

THERE IS NO PEACE!

Only World Socialism Can Save Mankind From Atomic Destruction In Another Imperialist War

Workers Of America! You Must Take Power Into Your Own Hands!

MANIFESTO

of the

National Committee

of the

Socialist Workers Party

WORKERS, FARMERS — TOILERS OF AMERICA!

The second imperialist world war has ended. Six years of wholesale slaughter and devastation have been brought to an awful climax with the discovery of the atomic bomb and its use, with frightful effect, against the people of Japan.

The din of battle has ceased. Mankind now must contemplate the destruction and the ruin, the pain and the heartbreak, which the war has caused. People in every land are celebrating the end of the carnage, not so much with joy as with a sense of relief that it has come to an end. They do not and cannot feel secure. Over their celebrations, like a lowering cloud, hangs a grim foreboding of things yet to come. Here in America, where the civilian population has been spared the monstrous agony endured for long, unbroken years by the peoples of Europe and Asia, joy that the war has ended is also tinged with dread for the future.

Revulsion and Anxiety

The atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with a combined population of 600,000 men, women and children, has sent a wave of revulsion and anxiety throughout the world, especially among the toiling populations who are the principal victims of war. It is universally realized that mankind has been saved from total annihilation in World War II only because the atomic bomb was invented so late. There is also the conviction, amounting to certainty, that another world war will mean the doom of the human race.

Hatred of imperialist war, and fear of what the future holds, is driving the workers to revolutionary political conclusions. The imperialist rulers, who alone have profited from the war, seek to prevent this at all costs. They want to sidetrack the workers from the struggle to end the capitalist system and establish socialism, which is the only sure guarantee that another war will be impossible.

All the organs of ruling class propaganda are mobilized to deceive the masses into thinking that the end of the war means the dawn of true and lasting peace and that peace can be preserved without revolutionary social change. As a second line of deception, they are trying to persuade the masses that even if another war should come, the American people need not fear annihilation because means will be found to "control" the use of the atomic bomb and insure that it will not be used against this country.

Illusions Being Spread

Among the illusions now being sown is the idea that the unlocked secret of atomic energy possesses such ghastly destructive power that the capitalist rulers will refrain from using it in future wars. But the entire history of imperialist war refutes this contention. Between two world wars the most frightful instruments of death were invented and perfected. ALL HAVE BEEN USED! During World War II other death-dealing weapons were invented and perfected. ALL HAVE BEEN USED! Demolition bombs of enormous weight were dropped on helpless civilian populations. Incendiary fire-bombs were used to wipe out whole cities and burn their inhabitants to death. The unspeakable flame-thrower was employed by all the belligerents to burn masses of men to a crisp. The only reason poison gas was not used was its unreliability as a weapon, the danger that it might destroy its users.

To annihilate their opponents, the imperialist criminals will employ every deadly weapon in their arsenals. Let no one deceive himself that the atomic bomb will not be used!

Another illusion being sedulously fostered is that the atomic bomb is "our secret," that it will be kept "our secret" under tight government control and monopoly, and that therefore America will be safe. But the fact is that it is NOT EVEN NOW an exclusively American secret. It is known to the British imperialists, who collaborated in the scientific work from the

THE ONLY VICTOR



very beginning up to the time of discovery. It is known also to the capitalist ruling class of Canada, which likewise took part in the project.

Truman declared that Britain and the United States "do not intend to reveal the secret until means have been found to control the bomb so as to protect ourselves and the rest of the world from the danger of total destruction... We must constitute ourselves trustees of this new force — to prevent its misuse, and to turn it into channels of service to mankind."

But with the defeat of German and Japanese imperialism, the rivalry between British and American imperialism becomes one of the greatest potential sources of another world war. The interests of these two powers meet and clash in every corner of the globe. Unless the whole world system of capitalism and imperialism is destroyed, war between them is more than probable. Can anyone in his sane senses doubt that in the event of such a war the antagonists will use the atomic bomb in the effort to destroy each other?

Cold-Blooded Extermination

And what does Truman mean by "misuse" of the atomic bomb? Was the deliberate and cold-blooded extermination of 600,000 Japanese a high act of humanitarianism? In the shyster language of the imperialist criminals, a weapon is "misused" only when it is employed by their opponents. The Nazis "misused" the weapon of aerial bombardment when they blasted Warsaw, Rotterdam and Coventry. The Japanese imperialists "misused" it when they blasted Canton, Hankow and Chungking. Then the Anglo-American imperialists improved on the performance of their rivals and wiped out dozens of German and Japanese cities and hundreds of thousands of civilian inhabitants. They just "forgot," and hoped their own peoples would forget, their previous pretended indignation.

The atomic bomb, no matter what may be decided in Washington and London, will not remain even an Anglo-American-Canadian secret. Sir James Chadwick, chief British scientist in the atomic bomb project, stated in Washington on August 12 that this deadly weapon was "not a strictly British-American

secret" and that "any nation could learn the secret in about five years of experimentation, assuming it had access to the necessary raw materials."

Consider, too, the ominous import of the following extract from a Washington dispatch to the *New York Sun* on August 8: "Twenty-four hours ago, members of Congress were earnestly debating among themselves whether or not the new discovery should be given to the United Nations Security Council and to other Allied governments. Today their thinking is growing up, and they are beginning to comprehend the fact that even if the blueprints and formulae for this new invention were to be destroyed, the scientists of other nations would discover the secret anew in their laboratories."

The dispatch then continues: "More awesome still is the realization that the political development of the world has not kept pace with its scientific knowledge — THAT WE KNOW OF NO WAY TO PREVENT THE MISUSE OF THIS NEW DISCOVERY. The thought of negotiating an international series of treaties renouncing the use of atomic explosives in war inspires no confidence in any one."

Two terrible world wars have proven — and the foregoing quotation underlines the fact — that capitalism is incapable of utilizing the great advances in science and technique for the enrichment of human life. In "peace," capitalism condemns the masses to poverty and insecurity amidst potential plenty. In war, it conscripts industry and science for the mutual destruction of the peoples.

Admission of Bankruptcy

THEY KNOW OF NO WAY! This admission of bankruptcy and helplessness comes from the most powerful ruling class on earth. Out of their own mouths they are condemned as the murderers of the human race. With an insane calmness they tell the people to await their doom.

Let no man deceive himself with the thought that because Germany and Japan have been defeated, a new war, at least during the lifetime of this generation, is unlikely. Capitalist appetites and imperialist rivalries remain. Only the focus of

the antagonisms has shifted. War is the end result of the ceaseless capitalist hunt for profits, markets, colonies, spheres of influence. It is a lie that war can be prevented by treaties and agreements among the imperialist bandits. The League of Nations could not prevent war. It was dead and buried before World War II broke out. The United Nations organization will not be able to prevent a third world war. Its very formula of "peace by force" implies war and not peace. In unguarded moments the imperialists admit that they know of no way to prevent war. The admission is implicit in the maintenance of gigantic armaments. First Washington dispatches on the atomic bomb quoted official quarters as saying this new weapon would "revolutionize all future warfare." Could anything be plainer?

America Will Not Escape

Nor should any man deceive himself that America will escape the annihilating blasts of the atomic bomb in a future war. Air power and sea power will afford no sure protection. Scientists already tell us that an air force will not be necessary to carry this new missile on its deadly mission. It will be fired immense distances in the form of a jet-propelled rocket that will speed to its target at a lightning rate and with unerring accuracy. New York or Detroit or Los Angeles will be as vulnerable as Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

It is at this point that the liberal apologists and defenders of the bloody capitalist system come forward to explain that the new weapon makes future wars "unthinkable," because its extensive use would mean the utter annihilation of the human race. Thus another dangerous illusion is sown.

After World War I these same liberals declared that another war was "unthinkable." Now that mankind has suffered another terrible blood-bath, do they seek to inquire why the "unthinkable" came to pass? They do not. For honest inquiry leads straight to the conclusion that under capitalism wars are inevitable and inescapable, and that once war begins all the diabolical instruments of killing and destruction are brought into play. The liberal fakers are employed, and generously paid, to cover up for capitalism, to mislead the masses by sowing illusions, and thus divert them from the struggle for socialism which alone can end the horrors of war for all time. That is why, while quaking in their shoes at the realization of what the atomic bomb means, they can only mutter the senseless injunction that a new war is "unthinkable."

