

READ

"The History Of American Trotskyism"

SEE PAGE 6

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. IX—No. 26

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JUNE 30, 1945

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

RCP Candidate In Wales Wins Wide Support

In its first election campaign, the young Revolutionary Communist Party, British section of the Trotskyist Fourth International, rolled up the impressive total of 1,781 votes for its candidate, Jock Haston, in the parliamentary by-election at Neath, Welsh coal mining district. The election was held on May 15.

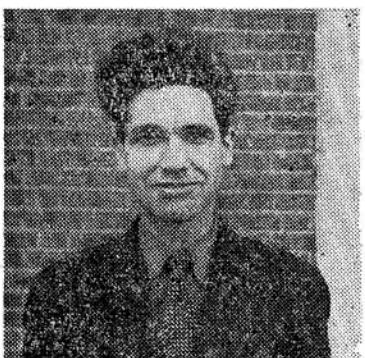
Haston's winning Labor Party opponent, D. J. Williams, running with the backing of the Tory press and the Stalinists, secured 30,847 votes. W. Samuels, a Welsh nationalist, obtained 6,290 votes.

VOTES FOR SOCIALISM

The Mid-May issue of the Socialist Appeal, official organ of the RCP, which has just arrived in this country, reports: "At a time when the policy of international socialism is under violent attack from not only the capitalist class, but from every section of the labor and Stalinist movement, the fact that in a small area of Wales, 1,781 workers voted for a policy of revolutionary socialism, holds out great hope for the future of the working class movement. This vote was cast in the face of the bitterest and most hysterical slander campaign to be seen in an election for many years."

The by-election took place as a result of the death of the incumbent Laborite member of Parliament. Under the terms of the Tory-Labor coalition and electoral truce, the other parties in the coalition government backed the Laborite candidate, Williams. The Trotskyists made clear that they would have supported the Labor candidate against any Tory or Liberal opponent if the Labor Party had

(Continued on page 5)



JOCK HASTON

England's Workers Protest Layoffs

The British, as well as the American workers are facing mass unemployment, hunger and misery. According to a June 13 Reuters dispatch from Liverpool, thousands of workers from Merseyside war factories, among the largest in the country, marched through the streets demonstrating their protest against postwar unemployment.

Three thousand men and women began the march at the Napier Auto and Aircraft factory. As they marched, they were joined by streams of workers from other firms.

(Continued on page 5)

LARGE MASS MEETING IN NEW YORK LAUNCHES CARLSON NATIONAL TOUR

By Larissa Reed

NEW YORK, June 22—More than 400 workers and new readers of *The Militant* flock to Webster Hall despite the summer heat tonight to hear Grace Carlson speak on "Women in Prison" and to meet the two Trotskyist candidates in the forthcoming New York municipal elections, Farrell Dobbs for mayor and Louise Simpson for City Council.

The third feature of the evening, as expressed by James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and chairman of the meeting, was to "hear a first-hand report from the firing line in the Pennsylvania coal fields by the outstanding labor reporter in the country."

our own Art Preis." Preis denounced the recent frame-up of William Patterson, a coal miner who was railroaded to prison under the vicious anti-labor Smith-Connally Act.

CLASS INJUSTICE

Grace Carlson's talk was the second in a national tour she is now making to give the results of her own experiences in prison and to protest class injustice against thousands of women in America's jails. They are victims of capitalist exploitation, poverty and wars, she declared, and "have no one else except the Trotskyists to speak for them."

"Prison is indeed a terrible injustice. But it is really only one more injustice in this terribly corrupt capitalist system full of every kind of injustice," she said. "Being with women in prison

to be with workers. And Trotskyists are always with and on the side of the workers, above all, the most oppressed sections. Downtrodden women in prison differ from downtrodden women on the outside only in that they are more unhappy, frustrated, and very much more lonely."

Denouncing the social system which is responsible for women being in prison, Grace Carlson declared: "Women are the doubly oppressed victims of capitalist society which first robs them of their right to lead a decent, dignified, fruitful life and then robs them of their freedom. After condemning these women to poverty, ignorance, insecurity and misery, the capitalist government seizes them, calls them 'crimelists' and throws them into prison. Thus they are punished for the crimes of their oppressors. But we Trotskyists will speak out against these infamies and injustices."

DOBBS' SPEECH

Farrel Dobbs, editor of *The Militant* and one of the 18 lead-

(Continued on page 3)

Resolution in Support Of William Patterson

Following is the text of a resolution adopted unanimously at the Grace Carlson mass meeting held June 22 at Webster Hall, New York City, under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party:

BE IT RESOLVED: That this meeting of 400 New York workers held at Webster Hall, New York City, June 22, 1945, under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party, go on record in support of the fight to free William Patterson, first labor victim railroaded to prison for an alleged violation of the infamous Smith-Connally "anti-strike" law, and be it further

RESOLVED: That we demand of President Truman an immediate and full pardon for William Patterson, and be it finally

RESOLVED: That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Local 2399 of the United Mine Workers of America of which William Patterson is a member.



GRACE CARLSON

Trotskyist Party In France Resists Repressive Acts

The French Trotskyists, organized in the International Communist Party, are valiantly defending their democratic rights against brutal police measures of the de Gaulle regime. In spite of the ban imposed by the reactionary de Gaulle government, they are continuing, in secret, to bring out their organ, *La Vérité* (Truth), just as they did for five years under the iron heel of the Nazis.

A June 20 wireless dispatch from Paris to the N. Y. Times contains the following information:

"Some foreign correspondents received today in plain envelopes mailed copies of *Vérité*, newspaper of the Trotskyite Communists, which appeared clandestinely during the German occupation and intends to appear clandestinely during the de Gaulle regime if necessary."

EDITORS ARRESTED

"Deplored the arrest of three of its editors, the newspaper demanded that the Trotsky party be legalized in France because of its role in the resistance movement."

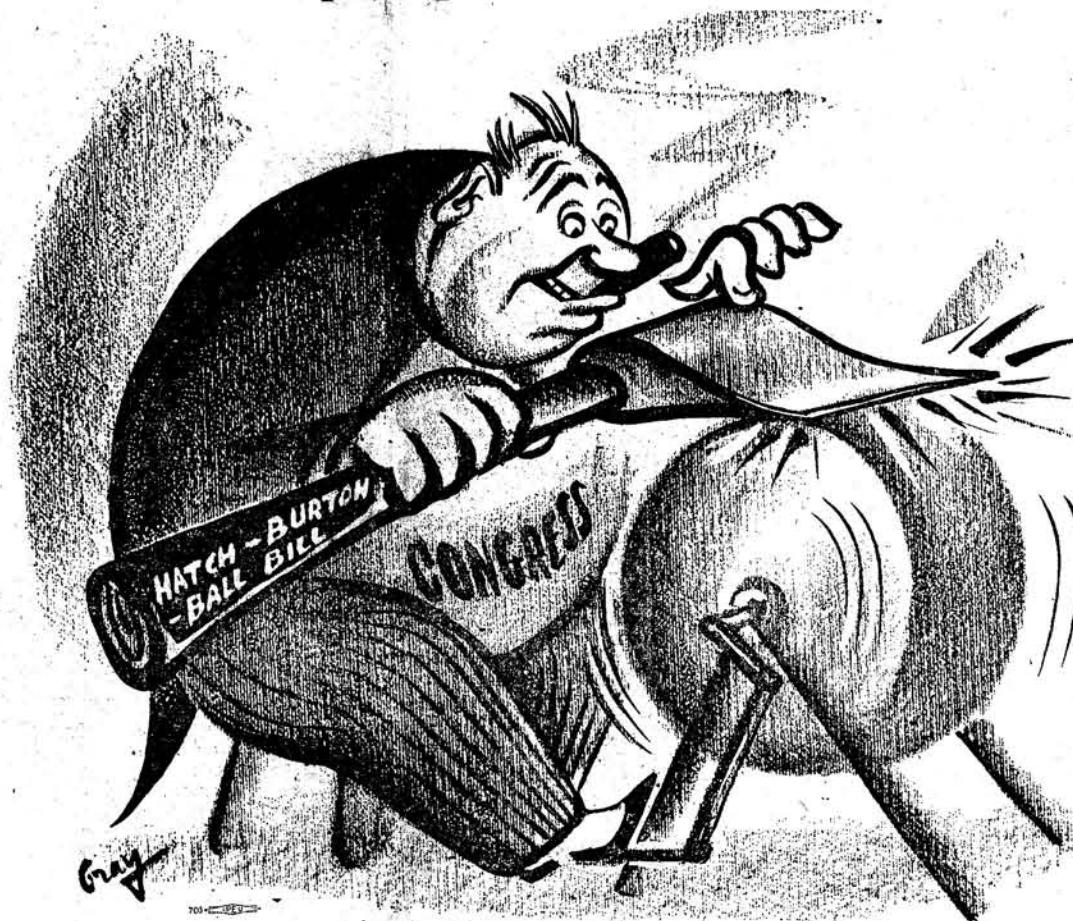
"We are not a group of conspirators," it said. "We repudiate individual action, sabotage and terrorism. Our aim is revolutionary and nothing else."

On top of their sufferings from lack of food and clothing, the French Trotskyists have become the target of a new series of persecutions — this time hurled not by the Nazis but by the "democratic liberation" rule of de Gaulle.

De Gaulle's dictatorial suppression of *Vérité* and arrest of the Trotskyists is part of a concerted attack by capitalist reaction on the Trotskyists throughout Europe.

Wall Street Interests Push Senate Bill To Smash Unions

Sharpening the Axe for Labor



Goodyear Strikers Defy WLB Ultimatum To Return To Work

By Joseph Andrews

AKRON, O., June 26 (By Wire) — Rejecting the government's strike-breaking back-to-work ultimatum, 16,700 Goodyear Rubber workers at five plants here are continuing their militant strike into its eleventh day.

The determined members of Local 2, CIO United Rubber Workers, backed by the Akron CIO Council, are maintaining a solid front in defiance of orders from the regional and national WLB, Army and Navy Service Force officials, Ohio's Governor Lausche and their own international union president, Sherman Dalrymple.

PICKETS WATCHFUL

Orderly picket squads, led by local committeemen, are maintaining a 24-hour vigil at all plant gates. Because of the overwhelming support for the strike, so far there has been no threat to break the picket lines.

At a huge local meeting of the strikers, yesterday a resounding, unanimous vote was recorded to continue the strike. This action was taken after the workers heard the report of Local 2 President C. V. Wheeler on his return from a WLB "show-cause" hearing in Washington.

So great was the turn-out for the meeting, that the workers overflowed all the halls in the union building, with crowds standing outside on Case Avenue to hear the report over the loud speaker.

Wheeler was the local's main spokesman before the WLB hearing to "show cause" why the union had rejected the board's back-to-work order and why the local officers had declined to order the strike ended. The union officials consented to appear at the hearing Sunday only after they were issued a subpoena.

The Local 2 president told the WLB hearing: "I cannot order

(Continued on page 3)

Hoodlum Gang Assails Briggs Local Militants

DETROIT — Terrorist assaults by a mysterious gang of armed hoodlums upon CIO auto union militants here has brought forth an offer of a \$500 reward from Briggs Local 212 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the attackers of two of its leading members.

The local's official publication, Voice of Local 212, announced the reward offer June 14. It was authorized by the local's Executive Board. The union paper describes the facts as follows:

MEMBERS ATTACKED

"Within the past two months, two well-known, militant members, one of them an officer of Local 212, UAW-CIO, were brutally assaulted by an organized gang of hoodlums.

"Several weeks ago Arthur Vega, veteran of World War II, and long associated with the labor movement of Detroit, was clubbed with a lead pipe, sustaining a fractured arm and other injuries.

"Seemingly emboldened by the failure of the Police Department to conduct a vigorous investigation, these thugs on Thurs. night May 17, made a carefully planned

attack on Roy Snowden, sergeant-at-arms of Local 212, and a prominent figure in UAW circles. As he prepared to enter his home, he was set upon from behind by two or more hoodlums and unmercifully clubbed on the head, arms and legs.

EXPOSE GANGSTERS

"Apparently dismayed by their failure to permanently disable Roy Snowden, these would-be assassins delivered the threatening ultimatum to him: 'Leave Detroit permanently within 24 hours or meet your death.'

"It is evident that these gangster methods are being introduced into the labor movement of Detroit on an unprecedented scale. These vicious gangster tactics must be exposed and rooted out before any other workers fall victims to such terrorist attacks.

"Any member or persons having knowledge which they think might point to the apprehension of the hoodlums can submit it to the Investigating Committee, by contacting Brother Gordon MacDonald, 10940 Mack Avenue, (Detroit), LEnox 3570."

IN THE NEWS

Big-Hearted Profiteer

Frederick C. Crawford, shop chairman of the board of the National Association of Manufacturers, has discovered that "from a humanitarian point of view, too many women should not stay in the labor force. The home is the basic American unit."

(Continued on page 2)

Termed by its sponsors an "Industrial Peace" bill, the measure is actually a virtual declaration of war against the most cherished and hard-won rights of labor-free, unregimented unions, union security through the closed shop and, above all, the right to strike.

This is the Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill Federal Labor Relations Bill designed to abrogate the progressive features of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act and other federal statutes for the protection of union collective bargaining rights.

It's origin and sponsorship, the praise it has immediately evoked from the most rabidly anti-labor papers, the welcome embrace promptly accorded it by outspoken Congressional labor-haters are sufficient to brand the true character and purpose of this bill.

BULLETIN

CHICAGO, June 26 — In the face of Army strike-breaking, independent union truckdrivers today voted to end their militant 10-day strike.

officials of Daniel Tobin's AFL Teamsters, has striven to crush the second strike within a month of Chicago truck drivers. For the first time in history, the Army is manning strike-bound property with its own personnel, forcing troops to work as scab drivers and helpers.

This strike of 12,000 truck drivers began June 16, following an eight-to-one vote for strike on an NLRB poll on June 15 and a provocative announcement by the War Labor Board that it was postponing decision on the drivers' demands pending a review of its policy in the trucking industry. In order to encourage a greater participation in the strike vote, on the very day of the NLRB

No more sweeping plan to strangle organized labor has ever been introduced into the federal legislature. Virtually every provision long sought by the corporate monopolies and their agents to crush unionism are incorporated in this measure.

