstick we contemplated.

House Adopts Own 'Pay Rise'; Truman for Direct Salary Jump

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, June 7—The House decided today, by a vote of 206 to 152, to keep the \$250 annual expense account which it first approved for its members on May 10, and which it had quarreled about ever since. The Senate declined to do likewise.

Smith-Connally Act Victim Issues Appeal From Prison

(Continued from page 1)

His father was in the mines before him, Bill explained. He was born in Virginia, of old American stock. "My ancestors came to this country long before the American Revolution. Why, they fought in the American Revolution. And no one can ever accuse me of any un-American activities."

He stood within a foot or so of me, with just the screen separating our faces, close so that we could see and hear each other. Against the dim background of the four-story barn-like prison interior, with its lines of cells in tiers along the sides, I saw a tall, slim, dark-haired man dressed in a green jacket and tan work trousers. His features were hardened, some even strong, and he looked much younger than his 39 years. His face revealed intelligence and firm character and his flashing black eyes looked straight into mine as he spoke quietly, but with deep conviction and feeling.

NEVER ARRESTED
I started to ask, "Have you ever before been—" He broke in, his lips moving. "I know what you want to ask, have I ever been in jail before? No — never! I've never been arrested." I could feel his deep hurt at the unjust blot which the enemies of labor have tried to put on his record.

Some people might say, well it's only for six months. But that's six months stolen from a man's life, a man who values freedom and has fought for it all his life. I was in that prison only half an hour, and I confess I couldn't wait to get out. I promised not to ask any questions about the conditions there. During the entire interview there was not a trace of self-pity in anything he said. He was clearly a fighter and a man who understands that he went to prison for a principle in the cause of labor.

"I don't regret a thing I did for the union," he stated firmly. "I'm a victim of persecution, but I'll conduct the same fight all over again. And when I get out, I'm going to keep up the fight." At this point, his voice had the only slight tremor in it during the entire conversation. He was obviously swept with deep emotion when he said: "I was always honest and sincere about everything I did for the union. And I'm going to continue to be so." From what his union brothers had told me about him, the respect they held for him, I knew he meant it from the bottom of his heart.

PATTERSON'S LIFE
Then he told me a few facts about his life. "I've worked 22 years in the mines, since I was 17 years old. I've worked 17 years in that one mine at Richeyeville. When I first started in the mines, back in 1923, I joined the union, and I've stuck with the union ever since." But there was no complaint from Bill. The only time a note of bitterness entered his voice was when he spoke of the UMW district officials, who let him "take the rap" and have been maintaining a "hand's off" policy. "It seems that the UMW officials are afraid to stick their necks out. The district officials (Dist. 5, UMW) have made damn fools out of themselves and possibly a martyr out of me." He spoke not out of concern for himself, but out of pride for the union which he felt the top officials were hurting by their attitude in his case, which grew out of an anti-labor law that was directed in the first instance against the UMW.

Just before the time was up, he asked me to give a message to his union brothers of Local 2399 who have voted to back him 100 per cent and have established a fund to keep his family as long as he is in prison with the same amount of money they would have received if he had been working.

"Tell all the men to keep up the good fight. And tell them how much I appreciate their support and the help they are giving my family, who are being made to suffer for something they had no part in. Let the boys keep on pitching, and I will sure as hell run a few bases when I serve this time."

That's the spirit that has built the American labor movement, so a working man can lift up his head. That's the spirit that the Smith-Connally law was intended to crush. For as Bill Patterson emphasized, it's not just a "personal case."

There will be many more Bill Pattersons, if the whole labor movement is not aroused to protest, if it fails to fight to free the honest union man, Bill Patterson, and to deal with the real criminals the profiteering crooks, labor exploiters and their political henchmen who conspired to make him an "example" and threw him behind prison bars.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Now They're 'Slackers'

Even the most benevolent of capitalists pay off with a lay-off. That's what half the 8,600 employees of Jack and Heintz Company, Cleveland, found out last week. Some 4,300 of them were "requested" to "resign" because of war contract terminations.

It was quite a shock to the workers, called "associates," to find out how quickly the bosses would make them "disassociates" when they were no longer needed to make profits. Jack and Heintz were highly publicized as the "ideal" employers. By working 12 hours a day, seven days a week, the "associates" pulled down relatively high "take home" pay. The plant was run like "one big happy family" — call the boss by his first name, music while you work.

On May 29, President William S. Jack broadcast over the plant loudspeakers asking women and professional workers particularly to "come to their foremen and say 'Here is my resignation.'" He added: "You have done well by your country in its greatest trial and we appreciate it. The time has come for us to help your return to your families and professions."

When only 20 "associates" accepted this "help" to return to their families — jobless, Jack and Heintz "benignity" evaporated. On May 31, the company announced that there were a bunch of "slackers" and "discord seekers" in the plant who were to be purged.

Although the AFL Machinists have a contract in the plant, the union is almost completely "housebroken." The "purge" will be conducted through the union grievance committee, a company official stated. The union stewards, he said, have an "eye" on the "disrupters." They don't seem to have an eye on the contract, however, because the layoffs are being conducted in ruthless violation of seniority provisions.

No Union Conventions
The Office of Defense Transportation recently announced that for the next 12 to 15 months the government would not permit conventions of more than 50 people. This decision was aimed primarily at the unions, several of which were preparing to hold their annual conventions this summer and fall.

Hundreds of thousands of civilians use the railroads and busses daily, with most business men and their families still managing to take their vacations and trips. It would seem that a few union conventions, numbering usually from a couple of hundred to one or two with as many as 2,000 delegates, would not interfere appreciably with the transportation problem.

FABLES FOR TODAY



A WOLF AMONG THE FOXES

In the forest ruled by a wolf there were both gray foxes and brown foxes. The wolf went to the gray foxes and said, "The brown foxes are an inferior race. In fact, they are not really foxes at all. They are low creatures, and if you don't watch them, they will try to take your gray fox females away from you. Therefore, don't have anything to do with them. Just keep them in their place."

And he put up signs at the water hole that said, "FOR GRAY FOXES ONLY." And at another water hole, a muddy place without very much water, he put up a sign, "FOR BROWN FOXES ONLY."

Then he went to the brown foxes and said, "The gray foxes mean no good to you. If any red foxes try to tell you to mix with the gray foxes, tell me about it, and I'll take care of them."

And all the time he was stealing from the gray foxes and the brown foxes too, and he was making both of them work for him. But, since they were fighting against each other, both kinds of foxes were unable to kick out the thieving, lying wolf who was getting fat at their expense.

Moral: A LABOR MOVEMENT DIVIDED BY PREJUDICE CANNOT WIN.

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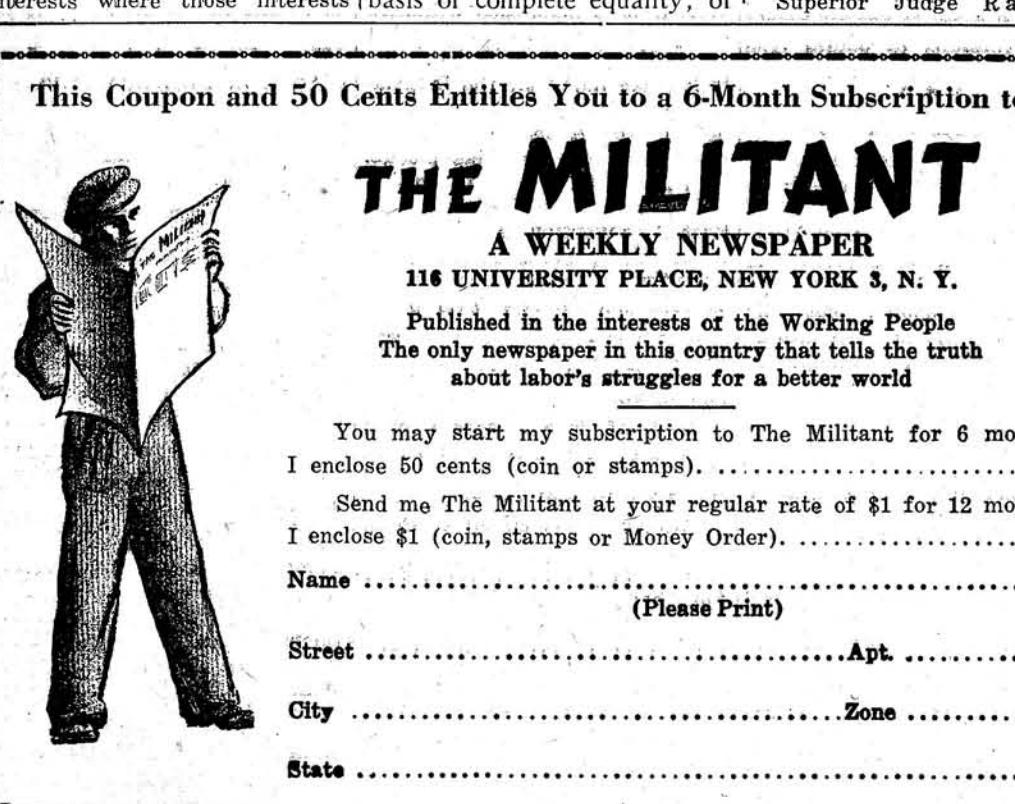
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OREGON CIO COUNCIL ASSAILS RACE TERROR

PORTLAND, Ore. — Moving to counter the campaign of terror whipped up by reactionary forces against Japanese-Americans returning to the West Coast from inland concentration camps, the Oregon State CIO Council has gone on record in condemnation of all attempts "to foster race hysteria."

This action, paralleling that of the Los Angeles District Auto Council (UAW-CIO) which has publicly denounced job discrimination against Negro, Mexican or any other workers, shows that the labor movement is awakening to the perils of race hatred fostered by the boss class.

HITS AMERICAN LEGION

The Oregon CIO Council directs its attack specifically against the Hood River post of the American Legion which erased the names of Japanese from the honor roll of World War II. It characterized this action as "regrettable and unjustifiable" and castigated all those who arouse racial prejudices.

Meanwhile, the campaign of the reactionary inciters of race hatred is continuing. At Seattle, Wash. unidentified persons painted signs on the home of a Japanese family just back from a concentration camp, reading "No Japs Wanted." A party of seven Quakers, who have joined the effort to kill racial prejudice and violence, called on the threatened Japanese and voluntarily painted out the offensive signs.

Encouraged By Farical Trial

By J. Blake

LOS ANGELES, Calif. — Race terrorism of California's reactionaries has been encouraged by the farical prosecution and sentencing of a white rancher who pleaded guilty in Parlier justice court to firing four shotgun blasts into the home of Charles Iwasaki, a Japanese-American recently returned from an inland concentration camp.