THEY know of no way!

But there IS a way — THE WAY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

No Time to Lose!

Capitalism in its death agony, writhing in the toils of mortal crisis, has perfected an instrument of all-embracing annihilation. This deadly destructive force, held in the grip of the criminal capitalist rulers, will be used to decimate mankind unless it is snatched in time from their murderous grasp. The workers must awake, and awake quickly, to the realization that war with all its horrors is the product of the capitalist system.

To conceal the true source of war, capitalist propagandists divide the nations into "aggressors" and "peace-lovers." This is a lie. The people of every nation hate war, for they are its victims. They are plunged into war by the capitalist rulers, who alone profit from it. It contributes exactly nothing to an understanding of the profound social causes of war to say that Germany or Japan started it. Germany and Japan have been defeated. Yet the germs of war are STILL lodged in the heart of capitalist society. No trust whatsoever can be placed in the "peace-loving" declarations of the statesmen of capitalism in this or any other country. Only the utter wiping out of capitalist rule throughout the world can insure that atomic explosives will never again be used for mass murder.

We Always Told the Truth

Toilers of America! Years before the war and right up to the moment of its outbreak, the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyists, warned that war was inevitable if capitalism was allowed to live. We told the workers the truth!

When war began, we exposed the lie that it was a war for "democracy." We laid bare the truth that it was an imperialist war. We have never ceased to proclaim this truth. We proclaimed it alone against all the liars and deceivers of the people!

This truth was proclaimed by our comrades in other lands, in Europe and in Asia. Under the proud and stainless banner

(Continued on page 2)

Rally For Socialism! Nation-Wide Trotsky Memorial Meetings -- See Page 4

Wall Street Imperialists Cynically Describe Atomic Bombings As "Humanitarian" Acts

American imperialist propagandists are seeking to counteract the widespread revulsion and horror aroused when hundreds of thousands of Japanese victims were exterminated by two atomic bombs unleashed on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Adding hypocrisy to brutality, government officials and the capitalist press are trying to depict these most frightful single acts of indiscriminate slaughter ever perpetrated, as veritable acts of "humanitarianism."

DEALERS IN "MERCY"

President Truman, in his radio address last week, represented the obliteration of Hiroshima, a densely populated city of 344,000, as a virtual act of mercy. "The world will note that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a military base. That was because we wished in this first attack to avoid, insofar as possible, the killing of civilians."

Reports of officers who conducted the atomic attacks give the lie to Truman's sanctimonious claim. Both Hiroshima and Nagasaki were selected accidentally, after the attacking planes were over Japan, with no thought of "avoiding the killing of civilians" or whether the targets were strictly "military bases."

"We selected Hiroshima as the target when we made the landfall," reported Lieut. Col. Paul W. Tibbets, Jr., pilot of the first atomic bombing plane. As for the bombing of Nagasaki, "the crew disclosed that, had it not been for bad weather, thousands of Japanese in Nagasaki, a city of 252,630, might still be alive today," reported the United Press on August 11. The plane was prevented by bad weather from attacking another city, so one of the officers "suggested trying Nagasaki."

CAPITALIST GHOULS

Subsequently, the Guam correspondent for the liberal *N. Y. Post* gloated: "Conditions for destruction at Nagasaki were even more favorable than at Hiroshima... the congestion among the city's population of 253,000 had caused the eave-to-eave building pattern to be described as 'sea of roofs.'"

On the day after the bombing of Hiroshima, the Associated Press reported a "military authority" in Washington as claiming that the atomic bombing of Hiroshima "rather than densely populated Tokyo... may have been made to save as many lives as possible."

What a monstrous hoax! For last May 31 the American press carried an official military summary on the effects of the fire-bombing of Tokyo itself, "one of the highest concentrations of population in the world." This official report stated: "The attacks this week (following five others) burned with a similar speed and destructive results and it is possible that 1,000,000, or maybe even TWICE THAT NUMBER of the Emperor's subjects perished."

People who could gloat over the burning to death of several million men, women and children didn't bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki in order to "avoid, insofar as possible the killing of civilians."

Recalling the howls of the American press about the Nazis' indiscriminate bombing of British and European cities, many people are asking what could be more indiscriminate than dropping a bomb so destructive that it will destroy all life in an entire city.

NEAT DISTINCTION

But with juridical finesse, the spokesmen of American imperialism draw a neat distinction be-

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

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

THE MILITANT

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

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

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

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

Name

(Please Print)

Street Apt.

City Zone

State

"Freedom From Want" - France, 1945



Hungry French children hunt through the garbage pails for food, as misery mounts in Europe. This photograph, released by the French government in a plea for relief, shows graphically the conditions which de Gaulle fears will drive the French people to revolution, as the worst winter in their history draws near.

Atomic Energy: Its Nature and Properties

By V. Grey

What is an atom? And why does it have so much energy inside it? These are the questions many people are asking since the atomic bomb crashed the horizon.

An atom is the smallest particle into which an element can be divided. It is extremely complex, containing electrons, neutrons, protons, positrons, etc. There are more than 90 known elements ranging from hydrogen to oxygen, to gold, to lead, etc., thence to uranium, the last of the known list. All matter is composed of one or more of these many elements.

Why cannot the "smallest" particle of matter—the atom—be cut in half and again in half, just as half a pie can be cut into two fourths, and so on? But that is the whole point.

COMPOSITION OF MATTER

Matter isn't at all what we think it is from looking at it or touching it. It's made of billions upon billions of these atoms—atoms which aren't made of smaller atoms in turn, but of something entirely different. Each atom is an "infinity" and an "emptiness" with charges of energy waves and particles racing swiftly around and around inside.

If a good-sized railway station were emptied of everything but six specks of dust, the station would be more crowded with dust than space is with stars." Sir James Jeans said this about the heavenly bodies, the largest known things in the universe. The same thing could be said, with very little alteration, about the smallest things in the universe—the component parts of an atom.

An atom of fluorine, for in-

atomic bomb on Japanese civilians. PM screamed in headlines the day after the extermination of Hiroshima: "Thank God, It's OUR Atomic Bomb!"

What is an "unlawful," "inhuman" method of warfare for the capitalist imperialists? It is the use of a more destructive weapon by the rival imperialists. What is "legal" and "humane" warfare? It is the use of any weapon, no matter how frightful, against which the rival imperialists cannot retaliate in kind.

But these revolting hypocrites aren't yelling "sadism" and "bestiality" about the use of the

dium atoms are nevertheless too "stingy" to part voluntarily with more than a fraction of their energy. Their slowly-released energy is the famous radium ray.

Thousands of experiments were carried on for years to "smash the atom." A tremendous machine called the cyclotron was developed to do this. At great expense and enormous use of electrical power, it was proved that atoms could be made to release some of their energy by parting company with a few of their electrons. But for a long time this remained only an interesting laboratory experiment.

U-235

Then U-235 was discovered.

This symbol stands for a special kind of uranium, of atomic weight 235.

It is 235 times as heavy as hydrogen, which is the lightest element.

When the cyclotron with tiny neutral particles, the atom was literally split. This splitting (or fission) meant a great release of energy. Scientists realized at once that if this U-235 could be isolated in large enough quantity, and pure enough, a slight bombardment of neutrons would explode a few uranium atoms, each of which in turn would release neutrons to explode other atoms.

With trillions and trillions of atoms doing this, the result is the "atomic bomb."

This tremendous explosive energy—a pound of U-235 is estimated to equal 20,000 tons of TNT—is the result of splitting the uranium atom and releasing only some of its energy. Future research will doubtless result in finding ways to release more and more of it as well as to harness it for socially beneficial purposes.

The tapping of atomic energy has only begun. The whole question is

who will do the tapping and for what purposes?

INSIDE THE ATOM

Now if this mutual affinity is split, with the positive and negative hurling off their separate ways, a tremendous amount of energy is released (especially when you consider that there are billions and billions of atoms to an inch).