In its broad features it embodies the infamous "five-point" program drafted by the National Association of Manufacturers and U. S. Chamber of Commerce. In its elaborate details, so complex that only a skilled lawyer can understand the tricky implications, it closes every conceivable loophole for free unionism. Among

(Continued on page 2)

ALLIES FOIST NEW CABINET ON ITALY

By Paul Abbott

The Allies have brought forward another puppet cabinet on the Italian political stage. Like the previous Badoglio and Bonomi regimes, the latest cabinet does not express the will of the Italian people. On the contrary it constitutes part of the Allied effort to strangle the rising Socialist revolution. It will prove as unstable as the preceding cabinets, continuing to reflect the profound economic and social crisis convulsing Italy.

Selected to head the new cabinet as Premier, Ferruccio Parri is one of the leaders of the Action Party in North Italy. His designation is quite evidently an attempt to divert the revolutionary energy of the northern industrial workers into channels where it can most easily be controlled and drained away without damage to Italian capitalism. Parri's first speech in the Italian cabinet is a call for "confidence" in the Allies and a plea to the anti-fascists to cease carrying out "summary justice and illegal executions" of fascists.

The Allies and their Italian

(Continued on page 6)

ON THE INSIDE

Seamen's Bonus 2

N. J. Fur Strike 4

Vets Hospitals 4

Hamburg Bombings 5

Britain and India 5

Belgian Monarchy 6

COLUMNS AND FEATURES

Trade Union Notes 2

Diary of Steel Worker 3

The Negro Struggle 4

Pioneer Notes 4

ShopTalk on Socialism 5

Workers Forum 7

Militant Army 7

International Notes 8

Army Runs Truck Lines In Chicago Strike

(Continued from page 1)

poll the O.D.T. unexpectedly "seized" the 1,700 truck lines not already in its control since the previous strike.

TROOPS MOVE IN

Army troops were being moved into this city even before the strike-vote results were announced. Some 1,500 military police were quartered on Northwesterly Island by June 16. On June 18, army officials announced 3,500 were available, with more thousands pouring in on every train. A total of 14,000 troops, including artillery and antitank units, is promised within the next three days.

Private trucks, driven by Army personnel, appeared on the streets the morning of June 18. Large red and white posters on both sides stated: "WARNING! This truck is being operated by the United States Government by order of the President under the War Labor Disputes Act. Interference with the government operation of this truck is punishable by a fine of not more than \$5,000 or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both."

Only 400 truck-driven trucks appeared June 18, but the number has since increased daily as the Army augmented its forces and a scattering of AFL Teamsters Local 705 members were forced back to work by Tobin's goons.

CLOSED RANKS

However, the heart of the strike, the members of the independent Chicago Truck Drivers Union, which conducted the May strike and claims a majority of the city's cartage drivers, have closed ranks to a man. Not even the government strikebreakers have dared to claim that a single independent union driver has returned to work.

Seamen's Bonus Cut By Maritime Board

NEW YORK, June 25. — Merchant seamen last week were caught in a pincer movement by the Maritime War Emergency Board and the ship operators. The government agency announced a war-risk bonus cut, effective July 15, which will amount to a 40 percent reduction in pay-off for the Atlantic Ocean run.

At the same time, Atlantic operators flatly rejected wage adjustments demanded by the National Maritime Union (CIO). This marks the beginning of a large-scale offensive by the ship operators and their government agencies against the living and working standards of American seamen.

The war-risk bonus will be cut to \$80 and \$40 per month in certain sections of the Atlantic Ocean. Instead of the former bonus scale ranging up to \$100 per month plus \$5 per day, for those areas where the bonus was 100 per cent, a flat \$80 per month will be paid, or 66 2/3 per cent of the base wage scale. For those areas where the bonus was 66 2/3% of the base pay it will be cut in half, to \$40 per month.

TAYLOR'S STATEMENT

The chairman of the American Merchant Marine Institute, Frank J. Taylor, issued a prepared statement on behalf of the operators to the NMU negotiating committee after the bonus cut had been announced. This state-

ment, presenting the position of 37 major steamship companies, which are acting as general agents for the War Shipping Administration on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, maintained "that the present earnings of seamen are fair and reasonable." To this, Taylor added that seamen's base wages must remain frozen "even after ALL bonuses are eliminated to enable American operators to compete with foreign maritime nations in the post-war period.

Both the operators and the NMU negotiating committee sent telegrams to the Labor Conciliation Service, requesting that the dispute be referred to the National War Labor Board. The WLB has a similar case before it which was previously submitted by the Seafarers International Union (AFL) and 12 Atlantic coast steamship operators having contracts with that union.

WAY TO WIN

The demands of the unions in both cases are for a 55 cent hourly minimum and overtime for Saturday afternoon and Sunday, thus adjusting the base wage for seamen to the approximate level of wartime earnings. The record of the WLB in refusing to adjust wages to meet the rising cost of living holds little hope for seamen that their demands will be granted by this agency. Its decisions are measured by the "Little Steel formula" and the only instance where the wage freeze was broken was in the case of the mine workers

NEW YORK
Trotskyist Youth Group

Friday, July 6, 8 p. m.

"THE STRUGGLE IN THE NEAR EAST"

Speaker: DICK GUERRERO

NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

116 University Place, New York City

Refreshments

This Coupon and 50 Cents Entitles You to a 6-Month Subscription to

THE MILITANT

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Published in the interests of the Working People
The only newspaper in this country that tells the truth
about labor's struggles for a better world

You may start my subscription to The Militant for 6 months.
I enclose 50 cents (coin or stamps).

Send me The Militant at your regular rate of \$1 for 12 months.
I enclose \$1 (coin, stamps or Money Order).

Name
(Please Print)

Street Apt.

City Zone

State



Protesting Willow Run Shut-Down



The girl above has one problem that takes precedence over all others — regular eating. She is one of thousands who were affected by contract cancellations at Henry Ford's Willow Run Bomber plant, Detroit. This week she and scores of others picketed the War Manpower Commission's office in protest against WMC's failure to furnish jobs at fair wages. CIO News Photo

New Union-Busting Bill Pushed In U. S. Senate

(Continued from page 1)

the basic features of the bill are:

1. It would virtually outlaw all strikes.

Prohibition of strikes and compulsory arbitration are dictated in all disputes "affecting public utilities or services such as milk, coal or oil." This could be interpreted to include every basic industry—all of which affect the "public interest."

OUTLAW STRIKES

Strikes arising from "grievance disputes," involving the application of the terms of existing union contracts, are prohibited. This would permit employers to violate contracts with impunity, pending interminable mediation, arbitration, government "studies" and court action, all provided in the bill.

2. It would make impossible the maintenance of union security and closed shop contracts.

No closed shop contract could be granted unless the union secures, in a government-regulated vote, a 60 percent majority of all workers in a plant for such a contract and unless the union represents 75 percent of the workers employed.

Regulation of conditions of membership would be determined by the government. No union whose rules for membership did not meet with the standards of "democracy" held by the employers—including the admission of scabs and known company agents—could get a closed shop contract.

3. The bill calls for a sweeping federal "investigation" of all unions by a proposed new five-man Federal Labor Relations Board and the preparation of further laws, based on these "investigations," to "clean up" the unions.

BASED ON SLANDER

This provision, based on the slanderous inference that all unions are "rackets," would subject the labor movement to an unprecedented witch-hunt. All the books, records and confidential matters of the union would be thrown open for the inspection of the employers through their government agents.

From this "investigation" would stem laws for government regulation of union elections, inspection of union books, a ban on labor in politics, restriction of the use of union funds, as in strikes or political campaigns, restriction of dues and initiation fees.

The Federal Labor Relations Board proposed in the new bill would be permitted to seek court injunctions to halt any activities of a union. It would permit employers virtually unrestricted right to harass unions with court actions for "restitution, reparation . . . or other relief."

These provisions, as well as many others, make the new bill a "lawyer's paradise." It provides so many features for court review and suits that the unions could be tied up in endless litigation and be driven into financial bankruptcy.

6. The proposed Federal Labor Relations Board could impose harsh penalties.

If a union or union official failed to accept any decision of the board, it could withdraw recognition of the union or its officers as bargaining agents for the workers.

In addition, anyone whom the board declared to be "impeding" its work would be subject to a \$5,000 fine and a year in prison.

No greater blow could have been dealt at this time to the phony capital-labor "peace charter" which the union officials have been trying to peddle to the workers, than the introduction of this vicious bill. It strips bare and exposes the real aims of the American plutocracy.

VOTE TROTSKYIST!

In the Coming New York Elections

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

MAKE NEW YORK 100 PERCENT UNION!

Government bureaucrats and trade union officials carrying out the no-strike pledge have paralyzed the labor movement. Without the no-strike pledge the bosses could not have maintained the wage freeze.

Rescind the no-strike pledge! Withdraw union representatives from the employer-dominated War Labor Board! Put union men in office who will represent the workers in labor disputes! Free the trade unions from the shackles forged by Big Business.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Annual Wage — How?

When the union leaders, both AFL and CIO, raised the demand for a guaranteed annual wage, it was generally assumed they were seeking federal legislation requiring the employers to pay minimum security wages based on continuous employment. The demand was placed directly before the late President Roosevelt, who shunted it into the hands of a committee for "study." This "study" has yet to begin.

But the CIO and AFL leaders have already beat a retreat. William Green says he wants the employers to agree to this demand "on a voluntary, not compulsory basis." Philip Murray, who raised the biggest hue and holler on this issue, now states that "all the union (CIO Steelworkers) is asking with its request for an annual guarantee is that the steel corporations, which have their guarantee (of continued big profits), make a firm commitment to their employees."

In effect, this means that the projected crusade for the annual wage will boil down to numerous disconnected skirmishes with individual employers, most of whom, we can be sure, will merely scoff at the idea. All it would mean would be a host of new cases to be buried among all the others by the War Labor Board, or some other government agency.

How does Murray propose to get any big corporation to "voluntarily" make a "firm commitment" on this or any other demand? The corporations have laughed in the face of the unions during the war on even the smallest demand and are mobilizing for an all-out assault on labor in the coming period. But Murray pursues the policy of "peace" and insists on the continuation of the no-strike policy.

There is only one way to win the guaranteed annual security wage. That is by a united, militant fight of all labor for a compulsory annual wage system. And if the profiteering employers—who continually demand government compulsion against the workers—can't ensure steady work and wages, then let the government take over their plants and operate them under workers' control.

Now that the bosses want to toss them on the unemployed scrap-heap, they are being told to "go back home where you belong." If they have any savings, they are being pressured to use their last cent to return to their pre-war towns, broke and without any prospects for jobs.

We expect that from the employers. But now we have the example of a professed union leader, Frank X. Martel, president of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, handing out this vicious line in a front page editorial of Detroit Labor News, June 9.

His advice to hundreds of thousands of CIO auto workers (he thinks in this fashion he may make it easier to maintain jobs for AFL members who pay their dues) is "for them to leave now, before their savings are used up." He tells them "there never was before, and there is no hope now, of providing employment for all the people who have been brought to this community" — so pack up and scream! That's how one so-called labor leader proposes to "solve" the growing unemployment problem.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

JUNE 29, 1935

DIXON, Ill. — Four companies of National Guardsmen were sent by Governor Henry Horner of Illinois to help the Stover Manufacturing and Engine Co. of Freeport, Ill. smash a strike which had kept the plant idle since May 7. The AFL International Molders and International Machinists unions had demanded restoration of two 10 percent pay cuts and the right to bargain collectively.

DAVENPORT, Ia. — The state's entire military forces converged on Omaha June 16 fully equipped to intimidate the strikers of the Omaha and Council Bluffs Railway Co., who walked out on April 20 when their demands for higher wages, shorter hours and full recognition of their union was refused.

The militia was sent because the strike held firm despite the fact that the day previously the police had turned their guns on the strikers killing one and wounding 50. They also hurled tear gas bombs and burned and overturned a number of cars.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST — A strike of 40,000 lumber workers in Washington, Oregon and Northern California continued despite open terror by the militia. The mill owners mobilized an army of strike-breakers, thugs, police and National Guardsmen in an attempt to open six mills in Tacoma, Wash. and seven mills in Portland, Ore. In Eureka, Cal., the police fired upon the strikers, killing one and wounding several.

NATALIA TROTSKY — In a public letter written from their exile in France, Natalia Trotsky warned that Sergei, youngest son of Leon and Natalia Trotsky, who had remained behind in the Soviet Union, was the latest object of Stalin's vengeance. Because of his arrest at the beginning of the year and his being held in Stalin's prison, Natalia demanded an investigation.

YOUNGSTOWN Grace Carlson - Class War Prisoner

Will Speak on

"WOMEN IN PRISON"

YOUNGSTOWN SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

225 N. Phelps Street

Saturday, July 7, 8 p. m.

— YOU are urged to attend! —

BIG NEW YORK MEETING HEARS CARLSON TALK

(Continued from page 1) ers of the SWP and Minneapolis CIO Truck Drivers Local 544, who were railroaded to prison under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act for opposing imperialist war and advocating revolutionary socialism, spoke briefly on his candidacy for mayor of New York.

Pointing out the corruption and labor-hating policies of the two capitalist parties which serve Wall Street, and declaring that the American Labor Party and Liberal Party are bankrupt flunkies of the capitalist parties, he stated that only the Trotskyist party was capable of solving the burning problems of the workers in America, now and in the post-war period.

Louise Simpson, 21, militant young Negro trade unionist and member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, declared: "There may be some people who think I am a little young as a candidate for office, but I think it is about time for youth to participate in government. Youth has great responsibilities thrust upon its shoulders. Hundreds of thousands have been taken from their homes and sent to the battlefields all over the world. Yet this same youth is denied the right to vote. The SWP says: Old enough to fight — old enough to vote!"

PATTERSON CASE

Art Preis denounced the imprisonment of William Patterson, 40-year-old union coal miner from little company-owned Daisytown, Pa., under the infamous Smith-Connally anti-strike law. Preis was the only labor reporter to visit Patterson in prison. Patterson's case was featured in *The Militant*.

Patterson is the first American worker to be railroaded to prison under this vicious anti-labor law and very likely he will not be the last. The Wall Street rulers and their government wanted to establish a precedent and thereby strengthen the law by jailing Patterson. We Trotskyists knew it was our duty to expose this grave injustice against a union militant, and to arouse the whole labor movement as to its meaning."

A resolution calling upon President Truman to immediately and unconditionally pardon William Patterson was passed unanimously by the meeting. A collection of almost \$300 was taken to help the New York City election campaign fund. The meeting concluded with the singing of the Internationale.

