

What Akron Strike Means For Labor

An Editorial

The 19-day Goodyear strike and the accompanying 6-day-old Firestone strike unquestionably represent the high point of wartime labor insurgency since the great coal strikes of 1943.

These Akron strikes are another great forward step: because 60,000 rubber workers, comprising the heart of the rubber industry, have demonstrated their understanding that the War Labor Board, the major labor arm of the United States government, is nothing but an agency to hold down the workers, keep their wages frozen, bust up their strikes, and throttle their trade union organizations. And having understood this fact, they acted on it. For 19 days they defied the government strike-breaking agencies and by this magnificent demonstration—for that is what the Goodyear strike was in essence—they have prepared the way for the next battles of organized labor.

A new militant leadership has emerged in the rubber shops of Akron that commands the confidence and loyalty of the rank and file, works in close unison with it, and represents its thinking and aspirations. This leadership is already clashing with the cowardly and bureaucratic leadership of the Dalrymple administration which heads the rubber International. Thus in the last analysis it is clashing with the cowardly and bureaucratic policies of the Murray leadership of the CIO.

The Akron rubber strikes have already encouraged and inspired the labor movement because they have demonstrated anew, in action, the great solidarity and militancy of which the workers are capable when they fight under leadership that they trust and which truly represents their interests. This powerful labor demonstration in Akron will, both by its successes and shortcomings, help prepare the whole labor movement for the next steps ahead in the unfolding class struggle in America.

The strike battles of the 1933-35 period pushed forward a new set of leaders who created unions of a new type and character: the industrial unions of the CIO in the rubber, auto, and other mass production industries. So now the Akron strikes are pushing forward and building a new leadership that is already emerging in the most advanced industrial unions.

Akron Leaders Understand and Practise Solidarity

The Akron strike leaders represent an advance over the previous CIO leadership. They are leaders of a new type, leaders who have learned how to depend upon the fighting spirit of the workers, leaders who understand the need of solidarity and practise it, leaders who have learned how to meet every blow of labor's foes with a counter-blow of their own, leaders who have the understanding and courage to battle the whole array of hostile forces which inevitably are brought into play when labor challenges the powers that be and really begins to struggle for its interests. The Akron rubber workers and their leaders are fighters.

These are all the things the Akron rubber workers have learned and achieved. These are the things that make the Akron rubber strikes the momentous events that they are. For three years the whole labor movement (outside of the miners) was misled, pushed around and held down by the autocratic, wage-freezing, union-busting employer-dominated WLB. The Akron rubber strikes broke through all obstacles and dealt with the WLB as the strikebreaking agency that it is.

But the WLB is not the sole anti-labor arm or weapon of the government. The government commands other agencies and devices for enforcing its anti-labor policies, such as the seizure of plants by the military. The Akron rubber workers and their leaders do not have the same sharp, clear understanding of this anti-labor device as they do of the WLB. That is why they were not adequately prepared with a plan of action for meeting this threat and overcame it.

Operate Industry Under Workers' Control!

The Militant favors government operation of industry, but only under workers' control. Government plant seizures such as the present one at the Goodyear Akron plant, executed under the provisions of the Smith-Connally Act, represent nothing but a vicious fraud. These seizures are merely a strikebreaking weapon which permit the corporation executives to wrap themselves in the American flag, break the strike, herd the workers back to work, while conditions remain as before.

This is now the key problem facing the Akron rubber workers: to learn how to deal with this infamous strikebreaking weapon as they have learned how to deal with the WLB and its strikebreaking tactics.

What must be done? First, the truth has got to be understood. All illusions, all confusions, all uncertainties, all indecision must be wiped away. Once the broad layers of labor clearly grasp the fact that plant seizures represent nothing more nor less than another link in the whole rotten chain of government strike-breaking, then the labor movement will find no difficulty in devising the necessary tactics to meet and successfully overcome this anti-labor strategy of Big Business. This now is the next necessary step forward in labor's fight to regain its independence of action, and rebuild its unions as fighting instruments of the working men and women of America.

GREEK REACTION PLOTS TO RESTORE MONARCHY

By Paul Abbott

The forces of Allied-Greek reaction, which have clamped Greece in the bloody vice of a regime of terror, are making ready to consummate and crown their counter-revolutionary dictatorship by restoring the monarchy. And the Greek Stalinists, repeating under new circumstances the perfidious role which their German confederates played in smoothing Hitler's path to power, are doing everything they can to aid the plans of the reactionary conspirators.

As might have been expected, the recent action of the Greek Stalinist leaders in "sifting" their "errors" proved to be merely the prelude to fresh betrayals of the Greek masses.

MONARCHISTS PREPARE

On July 6, the Moscow press gave prominent headlines to reports from Athens of secret military preparations for a monarchist uprising and "the mass destruction of democrats." The Greek Stalinist party was quoted as declaring that both the Greek government and the British military authorities know of the plot and could deal with it "in twenty-four hours" if they wished.

The German Stalinists had a similar attitude toward Hitler's bid for power. Hindenburg, they said, should stop Hitler. But Hindenburg aided Hitler. In Greece, Premier Vougaris and the "British military authorities" under Churchill's orders, are the

Berlin Black Market Thrives Under Allies

Berlin may be under Allied control, but it's still better for the rich "ex"-Nazis than for the starving workers, as a dispatch in the London Daily Express, July 6, points out. The dispatch from Berlin by Selkirk Panton reports that under Allied rule extensive black markets are flourishing.

Panton reported that a person could get anything he wanted in Berlin, "but you will have to pay for it." English cigarettes, Panton learned, "will cost you one pound (about \$4) a piece."

Prices per pound on the black market are: Butter, \$188; sugar, \$30; dried peas, \$15; meat, \$30; bread, \$10; coffee, \$140; and tea, \$190. A man's suit costs \$1,000 to \$1,200 and a cake of soap, \$30.

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American Tanks Threaten Workers In Milan Strike Against Hunger

"Down with capitalism!" was one of the placards prominently displayed in a two-hour demonstration of thousands of Milan workers July 5. American tanks, ordered out by the Allied Military Government, pointed their guns at the parade but did not fire.

The Workers' Council called the work stoppage when tram fares were suddenly raised. The swift rise of prices since the entry of the Allies into Italy is helping to drive the workers along the road of revolution. Placards in the parade called for "lower prices" and "higher wages."

UNIDENTIFIED PLACARDS

"The marchers included many women," reports New York Times correspondent Milton Bracker; "and it was notable that none of the hundreds of placards could

See Editorial
"Withdraw the Troops!"
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be identified with any one party; it was a strictly non-partisan workers' demonstration."

One of the worst evils now affecting the workers is unemployment. In Milan only about 20 percent of the province's 450,000 industrial workers have full-time employment. On June 23, the employers agreed with representatives of the workers to provide emergency pay during lay-offs of three-quarters of normal wages. Of this emergency pay the boss was to furnish one-third and the government two-thirds.

The government, however, wholly subservient to the Allied conquerors, failed to live up to its part of the agreement.

11-POINT PROGRAM

When the paraders reached the Milan arena, they listened to a speech by Giuseppe Alberganti, "general secretary of the workers' group." An 11-point program was drawn up, in which immediate institution of the emergency pay system headed the list. The

Negro Machinists Resist Jim Crow

SEATTLE, Wash., July 1—A petition calling for an end to racial discrimination in the AFL Machinists Union at Boeing Aircraft Corporation was put in circulation today by the Pyramid Workers Alliance, an organization made up principally of Boeing Negro workers, which was created to fight discrimination in the Seattle unions.

They demonstratively reminded all delegates that the no-strike pledge is written into contracts with the shipping companies for the duration of the war and six months thereafter. Such was the nature of the "debate" on this vital question.

On the second day of the convention, Stalinist vice-president Myers introduced the resolution to reaffirm the no-strike pledge "for the duration of the war." But even this wording was considered too "radical" by some of the stooge delegates. They expressed fear that "the membership might be confused" by such phraseology, and wanted it understood that the NMU would not "pull the pin" immediately after the war ends.

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After the "delegates" were told that such "irresponsible" action as striking would never be countenanced, the question was called. The Stalinists were horrified to discover that four rank and file stood up and voted against the no-strike pledge.

Then, after the vote, a terrific

(Continued on page 3)

Youngstown Steel Locals Elect Militant Officers

YOUNGSTOWN, O., July 6—

The militant workers in basic steel have delivered a series of defeats to Philip Murray's machine candidates in the CIO Steelworkers' local union elections held here in June, final election reports show.

In local after local, the workers registered their dissatisfaction with Murray's policies and their desire for a change to more militant policies by removing officers who always went along with the Murray leadership.

Two locals, 2216 and 1462, where the leadership has shown a consistent militant policy, re-elected the incumbent officers with little opposition.

In the large Youngstown Sheet and Tube Local 2162, the incumbent president Mathews, who was supported by the international officials, for the first time was defeated.

Traehorne, a militant, won the election two to one. Youngstown Sheet and Tube Local 2162 elected Langley, a militant of long standing, badly defeating Murphy, former president, who had lined up with the international officials in pressing charges against militants of the Sheet and Tube Brier Hill Local.

Local 1330, largest local of Carnegie-Illinois Steel here, elected Sam Camens to head the union, removing Philip O'Toole, long recognized as a tool of the Murray machine.

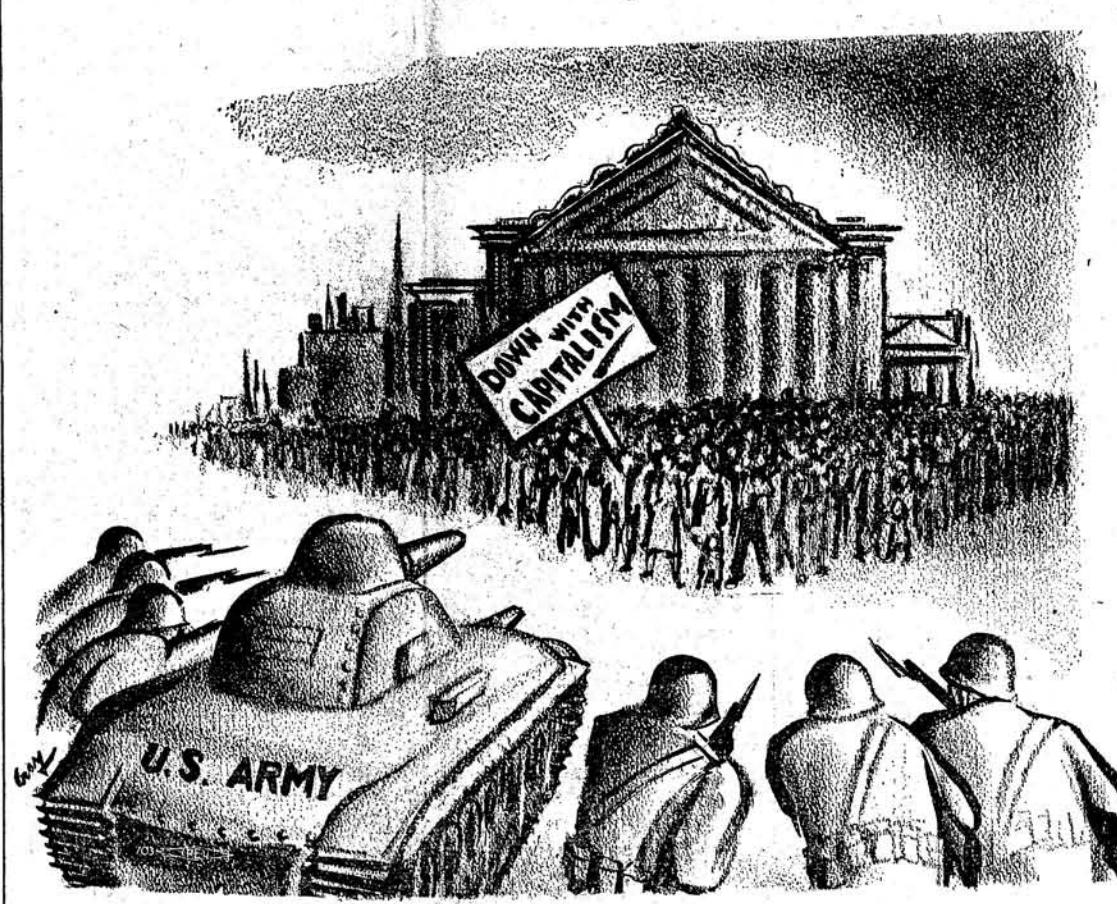
One of the most significant results was the defeat of Mike Pochoiro, who had the blessing of Murray's district office, in Local 1331, largest in the Mahoning Valley. Pochoiro figured prominently in the district office's use of terrorist methods last February in attempting to prevent distribution of election leaflets for Jerry Beck, who opposed the machine.

Pete Bauer, a former president of Local 1331, defeated Pochoiro.

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Akron Rubber Strikers Fight Drive To Crush Their Union

Allied "Democracy" in Milan



NMU Forces 'Unanimous' Convention Vote For 'Pledge'

By M. Stevenson

NEW YORK—The fifth convention of the National Maritime Union, CIO, opened in New York City, July 2, with an ultimatum by its Stalinist president, Joe Curran, that the convention reaffirm the no-strike pledge "until the war against Japan is finished."

This bureaucratic command set the whole tone of the Stalinist-riden convention. From then on, the machine-dominated convention steamrolled everything through "unanimously."

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IN THE NEWS

Not in the Newsreels

When Tory Prime Minister Winston Churchill in his election campaign attempted to invade the working class districts of London, he met "crowds often so hostile they would not let him speak. Two of his speeches had to be cancelled when, despite all his attempts at pacifying, the shouting and boozing of the crowd could not be quelled." (London dispatch, July 5, Chicago Sun.)

Congress Is "Busy"

The July 2 CIO News observes: "By June 28, almost one month after President Truman asked Congress to provide emergency unemployment benefits up to \$25 a week for 26 weeks, no bill had been put into the Congressional hopper. Yet the House Ways and Means Committee has found time to think about more tax gravy via the carry-back method for big corporations."

OPEN SHOP

Donnelley's has never knowingly hired a union man since 1933, when a lock-out was started against all union workers. Until 1942, no known union man was permitted to remain on a job at this plant.

In 1942, a joint committee of the 16 craft unions with jurisdiction over the 4,000 Donnelley workers organized the "Organ-

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Rubber Workers Fight Magnificent Battle Against Great Odds To Safeguard Unions

(Continued from page 1)

executive board and bargaining committee had beat against a solid wall of company arrogance and blunt refusal to give an inch on the union's demands.

At midnight Sunday, June 17, workers began to walk out of the Goodyear plants. By that afternoon, the Local 2 executive board had officially sanctioned the strike, which was quickly approved by a cheering, rousing mass meeting of the local. Picket lines were posted at every plant gate, marking the third time since 1935 that the great Goodyear fortress of the rubber barons was humbled by the organized might of the workers.

IGNORE WLB ORDER

On Monday, the regional War Labor Board in Cleveland issued a blunt back-to-work order to C. V. Wheeler, Goodyear Local 2 president, and to the Goodyear workers. The Goodyear strike leaders immediately showed their mettle by ignoring the ultimatum. Wheeler stated, "The WLB has no authority insofar as a legal strike is concerned. This strike was authorized under the terms of the Smith-Connally act, by a National Labor Relations Board vote of Goodyear production workers who voted three to one in favor of striking."