The idea of splitting the atom

in order to release and harness its energy occurred to scientists almost as soon as the structure of the atom became known.

The atoms of radium, they found, tend to disintegrate spontaneously, but slowly. Even though infinitely more generous by nature than atoms of other elements, the ra-

ium atoms are nevertheless too "stingy" to part voluntarily with more than a fraction of their energy. Their slowly-released energy is the famous radium ray.

Thousands of experiments were carried on for years to "smash the atom." A tremendous machine called the cyclotron was developed to do this. At great expense and enormous use of electrical power, it was proved that atoms could be made to release some of their energy by parting company with a few of their electrons. But for a long time this remained only an interesting laboratory experiment.

U-235

Then U-235 was discovered.

This symbol stands for a special kind of uranium, of atomic weight 235.

It is 235 times as heavy as hydrogen, which is the lightest element.

When the cyclotron with tiny neutral particles, the atom was literally split. This splitting (or fission) meant a great release of energy. Scientists realized at once that if this U-235 could be isolated in large enough quantity, and pure enough, a slight bombardment of neutrons would explode a few uranium atoms, each of which in turn would release neutrons to explode other atoms.

With trillions and trillions of atoms doing this, the result is the "atomic bomb."

This tremendous explosive energy—a pound of U-235 is estimated to equal 20,000 tons of TNT—is the result of splitting the uranium atom and releasing only some of its energy. Future research will doubtless result in finding ways to release more and more of it as well as to harness it for socially beneficial purposes.

The tapping of atomic energy has only begun. The whole question is

who will do the tapping and for what purposes?

INSIDE THE ATOM

Now if this mutual affinity is split, with the positive and negative hurling off their separate ways, a tremendous amount of energy is released (especially when you consider that there are billions and billions of atoms to an inch).

The idea of splitting the atom

in order to release and harness its energy occurred to scientists almost as soon as the structure of the atom became known.

The atoms of radium, they found, tend to disintegrate spontaneously, but slowly. Even though infinitely more generous by nature than atoms of other elements, the ra-

ium atoms are nevertheless too "stingy" to part voluntarily with more than a fraction of their energy. Their slowly-released energy is the famous radium ray.

Thousands of experiments were carried on for years to "smash the atom." A tremendous machine called the cyclotron was developed to do this. At great expense and enormous use of electrical power, it was proved that atoms could be made to release some of their energy by parting company with a few of their electrons. But for a long time this remained only an interesting laboratory experiment.

U-235

Then U-235 was discovered.

This symbol stands for a special kind of uranium, of atomic weight 235.

It is 235 times as heavy as hydrogen, which is the lightest element.

When the cyclotron with tiny neutral particles, the atom was literally split. This splitting (or fission) meant a great release of energy. Scientists realized at once that if this U-235 could be isolated in large enough quantity, and pure enough, a slight bombardment of neutrons would explode a few uranium atoms, each of which in turn would release neutrons to explode other atoms.

With trillions and trillions of atoms doing this, the result is the "atomic bomb."

This tremendous explosive energy—a pound of U-235 is estimated to equal 20,000 tons of TNT—is the result of splitting the uranium atom and releasing only some of its energy. Future research will doubtless result in finding ways to release more and more of it as well as to harness it for socially beneficial purposes.

The tapping of atomic energy has only begun. The whole question is

who will do the tapping and for what purposes?

INSIDE THE ATOM

Now if this mutual affinity is split, with the positive and negative hurling off their separate ways, a tremendous amount of energy is released (especially when you consider that there are billions and billions of atoms to an inch).

The idea of splitting the atom

in order to release and harness its energy occurred to scientists almost as soon as the structure of the atom became known.

The atoms of radium, they found, tend to disintegrate spontaneously, but slowly. Even though infinitely more generous by nature than atoms of other elements, the ra-

ium atoms are nevertheless too "stingy" to part voluntarily with more than a fraction of their energy. Their slowly-released energy is the famous radium ray.

Thousands of experiments were carried on for years to "smash the atom." A tremendous machine called the cyclotron was developed to do this. At great expense and enormous use of electrical power, it was proved that atoms could be made to release some of their energy by parting company with a few of their electrons. But for a long time this remained only an interesting laboratory experiment.

U-235

Then U-235 was discovered.

This symbol stands for a special kind of uranium, of atomic weight 235.

It is 235 times as heavy as hydrogen, which is the lightest element.

When the cyclotron with tiny neutral particles, the atom was literally split. This splitting (or fission) meant a great release of energy. Scientists realized at once that if this U-235 could be isolated in large enough quantity, and pure enough, a slight bombardment of neutrons would explode a few uranium atoms, each of which in turn would release neutrons to explode other atoms.

With trillions and trillions of atoms doing this, the result is the "atomic bomb."

This tremendous explosive energy—a pound of U-235 is estimated to equal 20,000 tons of TNT—is the result of splitting the uranium atom and releasing only some of its energy. Future research will doubtless result in finding ways to release more and more of it as well as to harness it for socially beneficial purposes.

The tapping of atomic energy has only begun. The whole question is

who will do the tapping and for what purposes?

INSIDE THE ATOM

Now if this mutual affinity is split, with the positive and negative hurling off their separate ways, a tremendous amount of energy is released (especially when you consider that there are billions and billions of atoms to an inch).

The idea of splitting the atom

in order to release and harness its energy occurred to scientists almost as soon as the structure of the atom became known.

The atoms of radium, they found, tend to disintegrate spontaneously, but slowly. Even though infinitely more generous by nature than atoms of other elements, the ra-

ium atoms are nevertheless too "stingy" to part voluntarily with more than a fraction of their energy. Their slowly-released energy is the famous radium ray.

Thousands of experiments were carried on for years to "smash the atom." A tremendous machine called the cyclotron was developed to do this. At great expense and enormous use of electrical power, it was proved that atoms could be made to release some of their energy by parting company with a few of their electrons. But for a long time this remained only an interesting laboratory experiment.

U-235

Then U-235 was discovered.

This symbol stands for a special kind of uranium, of atomic weight 235.

It is 235 times as heavy as hydrogen, which is the lightest element.

When the cyclotron with tiny neutral particles, the atom was literally split. This splitting (or fission) meant a great release of energy. Scientists realized at once that if this U-235 could be isolated in large enough quantity, and pure enough, a slight bombardment of neutrons would explode a few uranium atoms, each of which in turn would release neutrons to explode other atoms.

With trillions and trillions of atoms doing this, the result is the "atomic bomb."

This tremendous explosive energy—a pound of U-235 is estimated to equal 20,000 tons of TNT—is the result of splitting the uranium atom and releasing only some of its energy. Future research will doubtless result in finding ways to release more and more of it as well as to harness it for socially beneficial purposes.

The tapping of atomic energy has only begun. The whole question is

who will do the tapping and for what purposes?

9,000 East Chicago Inland Steel Workers Strike Against Firing Of Union Militants

BULLETIN

INDIANA HARBOR, Ind., Aug. 14 — A mass meeting of Inland Steel strikers here tonight voted to return to work on assurances from CIO Steel Workers' President Philip Murray, the War Labor Board and the company that all grievances will be negotiated immediately. The strikers gave thunderous approval to warnings by rank and file leaders that a new strike will be called if the grievances are not settled satisfactorily.

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

EAST CHICAGO, Ind., August 12 — Nine thousand steel workers walked off their jobs at the Inland Steel Company plant here Friday. The strike was provoked by the company's arbitrary suspension of two grievance committeemen and disciplining of the local union's vice-president.

A departmental work stoppage began Friday morning when it was learned that William Maihofer, vice-president of Local 1010, United Steelworkers of America, had been denied entrance to the plant and suspended.

The suspension was given to Maihofer because he had taken his two-week vacation to which he was entitled by the union's contract.

As the stoppage spread through the Bar Mill, E. C. Johnson, the grievance committeeman, left his post in the motor room in order to negotiate with the management. Although it was shortly after midnight, he was met by the Superintendent of Industrial Relations who promptly fired Johnson and ordered two company guards to escort him to the street.