Levi Multanen admitted firing the shots into the house while Iwasaki, his wife, his grandfather and three small children were there. But District Attorney James M. Thueson only saw fit to file charges against the rancher for "firing a gun in a rude and threatening manner." According to the Los Angeles Times of May 29, the prosecutor said "the lesser charge was filed because the

How War Perils End Race Hatred

Race prejudice, even the very poisonous variety that is instilled into southern whites from the cradle on, can be destroyed overnight if Negro and white workers go through struggles together. The latest proof that Jim Crow is an artificial thing comes from a story about the comradely relationship which grew up between southern-born white and colored soldiers in a Nazi prison camp.

Tom O'Connor, a reporter for the New York newspaper PM, tells the story in the June 6 issue of that paper. Sent down to cover the arrival of the Liberty ship, William Blount, which had on board a large number of prisoners liberated from Nazi camps, O'Connor's attention was attracted by two Negro soldiers engaged in friendly conversation with two white soldiers. All spoke with marked southern accents. When questioned, they said they were from Texas, which caused O'Connor to express surprise that they got along so well together.

To this, one of the white soldiers, Staff Sgt. Green replied: "If you mean white fellows being friends with colored fellows—hell, you get a lot of new ideas over there. Everybody gets along swell. The colored soldiers are wonderful guys."

The reporter then asked: "Did you think that way before?"

Sergeant Green replied in the negative and added: "My family and my wife's family can't understand why I think so now."

The other white soldier, Private Stanphill, broke in to say, "You learn a lot when you're starving." Then he told a story about a colored soldier who had divided his last slice of bread with a starving white soldier.

One of the colored soldiers of the group, Private George Punch, summed up their experiences: "Well, over there everybody was O.K. As far as discrimination went, I never saw any. Then we was captured, and Negroes and southern whites and northern whites was all mixed up and all in the same boat, all starving and nobody thought about color. Now here we are back, and I'm going back to Texas. You know what it'll be like there."

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Carlson Exposes San Francisco Parley As Fraud

(Continued from page 1)

NEWARK, N. J., June 3. — A warm welcome was extended to Grace Carlson tonight as she made her first speech here since being imprisoned in the Minneapolis Labor Case. Speaking at the Sunday Forum of the Newark Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, her subject was "Fraud At San Francisco."

Vigorously assailing the San Francisco conference as "a phony attempt to convince the masses of the people that the big capitalist powers are capable of ensuring peace in the world," Comrade Carlson pointed to the shooting down of the peoples of Lebanon and Syria as a glaring example of the fraudulent character of the conference.

After demonstrating to the audience that such terrible slayings as the present world war are an inevitable product of the dying capitalist system, she went to declare, "We have a tremendous advantage in that the big majority of the people already recognize that such devices as the San Francisco conference cannot ensure peace."

"The job that remains for us to do," Comrade Carlson concluded, "is to demonstrate that only the united action of the working class to abolish capitalism and establish socialism can guarantee a world of genuine peace and brotherhood."

During the first five months of this year there have been 70 incidents of threats or terrorism against Japanese-Americans, 65 of them in California, including 19 shootings. None of the shootings have been fatal. There was an attempt to dynamite a Japanese-American home, several cases of setting fire to Japanese-American homes, and threatening visits to others. The only arrest was that of Levi Multanen and he got a suspended sentence.

THE TERRORISTS

While some of the acts of terrorism were perpetrated by outright hoodlums, the majority were carried out by rich white landowners who have profited from operating land or other property belonging to Japanese-Americans during the time the latter were interned. By means of terror they hope to drive the Japanese-Americans from California permanently and thus continue to profit from their lands. The local authorities sympathize, not with the victims of the reactionary terrorists, but with the terrorists themselves. That is why there has been only one arrest. That is why the terrorists continue to operate with impunity.

Published by Pioneer Publishers for the Socialist Workers Party, the pamphlet contains the two main documents adopted by the SWP at the convention held in New York in November, 1944. These two resolutions are entitled "The United States and the Second World War" and "The European Revolution and Tasks of the Revolutionary Party."

The first resolution deals with the current problems and tasks of the American workers. Analyzing the war program of the American capitalist class with its fabulous war profits and its fraudulent "equality of sacrifice" slogan, the resolution exposes the treacherous role of the boot-licking labor bureaucrats and the vicious strikebreaking program of the Stalinists in the labor movement. It then puts forward the militant policy of the Trotskyists:

"For the Independence of the Trade Unions!
"Rescind the No-Strike Pledge!
"Scrap the Little Steel Formula!
"A Rising Scale of Wages to Meet the Rising Cost of Living!
"For Democracy within the Unions!"

"For an Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions!"

Against the capitalist "post-war" program of mass unemployment, breadlines and soup-kitchens, the Trotskyists counterpose their own fighting program:

"For the full utilization of all productive capacity... Continued operation of all government-owned plants and equipment under the control of workers' committees... No plant should remain idle while workers are unemployed."

"For full employment and job security... A sliding scale of wages and hours. The 30-hour week with no reduction in pay."

"For the political instrument to advance the program... The workers must organize their own independent Labor Party... Against a government of America's Sixty Families — the Workers and Farmers Government."

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ALLIED POWERS DIVIDE GERMANY IN 4 SPHERES

By Felix Morrow

The dismemberment of Germany was in effect formally established by a series of four-power documents issued June 5. The documents make a perfunctory reference to the four zone commanders acting "jointly in matters affecting Germany as a whole." The reality, however, is the "supreme authority" of the commanders "each in his own zone of occupation."

That authority covers just about everything conceivable. It is a military dictatorship which promises no rights of any kind to the German people. There is no date for the termination of the occupation nor even the promise that the day will come when Germany may well be an entity again.

Considerable sections of the Kremlin's zone of occupation are slated never again to be part of Germany. All of Silesia—about 30 per cent of Germany's industrial plant and resources—and most of East Prussia are now part of the Kremlin-backed Poland. The rest of East Prussia is part of the Lithuanian Soviet republic. There are British and French plans, as yet unofficial, as well as that advocated by an American group for which former Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles speaks, for permanently carving up other parts of Germany: a Rhineland State, a Bavarian or southern German state, etc.

The four-power documents formalize their common aim of dismembering Germany and preventing it from rising again as an independent entity. But here the agreement ends, for then there arises the question of who is to get what.

The four powers are quarreling over the spoils. Big stakes are involved. They add up to one thing: each seeks to strengthen its base in Germany for World War III which all know very well is certain to come sooner or later. Each is trying to weaken the German base of the other side.

MOSCOW'S MAP

The June 5 documents did not designate the respective boundaries. The next day Moscow published a map of the zones, apparently OK'd by Roosevelt and Churchill at Yalta. But when Germany collapsed, the U. S. Army did not halt at the border designated by the map. Territory assigned by the map to the Red Army, but which U. S. troops now hold, includes the provinces of Saxony and Thuringia, in which are the important cities of Leipzig, Weimar, Jena, Eisenbach, Chemnitz, Halle and Dessau.

Until the Americans evacuate this territory, the Kremlin refuses to establish the four-power Control Council of the four zone commanders. The immediate importance of this refusal is that thereby the Greater Berlin area, to be divided into four zones remains in the hands of the Red Army. There are reports that the Russians are utilizing the interim to strip the Greater Berlin area of machinery and manpower.

Following publication of the Soviet map, Moscow newspapers and radio began demanding when U. S. troops would evacuate the disputed area. Washington remained silent on the question.

Whatever settlement might come on this question, the dispute over allocation of German machinery, resources and manpower will continue.

FORCED LABOR

Under the Yalta formula of "reparations in kind," the Kremlin includes forced labor as a major category. Shortly after Yalta, Roosevelt verbally indicated he had no objection to Russian use of such labor. En route to Moscow for the reparations discussions, Edwin U. Pauley, chairman of the U. S. delegation, said in Paris June 9 that the Russians "might be able" to get some reparations in this form, but that this is "hardly feasible" for the U. S.

The question at issue, however, is whether the Kremlin will get, in addition to the labor it found in its zone, other millions of soldiers, workers and peasants who are now in the British and American zones. An indication to the contrary was the statement June 9 in Paris by Col. Robert J. Gill, chief of the prisoner-of-war division.

Gill emphasized that "all plans for employment of prisoners are based on the Geneva Convention" to which the Soviet Union is not a signatory. The U. S. held 2,850,000 German prisoners in Europe and 500,000 in this country. Of these 3,350,000, the U. S. will retain 600,000 as laborers for the present—about 18 per cent. Another 18 per cent are being discharged and sent home, including miners, farmers, transport workers, women prisoners and men over 50. From 200,000 to 250,000 are being handed to France for labor there, and 160,000 to the British in U. S.-held territory which goes to Britain. This leaves a considerable num-

ber to be disposed of before the U. S. figure is cut to 600,000. Col. Gill stated that this would be done by "various means," some of which have not yet been decided upon. This may mean that the way is still left open to turn large numbers over to the Kremlin.

KREMLIN AND U. S.
But the Kremlin is unlikely to agree to abide by the Geneva Convention rules which the U. S. army insists on, and it may well be that the 18 per cent whom the U. S. is immediately sending to their homes may grow larger with the next months, leaving the Kremlin's demand unsatisfied.

No doubt the U. S. and British commanders welcome the opportunity of the forced-labor issue in order to parade as more liberal than the Red Army which in in its own zone is driving millions eastward for such labor. In turn, Marshal Zhukov plays the liberal, announcing June 10 that not only trade unions (legalized some time ago in the U. S. British region) but all anti-fascist political parties may now exist. This paves the way in the Red Army zone for another masquerade like that in Poland, where a "Workers' party" and a "Socialist party" speak the language of Stalinism. It is impossible for the Kremlin totalitarian dictatorship to permit genuine political life anywhere in the areas it controls. Zhukov's announcement is an empty gesture for his own zone, but it means the beginning of a pressure campaign to permit the Communist party free rein in the Allied zone.

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**Farrell Dobbs
Runs for Mayor
Of New York City**

(Continued from page 1)

tee, of which Dobbs was also secretary. He was chosen as spokesman for the negotiating committee which won a 12-state uniform union contract for 250,000 over-the-road drivers, an outstanding achievement.

DOBBS'S LEADERSHIP

Under the militant leadership of Dobbs and other well-known Trotskyists, the Teamsters Union mushroomed in membership until it became one of the largest unions in the country.

In 1939, Dobbs resigned his post in the Teamsters Union to become National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. When Daniel J. Tobin attempted to impose his dictatorial regime on Local 544 of the Teamsters, Dobbs returned to Minneapolis to help Local 544 in the fight to maintain its traditions of democratic unionism.