GRACE CARLSON'S TOUR SCHEDULE

CITY	DATE
Rochester,	Fri. - Sat.
Buffalo,	June 29, 30
Pittsburgh,	Monday, July 2
Akron,	Tuesday, July 3
Youngstown,	Thurs., July 5
Cleveland,	Sat., July 7
Toledo,	Sunday, July 8
Detroit,	Monday, July 9
Tues. - Wed.	
Chicago,	July 10, 11
Milwaukee,	Sat. to Mon.
St. Louis,	July 14 to 16
Los Angeles,	Tuesday, July 17
Thurs., July 19	
Seattle,	Thurs. to Wed.
Missoula,	Aug. 2 to 8
Plentywood,	Fri. to Sun.
Twin Cities,	Aug. 10-12

It Took Hard Work
In the 30 years since the death of Philadelphia traction tycoon Peter A. B. Widener, it was recently reported in a court case, his heirs have received over \$70,000,000 of income from his \$35,000,000 estate.

Vote Trotskyist!

In the Coming New York Elections

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

FULL EQUALITY FOR NEGROES AND NATIONAL MINORITIES!

DOWN WITH JIM CROW!

The bosses and their politicians hope to divide the workers by setting nationalities and colors against each other. Despite all their election promises to institute fair employment practices, they continue the vicious Jim Crow system.

Defend the Negroes' right to decent jobs at decent wages! Unite the labor movement by fighting segregation and discrimination everywhere!

DOBBS BLASTS BOSS PARTIES IN ELECTION

The following is the text of the opening campaign speech of Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party mayoralty candidate in New York City, delivered at the Grace Carlson mass meeting on Friday evening, June 22:

Next November the people of New York will go to the polls to elect a new city administration. Grave social and economic problems — problems which daily grow more acute for the working class — make this election an extremely important one.

Runaway prices, heavy taxes, frozen wages, wielded like huge knives in the hands of the capitalist robbers, have slashed the standard of living of the great mass of the people. Rationing, the black market, shortages, have made this wound deeper. And finally, inferior goods, shoddy but nonetheless expensive, have deepened right to the bone the standard of living.

MASSES' PLIGHT

This has been the economic fate of the great mass of the people under the fake "equality-of-sacrifice" program enunciated by Roosevelt in the spring of 1942. But it certainly has not been the fate of America's Sixty Families.

Corporation profits have reached unprecedented peaks during the course of World War II. Monopoly trusts and cartels have gorged themselves with wealth, coined out of the blood of workers in uniform and the toil of workers in the factories. Tax rebates, subsidies, entire plants have been handed over to the corporations by the government under its reconversion program.

What are the workers getting under this reconversion plan? Mass layoffs are already under way, and the profit-bloated capitalists propose to give unemployed workers only a pittance for relief. Wage slashes are in store for workers who manage to hold their jobs. To enforce this brutal policy, the capitalist politicians propose compulsory arbitration and government strike-breaking.

HEROES FOR A DAY

Workers in uniform are now coming back from the war fronts, especially from Europe, and they find that despite all the talk about heroes, they are heroes only for a day. They become forgotten men the very next day. For tomorrow, all that the capitalists can offer to the veterans of World War II is what they offered to the veterans of World War I — Hoovervilles and bonus armies. And now the capitalists are demanding workers in uniform for a permanent conscript army to support Wall Street's schemes for world domination.

What do the capitalist political parties here in New York City offer to the workers under these critical conditions? They offer Tammany politics! A farce enacted in the back room of a political bawdy house! A farce which the capitalist press tries to palm off on the workers as good Shakespearian drama. A fraudulent pretext of giving the workers an opportunity to select representatives in the government who would protect the workers' interests.

POLITICAL TRICKSTERS

And in this farce the trickster Sidney Hillman, the confidence man David Dubinsky and the Stalinist betrayers — they enact a grotesque imitation of independent labor politics by lining up, some with the Republican Party, the others with the Democratic Party. Thus the New York labor party movement, split as it is today, officially throws its support to one or the other of the two capitalist political parties.

In these circumstances, the Socialist Workers Party becomes the major political force which will carry on the fight for independent working-class political action in this election campaign. We intend to make that fight on the basis of a program keyed to the real needs of the working class. We call upon every believer in independent working-class political action to pitch in and help us in this fight.

Subscribe to

Lucha Obrera

Organ of the Mexican Section of the Fourth International

Published in Spanish

Twice a Month

\$1 a year

Sold at 232 S. Hill St. Rm. 200-5

Los Angeles 12, Calif.

Rubber Workers Too Busy to Read



Goodyear Strikers Defy WLB Ultimatum To Return To Work

(Continued from page 1)

the men back under the present circumstances" of the continued mounting contract violations of the company. He asked: "Why doesn't the government issue a 'show cause' order to the company to make it live up to the contract?"

This echoes fully the sentiments of the workers, who are demanding to know "why all the heat on the union and not on the company?" Why is the government only ordering the union people around?" The strike was provoked by the intolerable conduct of the company, which has been engaged in a vicious wage-slashing and piece work rate-cutting campaign. Grievances have piled mountain high, with the Montgomery Ward walkout last spring.

Virtually the whole industrial working class of this rubber center is behind the strikers. The Akron CIO Council, representing over 60,000 organized workers, has endorsed the strike, an action denounced by Dalrymple who is doing all in his power to help break the strike.

The powerful Goodrich and Firestone locals here have officially endorsed the walkout and have offered all their facilities and resources to aid the Goodyear strikers.

FIRESTONE VOTES
Some 10,000 members of Firestone Local 7 have voted 6-to-1 in an NLRB poll for strike action against similar conditions to those faced by the Goodyear

workers. They are prepared to walk out if they do not secure satisfaction in their current negotiations.

This town is a tinder box of labor unrest and discontent. There is talk among union militants of a city-wide strike if any reprisals are directed against the Local 2 leaders. Any victimization of the strike leaders might be all that is needed to set off a general labor struggle here.

National CIO Organization Director Allan S. Haywood has intervened in the situation by claiming that the local CIO has no right to endorse the strike. This is in contradiction to the view taken on the action of the Chicago CIO Council in endorsing the WLB ultimatum to the Goodyear.

The rubber workers here are incensed by the strike-breaking conduct of Dalrymple. They are anxious for the holding of the international union's convention in order to repudiate Dalrymple and his cowardly policy in supporting the companies and government strike-breaking.

THE CONVENTION

Dalrymple has announced that the annual convention will not be held until 60 days after the Office of Defense Transportation lifts its ban on conventions. Both Goodyear and Firestone locals have passed resolutions demanding that there be no postponement of the regular convention. They point out that such postponement is in violation of the international's constitution, which makes no legal provision for a postponement.

Threats have been issued of possible government plant "seizure" and use of troops to break the strike. Local 2 leaders and members are making all possible preparations for such an eventuality.

Mexican Workers Exploited, Herded Like Bondslaves

By Bill Morgan

The recent death of eight Mexican track workers who were crushed beneath the wheels of an express train on the New York Central Railroad at Amsterdam, N. Y. brings to light the brutal methods employed by U. S. capitalism in the exploitation of foreign labor.

None of the eight workers could understand English. They were put to work on a two-track system which they did not understand. There was no foreman present and no watchers had been posted to warn of oncoming trains. No interpreter had been assigned to the gang. They were killed without warning.

An investigation followed the "accident." A charge of criminal negligence was considered, but the coroner, John W. Morris, issued a statement saying that the evidence found was "carelessness!"

These eight workers were part of a contingent of 60,000 track workers and 40,000 farmhands sent to work in the U. S. as the result of a deal between the U. S. Department of Labor and the Mexican government. Another 35,000 men will be sent in "batches," according to a report issued by officials in Mexico City who added, "This total of 150,000 Mexican workers will be returned to their homes as soon as the labor shortage in the United States is relieved by returning soldiers."

NOT VOTE CATCHERS

For us, the Socialist Workers Party, the election is only one phase of our fight, although a very important phase. The SWP fights and campaigns against discrimination before, during and after the elections. The SWP is not interested in "vote catching." The Trotskyist candidates are primarily concerned with building the independent political action of the working class. Only by that can we guarantee the end of discrimination.

FAKE PROMISES

These Mexican workers, recruited by promises of high wages and good living and working conditions, are forced to do the most difficult and dangerous work without protection of either union organization or State and Federal laws covering the conditions of labor. They are underpaid everywhere they work.

Called "greasers" by gang bosses and foremen, they are herded like cattle. Segregated in "labor camps," they are treated more like prisoners than workers earning their own living. They are denied the right to become citizens and are threatened with deportation if they refuse to do as ordered.

And to top all this, many bosses newspapers keep up a constant barrage of slander against the "presence of so many foreigners in our community..." while other papers utilize the Mexican workers as a lever to lower all wages and working conditions when native workers in these areas demand higher wages and union conditions!

Truly capitalism squeezes every ounce of "value" out of these exploited workers from South of the Border. What a glorious day of reckoning will come when the workers and poor farmers of Mexico and the United States join in solidarity for united struggle against capitalism!

YOUNGSTOWN
Hear Grace Carlson speak on "Women in Prison," Youngstown School of Social Science, 225 N. Phelps St., Saturday, July 7, 8 P.M.

LOS ANGELES
Murphy Weiss is giving a series of lectures on Stalinism, Sunday

SIMPSON BIDS YOUTH ENTER INTO POLITICS

The following is the text of the opening campaign speech of Louise Simpson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the New York City Council, delivered at the Grace Carlson mass meeting on Friday evening, June 22:

Some people may think I am a little young to be a candidate for office. But I think it is about time for youth to participate in political activity. Youth has no representatives in the capitalist government, yet youth has great responsibilities thrust upon its shoulders. Hundreds of thousands of eighteen-year-old youth have been taken from schools and homes and given guns and sent to the battlefields all over the world. But this same youth were and still are denied the right to vote.

The so-called Young Republicans and Young Democrats are usually men over forty. Maybe they are in their second childhood. But they fear the youth and are already making plans for the next war and the regeneration of youth. The Socialist Workers Party says: "Old enough to fight — old enough to vote!" We demand the right to vote for all youth 18 years of age and over.

YOUTH SUFFERS

In the last depression the youth suffered greatly. They were truly the "locked-out" generation. The very first items curtailed in the state and national budgets were recreational and educational facilities for youth. With millions of adult workers unemployed, youth had no opportunity to learn a trade or practice a profession. They were driven by poverty to wandering around the country in boxcars, doomed to live in slums, denied the food necessary for growing bodies. Today another depression is on the horizon. The layoffs have already begun. It is time now for the youth to join with the working class in independent political activity, to plan their own future before it is too late.

When Karl Liebknecht, leader of the militant German working class youth during the last war, said: "The future belongs to the youth!" he meant that they must take their future into their own hands and mold a new world — a socialist world!

The Negro and white youth who have gone through the war together, who have joined the same trade unions and walked the same picket lines, must unite politically to wipe out every vestige of discrimination. The election of a few so-called "progressive" candidates who say they are opposed to Jim-Crowism will not solve the problem. The Republicans and Democratic parties are committed to discrimination because of their system.

NOT VOTE CATCHERS

For us, the Socialist Workers Party, the election is only one phase of our fight, although a very important phase. The SWP fights and campaigns against discrimination before, during and after the elections. The SWP is not interested in "vote catching." The Trotskyist candidates are primarily concerned with building the independent political action of the working class. Only by that can we guarantee the end of discrimination.

CAMP FACILITIES

The accommodations for guests include a main dormitory and dining hall as well as individual cabins overlooking the lake. The camp is equipped with all modern improvements including showers and indoor sports-boating, fishing, swimming, hiking — and a magnificent grove of oak trees for picnics and "weinie" roasts.

CLASROOM SUBJECTS

Classes, with voluntary attendance, will include: Problems of the American Labor Movement, An Introduction to Marxist Economics, Study of Karl Marx's Capital, Basic Principles of Socialism, History of the Third and Fourth Internationals, History of the Russian Revolution, Imperialism, Marxist Philosophy.

Courses are designed so that even those limited to one week's vacation can participate and benefit fully.

A well-stocked Marxist library will be open for reference and reading. For leisure hours, there are ample facilities for sports — swimming, tennis, basketball, ping-pong, baseball. Picnic grounds, a park, and a recreation hall which will be the center for evening entertainment and dancing, assure fun for the less athletic vacationers.

Reservations are now being accepted by the West Coast Camp Committee 232 S. Hill St. Room 205, Los Angeles 12, California. All *Militant* readers are invited.

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

Tonight I am tired, too tired even to go to bed. Sometimes the whole weight of a lifetime of labor gathers anew upon your shoulders, and your head bows beneath it.

The summer heat has swept over the furnaces and filtered into the mills, and it has lain heavy on the air. But it has lifted again for a brief respite, as though the very earth needed a pause to breathe.

But it is not the heat that has done this to me. It is just something that happens now and then, whether it be summer or bitter winter.

I want to sleep. I want to sleep for centuries and let the dust of time gather upon my body and cover me up, so that I'll be blanketed with eternity and with sleep, and no man will see my sleeping form. And no

Professor Wants Barracks For College Youth In U. S.

By Dave Jeffries

Dr. Edward Elliott, president of Purdue University, made some highly revealing statements when testifying in favor of post-war military conscription before a Congressional committee on June 9. There was no attempt to conceal the purposes of postwar conscription behind flowery phrases about building up health, teaching principles of hygiene and similar hypocritical pretenses advanced by the late President Roosevelt when he introduced a similar proposal.

Elliott went to the heart of the question. The torrent of "peace charters" and sugary speeches about international amity which have poured out of San Francisco may fool some people, but they do not deceive Dr. Elliott.

PEACE — A DREAM!

"At the moment," confessed Elliott, "I have the conviction that this nation must face the grim and realistic fact that conditions approximating an enduring peace in the world are beyond early attainment. . . . While we have the task of dreaming and doing for peace, at the same time we have the solemn and continuing obligation of being fully prepared to protect all that which is ours to protect."

The meaning is clear. It is the task of the camouflage department of American imperialism to provide the American people with "dreams" about world peace, while under this cover American life is to be Prussianized in preparation for another war.

Testifying the same day, Brig. Gen. Henry Reilly supplemented Elliott by proclaiming that "the people who disarmed us are primarily responsible for our war with Germany. They are primarily

responsible for our war with Japan. If they disarm us again, they will be responsible for another war."

THE NEW TUNE

It used to be the proud boast of all college educators, government officials and even military men that America, unlike militarist Europe, did not have to regiment its youth into the oppressive atmosphere of the army barracks. They would even proclaim righteously that those who transformed Europe into an "armed camp" were the ones responsible for war.