STRIKE SPREADS

Word rapidly spread through the plant that a union grievance committeeman had been fired. One by one the departments in this huge steel plant began to shut down in protest against this union-smashing on the part of the company. When the walkout had spread to No. 2 Open Hearth, the largest in the world, Harry Powell, another grievance committeeman, was charged with responsibility for the stoppage and was likewise fired. Within a few hours after Powell's discharge the whole plant was shut down.

The following afternoon the workers jammed the Auditorium Hall to hear what their leaders had to say. Maihofer reported that a committee had met with the District Director of the International Union. The International Union advised the committee to send the men back to work and promised to "use all its power" in an effort to reinstate the discharged men. This proposition was very coldly received by the membership.

After the committee's report, a telegram from the War Labor Board was read. The telegram bluntly demanded a return to work. It was greeted with a volley of boos.

Most of the local leaders had no recommendation to make. However, Donald Lutes, chairman of the grievance committee and chief supporter of the District Office, took the floor and suggested return to work.

REFUSE TO RETURN

He was quickly followed by a militant Negro worker, William Young, a grievance committeeman, who took a stern position against any return to work and urged the men to stay out in defense of their fellow workers. Others, including the fired committee, followed Young's lead, and the membership cheered loudly for the position of staying out.

The meeting adjourned when Maihofer informed the membership that a special executive board meeting would be held that evening. They were assured of a decision and recommendation by Sunday afternoon.

The executive board met for over three hours that night. One after another, the rank-and-file leaders attacked the policy of the War Labor Board and the international union leaders. The meeting finally adjourned with a decision to recommend to the membership that the shutdown be extended to every corner of the plant, and that there be no return to work until the fired men are reinstated.

CHEER DECISION

On Sunday afternoon the membership meeting was attended by twice as many members as the one on Saturday. Vice-President Maihofer reported the executive board's decision to extend and continue the shutdown. The hall rocked from the volley of cheers and a motion to support the re-



Watch Your Pockets!

OPA recently introduced the "Honor System" to permit manufacturers to calculate their own price ceilings on the basis of their own statements of costs and profits. This was done to encourage manufacturers to live up to their principles, and this resolution is the thing. If we have to do the wrong thing to get the right results, we'll just have to do it, that's all." The resolution was passed almost unanimously.

Trotskyist Candidates in N. Y. Elections



Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidate for City Council, and Farrell Dobbs, Trotskyist candidate for Mayor in the forthcoming New York elections. Petitions were filed for both candidates.

N. Y. Trotskyists Reach Election Petition Goal

Over the top!

The petition campaign to put candidates of the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in the municipal elections in New York City came to a glorious finish with all banners flying! A grand total of 14,595 signatures were signed by New York workers on the Trotskyist petitions—nearly double the amount required by the election laws. The petitions were filed with the Board of Elections on Tuesday, August 14th.

The successful conclusion of the petition campaign was accomplished by the hard-working comrades who not only went out to collect signatures but who performed the tedious task of sorting and arranging the petitions according to Election and Assembly Districts in accordance with the provisions of the election laws. This work was made doubly difficult because complete election

VOTE FOR DOBBS & SIMPSON

TROTSKYIST CANDIDATES

IN THE COMING

NEW YORK ELECTIONS

4,681 to the Louise Simpson petitions. The actual number of signatures required for Farrell Dobbs, candidate for Mayor, was 7,500 and for Louise Simpson, candidate for City Council 2,000. "The comrades have done a magnificent job," said campaign manager Caroline Kerr, "and our sympathizers were especially helpful. In the heat and rain our people went out day and night, gave up their week-ends and stayed on the job until the last petition was filed. Many people who signed our petitions took subscriptions to *The Militant*. It was a bang-up campaign and a real demonstration of Trotskyist ability to plan and carry out an important task."

FINAL COUNT

The final count was announced by Caroline Kerr, campaign manager, who reported that 14,914 signatures were signed to the Farrell Dobbs petitions and

Frankenstein Is Victor In Detroit City Primaries

DETROIT — For the first time in Detroit history a genuine labor candidate topped the field in the mayoralty primary race, when Richard T. Frankenstein, a vice-president of the CIO United Automobile Workers, led the other six candidates with a vote of 82,936 in the municipal primaries on August 7. Frankenstein outdistanced his nearest rival, Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., by 14,182 votes. Third in line was James D. Friel, County Auditor, who polled only 35,720 of the 201,000 total votes.

Frankenstein's record-breaking victory sent a thrill of elation down the spine of every worker in this area, even those who neglected to cast their ballots last Tuesday. This triumph, following closely on the smashing British Labor Party victory, has served to convince the Detroit workers of the correctness of independent class political action as the only means to drive back the tide of reaction that has swept over them in the war years.

Encouraged by the election results, the entire working class organized in the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods, as well as those still unorganized, are more determined than ever to wage an energetic campaign for the election of Frankenstein as Mayor in next November's run-off against Jeffries.

THE REAL ISSUES
The Detroit Citizens League, leading boss-controlled organization, declared the major issue of the campaign to be "Labor Rule." This tool of the employers thundered: "The issue is whether the City government should be turned over to organized unions."

But government in which the "organized unions" have the dominant role was precisely what the people wanted and voted for.

They know that this would stand as an obstacle against the fascist menaces in the coming days of unemployment and union-busting. They realize that a CIO Police Commissioner, appointed by a labor mayor, would lessen the danger of police brutality against the working class and Negro people. They further understand that a labor administration would make it virtually impossible for a well-known fascist like Gerald L. K. Smith to obtain free use of public school auditoriums to fester race hatred, as was permitted under the Jeffries regime.

Thus, the class lines were sharply drawn despite Frankenstein's pussyfooting in his campaign pronouncements. This was borne out by the decisive margins which Frankenstein obtained in all working-class districts.

VICTIOUS ATTACK
Now that the Detroit workers have shown their class consciousness, it is expected that the capitalist press will cast off all restraint in the coming election

run-off. The corporation press will seek to rally all anti-labor and Negro-hating scum to the capitalist political banner.

In a post-election editorial, the Detroit Free Press indicated the tone of the coming campaign, declaring: "Regardless of the speeches of the candidates the undercover battle will be a fight between the CIO on the one side and all those opposed to the CIO leadership on the other... Now the issue is to be whether the CIO shall take over the City Hall."

This anti-labor blast will have the opposite effect desired by this capitalist rag. It will indicate strongly to the AFL and other union leaders in this area that they must get off the fence and come out openly in support of Frankenstein and the three other PAC-endorsed candidates. In any case, the rank and file of their unions understand that the CIO-backed candidates represent all labor and not just one section of it, as the Free Press insinuates.

NEED BOLD POLICY

Above all, this vicious press campaign will help convince the entire working class, especially the more advanced automobile workers in this city, of the necessity of building a permanent independent labor party to unite all workers against the tiny group of profiteers and their political agents who have been running the city, state and national governments.

For the first time in this key industrial center, labor has tasted the fruits of political victory. It has done so despite the handicap of having no party of its own. The difficulties of conducting a bold and successful campaign under such circumstances will give further impetus to the demand for an independent labor party, on which the workers' attention has already been focused by the British Labor Party's victory and Frankenstein's success in the Detroit primary.

However, only an audacious, all-out, pro-labor campaign will ensure a Detroit labor victory. Frankenstein must meet the en-

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalsky

In the summer time the sky looks clean and cool and beautiful where the smoke doesn't seep into it and spoil it. The lake stretches out into the sky past the last point of the hazy far shore, and it looks clean and cool and beautiful, except where the smoke settles down on it and dirties it, and except where the red-brown fine dust from the furnaces and the filth of the factories color and clog it.

In the summer time the woods are cool, and it's swell to lie on the sand at the beach and soak up the sun in your naked back and plunge into the cool, clear water and go down and down and see the golden bubbles where the sun follows you right down under the surface. It's swell, if you get the chance.

But in the summer time you go to work and put on your stinkin' clothes that are stale and wet from yesterday. Or you go into a shop to tend a lathe or mill. And the cutting oil flies onto your face and into your hair so you feel greasy from head to foot, and the fishy stink of the oil mixes into your sweat and you feel like a damn pig.