Tobin appealed to Roosevelt for help. Roosevelt in turn brought in the FBI and Attorney General Biddle. Dobbs was one of the principal targets in this unholy anti-labor combination.

The main "crime" of the defendants was political opposition to the Second World War. Despite the pounding of the government prosecutors, Dobbs and the others held firm to their position against the imperialist war and as a result were sentenced to prison. Shortly before he began serving the sentence, Dobbs

An Inside Story -- Conditions Of Women In American Jails

By Grace Carlson

For the past couple of weeks, the publicity committee in charge of my national tour has been urging me to include some material about prison life in this column. This would serve as something of a "preview" of the tour speech on "Women in Prison." The committee argues that giving "previews" is a good advertising technique — and I'm sure they're right.

For this purpose, I thought that some stories about the jails in which I stayed before I was taken to the federal prison at Alderson, West Virginia might be of interest. Fifteen of the 18 prisoners in our case surrendered in Minneapolis on December 31, 1943 and were taken to the Hennepin county jail. The 14 men were transferred to the Sandstone federal prison the next day but I was kept in the Hennepin county jail until January 9, 1944.

LIFE IN JAIL

Here are some excerpts from a letter which I wrote to Evelyn Andersof, acting secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee on January 7. (The letter was dictated to a Minneapolis friend who came to see me on one of the visiting days):

"Mr. Litel, a U. S. deputy marshal was in to see me just an hour or so ago to say that we shall probably start for Alderson by car this coming Sunday. I will confess that I do not look forward to a three or four-day car trip with a flatfoot but he tells me that it was impossible to get train reservations until the 20th of this month.

"I refrained from asking what the U. S. Government had been doing from Nov. 22 — when they knew we were going to surrender — until today! Sometimes I think that the money which we taxpayers have been pouring into the U. S. Treasury is being squandered by a lot of lazy bureaucrats!

"I shall be glad to leave here, though, and get into some kind of a routine at Alderson, despite the fact that I have enjoyed visits

from Dorothy, Elaine, Bea, Winnie and other friends. They have mailed me supplies with books, clean clothes and even some candy and cookies. They tried to have other foods sent in, but were told that it was against the rules. I tell you this so that you will know that the local defense organization was on the job and did the best they could.

POTATOES GALORE

"The things they brought helped a great deal. I do not have much praise for the food here. I don't believe that I have eaten as many potatoes in the past five years as I have eaten here — twice a day without fail! The forces of law and order in Hennepin county do not season their 'justice' with very much 'mercy.'

"But I lived to learn that the accommodations which the Hennepin county jail provided for its 'guests' were quite superior to those of many other such county 'lodging houses.' There are some excerpts from my first letter from Alderson, dealing with the county jails with which I became familiar on the trip down to West Virginia. It was written to my sister Dorothy on January 16 — the first letter-writing day after my arrival at the prison on January 12. (All of the information I had accumulated and the impressions I had received since leaving Minnesota had to be reported about on one single piece of ruled prison paper. To an awfully wordy person like me, this seemed like a terrible persecution!)

TRIP TO ALDERSON

"So many things to say; so many questions to ask and so little time and space in which to do it all! Well I'll just do the best I can.

"The trip down was not a happy one, although Mr. Litel and his wife really tried to be friendly. They are simple, folksy souls who call each other "Ma" and "Pa." But we drove for much of the way along the same route which Bea, Elaine, Ray and I took last year. We even ate at some of the same places, so the com-

panionship was a pretty sad one. "We were on the road three nights. They stayed at hotels; I stayed in county jails — one night in Madison, Wisconsin; the next in Lebanon, Indiana; the third in Huntington, West Va. I do not have space to give you complete details, but I have come to appreciate the superior qualities of Hennepin County Jail — relatively speaking.

"Neither the Madison or Huntington jails had springs, just steel slabs. The Huntington jail didn't even have pillows or sheets, nor private cells (8 in a room) nor a sheltered toilet. BUT, it did have cockroaches and other species of small animals! I didn't even take off my clothes — just used my pajamas for a pillow and my robe for a blanket.

"The poor devils in the cell with me looked like characters out of Tobacco Road. When I left in the morning, I gave them some cosmetics, soap, a towel etc. — not much to do, but the best I could.

"Conditions at Alderson are quite different. The buildings are of red brick, trimmed in white and are excessively neat and

clean... One of the big occupations here is cleaning up and straightening up. Even so great an exponent of Cleanliness and Order as I am feels the strain of it a little bit. But I know that in organizing the lives of over 500 girls, many of whom have not been exposed to much training in these things, pretty strict rules have to be laid down. And I was never one to let my own selfish interests stand in the way of the 'common good'...

"Please send me a flock of bobby pins immediately, also my curlers. I really need them. I fixed my hair yesterday by means of two paper clips, two combs and paper — not so awfully bad, but not so awfully good, either! And tell me what has been in the papers about the dissolution of the Communist Party. I haven't seen a paper for days. So what with that and other jacks, I am not excessively healthy, but neither am I terribly uncomfortable. People often put up with much more for much less reason."

"I think that talking about prison is going to be much more fun than living in prison!

and club in the hands of Churchill against the British working class. With some of it a small portion of the top layers of the British working class, and especially of the Laborite leaders, are bribed and corrupted. With the rest of it the British rulers are enabled to maintain their power and pelf.

The end of British rule in India would also be the end of British capitalist rule in England. In short British "democracy" rests on its totalitarianism in India. The arch-representative of this totalitarianism, Churchill, has the effrontry to warn that socialism means totalitarianism. Not the least of the crimes of the Laborite leaders is that they are so compromised as accomplices in the rape of India that they cannot give Churchill the answer he deserves.

imperialist oppression of the 400 millions enables the British ruling class also to stifle the real aspirations of most of the 43 millions in England itself. The wealth of India is both carrot

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The New Stalinist Tactical Shift

(Continued from page 1)

of no concern to the degenerated Kremlin bureaucracy, to whom the masses have been and remain mere pawns in Stalin's game of power politics.

The Stalinists can no longer peddle their old lies with impunity because life itself has exposed them. The masses are becoming more and more disillusioned with the war. The promises about the "Four Freedoms" and all the other war aims are already too threadbare to hide the robber character of the war. Revolutionary struggles are rising in Europe and the colonies. That is why the Stalinist leaders urgently require a tactical adjustment—not, however, to provide genuine revolutionary leadership, but to deceive the masses and bring their struggles to nought. Stalin and his agents abroad seek to destroy the socialist revolution, because the socialist revolution means the death of Stalinism.

Coat of Red Veneer

The American workers are breaking out of the strait-jacket of "national unity." The American Stalinists are being isolated and defeated in factories and unions. In the union movement they bear the brand of jingoes and strikebreakers.

The Stalinist War Record

Throughout the war, the Stalinist party has been the most vociferous war party. As recruiting sergeants for U.S. imperialism, they out-jingoe the jingoes. The program of Wall Street and its government in Washington became their own. They were the loudest boosters of Roosevelt's deceptive "equality of sacrifice" program, they condoned the fabulous war profits of Big Business. They campaigned for the "incentive pay" plan which meant speed-up for the workers and vaster profits for the monopolists. They urged the workers weekly to accept the wage freeze, the job freeze, the "Little Steel" formula and to submit to every anti-union provocation of the employers. Not only did they advocate that the workers surrender the right to strike, but wherever they had the power they victimized militant workers who dared defend themselves against the anti-labor offensive of Big Business.

Small wonder that *Business Week*, a mouthpiece of Wall Street, recognizes that the Stalinists "have outdone all other factions in American labor in making patriotic appeals for more production, labor management cooperation, ignoring of grievances and observation of the no-strike pledge."

The labor movement as a whole recoiled in opposition when Roosevelt introduced his slave-labor National Service Bill. This was too much for the pro-war liberals to stomach, but not for Bridges and Curran who, like the *Daily Worker*, gave all-out support to this reactionary measure. Bridges and Curran violated the policy of the CIO in their support of the slave-labor bill—and had to be called to order by Philip Murray himself!

Each time the workers found themselves com-

The Truth About Teheran

In the winter of 1943, after the Teheran conference of Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill, the American Stalinists under Browder's leadership came to the conclusion that their criminal policy in the war should be continued in the postwar era. The class struggle was to be discarded not only for the "duration" but forever. Socialism was declared a utopian dream. In place of socialism Browder embraced the "free enterprise system" of monopoly capital, under which, he promised, the workers would have prosperity, peace and plenty.

Was this anti-Marxist opium concocted just by Browder, as Duclos and Foster now try to make it appear? Nothing could be further from the truth! Browder's line flowed logically from the Stalinist war policy, after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. In accordance with this policy, the capitalists were waging a "People's War," a war for "democracy against fascism," a war for the "Four Freedoms" and so on. But why, then, is it not possible for the capitalists to conclude a "People's Peace"—with freedom and prosperity for all? Clearly, the logic is on Browder's side not that of Duclos or Foster.

Stalin Is the Author

Browder, however, did not rely primarily on "logic." He was simply echoing Stalin, who declared that "the program of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition was:

"Abolition of racial exclusiveness; equality of nations and integrity of their territories; liberation of enslaved nations and restoration of their sovereign rights; the right of every nation to arrange its affairs as it wishes; economic aid to nations that have suffered and assistance to them in attaining their material welfare; restoration of democratic liberties; destruction of the Hitlerite regime."

What is this if not Browder's "postwar perspective?" It was enunciated by Stalin one year before Teheran, not in a "diplomatic document" but in an address to the Moscow Soviet on the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the October Revolution, November 6, 1942. It was reaffirmed by Stalin at Teheran. When Duclos indicts Browder for "revising Marxism-Leninism," he is in reality indicting Stalin and the entire National Committee of the Stalinist Party in this country, and the Stalinist parties in the rest of the world.

Browder's differences with Browder are merely over interpretation and application of a common fundamental policy. To be sure, Foster notes the similarity between Browder's line and the "traditional revisionism of the Social Democracy," a "reflection in the workers ranks of the class interests of the big bourgeoisie" and a tendency "to subordinate the workers to the influence of reactionary capitalists." But in the same breath he declares that "Browder's opportunism has done much harm to our otherwise sound wartime policy. . ." (Our emphasis.)

Like Browder, Foster supported and still supports the imperialist war. Like Browder, Foster

the best militants in the unions shun them like lepers. Worker members have been leaving the C.P.A. in droves.

The Stalinist leaders need a coat of red veneer—radical-sounding phrases to cover up their war-time crimes and betrayals and restore their damaged prestige among the workers. They also need this tactical "turn" in order to reinforce their hold over the rank and file membership of the C.P.A. Worker-members of the C.P.A. could not fail to see that their organization is discredited, that its policies and activities are a stench in the nostrils of the labor movement. They found themselves compelled throughout the war to defend policies which were to the right even of the Greens and Murrays. The worker-member of the C.P.A. has been voting against the Stalinist policy with his feet. He could only quietly drop out of the C.P.A. If he dared to speak up he found himself denounced as a "Trotskyist" and expelled.