But now when American imperialism needs a huge military apparatus to establish and maintain its domination of the world, these same educators and officials rush forward to demonstrate that military regimentation is really quite beneficial for youth and that it is the opponents of militarization who are responsible for war!

They even claim that permanent conscription is a great contribution to "democratic American life." General Reilly who went the whole hog before the committee, insisted that "there is nothing more democratic in history." By this standard it would appear that Hitler, who conscripted the entire German people into labor battalions and the army was well on his way to reaching the pinnacle of democracy!

All camouflage to the contrary, it is brutally clear what purpose the military conscription of American youth is to serve. It is to provide the forces to enable American imperialism to "police the world for a hundred years." It is to prepare the cannon fodder for new wars. As such it should be fought by progressive youth and the entire working class.

Furriers In Newark Learn From Strike

By Harry Robinson

NEWARK, N. J. — After an eight-day fight to secure a contract renewal, 600 members of the Fur Dressers and Dyers Union, Local 140, yielded June 17 to the demand of their officers and voted to return to work. The union is an affiliate of the CIO International Fur and Leather Workers Union.

As employees of the wealthy Hollander Fur Company, these men have worked for years under conditions that are among the worst in the area. They walked out in an effort to secure the renewal of a contract that Ben Gold, Stalinist president of the International Union, has been "negotiating" with the company for the past twenty months. Their principal demand was that the contract be signed immediately, and that it include a clause providing for paid vacations. This is something that the company has never previously granted and the men were determined not to let another summer go by without securing it.

GOLD HITS STRIKE

Gold demonstrated very clearly that although twenty months is not sufficient time for him to win a contract renewal from the company, he needs little time to move against the rank and file of his union. On the same day that the men walked out, the local boss press was able to feature a statement by Gold

Negro Newspapers Unite to Combat Jim Crow Policies

By Jean Simon

LOS ANGELES, Calif., June 14 — Acute awareness of the problems facing the Negro people today and in the period ahead was demonstrated by representatives of 17 California Negro newspapers and two press associations at the founding convention of the California Negro Newspaper Association held here June 9 and 10.

One of the first acts of this first Negro state press association in the United States was to wire President Truman, urging a pardon for the 50 Negro sailors convicted of mutiny in California.

The convention also urged Truman to send three Negro reporters from California to the South Pacific to investigate mistreatment of Negro servicemen and commend him for his support of the Fair Employment Practices bill.

The motivation for the organization of the association at this time was clearly a desire to unite the Negro press to fight for the needs of the Negro people in the period of cutbacks and unemployment that has already begun.

UNITE TO FIGHT

Leon Hardwick, of the Los Angeles Sentinel, summed up the aims of the new association in his column this week, stating that the CNNA "is not interested in fish fries and good times, but in jobs, in coordination of political and interracial strength and in economic, social and racial equality."

He said further: "More and more, the Negro journalists in this country are coming to the realization that the Negro is not an isolated entity whose problems are peculiar to himself alone . . . Negro newspapermen are becoming internationalistic. They're writing and encouraging their Negro readers to become likewise. That's the most favorable sign we've seen in a long time. For this writer firmly believes that this, in a large measure, is the key to the answer to most of the damnable problems which, for decades in this country, the masses of Negroes and whites have been falsely taught and their struggle. When they saw their officers line up with Gold in demanding that they return to work they felt themselves to go in a blind alley and voted to go back."

However a discussion that I had with a group of these men, at their union hall, during the walkout, strongly indicates that this "victory" of the company and the Stalinist union leaders will not endure.

EAGER TO TALK

Justifiably distrustful of representatives of the boss press, the men were eager to talk to me when I told them that *The Militant* was a labor paper that they wanted their soldiers line up with. Attendants

buy it on the black market for a dollar a pound."

A soft-spoken middle-aged worker interrupted him to say, "It's our own fault that we're mistakenly felt that their local officers would support and lead their struggle. When they saw their officers line up with Gold in demanding that they return to work they felt themselves to go in a blind alley and voted to go back."

However a discussion that I had with a group of these men, at their union hall, during the walkout, strongly indicates that this "victory" of the company and the Stalinist union leaders will not endure.

VETERANS WILL FIGHT

A significant contribution to the discussion was made by a recently discharged veteran. With deep feeling he said to me, "I've only worked here since I came back a couple of months ago. The other guys have been here for a long time and I'm going to fight this thing out with them. I learned plenty when I was overseas. Yesterday when I was in front of the plant two detectives that they have stationed there came over and told me to get moving. I told them where I had been and that I hadn't come back to get pushed around by guys like them and that I wasn't moving. They let me alone, too!"

Despite the fact that they have been driven back to work, these men will not be kept down. They have learned much from their experiences with the company. They are fully capable of now learning the necessity of eliminating their present union leadership.

One worker after another took the floor to denounce the policies of the WLB and the Army officials. Loud applause was accorded to one worker who vehemently declared "We're sick and tired of the WLB and the Army waving the flag in our face. If they want to force anybody to do anything, why don't they force the company to start bargaining in good faith?" Addressing himself to the WLB representative on the platform, he continued, "We want you to take back our opinion of the board to its other members. We think that it sticks!"

The reception accorded to such speeches as these made it obvious to every one present that despite the passage of the motion, the sentiment of the rank and file was for continuing the action.

In an interview with a Newark correspondent of *The Militant*, Alex (Scotty) Brennan, president

of local 823, sketched the background of the fight. The central issue, he explained, is the company's regular policy of dragging out contract renewals through the device of taking exception to virtually every union proposal, thus forcing the settlement of terms into the drawn-out channels of arbitration.

On the present contract they have refused the union's demand for a 17-cent increase and an effective seniority clause that would also provide for returning veterans. They have made a counter proposal on vacation schedules that would provide for a week's vacation after a year of continuous service. This would mean that a worker losing one day during the year would not be eligible for vacation pay!

"The men are fed up with this kind of business," Brennan said, "they want a new contract with decent terms in it, and they don't intend to wait sixteen months to get it."

Negro Soldiers Expose Rankin's Racial Lies

By Joseph Hansen

A stinging answer to Representative John Rankin, Negro-hating chairman of the House Veterans Committee, has come from soldiers stationed at the Negro-psychiatric Hospital, Northport, N. Y. In the investigation of brutal treatment of patients in veterans' hospitals, Rankin first attempted to whitewash his friends' evil-smelling administration. When this tactic failed, he turned to his favorite political weapon — Negro-baiting.

If conditions were bad in the hospitals, declared this venomous Congressional representative of the Southern bourbon, then the fault lies with the Negroes. Carefully avoiding instances of brutality for which his lily-white friends bear complete responsibility, Rankin at the close of the June 14 committee hearings, pointed to Negro attendants at Northport hospital and tried to whip up a lynch spirit against them.

"It is a disgrace," he shouted; "that the War Dept. should send nigger troops into our Veterans Administration hospitals to be mixed up with white nurses and with officers who cannot enforce discipline."

TRUTH DEMANDED

Indignant Negro soldiers stationed at Northport have demanded that the truth about Northport be made public. Several of them wrote letters to the Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces. The complete text of one of these letters follows:

"The slanderous insinuations being spread by Rep. Rankin that Negro soldiers are abusing white patients at this institution require an answer. I came with the first group of Negro soldiers here July 6, 1943. At that time the War Department specifically provided that detachments in Veterans neuro-psychiatric institutions should be composed of Negro enlisted personnel and white officers. In other words, the work to be done was considered to be menial and unpleasant for white soldiers.

"The soldiers were given no course of training. The facility was tragically understaffed. Soldiers would be thrown into wards of violent patients alone, without knowledge of how to protect themselves, much less the patients from other patients. Rankin does not mention the scores of soldiers grievously maimed, sometimes permanently, by berserk homicidal or suicidal. The civilian attendants had not been given a course of training either, and understaffed as they were, they had to have recourse to violence to protect themselves. Their rudimentary techniques they taught the soldiers. Attendants

replace them with white. But the Negro soldiers are still here because the white soldiers refuse to work in the wards under the conditions the Negro soldiers have to face. Lt. Burk, one of the officers assigned here last year, said that the Negro soldier injured in this hospital had as much right to the Purple Heart as any soldier wounded in combat."

"I suggest that newspapers interview some of the personnel who have had to work here for years before printing rumors designed to exacerbate race hatred."

More Facts Revealed By Press Reporter

What is the truth about conditions at Northport Veterans Hospital? Southern-born Col. Louis

F. Verdel, manager of Northport, in league with Negro-hating Representative Rankin, has tried to blame Negro attendants for instances of brutality to patients. But Albert Deutsch, who has been active in exposing the facts about shocking conditions in veterans' hospitals, declares in the June 22 PM:

"The real blame for conditions at Northport rests not on the accuser but on the accusers—the buckpassing executives of the Veterans Administration who, to save their own skins, made scapegoats of a group of enlisted men without giving them a chance to defend themselves.

"Why was nothing said about the Negro soldier-attendant who was found unconscious on the floor of Ward 6 at Northport,

L. A. TROTSKYISTS CALL FOR UNITED ANTI-FASCIST ACTION

LOS ANGELES, June 22 — In an urgent appeal for united labor action against a fascist mobilization in this city, the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party, through its organizer Myra Tanner Weiss, today addressed the following telegram to the CIO Council and AFL Central Labor Council:

"Fascists plan a public meeting in Los Angeles, Monday, June 25, for Gerald K. Smith, demagogue of the Coughlin, Huey Long and Silver Shirt school. Postwar unemployment, returning veterans, growth of monopoly and middle-class discontent are the factors they count upon to win a mass base for their movement against labor.

"This is a direct threat and challenge to the whole labor movement. We urge immediate formation of a united front of action of all labor and minority groups to stop this fascist movement before it establishes a base in Los Angeles. We urge you to call a conference of these groups to set up a united front committee to plan action toward this end. We pledge our support to such a united front of action against fascist movements."

replace them with white. But the Negro soldiers are still here because the white soldiers refuse to work in the wards under the conditions the Negro soldiers have to face. Lt. Burk, one of the officers assigned here last year, said that the Negro soldier injured in this hospital had as much right to the Purple Heart as any soldier wounded in combat."

"I suggest that newspapers interview some of the personnel who have had to work here for years before printing rumors designed to exacerbate race hatred."

MANY INJURED

"Why was nothing said about another attendant, likewise alone in a ward, who is now in a hospital with three broken ribs after having been beaten up and trampled upon by a homicidal patient?"

"Why was nothing said about the heroic action of two Negro soldier attendants in subduing a patient in Ward 61 who was running amok in a ward brandishing a knife stolen from the dining room and threatening to kill his fellow-patients?"

"Why was nothing said of the many injuries — including broken limbs and fractured limbs — sustained by Negro soldier-attendants at Northport at the hands of disturbed patients while they were supervising crowded wards alone, with no training in methods of handling violent patients without hurting them?"

"Why was nothing said about the fact that none of the court-martialed soldiers was charged with malicious unprovoked brutality, and that in each instance, according to Gen. Terry, the brutality charge arose from an emergency situation in which the accused man was trying to subdue a patient attacking either a fellow-patient or the attendant himself?"

NOT SURPRISING

It is ironical but enlightening to observe now the frantic efforts of BOTH Republican and

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

by CHARLES JACKSON

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

—KARL MARX

FEPC, A Political Football

At this writing there is every indication that the Fair Employment Practices Committee will die a natural death within the very near future. The committee, which was set up on a temporary basis by Roosevelt in his Executive Order No. 8802, was ostensibly designed to eliminate the widespread practice of employers in discriminating against racial and religious minorities in job hiring.

The committee, from the beginning, had only investigative power and did not have real authority. It could not prosecute employers for discrimination. At many hearings the guilty employers and union bureaucrats even refused to attend. Although cases of obvious discrimination in war work were made public, there is not one case recorded where a government contract was cancelled as a result of the employer's failure to comply with fair employment practices.

Democratic politicians to kill the bill for a permanent FEPC in spite of the tremendous mass support it receives. This is not surprising to readers of the *Militant*. We predicted before the election that NEITHER the Republicans nor the Democratic parties would prove good for the Negro or good for labor because, when the vice was tightened, they would dance to the music of those they both represent — the Big Business interests.

To realize how this issue has been kicked around by the politicians let's take a look at the facts:

1. The FEPC is the only wartime agency that both parties, previous to the election, promised to retain. Yet the Senate appropriations sub-committee has moved to kill it by denying the funds for its continuance and the House rules committee has moved to prevent its coming to the floor for debate. Both committees are composed of Republicans and Democrats.

2. President Truman goes on public record as ostensibly advocating passage of a permanent FEPC, while at the same time Rep. Roger Slaughter, also a Democrat and also from Missouri — and therefore a politician who must do Truman's bidding — flies in from Kansas City to cast the vote in the rules committee that prevents the bill from coming to the floor.

OLD SHELL GAME

3. Rep. Mary Norton (D. of N. J.) who has fought for FEPC, corners Slaughter and makes him admit that he will "consider" the bill if one word is changed. But when she is depended upon to draw up an acceptable amendment, she apparently changes her tactics overnight and fails to produce an amendment the next day as promised.

Although the full Senate appropriations committee has now voted to restore the funds for a Fair Employment committee, the odds are that the bill will be jugged some more and not made law. Thus the Big Business politicians play the old shell game of "now you see it, now you don't" — gambling and toying with the right of millions of workers to get a job and earn a living.

Pioneer Paragraphs

TROTSKYISM IS BASED UPON WORKERS' INTERNATIONALISM

In our epoch, which is the within the boundaries of the USSR.

On August 4, 1914, the death knell sounded for national programs for all time. The revolutionary party of the proletariat can base itself only upon an international program corresponding to the character of the present epoch, the epoch of the highest development and collapse of capitalism. An international communist program is in no case the sum total of national programs or an amalgam of their common features. The international program must proceed directly from an analysis of the conditions and tendencies of development in its own country. This also holds entirely for the party that wields the state power

early revolutionary period of the Communist International. . . The monstrous campaign against Trotsky's program, which did not end by any means with his assassination, has drawn a veil of obscurity over all the programmatic documents of this early period. World capitalism, of course, has every interest in seeing that they will remain interred. The Stalinist bureaucracy, which has occupied itself with re-writing the history of this period, has likewise done its utmost to hide and suppress the programmatic documents advanced under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. In translating and printing *Five Years of the Communist International* will be off the press and ready for sale. The appearance of this book will be a landmark in the history not only of Pioneer Publishers but also of the entire literature of revolutionary Marxism.