"Neither the War Labor Board," he said, "nor any other organization has any authority to deny our right to strike when the Congress of the United States gave us that right."

Sherman Dalrymple, URWA International president, made his first comment on the strike in a press statement: "The URWA has not approved, sanctioned or authorized the present strike at Goodyear. . . . The war is still on and our no-strike pledge still stands."

FIGHTING SOLIDARITY

As though to rally to all the attacks on the Goodyear strikers, almost 11,000 Firestone workers went to the NLRB-supervised poll only a few hours after the strike at the East Akron Goodyear plant began, and voted six to one for a strike.

This vote of fighting solidarity was a great morale builder at Goodyear. It showed the Goodyear workers they were not the only ones fed up with the union-busting tactics of the companies, the vicious run-around of the WLB, and the cowardly do-nothing policy of the International union's top leaders.

By Tuesday, June 19, the Cleveland regional WLB let out a squeal at being ignored by the strikers and issued a "show cause" order to the union leaders to appear in Cleveland and explain themselves. On the same day Undersecretary of War Patterson telegraphed Dalrymple asking him to "take steps to end the strike." All this rolled off the backs of the strikers and their leaders like water off a duck's back. They were prepared for the barrage of "orders."

LEADERS STAND FIRM

The union leaders decided to go to Cleveland and give the WLB officials a full dose of the "show cause" order and commanded the strike leaders to appear in Washington. By this time the leaders were sick and tired of "orders" and "commands." They refused to go to Washington of their own volition.

THE "MORAL LAW"

The WLB immediately served subpoenas on the strike leaders, and Wheeler, Local 2 president, accompanied by W. L. Vaught, treasurer, W. H. Tidrick, vice president, Carl Baker, secretary, and attorney Johnstone boarded the train for Washington under compulsion, and appeared before the WLB.

These leaders flung the back-to-work order in the face of the WLB and took the offensive. Van A. Bittner of the CIO and Elmer Walker, of the AFL machinists,

stalling on grievances in order to cost the union more money until we reach the point where we can't afford to negotiate. We have tried every other method with all the government agencies in the field, except striking, and have obtained negligible results."

Max Johnstone, union attorney, stated that "there is no regulation which prohibits the WLB from conciliating during a strike," and demanded that the WLB take immediate steps to conciliate the grievances.

WORKERS INSPIRED

The leadership's defiance of the regional WLB was a tonic to the Akron rubber workers. A wave of militancy and high spirits spread through the city. The Goodyear picket lines were jubilant. "I guess they really told them off," they said as the good word spread that their leaders had stood up and challenged the Cleveland regional WLB. The leaders and the striking workers spoke the same language.

It was rumored that the URWA International Executive Board was holding a special meeting. But these top officials did not speak in the same tongue as the Akron rubber workers. They debated how to break the strike and, no doubt, how to stem the tide of opposition to their cowardly policies and save their seats in what the workers called "the second mahogany row in the Buckeye building" where Dalrymple drew but did not earn his salary.

The Goodyear strike was certified on Thursday, June 22 to the national WLB. The WLB immediately issued a back-to-work order. Case 111-16459-D, which had gathered dust in the overflowing files, was finally dug up by the WLB.

STRIKERS' ANSWER

Governor Lausche of Ohio put in his two cents worth of anti-unionism by also demanding a return to work. The Army and Navy made press statements about the "loss of lives" resulting from the strike. To all these the strike leaders issued a definitive reply.

"The Goodyear Tire and Rubber company changed conditions in the Akron plants to such an extent that they became intolerable," a statement by Wheeler on June 27 said. "Literally hundreds of rates have been cut by management without consultation with the union. The cost of living is not being reduced. It is steadily rising. The WLB has steadfastly held to the Little Steel Formula but has failed and refused to grant Akron rubber workers even the benefit of that formula. . . .

"UNION-BUSTING ATTEMPT"

"Since the beginning of this strike, which was forced upon the workers of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., they have received no effective help or any help, from any governmental agencies or from the international union to settle the controversy. Instead of help. . . . they have been subjected to order after order to return to work without the settlement of the conditions which led to the crisis."

"In place of giving assistance. . . . Dalrymple advised J. A. Krug, chairman of the War Production Board as follows: 'We have not and will not approve the strike and will not assist in disposition of any problem while strike is in progress.'

". . . the officers of Goodyear Local 2 were skeptical that the War Labor Board would proceed to immediately settle grievances. That skepticism was justified. The workers cannot expect any expeditious or proper handling of their intolerable working conditions by the WLB. We see in the present policy of the. . . company an attempt to break the union. If that attempt is successful here and elsewhere it will inevitably lead to lessened purchasing power. . . . and to another depression."

"Does anyone think that the people of America will remain

Goodyear's Operator

AKRON, O., July 7 — Navy Captain H. K. Clark, now in charge of operation of the "seized" Goodyear plants here, is a carefully chosen representative of big business.

As a past president of the American Supply and Machinery Manufacturers Association, and former vice president and general manager of the Norton company of Worcester, Mass., largest grinding tool makers in the world, Clark is obviously no friend of labor. Clark came to Akron fresh from his experience in a seizure of west coast shipyards.

His first proclamation contained the ominous statement that the Navy would deal with Goodyear workers only as individuals, and not with elected union officers.

labor members of the WLB, voted with the rest of the strike-breakers back to work.

Van Bittner spoke at the hearing about the "moral law" that demanded a return to work. Johnstone replied, "We would like to see your moral law applied to this corporation."

WLB Chairman Taylor said the hearing witnessed the "first CIO officer who refused to meet his obligation as a labor leader." But the Akron rubber workers thought differently. For the first time a CIO leadership was really meeting its obligations to the members.

STRIKERS' ANSWER

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"WEAR THEM OUT"

As the strike went on into its 8th, 9th and 10th days, it was obvious that the government was trying to wear the strikers out. "It is very apparent," Wheeler said, "that the urgency of military production impressed upon us in both Cleveland and Washington is not nearly so important as first represented to us. If lives are being lost because of this lack of production, why hasn't the government taken steps to get the plants back in operation?"

"We are ready to sit down any time," Wheeler declared, "and try to settle our grievances, and we have been trying to get the WLB, other governmental agencies and our own international union to arrange such a meeting."

Dalrymple replied with an advertisement in the daily press, once again ordering the workers to comply with the no-strike pledge.

By now Dalrymple's exhortations were not even news to the workers, and were considered just a part of the strikebreaking scramble of the Washington big shots.

WASHINGTON FRUSTRATED

Washington officials were undoubtedly frustrated by the stubborn refusal of the union leaders to break. After a dozen days, the government sent in its reserves and began to throw its heavy ammunition. On the order of state director Wm. H. Davis, selective service ordered the termination of the occupational ferment of all strikers. . . . Two days later the WLB threatened to apply sanctions by withdrawing vacation pay and shift bonus, as well as maintenance of membership, from the union.

On the same day, the Goodyear workers in mass meeting once again defied the WLB. On Sunday, July 1, the Goodyear leaders again demanded, this time in a telegram to Rep. Smith and Senator Connally, that the government force the company to negotiate the grievances which provoked the strike.

And that afternoon almost 3,000 Firestone workers jammed South High School auditorium to consider strike action. They voted two to one to join the Goodyear workers on strike, while at the same time the Goodyear strikers met and once again voted to refuse to return to work.

I. H. Watson, president of Firestone Local 7, voiced the battle cry of the Firestone workers:

"The members of my union have no confidence in the WLB," he said. "They have come to appreciate the fact that a powerful company such as Firestone can prostitute the procedures and policies of that board to its own ends."

In a brief and cutting phrase he summed up what the militant rubber workers felt about the cowardly international union of officers: "All are in league against the workers."

HISTORIC STRUGGLE

The War Labor Board then played its last card. It carried out its threat to apply sanctions, and took away the vacation pay

On the Picket Line in Akron



Local Auto Union Heads Demand UAW Convention

DETROIT, July 9 — The meeting of the presidents of Detroit area locals of the CIO United Automobile Workers here tonight voted unanimous support to a resolution introduced by Briggs Locals 212 and 742 demanding that the International Executive Board and international officers prepare for and call the union's annual convention despite the ODT ban. It was further voted to demand that the UAW top officers attend another local presidents meeting July 15 to account for their failure to carry out the action program of the Detroit Regional Conference on June 14.

DETROIT, July 8 — Meeting here today in special joint session for the first time in their history, the Executive Boards of Briggs Locals 212 and 742, CIO United Automobile Workers, urged the forthcoming Detroit UAW local presidents' meeting to call the International Executive Board and top officers to account for their failure to take even the first steps toward implementing the program of action adopted on June 14 by the Detroit regional conference.

The June 14 conference, voted overwhelmingly to demand that the International Board petition for an industry-wide NLRB strike vote to break the Little Steel wage-freezing formula. The conference also went on record to fight for a 40-hour week at 48 hours pay to offset layoffs and reduced take-home pay.

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DO-NOTHING POLICY

In protesting the do-nothing policy of the International leaders and their stalling of the Detroit conference demands, the joint session of the Briggs executive boards also adopted by unanimous vote a resolution demanding that the International Officers and Executive Board carry out the mandates of our Constitution and proceed with the preparations for our convention.

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REAL UNION LEADERS

On the 4th of July, Wheeler and Watson, the two strike leaders, jointly appealed to Truman: "All that is needed," they said, "is for the President or some responsible government agency to order the Goodyear and Firestone companies to sit down and negotiate the hundreds of grievances which have caused these strikes."

Knowing that the last weapon in the government's arsenal was seizure of the plants, Wheeler and Watson stated, "There is absolutely no necessity for the government of the United States to seize either of these plants..."

These were obviously leaders of a new order. They defied the governmental agencies on every back-to-work order, and what is more they did not say to the workers that government seizure was a desirable conclusion to the strike. They consistently demanded that the government force the company to deal with the union, and that genuine collective bargaining be enforced.

BATTLE NOT ENDED

But the government played its last strikebreaking card. The workers are now at work in Goodyear under military rule. What the outcome will be is unknown.

The Firestone leaders are holding firm, and it is expected the government will rapidly move toward a seizure there after exhausting its strikebreaking dictionary in this case also. The WLB orders to the Firestone workers now have a hollow ring. They are monotonous repetitions of what has gone before.

The Navy moved into Goodyear with an ominous note, stating that it will deal with workers only as individuals and not with officers of URW Local 2.

The International Officers of the URW, confronted with a solid bloc of opposition in Akron, are preparing moves to save their posts, and to enforce their rotten policies.

But the Akron rubber crisis is far from over. More battles are close at hand.

FORCED TO RETREAT

This previous bureaucratic and dictatorial attempt to oust a whole group of militants failed miserably as a result of the determined opposition of the whole Akron leadership, backed by the members.

Dalrymple was forced to retreat and to reinstate the suspended members.

But Dalrymple could not change his course. His only method of enforcing his policies is the use of the bureaucratic club.

His second important venture into dictatorship occurred when he fined no less than 572 members of U. S. Rubber Local 101, Detroit, for an unauthorized walkout. He was met by a forceful opposition from Akron, aided this time by a strong bloc in the Detroit local, where a rebellion against its Stalinist president, John Marmion, was precipitated by the fines.

RALLY TO AKRON

At the last URW-CIO convention held in September, 1944, in New York City, the Akron militants mobilized fully one-third of the delegates against Dalrymple's leadership and policies. Since that time several of the small locals formerly dominated by the International Board, have bolted

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

ODT's "Sophistication"

The July 7 Business Week claims that the Office of Defense Transportation "has become highly sophisticated about labor affairs." The ODT has placed a ban on union conventions, which this year have promised to cause plenty of headaches for government and labor officials who want to keep the no-strike chains on the workers. Only conventions authorized by the ODT may be held.

Thus, the CIO United Rubber Workers has been denied the right to hold a convention by the ODT. Slyly, Business Week observes that a URW convention "would be a cinch to revoke the no-strike pledge" and "eliminating the convention will make it much harder for the rank and file to reverse the official no-strike policy."

On the other hand, the ODT gave the "green light" to Stalinist Joseph Curran's CIO National Maritime Union to hold its convention in New York City last week, notes Business Week. The ODT's technical reason for approving the NMU convention was that half the NMU members claim New York as their home port and the convention would be no great strain on transportation facilities.

The biggest upsurge so far has come in the past five weeks, with hundreds of thousands not only voting for strike but actually manning picket lines all over the country. It is clear the workers aren't waiting for the formalities of union conventions to break the no-strike policy. It is being smashed to pieces through direct strike action. The workers are "voting with their feet" by walking out of the plants in hundreds of thousands.

Talk Is Cheap

Under pressure of the hundreds of thousands of Negro workers in the AFL and the persistent pounding of the progressive sections of American labor, pious William Green, head of the AFL, finally issued a statement condemning racial discrimination in AFL unions, a number of which are notorious for their "lily-white" anti-democratic policies of Negro exclusion or segregation. Green's statement was published in the July issue of the American Federationist.

"When and if organized labor predicates membership in any union upon race, religion or ancestry, it is helping to create a potential anti-labor army that can be used by labor-baiters to fight labor unions, weaken labor's collective bargaining power and destroy its effectiveness," said Green.

We can but welcome this sentiment, even though belated. We suspect, however, these are just words. They would have more meaning if Green in the past — or right now — took some concrete steps to enforce this policy in AFL unions — the Boilermakers, for instance.

URW HEADS BETRAY RUBBER UNIONISTS

AKRON, O. — The Goodyear and Firestone strikes have brought to a critical point the long-standing struggle between the local leadership of the rubber workers and the CIO United Rubber Workers' top International clique led by Dalrymple, Buchan and Eagle.

Since URW President Dalrymple's abortive attempt to enforce the no-strike policies of the top officers by suspending 72 hand-builders of General Tire and Rubber Local 9, the gulf has widened between the militant Akron local union officers and members, and the International Executive Board.

ON GUARD!

The Akron militants and their supporters everywhere would do well to be on guard against a desperate move by the top officers of the union to smash the powerful combination in Akron, to use the bureaucratic club to wipe out their opposition. That is the only answer Dalrymple knows in his fight against militants who now speak for the great majority of the rank and file.

Local unions must close ranks with the Akron leadership by adopting resolutions of support to the Goodyear and Firestone strikers and the militant policies of the strike leaders.

New York

SOCIALIST YOUTH FORUM

July 18, 8 p. m.

"The Fight for the FEPC"

Questions...Discussion

NMU Officials Evoke Real Struggle Against Seamen's Bonus Slash

NEW YORK, July 9—Howard McKenzie, Stalinist chairman of the Wage Negotiating Committee of the CIO National Maritime Union, yesterday presented to the NMU national convention the details of what he described as a "political blitzkrieg" to stave off the bonus cut for merchant seamen.

McKenzie's "blitz" was launched by the NMU convention, which voted unanimously to take the following action:

- Send a rank and file delegation to Washington to picket Admiralty Land and the War Shipping Administration;
- Wire all ports instructing NMU branches to picket the WSA;
- Call upon all maritime unions to join this demonstration and request full support from the CIO.

This action followed a sharp lobby in Washington to NMU lobbyists who were trying to carry out the Stalinists' so-called "wage policy." These lobbyists were a special convention delegation, headed by John Rogan.