The Stalinist bankrupts hope to remain in business by this new maneuver. They are banking on short memories and on the power of their unscrupulous bureaucratic machine. But they will not succeed in hiding their war record. The masses will remember and we Trotskyists will help them to remember.

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In the Montgomery-Ward strike caused by so flagrant a campaign to smash the union that even Roosevelt had to make a mock gesture against the management, the Stalinists again openly acted as strikebreakers. The St. Paul Montgomery-Ward workers, under the jurisdiction of the ILWU led by Harry Bridges, were forced to scab on their Chicago brothers. Harry Bridges went the length of advocating a permanent no-strike pledge.

The Negro people were counseled to give up their militant struggles for equal rights and to carry the shackles of Jim Crow discrimination without protest. The Stalinists served American imperialism with equal zeal at home and abroad.

The Indian masses fighting for independence from the tyranny of the British colonial despots were condemned by them as "Japanese agents."

Washington's attempt to impose the Fascist Darien on the French people, and the actual imposition of the fascist Badoglio and the fascist Royal Family on the Italian masses, were explained and excused as "mistakes" of certain "reactionaries" in the State Department. The imperialist have campaign against the German people was joined in enthusiastically by the Stalinist press and leaders.

Each time the workers found themselves com-

Stalinist who had to stifle his most elementary feelings of class consciousness and class solidarity and black out everything he had learned from Marx and Lenin. It was the rank and file Stalinist who had to face the bitter enmity of the militant workers in the plants and unions who justly regarded him as a scab.

It is not surprising that tens of thousands quit the Stalinist party in loathing and disgust. Duclos stated that 35,000 members of the Communist Party did not re-register in the C.P.A. And the Stalinist National Committee now confirms this fact, saying that "the growth of the Communist movement among the industrial work-

ers was undoubtedly retarded." But there were others who went along, sincerely believing that this was the only way to fight fascism, that this was the only way to defend the Soviet Union. Let us draw a balance sheet. For almost six years the world has been consumed by the flames of war. Europe is a wasteland of ruins, hunger and disease. Some 60,000,000 human beings in Europe alone are casualties in this most terrible of all slaughters. Has fascism been exterminated? Is the Soviet Union secured from imperialist attack so that it may begin the peaceful work of reconstruction?

The Struggle Against Fascism

The resolution of the National Board of the C.P.A. now admits that the "economic and social roots of fascism in Europe have not been fully destroyed." And Duclos discovers that "it is scarcely necessary to recall that the material bases for fascism reside in the trusts . . ." ie., the roots of fascism lie in capitalism, as Lenin long ago pointed out. "It is scarcely necessary to recall . . ." Indeed! For ten years, with the exception of the brief period of the Hitler-Stalin pact, the Stalinist leaders shouted from the rooftops that fascism was synonymous with "aggressive imperialist nations" like Germany and Italy, that if the workers united with the capitalists of "liberty-loving nations" like the United States and Great Britain, fascism would be wiped out. Now we hear out of their own mouths that it was all a lie. They knew they were lying all the time. They consciously and deliberately deceived the workers that fascism could be destroyed by imperialist war. Now that humanity groans under the cross of 60 million European casualties—not 60 million jobs!—they cynically announce that the roots of fascism reside in the "trusts" (capitalism.)

Annihilating Admissions

Far from fascism being destroyed, the Stalinist resolution admits that ". . . the trusts and cartels are striving to reconstruct Europe on a reactionary basis;" that "the most aggressive circles of American imperialism are endeavoring to secure for themselves political and economic domination of the world;" that "reactionary forces . . . are planning a new open shop drive to weaken or smash the trade unions;" that "if these forces are not checked and defeated America and the world will be confronted with new aggressions and wars and the growth of reaction and fascism in the United States."

Thus we discover that victory in "the war against fascism" — a policy devised not by Browder in 1943 but by Stalin and Dimitrov in

that would disclose its fountainhead, and its real social-patriotic roots.

Democracy is excluded in the ranks of the Stalinist parties. Only bureaucratic regimentation can serve parties advocating and carrying out the program of the class enemy.

Stalinist "Democracy"

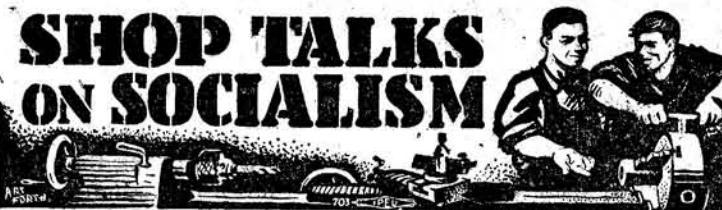
As events unfold, the members of the C.P.A. who permit their voices to be stifled will look back upon the period of World War II with the deepest shame for the crimes of Stalinism and for the counter-revolutionary role they were duped into playing. Many workers in the C.P.A. can remember the revolution which occurred among the Social-Democratic workers for the role played by their official parties and leaders in support of the imperialist masters. Just as the Social-Democrats were hated and cursed by the revolutionists a generation ago, the revolutionary workers will learn to despise the Browders and the Fosters and the Duclos with that hatred that is reserved for scabs and renegades. They will learn that the first condition for class-struggling policies is a complete break with Stalinism and all its policies and methods.

Trotsky's Communists will become the rallying force for all the revolutionists, for all the militant workers after this war, just as Lenin's Communists were the rallying force after the last war. That is why the Stalinist leaders carried on their hate and slander campaign against the Trotskyists. That is why the Trotskyists who—like Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Eugene Debs and other internationalists in the war of 1914-1918—opposed the imperialist conflict to redive the world, have been reviled by the Stalinist leaders in language lifted from the red-baiting Hearst press, the American Legion and the Ku Klux Klan. That is why they will intensify their poison-pen propaganda in the days to come.

The Stalin gang which imposed the policy of class peace, national unity and surrender to capitalism on all the Communist parties, has converted the Soviet Union into a heaven of special privileges, huge salaries and unrestricted luxuries for marshals and bureaucrats, and a hell of inequality, poverty and repression for the soldiers and workers. The defense of the Soviet Union demands first and foremost the independent action of the working class for the extension of the October Revolution throughout the world. This is what Lenin taught. This is what the Stalinists have betrayed. The defense of the Soviet Union—the restoration of workers' democracy and the elevation of the living standards of the Soviet masses—demands a political struggle for the overthrow by the workers of the Stalin gang in the USSR.

* * *

The latest tactical maneuver of the Stalinists is inaugurated amid a great fanfare about the establishment of "genuine inner democracy" in the C.P.A. This "democracy" is just as fraudulent as the maneuver itself. The discussion that has opened will not culminate in a genuine democratic convention to decide the policy and the leadership. This discussion serves no other purpose than to keep the criticism of the Stalinist leadership within limits set in advance, to prevent the membership from linking Browder's treachery with the treachery of Stalin. It is designed to avoid any examination of the policy



By V. Grey

How are the workers of the world ever going to get together? Sometimes you ask yourself that question when you see the workers split up because of race, religion, nationality and many other things. You see it even within the same country. And how much tougher, you think, it will be to unite the workers of all countries. In every nation the people are taught from childhood that the country they live in is the best in the world, and that they are superior beings. How are all the peoples going to unite under conditions like that?

Well, it isn't going to be easy to organize the whole world behind the Fourth International. We've a big job ahead of us. But the main job of uniting the working people is being done by our enemy, the capitalist class. Yes, even though they encourage race provocations and attack the unions, they are uniting us.

They are uniting us by subjecting us to the same conditions. They are uniting us by making us work together on the same material and with the same machinery. They are uniting us by giving us all the same lousy wages and squeezing us into a common mold.

Unity Forged in Strike Action

Into the shop have come farmers from nearby, Negroes from way down south, former mine workers from Pennsylvania (one from West Virginia). A dozen or so of the welders were shipyard workers just last year. Some of the girls used to be waitresses; others, housewives. And now a scattering of laid-off aircraft workers have been hired, too.

Some of the people had militant traditions and some didn't. Nearly all of them would talk about their former occupations and think of themselves as they used to be. They knew in the backs of their minds that they all got the same lousy Bethlehem Steel wages and took the same Bethlehem Steel crap. It was like all being in the same prison.

Then we had the strike. And they all, every single one, realized they were all STEELWORKERS. And their common enemy was the STEEL BOSSSES. The company's own capitalist organization and methods united the workers against it.

And that's not just here in our own shop. It's all over. Take Hitler—the worst anti-labor dictator and Jew-baiter in history. In spite of himself, he united Jew and Gentile, Pole and German. And do you know how? BY THROWING THEM INTO THE SAME PRISONS AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS!

In Buchenwald, one of the worst of the prison camps, workers of all nations and races lived, suffered and died. (Among them many German revolutionary heroes). Before they left that prison they all sang the world song of the socialist working class, "The Internationale." And language was no bar to their harmony.

The Prison of Capitalist Slavery

And not only in the stone prisons where the chains were made of metal. For the German steel plants are like the American steel plants. And the German capitalist system is like the American capitalist system: a huge prison that Hitler made even more of a prison. But in making a prison of Germany and all of Europe, Hitler subjected the working people to the same misery, the same hunger and the same death. Thus he began to UNITE them against himself.

Now the Allied capitalist leaders are doing the exact same thing, step by step. The people all over the world are suffering the same united misery under their capitalist masters, regardless of what capitalist flag these masters fly.

Capitalist war is uniting the working peoples in its prison, too. And not just those of the "Allied" nations. Capitalist war has brought the worker youth of all nations into compact masses. It has transported them to all parts of the earth. And though it spews out its poison, it opens the eyes of the youth even while it turns their stomachs.

Japanese maidens, American girls, German frauleins are united in a common anxiety for their sweethearts. Many—too many—will be united by a common grief. The soldiers of all nations are becoming united by a common hatred of the war. And millions of their youthful corpses have been united in the same graves.

The whole capitalist world is a prison for the working class. And we working people are beginning to see it. The jailer keeps making it tougher for us all, and we can't help but see it. As we see it more and more, unity in the struggle will be forged. For we are shackled with a common chain. And the same key fits all the locks.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

JUNE 15, 1935

In two coal mining areas, Pennsylvania and West Virginia, simultaneous conventions were held by unemployed leagues to take action on the burning questions of mass unemployment, hunger and distress, aftermath of the first imperialist World War. In Allentown, Pa. 350 delegates representing more than 25,000 organized unemployed attended the convention of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League on June 10.