You sleep with the windows open wide. You leave them open all day long hoping that the breeze that must come sometime will bring a little coolness into the house; but all day it never seems to come, and the windows gape there, waiting and waiting for something that doesn't come, like baby birds holding open their mouths waiting for the mother bird to feed them. But if the mother bird never comes, the little ones just starve to death and rot in the nest; and when the coolness doesn't come the windows keep on gaping and waiting, and nothing happens, except that you get irritable and touchy and sweaty and think, "God, I wish the damn summer would hurry up and get over with."



Summer Time in a Steel Town

Still, there's always something that comes into the windows, even if there doesn't seem to be any breeze to carry it. The dirt sifts in and powders down on the window sill so that when you lean your forearms on it, the sweat soaks up the dust and dirt, and you carry it away with you.

And the heavy vapors from the coke oven go rolling into your house along with the smells of the other plants. The garbage out in the back yard sends up an invisible cloud that crawls into the windows and glues itself into the hot air of the kitchen.

The sun beats down on you in the summer time, stabs through the roof, drops down through the rooms, and piles up heavily from the floors to the ceilings; and when you go to bed at night, the smoky pilings of the sun are still there in the darkness, weighing you down on the heated mattress.

The concrete sidewalks burn into your shoes like the blast furnace runners, and you long for the beach or the woods. You wish you had the money to live in one of the tree-shaded country homes on the lake shore, where they have private beaches and tennis courts. Or you wish you could even have a home in some part of the city where there are green hedges and tall old trees and soft, wide lawns that smell of earth and grass and clover at night when the dew soaks into them.

But what's the use of dreaming about things like that as long as you're a worker under capitalism? You don't need a crystal ball to see that all you can look forward to is a lifetime of summers of cement and sweat and smells, and factory yards and corrugated iron walls, and quarreling with your wife in the hot weather and almost hating the kids for running around and yelling, summers of work and monotony and discomfort, maybe ending up with a stroke when you get old and can't take it any more.

Still, if you do want to dream about having a chance to enjoy the summer time and about living like a human being in a home fit for human beings, remember this: even if you can't get these things as long as you're a worker under capitalism, you COULD have them and WOULD have them under socialism. Yes, you could really live and enjoy living... all year round.

French Imperialists Fear For Indo-China Colony

Japan's surrender, coming (Indo-China) capitulate, that a t some political group or other may seize control." They hope they may be able to return there quickly, but they lack shipping, and the distance from France is great.

The masses of Indo-China have fought the Japanese imperialists as previously they battled for their liberation from the French colonial despots. They certainly will not be content to exchange the new gang of slave-drivers for the old. They will fight for their independence. The French bandits know this. That is why they are disturbed. That is why, as the Paris dispatch asserts, they are anxious to move in their troops and administrators as quickly as possible.

They fear that Indo-China will fall either into the hands of the Anglo-American imperialist "liberators" or, worse still, the Indo-Chinese people. The latter fear is uppermost. According to a Paris dispatch to the N. Y. Herald-Tribune on Aug. 10, "French officials feel there is a danger, if the Japanese there run off. The corporation press will seek to rally all anti-labor and Negro-hating scum to the capitalist political banner.

In a post-election editorial, the Detroit Free Press indicated the tone of the coming campaign, declaring: "Regardless of the speeches of the candidates the undercover battle will be a fight between the CIO on the one side and all those opposed to the CIO leadership on the other... Now the issue is to be whether the CIO shall take over the City Hall."

This anti-labor blast will have the opposite effect desired by this capitalist rag. It will indicate strongly to the AFL and other union leaders in this area that they must get off the fence and come out openly in support of Frankenstein and the three other PAC-endorsed candidates. In any case, the rank and file of their unions understand that the CIO-backed candidates represent all labor and not just one section of it, as the Free Press insinuates.

But government in which the "organized unions" have the dominant role was precisely what the people wanted and voted for. They know that this would stand as an obstacle against the fascist menaces in the coming days of unemployment and union-busting. They realize that a CIO Police Commissioner, appointed by a labor mayor, would lessen the danger of police brutality against the working class and Negro people. They further understand that a labor administration would make it virtually impossible for a well-known fascist like Gerald L. K. Smith to obtain free use of public school auditoriums to fester race hatred, as was permitted under the Jeffries regime.



48 pages, paper 15¢

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

Wright Aircraft Workers Laid Off On V-J Day Eve

By Dinah Sanders

PATERSON, N. J. — The big shots at the Wright Aeronautical plants in this area worked overtime last week, getting ready for "V-J Day." They almost beat Hirohito to the draw.

When Friday's newspapers headlined Japan's offer of peace, workers carried copies of the papers into the Wright plants, excitedly spreading the news. The excitement swiftly died down, however, when word got around about the bulletins the company had already posted in the corridors.

Entitled "Subject: V-J Day Procedure," the bulletins gave the workers a graphic if brutal picture of what "victory" would mean to them. They would be out of jobs!

The wording of the bulletins seemed deliberately designed to confuse, but the gist of the company's orders was simple: "Immediately upon receipt of the announcement from the President that hostilities with Japan have ended," — close the plants! Don't stop to clock out — get out of the plants in a hurry!

The company's fear showed starkly through the warning: "Plant Protection will arrange to provide the proper number of guards to handle the evacuation in an orderly manner." Precautions would be taken by the company against "uncontrolled demonstrations" within the plants, etc.

Wright is planning its layoffs well — no dramatics, but a "quiet, orderly evacuation." Take a "vacation," all of you, all the 150,000 of you, in 16 plants except supervisory and office personnel needed for a week's inventory. Sure, take a nice, long "vacation" — without pay, of course. We'll call you back when we need you.

Perhaps, by the next war — World War III to make the world safe for...

"Well, there're welfare agencies, and I'm not too proud to put my kids there to keep them from being hungry..."

"But you know what's goin' to happen, don't you? People are goin' to be killing each other for food — they're going to have to."

General Office employees and salaried supervision were discussing matters, too.

"I've been going over to the Park Avenue offices for a week now, checking seniorities and getting pay-offs ready. The atmosphere is so tense around here you can feel it crackle."

"Everybody's got the jitters. Got 'em myself."

That's the way it goes. The only way the capitalists can prepare for peace is — to send workers home, give them a "holiday," good long endless "holiday" — without pay. The Wright Corporation has planned its "V-J Day" well. No dramatics about its layoffs. A quiet, "orderly evacuation." And now for the long "grind again" — job hunting, rent due, no-more-groceries-until-you-pay, relief, breadlines...



LEON TROTSKY
November 7, 1879 — August 21, 1940

Trotsky Memorial Meetings

This week is the fifth anniversary of the assassination of Leon Trotsky. Socialist Workers Party branches throughout the country are holding meetings in honor of this great proletarian revolutionist.

In New York City a mass meeting will be held Wednesday, August 22, at 8 P. M. in Webster Hall, 119 East 11th St., New York City. James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will deliver the memorial address. Comrade Cannon was the founder of the Trotskyist movement in this country, and has been its chief standard bearer for seventeen years.

Brief speeches will be made by the Trotskyist candidates in the New York City Elections. Farrell Dobbs, candidate for mayor, and Louise Simpson, candidate for city council, will speak on the issues confronting the voters in this campaign. They will present the program of the Socialist Workers Party.

All readers of the Militant, friends and sympathizers of the Trotskyist movement are invited to attend the New York meeting and the meetings in the other cities. The meeting places are listed on this page.

Fifth Anniversary Of Trotsky's Death

Five years ago, Leon Trotsky, founder and leader of the Fourth International, was murdered by an assassin in the employ of Stalin. Through the slaying of Trotsky, Stalin not only destroyed the outstanding Bolshevik opponent of his counter-revolutionary regime, but world imperialism secured the removal from its path of the greatest revolutionary fighter against its Second World War.

On the evening of August 20, 1940, in Coyoacan, Mexico, an agent of Stalin's GPU fatally struck down Leon Trotsky, with a pick-axe blow to the brain. As he lay dying, the great Bolshevik leader branded for all time the perpetrator of this monstrous crime against the world working class: "I will not survive this attack. Stalin has finally accomplished the task he attempted unsuccessfully before."