WASHINGTON REBUFF

Rogan reported back to the convention last Saturday that Maritime War Emergency Board Chairman Macauley, Economic Stabilization Director Davis, and War Mobilization Director Vinson had been interviewed. They heard the plea that bonus cuts, which will mean a 40% reduction in voyage pay-off for Atlantic Ocean runs, be postponed until a WLB decision on seamen's demands for wage adjustments is handed down. The union proposal was rejected out of hand by these heads of the three government agencies involved.

Captain Macauley, speaking for the MWEB, told the union delegation bluntly that the bonus cut would go into effect on July 15 as previously announced. And "Stabilizer" Davis said that the case could not be heard until July 19 and that it was impossi-

No-Strike Pledge Rammed Through NMU Convention

(Continued from page 1)

gone forever when men came to NMU conventions to carry out the wishes of their shipmates who had elected them. This had only caused "disruption," he said.

The four delegates who voted against the no-strike resolution were given to understand that it was a question of change your vote "or else." By this means the Stalinists got their "unanimous" vote. After that, everything was "unanimous."

This convention is one more bitter experience for the seamen. It is a further example of the fury of the Stalinists aimed not at the vicious shipping companies, but at progressive workers seeking a genuine solution to the huge wage cuts immediately facing the seamen through the bonus slashes arbitrarily imposed by the Maritime War Emergency Board.

Pickets sent to Washington are parading with placards which boast that the NMU convention has unanimously reaffirmed the no-strike pledge, that the NMU "keeps 'em sailing," and that the demonstrating seamen are not on strike but on furlough from their ships.

The seamen's fight for living wages can be seriously and successfully conducted only under the banner of independent working-class action. For this the seamen must first free themselves from the shackles of the no-strike pledge. They must withdraw all support from the WLB and demand the recall of labor representatives from that agency. They must conduct a campaign against the plans of the WSA to hand over the government-operated ships to private owners, thus guaranteeing millions in profits to the parasitic ship-owners" in this government-built and government-operated industry.

(Continued from page 1)

ization Committee of Chicago Printing Trades Union to sign up the workers. The workers had to fight vicious company reprisals. The National Labor Relations Board finally found the company in violation of the Wagner Act.

Last October, the Pressmen, Machinists, Photo-Engravers and Lithographers won NLRB elections. The company turned collective bargaining into a farce. It was at this juncture that the weakness of the craft union structure in a mass production plant like Donnelley's became apparent.

The Pressmen, after being turned down on 19 issues, offered to arbitrate all issues, including the union shop, before an employer-slanted board of Henry R. Luce of Time, Robert Wood of Sears-Roebuck and "America First," and Edward McGrady, RCA official. When the company refused to arbitrate the union shop issue, the Pressmen alone walked out on May 27.

However, all the other crafts, except the AFL Stereotypers who have a closed shop agreement with a subsidiary of Donnelley's, have joined the walkout, since a defeat of the Pressmen would prove disastrous for all the other unions involved. The stereotypers in the electrolyte foundry have crossed the picket lines daily. If they joined the strike, the plant would be completely throttled.

As the strike has progressed, the lack of strike preparations and joint decisions have been partially overcome. Good, long picket lines, strike meetings, commissaries, strike benefits, printed information, etc. have been initiated. The company continues to limp along, delivering in private cars, sending its work out under-cover, etc.

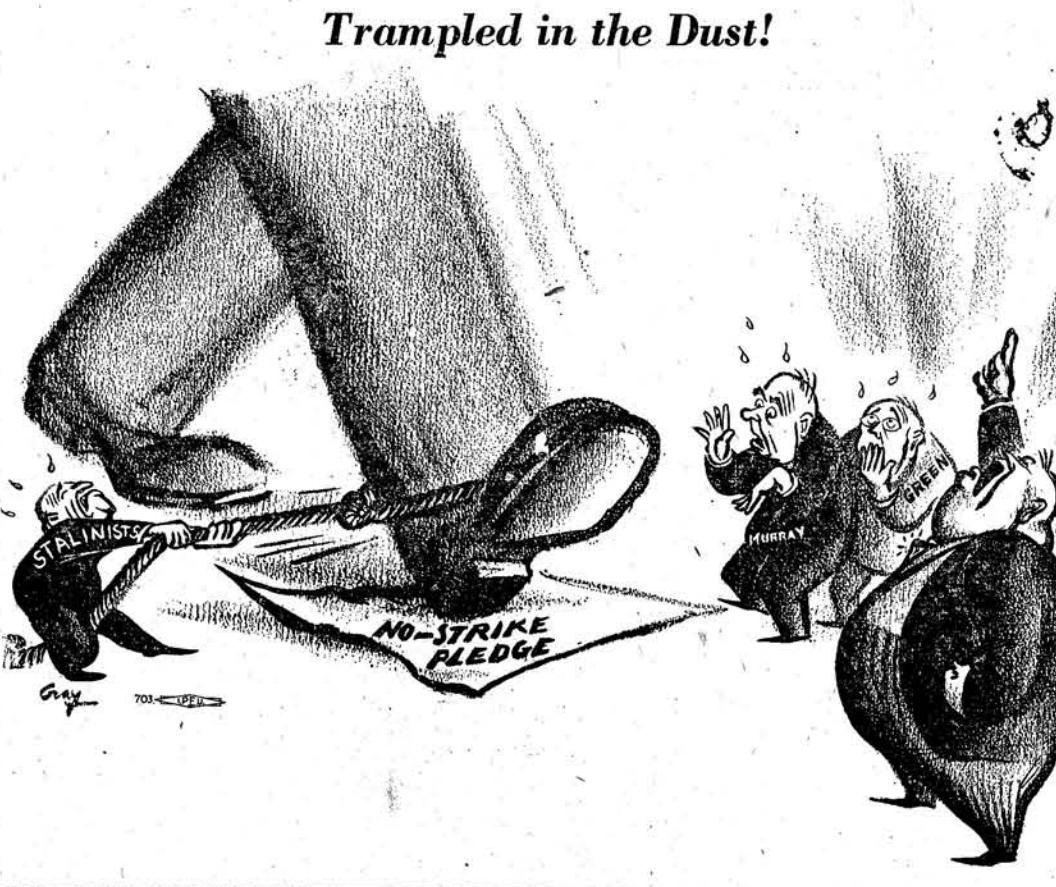
One of the most inspiring aspects of the strike has been the solidarity of the AFL workers in Chicago and throughout the country, as well as the support of many CIO workers who either officially or unofficially are joining the boycott against Donnelley's publications. The UAW, for instance, is boycotting the General Motors house-organ, *General Motors Folks*. The CIO, bound by the no-strike pledge, has offered no official support, although the company is in defiance of WLB orders.

Union printing shops elsewhere have responded magnificently to the "struck work" clause which the Chicago printing unions have put into effect. This is to halt work on all material "destined to or from" Donnelley and on jobs like Time and Life, which are partly done in union shops.

The WLB has issued its usual strike-breaking back-to-work order, but it does not seem to have shaken the strikers. As usual, the WLB's main blast is against the workers who are seeking to enforce the government's own orders.

Striking workers and local officials of the different crafts have been working together, because they realize the need for unity. The greatest threat to the strike flows from the rival jurisdictional conflicts among the top international officials.

Nevertheless, the local strikers are making great sacrifices, sticking together despite craft differences.



Reconversion -- I

Government Aids Profiteers; Ignores Workers' Vital Needs

By Art Preis

A post-war economic catastrophe threatens the American people. This fact is admitted on all sides. With the war still in progress, plant shutdowns, mass layoffs, drastic slashes in take-home pay, food shortages, price inflation are the themes of daily headlines. Thousands of returning veterans are unable to find jobs. Millions of wage-earners are already feeling the first blows of a new economic crisis, the foreboding of a disaster more terrible than 1929-39.

Workers like those at Willow Run, who yesterday were being landed Army-Navy "E" flags for incredible feats of production, are being ruthlessly tossed out on the streets. The plants the government built with the people's money are called "expendable" as a battleship. The workers who constructed and operated these plants—they too are regarded as "expendable."

PROFITS GUARANTEED

Through the George "States Rights" Starvation Bill, passed last year, the government handed the corporations guarantees of full profits in war contracts terminations. It set up a government surplus properties disposal board, stacked with agents of Big Business, to turn over the government plants and supplies to the corporations for a song.

The federal tax laws were rigged to permit the greedy corporations to make the Second World War the greatest profits-steal in history. Despite the so-called "excess profits" tax, American corporations milked out of the sweat and toil and blood of the American workers, in the plants and in uniform, double and treble their best peacetime profits.

In 1944 alone, admitted net corporate profits were more than \$10 billion—two and half times the amount for 1939.

In five years, from 1939 through 1944, the capitalist blood-suckers raised their fluid assets from \$19 billion to \$45 billion. And the tax laws which put the burden on workers earning as little as \$9 a week, permitted the corporations through tax deductions to "buy up" government-built plants in five years.

A HOLLOW MOCKERY

While the thunder of the war for the "Four Freedoms" still roars in the Far Pacific, the slogan of "freedom from want" already rings like a hollow mockery in the ears of American labor. A million and half aircraft workers are slated for the scrap heap by the spring of 1945. A million shipyard workers are to be laid off by the end of this year. Mass layoffs have soared by the hundreds of thousands in all the basic industries since the end of the war in Europe. Cutbacks, resulting in reduced working hours and elimination of overtime premium pay, are slicing huge chunks out of the workers' weekly wages. And returning millions from the armed forces will swell the army of job-seekers.

What has the government done—what is it planning to do—to meet the looming catastrophe that every worker and veteran can see before him?

Nothing—absolutely nothing—except pass one law after another to protect the war profits and monopoly interests of the big corporations. Yes and hike the annual pay of Congressmen, with an additional tax-exempt "expense account" of \$2,500, while workers' wages remain frozen.

Not jobs for the needy—but "relief for the greedy" has become the dominant slogan in Washington. All the talk of "post-war planning" for "60,000,000 jobs," has boiled down in action

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

A couple days ago, Helen told me a story that a girl friend of hers told her. I suppose you'd say it has a happy ending. Anyways, you hear much sadder stories than this nowadays.

This one is about little Rose Ahearn, who married her boy friend more than four years ago, just before he was drafted into the army.

She didn't know how she could stand it when they took him away (she told Helen, and Helen told me). It was springtime, and they had just been married. They used to walk in the park, for they were poor and didn't spend much more money than they had to. But the park was beautiful, and they were young, and their hearts were great with life and with loving.

Jim was one of those tender-hearted strong men that you read about and don't often see. On one of their walks he picked up a bird with a broken wing and carried it home to take care of it.

And then Jim went away, and little Rose Ahearn was alone "with tears in my heart," as she said to Helen, who told me. All she had was the memory of her big Jim, "him with the big strong arms like a giant and the heart of an angel." And try as she might she couldn't help thinking of her Jim lying on a muddy battlefield dead with a bullet in his fine body. She remembered him in the summer time, running and leaping into the lake, splashing the cold water on her while she stood there in the surf trying to get courage to duck herself. Would he come back with his great, athletic body, or would the muscles be torn and useless and the straight bones be twisted? Would he (oh god!) be... blind?



A STACK OF UNDELIVERED LETTERS

Then, quite suddenly, she stopped worrying. There was no Jim! For two years and more she had cried in her bed, and in the darkness of the lonely nights had seen Jim's face. For two years she had written him faithfully, even during the time that she used to read his letters with helpless anguish where he'd accuse her bitterly of not writing, and later, of not caring. Then he got a stack of her undelivered letters all at once and wrote humbly, in the clumsy way of a strong man who loves, that he was ashamed of ever thinking of her as he had.

But, as I said, soft-voiced little Rose Ahearn stopped worrying about her Jim who had been away so long. For Jim had become a memory. Love him she did; but she no longer believed in him. She stopped writing. She stopped seeing her girl friends, stopped going out to the show with her older brother on Saturday nights. For eight months little Rose Ahearn just worked, and slept, and ate enough to keep her alive. For eight whole months she just existed.

When Jim grew worried about her and sent the Red Cross to find out if she was sick or dead, she slammed the door in their faces. "I was that crazy, what with worrying about him so long and missing him like part of me," she told Helen with a blush and a little embarrassed giggle, and Helen told me.

Finally, one day, a letter came from Jim saying that he was coming home. He was going to be discharged. Little Rose put the letter down, white-faced with a sudden terror. Soon, this stranger, whom she hadn't seen for four whole years, was coming home to live with her in the same house, in the same room! At night she'd be there in the dark all alone with him that had ceased to exist!

And the agony of loneliness that she had suffered when Jim went away was nothing to the agony of dread that she suffered now that Jim was coming home.

AND THEN JIM RETURNED HOME

When the day came, she sat in the house, small and pale and forlorn, expecting she knew not what. And when she heard a knock on the door ("Oh it went right through me!" she told Helen) it was all she could do to open it for her Jim, who stood there big as life, looking at her without speaking.

He said "Rosie," softly and sort of timidly, and then, "Rosie!" in a great shout of gladness. And then it was that little Rose Ahearn knew that everything was all right, just the same as it had always been. For her Jim had come home to her once again.

He wasn't much changed to see him. There wasn't a scratch on him, in spite of what he'd been through. Only some of the kindness was gone from him; and that was what worried little Rose. "I keep thinking how he brought home that bird once," she told Helen. "But he's not that way now. Last night we were out walking, and a car ran over a little dog. It made me cry," Rose Ahearn said, "but Jim, why he just looked at it and then looked away like he never saw it or it didn't matter."

And that's the story Helen passed on to me.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

JULY 13, 1935

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A report on "The Concentration of Corporate Control in American Industry" prepared by the Research and Planning Division of the NRA showed that 100 large corporations controlled well over a quarter of the general industrial wealth of the country. It rose from 23.5 percent in 1929, right through the crisis years to 26.0 percent in 1932. "The tendency toward concentration continues," the report stated.

MINNEAPOLIS—The Central Labor Union committee returned from Indianapolis with a set of written demands from Daniel J. Tobin, outlining the basis on which General Drivers Local 574 could be reinstated in the Teamsters International. The demands showed the ruthless tactics to which Tobin resorted in his desire to revenge himself upon this militant local union. The program was deliberately designed to cut the union up into small, helpless units and to strip it of its fighting power.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Franklin Delano Roosevelt threw a bone to the youth of the United States. "I have determined," said the President, "that we shall do something for the nation's unemployed youth because we can ill afford to lose the skill and energy of these young men and women." The new project proposed, in one of its four points, to provide jobs for about 150,000 youths at \$15 a month, "limited to unemployed youths in families that are certified for relief."

NMU Convention Sidelines

Rank and file seamen are conspicuous by their absence from the visitors' gallery of the Stalinist convention hall. A lone seaman, who came as a spectator, was kicked out when he attempted to defend himself from the "charges" brought against him on the floor.

Apprehensive of a move seemingly underway to "dump" him, National Treasurer Hedy Stone made haste to disburse the sum of \$7,000, from former convention funds, to all "needy delegates." Who determined who were the "needy delegates?" You guessed it—Stone!

It is not unusual for a Stalinist to make such motions as: "I move to close discussion and to accept the report UNANIMOUSLY." Literally EVERYTHING is passed unanimously by this rubber-stamp convention.

The Daily Worker came in for

Huge Small-Arms Plant Shutdown In St. Louis

ST. LOUIS—A complete shutdown of the world's largest small-arms plant, operated here by the U. S. Cartridge Company, will be completed by October 1, the War Department announced suddenly last week.