The convention laid plans for organized action against the scandalous \$19 to \$94 a month work relief program of the Roosevelt government, for prevailing wage rates on relief jobs, for a 50 percent increase in direct relief allowances, as well as other urgent needs of the jobless. The convention decided to establish district offices in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh to extend and centralize its work. The convention went on record reaffirming the stand of the PUL for independent political working-class action.

In Huntington, West Virginia, 131 delegates attended the state convention of the West Virginia Unemployed League on June 8 and 9. The principal speaker, Arnold Johnson, secretary of the National Unemployed League, pointed out that the workers must cease relying on Roosevelt and begin applying their own power as the only effective means to rescue them from the slave conditions imposed by capitalism. Such a struggle, he declared, could bring freedom and victory.

Condemning capitalism as responsible for unemployment, the high point of his address dealt with the approaching World War II, in which "workers in one country are called on to kill their fellow-workers of another country for the profit of the bankers and profiteers. Now is the time to take a firm stand against imperialist war, and to use the weapons of war only for the freedom of the workers."

What so rare as a day in June . . . ?

—and rarer still is a

JUNE DANCE

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Arrested Puerto Rican Nationalist Leader Opposes Wall St. Imperialism

By Evelyn Atwood

"They think they can kill great ideas by throwing the men who represent these ideas into prison," Julio Pinto Gandia, former acting president and secretary-general of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party said to me when I interviewed him on June 7 at his home, 326 West 17th St., N. Y. C.

Gandia was referring to his arrest on June 4 by the FBI for his refusal to comply with the draft laws. He is now being held in \$1,000 bail for a federal hearing on June 19 on charges of draft evasion. If convicted, he faces five years in prison and \$10,000 fine.

The Puerto Rican nationalist leader acted in accordance with the policy of his Party, which in 1941 unanimously voted, in open convention, not to cooperate with the U. S. Selective Service because "the United States holds Puerto Rico under a military illegal government." Thus his is a case of the political persecution of a leader of a subject people fighting for its independence.

FIGHTS FOR PRINCIPLE

"You must understand the political background of my case," Gandia explained. "This arrest is a minor thing. It is not what happens to me, but the fate of our nationalist movement to free Puerto Rico from U. S. imperialism that is important. I was railroaded to six years in prison in this country once before because of my political beliefs. And the reason, of course, is that I am fighting for a principle."

Gandia paused as he saw me taking notes and could not conceal his doubts. "Most newspapers are silent about the principle behind my fight and why I am persecuted. They lie, when they distort the facts... But when I hastened to assure him that The Militant supported the struggles of colonial peoples for independence and published the truth about them for its readers, he brightened up. Slight and frail, he rose from his chair, his hollow cheeks becoming bright red with emotion.

"Then your paper could help my cause a great deal! If you would really tell the American people all the things they do not know! Most Americans do not believe that the United States is an imperialist country. They say: 'It cannot be—we are a Democracy.' But some, a few, who have found out what your country has done to mine, feel terribly ashamed. They know then that it is just as bad as what England has done to India."

The conquest and exploitation of Puerto Rico is indeed a black page in imperialist aggrandizement. In 1898 during the Spanish-American War—the first military venture of U. S. imperialism the United States seized Puerto Rico, along with Cuba, Guam and the Philippines, all of them former possessions of Spain.



JULIO PINTO GANDIA

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After two years of military dictatorship, Congress in 1900 provided a "civil government" through the Foraker Act. When the Puerto Ricans rebelled against the despotic powers this gave the U. S. government, the Organic Law was passed and subsequently amended several times to give the appearance of native participation in the government. But never has Puerto Rico been able to shake the "Colossus of the North" off its back and take its government into its own hands.

Through U. S. appointment of all leading officials, Wall St. rules and ruins the island. The native farmers have been dispossessed. Half the island is owned by the absentee American sugar interests. The industries are almost entirely owned by absentee profiteers. The average weekly wage is \$5.31. More than 90 per cent of the average Puerto Rican family's income must go for food which averages 25% higher than what is paid in New York City

for the same products. Chronic unemployment engulfs 70 percent of the workers and keeps the people in starvation. There are no schools for more than half the children.

LIBERTY DENIED

In this war as in the last, the young men of Puerto Rico have been taken into the U. S. Army to fight and die for the "democracy" and "freedom" they have been denied at home. To this extent only has the privilege of citizenship been "conferred" upon them.

"I have been in the struggle for the independence of my country for 17 years," said Gandia, who is now 37 years old. The Nationalist Party, of which he is a leader, was formed after the last war, in the 1920's. "We ask nothing of the United States except that it get out of our country!"

The popular movement for independence came to a climax in 1937, when the U. S. sent Blanton Winship of Georgia to Puerto Rico as governor, to suppress the Nationalist movement. A series of killings by the police for which the Nationalists were held responsible, culminated in the Ponce Massacre on Palm Sunday, 1937. The American police machine-gunned a completely unarmed procession of Nationalists marching to a cathedral, killing 21 and wounding more than 200.

60 IN PRISON

"Since that time," Gandia told me, "most of our leader have been imprisoned. There are more than 60 of us in U. S. prisons even today. Some, who have served their terms, are kept in exile in this country. Don Pedro Alibuz Campos, president of our party, was sent to Atlanta for seven years. His health got very bad and he is now here in a New York hospital. I was sent to Leavenworth for five years."

I asked Gandia about his own health. "Oh, I survived," he said with a half smile and gesture. "We survive, I guess, because we have to. We still have work to do." Then he told me he was released on parole after three and a half years in federal prison and sent back to Puerto Rico. "But I would not—as the officials say—comply with the conditions of parole." So after two weeks they brought me back and put me in Petersburg, Va. penitentiary to finish my sentence. I was released

Big Business Militarists Push For Peace-time Conscription

By Joseph Hansen

The widespread hope of the people for an end to war after the present slaughter is doomed to disappointment if the Wall Street profiteers have their way. They are now busily pushing legislation in Congress that would enable them to prolong the lucrative bloodshed indefinitely. They have falsely labelled their proposals "Peacetime Military Training." They are masking the true purpose of this legislation with the argument that it will preserve and stabilize—peace!

In the hearings before the House Committee on Post-War Military Policy, representatives of these war-mongers all wore the feathers of peace. Major Fielding Eliot, who shakes down a profitable income commenting on battle moves on the military maps, argued that "if we want our influence to be felt we have got to have the force to back it up."

Joseph C. Grew, Acting Secretary of State, for 40 years a professional representative of the dollar diplomacy of American imperialism, declared in carefully chosen phrases, "our international policy, to be effective, must have strength behind it." The New York Times, reactionary mouthpiece of Big Business, which has been campaigning for this legislation, summed up the line of propaganda they hope will win over public sympathy: "Two threads of belief ran through almost all the testimony in support of peacetime training, namely, that preparedness for war is the best assurance of peace, and that next time we might not

have the opportunity to get ready that we have had in the past."

The real purpose glossed over by these deceptive words is almost self-evident. What kind of "peace" requires preparation for war? "To get ready" for the "next time" means getting ready for the Third World War!

This is glaringly apparent in the opinion expressed by Paul Hammond, a director of the reactionary outfit which recently took out corporation papers as the "Citizens Committee for Military Training of Young Men, Inc."

"We shall never have enough time to proceed in the 'horse and buggy' manner employed in 1942," Hammond declared.

"A rocket war would be over before draft boards had time to begin the process of selection."

CITIZENS COMMITTEE

Among the other directors of the "Citizens Committee" are Major Duncan G. Harris, Colonel John W. Castles, Lieutenant Colonel Jay Cooke, John K. Olyphant, Jr., vice-president of the Central Hanover Bank and Trust Company, and Brigadier General Julius Ochs Adler, vice-president and general manager of the New York Times, newspaper which has proven remarkably responsive to the influence of Thomas W. Lamont, "brains" of the Morgan dynasty. Long before the United States was plunged into the Second World War the directors of this committee, together with the New York Times, fostered the universal conscription finally embodied in the Selective Service Act.

The professional officers who made a career of the scientific slaughter of mankind likewise display paternal interest in the

proposed "peacetime military training." General Bradley at the West Point graduation exercises June 5 advocated "retaining the core of a professional force about which we can mobilize a great citizen army—perhaps systematically trained through some form of military service." Bradley utilized arguments singularly in tune with those of the corporation which calls itself the "Citizens Committee," including the "use of military power to enforce... diplomacy."

Wall Street obviously believes that the era of "peace" will be scarcely more than a lull between world wars. The monopolists have no real perspective but continuous war. To safeguard their profits and holdings they intend to militarize the United States, modeling the lives of American youth on the Prussian pattern.

Hanson W. Baldwin let the cat out of the bag. Baldwin is the authoritative spokesman of the mushrooming military caste. His declarations invariably reflect the views of the Wall Street owners who

OUT OF THEIR OWN MOUTHS

Inside information as to the purpose of the unprecedented demand for peacetime military conscription came from a member of the Senate Military Affairs Committee. Writing in the June 11 issue of *The Progressive*, Edwin C. Johnson, a Democratic Senator from Colorado said:

"Certainly Congress should examine the backers of the proposal and explore some of their motives. America has a well-organized group of capitalists—the dollar diplomacy crowd—who are looking the world over right now for profitable investments for themselves and their clients... They must have the protection of our flag. Therefore, they would have a conscript American army to awe and put the fear of God in puny foreign rulers."

Senator Johnson then asks: "Against whom do we need a gigantic army of foot soldiers anyway? Certainly not against Germany and Japan! Certainly 'unconditional surrender' will not permit war machines in these countries to rebuild. Then, against whom are we rearming? Against Mexico? South America? China? Britain? Russia? Let the proponents answer."

And he concludes with this challenge: "Let the people of the United States decide that issue then. I dare the proponents of compulsory military training to leave the decision to the people."

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Among the other directors of the "Citizens Committee" are Major Duncan G. Harris, Colonel John W. Castles, Lieutenant Colonel Jay Cooke, John K. Olyphant, Jr., vice-president of the Central Hanover Bank and Trust Company, and Brigadier General Julius Ochs Adler, vice-president and general manager of the New York Times, newspaper which has proven remarkably responsive to the influence of Thomas W. Lamont, "brains" of the Morgan dynasty. Long before the United States was plunged into the Second World War the directors of this committee, together with the New York Times, fostered the universal conscription finally embodied in the Selective Service Act.

The professional officers who

keep him on their pay roll. In his column of June 8, he comes out for "peacetime conscription—for service not for training."

(His emphasis.)

Baldwin feels that up to now the hearings before the House Committee have over-emphasized the benefits of training. But, says he, a law purely for training purposes "would be useless."