Proof of Stalin's Complicity

The hireling who committed the murder went under the various names of Jacques Monard and Frank Jason. He had struck up an acquaintance in France with a young woman follower of the Trotskyist movement. Through her he had been introduced to Trotsky, and on one pretext or another, sought access to him in Mexico.

Pretending to seek advice on an article he had written, Monard or Jason succeeded in obtaining an audience alone with Trotsky in his study. While the Bolshevik leader's back was turned, the assassin took a pick-axe which he had under his raincoat and plunged it into his victim's brain. Despite a terrible wound, Trotsky managed to grapple with his assailant and cry for help.

Two guards rushed in and overpowered Jason, who in his fear cried out: "They made me do it. Otherwise they would have killed my mother." "They" were the GPU, Stalin's police-murder apparatus. This was further confirmed by a prepared "confession" found on the assassin's person. It clearly was fabricated by the Kremlin's police agents. The assassin was also armed with a revolver and dagger.

The complicity of Stalin was shown by previous assassination attempts. On May 24 of the same year, a gang of Stalinist gunmen broke into Trotsky's home at night, machine-gunned his bedroom and kidnapped his young American secretary-guard, Sheldon Harte, whose slain body was found a few days later. Subsequently, most of the murder gang were rounded up, and a number of them made full confessions.

Kremlin Protects Its Agents

The powerful arm of the Kremlin reached out to protect its agents. For five years, the leaders of the May 24 attack and Trotsky's assassin have escaped retribution. Jason had the aid of the best legal talent Stalin could buy, and inexhaustible funds to fight his conviction. Little more than a year ago, he was finally sentenced to 20 years imprisonment — maximum penalty under Mexican law for premeditated murder.

On August 21, 1940, Trotsky died. His last words were an expression of supreme confidence that the workers would reach their historic socialist goal, and an exhortation to his followers to continue the great work for which he lived and died. He said: "I am close to death from the blow of a political assassin — Please say to our friends, I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward!"

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

by CHARLES JACKSON

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

—KARL MARX

Throughout the war the Negro people have had to endure racial discrimination in almost every phase of their daily lives, in travel, in employment, in the military and in a thousand other ways. What was still worse they had to stand by and swallow the crap of the capitalist war propagandists. This was a war of the demagogues against the fascist oppressors.

But what capped the climax in this hypocritical farce of acting one way and talking another was when Harry Truman, president of capitalist America where Jim Crow is not only accepted but is enforced, signed the Potsdam declaration which states that discrimination in Germany shall "not be tolerated."

If the Big Business government of America is so concerned about bringing "democracy" and "justice" to the rest of the world why doesn't it clean up its own back yard by correcting some of the injustices which it fosters against Negroes here at home?

While Truman was in Potsdam preaching American democracy 200 Negro citizens in Tuskegee, Alabama were refused the vote by the legal authorities. In Macon County with a population of around 30,000 of which number 80 percent are Negroes only "about ten" colored citizens have been certified to vote.

While Truman stirs the stew of "justice" in Potsdam three Negro WAC's sit down in the "white only" section of a waiting room in Louisville, Kentucky. They are called abusive names, beaten over the head and dragged across the floor by the civilian representatives of "law and order" and then court-martialed by the military for violation of the ninety-third article of war.

While Truman talks of educating the Germans in democratic ideals the schools, the church, the movies, the radio and the newspapers, in America all unite to brand the Negro as a lazy, ignorant, criminal half-man, and in this way to perpetuate the myth of white supremacy.

While Truman spouts that discrimination in any form will "not be tolerated" in Germany, the very army Brass Hats that got him there continue their rigid practice of separating the Negro soldiers into Jim-Crow units where they can be given the lowest and dirtiest duties. In the case of an exception that was

Their actions, however, expose them as both national and international liars. They worship greed not justice, profits not democracy, hatred not equality. The capitalist government not only "tolerates" but it enforces discrimination here while granting a fake "political freedom" to starving Europe over whose carcass it is snarling like a hungry wolf.

NATION-WIDE RALLY FOR SOCIALISM

at the Socialist Workers Party

TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETINGS



NEW YORK READERS! HEAR JAMES P. CANNON

National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, Speak on

"The Heritage of Trotsky and the Tasks of His Disciples"

OTHER SPEAKERS:

FARRELL DOBBS, Candidate for Mayor

LOUISE SIMPSON, Candidate for City Council

ALLENTOWN

Speaker: V. GREY, 'Militant' Columnist

Tuesday, August 21, 8 P. M.

HOTEL ALLEN, MAIN BALLROOM

Centre Square

AKRON

Friday, August 24, 8 P. M.

405-06 Everett Bldg., 39 E. Market Street

Speaker: T. GRANT

Cleveland Organizer, SWP

BOSTON

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL CENTER

30 Stuart Street

Speaker: L. TRAINOR

Friday, August 24, 8 P. M.

BUFFALO

A moving picture history of the October Revolution

Saturday, August 25, 8 P. M.

MILITANT FORUM

629 Main Street, 2nd floor

Chairman: BILL GRAY, Western N. Y. Organizer, SWP

CHICAGO

Speaker: ALBERT GOLDMAN

Minneapolis Case Defendant and Attorney

Sunday, August 26, 8 P. M.

BUCKINGHAM HALL

59 East Van Buren Street

CLEVELAND

Speaker: JACK WILSON

Youngstown Organizer, SWP

Friday, August 24, 8 P. M.

PECKS HALL

1446 E. 82nd Street, off Wade Park

DETROIT

Speaker: IRVING NORTH

3513 Woodward, Room 21

Sunday, August 19, 8 P. M.

LOS ANGELES

Sunday, August 26, 8 P. M.

EMBASSY AUDITORIUM

South Hall, Ninth and Grant

Speaker: MURRY WEISS

Featuring "CZAR TO LENIN"

World-Famous Film of October Revolution

MILWAUKEE

Speaker: MIKE BARTELL

Chicago Organizer, Socialist Workers Party

Sunday, August 26, 8 P. M.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS

926 N. Plankinton Avenue, Room 21

MINNEAPOLIS - ST. PAUL

TWIN CITIES SWP

Tuesday, August 21, 8 P. M.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS

10 South 4th Street, Minneapolis

NEWARK

Films of Trotsky in Coyoacan

Speaker: BILL MORGAN

'Militant' Feature Writer

Friday, August 24, 8 P. M.

PROGRESSIVE WORKERS SCHOOL

423 Springfield Avenue

PHILADELPHIA

Speaker: V. GREY, 'Militant' Columnist

Monday, August 20, 8 P. M.

LABOR FORUM

405 West Girard Avenue

WEBSTER HALL

119 East 11th Street

(between Third and Fourth Avenue)

Air-Conditioned Hall

SAN FRANCISCO

Speaker: ROBERT CHESTER

San Francisco Organizer, SWP

Sunday, August 26, 8 P. M.

SAN FRANCISCO SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

305 Grant Avenue, 4th floor

Special Features!

SEATTLE

Speaker: DAN ROBERTS

Seattle Organizer, SWP

Sunday, August 26, 8 P. M.

1919½ Second Avenue

TOLEDO

Sunday, August 19, 8 P. M.

ROI DAVIS BLDG., ROOM 30

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

There Is None So Blind...

Sidney Hillman, chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, said of the British Labor Party victory: "The results in England parallel the successful efforts of labor, liberal and progressive forces in this country in 1944." Let's see!

The American workers, led by PAC, in November 1944 helped reelect the chief political leader of American imperialism, Roosevelt. The labor leaders maintained their coalition with the Democratic Party of capitalist big city bosses and Southern Bourbons. Not a single genuine representative of labor today sits in Congress.

In England, however, the workers kicked out the leading spokesman of British imperialism, forced their leaders to break the political coalition with the capitalist Tories, and gave labor a thumping majority in Parliament.

If these events are "parallel," as Hillman claims, then the only ones who can really see straight are those with cross-eyes.