Following the government's usual policy, the announcement was made without any previous warning to the 16,000 workers still employed. Layoffs at this government-built plant have been under way for over two months. It is estimated that the closing of the U. S. Cartridge plant will

IN THE COMING

New York Elections VOTE AGAINST:

Capitalist Hunger
Capitalist Misery
Capitalist War

VOTE FOR:

Socialist Plenty
Socialist Prosperity
Socialist Peace
Vote for

DOBBS & SIMPSON!

4,250 Signatures Gathered On Petition To Put Trotskyists On Ballot In N. Y.

The collection of signatures on petitions to put Farrell Dobbs on the ballot as Trotskyist candidate for mayor in the coming New York City elections began this week. Signatures chalked up the first five days totalled 4,250. The total required is 7,500.

July 29 is the opening date for circulation of petitions to put Louise Simpson on the ballot as the Trotskyist candidate for City Council. The total required for a councilmanic candidate is 2,000.

DOUBLE LEGAL NUMBER

"New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party intends to double the number of signatures legally required to put our candidates on the ballot," declared Caroline Kerry, manager of the campaign. "To accomplish this we are asking the aid of every voter who supports the Trotskyist platform of independent working class political action in opposition to the boss-controlled political machines of Wall Street."

Voters circulating the petitions report enthusiastic response wherever they have sought signatures. Frankie Ricco's experience is typical: "While we were out we ran into many members of the National Maritime Union. With the exception of a few Stalinists, they all signed. One man insisted upon paying us for a one-year subscription to *The Militant*, for he had read our paper at a friend's house."

But He'll 'Get Along'

Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors, complained in the Detroit Times, July 1, that despite his huge salary of \$460,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, "I had to borrow money to live on."

He tried to claim that his "take-home pay" after taxes was "nearer \$20,000." Nevertheless, he remarked with a grin, "We'll get along all right."

Does he think GM workers are worried?

tion to *The Militant*, although I had no receipt to give him."

INTERESTED IN SWP

Harry Gold, who is directing the collection of signatures, reports that "more than 20 names and addresses of workers wanting more information about the Socialist Workers Party" were turned in.

"Next full mobilization for gathering of signatures," stated Caroline Kerry, "will be Saturday, July 14 at 6 p. m., at 116 University Place, headquarters of the election campaign. I am sure friends of *The Militant* will come down for petition blanks to help us in putting the Trotskyist candidates on the ballot."

Following the mobilization, the Campaign Committee plans a social at Chelsea Workers Center, 130 West 23rd Street. Refreshments will be served.

N. Y. Trotskyist Candidates



Farrell Dobbs, editor of *The Militant* and Trotskyist candidate for mayor of New York, photographed as he confers on campaign plans with Louise Simpson, 21-year-old Trotskyist candidate for N. Y. City Council.

GRACE CARLSON TELLS ABOUT VISIT IN AKRON

By Grace Carlson

AKRON, July 6 — Some of the Akron friends took me to the Rubber Room of the Portage Hotel for lunch today. This is one of the show places of Akron. The walls of this dining room are covered with murals, showing all of the steps in the manufacture of rubber. And all of these murals are made of rubber — beautifully colored pieces of rubber which are skillfully fitted together to form the pictures.

I gathered, from looking around at the other diners and listening to snatches of their conversation, that Akron's rubber bosses bring visiting dignitaries to the Rubber Room in order to impress them with the romance and glamor of the rubber industry.

LITTLE RESEMBLANCE

But life is not so romantic and glamorous for Akron's thousands of rubber workers. The beautiful factories depicted in the Rubber Room's murals bear little resemblance to the hot, dirty, noisy, crowded rubber plants in which Akron's rubber workers put in so many long hours at back-breaking labor.

I wish that I had the time and space to tell of all the conversations I had with rubber workers before and after last night's meeting. What a magnificent spirit they show!

Most inspiring of all was the evidence of close solidarity between white and colored trade unionists. This is even more encouraging when one recalls that most of the workers in the Akron rubber plants came here from the South only a few years ago. There's nothing like fighting together against a common enemy to break down race prejudice!

WORKING TOGETHER

I saw this same encouraging phenomenon in Buffalo. Numerous of white and Negro trade union workers from the steel and aircraft industries attended the July 2 meeting in Buffalo. Their attitude, their questions, their comments all indicated an understanding of the fact that white and Negro workers must learn to work together or the capitalists will cut their trade unions to pieces.

But we didn't deal with racial problems alone at the Buffalo meetings. In the hour-long question and discussion period we ranged over almost all of the problems facing workers today. There were, of course, many questions about aspects of prison life but there were also questions about reconversion and unemployment, veterans and the trade unions, the role of the U. S. Army in Europe, the Socialist Workers Party's answer to war, etc.

As an additional indication of the desire of those present to continue the battle to aid all class-war victims of capitalist injustice, resolution was unanimously adopted expressing full support in the fight to free William Patterson, militant miner imprisoned under the Smith-Connally Act. The resolution included a demand on President Truman for a full pardon.

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At HOWARD STUMP FARM - 3 MI. S. of Quakerstown on Philadelphia Pike No. 309—3 Squares from "LIBERTY BELL" Stop 84 - Follow Signs.

MAIN SPEAKER: Art Preis

Associate Editor of *The Militant*

Joint Auspices ALLENTOWN - QUAKERSTOWN

S.W.P. READING & PHILA. BRANCHES

— Games & Prizes —

ADMISSION FREE - LUNCHES Adults 50c, Children 25c

SWP BRANCH ACTIVITIES

LOS ANGELES — The Socialist Youth Club will hold a forum Thursday, July 26 on "A History of Germany: 1918-1945" with Charles Fredericks as speaker. Forum opens at 8:30 p. m. at 232 S. Hill St., Rooms 200-205. Admission free.

California readers can obtain copies of *The Militant* and *Fourth International* and other Marxist books and pamphlets as well as information about the SWP at the following places in the Los Angeles area: LOS ANGELES, Socialist Workers Party, Rooms, 200-05, 232 S. Hill St.; SOUTHGATE, Labor Book Shop, 8026 Seville Ave.; SAN PEDRO, Socialist Workers Party, 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214. For additional information phone VA-7956.

Make your reservation now for the WEST COAST VACATION SCHOOL. Situated at the Workmen's Circle Camp in Carbon Canyon, San Bernardino County, it is two miles from Lida Hot Springs and 32 miles from Los Angeles.

Rates: \$20 per week for adults, \$35 for two weeks, \$15 per week for youth from 12 to 18, \$25 for two weeks.

For reservations and further information write to Janice Martin, Director, West Coast Vacation School, 282 S. Hill St., Room 205, Los Angeles, Calif.

MILWAUKEE — Hear Grace Carlson speak on "Women in

MAKE YOUR RESERVATIONS NOW!
Mid-West Vacation School

GRASS LAKES, MICH.

from July 1 to August 31

West Coast Vacation School

from September 1 to September 15

Portland, Ore. — Sammy's Shine and Smoke Shop, 240 N. Broadway, Portland, Ore. now carries *The Militant*. Phone Murdock 1064.

Eastern Pennsylvania

MILITANT Readers' PICNIC

SUN, AUG. 5 - ALL DAY FROM 11 A. M.

at HOWARD STUMP FARM - 3 MI. S. of Quakerstown on Philadelphia Pike No. 309—3 Squares from "LIBERTY BELL"

Stop 84 - Follow Signs.

Main Speaker: Art Preis

Associate Editor of *The Militant*

Joint Auspices ALLENTOWN - QUAKERSTOWN

S.W.P. READING & PHILA. BRANCHES

— Games & Prizes —

ADMISSION FREE - LUNCHES Adults 50c, Children 25c

Worker Praises Vacation School In Opening Week

By Joe Morgan

GRASS LAKE, Mich. — This is the first week of the Midwest Vacation School. The workers and their wives have enjoyed the swimming, boating, hiking and other outdoor and indoor activities. The camp is situated on the shores of a lovely lake surrounded by groves of fruit trees and "exceeds all the adjectives in the circular," as one friend put it.

The water is so delightful that on the second morning I was here I arose before 6:30 A. M. to get a dip before breakfast. In the evening we have unbelievably beautiful sunsets. In groups of three or four we go boating on the lake, where we hear the voices of the comrades who remain at the camp raised in song. The reflected lights on the lake, the beauty of the night, the warm comradeship, all blend to make a perfect ending to a perfect day.

START WITH 37

This week there are 37 in the camp, including the administration and working staff. Socialist Workers Party branches represented include Minneapolis, St. Paul, Milwaukee, Flint, Detroit, Toledo, Akron, Buffalo and New York. Almost everyone attends classes and participates in discussions. The classes are all on interesting and vital subjects and are well presented by competent instructors. The lectures are held in large, light airy rooms in the recreation hall. Today it was so warm and sunny that we held classes outdoors under the trees.

William Warde gives classes

in the first period, from 9:30 to 11:00 A. M. on historical materialism. At the same hour Mac

Ingersoll gives the basic training course for the newer workers. In the second period, from 11:00 to 12:30, George Collins gives the history of the Third International, and Warren Creel gives a beginner's course in Marxist economics. On Monday afternoon, since the weather was cold, at the suggestion of the comrades, we had a discussion on party policy in the trade unions.

George Collins introduced the topic with some general remarks and a lively discussion followed for about an hour and a half.

SONGS' SET DOWN

After the classes, it is indeed inspiring to sit around with the comrades, discussing different phases of the working-class struggle. And last evening we wound up with a singfest for entertainment. Some of our friends are setting down the words of all the working-class songs that each of us knows so that they can be collected for publication later. We plan to write a letter to the editor, urging the publication of one song a week in the *Workers' Forum* column. We are going to have a singing party!

We are most fortunate about food. Our cook is turning out dishes from fried chicken to spiced meat loaf that makes the food something to rave about, to write home about. No chef anywhere ever put better food before a man or woman than the chef we have here. Comrades

take two and sometimes three helpings. With the terribly high cost of food these days, it is quite an achievement to run a camp for hungry citizens!

Workers are continuing to come from all sections of the country. We have just received word that two comrades are coming from Seattle, Washington to attend the Midwest Vacation School. I urge every worker who can scrape together \$25 and take a week away from the grind, to come to this camp and spend a week among other workers playing together for relaxation and planning together for a better world.

WORKING TOGETHER

At the publication in serial form in *The Militant* of James P. Cannon's *History of American Trotskyism* is meeting a real need, as the following letter testifies. The letter is from a new comrade in Detroit who is now attending the Mid-West Vacation School in Grass Lake, Michigan. The wife of an auto worker who is an ex-miner from Harlan, Kentucky, she writes:

"And now I'm reading every week the installments of Cannon's *History of American Trotskyism*. I've wanted to read it for some time in order to learn about the background of the party, but I never had the time. It was all taken up with the children and the household, and then when my husband came home from work, there wasn't time to pick up and read a whole book. But now I read the serial every week and am really learning about the party. I plan now to make arrangements so that I can do more work for the party."

A reader in Boston who has read the whole book writes enthusiastically:

"After reading The *History of American Trotskyism* I realized that the Socialist Worker Party is the only workers' party in this country worthy of the name.

Frankly, the book thrilled me from the start to finish, as the life story of the movement. For me the story began with Cannon's trip to Moscow and his reading of the suppressed document — the document that, I should think, has the power to guide the world's gigantic masses to victory. (The reference here is to Leon Trotsky's criticism of the draft program of the Communist International, published by Pioneer Publishers under the title *The Third International After Lenin*.) Then the return journey, the break with the false party, the battle for existence against physical violence and moral isolation, the entrance and exit (I refer to the Socialist Party) with the program still intact. I realize fully that such a struggle could only be conducted by men who are battling in the interests of all the inhabitants of the earth. Again I say that I am sorry I did not know of all this while it was taking place."

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The representatives of the party did not bother to send their demands to the Italian puppet government, but presented it to the Allied Military Government which they recognize as the real power in Italy.

After Colonel Poletti of the AMG had "communicated" with the puppet government in Rome, the puppets "met and agreed" that the government would contribute its share of the emergency pay.

The order for the use of Allied tanks to intimidate the parades originated with the American Fourth Corps. According to Bracker, "at least one high officer of the Allied Military Government privately expressed strong disapproval of the policy under which the tanks had been called."

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

—KARL MARX

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

by CHARLES JACKSON

Negroes and the Stalinist Movement

The Communist Political Association, present name for the organization of the American Stalinists, is holding an "open discussion" in the *Daily Worker*. Due to international complications, a new, "militant" line has been handed down like a pair of golden slippers from above. The members are now having a political frolic, kicking each other in the pants for their policy of working-class betrayal during the imperialist war.

The utter confusion within their ranks is obvious as letter after letter tries half to condemn and half to apologize for support of capitalism and "class peace" and attempts to reconcile such sell-out policies with Marxism-Leninism. One of the greatest crimes of the Stalinists was to use the prestige of the Russian Revolution to divert the energies of thousands of class-conscious militants into the blind alley of making capitalism work.

Why, even the most non-political Negro worker knew that the line of the Stalinists was against his interests. The Stalinists told us that Stalin at Teheran had demanded and got a promise from Roosevelt to give the Negroes equality after the fall of Hitler. The Negro workers found that one hard to swallow. The Stalinists, including the dark ones like Doxey Wilkerson, Ben Davis and James W. Ford, urged the Negroes to support Roosevelt and his Democratic Party of the solid south and not to agitate for an independent Labor Party. They said that Roosevelt could and would be another Abraham Lincoln to the colored people. The Negro worker hoped for the best but he had his doubts.

PIE IN THE SKY

The Stalinists told the Negroes to be patriotic even to a country which has a Jim Crow army. They said we would gain equality

AFTER this "war against fascism." The Negro worker knew that was a lie.

The Stalinists said we should support the capitalist system which makes race prejudice profitable. The Negro worker also knew that was a lie. The Stalinists backed (and still do) the no-strike pledge which ties the hands of all labor—black and white. They tried to get the National Service (slave-labor) bill enacted which would have made it a federal offense for a Negro working for four dollars a week on a Southern plantation to leave and come to Chicago to work in a factory.

Their greatest crime in this respect was to throttle down the militant struggle of the Negro masses. Any type of militant mass protest against this second-class status, such as the March on Washington Movement which was responsible for the FEPC, was attacked in scathing terms by Collins or others of their silver tongued Negro stooges. Individuals who resorted to the courts to protest the discrimination in the armed forces were officially advised to drop such cases and support "our" government. The "little poll-tax Hitler" over here, you see, would lose their stinger as soon as "Big Hitler" across the pond was taken care of.

(Next week: Tasks of the Negro Communists.)

Pioneer Paragraphs

WITHOUT CORRECT LEADERSHIP THE REVOLUTION CAN BE LOST

Worker On Strike Describes Vile Conditions Provoking Newspaper Delivery Stoppage In New York City

By Evelyn Atwood

NEW YORK, July 6 — Several pickets were walking slowly and with dignity up and down before the Times Annex building on West 43rd Street. In other parts of the city more pickets were walking up and down before offices of 13 other metropolitan morning and evening papers. Inside the buildings the thundering presses poured out their daily stream of capitalist news. But for seven days now the news has been backed up at its source.