Baldwin apparently is of the opinion that his fellow propagandists appearing before Congress must now begin emphasizing a quite different aspect of the proposed law.

"The military needs of the dangerous post-war era have been too much glossed over in the hearings so far held," he declares. What "military needs"? might ask the surprised worker who was promised that shedding his blood on foreign battlefields would establish democracy, freedom from fear, etc.

Baldwin does not specify another war against Japan or Germany. He does imply however—in diplomatic language—future conflict with the Soviet

Union. "We hear irresponsible talk of the need for universal peacetime military training to prepare for war against Russia." This, nevertheless, is not the major problem of the moment, he assures us. "There is no imminent danger of war against Russia, for the peoples of the world are war-weary, and the American people, the British people and the Russian people would not fight it." Baldwin does not estimate how long the war-weariness would prevent Wall Street from plunging into such a war.

But if "peacetime military training" is not for "training," what is it for? Baldwin here makes a damning admission that exposes one of the main purposes of this proposed legislation: "Men in the services for the duration will be clamoring to come home and arms must be found to take their places in occupying and policing roles over-seas." Nothing less than armies—armies to suppress and hold down the European workers!

This military propagandist in the pay of Wall Street further enlarges on the necessity for creating new expeditionary forces: "The most important and testing phase in world political stability will come immediately after the end of hostilities and may last from two to five years." What does Baldwin mean by this ambiguous double talk? Is the Second World War only half over?

"Political vacuums in Europe and the Orient," he explains, "and the major economic, psychological and other problems that always ride in the wake of war will create unrest and disturbances, and unless we are careful and very wise, a pattern may be set in those days that will shape—for good or evil—our future world." Could Wall Street express more plainly its fears of the mighty revolutions certain to follow the end of the war? It is to put down such revolutions that armies are needed!

"We shall need these large forces for occupation and policing duties, if necessary for relief and rehabilitation, and to help, by the stabilizing presence of strength, to restore political stability." Baldwin, of course, means the political stability of the rotten capitalist system.

He emphasizes his point: "It is precisely in this 'interim' era of evolution and instability that the need for peacetime conscription—for service, not for training, will be greatest."

The History Of American Trotskyism

THE GREAT POSITIVE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PIONEER COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

By James P. Cannon

In the first chapter of his book, Comrade Cannon told how the American Communist Party emerged out of the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1919. He described the "ultra-left" period when the party, forced underground by the anti-red terror of the post-war period, scorned all legal work. At the 1922 World Congress of the Communist International, Lenin intervened to aid a faction in the American party which wanted to come "above ground." The underground organization finally gave way to a legal party which could begin to work in the American labor movement. This is the fourth installment of Cannon's book.

* * *

LECTURE II

FACTIOUS STRUGGLES IN THE OLD COMMUNIST PARTY

Last week I sketched the early pioneer days of American Communism. Even though I omitted much, touched only a few high spots, we weren't able to pass the year 1922, the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, the legalization of the underground Communist movement and the beginning of open work. I spoke about the negative aspects of the early movement and the infantile sicknesses that plagued it, as is almost always the case with young movements, particularly the virulent infantile sickness of ultra-leftism.

But these negative aspects, the unrealism of much of the work, were far overshadowed by the positive side—the creation for the first time in America of a revolutionary political party founded on Bolshevik doctrines. That was the great contribution of pioneer Communism. A body of people organized a new political party. They assimilated some of the basic teachings of Communism. They habituated themselves to disciplined procedure, which is one of the prerequisites for the building of a serious workers' political party. This had never happened before in the United States. They created the instrument of a professional leadership, likewise one of the most elementary requirements of a serious revolutionary party.

The Supremacy of Theory

The early movement of Communism demonstrated very powerfully the predominant influence of ideas over everything else. This was strikingly shown in the struggle for supremacy between the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) and the young Communist Party. In the pre-war days the IWW was a rather large militant labor movement. It entered the war as unquestionably the organization embracing within its ranks the largest group of proletarian militants. Yet the nucleus of the Communist Party came out of the Socialist Party. A considerable number of them were petty-bourgeois in origin, a large percentage young people without any experience in the class struggle. Thousands of them were foreign-born workers who had never been really assimilated in the class struggle in America.

Insofar as the human material was concerned, the advantages were all on the side of the IWW. Their militants had been tested in many fights. They had hundreds and hundreds of members in jail, and they used to look with something like contempt on this upstart movement talking so confidently in revolutionary terms. The IWW's imagined that their actions and their sacrifices so far outweighed the mere doctrinal pretensions of this new revolutionary movement that they had nothing to fear from it in the way of rivalry. They were badly mistaken.

Within a few years—by 1922—it became pretty clear that the Communist Party had displaced the IWW as the leading organiza-

tion of the vanguard. The IWW, with its wonderful composition of proletarian militants, with all their heroic struggles behind them, could not keep pace. They had not adjusted their ideology to the lessons of the war and the Russian revolution. They had not acquired a sufficient respect for doctrine, for theory. That is why their organization degenerated, while this new organization with its poorer material, its inexperienced youth who had seized hold of the living ideas of Bolshevism, completely surpassed the IWW and left it far behind in the space of a few years. The great lesson of this experience is the folly of taking lightly the power of ideas or imagining that some substitute can be found for correct ideas in the building of a revolutionary movement.

The Party Attracts Trade Unionists

After we settled the basic fight with the ultra-leftists about legalization, the party came out into the open. It had already acquired complete hegemony, as I said, over the vanguard of the proletariat in this country. It was regarded on all sides, and properly, as the most advanced and revolutionary grouping in this country. The party began to attract some native trade unionists into its ranks. William Z. Foster, wearing then the glory of his work in the steel strike, and other trade unionists, a fairly large group, came into this foreign-born, somewhat exotic but dynamic Communist Party. The whole orientation of the party began to change. From underground squabbling, unrealistic disputes and over-refinements of doctrine, the party turned to mass work. The Communists began to occupy themselves with practical problems of the class struggle. The party gradually became "trade unionized" and took its first faltering steps in the American Federation of Labor, the dominant, practically the sole, labor organization at that time.

While we were fighting out the battle for the legalization of the party, we also fought to correct the party's trade union policy. This struggle, too, was successful; the original sectarian position was rejected. The pioneer Communists revised their earlier sectarian pronouncements which had favored independent unionism. They now directed the whole dynamic force of the Communist Party into the reactionary, trade unions. The chief credit for this transformation also belongs to Moscow, to Lenin, to the Comintern. Lenin's great pamphlet, *The Infantile Sickness of Left Communism*, cleared up this question quite decisively. By 1922-23 the party was well on the road towards penetrating the trade union movement and began rapidly to acquire a serious influence in some unions in some parts of the country. This was particularly the case in the coal miners union and in the needle trades unions, and elsewhere, too, the party made its influence felt.

But simultaneously with this practical and wholly progressive work, the party plunged into some opportunist adventures. Apparently no party can ever correct a deviation, it must overcorrect it. The stick is bent backward. Thus the young party which a short time before had been concerned with the refinement of doctrine in underground isolation, having nothing to do with the trade union movement—let alone the political movement, the petty-bourgeois

and the labor fakers—this same party now plunged into a number of wild adventures in the field of labor and farmer politics. The attempt of the party leadership through a series of maneuvers and combinations to form a large farmer-labor party overnight without sufficient backing in the mass movement of the workers, without sufficient strength of the Communists themselves, threw the party into turmoil. A new internal struggle was precipitated.

Faction Fights Raged Until 1929

The series of new faction fights which began in the year 1923, six months or so following the liquidation of the old fight over legalization, continued thereafter almost uninterruptedly up to the time that we Trotskyists were thrown out of the party in 1928. The fight raged until the spring of 1929 when the Lovestone leadership, who had expelled us, were themselves expelled. Thereafter the Stalinized Comintern stopped the faction fights by expelling everybody of any independence of character; and by selecting a new leadership that jumped whenever the bell rang. They achieved a peaceful monolithicism in the party by bureaucratic measures. They achieved the peace of ideological stagnation and decay.

The faction fights which convulsed the party through all this time did not prevent the organization from doing a great deal of work in the class struggle, developing activities in many fields. It established for the first time in this country a revolutionary daily paper. That was quite an achievement for a party of no more than ten or fifteen thousand members. Propagandistic work was developed on a wide scale. Labor defense work was organized on a scope and basis never known before. Many innovations of a progressive nature were introduced into the labor movement by the Communist Party in that period. Virtually every serious strike that broke out came under the leadership of the party. Notably, the great Pass

WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant." Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

White Prejudice

Editor:
I have been reading Charles Jackson's column on the Negro Struggle, and while I find it extremely interesting, I am of the opinion that the mass of Negro workers don't care a fig about a Marxist analysis of the Negro problem, but are looking for a workable program which they can put into effect now. The Negro worker is desirous of breaking down existing prejudices of white workers. Being a worker myself, I have learned that there is one ground upon which all workers can meet, and that is the interests of labor.

The Negro worker does not have time to sit back and wait for the white worker to become educated in racial relations. He already knows that the signing of an application for CIO does not change the racial thinking of the white worker, for too often the white worker never hears about CIO's policy of non-discrimination until some racial crisis arises, and the union dips into its closet, pulls out its non-discrimination policy, dusts it off, and parades it before the eyes of the white worker in a half-hearted effort to induce him to tolerate a fellow worker whose skin is of a different color from his own.

What the average Negro worker does not know, but must learn, is that racial prejudice is a witch's brew concocted by the ruling class, and that the poison is injected into the veins of both white and black workers for the benefit of the ruling class; and that the best immediate antidote is a shoulder to shoulder fight along with the white worker against the vicious labor policies of the bosses.

Daily, we read of instances where southern white youth have gone into the armed forces with the traditional racial hatreds typical of the section from which they come, and after fighting along with the Negro soldier against a common enemy, that hatred is burned away, leaving a feeling of comradeship that no propaganda or ruling class pressure can erase.

Chalmers Alexander Youngstown, Ohio

Einstein's Views

Editor:
Recently while driving through Princeton, N. J. we stopped briefly to talk with Professor Einstein. During the short conversation we came quickly to the point, i. e., his opinions of certain Marxist teachings, and asked whether or not the Professor recognized the class struggle. After that, part of the conversation went about as follows:

Einstein: Yes, of course. The German and English and American capitalists have also caused this war. And fascism everywhere is very possible... very possible.

We: In America also?

Einstein: Yes, in America.

We: And when do you think the working people will realize this?

Einstein: The workers in America will not understand soon. They still have the best conditions in the world among the working peoples. The French workers understand... the British... but the American worker will be the last to wake up.

We: What do you think of Marx's principles?