No Severance Pay

Before the shutdown of the world's largest small-arms plant, the government-owned works in St. Louis run by U. S. Cartridge, the CIO Electrical and Radio Workers had negotiated a severance pay plan, accepted by the company and approved by WLB, to tide over the 25,000 workers being tossed out on the street.

Just as the plant was being closed on August 1, William H. Davis, director of economic stabilization, rejected the severance pay plan, although Congress has made no provisions for reemployment or adequate unemployment compensation.

The 25,000 workers face hunger and destitution. The plant their taxes helped to build lies idle. But the company, which made millions in profits without risk, is protected by federal law. It will receive full and immediate compensation for the war contract termination.

Army Strikebreaking

Forty-two workers at the asbestos plant of the Keasby & Mattison Company, Ambler, Pa., were forced on August 6 to report for pre-induction physical examination because of their participation in a strike last month. The strike was broken when the men returned to work after they were reclassified to 1-A.

These victims of government strike-breaking are married, over 30 years old, and many have children, according to Peter V. Fletcher, president of Local 2409, United Textile Workers, AFL.

Inasmuch as the government broke the strike and forced the men back, Lieut. Col. Hartman, acting state selective service director, "generously" announced that this fact would be "taken into consideration" before final induction notices are given.

Tobin's 'Courage'

Daniel J. Tobin, "Czar" of the AFL Teamsters, in the August issue of his organ, *The International Teamster*, gives some ad-

Class Consciousness

The supremely class-conscious spokesmen of Big Business are greatly disturbed over evidence of the growing class-consciousness of American labor. Thus, *Business Week*, August 11, informs its corporation clientele:

"The change which has led from mass picketing . . . the skeleton picketing, that may be symbolized by the Detroit rubber strike (U. S. Rubber Company), is of considerable significance. It suggests that the authority of a picket line has found a large measure of acceptance among American workers: that strike-solidarity — an important facet of class-consciousness from which American workers were so long thought to be free — has really developed in this country."

And that isn't the only facet, as *Business Week* might have pointed out. The Detroit primaries have just shown the growth of class-consciousness in the political arena, where Richard Frankenstein, vice president of the United Automobile Workers, scored a thumping victory over six rival candidates for the office of mayor.

vice to union leaders in an article, "Labor Leaders Must Have Courage."

Tobin says he has "no use for the 'softie' business agent or officer." In bold-faced type, he adds "To be an official of a corporation or of a labor union, you must have the courage to disagree."

"Not only are you sent out to administer the ordinary laws and rules, but your duty is to settle disputes on the spot very often, from your understanding of the laws and rules, and to settle those disputes. EVEN IF THEY ARE AGAINST YOUR OWN MEMBERS."

Well, it's sound advise for the big boss of a corporation. Or maybe, that's where Tobin got the idea in the first place.

End of a Career

Albert Schneider was one of Daniel Tobin's agents who in 1941 helped to form the "Committee of 100" that fought the militant and progressive leadership which organized and built the famous Minneapolis Drivers Local 544.

When the members of Local 544 voted to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO, Schneider actively participated in the campaign of physical terrorism unleashed by Tobin's "muscle-men" to force the drivers back into the AFL. He and his brother Fred were rewarded by Tobin with jobs as organizers and business agents for 544-AFL.

They did most of their organizing around taverns, built up a police record for assault, disorderly conduct and drunkenness. A couple of weeks ago, Albert Schneider's career as a "labor leader" was abruptly terminated. He got into a tavern brawl with a petty underworld associate, ended up a corpse with four holes in him.

BIG BUSINESS TIES

The fascist movement and Big Business then became closely bound together. The individual demagogues vying for leadership seek the patronage of Big Business. The tycoons of industry single out the most promising fascist demagogues to receive tremendous sums of money for the expansion of their influence.

The fascist groups begin to coalesce; a dominating leader moves to the foreground; the other contending leaders become subalterns. A unified fascist apparatus spreads throughout the embittered sections of the population. A streamlined political machine begins carrying the ideas of fascism into action.

Under the conditions of great social crisis, mass unemployment, misery, hunger, the fascist movement can record spectacular growth. Its natural field is the middle class, but it can likewise affect the fringes of the working class, particularly if the working class lacks a revolutionary political party ready to fight fascism to the death. Today the United States is rapidly nearing the brink of such a social crisis — the postwar depression. The working class has not yet organized an independent Labor Party.

SINISTER FIGURES

The readiness of Big Business to foster fascism in America was demonstrated beyond doubt during the terrible crisis that racked the country from 1929 to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939.

As long ago as 1934, Major Smedley D. Butler revealed that certain sinister figures of Wall Street, principally connected with the Morgan interests, had approached him with the idea of organizing a militant political movement of World War veterans. \$50 million was available as a starter. Butler's revelations made a tremendous sensation at the time.

Shortly thereafter, the fascist demagogue Father Coughlin skyrocketed into prominence. He built a million dollar shrine. He broadcast over a wide network of radio stations, distributed an

advice from the government concerning production contracts." Other large aircraft concerns made similar announcements.

What that "advice" will be was indicated within 24 hours, when it was announced "unofficially" from Washington that aircraft cutbacks would amount "perhaps to 90 percent of current production, and an even higher percentage for many types of ammunition, ordnance, chemical supplies and signal corps supplies." (N. Y. Times, Aug. 12).

HUGE CUTBACKS

The Associated Press reported that war material cutbacks amounting to \$12-billion were under way. The War and Navy Departments officially announced immediate contract terminations of \$4-billion, "the first of the expected flood," as the Times admitted.

"The ending of the war will deliver a staggering jolt to the industrial economy of the nation," the N. Y. Herald-Tribune confessed. U. S. Budget Bureau officials said the war's end will mean an immediate \$30-billion federal budget slash in war spending — the war spending that has been the sole temporary prop for America's capitalist economy.

Government officials could no longer conceal the terrible fate now immediately in store for the American workers. "A high-ranking Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion official estimated that 8,000,000 persons inevitably would be jobless within the next six months," the United

Press reported the day after the surrender offer.

"UNPREDICTABLE HELL."

From the same source came the prediction that no less than 5,000,000 workers will be tossed out of the war plants within 60 days. And the War Department revealed that some 5,000,000 war veterans might be released within the next 12 months to swell the army of jobless.

CIO officials predicted not less than 10,000,000 unemployed within 30 days of Japanese capitulation — not counting the returning veterans.

Detroit, for instance, "is preparing for a war-end impact expected to displace 250,000 workers, with industrial production pared to 30 per cent within two weeks after war contracts are terminated," reported the United Press on August 11. An official of the CIO United Automobile Workers was quoted as forecasting "ninety days of unpredictable hell."

The imminent end of the Pacific war saw not only millions of workers headed for the scrap-heaps, but a concerted corporatism campaign of wage-slashing through elimination of overtime pay and reduction of the 48 hour week to 40 hours.

WAGE SLASHES

This, according to the statement of Labor Department officials on August 11, will mean an annual slice in national wage totals of up to \$19-billion from the 1944 peak of \$90-billion.

Native Fascism -- II

American Big Business Finances Fascist Scum

By Joseph Hansen

Fascism in its initial stages appears as a motley assortment of divided groups and competing leaders. All shadings of race hatred, bigotry and superstition have their special representatives, so that the movement presents many facets to the disintegrated masses. Left by themselves, these malignant groups would eventually fade out of existence. But they are not permitted to die a natural death.

A great unifying force begins to influence them. This unifying force is Big Business. The ruling class understands very well that the free development of the labor movement means the doom of capitalism. Consequently, at a certain stage, the leaders of Big Business foster the fascist groups. They did most of their organizing around taverns, built up a police record for assault, disorderly conduct and drunkenness. A couple of weeks ago, Albert Schneider's career as a "labor leader" was abruptly terminated. He got into a tavern brawl with a petty underworld associate, ended up a corpse with four holes in him.