This is the first of two volumes containing Leon Trotsky's manifestoes, articles, speeches and letters in the period of the first four world congresses of the Communist International, 1919-1924. The second volume will appear at a later date. This first volume contains the manifestoes and documents written by Trotsky for the first, second and third world congresses of the Communist International — in 1919, 1920 and 1921. Included also are many of his articles, speeches and letters during the periods between these congresses, ending with three documents from the period between the third and the fourth Congresses, 1921-1922. Trotsky's introduction, which he wrote in May, 1924 for the original publication of this book in Russian, is included at the beginning of the volume.

This volume of almost 400 pages, cloth bound, will be priced at \$2.50. This extremely low price has been set so that the book will be within reach of every class-conscious worker interested in the world revolutionary movement. Order now from

200,000 Burned Alive In Hamburg Bombing

The horror of aerial bombings can never be fully realized from the routine dispatches in the capitalist press which record, coldly and inhumanly, the obliteration of whole cities in Japan by incendiary bombs. These dispatches are written and edited to conceal the agonizing fate of millions of human beings trapped in densely-populated areas which the B-29's have converted into roaring incinerators.

On Sept. 20, 1943, the newspaper *Baseler Nachrichten*, published in neutral Switzerland, ran an eyewitness account of the effects of Anglo-American bombing of the German city of Hamburg. The British and American press deliberately suppressed this horrifying word-picture, because they thought it would affect the war "morale" of the British and American peoples. We print it in full here because, better than anything else yet written, it helps to bring home the terrible fate of helpless civilians and the enormity of the crimes of capitalism against mankind.

During the bombing of Hamburg there was a catastrophe in one densely populated part of the town of several square kilometers which eclipsed all previous happenings of the bombing war. It occurred as a result of the area being covered with mines, high-explosives and phosphorous bombs and hundreds of thousands of ordinary incendiaries.

It must be emphasized that the effect was one which can only be achieved when bombing densely populated residential districts, but not when bombing factory districts. Every physicist of the air war could have calculated this effect in advance if the number of H.E. and incendiary bombs to be dropped on a given area were known to him. It is founded on the well-known fact that every open fire sucks in the oxygen it needs from the surrounding atmosphere and that large fires, unless there is a strong wind, will lead to the creation of so-called air chimneys up which the flames will rush with ever-increasing force. If the area of the fire covers several square kilometers, then the flames licking out of individual rows and blocks of houses will combine into one big blanket of fire, covering the entire area and rushing up to ever greater heights. According to English reports, the Hamburg fire reached a height of six kilometers, that is, up to that height the heat rose in one compact body.

Fire Consumes the Oxygen

Under these conditions the following occurs: within the area of the fire a rush of air is created, reaching the strength of a typhoon. The effect is that of enormous bellows pumping air into this district from all directions; for the sea of flames sucks in air from its surroundings. In this, the streets serve as channels through which the air passes towards the centre and at the

same time the air rushing through the streets sucks the flames from the burning houses horizontally into the streets. Thus, human beings and flames will compete for the available oxygen and, naturally, a fire of this size will get the better of it.

The immediate result in the cellars is a shortage of oxygen and breathing difficulties for the people present. At the same time the temperature in the shelters rises unbearably, but the people are prevented from leaving the shelters during the early stages of the bombing by the constant rain of H.E., incendiary and phosphorous bombs, which release a fine shower consisting of a mixture of rubber and phosphorous. Experience has shown that when the people finally make up their minds to leave the cellars it is too late. They have no strength left to carry out their decision, and even if they have they lack the strength to resist the heat and the lack of oxygen in the street. It is easy to see that men, with their greater power of resistance and stouter clothing, are better able to resist such a method of attack than women and children. That is why the majority of the victims are women and children. Numerous completely charred bodies of women and children in light summer clothing who emerged from the cellars into the storm of fire in the street were soon converted into burning torches.

Death in a Fiery Whirlwind

Naturally, hundreds and thousands of men too lost their lives in the streets of this district. Hamburg experts who are in charge of the salvaging of bodies have stated that only a minute percentage of the population residing there can

Hamburg Horror Confirmed

Censorship of the gruesome details of Allied destruction of the great German City of Hamburg was lifted last week to bring full confirmation of the awful story which we reprint on this page. The facts were given by Drew Middleton in a New York Times dispatch from Hamburg dated June 22.

Allied bombs, says the correspondent, killed about 400,000 persons of a pre-war population of 1,682,000, or one out of every four. In addition to destroying the port and the city's industrial area, the Allied air forces aimed deliberate, concentrated attacks on the Hamm and Hammerbrook districts of Hamburg "which once housed hundreds of thousands of workers." The Germans, says Middleton, do not know how many were killed, "but it is safe to assume that number was close to 200,000. Thousands were baked alive in shelters as apartment houses and tenements fell burning around them."



have escaped with its life under the conditions prevailing during the attack. The whirlwind surrounded the entire district with a fiery wall and only those were able to save themselves who escaped at the very beginning.

The condition of the cellar shelters, which have meanwhile been opened, gives some indication of the temperature which must have prevailed in the streets. The people who remained in these rooms were not only suffocated and charred but reduced to ashes. In other words, these rooms which, without exception, became death-chambers for dozens and hundreds of people, must have reached a temperature such as is not reached in the burning chamber of a crematorium. One doctor who supervised the salvage of the bodies remarked that the incineration of the bones had in many cases been more complete in the cellars than it is in the normal process of cremation. Obviously, it is impossible to identify the bodies, as all the belongings of the people have also been reduced to ashes.

Women, Children Burn to Death

The 20,000 bodies salvaged so far in Hamburg come mainly from this district. Even today the work of salvaging is still extremely difficult be-

cause the temperature in the cellars a fortnight after the fire is still such that any introduction of oxygen makes the fire flare up again.

The many reports of survivors of burning women and children, and of women throwing their children into canals, are, therefore, not invented. How great was the temperature prevailing in these streets is further proved by the fact that the glass in the windows and metal frames were reduced to ash and cinders.

As we have said, all this occurred in a strictly defined district of some kilometers square. Obviously, effects like those described can only be achieved in densely populated residential districts with high houses and relatively narrow streets. The streets, however, need not be very narrow, for roughly 50 women and children were found suffocated, half charred, and with their clothing torn from their bodies by the storm, on a playing field which was situated at the centre of a street crossing. It appears, therefore, that the air war in this form can indeed turn entire districts of a large city, and, above all, the residential quarters of workers and employees, into a fiery grave which no one can escape who has not the courage to flee in the early stages through the rain of phosphorous, H.E. and incendiary bombs.

BRITISH RENEW FRAUDULENT OFFER REJECTED BY INDIA THREE YEARS AGO

By Felix Morrow

The new British White Paper on India, issued June 14, has nothing new in it. It simply repeats the fraudulent offer of the Cripps Mission of March 1942, which all India rejected.

What is new in the situation is that this time the Indian bourgeoisie seems ready to accept it, and this is the reason for repeating it in a new paper. The day after its issuance, Gandhi announced he would recommend that the Congress party accept it. Likewise Moslem newspapers were reported favorable to it.

THE CRIPPS FRAUD

Continuation of the Viceroy's dictatorial powers was the issue over which the Cripps negotiations broke down in April, 1942. During the early part of the negotiations, according to the Congress party leaders, Cripps had promised there would be a basic change in the function of the Viceroy, who in a new government would have no more power over the cabinet than a constitutional monarch. Later, however, Cripps made clear that the Viceroy would continue to have the totalitarian powers given him under the British parliamentary Act of 1935 which is the so-called constitution of India. At this point the Congress party leaders broke off negotiations, correctly charging that Cripps had perpetrated a fraud; he had managed to open negotiations, giving the world a picture of British desire to come to agreement, only by concealing that his "offer" did not touch the Viceroy's powers.

It must be said that the new White Paper makes no bones about the fact that it promises nothing more than a "change in the composition of the Viceroy's Executive Council," leaving the Viceroy's powers untouched. With Japan in retreat from the gates of India, Churchill can afford to be more plain-spoken than in 1942, when public opinion in England and America had to be deceived about the reasons for his failure to give the Indian people substantial concessions.

The puppet character of an Indian executive council while the Viceroy's powers continue, will be realized if one briefly enumerates his powers under the Act of 1935:

VICEROY'S POWERS

1. He can, against the vote of the entire executive council, decree laws in the name of the Government of India, and set aside any decision of the council or government departments. He chooses and dismisses all members of his executive council.

2. He and the British government have exclusive control over profits from Indian enterprises



SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS

are the classical example of colonial bloodsucking; the plantations, for example, have paid dividends up to 225 per cent in recent years; coal mines have paid between 10-50 per cent; manganese mines 100 per cent; jute mills 20-40 per cent, etc.

REASONS FOR BREAK

It should be obvious to anyone that a Viceroy with such powers would never be accepted by representatives of the Indian masses. Those who are now ready to accept service under him speak only for the native capitalists and landlords. That is the real role of Gandhi and the Congress party as well as of the Moslem League.

SLAVERS' PARADISE

With these powers the Viceroy makes India a paradise for capitalists and landlords, both the British and their native satellites. His troops crush strikes and terrorize peasants into paying fantastic rents and taxes. Peasants and workers' leaders are "detenues" — held indefinitely without charge or trial. Every proposal of the International Labor Office for international agreement to raise wages, cut hours, curtailment of women in mines, limit child labor, has been rejected by the Viceroy. Health and unemployment insurance are nonexistent; the budget for education of natives is among the lowest per capita in the world and illiteracy is among the highest — about 90 per cent. British economy has led to famine and hunger for the peasants and

for doubt . . . if they refuse this gift of freedom they will lose . . . the offer of American comradeship that is now theirs for the asking." The liberal N. Y. Post of the same day proclaimed: "Britain is giving up 'the brightest jewel in the crown of Empire' to beat Hitler." Time magazine declared "India's Magna Charta."

U. S. ATTITUDE

Today, however, with Germany beaten and Japan's defeat only a matter of time, American imperialism is looking to the task of pushing into India's markets. So the June 15 N. Y. Times editorial on the new White Paper plans for a "scorched earth" policy in case of Japanese invasion were intolerable to Indian owners of large property. Hence the political break between the British overlords and the Congress party which had collaborated in the provincial governments from 1937 until the war. In the economic field, however, the Indian bourgeoisie has been collaborating throughout, reaping huge profits during the war while British mobilization of Indian economy has led to famine and hunger for the peasants and

ENGLISH TROTskyISTS MAKE GAIN IN ELECTION

(Continued from page 1)

denounced the coalition and contested the election independently.

During the campaign came the first indications that the British working class had finally forced the Labor Party leaders to move toward leaving the coalition government and holding a general election. This fact undoubtedly led many workers, who had expressed their support of the Trotskyist candidate and turned out in unprecedented numbers to the RCP meetings, to cast their votes for the Labor Party candidate.

THE RCP CAMPAIGN

The RCP campaigned on a program against the capitalist war, for unconditional independence of the Indian and other colonial peoples, for British working-class solidarity with the German working-class, and for the establishment of workers' power in Britain. The Trotskyists exposed the treachery of the Labor Party leaders in entering a coalition government with the capitalist enemies of labor.

Testifying to the energetic campaign conducted by the RCP and the growing interest of the most advanced workers in the program of Trotskyism, the campaign meetings for Jock Haston were the largest of any in the district. At one meeting, on May 13, advertised as a "Grand International Rally," speakers from India, Belgium, France, Burma, Germany and Greece were billed to speak. Over 1,500 attended the meeting, with hundreds forced to remain outside and hear the speeches over a loudspeaker. It was "the greatest mass rally of Neath workers to be held in Gwyn since 1929, when Ramsay MacDonald addressed a meeting," reports the Socialist Appeal.

This meeting became the high point of the campaign when it was announced by Chairman Cyril Davies of the local Independent Labor Party — whose local members supported Haston despite the opposition of the party officialdom — that Alun Thomas, leader of the Communists

which these two British officials possess will undoubtedly be a great handicap to the acceptance of the program by Indian nationalists." All this is still polite, for the war is still on. But it is a far cry from American press comment in 1942 and is a transition to the time when U. S. imperialism will take up the cudgels for Indian "independence."

Capitalist Ruin of British Coal Industry

Some startling figures on how

private owners have ruined the British coal industry were revealed in a June 18 broadcast by James Griffiths, ex-miner and labor member in the last British Parliament.

In the past 27 years alone, said Griffiths, 1,000 pits have been closed and 500,000 miners "thrown on the scrap heap."

Griffiths said that the report of a party of American mining experts who visited Britain had been suppressed by the government.

In the Atterbury, Indiana, prison of war camp, one of

the shocking Nazi atrocity films

released by Allied propagandists was shown to the prisoners.

Instead of disclosing sympathy for the Nazi regime as the hate propaganda issued by the Allies might lead one to expect, these prisoners showed what they thought of Hitler by taking up a collection for the "people released from German concentration camps."

The collection amounted to \$20,000!

REASONS FOR BREAK

It should be obvious to anyone that a Viceroy with such powers would never be accepted by representatives of the Indian masses.

Those who are now ready to accept service under him speak only for the native capitalists and landlords. That is the real role of Gandhi and the Congress party as well as of the Moslem League.

U. S. ATTITUDE

Today, however, with Germany beaten and Japan's defeat only a matter of time, American imperialism is looking to the task of pushing into India's markets. So the June 15 N. Y. Times editorial on the new White Paper plans for a "scorched earth" policy in case of Japanese invasion were intolerable to Indian owners of large property. Hence the political break between the British overlords and the Congress party which had collaborated in the provincial governments from 1937 until the war. In the economic field, however, the Indian bourgeoisie has been collaborating throughout, reaping huge profits during the war while British mobilization of Indian economy has led to famine and hunger for the peasants and

Apart from the usual slander about "proof" of Trotskyist connections with fascists in the Moscow frame-up trials, Thomas' main emphasis was on the war. He called it a "people's war of liberation" and repeated the reactionary slanders against the entire German working class, saying that "Hitler has created a nation of nincompoops and has found its roots in Wales."

SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM



By V. Grey

People are getting laid off from the war plants. The whole aircraft industry is beginning to shut down. Fellows are returning from the army. And they're all forming a new army. The Army of the Unemployed. It's going to be bigger than all of Eisenhower's forces — much bigger.

You don't have to look very far to see it coming. The aircraft plants on the other side of town are half closed down already. It hasn't hit the steel industry yet. So far, we're all still in the shop and still working six days a week.

But it's like when you were a kid hoeing beans on the farm. A storm would come blowing at you right in the middle of a dry day. And you could see the rain coming down at the other end of the field, drenching the other kids. But a minute later, you were soaking wet yourself.