The powerful press propaganda voice of the American ruling class has been muffled for 13 million New York readers by 1,700 striking workers of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union, unaffiliated, who are demanding their rights. The union is fighting for reduced hours, time and a half pay for holidays, two-week vacations with pay, a three per cent bonus for a union welfare and unemployment fund, sick leave pay and severance pay.

WORKER'S CASE

Harry Cantor, 107, Hampton Ave., Brooklyn, one of the union men on the street, greeted me kindly. "I work for the N. Y. Times delivery department," he introduced himself. He was a stocky man of middle age. The day was hot and sticky and he looked tired. "Let's go into the cafeteria," he suggested. There, over iced coffee, he told me his story.

"I was practically brought up in this business," began Cantor. "For 26 years I have worked for the N. Y. Times and never had a vacation. Last year for the first time I got one week. They now give one week to men 25 years or more in their service."

Through the window we could see the Times Annex building. "I watched that building go up brick by brick," he remarked. "That was during the last war. I was away in Europe for over a year then, serving on an ammunition train with the 6th Division—the one that is now in the Pacific. I saw action on three fronts." After a moment's pause he added: "My son is 20 now, but he was rejected by the army because of his health."

BAD CONDITIONS

Suddenly he turned toward me and said with indignation: "The big industrialists are out to get your flesh and blood for their profits! You should come down some time on a Saturday night and see the horrible conditions we have to work under. Do you know, at least 70 percent of the men are crippled by this work. More than half of them get ruptures and other internal disorders." His anger flared higher.

"Those are powerful and speedy presses," he declared. "They turn out almost 50,000 papers an hour. And we have to keep up with that speed. We have to pick up the



HARRY CANTOR

workers to report early on Saturday. "But our union officers told us all to assemble at Bryant Park before we went to work," said Cantor. "There they told us 'Call up and say you are sick.' We wanted to kill the distribution of the Sunday paper . . . and we did!" he related with triumph.

BOSSES BURNED UP

"That's what burns them up," Cantor remarked with satisfaction. "That a small union like us has got the whole works tied up. You know, not even the news companies in the different parts of the city can get the papers for distribution. Our union has a separate contract with them which is not involved in this strike with the publicists. But their workers won't cross our picket lines so we have the whole city tied up."

Cantor recalled their strike of three years ago which lasted three days before the War Labor Board forced them back to work. "The news companies didn't want to pay the men who had nothing to do because they wouldn't cross our picket lines to get the papers. So they tried to lay off some of the men. Immediately all these men went out on strike, too! So this time they don't dare to try that again."

NO BIG MONEY

All the men are thoroughly incensed at the runaround given them by the Publishers Association, negotiating body for all 14 newspapers. "They tried to duck by throwing the case into the War Labor Board. But we say the WLB has got nothing to do with it. They never do anything anyway, except stall. Besides we have a right to strike. The owners have been chopping down our little gains every year, more and more. And it's the same with all the other newspapers, probably even worse."

"They try to tell the people that we are getting big money with overtime, but that's a lie. I'm a day man and I don't get any overtime. My take-home pay is around \$45 a week, after deductions. Do you think that's so much? Some of the men have big families to feed. What's behind it all is they're afraid to grant the least concession because it might set a precedent for the whole industry. But it's time to call a halt to their chopping us down."

As we left the cafeteria, Cantor concluded: "The men are determined to stick it out. They have driven us too hard and it's finally got under our skins. We're going to get our rights. The general public has no idea what it's all about, and that's why I am glad you are going to publish our story."

NEGRO-HATING CONGRESSMEN WAVE FLAG IN CAMPAIGN TO KILL FEPC

The Negro-hating Southern Bourbon Congressmen are fighting tooth and nail to kill the Fair Employment Practices Committee. Their latest tactic is to pose as super-patriots. They accuse those favoring FEPC of "willingness to imperil a part of the war program in their insistent demands."

The FEPC was originally a sop tossed by Roosevelt to sincere believers in democracy who opposed racial discrimination in employment. Roosevelt designed it to head off the militancy of the colored people. He feared they might carry out their threat to march on Washington.

FREEBLE MEASURE

In practice, FEPC was almost wholly ineffective, for it could not impose penalties on hard-bitten reactionary bosses who flouted its decisions. FEPC could not even thoroughly investigate the widespread evil of Jim Crow, for its funds were stringently limited. It was scorned by employers everywhere.

Yet even this demagogic gesture against discrimination rankled with the decayed aristocracy of the South. These degenerate scions of the old slave-holders and dealers in human flesh believe in segregation, discrimination and lynching as part of their "democratic" rights. When FEPC, along with other agencies created by Roosevelt, came up in Congress for continuance this year, these champions of "democracy" began a filibuster.

The proposed appropriation for

By this time, the monstrous spectacle in Congress had so aroused public opinion that the supporters of FEPC felt a stiffening of the spine. They struck back at the Southern lynch champions through parliamentary maneuvers which denied the other agencies \$618,000,000 in funds.

THEY ARE SCOUNDRELS

It was this move which drew the Southern hawks to the floor of Congress. Their first tactic was to follow the time-honored custom of Southern chivalry whenever equality is discussed — venomously slandering colored people as "rapists," etc. Their disgusting ravings on this subject have no interest save for mental specialists investigating the fouler types of insanity.

POISONOUS FILTH

But the Senate supporters of FEPC retreated like sniveling cowards before this offensive torrent of incoherent, lying abuse and agreed to slash the appropriation to \$250,000!

In the House, the spokesman of lynch law scented blood. When the bill reached them, they threw out FEPC altogether.

New York Mass Meeting

JAMES P. CANNON

National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

on

"THE DOWNFALL OF BROWDER"

The real meaning of the latest shift in the tactical line of the Stalinists

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3, 8 P.M.

WEBSTER HALL, 119 E. 11 Street

Added speakers: Farrell Dobbs - Louise Simpson

Los Angeles Trotskyists Call For Struggle Against Fascists

LOS ANGELES, Cal. — Recognizing the significance of Gerald L. K. Smith's campaign to establish a base for his fascist organization in Los Angeles, the Socialist Workers Party, Los Angeles Local, has sounded an alarm to the labor movement and to outstanding organizations of minority groups.

BOSSES BURNED UP

"That's what burns them up," Cantor remarked with satisfaction. "That a small union like us has got the whole works tied up. You know, not even the news companies in the different parts of the city can get the papers for distribution. Our union has a separate contract with them which is not involved in this strike with the publicists. But their workers won't cross our picket lines so we have the whole city tied up."

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UNITED FRONT

In addition the following letter was sent to the local Communist Political Association:

N. Sparks, President, Los Angeles County Committee, Communist Political Association

Dear Mr. Sparks:

Fascists plan a public meeting in Los Angeles, Monday,

June 5, for Gerald L. K. Smith. They boast of their intention of establishing national headquarters in Los Angeles and are clearly planning a concentration point here.

This is a direct threat and challenge to all working class organizations. Immediate formation of a united front of action of all labor and minority group organizations is necessary to stop this fascist movement before it establishes a base in Los Angeles.

We invite you to discuss with us the possibilities of joint action in fighting the local fascist movement.

Fraternally,
Myra Tanner Weiss,
Organizer, Los Angeles Local,
Socialist Workers Party.

Owing to the pressure of the labor movement, Smith has been denied the use of public auditoriums in San Francisco. In Los

Angeles, the only pressure exerted against Smith came from liberal organizations who offered nothing more than verbal protestations. The labor movement has taken no official action.

The CIO has commented on Smith's meetings in the Labor Herald, official California CIO newspaper, without, however, calling for or announcing plans to counteract Smith's proclamation of the establishment of his headquarters in Los Angeles.

The local Stalinist press, the daily People's World has followed the pattern of liberalism in "answering" the fascist campaign. The June 26 issue lamely reprints a protest by a local Jewish leader against renting the local Philharmonic Auditorium to Smith, and carries an announcement headed "Southland to answer Gerald L. K. Smith," which reads

"Just two days after Gerald L. K. Smith delivers his hate harangue in the Philharmonic, a program based on the needs of the American people to hold together in close unity will be held in the same place."

"It is the American Caravan program sponsored by the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. There will be music and there will be drama." Fuhrer Smith is busy slandering the creative artists of Hollywood. They are answering him by sketching in... the perspective for a fully democratic America." Nowhere does the People's World characterize Smith's movement as a force seeking to destroy the labor movement.

Smith has held three large meetings in the downtown Los Angeles area, all of them closed to the public, with admittance by presentation of printed admission cards. At his most recent meeting, held in the Ham and Eggs Hall, he announced his intention of calling an open meeting in Los Angeles within the very near future.

The phraseology of this letter was remarkably similar to that in the letter found two years later on "Jacson."

In 1937 and 1938, determined to head off and crush the Trotskyist movement, Stalin struck many blows at its ranks. Erwin Wolfe, a former secretary of Trotsky, was kidnapped and murdered in Barcelona. Another victim was Hans Freund, one of the movement's most active figures in the early months of the Spanish Civil War. In September 1937 Ignace Reiss, one of the former heads of the GPU who had broken with Stalinism and joined the Fourth International, was machine-gunned to death in Switzerland. Before his death he revealed that several attempts had been made on the lives of Leon Trotsky and his son, Sedov. On February 16, 1938, Leon Sedov died mysteriously in a Paris hospital after an operation. The circumstances left little doubt that the GPU had succeeded in murdering him.

The summer of 1938 the First World Congress of the Fourth International was scheduled to be held "somewhere" in Europe. Clement had an important role in its organization. Some time before the Congress, he discovered he was being trailed. Five days before his kidnapping, a portfolio containing important documents was stolen from him.

Clement had "devoted many years to the struggle for revolutionary socialism. He joined the movement as a youth in Hamburg. During Leon Trotsky's exile in Turkey from 1929 to 1934, Clement served as his secretary. An able linguist, he translated many of Trotsky's writings into German. Unable to return to Germany after the rise of Hitler, he became a political refugee in France, devoting all his energies to building the Fourth International.

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DEATH WAS SYMBOLIC

To the Trotskyists, the death of Clement was more than a blow depriving the working class of a devoted revolutionary leader on the eve of great events. Shortly before his death, Trotsky wrote, "the assassination of Clement, because he was the secretary of the Fourth International, is of profound symbolic significance. Through its Stalinist gangsters, imperialism indicates beforehand from what side mortal danger will threaten it in time of war... At present, sections of the Fourth International exist in thirty countries. True, they are only the vanguard of the working class. But if today, prior to the war, we had mass revolutionary organizations, their revolution and not war would be on the order of the day."

As we pay homage to the martyred Rudolph Clement, slain in the battle for a socialist world, we know that the day of avenging his death is not far off. His work will reach fruition in the triumphal victory of the Socialist revolution.

In addition to spreading his anti-Semitic poison, Smith took a crack at the Negro people. "I'm opposed to racial discrimination but I will not stand for intermarriage."

Indicating how he intends to mobilize reactionary sentiment to divide the working class, he stated his opposition to job-holding by aliens while American citizens are unemployed. This is directed against the hundreds of thousands of Mexican workers in Southern California, many of whom immigrated during the war.

SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM



By V. Grey

"War? Why do you have wars? I'll tell you why."

"There, look at them two dogs. Look at 'em fight!—Now that's just like people—just like whole countries in fact. Just naturally have to get it out of their system, see? So that's war for you. The people of this world are too pugnacious—that's all."

Scissorbill Sam (the bosses' man) was holding forth on his vest-pocket soap box in Lingle's bar while we fellows watched a dog fight out the window. We all had heard that argument before and didn't have enough energy to turn around and answer it anyway. And besides we had a few bets laid and we wanted to see which dog would win the fight.

Bernard Shaw Had Same Idea

Well, that word "pugnacious" kind of rang a bell in the back of my head and reminded me of a newspaper story I read a long time ago by a long-bearded old goat named George Bernard Shaw. It was at the beginning of this war. And he said it was all caused by "pugnacity"—"sheer pugnacity" in fact.

Well, you never can tell, I thought at the time. There certainly must be a lot of pugnacious people in the world, and I suppose, taken all together they could really cook up a lot of trouble.

I sort of figured that these pugnacious people in Germany and the other hell raisers in England, U. S., Japan etc. would all march out on the battlefield and put on a real show, something to put the amateur soldier to shame.

And sure enough, the newspapers started in to tell how some of these guys were so crazy about fighting that they just loved to get themselves killed in suicide battles, and all that. But that was mainly Germans and Japanese. We Americans liked to live and weren't so pugnacious about getting our heads blown off. We weren't "fanatical," like the Japanese, for instance.

But after a while when so many Americans were cashing in, too, I thought maybe the Japanese papers would say we're pugnacious and fanatical, too. Maybe they wouldn't understand that when you're in a battle everybody has to fight.

Ordinary Mortals Who Were Scared

Then, too, the papers began talking about captured German and Japanese soldiers who looked like pretty sorry lot—not "supermen" at all, but just ordinary guys that were scared . . . sort of like I would be if I was captured. Well gee, I thought to myself, how did these fellows get into the war at all? They haven't got so much pugnacity. It doesn't look like they're so very anxious to get their heads blown off—not any more than I am.

Why didn't the German or Japanese recruiting officer say, "Now you can't get into this war unless you've got plenty of pugnacity. We won't let you fight unless you swear to send all American soldiers to Hell, even at the cost of your own life." That's the way they'd run a war that had real PUGNACITY in it.

But how could the recruiting sergeants say that anywhere—including America—when the great majority were drafted into the armies of the world to fight for their bosses? I guess maybe the Japanese army doctor didn't ask the draftee if he was pugnacious any more than the American army doctor did.

But you certainly would think that the Japanese workers would be so pugnacious and fanatical they wouldn't want to be drafted at all. You'd think they'd just rush over to the recruiting office and enlist so they could get into a "suicide bombing" or something. At least that's what you'd think if you believed all you read in the papers. And especially that's what you'd think if you believed that war is caused by the pugnacity of masses of working people in different countries who are just aching to get at one another's

But Fuhrer Smith is busy slandering the creative artists of Hollywood. They are answering him by sketching in... the perspective for a fully democratic America." Nowhere does the People's World characterize Smith's movement as a force seeking to destroy the labor movement.

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The support which Smith has received from such sources has been reflected in the composition of his audience, and the character of his meetings. For the most part he has attracted the aged, clearly representing the membership of the Ham and Eggs movement, and religious elements. His main attack has been consistently directed against communism, which he identifies with fascism, as a brand of totalitarianism.

At a meeting in the Ham and Eggs Hall, he launched a vitriolic attack against the Jews, labelling them as the "international bankers who are our real enemy." He piled accusation upon accusation against the Jews, blaming them for everything from OPA violations and high interest rates to veterans, to the "use by the U. S. army of American butter as axle grease in France."

In addition to spreading his anti-Semitic poison, Smith took a crack at the Negro people. "I'm opposed to racial discrimination but I will not stand for intermarriage."

Indicating how he intends to mobil

How The Masses Destroyed The Bastille In Great French Revolution Of 1789-93

By Joseph Hansen

The storming of the Bastille on July 14, 1789 was one of the most dramatic happenings in the great French Revolution which sounded the death-knell of feudalism in Europe. It has entered into history as a symbol of the destruction of a decayed social order by the forces of a new society in birth and as such is an important date on the revolutionary calendar.

Overlooking the river Seine in Paris, this grim, gloomy fortress for centuries had served as a prison under the feudal regime. Its prisoners were divided into two categories: those thrown into its damp underground cells and torture chambers through letters de cachet, and those accused of suspected of political opposition to the regime or of criticism of members of the ruling class.