Einstein: His main thesis is right. I agree with Marx but not with his teacher, Hegel.

We: Then what is your opinion of dialectics?

Einstein: Well, I haven't found the dialectic approach too useful, but still the only answer is socialism.

Jeanne and Pete Morgan New York City

Food Shortage

Editor:
Even with three ration books in our family and with the baby too young to eat meat, we have been unable to make our rations reach. For weeks my husband John and I have not had any butter. We get a pound every three or four weeks and keep it for the baby. The remaining points go for vegetable shortening or lard, lunch meat and cheese for John's sandwiches, and a small quantity of meat once or twice a week.

We have eaten eggs until we can hardly stand the sight of them. John sometimes has them three times a day for lack of any substitute. Chickens have disappeared from the markets, although we never could afford to have them very often. The inexpensive meat cuts are almost

War's Aftermath

Editor:

Describing the terrible aftermath of the last World War, its unemployment, poverty and hunger, and declaring that even worse consequences must "inevitably follow this war," Representative Cannon of Missouri read into the Congressional Record of May 16, 1945 the following poem to emphasize his point:

Begging for bread — in a plentiful land!
Begging for bread — with a trade in his hand!
Sound as a dollar, in heart and in head,
Ready for work, and yet — begging for bread?

Begging for bread — but not begging alone;
Now are they swollen to numbers unknown,
Who weary the highways with heart-breaking tread,
And swarm through our city streets — begging for bread.

Begging for bread — with such stores on our hands
We could feed the unfed of all inhabited lands;
Food rotted to order — starvation widespread —
Organized waste — millions — begging for bread!

F. M.
New York City

non-existent. I feel very lucky when I can get a half pound of hamburger or liver.

What irks me with a mighty irrit is being told at the butcher's across the street, where I do most of my buying, that I can have any amount of T-bone steak I want — providing I have the points, not to mention the money.

I know from what the doctor told me before the baby was born that everyone needs butter daily. Here in Minnesota, the heart of the dairy country, there is no more butter to be had than elsewhere. This does not give the slightest pause to the dairy trusts, whose only concern is the profit they are going to make from private consumers when the government stops buying their milk.

Every day the big dairies here sponsor a radio program which advertises the products of Minnesota dairy farming. At the start and close of the program the commentator urges his listeners to buy more of the "golden-rich, dairy-fresh sweet cream butter" and tells how delicious this wonderful Minnesota butter is on toast, wheat cakes and in cooking! It takes a lot of self-control to keep from tossing the radio out the window.

Mrs. Beatrice Janosco
Minneapolis

The Veterans

Editor:

The Militant gets better all the time! I especially appreciate the articles on the veterans' hospitals scandal. This is the type of expose of the capitalist government that The Militant should pick up and build up.

I wish that you would suggest some ideas to Grace Carlson for her column. Here are a few subjects that I hope she can find a way to deal with in the next immediate period. One that bothers me is the propaganda to lay off women workers to make room for veterans. This propaganda must be countered and explained for what it is—part of a move to shift the blame for unemployment from the shoulders of capitalism to any victim it can find!

Then there are often — far too tragically often — small items deserted by their mothers, who cannot support them on the government allotment. (It cannot be done!) One of these would make a good article, I think."

J. P.
St. Paul

Entering the Army

Editor:

I am quite busy being "processed in," but I think I can put together enough time to write you a description of what I'm involved in. We had quite a jolly time on the train and bus, since most of the fellows hadn't yet stopped to think. But by the time we were getting to bed that night, the reaction had hit a lot of the fellows and they were feeling quite mournful.

You know, the day I left the decision was announced to halt the draft of 30-year olds and up. There were a great many of these unfortunate in my group and, as you can well imagine, there was a continual sound, as of a wailing and gnashing of teeth. The corporal who had us lined up in the company street at one in the morning made a point of announcing the decision to us, with what I am coming to know as a display of typical army tact.

You may have been surprised to note that we were standing in the company street at 1 A.M. When we arrived at the initial reception point, they had a lot

Stalinist Shift Analyzed in June Issue of the F. I.

In the June issue of the Fourth International, just off the press, the new Stalinist turn is analyzed in an editorial which states: "The charge that the American Stalinists have been guilty of revising Marxism, that is, of betraying the American and world working-class, is of course irrefutable. The novelty consists solely in the fact that it comes from one of the prominent figures in the international Stalinist apparatus."

"But on the lips of Dullos it is a deliberate deception, designed to cover up the full scope of Stalinist perfidy — both in Europe and America — and to serve as a smokescreen for a shift in policy which prepares other and no less monstrous betrayals."

Also featured in the current issue is a rare interview with a Soviet citizen who was freed last year among a group of Russian prisoners with the aid of comrades of the Fourth International, and who tells about conditions in the Soviet Union.

An article by Felix Morrow analyzes the "Big Three" differences on Germany with particular emphasis on the role of the Kremlin, and who tells about conditions in the Soviet Union.

Li Fu-jen, Trotskyist authority on events in the Far East, presents an analysis of the "Imperialist Program for the Orient" in the June 6 Daily Worker, official organ of the American representatives of the Kremlin. The Daily Worker quotes Rizopastis, Greek Stalinist organ.

Commenting on the protest of the four premiers, Károlyi, Rizopastis, and the Stalinist heads of the EAM

Ex-Premiers Voice "Protest" Against Greek Reign Of Terror

Chile Workers Denounce Film

So terrible has become the British-fostered reign of terror in Greece that four former premiers have felt forced to sign a protest, which was sent to Vougaris, the present British puppet premier. The protesting ex-premiers are Sophoulis, Cacafaris, Tsouderos and Plastiras. They complain that army and police officers have "kidnapped, beaten and maltreated private citizens," and ask Vougaris to "purge the terrorists and restore order."

Tsouderos and Plastiras, especially, should be able to gauge the ferocious character of this reign of terror, since the former was in office when Churchill suppressed the Cairo mutiny of the Greek armed forces and the latter was in charge of the initial stages of the present blood-letting.

STALINIST HYPOCRISY

A protest as brief as the plaint of the four ex-premiers was registered by the June 6 Daily Worker, official organ of the American representatives of the Kremlin. The Daily Worker quotes Rizopastis, Greek Stalinist organ.

Commenting on the protest of the four premiers, Károlyi, Rizopastis, and the Stalinist heads of the EAM

declared: "This news is very significant because now all non-monarchist, non-fascist Greeks from Plastiras on the extreme right to the Communist Party are effectively united against the present officialdom imposed by British Tories."

But on the very day the British provoked the civil war in Greece, Rizopastis published an article demanding the establishment of a regency! It is this very regency of terror that is now conducting the reign of terror!

It was the Stalinists who welcomed British intervention, forerunner of the terror. On December 31 last, the Stalinist leader Partsalides declared that he wished to express the Greek people's feelings on behalf of the EAM (Stalinist-dominated National Liberation Front) for the efforts of Mr. Churchill, the Prime Minister of our great ally, England, in coming to Athens."

Churchill's purpose in coming to Greece is graphically indicated by the latest dispatch from Greece, dated June 5, reporting six supporters of the Stalinist-headed Greek Army of National Liberation had been sentenced to death and two others to life imprisonment.

STALIN'S PERfidY

Throughout the civil war, Stalin did not withdraw recognition of the Glucksburg dynasty as the official government of Greece. Churchill, Eden and Bevin all declared that British troops entered Greece with the approval of Moscow. Churchill on December 26 declared in Athens, "We British... came here with approval of President Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin..."

On top of welcoming the British

troops, the Stalinist leaders agreed to disarm the Greek people. On September 25, 1944, the Stalinist General Seraphis, together with the British-supported bandit General Zervas, signed an agreement placing the Partisans under the orders of the British. The Stalinists took posts in the British puppet government, and the Stalinist heads of the EAM signed an agreement with the British general Scobie to disarm the Partisans although royalists were walking the streets armed to the teeth and the British were shipping more and more troops into Greece. Finally, the Greek Stalinists agreed to the January 15 truce demanded by the British, and began giving up the hostages seized by the Anglo-Greek counter-revolution.

When the film reached that part which pictures Stalin's victims as in the pay of "fascism," members of the audience sympathetic to the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Workers Revolutionary Party), according to La Opinion, protested with shouts and whistles.

Stalinist sympathizers in the audience responded with cries of "Long Live National Unity!" and "Long Live Stalin!" In the ensuing hubbub, the management turned on the lights and stopped the film.

Those protesting "Mission to Moscow" began shouting "Long Live the Soviet Union!" "Long Live Trotsky!" and "Down with National Unity!"

A delegation from the Partido

SAN FRANCISCO

School of Social Science

SUNDAY NIGHT FORUM

July 1, 8:00 p. m.

LAYOFFS -- HOW TO FIGHT THEM

Speaker: ROBERT CHESTER

305 GRANT AVENUE, 4th FLOOR

Discussion

Refreshments

FIGHT FOR THIS PROGRAM:

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

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

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

Operate all government-built plants under workers' control!

2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

Rescind the no-strike pledge!

Withdraw union representatives from the War Labor Board!

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

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

They know The Militant is a potent force in the labor movement. Another time, after the local press hacked up a release to the papers on the beating of two militants, one wanted to know if The Militant would carry the story. And still another time, a reader came to our office and wanted to know why The Militant hadn't carried a story on a strike in which his local was involved.

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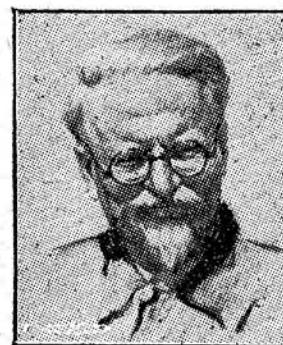
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"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."



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

— Leon Trotsky

Free Patterson!

William Patterson, a loyal union miner who for 22 years has fought for the interests of his fellow workers, is locked behind prison bars today—the first victim of the vicious Smith-Connally anti-strike law. He is in prison because the corporate interests and their agents need an "example" with which to terrorize all other militant workers who dare to fight and strike for their rights.

The Patterson imprisonment is no ordinary case of individual anti-labor persecution. It is the precedent which Big Business hopes to use for a deadly thrust at all labor. No worker who dares to fight for his rights on the picket line is safe.

The law under which Patterson has been imprisoned was passed in a Congressional anti-labor orgy during the national coal strikes of 1943. It was denounced then as the most savagely repressive federal law of modern times against labor. All the top union officials, Murray, Green, Lewis, denounced the Smith-Connally bill as a mortal menace to the most fundamental right of labor—the right to strike.

Today, in the case of William Patterson, the Smith-Connally Act has become more than a threat. It is a weapon that has already drawn blood. It is poised for further thrusts at the very vital of the labor movement.