It Sucks Everyone In

That's the way this thing hits, too. You see the unemployed and the reliefers a long way off. And suddenly you're right in the middle of them.

Some people think that unemployment doesn't hit everybody. But that's where they're wrong. Remember how it used to be when there were fifty guys outside the gate waiting to take your job? You took a lot of the company's crap then. You swallowed a lot that you don't swallow now.

The bosses used those fifty men for all they were worth, as a whip over your head. They felt the power those unemployed gave them. They made you work ten and twelve hours a day for straight time. Divide the work up with the unemployed at a living wage for everyone? The hell they did! With those fifty guys at the gate, you'd take your thirty cents an hour and be thankful for the ten-hour day.

Unemployment hits you whether you're working or not. It demoralizes the employed and the unemployed both. It's a weapon in the hands of the big capitalist bosses. It's up to us to take this weapon out of their hands and put everyone to work.

Workers' Control the Only Cure

This can only be done by operating industry under our own workers control. If the capitalists could operate these factories to make murder machines, certainly we can operate them to make the things that people need to live like human beings. The capitalists have made their millions and billions out of the plants, and now the plants are being left to rust and decay, while people starve.

This rust and decay and starvation are part and parcel of the capitalist system in its stage of decay. War has only interrupted the process and substituted explosion for decay, sudden death for starvation. Now we are going back to the old pre-war dog-eat-dog way of living, only fiercer and more bitter than before.

But when we working people take over the factories, mines and mills, there won't be one bunch of us working 12 hours a day for starvation wages and another bunch on relief with a starvation dole. When the working class takes over, that kind of stuff will be done with forever.

Canadian CCF Party Shows Voting Power

MONTREAL — Canada's independent labor party, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), increased its strength from 10 to 26 seats in the general election held on June 11, despite the aid tendered by the big business candidates by the Stalinists.

The pro-capitalist Liberals were returned to power with a considerably narrowed majority, dropping from 155 to 117 seats, while the Conservatives increased their showing from 40 to 65. The treacherous Stalinists concentrated most of their efforts on splitting the CCF vote in order to improve the chances of the Liberals. The Stalinists, masquerading as the "Labor-Progressives" won only one seat as

murderers." Amongst other "evidence" he tried to use against Trotskyism, were statements from "The A. B. C. of Communism," the testimony of James P. Cannon in the Minneapolis Labor Trial of 1941. Thomas ended by saying, "if we had our way, these people on this platform would be shot."

Another factor militating against greater labor gains was the Conservative Party tactic of inflaming the old racial prejudices still existing between the French speaking people of Quebec Province and the English speaking people of Ontario. These feelings are always aggravated in time of imperialist war due to the resolute French Canadian opposition to being forcibly pressed into the armed service of British imperialism. The CCF leadership, unfortunately still weak and opportunistic, had left the party defenseless against such tactics by declaring themselves in full support of the imperialist war effort in 1939. As a result, the CCF has lost all its seats both in French Quebec and in English Ontario in this election.

Allied Conquerors Foist New Puppet Cabinet On The Italian People

(Continued from page 1) puppet supporters wish to put off until the promised elections discussion of the character of the regime to be established in post-war Italy. Nenni's demagogic is an obvious attempt to divert the attention of the masses from the question of social revolution to the much safer dispute as to whether Italian capitalism should continue under a monarchy or a democratic republic.

PUPPET REGIME
The utter dependency of the new cabinet on Allied bayonets is glaringly revealed in its origin. On June 14 the Allied authorities "intervened... in the Italian Government crisis," according to a Reuters dispatch, "with an official warning" that a new cabinet was required. The army specifications on the order blank for a new cabinet were, of course, the same as for previous Italian cabinets ordered by Allied authorities: (1) maintenance of the monarchy "until the Italian people have been able to choose for themselves"; (2) agreement to carry out the secret terms of the armistice; (3) approval by the Allied Commission of nominations for the key posts of Army, Navy and Air Force.

In addition, the Allied Commission continues to rule directly 43 Italian provinces, among them the key areas in the north, leaving the cabinet only 49. This despite the official end of the war! In the provinces administered by the puppet cabinet no military measures whatsoever may be taken without consent from the Allied Commission.

Thus the puppet cabinet took office without the most elementary requisite of democracy, withdrawal of Allied troops! Can this be characterized as anything but a handpicked body sworn to act as servants for the Allied imperialists?

On the day the Parri cabinet took office, June 21, crowds demanding "bread and work" and purge of the fascists paraded before the Allied Military Government offices in Milan. The masses thus showed they are not taken in by the puppet show; they know precisely who constitutes the real power in Italy.

SHOOT THE FASCISTS

In the suburb of Sesto San Giovanni, where 1,000 fascists are held in prison, crowds began to hoot and whistle at Italian police guards. Allied troops dispersed



One of the dramatic photographs showing the scenes in Rome, where armed anti-fascist workers and soldiers fought and hunted down the hated Black-Shirts as Allied armies entered the city.

the crowds with tanks and armored cars.

Throughout the week other demonstrations occurred at Turin, Pavia, Brescia, Novara and Canegrate. At Ferrara and Modena, crowds of anti-fascists broke into jails and machine-gunned fascists, killing 35 and wounding 28. The workers are impatient to be rid of all remnants of the fascist regime and do not intend to let the Allied authorities save them as they did in South Italy.

A wave of summary executions began when Basile, the fascist prefect of Genoa, was let off with a 20-year sentence. He was accused of sending 6,000 Italians to Germany and of causing the death of 600 others through his denunciations. In the streets of Milan a saying rapidly spread that Basile got "ten days in jail for each man he killed."

Two days after the Parri cabinet took office, strikes were spreading throughout northern Italy. At Milan 18,000 bank and financial workers conducted a "lock-in." The New York Times correspondent wired June

24: "Virtually all classes of civil servants are reported on the verge of additional demonstrations, and not in the usual sense of labor vs. capital." This is most significant, if we correctly interpret the allusion of the Times. It means that the most backward sections of the workers are joining in the unfolding struggle against capitalism.

PROBLEM — SERIOUS!

His report adds, "What makes the problem all the more serious is that the unrest reflects discontent with the entire economic picture. The cost of living has skyrocketed since the liberation of the north." This means (1) that conditions are worse under the Allies than under the Nazis, and (2) that the strikes indicate the will of the people to overthrow capitalism in Italy and replace it with socialism.

Besides calling for "Bread and Work," the crowds have also carried placards demanding, "Salaries Must Be Made Level With Prices."

Class-conscious workers will

recognize the significance of this demand. It reflects the transition of mass thinking in the direction of socialism. Trotsky generalized this slogan with scientific precision as a "sliding scale of wages" in his Transition Program. The Italian workers are feeling their way in the direction of socialist revolution despite all the attempts of Allied militarism, Italian monarchical reaction and their miserable stooges to confuse them and to stifle their aspirations.

The Stalinist paper *l'Unità* expressed its fears: "The situation is grave and will certainly grow worse unless the masses are given to feel that liberation is not a vain word." Avant, the organ of the Socialist Party, said "profiteers who made millions with the Germans are free and trying to do the same with the Allies." While the Christian Democratic paper *Popolo* admitted "there is fear of a red revolution."

THE PUPPET SHOW

In the hot flames of the rising Italian revolution the coming and

Stalinists, Socialists Conduct Sham Fight Against Monarchy

By Albert Goldman

In Belgium we now have another example of the miserable role which the leaders of the Socialist and Stalinist parties play in the struggle for such an important immediate demand as the abolition of the monarchy. In Italy the Socialist and Stalinist leaders claim to be fighting for a democratic republic but do not find it inconsistent to take an oath, as a condition to being permitted to accept a post in the government, not to raise the institutional question (the question of the monarchy) before the meeting of a constituent assembly.

Why resign? This is the question every militant worker of Belgium must be asking himself. Since van Acker is the head of the government, why does he not announce that Leopold will not be permitted to cross the Belgian border? The government is strong enough to prevent the entry of any undesirable individual. The masses consider Leopold such an individual and the Socialist and Stalinist leaders claim to have the same opinion of Leopold.

By taking an oath not to raise the question of the monarchy, Nenni and Togliatti, leaders respectively of the Italian Socialist and Stalinist parties, afford the monarchy an opportunity to mobilize all possible support. No one

knows when the constituent assembly will meet and it can be taken for granted that the forces

in favor of the monarchy will prevail upon the British and American governments to postpone the calling of such an assembly to enable the monarchy to gain additional support.

In Belgium, the Socialist premier, Achille van Acker has recently resigned because King Leopold announced that it is his intention to return to Belgium in his role as king. We must assume that the leaders of the Socialist

reactionaries are really behind Leopold's move to return. If that is so, then a Socialist minister worth his salt would compel Churchill openly to intervene in the matter. With the help of the English workers, the Belgian workers could defy Churchill.

The threat to call a strike in case Leopold returns is, under the circumstances, a completely empty one. What do the Socialist and Stalinist leaders expect to achieve by means of a strike? Do they expect Leopold to resign? But if he will resign as the result of a general strike, after he returns, he can surely be kept out of the country by the threat to use the necessary force to prevent his entry. A general strike is not a platitudinous. It is a very serious matter and to utilize it when it is unnecessary.

The participation of these six parties in the puppet cabinet, however, serves further to expose and compromise them in the eyes of the masses. As events develop and the program of Trotskyism gains wide acceptance, all of them will be swept aside by the angry workers.

who is important, but the monarchy as an institution around which the reactionary forces can rally and possibly obtain the support of a large section of the population. It may well be that Leopold will abdicate in order to save the monarchy.

For the Belgian workers it is not only important that Leopold be kept out of Belgium but that the monarchy as such be liquidated as an obstacle in their path to a socialist victory. The liquidation of the monarchy will not automatically bring to the Belgian workers relief from the terrible misery which is their lot. Only a Socialist United States of Europe can undertake the task of solving the problems of the European masses. But in liquidating an institution which will fight bitterly against the socialist revolution the workers have everything to gain and nothing to lose.

Should the contention be advanced that there are elements in Belgium that will revolt if Leopold is prohibited from entering the country, then the answer is, that it becomes all the more necessary to keep him out and to that extent head off any reactionary movement on his behalf. On the assumption that a considerable section of the population will fight for Leopold's return, it must be concluded that this section will also fight against any general strike to compel Leopold to resign.

My argument against the resignation of the cabinet is not to be construed as an argument in favor of the participation of Socialists and Stalinists in a capitalist government; it is intended to show that the Socialist and Stalinist leaders are unwilling and unable to use their government positions to defend the interests of the masses.

The fundamental weakness of the Socialist and Stalinist leadership in their fight against Leopold lies in the fact that they are not struggling to liquidate the monarchy as an institution. They are fighting against Leopold but not against the monarchy. To the capitalists of Belgium, of Great Britain and the United States it is not Leopold

ATTENTION! CHICAGO READERS!

GRACE CARLSON

Will Discuss

“Women in Prison”

Chairman: MIKE BARTEL, Chicago SWP Organizer

SUNDAY, JULY 15, 8 p.m.

BUCKINGHAM HALL

59 East Van Buren Street, 2nd floor

The History Of American Trotskyism

HOW STALINIST DEGENERATION AFFECTED THE FACTION FIGHT IN THE AMERICAN C. P.

By James P. Cannon

ing help, but the real source of the trouble was there, although we didn't know it then. The Comintern, unbeknown to us, was beginning to go through its process of degeneration.

The honest and capable help we got from Lenin, Trotsky and the whole Comintern in 1921 and 1922 on the trade union question,

and on the underground and legal questions, enabled us to solve the problems and liquidate the old factional fights. Instead of getting such help in later years, we ran into the degeneration of the Comintern, the beginning of its Stalinization. The Comintern leadership looked at our party, as at every other party, not with the aim of clearing up trouble, but of keeping the pot boiling. They were already scheming to get rid of all the independent people, the kickers, the stiff-necks, so that they could create out of the mess a docile Stalinist party. They were already trying to create such a party here and everywhere and didn't have much use for any of these fighting leaders. We used to go to Moscow every year. The "American Question" was always on the agenda. There was always an "American Commission" in the Comintern. They saw us battling it out before the Commissions and soon convinced themselves that it would be rather hard to harness those lads to the scheme they had in mind. In all likelihood they were already laying plans to get rid of the most outstanding leaders of all factions and cook up a new faction which would be an instrument of Stalin.

Each time we went to Moscow full of confidence that this time we were going to get some help, some support, because we were on the right line, because our proposals were correct. And each time we were disappointed, cruelly disappointed. The Comintern invariably supported the petty-bourgeois faction against us. At every opportunity they dealt a blow to the proletarian faction which in the early days was in the majority. We first fought it out in the convention of 1923, and we won a two to one majority. It was very clear that the mass of the party membership wanted the leadership of the proletarian faction. Later on, after the formal division in the Foster-Cannon faction we still worked most of the time in a bloc against the Lovestoneites. Each time the party members were given a chance to express themselves, they showed that they wanted this bloc to have the dominant leadership in the party. But the Comintern said, no. They wanted to break up this bloc. And they were especially anxious, for some reason or other, to break up our group—the Cannon group. They must have suspected something. They went far out of their way to take cracks at me. As far back as the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924, out of a clear sky—I was not present at that time—they condemned by resolution some little mistake I had made. Everybody else in the party leadership had made such mistakes or worse, but the Comintern went out of its way to cite my dereliction in order to weaken my prestige.

"All the Factions Had Good in Them"

Now if we, in those years, could have had the help of the

Communist International, the help of the Russian leaders, which we counted on, which we looked for, we unquestionably could have solved our problems. All the factions had good in them. All had talented people. Given normal conditions, correct leadership and help from the Comintern, the great majority of the leaders of all these factions could have been brought together eventually and consolidated into a single leadership. The leadership of these three factions, united and working together under the supervision and direction of more experienced, international leaders, would have been a powerful force for Communism. The Communist Party could have taken a great leap forward. We went to the Comintern, seek-

predominant authority and influence would naturally shift to that party. By common consent it would become the leading party of the Fourth International. Those are simply natural and inevitable consequences of the uneven development of the international political movement.

Our misfortune, our tragedy throughout the Comintern, was that the great leaders of the Russian revolution, who really embodied the doctrine of Marxism and who really carried through the revolution, were thrust aside in the course of the reaction against the October revolution and the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Communist Party. The Communist Party in the United States, like the parties in other countries, failed to understand the complicated issues of the great struggle. We fought in the dark, thinking only of our national troubles. That is what poisoned the faction struggles here. That is what caused them to degenerate in the end to unprincipled squabbles and contests for control. Only an international program, comprehended in time, could have saved the young Communist Party of America from degeneration. We did not grasp this until 1928. Then it was too late to save more than a small fragment of the party for its original revolutionary aims.