The letters de cachet (warrants of arrest) were often merely signed blanks given by the authorities to their class friends and hangers-on. All the holders had to do was fill in the names of persons they wanted "put away" and the authorities did the rest.

MEN ROTTED AWAY

Prisoners of all types, political and otherwise, were kept in the Bastille for decades, awaiting trial. Thousands died in the foul fortress. Men were incarcerated in their youth and kept there, frequently chained to the dank dungeon walls, until they were old and grey.

Thus, when the French Revolution burst upon the decadent feudal order, the people concentrated their first attack against the Bastille as the outstanding symbol of the cruel oppression of the monarchy and feudal nobility.

On the night of July 13 seven shots were fired at the massive walls of the forbidding fortress-dungeon. The French governor, the Marquis de Launay, trembled in his shoes behind the raised drawbridges and "retired into his interior" stronghold.

ANGRY MASSES

Throughout the morning of July 14 the cry echoed throughout Paris: "TO THE BASTILLE!" A mass of angry humanity surged through the streets to surround the Bastille like a turbulent sea. Troops atop the battlements fired their muskets into the swelling crowd. With their dying breath the people who were struck down

made their friends swear not to give up until the hated prison was torn down. A cannon loaded with grapeshot was fired over the crowd but the only effect was to increase the shouts of rage and cries for vengeance.

Daring workmen clambered up the stone walls until they reached the massive chains holding up the outer drawbridge. They smashed the chains and the great bridge dropped with a crash. The masses streamed across the bridge into the courtyard of the fortress. They were greeted with a hail of musket fire. Finally, by a strategem, the revolutionary crowd succeeded in penetrating to the inner stronghold.

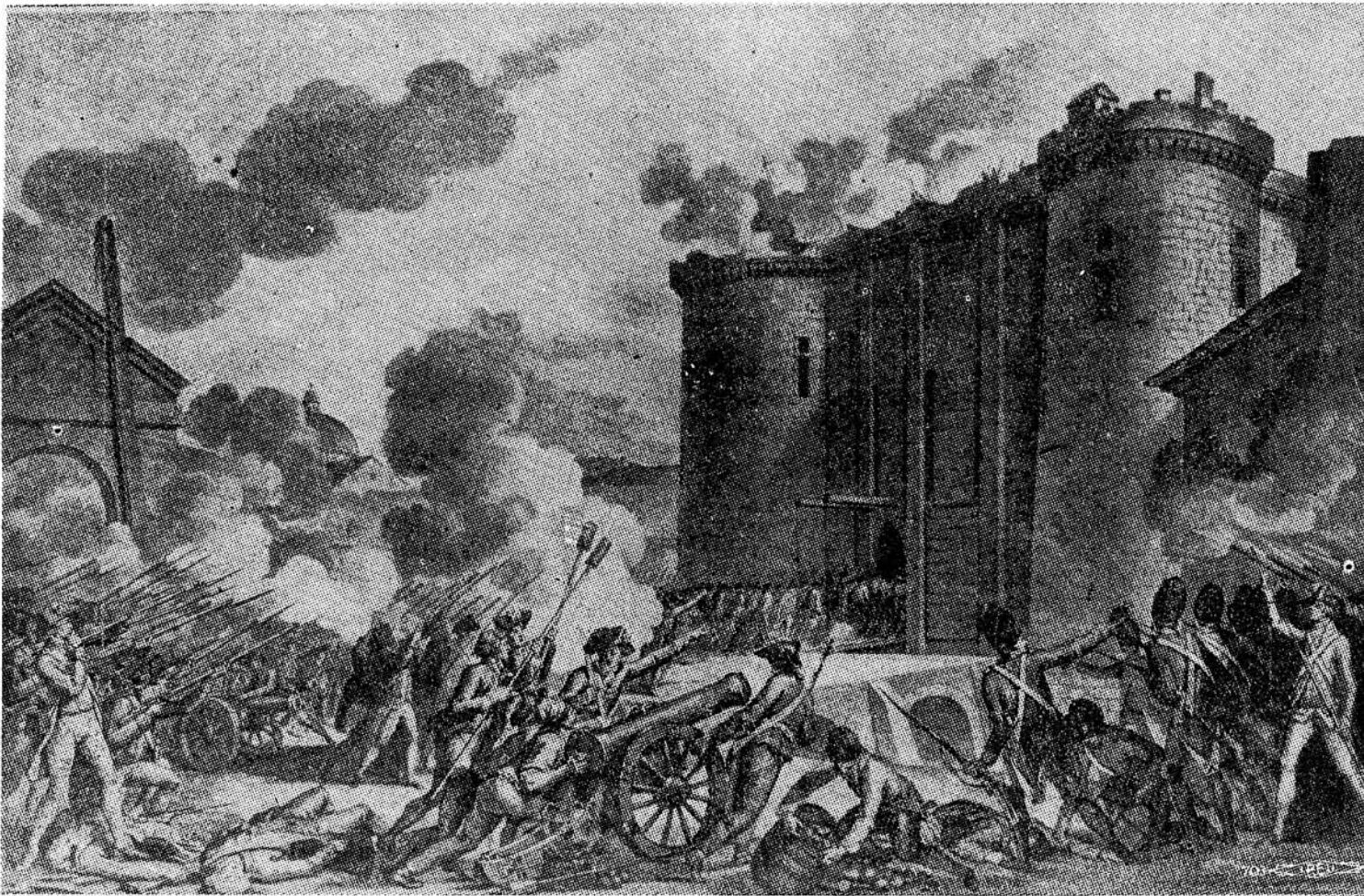
RAZED TO GROUND

With a roar of triumph they sought out the prisoners, cast off their shackles, and paraded them through the streets in joyous procession. The defenders of the Bastille met the fate they so richly deserved. Revolutionists pored over the prison archives and the long-kept secrets of a reactionary regime were published in the press of the revolution.

Then the masses attacked the Bastille itself with axe and crowbar. They did not stop until the entire infamous structure was razed to the ground.

The revolution begun in 1789 was a bourgeois revolution. It was organized and led by the new capitalist class, with the support of the poor and oppressed of town and country. It marked the beginning of the end of feudal society. With fire and sword the rising capitalist class removed the dead weight of feudalism from the growing productive forces and cleared a path for the tremendous further development of European economy.

Today, the capitalist system has grown senile. Its early progressive social role has long been outlived. Now, like the feudal system in 1789, it stands athwart the path of economic and social progress. Capitalism came to birth in the womb of feudal society. Likewise, capitalist society has prepared the basis for a new social order — socialism. When the working class destroys capitalism, civilization will take another great leap forward.



Contemporary drawing depicting the storming of the Bastille in the Great French Revolution. The artist idealized the scene by showing the ragged masses in regular uniforms.

Engraving by Helman from original by Monnet.

Trotskyists Active In Ireland

The Irish Trotskyists have been active in the British general elections. Organized in the Revolutionary Socialist Party, Irish section of the Fourth International, they gave critical support to the Labor Party candidates in North Ireland. The Irish Trotskyists did not run their own candidates because, according to their election leaflet, "our party is still casting its shadow over the 'PEACE'."

SOCIALIST IRELAND

The RSP calls on the Irish workers to fight for a Socialist Ireland and a Socialist United States of Europe.

In asking the workers to vote for the Labor Party, the RSP sharply criticizes the Labor Party leadership, charging them with having "connived with the imperialists." The Labor Party will not lead us to socialism," continue the Irish Trotskyists. "But it will place socialism on the order of the day in the minds of the workers by arousing their expectations and increasing their political interests..."

The RSP asks the workers to vote for the Labor Party candidates and demands that they "agitate" for Transitional Program. Among the planks of this program, the RSP lists a "sliding scale of hours and wages to com-

bat unemployment and high prices; for the right of factory committees to inspect the firm's books and bank accounts; for the establishment of useful public works, financed by taxing the rich, operated by workers' control." The RSP calls for the "right to self-determination of the colonial empire" and against "imperialist intervention in Europe."

Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to *The Militant*

The History Of American Trotskyism

HOW TROTsky's CRITICISM OF STALINISM REACHED THE AMERICAN C. P. LEADERS

By James P. Cannon

In the first installments of his book, Comrade Cannon told how the American Communist Party grew out of the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1919; described its period of underground life until in 1923 it was organized as a legal party which began to penetrate the trade union movement. As the composition of the party changed with the influx of workers, a series of factional struggles began between the proletarian wing and the petty-bourgeois tendencies within the party. The struggles began on a high theoretical level involving the Russian question. This is the eighth installment of Cannon's book.

* * *

Almost any member of our party can tell you now what the problems of the Chinese revolution were because, since that time, extensive material has been published. We have educated our young comrades on the lessons of the Chinese revolution. But in 1927 we provincial Americans didn't know anything about it. China was far away. We never saw any of the theses of the Russian Opposition. We didn't understand the colonial question too well. We didn't understand the profound theoretical issues involved in the Chinese question and the dispute which followed, so we couldn't take a position honestly.

The Anglo-Russian question seemed a little clearer to me. That was the question of the great struggle between the Russian Opposition and the Stalinists over the formation of the Anglo-Russian Committee, a committee of Russian and English trade unionists which became a substitute for independent Communist work in England. This policy throttled the independent activity of the English Communist Party at the crucial moment of the general strike of 1926 in that country. Quite by accident, in the spring of that same year, I had come across one of the documents of the Russian Opposition on that dispute and it had a profound influence on me. I felt that at least on this question of the Anglo-Russian Committee, the Oppositionists had the right line. At any rate, I was convinced that they were not the counter-revolutionists they were pictured to be.

In 1928, after the February plenum, I made one of my more or less regular national tours. I had the habit of making at least one tour of the country from coast to coast every year, or every two years, so as to get a breath of the real America, to get the feel of what was going on in America. Looking back at it now you can trace many of the unrealistic ideas and mistakes, and much of the narrow-mindedness of some of the party leaders in New York, to the fact that they had lived all their lives on the island of Manhattan and didn't have the real feel of this great diversified country.

The Feel of the Labor Movement

I made my 1928 tour under the auspices of the International Labor Defense and prolonged it four months. I wanted to get a bath in the mass movement away from the stifling atmosphere of the everlasting faction fights. I wanted an opportunity to think out a few things on the Russian question, which troubled me more than anything else. Vincent Dunne has reminded me more than once that on my way back from the Pacific Coast, when I stopped in Minneapolis, he and Comrade Skoglund asked me among other things what I thought of the expulsion of Trotsky and Zinoviev, and they responded that when the fight broke out in the open a few months later.

In the late spring and early summer of 1928, the Sixth World

Congress of the Comintern was called in Moscow. We departed for Moscow as usual on such occasions in a big delegation representing all the factions; going there, I am sorry to say, not preoccupied with the problems of the international movement which we as representatives of one section might help to solve, but all of us more or less preoccupied primarily with our own little fight in the American party; going to the World Congress to see what help we could get to fry our own fish here at home. Unfortunately, that was the attitude of practically everybody.

On departing for the Congress I didn't have any hope of getting a real clarification of the Russian question, the dispute with the Opposition. By that time it appeared that the Opposition had been completely wiped out. The leaders were expelled. Trotsky was in exile in Alma Ata. All over the world what sympathizers they may have had were thrown out of the party. There seemed to be no prospect of reviving the question. But it continued to bother me nevertheless. And it bothered me so much that I couldn't take a very effective part in our faction fight in Moscow.

Naturally, we continued the faction fight when we got there. We immediately lined up our delegations in caucuses and began to see what we could do to cut each other down, drawing up mutual accusations and endlessly debating the thing before the commission. I was a more or less sullen participant in the business. Just about that time they began to apportion the commissions. That is the leading members of each delegation were appointed to various commissions of the Congress, some on the trade union commission some on the political commission, some on the organization commission. In addition there was the program commission.

The Question of a Finished Program

The Sixth Congress undertook to adopt for the first time a program, a finished program of the Comintern. The Comintern was organized in 1919, and up to 1928, nine years later it still had no finished program. That doesn't mean that in the early years there was a lack of attention and interest in the question of the program. It simply is an indication of how seriously the greatest Marxists took the question of the program and how carefully they elaborated it. They began with some basic resolutions in 1919. They adopted others in 1920, 1921, 1922. At the Fourth Congress they had the beginning of a discussion on the program. The Fifth Congress didn't pursue the question. Thus we came to the Sixth Congress in 1928, and we had before us the draft of a program which bore the authorship of Bukharin and Stalin.

I was put on the program commission, partly because the other

faction leaders weren't much interested in the program. "Leave that to Bukharin. We don't want to bother with that. We want to get on the political commission which is going to decide about our faction fight; on the trade union commission; or some other practical commission which is going to decide something about some little two-by-four trade union question worrying us." Such was the general sentiment of the American delegation. I was shoved onto the program commission as a sort of honor without substance. And to tell you the truth, I was not much interested in it either.

The Comintern was already pretty well Stalinized. The Congress was rigged. For us to have disclosed our complete position at the Congress would probably have resulted in our detention in Moscow until we were cut to pieces and isolated at home. Lovestone, when his time came, was later caught in this Moscow trap. My duty, and my political task as I saw it, was to organize a base of support for the Russian Opposition in my own party. In order to do that I had first to get home. Therefore I kept quiet at the Stalinized Congress. Frankness among friends is a virtue; in dealing with unscrupulous enemies it is the attribute of a fool.

At that we weren't too cautious in keeping our sentiments hidden. I, especially, was considered more and more as "monkeying"

Allied Powers Looting Machinery In Germany

The U. S. army, before evacuating Saxony and Thuringia to the Red Army, took away as much of the industrial resources as could be moved. Likewise the Red Army, before evacuating the Berlin zones to its "allies," took away most of the industrial machinery.

What the U. S. army did is indicated by a dispatch from Magdeburg in the July 3 New York Times:

REMOVE INSTRUMENTS

"... Russian forces will be in possession... of such militarily important installations as the Zeiss factory at Jena, the huge underground bomb and rocket factories at Nordhausen and the big Leuna chemical works at Merseburg.

"However, the Russians may have difficulty in putting these plants into operation soon, for immediately after the Germans withdrew the American troops ordnance experts began moving out light and delicate precision instruments, leaving only heavy lathes and other fixtures.

"... Many skilled technicians and craftsmen applied and obtained passes to go farther westward into the American zone. It is estimated that at least 16,000 such workmen left before the boundaries were frozen and sealed at 6 o'clock this morning."

FACTORIES STRIPPED

What the Red Army did is indicated by a Berlin dispatch to the July 5 New York Times:

"In districts now taken over by American and British troops factories were stripped of heavy machinery four to eight weeks ago.

"The vast Rheinmetall-Borsig armament works in the northern suburb of Tegel was evacuated by the Russians last Sunday in expectation of the arrival of the British forces..."

"Of the 2,500 machines that survived the bombings, fewer than 300 have been left behind by the Russian authorities, according to company records.

"... The Russian dismantling of German industry is not confined to armament works. In the Zehlendorf district, now under American control, a spinning mill, a sugar mill and various other plants have been thoroughly cleaned out."

These facts indicate the real situation in Germany between the Anglo-U. S. bloc and the Soviet government. Each considers it

zone in Germany as a base of operations in a future struggle against the other side. Each tries to strengthen the industrial (tomorrow military) power of its zone and to weaken that of the zone of the other side. Occupied Germany is being prepared as one of the principal battlefields of World War III.