The kept press and the government agents who engineered the jailing of Patterson consider it a test case. They have tried to keep it buried, so as not to arouse labor protest. *The Militant* has lifted this vital case from obscurity and shattered a conspiracy of misrepresentation and silence.

It is now up to the entire labor movement to rise in resolute, overwhelming protest. From every union in the land must come the demand: "Free William Patterson!"

Resolutions for the pardon of William Patterson must pour into the White House. And to the loyal members of United Mine Workers Local 2399, Richeyville, Pa., who are backing their union brother to the hilt, must go messages of support and solidarity, the encouraging word that their fight has become the fight of all labor.

Syrian Independence

Those who support the aspirations of the Arab masses got very little satisfaction from the June 6 statement of Syria's President Shukri al-Huwati. He seemed to start out all right when he said: "I believe we are rid of France at last now." But then he added: "We intend to call in American, British and other experts to help advise us."

Why should Syria's president propose to do this?

During most of the past thirty years, the Arab capitalist-landlord class has been found cheek by jowl with the French imperialists, serving as tax-gatherers, commercial agents, government officials. The French imperialist yoke rested very lightly on them in comparison to its weight on the impoverished Arab masses. Whatever their quarrel over the division of the spoils they wrested from the poor, the Arab rich and the French imperialists were united against the Arab workers and peasants.

When France was weakened during the war, the Arab wealthy saw an opportunity to get more than their previous jackal's share of the rulers' part of the national income. They joined with the masses to get rid of French imperialism. But they did so in their own characteristic way. An all-out mass struggle against imperialism means to arouse the masses and let them enter the political arena independently. But that would mean that the masses would also speak out for their own needs: for land, for higher wages, etc. The Arab capitalist-landlord class therefore preferred to come to an understanding with British imperialism which (for the time being) may give its Arab junior partners a

better share of the swag than did the French imperialists.

There are fifty million Arabs in the seven Arab states of the Middle East. If the Arab masses united, they could win real independence from all the imperialists. They could begin modernizing their agriculture and developing large-scale industry for their own benefit. Their real independence, in turn, would go far to undermine the British and French capitalist class and thus render easier the coming of the socialist revolution in Europe, which would then be able to put modern technology at the disposal of the Arab peoples.

Real independence, real progress, for the Arabs and all other colonial peoples can be won only under the leadership of the workers, supported by the peasantry. Only those who have nothing to lose but their chains can fight all-out against imperialism.

Truth Will Out

"The truth will out!" — so goes an old saying. Now, after several weeks of hysterical campaigning designed to whip up hatred against the entire German nation, and thus provide a cover for their reactionary plans for Germany, the full truth about Nazi atrocities is beginning to seep through the lines of the capitalist press — THE TRUTH THAT THE OVERWHELMING NUMBER OF THE ATROCITY VICTIMS OF NAZISM WERE GERMANS!

Realization of this fact at once dispels the false notion that the German people were behind Hitler, and that all are responsible for the Nazi atrocities. The press, the radio, the newsreels pictured the victims of Buchenwald, Dachau and other Nazi hell-holes as non-Germans. They lied by flagrant omission.

Capitalist editors are now beginning to backtrack on their lies. They knew the real truth all along. But American soldiers are coming home from Europe. Some of them were in Nazi prison camps where the vast majority of the inmates were German anti-fascists, working class fighters against Nazism. They will tell what they have seen. And so the prostitute capitalist press is beating a retreat — a cautious retreat thus far, but nevertheless a retreat.

Gideon Seymour, executive editor of the Minneapolis *Tribune*, is the first to sound the new note. He toured the Nazi camps with other American editors and is now back in this country. To a Minneapolis audience he said:

"American boys who were prisoners of the Germans will come home and say, yes, they were underfed; yes, they were often kicked and slapped and some were treated worse; but they will say they weren't victims of wholesale atrocities."

"Don't assume from this, then, that the so-called atrocity stories were false. For the wholesale atrocities were those against political prisoners."

Who were these political prisoners? They were German men and women, gentiles and Jews, who with bare hands stood up against the Nazi tyrants. They fought Nazism. They fought against war. But because these same Germans also fought against German capitalism, the lying capitalist press of this country remained silent about their awful fate, twisting the whole story of Nazi bestiality to serve their own nefarious aims.

Now, at last, the truth is beginning to come out.

Another Demagogue

Senator Robert M. La Follette protests too much. He protests Stalin's violations of "the Atlantic Charter and the Yalta agreement." He protests Churchill's "refusal to discuss any definite plans for freedom for the subjected peoples of the British Empire." He even protests British activities in Italy and Greece "together with Mr. Churchill's affirmations of friendship for the Fascist government of Spain."

By his protests Senator La Follette hopes to gain cheap prestige as the tribune of the people, for who does not oppose brutal power politics and imperialist domination, and who is not in favor of democracy and freedom?

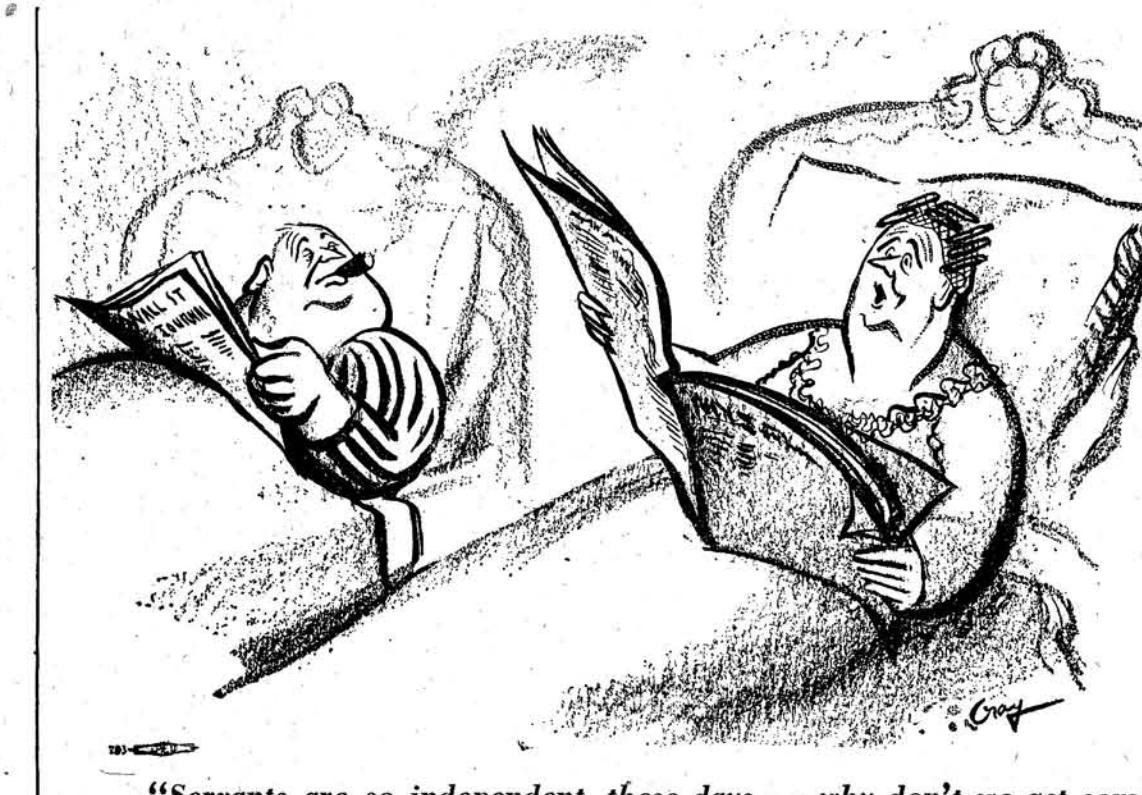
But Senator La Follette's hands are not clean. The blood of millions of victims of the imperialist war he supports drips from his fingers. Moreover, the Senator's glib tongue is strangely silent about evils that have their fountain head very close to the seat he occupies in Congress.

The Senator said nothing about the American imperialist stranglehold on Puerto Rico. He said not a word in defense of the inhabitants of that unhappy land who have suffered these many decades under the tyrannical rule of Yankee imperialism.

The Senator said nothing about the military bases Yankee imperialism has constructed throughout the Caribbean. Nor the military bases Yankee imperialism intends to keep in the Philippines after "freeing" them. Nor the military bases Yankee imperialism wants in the islands of the South Pacific and the Far East.

In fact the Senator's protests about the pretensions of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Europe and the continued domination of British capitalism in India dovetail remarkably closely with the pretensions of Yankee imperialism to a dominant role in these same areas.

Could it be that Senator La Follette is not at all a tribune of the people, but simply a political spokesman of Yankee imperialism?



"Servants are so independent these days — why don't we get some of those German prisoners to work for us?"

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

India

New Statesman (Oct. 10, 1942) reported that "charges with lathis (long sticks with lead tips) and indiscriminate shooting are the routine necessities to disperse Nationalist crowds." In the same month "Mr. Sloane, M. P. (in the British House of Commons) asked the speaker to restrain members from cheering when mention was made of machine-gunning in India."

Spain

The Spanish masses are living under starvation conditions deliberately imposed by the brutal, corrupt Franco dictatorship, a former concentration camp prisoner in Spain reports in P. M. (June 5th).

The cost of living has skyrocketed 400 to 500 percent while wages have remained stationary since before the civil war. The black market, the reporter states, is "operated by government officials and party (the fascist Falange party) leaders themselves."

The normal price of the regular ration of one-quarter pound of bread is three cents; the black market price is 20 cents. The regular weekly ration of four ounces of oil is 12 cents; on the black market 40 cents. Milk, which is non-rationed, is supposed to sell at 18 cents a quart but it contains only about one-third actual milk.

Wages for the average worker run to 10 pesetas a day, or about a dollar; a skilled worker earns 18 to 20 pesetas. As a result, the workers are not only unable to obtain food but they are unable to purchase clothes; the cheapest shirt costs \$3 and the cheapest shoes \$10. The reporter says that the "Spanish people are in tatters, many of them still are wearing what they had on their backs when Franco took over."

In discussing the causes of the famine, the Commission states: "The previous economic level of the population was low in Bengal, as in the greater part of India. Agricultural production was not keeping pace with the growth of population. There was increasing pressure on land which was not relieved by compensatory growth in industry. A considerable section of the population was living on the margin of subsistence and was incapable of standing any severe economic stress. Parallel conditions prevailed in the health sphere; standards of nutrition were low and the epidemic diseases which caused high mortality during the famine were prevalent in normal times. There was no margin of safety as regards either health or wealth. These underlying conditions, common indeed to many other parts of India, were favorable to the occurrence of famine accompanied by high mortality."

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