Evolution of the Three Factions

Each of the three factions which existed in the party from 1923 to 1928 went through its own evolution. The foundation cadres of the American Trotskyist movement came entirely from the Cannon faction. The whole leadership and practically all the original members of the Left Opposition came from our faction. The Lovestoneites was thrown out, as you know, by a brutal ukase of Stalin in 1929. The Lovestoneites developed independently from 1929 to 1939 and then disbanded, going over to the bourgeoisie as supporters of the "democratic" war. The Foster faction and the secondary leaders of some of the other factions were gathered together in a hodgepodge on the basis of unquestioned loyalty to Stalin and the complete surrender of all independence. They were second and third line men. They had to wait in the shadows until the real fighters were thrown out and the time came for errand boys to take their place. They became the official leaders, the manufactured leaders, of the American Communist Party. Then they too went through their natural evolution until today they have become the vanguard of the social-chauvinist movement.

The important thing to remember is that our modern Trotskyist movement originated in the Communist Party—and nowhere else. Despite all the negative aspects of the party in those early years, and I have recounted them unsparingly; despite its weaknesses, its crudities, its infantile sicknesses, its mistakes; whatever may be said in retrospect about the faction struggles and their eventual degeneration; whatever may be said about the degeneration of the Communist Party in this country—it must be recognized that out of the Communist Party came the forces for the regeneration of the revolutionary movement. Out of the Communist Party in the United States came the nucleus of the Fourth International in this country. Therefore, we should say that the early period of the Communist movement in this country belongs to us; that we are tied to it by indissoluble bonds; that there is an uninterrupted continuity from the early days of the Communist movement, its brave struggles against persecution, its sacrifices, mistakes, faction fights and degeneration to the eventual resurgence of the movement under the banner of Trotskyism.

We must not surrender, we cannot in justice and truth surrender, the tradition of the first years of American Communism. That belongs to us and upon that we have built.

(To be continued next week)

Campaign Against Trotskyism Develops

Then, as the years went by, the campaign against Trotskyism developed. The qualification for leadership in all the parties, the criterion by which leaders were judged in Moscow, was: who shouted loudest against Trotskyism and Trotsky. We weren't given any real information about the issues of the struggle in the Russian Party. We

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.

Keep On Reading!

Editor:

I am a school boy in the 8th grade and am just past 14 years of age. I was reading *The Militant* which I find very interesting, during a free period in class. Other boys were reading other newspapers.

My teacher scolded me for reading your paper, saying nothing to the other boys, and informed me that she doesn't want any boy in her classroom with un-American ideals. She sent me to my official teacher, who kept me out of her classes during her sessions. This of course was embarrassing and a great handicap to me. I would therefore be pleased to receive your advice in the matter.

I am willing to give you the teacher's name and the school I attend, should you desire it. A prompt answer will be greatly appreciated.

A. K.
New York

Editor's Note: There is nothing "un-American" about defending the interests of the great majority of the American population—the workers and farmers—and working to create a socialist world, which is what *The Militant* does. When your teacher tries to prevent you from reading *The Militant*, she is imitating Hitler and Mussolini who also forbade the people to read the literature of the socialist movement and made bonfires of socialist books.

From a Seaman

Editor:

When I first saw *The Militant*, given to me by one of your distributors at a meeting of the National Maritime Union, I wasn't sure what you advocated and why. But now I see that your paper is the only one I've ever seen that speaks up for labor at all times and against all our enemies.

It isn't necessary to be in the National Maritime Union—CIO very long to discover that a veritable gulf exists between the leadership of Curran, Myers, Stack, etc., and the rank and file. By this I mean that there are entirely different opinions about how our union should be run, with the men on the ships opposed to the officials and all their flunkies.

For example, we are told that the Seafarers International Union-AFL, the other east coast seamen's union, is phony. And that members of this union are "fascists," because they use militant union methods.

But the men on the ships are familiar with the frame-up methods of the Curran gang and understand that anybody who isn't a strikebreaker will be labeled a fascist or a "degenerate element."

We all know that the SIU has better conditions on their ships, but the NMU pie-cards would rather howl about 60,000,000 jobs than FIGHT for improved shipboard conditions. For this reason many of the best guys are going to the SIU.

This is really a bad situation, because it plays right into the hands of Curran and Company. If all the old-timers and most of the militants desert the union, then this scabby outfit now in control can more easily get away with their phony program.

About the most treacherous part of this program is the attempt to break the back of the opposition within the union by getting the old-timers out, through one means or another.

From the lowest union officials on up, we are told about the "better type of men" now going to sea, implying that the fellows who fought to build the union were "bums." We hear that the old-timers were so "dumb" they had to hit the picket line in order to gain "anything." Used in this sense, "anything" can only mean the half-way decent working conditions won thereby. We are told that our best and oldest union men are bringing the NMU into ill-repute by their "misconduct" aboard the ships.

There are appeals to the "better type of men" to notify the officials so that "proper action" can be taken against these old-timers who "make trouble." Needless to say, the "better type of men" are Curran's stooges and the inexperienced youngsters who came into the union since the war.

And what's more, the leadership is laying the groundwork for permanent "deportment" committees to put members on trial and "discipline" them for such petty things as missing a few hours of work or something of the sort. Of course, it is only coincidental that the same guys who would be framed up happen to

A Hard Task

Editor:

I find no fault with your paper or the socialist movement. I realize we are up against a hard task. We can hardly trust the common people because they are like the class that the Lord spoke to. "Cause ye are neither hot nor cold, I will spew you out of my mouth."

The average man loves the rich, and follows the crowd . . . I believe that when we begin to step in to power the Army will start to shoot us, like they have done in Europe. The Army is not for anything else, only to guard the loot of the capitalists.

How quick the people are ready to kill each other before killing the dirty system we live under! Well, all through this war they have used the churches to get by with their tricks . . . let's hope the Lord will be with us in our struggle for a better world.

I am sending in this letter a dollar for the paper. I am trying to get people to read the paper but they seem neither hot nor cold. So we have to have Job's patience. Give my letter the whole front page and put my full name on it.

L. B. Courts
Hamilton, Ohio

Moreover, it provides a con-

Insult to Injury

Editor:

"The Danger Is Inflation" is the heading of an editorial in the *New York Times* of June 9th. The editorial goes on to show just what Wall Street will attempt to do, giving the exact figures boiled down from billions to dollars and cents.

The Times has already made the record on this issue when it took President Truman to task for his statement in support of the extension of unemployment insurance coverage. At that time an editorial was written acknowledging the necessity of giving the unemployed money to sustain themselves. For humanitarian reasons this was quite agreeable with the *N. Y. Times*, but when President Truman stated that this money in the hands of the unemployed would keep the purchasing power of the people from collapsing and creating deflation, the Times quickly corrected the president by pointing out that the country was faced with inflation not deflation.

The truth is that any time you get on a good, clean ship, you can take it for granted that some old-timers just got off. Since the war, most "seamen" are inexperienced. Consequently, all the difficult, skilled work falls on the backs of the old-timers. A trip is always much more pleasant and the work much easier when an old-timer is around to show the newer fellows "the ropes."

In view of this, the filthy slanders circulated by the leadership and their flunkies can only have the purpose of dividing the ranks so we all won't get together in order to bring our union out of the clouds of Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks, Teheran and Yalta.

From where I sit, it looks as though we seamen will never get very far, in fact our unions might not survive the post-war "right-to-work" or open-shop campaigns, unless we form one really national maritime union. One thing is sure—running over to the SIU will not solve anything. It only makes the fight against the phony NMU leadership that much harder.

J. T. (CNU member)
New York City

On Cosmetics

Editor:

I would like to commend Doctor Antoinette Konikow on her clarification of the cosmetics question as raised recently by Grace Carlson. As Dr. Konikow points out, it is not a question of women seriously needing cosmetics (including the proletarian women).

"I have lived," she remarks, "for almost three quarters of a century and in my youth we never used cosmetics . . . And still we had beauty and romance."

The vital point is that the working woman "HAS TO EMPLOY COSMETICS TO HOLD HER JOB." To quote Karl Marx, who is too often neglected in these days of the slap-happy intellectual: "Our bourgeois, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each other's wives."

Let us recognize the fact that cosmetics are but one of the mediums of persuasion employed primarily by the idle rich. And let us recognize that in the case of the working girl such practice is little more than a weak submission to the demands of the masters. Back of this gesture, there is always the whip of hunger.

Above all, let us not envy the rich their intellectual degradation born of a life spent between the trough and the square well. Let us stiffen our proletarian spines and fight off the ideas of the ruling class as being obsolete and irrational.

A. C. Booth
Branscomb, Calif.

Technocracy

Editor:

The enclosed pamphlet on total conscription is an introduction to the plan of liquidating the Fascists here at home. Let's adopt Total Conscription to end the war soon and win the peace. Investigate Technocracy.

Your reply would be appreciated.

H. Newell
Allentown, Pa

E. C.

Editor's Note: Technocracy advocates an extremely dangerous program that can pave the way for fascism in America.

1. Technocracy supports the imperialist war. This means it supports the capitalist system which produces imperialist war. Technocracy asks for "Total Conscription" in order to achieve greater "efficiency" in the conduct of the war. The German and Italian capitalists obtained such "efficiency," but their name for it was not "Total Conscription." The Italians called it "Fascism," the Germans "Nazism."

2. Technocracy attacks both Big Business and the "labor officialdom." Its attack on the "labor officialdom" includes an attack on "war wages." Instead of fighting for higher wages for the soldiers, Technocracy demands that civilian wages should be reduced to the level paid in the armed forces. Hitler and Mussolini attacked both labor and capital. Such an attack is a distinguishing feature of fascist propaganda. As fascism gains in strength, it turns more and more against labor, finally crushing it. In order to make the capitalist class as a whole more "efficient," especially in conducting war, they "regiment" some individual capitalists.

3. Technocracy attacks "foreign language" publications, advertising, and radio programs in America. This is simply an opening wedge for assaults on people of foreign descent. It could easily be converted into persecution of Jews or colored people. Fascism requires a scapegoat.

4. Technocracy calls on the government to "abolish all foreign language and hypenated American organizations, associations, and fraternal societies," etc. This demand has the same vicious character as the previous one. Moreover, it provides a con-

Sailor's Family Out on Street



Freedom From Want!

Editor:

"The Danger Is Inflation" is the heading of an editorial in the *New York Times* of June 9th. The editorial goes on to show just what Wall Street will attempt to do, giving the exact figures boiled down from billions to dollars and cents.

The Times has already made the record on this issue when it took President Truman to task for his statement in support of the extension of unemployment insurance coverage. At that time an editorial was written acknowledging the necessity of giving the unemployed money to sustain themselves. For humanitarian reasons this was quite agreeable with the *N. Y. Times*, but when President Truman stated that this money in the hands of the unemployed would keep the purchasing power of the people from collapsing and creating deflation, the Times quickly corrected the president by pointing out that the country was faced with inflation not deflation.

The truth is that any time you get on a good, clean ship, you can take it for granted that some old-timers just got off. Since the war, most "seamen" are inexperienced. Consequently, all the difficult, skilled work falls on the backs of the old-timers. A trip is always much more pleasant and the work much easier when an old-timer is around to show the newer fellows "the ropes."

In view of this, the filthy slanders circulated by the leadership and their flunkies can only have the purpose of dividing the ranks so we all won't get together in order to bring our union out of the clouds of Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks, Teheran and Yalta.

From where I sit, it looks as though we seamen will never get very far, in fact our unions might not survive the post-war "right-to-work" or open-shop campaigns, unless we form one really national maritime union. One thing is sure—running over to the SIU will not solve anything. It only makes the fight against the phony NMU leadership that much harder.

J. T. (CNU member)
New York City

Again On Japan

Editor:

Four years ago I found one quarter-page of the *Appeal to Reason*. On this quarter-page I found enough to convince me that the editor was on the right track. I also found that I could get it ten weeks for ten cents. I sent for 10 ten-week subscriptions and had them mailed to some of my friends. In less than five years from this beginning, the voting district where I resided had more socialist voters than either of the old parties.

At that time Trotsky had not

been heard of in America. I am

of the opinion that if Socialism

is to become the universal Ameri-

cian party that all mention of

Trotsky must be dropped and

American Socialism worked out

of strictly American standards:

"So long as hope is held out to

the workers that their condition

can be ameliorated under capital-

ism, just so long will they follow

the will-of-the-wisp of the re-

formers. So long as they are told

that life can be made even fairly

tolerable under capitalism, just

so long will they follow the Mu-

ssolini's, the Hitlers, and the Roos-

velts.

At that time Trotsky had not

been heard of in America. I am

of the opinion that if Socialism

is to become the universal Ameri-

cian party that all mention of

Trotsky must be dropped and

American Socialism worked out

of strictly American standards:

"So long as hope is held out to

the workers that their condition

can be ameliorated under capital-

ism, just so long will they follow

the will-of-the-wisp of the re-

formers. So long as they are told

that life can be made even fairly

tolerable under capitalism, just

so long will they follow the Mu-

ssolini's, the Hitlers, and the Roos-

velts.

At that time Trotsky had not

been heard of in America. I am

of the opinion that if Socialism

is to become the universal Ameri-

cian party that all mention of

Trotsky must be dropped and

American Socialism worked out

of strictly American standards:

"So long as hope is held out to

the workers that their condition

can be ameliorated under capital-

ism, just so long will they follow

the will-of-the-wisp of the re-

formers. So long as they are told

that life can be made even fairly

tolerable under capitalism, just

so long will they follow the Mu-

ssolini's, the Hitlers, and the Roos-

velts.

At that time Trotsky had not

been heard of in America. I am

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. IX—No. 26 Saturday, June 30, 1945

Published Weekly by

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSN
at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

FARRELL DOBBS, Managing Editor

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$1.00 per year; 50¢ for 6 months. Foreign: \$2.00 per year, \$1.00 for 6 months. Bundles: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"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 incapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy.

— Leon Trotsky

Withdraw The Troops!

For the first time in the capitalist press, Anne O'Hare McCormick, staff correspondent of the *N. Y. Times*, reveals the real reason why the Wall Street government in Washington is keeping American troops in Europe. In her column of June 23, she confirms to the hilt the explanation advanced many times by *The Militant*.