Plot to Restore Greek Monarchy

(Continued from page 1)

inspirers and organizers of the monarchist plot.

The Greek Stalinist leader, Nicolas Zachariades, deceives the masses by assuring them: "Nothing will happen. The movement has become abortive because of our denunciation of it and because of the dispositions of the Government." The German Stalinists said the same thing. Hitler, they declared, would never succeed in taking power. The year 1931, they claimed, witnessed the peak of his strength. After Hitler was in power, they said his regime would not last.

A FATAL COURSE

Instead of sounding a warning signal and alerting the masses against their sworn foes, the Greek Stalinists pursue the fatal course of their German confreres. It would be hard to imagine a more ridiculous assertion than the one they make — that their "denunciation" of the monarchist plotters will prevent a monarchist coup d'état. The Nazis laughed at similar denunciations.

GOV'T DOES NOTHING

The Greek Government, which knows of the plot and could deal with it "in twenty-four hours," is naturally doing nothing about it. Declared Premier Vougaris: "It is incorrect to say that the Government has taken preventive measures."

The Stalinist betrayers in Greece are continuing their deadly work of strengthening the forces of reaction and counter-revolution. They began by welcoming British troops to Athens and helping to disarm the masses. Now they are preparing the masses for the monarchist yoke by the false assurance: "Nothing will happen."

with Trotskyism. Gitlow has related in his pathetic ghost-written book of repentance that the GPU had checked on my activities in Moscow and had reported to the Comintern that "Cannon in talk with Russians had disclosed that he had strong Trotskyist leanings." They had me under suspicion but hesitated to proceed against me too brusquely. They thought that maybe they could straighten me out and that this would be much better than to have an open scandal. They had good reason to assume that I would make a scandal if it came to an open fight.

So eventually we came back home—I think in September—with nothing solved so far as the faction fight in the American party was concerned. The Lovestoneites had gained a few inches in the fight in Moscow, but at the same time Stalin had included some qualifications in the resolution which laid the basis for getting rid later of the Lovestoneites. I had smuggled Trotsky's criticism of the draft program out of Russia, bringing it home with me. We came back home and I proceeded immediately with my determined task to recruit a faction for Trotsky.

Trotsky's Criticism Is Smuggled to America

You may think that was a simple thing to do. But here was the state of affairs. Trotsky had been condemned in every party of the Communist International, and once again condemned by the Sixth Congress, as counter-revolutionary. Not a single member in the party was known as an outspoken supporter of Trotskyism. The whole party was regimented against it. By that time the party was no longer one of those democratic organizations where you can raise a question and get a fair discussion. To declare for Trotsky and the Russian Opposition meant to subject yourself to the accusation of being a counter-revolutionary traitor; and being expelled forthwith without any discussion. Under such circumstances the task was to recruit a new faction in secret before the inevitable explosion came, with the certain prospect that this faction, no matter how big or small it might be, would suffer expulsion and have to fight against the Stalinists, against the whole world, to create a new movement.

From the very beginning I had not the slightest doubt about the magnitude of the task. If we had permitted ourselves any illusions we would have been so disappointed at the results that it might have broken us up. I began quietly to seek out individuals and to talk to them conspiratively. Rose Karsner was my first firm adherent. She never faltered from that day to this. Shachtman and Abern, who worked with me in the International Labor Defense, and were both members of the National Committee, though not of the Political Committee, joined me in the great new endeavor. A few others came along. We were doing quite well, making a little headway here and there, working cautiously all the time. A rumor was going around about Cannon being a Trotskyist, but I never said so openly; and nobody knew what to do about the rumor. Moreover, there was a little complication in the party situation which also worked in our favor.

As I have related, the party was divided into three factions, but the Foster faction and the Cannon faction were working in a bloc and had at that time a joint caucus. This put the Fosterites between the devil and the deep sea. If they didn't expose hidden Trotskyism and fight it energetically, they would lose the sympathy and support of Stalin. But, on the other hand, if they got tough with us and lost our support they couldn't hope to win the majority in the coming convention. They were torn by indecision, and we exploited their contradiction mercilessly.

(To be continued)

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Forbidden to Speak

Editor:
My son, who is in the occupational forces in Germany, says in a recent letter that he has been engaged in getting about 20,000 Russian prisoners sent back home. But he was not allowed to speak to them in any way.

He wants to know why so recent an ally as Russia has to be treated the same as the Germans. He says he knows the answer but was afraid to write more for fear I would get nothing about what was happening.

H. G.
Detroit, Mich.

Stalinist Traitors Pilloried in Letter

Editor:
I am enclosing a copy of the letter which we sent to the Daily Worker just after the collapse of the Communist Party of USA. At that time, we knew nothing of your party or of Trotsky's ideas, but we had reached the same conclusion, namely that the Comintern, especially its American section, was selling out directly to WALL STREET ITSELF. We were glad to see that our conclusion was shared in this respect by a man as great as Trotsky.

Belle Montague
Cambridge, Mass.

Editor, Daily Worker:
We have just received your letter, urging us to renew our subscription to your paper, which you so aptly describe as "a fighting newspaper for fighting Americans," also your appeal in behalf of Mrs. Raissa Browder.

Permit us to state in reply that we have no desire whatever for such a newspaper as yours is at the present time; we are not at all interested in the success or failure of Wall Street's imperialist war for the conquest of the globe. The only conflict in which we could take the slightest interest is the struggle of the workers of ALL nations against the capitalists and their agents... including yourselves!

We would like to inform you that we have never heard in all our lives of such a crude betrayal of the interests of all the toilers as that carried out by your party.... beginning with the statement that "USA is fighting a just war in the Pacific" and culminating in the statements on the occasion of your "celebration" of Lenin's anniversary, in which you implied, at least, that Lenin led the October Revolution to victory in order that the USSR might some day live to protect the interests of the American ruling class!

We also wish to let you know that we reached our final decision NOT upon the occasion of the disbanding of the Communist Party of USA—that was no surprise to us—we consider that you really disbanded upon the day when the Daily Worker began to gloat and jeer over Wall Street's murder of German CIVILIAN workers and peasants. When we read in your paper such items as "hundreds going mad in Berlin," "now we control the air, let the Germans groan," "the planes of RAF fly at night over England toward Germany, and they have a comforting, friendly sound," "let us give thanks to our brave airmen who are defending the United States over:

A Word to Our Correspondents

The volume of letters to the Workers' Forum is growing from week to week. We welcome letters dealing with any matter of interest to the workers. We want to publish them all. To enable us to do this, it is essential that letters be kept as short as possible. No letter should be longer than 300 words. Please keep within this limit so that every worker-correspondent may get a break.

THE EDITOR

the city of Berlin," etc. — we could then see the handwriting on the wall. We knew that when you had reached the point of rejoicing over the butchery of non-combatant workers in Germany, it was only a matter of time when you would also gloat and jeer at the plight of the workers of America, under the tyranny of that same Wall Street! After that, it was just a matter of time!

In conclusion, we wish to suggest that as regards Mrs. Browder, you write appeals, not to us, but to the Wall Street Journal. Just point out to them what valuable service you are giving, and how ungrateful it is if they allow your leader's wife to be deported... they who so easily control the life and death of millions... and we feel certain you will receive complete satisfaction... for the present.

But one last word to you... we do not believe you will succeed in your attempt to aid Wall Street to conquer the world... we still believe in the victory of the working class! Somewhere, there must be some group or party which stands for the ideas of Marx and Engels... they have been betrayed before, but always others have appeared to carry on their great ideas! You are doomed to failure! History will speak of you as the worst betrayers of the workers ever known!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

The Montague Family
6 Gracewood Park
Cambridge, Mass.

What Kind of Party?

Editor:
In last week's letters to the Editor I noted a letter from someone who labeled The Militant as "organ of a party of reformers" etc.

Aside from the fact that The Militant is the only paper which has played an active role in the struggle for the day to day interests of the working class, I would like to point out that the Socialist Labor Party, which that reader mentioned in his letter, has just withdrawn from circulation all of its documents and pamphlets on the war. I might ask him: "Are they repudiating their former anti-war stand?"

In addition to this I read a pamphlet of theirs called the "Americanism of Socialism" which was printed with a red, white, and blue cover in imitation of a Stalinist publication of the same nature. Like the Stalinist counterpart, it includes quotations from Jefferson, Lincoln, Wash-

ington etc. This conception of how to make Socialism palatable to the workers is as opportunist as anything I have ever witnessed.

And this party which doesn't believe in supporting the daily struggles of the workers for their bread (they label all the unions as Capitalist) dares to call The Militant reformist because it takes the lead in the fight for better living standards!

The answer to this was given by the reaction of another Militant reader who had been following this other party for several years. Three months after seeing his first copy of The Militant he sent in over twenty subscriptions which he obtained from fellow workers.

Al Lynn
Los Angeles

Lies About Germans

Editor:
Letters I have received from a soldier stationed in Germany show up the vicious lies that are being cast against the German people. He writes, "In Hanover, German girls had to be forcibly prevented from attending a dance held by GI's and girls who had been imported for forced labor. And in Hamburg and Hanover girls had to be held off at the point of a gun when the trucks tearing the foreign workers pulled out. Many wanted to accompany their sweethearts. The friendliness of large sections of the population has been obvious to most GI's with eyes to see. Repeated recognition of that fact by the paid propagandists may bring surprised gasps from the Stateside believers but not from those who were here."

The Allied rulers are not alone in prohibiting the mingling of the soldiers with the German people. All oppressors have the same fear. The Nazi government, too, had the rule — no fraternization. "The Germans had a no-fraternization policy in reverse. Strong penalties were imposed for social relations between Germans and foreign workers. Yesterday, though, I saw two German girls giving their addresses to a French soldier, Andre, and urging him to write. Andre was from Brest, politically left, five years a prisoner."

Search the newspapers — they won't tell us this. "The gray-haired man and his two young daughters had been awaiting our departure and an opportunity to reoccupy their homes. With the older fellow was a young man of 30. He (the former) said that he opposed the Nazis. I asked him whom he supported. The communists!

He took out two papers, official documents bearing the seal of the Third Reich. One showed that he had been in the Dachau concentration camp for three years, the second that he had spent an additional three years in the Buchenwald concentration camp. For what reason — was he a leader of the local communists? No, he was simply a member. He was a printer. After Hitler's accession to power he had printed and helped to distribute illegal literature opposing the Nazi regime. He was discovered. In 1919 he had supported Luxembourg and Liebknecht."

A. V.
New York City

Models Degraded

Editor:
I felt very proud when the letter I sent Grace Carlson was printed in your paper, that you thought it worth while referring to. I am enclosing another clipping from the Post, an interview with a girl who has to work as a nude model. It's supposed to be funny, but it upset me.

I remember when I once looked for a waitress job at the World's Fair, an amusement place offered me a good salary for "doing nothing." All I had to do was lie in the grass nude—or almost nude anyway, and people would pass by and look at me.

I didn't take the job but worked hard for tips as a waitress. Sometimes in the rush, when the sweat was running down my face and I had no time to wipe it off, I thought for a moment of the nice cool grass where I would just have to lie around doing nothing and getting paid for it. But who can do a thing like that? How far down does a girl have to go first?

Maybe one gets "used to it after 15 years" like the girl said in the interview. And this night-club reporter is amused! The girl has an artist husband and a child. Probably she supports all three of them. But that doesn't interest the reporter. Ninety cents an hour! She worked seven hours that day for \$6.30. (Less, with taxes taken out of it.)

My daughter is now only 4½

WIN AN ORIGINAL LAURA GRAY CARTOON!

Have you been following the trials and tribulations of the "poor rich" family in Laura Gray's feature cartoons on Page 8 of *The Militant*? If you have, you most likely have your own pet name for this family. With this issue, we launch a contest to find the most appropriate descriptive name for them.

Three originals of these feature cartoons, personally inscribed to the winners by the cartoonist, will be awarded for the three best names submitted. First choice of the originals will go to the first-place winner; second choice to the second-place winner; third choice to the third-place winner.

All readers of *The Militant* are eligible for the contest and there is no limit on the number of suggested names a contestant may enter. Just send in your entries, clearly written on a sheet of paper, together with your full name and address.

The contest will run for six weeks. All entries must reach *The Militant* office, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. by August 31. Editors of *The Militant* will judge the contest and decide the winning entries. Their decision will be final.

months old but maybe some day she will have a nice figure. Will she have to put herself out to show in order to be able to eat? I could scream at the very thought of it. But then when I read The Militant, hope comes back to me again.

This letter sounds as if I am against modeling in general. Of course not. In "our kind of world," a socialist society, we will have artists, too, and they will need models. Only that will be an entirely different story. Under this rotten system only the poor have to do it and it is always connected with degradation, nightclubs, life and prostitution.

L. K.
New York

Vet's Problems

Editor:
Don't you think that a few up-to-date articles on points No. 3 and 7 of your program pertinent? I would like to see you prod the UAW-CIO in particular, on the stand they took—I think at the Buffalo Convention—concerning a UAW-CIO organization of veterans outside of the American Legion. The American Legion is now making hay as the sun shines and the silence of the UAW-CIO is aiding this along.

I realize the no-strike pledge and the Labor Party are points No. 1 in the union movement. But who can doubt the importance of the place of the veterans in the struggle that is not far ahead? Civilians are accorded second class citizen rights and the yet is given to believe that he deserves No. 1 place in all walks of life. Unfortunately he is taking to this viewpoint. The vet must be won over to the side of Labor—or else. There is your fascist element.

Keep up the good work and best of luck.

Just Pfc.

Contrast in Mexico

Editor:
Recently I visited Tijuana, the Mexican "border town" thronged by American tourists for vice, gambling, bull-fights and bargain-hunting. Beyond the rows of shops stocked with luxuries for American purchase, are the homes of the Mexican people, a few blocks of bungalows for the shopkeepers, and beyond them, shacks strung along dirt roads, where the agricultural workers live in squalor.

Even in Tijuana, far from the political centers of Mexico, where life exists on the profits of American thrill-seekers, I found the workers friendly to the ideas of socialism. They agreed with me that Yankee imperialism is only pretending friendship for Mexico; that the Mexican workers and American workers must have their own governments to insure lasting peace.

But one thing worried them, when I said I was a socialist. One worker hastily warned me, "Socialism, yes! Stalin, no!" They had never heard of Trotskyism until I explained the difference.

A Rebuke

In the Militant for June 30 in the Workers' Forum you print a letter from C. B. of Englewood, Colorado, wherein he implies rather strongly that the SWP is reformist. You answered him, not by explaining the role of supporting certain reforms in organizing the workers and exposing the fakers, but by pointing to your prison record. As a rebuke I can do no better than to quote from the Socialist Appeal, the same Mid-May supplement that the very same Militant for June 30, I mention above, quoted from quite freely on other subjects.

"Comrade Jock Haston was mainly responsible for setting the high political standard of the campaign. He mercilessly squashed any attempt at popularizing him by referring to the fact that he had been imprisoned last year under the Trades Disputes Act. He prefaced his remarks that such introduction had been singularly unfortunate—that some of the labor fakers had also been imprisoned; that he hoped it did not foreshadow that he, too, would sell out the workers as they had done; what was at issue was not the personalities of the three candidates, but their programs and their policies."