The "officials," she declares, "were braced for the wave of revolution the far-away prophets looked for as the certain aftermath of liberation. The Allied armies were ready to hold these revolutions in check while the fighting lasted, and many critics charged that they sat on the lid and kept the forces of progress down. It goes without saying that nobody thought of these upheavals except in terms of progress — forward-sweeping movements that would break through the old molds and produce something new."

The writer tells about millions of people wandering on the highways, stranded without jobs or hope of jobs; millions living in "temporary shelters." Her description of post-war Europe is ghastly: "When one sees people who once had homes, decent clothes, ambitions, human manners, grubbing in the fields like animals for roots to eat, one does not see revolutionary forces, or constructive forces, but only spent forces, the breakdown of civilization."

It is to preserve the capitalist system — the system that produced this "breakdown of civilization" — that American troops, against their will, are being kept in Europe. Yet Europe has no way out of the morass of decay save along the road of socialist revolution.

The reactionary capitalist governments of Europe, backed by Allied arms, are preventing the peoples from taking their destiny into their own hands. The revolutionary vanguard in Europe, the Trotskyists of the Fourth International, are being subjected to increasing persecution.

The American workers have a vital interest in the fate of Europe. The triumph of reaction and counter-revolution in Europe will mean the strengthening of reaction here at home. Allied troops are the one strong support of reaction in Europe. They are being kept there solely for counter-revolutionary purposes. From the ranks of organized labor the demand must be made:

Withdraw all American troops from Europe! Hands off the European revolution!

Scrapped In Action

The no-strike pledge, which since Pearl Harbor has placed organized labor at the virtual dictates of the employers and their government agencies, is today being smashed on the picket lines.

From coast to coast, and in such great industrial centers as Detroit, Chicago and Akron, a swelling wave of militant strikes is rending asunder the shackles of the no-strike policy.

This strike wave, more determined and prolonged than any during the war, is testimony to the growing militancy of the union ranks and their eagerness to battle fiercely against the mounting assaults on their organizations and living standards.

The no-strike policy was thrust down the throats of the unprepared and disoriented workers during the confusion and hysteria of American entry into the war. It was imposed by the top union leadership in an effort to curb the workers, in conformity with the labor officialdom's policy of collaboration with the capitalist government in its war.

But increasingly intolerable conditions are compelling the workers to grasp once again their most effective weapon of struggle — the right to strike — the right which a conspiracy of the labor leaders, employers and government snatched from their hands at the start of the war.

It was the coal miners, through their magnificent strike struggles in 1943 and this spring, who

blazed the trail for this resurgence of labor militancy. The miners proved conclusively that the only way the workers can protect their interests and make any gains is through strike action.

Today the American working class confronts a united offensive of the employers and their government. This offensive, gathering ever greater momentum and power, combines mass layoffs, wage slashes, government strikebreaking and repressive legislation. Its most recent expression is the "Industrial Peace" bill, introduced into the Senate last week, to smash the union movement.

There is but one way to combat this offensive of the boss class. That is through the united, militant counter-offensive of the entire labor movement.

Stalin's Scapegoat

The American Stalinists have found it necessary, in the execution of their latest tactical shift, to make a scapegoat of Earl Browder. This sudden need of a scapegoat goes beyond purely domestic considerations. The case of Earl Browder has international implications. The Kremlin is teaching a lesson and giving a warning to all its foreign agents. Why?

Because in the course of the previous period of the Kremlin's collaboration with the imperialist "democracies" — in the "People's Front" era before World War II — there were cracks in the international Stalinist apparatus. Sections of the Stalinist bureaucracy, especially in France, jumped over into the camp of their native capitalist class when the signal came from Moscow for an abrupt about-face (the Stalin-Hitler pact).

Unless the Kremlin plugs up these cracks, it faces a grave threat in the period ahead. By making an example of Browder, Stalin takes preventive measures. All his agents abroad are thereby warned not to move too far and too fast — as Browder did — in the direction of their native ruling class. They must remain true to their one and only master in the Kremlin. Any inclination to the contrary, even if it is only implicit, will bring to its proponents the same fate that Earl Browder now suffers.

Bridges Case

By decision of 5 to 3 the Supreme Court on June 18 invalidated the deportation order against Harry Bridges. The case began seven years ago when the shipowners still considered Bridges a "red." Later Bridges did yeoman service for the shipowners in curbing the militancy of the longshoremen. By its decision the court thus gave Bridges his reward for supporting Wall Street's war and for delivering the West Coast longshoremen to the tender mercies of the shipowners under the Stalinist line of collaboration with Big Business.

From the beginning, the Trotskyists defended Bridges against the government-shipowner combination. We likewise defended Earl Browder when the Roosevelt regime railroaded him to the penitentiary during the Stalin-Hitler pact.

Our defense, of course, in no way implied agreement or conciliation with the program of Stalinism which these two men represent. We defended Browder and Bridges as representatives of a party which is part of the labor movement. The imprisonment of Browder and the deportation of Bridges could pave the way for similar persecution of other sections of the labor movement.

The Bridges case had particular significance for labor, since he was prosecuted under the provisions of the vicious anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act, passed by Congress in 1940. The 18 Trotskyist prisoners in the famous Minneapolis Labor Case were victims of this same reactionary law. The particular section applied against Bridges still hangs over one of the 18 Minneapolis prisoners, Carl Skoglund. The Stalinist Bridges, and the 18 Trotskyists were the first cases to go to court under the law.

When the Trotskyists challenged the constitutionality of the Smith Act, the Supreme Court refused to hear their plea for a ruling. In the Bridges case, no challenge of the Act's constitutionality was made, the defense resting on the legalistic point that the courts had not properly interpreted the word "affiliation" in accusing Bridges of membership in alleged subversive organizations. The Supreme Court upheld this contention without touching the question of the constitutionality of the law.

The Smith "Gag" Act thus still exists on the books, ready for use against the labor movement as a whole.

The attitude of the Stalinists toward the Minneapolis Labor Case was completely different from the principled stand of the Trotskyists in the Bridges and Browder cases. The Stalinists betrayed the interests of the working class and dealt a perfidious blow against civil liberties. Instead of fighting the Smith "Gag" Act and defending the Trotskyist victims, they called for their imprisonment!

On the very day Attorney General Biddle ordered Bridges deported, May 28, 1942, the Stalinist-controlled executive board of Local 475, United Electrical Workers-CIO, asked Biddle to "investigate the fifth-column activities of the Trotskyists in vital Brooklyn war plants" and "take immediate steps to halt the sale and distribution" — of *The Militant*. The Stalinists tried to smear the 18 as "fascists." They joined the ranks of the bourgeoisie.

This attitude revealed once again the corrupt anti-labor character of Stalinism. The Trotskyists, on the contrary, stand in the light of the record as consistent defenders of the interests of the working class.



"They simply can't take King Leopold's throne away! After all, it's been in his family for generations."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Greece

The reign of terror in Greece, conducted under Allied auspices, continues unabated. A June 17 Associated Press dispatch reports four former leaders of the ELAS (Greek Army of National Liberation) have been killed and their heads placed on exhibition at Trikala.

The murdered men are Aris Velouchiotis, his aide, and two members of his group.

Velouchiotis was one of those who rebelled against the Stalinist line of surrendering arms to the British after welcoming them to Greece.

The Stalinists expelled him and he was declared an "outlaw" by the British puppet government.

According to a dispatch in the June 22 Daily Worker, "Thirty thousand popular fighters are still detained in prisons throughout the country." Meanwhile, the counter-revolutionary forces are steadily strengthening their positions.

At a press conference, Tsatos, minister of the interior, declared that dissolution of terrorist bands would be a violation of the democratic principle allowing citizens to associate. In the face of this cynical approval of Churchill's policy of blood and iron in Greece, the Stalinists had no answer save a threat to "confer" with some of the other political parties "on abstaining from the elections."

The perfidious betrayal of the Greek workers by the Stalinists thus continues to yield its harvest of terror and death.

Congo

Belgian imperialism has consistently strangled all attempts of the workers in the Congo for better conditions and for freedom. During the war, Belgian troops shot down strikers in the Congo. But the world position of Belgian capitalism has been greatly weakened as a result of the Second World War. Now the colonial empire in Africa has become one of the objects of greedy interest to the Wall Street imperialists.

Persistent rumors in the Congo attest to the encroachment of American imperialism in this area.

Robert L. Buell, U. S. consul-general at Elisabethville, attempted on June 4 to allay "the suspicion he had found in the minds of some Congo residents regarding the motives causing Americans to show interest in the Congo."

The consul-general suavely declared in an interview with the daily *L'Essor du Congo* that this suspicion "was entirely due to an inadequate knowledge of America and Americans."

In behalf of the official policy of the U. S. State Department he denied that the United States covets colonies or "mandated territory in Africa or elsewhere."

He made clear, however, that he does not "expect immediate self-government by those peoples or an immediate suppression of all trade controls."

With these words the consul-general upheld the imperialist policy of colonial oppression.

But Wall Street does have in-

tentions of replacing the Belgians as oppressors of the Congo. This is clear from Buell's emphasis on the necessity for "freedom of trade and access to raw materials" in the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi. Wall Street knows that under "freedom of trade" the Belgian capitalists cannot stand up against the competition of the American industrial machine.

Side by side with its ruthless policy of force and violence, the de Gaulle regime announces its intention to make a few minor concessions to the Algerian natives in hope of easing the tension.

These concessions include an extension of the suffrage. At present, voting is limited to about 30,000 "educated natives."

The mass of the people are barred from the ballot box under the de Gaulle regime which Allied imperialism labels as "democratic."

Other concessions would be the sending of grain supplies to Algeria now suffering from paralyzing famine. De Gaulle likewise promises "long-range plans for agrarian reform and industrialization."

This is undoubtedly an attempt to palliate one of the sorest spots in French rule. Colonial rebellion inevitably seeks to generalize its needs in the form of demands expressing the needs of the native peasantry and working class.

A cable from Rene Miquel, Algiers correspondent of Nouvelles, indicates that the crisis is extremely profound. He was not convinced, he said, that "we have seen the climax of the anti-French movement, of which the sedition of May 8 and 9 was only the first act."

France, Tixier and General Chaigneaux have already proposed

"to replace a large number of local officials with fresh blood from France, to increase the power of prefects and possibly to create two new prefectural departments by dividing up the three existing ones."

Side by side with its ruthless policy of force and violence, the de Gaulle regime announces its intention to make a few minor concessions to the Algerian natives in hope of easing the tension.

These concessions include an extension of the suffrage. At present, voting is limited to about 30,000 "educated natives."

The mass of the people are barred from the ballot box under the de Gaulle regime which Allied imperialism labels as "democratic."

Other concessions would be the sending of grain supplies to Algeria now suffering from paralyzing famine. De Gaulle likewise promises "long-range plans for agrarian reform and industrialization."

This is undoubtedly an attempt to palliate one of the sorest spots in French rule. Colonial rebellion inevitably seeks to generalize its needs in the form of demands expressing the needs of the native peasantry and working class.

A cable from Rene Miquel, Algiers correspondent of Nouvelles, indicates that the crisis is extremely profound. He was not convinced, he said, that "we have seen the climax of the anti-French movement, of which the sedition of May 8 and 9 was only the first act."

France, Tixier and General Chaigneaux have already proposed

"to replace a large number of local officials with fresh blood from France, to increase the power of prefects and possibly to create two new prefectural departments by dividing up the three existing ones."

Side by side with its ruthless policy of force and violence, the de Gaulle regime announces its intention to make a few minor concessions to the Algerian natives in hope of easing the tension.

These concessions include an extension of the suffrage. At present, voting is limited to about 30,000 "educated natives."

The mass of the people are barred from the ballot box under the de Gaulle regime which Allied imperialism labels as "democratic."

Other concessions would be the sending of grain supplies to Algeria now suffering from paralyzing famine. De Gaulle likewise promises "long-range plans for agrarian reform and industrialization."

This is undoubtedly an attempt to palliate one of the sorest spots in French rule. Colonial rebellion inevitably seeks to generalize its needs in the form of demands expressing the needs of the native peasantry and working class.

A cable from Rene Miquel, Algiers correspondent of Nouvelles, indicates that the crisis is extremely profound. He was not convinced, he said, that "we have seen the climax of the anti-French movement, of which the sedition of May 8 and 9 was only the first act."

France, Tixier and General Chaigneaux have already proposed

"to replace a large number of local officials with fresh blood from France, to increase the power of prefects and possibly to create two new prefectural departments by dividing up the three existing ones."

Side by side with its ruthless policy of force and violence, the de Gaulle regime announces its intention to make a few minor concessions to the Algerian natives in hope of easing the tension.

These concessions include an extension of the suffrage. At present, voting is limited to about 30,000 "educated natives."

The mass of the people are barred from the ballot box under the de Gaulle regime which Allied imperialism labels as "democratic."

Other concessions would be the sending of grain supplies to Algeria now suffering from paralyzing famine. De Gaulle likewise promises "long-range plans for agrarian reform and industrialization."

This is undoubtedly an attempt to palliate one of the sorest spots in French rule. Colonial rebellion inevitably seeks to generalize its needs in the form of demands expressing the needs of the native peasantry and working class.

A cable from Rene Miquel, Algiers correspondent of Nouvelles, indicates that the crisis is extremely profound. He was not convinced, he said, that "we have seen the climax of the anti-French movement, of which the sedition of May 8 and 9 was only the first act."

France, Tixier and General Chaigneaux have already proposed

"to replace a large number of local officials with fresh blood from France, to increase the power of prefects and possibly to create two new prefectural departments by dividing up the three existing ones."

Side by side with its ruthless policy of force and violence, the de Gaulle regime announces its intention to make a few minor concessions to the Algerian natives in hope of easing the tension.

These concessions include an extension of the suffrage. At present, voting is limited to about 30,000 "educated natives."

The mass of the people are barred from the ballot box under the de Gaulle regime which Allied imperialism labels as "democratic."

Other concessions would be the sending of grain supplies to Algeria now suffering from paralyzing famine. De Gaulle likewise promises "long-range plans for agrarian reform and industrialization."

This is undoubtedly an attempt to palliate one of the sorest spots in French rule. Colonial rebellion inevitably seeks to generalize its needs in the form of demands expressing the needs of the native peasantry and working class.

A cable from Rene Miquel, Algiers correspondent of Nouvelles, indicates that the crisis is extremely profound. He was not convinced, he said, that "we have seen the climax of the anti-French movement, of which the sedition of May 8 and 9 was only the first act."

France, Tixier and General Chaigneaux have already proposed