On the matter of holding out illusions to the workers by promises of reforms under capitalism, here is another quotation

Youngstown CIO Supports Akron Rubber Strikers

YOUNGSTOWN, O. — The Mahoning County CIO Industrial Union Council here, at its last meeting, July 8, unanimously passed a motion to send a sharp letter of protest to the WLB for its strikebreaking action in the Akron Rubber Workers strike. The council denounced the move of the WLB to take away from the rubber workers the vacation and shift differential benefits they had previously won.

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pass the notorious "slave labor" act, which had been advocated by President Roosevelt in several messages to Congress.

Some of the local workers, in their fear of unemployment, have been anxiously concerned over those workers who have come to this community for work during the period of war job expansion. They feel that these workers will be a source of competition for jobs. This fear has been played upon to create a rift in the previous solidarity of the workers. It has not been clearly pointed out that no matter where these unemployed workers are, they will affect the labor market.

It is well known that because the south has been a source of cheap labor, the textile workers in this area have been hampered in their fights to obtain a decent wage.

The workers are beginning to realize more and more that the struggle for a sliding scale of hours, that is, a reduction in the hours of work with no reduction in pay, is a struggle which must become the struggle of all workers, for the promise of "60 million jobs" has taken its place in the ashean with the "equality of sacrifice" program.

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



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

— Leon Trotsky

Halt The Fascists!

The brazen moves of the native fascist, Gerald L. K. Smith, in Los Angeles, are an ominous sign of the times. During the war the native fascists scurried for cover — Big Business did not need them for the time being, depending on war-time regulations and regimentation to suppress the militancy of the labor movement and safeguard the biggest profits of all time. Now, even before the post-war world begins, Big Business is grooming native fascists.

As millions of veterans return from the battlefields to find nothing but unemployment and a depression far worse than 1929—1933, unrest will mount by leaps and bounds. Big Business plans to divert this unrest into fascist channels. Big Business hopes to snare the ruined small business men, the poverty-stricken white collar strata, and unemployed officers with the bait of fascist-like slogans. They aim to organize the veterans into fascist gangs and set them against the labor movement. Fascism in America is taking up the struggle where it left off in 1941.

Gerald L. K. Smith, together with Coughlin, was active in the Ohio-Michigan area. His move into Los Angeles is another step in the strategy of American fascism, to build a strong base in the outlying areas preparatory to concentrating on such a metropolitan area as New York. Both Mussolini and Hitler followed a similar strategy. Smith expects to find a fertile field in Los Angeles, long a notorious open-shop town and swarming with petty bourgeois movements such as "Ham and Eggs." Race hatred in Los Angeles, directed against Negroes, Jews, Japanese, Chinese and Mexicans is especially virulent.

It would be a fatal mistake to dismiss demagogues like Smith as crackpots incapable of becoming a serious menace to the labor movement in America. This fatal mistake was made by heads of the labor movement in Italy and Germany. They laughed at Mussolini and Hitler, but Hitler and Mussolini took advantage of this light-minded attitude to build their forces all the more easily and rapidly. Eventually these labor leaders paid for their stupidity in the fascist concentration camps. Many of them lost their lives. The rank and file of the labor movement paid still more heavily with the crushing of their organizations.

No matter how ridiculous, illogical and fantastic Smith's demagogic may appear, he can build a dangerous movement unless the workers begin in time to stop him. Only militant counter-action can nip American fascism in the bud.

Wherever Smith and his ilk appear, anti-fascist workers must sound the alarm with powerful picket lines. Defense guards must be organized in time to stop American reaction in its tracks!

True To Form

Latest recruiting sergeant for Wall Street's permanent conscription plan is the Stalinist *Daily Worker*. In a July 7 editorial the Stalinists come out brazenly for "military preparedness" and the use of "force" to carry out the decisions of the imperialist-dominated United Nations Security Council. The Stalinists even call for a supply of "occupation forces." Such imperialist organs as *The New York Times* have admitted that the occupation forces are intended to put down socialist revolutions wherever they may arise.

The full perfidy of Stalinist support of permanent conscription is revealed in the *Daily Worker's* admission that "among those who are pushing for quick action are people who want to make our nation follow a predatory, rapacious imperialist course. They hope to see the trainees used against the Soviet Union, against the colonial peoples of the Far East and against liberated peoples of Europe. They would like to have them for use against labor and other popular movements at home." The *Daily Worker* queasily limits this reactionary perspective to only some of the backers of permanent conscription. But this is the perspective of all the militarists and Big Business representatives

who demand that Congress pass this anti-labor legislation.

The Stalinist editorial makes a few criticisms of the proposed permanent conscription. It is painfully apparent, however, that these criticisms are nothing but a half-hearted attempt to cook up a face-saving formula for their counter-revolutionary support of its basic principle. Thus they say labor should be "represented in its administration," and they ask for "full equality of status and treatment of Negroes." But the fight against conscription is part of the fight against Jim Crow!

In supporting permanent conscription, the Stalinists act as traitors to the Soviet Union. The vast armies Wall Street wants in the postwar years are aimed squarely against the first workers' state. Degenerated though this state may be, it is the duty of every class-conscious worker to defend its progressive side. An integral part of this defense is opposition to Wall Street and exposure of its imperialist aim to crush the USSR. Thus once again the Stalinists are revealed as saboteurs of the defense of the Soviet Union — the Trotskyists as its only genuine, consistent defenders.

Within the United States, labor has taken a stand against permanent conscription. Both the AFL and the CIO argued against it in the hearings held before the House Military Policy Committee. Only strikebreakers like Daniel J. Tobin and the Stalinists have seen fit to speak up in support of Wall Street on this issue.

Withdraw The Troops!

In the workers' demonstration at Milan which called among other things for an end to capitalism, American tanks were ordered out and guns were leveled. Fortunately for the Italian workers no shots were fired. But the counter-revolutionary intent of the order is clearly apparent.

The single command of an Allied officer could have dyed the streets of Milan with workers' blood. Thus the incident bore the character of a rehearsal. A rehearsal by the Milan workers for the approaching socialist revolution. A rehearsal by Allied troops for a reign of terror and blood-letting.

Yet the workers of Milan are not fascists against whom the war was allegedly conducted. They are anti-fascists who overthrew the fascist regime, drove out the Nazi conquerors and dispensed summary justice to Mussolini and his cohorts. Suffering now from a deepening economic crisis that brings near famine and untold suffering, they are seeking the road to socialism. Their ranks are now forming for a struggle in the pattern set by the revolutionary Russian workers in 1917.

The only reason Washington and London keep Allied troops in Italy is to suppress this rising revolution. Allied imperialism bolsters monarchial reaction in Italy and keeps its puppet cabinet in power against the will of the Italian people.

American labor has every reason to demand the withdrawal of Allied troops from Italy. A successful revolution in Italy would immediately weaken Wall Street's imperialist grip on Europe and thereby greatly strengthen the labor movement here at home. A successful revolution in Italy would rapidly spread throughout Europe, bringing to a swift end capitalist anarchy with its endless depressions and bloody wars. A Socialist United States of Europe would arouse the workers and colonial peoples of the entire world, inspiring them to establish socialism on a world scale. The quartering of Allied troops in Italy, as in other countries, is thus an issue of burning importance to the American working class.

Hands off the Italian revolution! Let the Italian people decide their own fate! Withdraw the Allied troops!

Truth About Germany

The truth about the resistance inside Germany to the Nazi regime is filtering into the news despite the continued attempts of Allied propagandists to smear the German people as a whole with "guilt" for the crimes of Nazism.

Official Nazi records seized in the files of the Gestapo reveal an enormous and constantly mounting number of arrests during the war for crimes ranging from "high treason" to violating the "broadcasting laws," that is, listening to foreign broadcasts. Highly informative figures on these arrests were published in the April 27 British *Tribune*.

In the first half of 1944, for instance, arrests averaged 2,000 a day before the great wave of mass arrests following July 20. The total figure is 310,000 arrests in the "Greater Reich." The biggest single item by far is arrests for "labor evasions and slowdowns." Other categories include political and religious opposition, spreading of defeatist rumors, forbidden personal relations with prisoners of war and offenses against wartime economic regulations.

While many nationalities were included in these arrests, the *Tribune* concludes conservatively that outside of the labor slowdowns, the "bulk of the other offenses mentioned must, by their very nature, refer to Germans." The conclusion that by the middle of last year the Gestapo was arresting up to 1,000 Germans a day, and that the figure has since risen, seems fully justified. . .

The Allied slanderers continue to harp on the theme that the majority of the German people must be held accountable for doing nothing about the atrocities in the concentration camps. But the Gestapo files show that the workers and poor people did do everything in their power to fight the Nazi regime. They were the principal victims. In the coming days they will prove once again not only their opposition to fascism, whose horrors they know from personal experience, but they will likewise prove that they know it is capitalism which breeds fascism. They will destroy fascism in its roots by sweeping rotten capitalism into the garbage dump of history, and establish workers' power in the heart of Europe.

who demand that Congress pass this anti-labor legislation.

The Stalinist editorial makes a few criticisms of the proposed permanent conscription. It is painfully apparent, however, that these criticisms are nothing but a half-hearted attempt to cook up a face-saving formula for their counter-revolutionary support of its basic principle. Thus they say labor should be "represented in its administration," and they ask for "full equality of status and treatment of Negroes." But the fight against conscription is part of the fight against Jim Crow!

In supporting permanent conscription, the Stalinists act as traitors to the Soviet Union. The vast armies Wall Street wants in the postwar years are aimed squarely against the first workers' state. Degenerated though this state may be, it is the duty of every class-conscious worker to defend its progressive side. An integral part of this defense is opposition to Wall Street and exposure of its imperialist aim to crush the USSR. Thus once again the Stalinists are revealed as saboteurs of the defense of the Soviet Union — the Trotskyists as its only genuine, consistent defenders.

Within the United States, labor has taken a stand against permanent conscription. Both the AFL and the CIO argued against it in the hearings held before the House Military Policy Committee. Only strikebreakers like Daniel J. Tobin and the Stalinists have seen fit to speak up in support of Wall Street on this issue.

Withdraw The Troops!

In the workers' demonstration at Milan which called among other things for an end to capitalism, American tanks were ordered out and guns were leveled. Fortunately for the Italian workers no shots were fired. But the counter-revolutionary intent of the order is clearly apparent.

The single command of an Allied officer could have dyed the streets of Milan with workers' blood. Thus the incident bore the character of a rehearsal. A rehearsal by the Milan workers for the approaching socialist revolution. A rehearsal by Allied troops for a reign of terror and blood-letting.

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THE MILITANT

Congress has been too busy providing "relief for the greedy" even to consider proposals for jobs and unemployment insurance for unemployed workers.

Tax "Relief" Bill Gives Billions to Corporations

On July 6, the House rammed through by a vote of 246 to 91 the "Quick Relief" Tax Bill for the war profiteers, "designed to improve the cash position of business and industry by an estimated \$5,500,000,000," reported the N. Y. Times, July 7.

It seems the corporations can't wait until the end of the war, as the law provides, to get their mitts on the billions of dollars of excess profits tax rebates, amounting to 10 per cent of the total paid during the war.

The bill passed by the House amends the tax law to permit an immediate "readjustment" which in effect will reduce corporation excess profits taxes for 1944 and 1945 by \$1,600,000,000. That's some windfall for the most profitable years in corporation history.

The bill also provides increased profits tax exemptions for 1946, which will add an estimated \$160,000,000 to corporation cash reserves next year. This is done by raising the excess profits tax exemption from \$10,000 to \$25,000.

The bill advances the maturity dates of post-war bonds to next January 1, enabling the corporations to cash in their bonds at full maturity value to the amount of \$1,300,000,000. The worker who has war bonds must wait until the original maturity date before he can collect the full amount due.

Another \$1,000,000,000 is provided through the speed-up of carry-back refunds to offset post-war losses of profits below "normal." This "relief" for anticipated post-war profits losses will come from 1945 and 1947. The payments were originally due between 1947 and 1950.

Still another big bowl of gravy is provided in speedier tax amortization of government-built plants. Additional amortization, through tax refunds in 1945 and 1946, will amount to \$1,700,000,000.

Although current corporation assets are \$98,000,000, double the 1939 figure, this gift to the war-enriched corporations is being made with the excuse of providing "ready cash" for "reconversion."



"But why can't I take Fifi? The soldiers don't need all the room — and besides, they're trained to march."

(Read about the cartoon contest — Page 7)

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Holland

Living conditions in Holland have not improved with the victory of the Allies. Instead, they have worsened. Discontent among the workers is steadily mounting.

In Rotterdam hundreds of dock workers are out on strike, according to July 2 United Press dispatch. They demand a six-hour day, free shoes and work clothes and a wage increase. These workers belong to the "Unity Trade Union," an organization recognized neither by the bosses nor the military authorities.

Canadian soldiers were forced to take the place of the strikers, while the reactionary officials of the recognized trade unions joined the military authorities in their strike-breaking action by appealing to the strikers to "return to work."

Belgium

A "wave of strikes" is "now sweeping over the country," reports the International Federation of Trade Unions. "In the coal-mining industries of the Borinage and La Louviere district about nine-tenths, in Charleroi and Liege about one-half of the workers are out on strike."

The members of the cabinet, charged with carrying out Allied policies in Belgium, are alarmed over the situation, says the IFTU. Van Acker, the "Socialist" Prime Minister, declared in a recent broadcast: "I am not man prone to exaggerate or to dramatize events. Yet in view of the situation in which the country stands I do not hesitate to say that the present hour is grave, indeed very grave."

This venal servant of Big Business is concerned with maintaining capitalism. To achieve this end means to too undemocratic or reactionary from the view of the Van Acker cabinet. Thus all strikes have been banned as "illegal." Strike "authors" can be sent to prison. In industries of "vital" necessity, "civil mobilization" is imposed. Compulsory registration has been instituted for the acceptance and change of jobs.

France

The perfidious role of the Stalinists in France was glaringly revealed when the tenth Congress of the French "Communist" Party removed from its agenda the question of combatting rising anti-Semitism. This was reported in a special Paris dispatch to the N. Y. Jewish Morning Journal on July 2.

The growth of hatred for the Jews in France is an ominous sign, pointing to the rise of a native fascism far worse than anything yet seen in history. Every class-conscious worker un-

derstands it is his duty to combat this malignant symptom with all his energy.

The Stalinists, however, hold posts in the de Gaulle government which fosters anti-Semitism. Bioul, president of the Stalinist Congress, who is also minister of public health, insisted that this burning question be struck off the agenda and considered only in secret session of the Executive Committee of the party.

In the coming armed conflicts during the so-called "peacetime," Britain expects to use mercenaries to put down working class revolutions. The existence of an embittered professional army of Poles, ready for action at any time, continues INS, "is admittedly a welcome auxiliary to the British land forces. No one in the British Government today will discuss the position of England in the possible event of France, Spain, and Italy becoming Communist, but it is conceded privately that democratic Britain would then be as isolated from the continent as she has during the last four years."

The workers of both Jewish and Arabic origin, however, have powerful common interests which draw them together. At Jaffa, recently, at a conference of the Arab Socialist Union, the delegates emphasized the necessity for solidarity between Arab and Jewish workers.

The conference issued a manifesto demanding that "fascism be uprooted from among the Arab masses and their leaders who hide the interests of the Arab workers under the mask of nationalistic slogans."