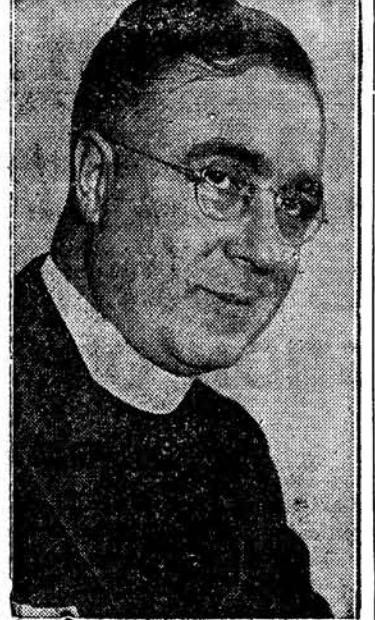
The fascist groups begin to coalesce; a dominating leader moves to the foreground; the other contending leaders become subalterns. A unified fascist apparatus spreads throughout the embittered sections of the population. A streamlined political machine begins carrying the ideas of fascism into action.

Today ex-Senator Robert R. Reynolds and Gerald L. K. Smith are moving into prominence as fascist demagogues in America. Reynolds, organizing the Nationalist Party, is operating in close contact with the political fountainehead of American capitalism. His marriage with the wealthy heiress Evelyn (Hope Diamond) McLean greatly bolstered his already prominent political standing in reactionary circles. According to Drew Pearson, the Washington columnist, members of President Truman's cabinet are frequently seen in the fashionable drawing room Mrs. Reynolds maintains.

Reynolds' drive to tap funds from Big Business is well organized. "George Faist has the New York territory," reports Eugene Segal, staff writer of the Scripps-Howard chain in a July 18 syndicated article; "and solicitors in Chicago are one O'Toole and Harry E. Prettyman, a high-pressure promoter who was in the real estate business in Florida until his license was revoked. At least 20 men are out soliciting funds for Reynolds' nationalists."

Among the organizers of Reynolds' fund-raising campaign is Joseph E. McWilliams, the Yorkville tough better known as Joe McNazi. It was McWilliams who organized the gangster-like Christian Mobilizers as part of Coughlin's Christian Front. Among the Mobilizers he organized shock troopers known as the Mobilizer Guards. Aping the pattern laid down by Mussolini and Hitler in their rise to power, these "Guards" were among the chief culprits in the beatings, stabbings and hoodlumism that swept the streets of New York in 1939. In September, 1939, McWilliams was elected to the National Supreme Council of the Ku Klux Klan and in the following year he organized his own group, the American Destiny Party. He

shortly thereafter, the fascist demagogue Father Coughlin skyrocketed into prominence. He built a million dollar shrine. He broadcast over a wide network of radio stations, distributed an



COUGHLIN

used to repeat, "Adolf Hitler is the greatest leader in the history of the world." The appearance of McWilliams as a lieutenant of Reynolds signifies the growing unification of the forces of American fascism.

Propaganda Battlefront reports that McWilliams, "using Jack Williams as an alias . . . called on Cleveland industrialists from mid-May until mid-June. With V. Malone, Reynolds' 'public relations director,' McWilliams helped to organize the Socialist Workers Party and The Militant.

The Trotskyists have consistently warned of the hunger plans of Wall Street and pointed out that the first major attack on these plans must be government operation of all idle and government-built plants under workers control.

This capitalist government, however, will savagely resist any such infringement on the "free enterprise" system of monopoly capitalism. The attitude of the government is indicated by an OWNR official, who on August 11 informed the United Press that the government would not undertake public works or other measures which "would place the government in a position of competing with industries for materials."

Thus, the advocacy of government operation of government-built plants is meaningless, if it is accompanied merely by a plea to the present government agencies controlled completely by corporation "dollar-a-year" men. Their exclusive concern is to safeguard capitalist monopoly interests.

This, or any other progressive demand of the labor movement, can be achieved only through a program of action, of militant, united mass struggle. It is up to the ranks of labor not only to compel their leaders to advocate government operation of idle plants under workers control, but to force the initiation of a serious, fighting program of action to attain this demand.

(To Be Continued)

SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM

By V. Grey

Our gang was on the afternoon shift. It was Monday. We were in the locker room at about six o'clock, just doing ordinary things like eating sandwiches or squirting water on somebody from the drinking fountain. Tony was trying to tell a joke. And you could see it wasn't going over. It was a very hot day, even hotter as night began to come. Nobody gave a damn about anything.

Then everything changed, just like it does when you tap a lazy looking furnace at the open hearth, and all hell breaks loose. Shorty came running in with his eyes bulging. "They just blew a whole city off the map — with one bomb!"

That can't be true, everybody thought. It doesn't make sense. But just to look at Shorty's face, you could see it was true. "What city," Breezy asked, trying to be smart but sounding awfully dumb.

Just Some Place in Japan

"I don't know. Some place in Japan," Shorty said still in a daze.

"Good thing it's them and not us," cracked Breezy.

"It's an atomic bomb! It blows everything apart for miles around. Just think! You could be walking down a country road and say a town gets bombed a couple of miles away. You just fold up, that's all!"

"Jesus Christ," Slim and Tony said at the same time. A couple more fellows came in from the parking lot where they'd been listening to auto radios. They told the same story. They explained what they had heard about the way the bomb works, and how the radio announcer said it would shorten the war.

Pop Philiber uncrossed his legs. "How many people were in that town?" he asked.

"Three hundred and some thousand," Shorty said.

"Well supposin'—just supposin'—that this new bomb shortens the time of the war, it don't shorten the trouble none. It don't make it any easier for the working people. Three hundred thousand of them get it in five seconds, instead of five years. So what if it does shorten the war?"

Scissorbill Sam Speaks Up

"Aw, they'd all commit suicide anyhow," said Scissorbill Sam, the boss's man. "What do they care?"

Nobody laughed at Scissorbill Sam.

"Nobody likes to die—ever!" said Pop, as though he wasn't thinking of Japanese people in particular. "Especially kids. Half of all the people in that town must have been little kids."

Pop didn't say anything more. He didn't figure there was anything to say. The fellows didn't say anything else either. That is — all they talked about was atoms, bombs, and electrons. What more could be said about the thing itself? If the war is too terrible to feel the murder of it, how can you feel it any deeper when multiplied by a million?

Atomic Bomb Wipes Out Defenseless Civilians in the City of Nagasaki

Made in U. S. A.

It was a "race," they say, between German and Allied scientists to get there first with the atomic bomb. Had Germany won the race and dropped an atomic bomb on, say, Philadelphia, this would have been an act of the barbarous "Huns."

Hirosima is different. Aren't the Japanese just sub-human monkeys? "Thank God," says Truman, that American imperialism won the race. And so the most diabolical death-dealer will bear an exclusively American label — for a time!

DEATH OF A CITY

Twelve hours after the atomic bomb had been dropped, Robert Shaplen, war correspondent of the National Broadcasting Company, flew within a few miles of what was left of Nagasaki. He said "it was like looking over the rim of a volcano in the process of erupting . . . Nagasaki was still a mass of acrid flame and smoke. The blazing area extended at least ten miles. We saw four huge towers of flame shooting skyward to several thousand feet, indicating that explosions were still going on. The tongues of shooting flame leaped into the smoke layer, a weird orange color. Watching this tremendous fire, the funeral of a whole city, it was obvious that nothing could have a chance of survival."

Airmen 70 to 250 miles from the scene of this man-contrived disaster reported all through the following night by radio that they could see Nagasaki burning "fiercely." Flyers as far as 250 miles away who saw the actual bombing described it as "too tremendous to believe." One said he saw "fiery yellow orange ball shot into the sky for 8,000 feet, followed by a column of smoke which rose to at least 20,000 feet."

This was the terrible fate of Nagasaki's 250,000 people. Four days earlier, the 344,000 inhabitants of Hiroshima had been obliterated by an atomic bomb. "ALL LIFE AT AN END IN HIROSHIMA" was the jubilant

VOTE TROTSKYIST!

In the Coming New York Elections

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

ORGANIZATION OF THE WAR VETERANS BY THE TRADE UNIONS!

The

International Fund Drive Passes Half-Way Mark

By FARRELL DOBBS
Campaign Director

The half-way mark has been passed in the Socialist Workers Party's \$5,000 International Solidarity Fund. With \$2,774.90 raised at the end of the fourth week, the over-all score is 55 percent.

The Pittsburgh and Allentown Quakertown Branches have joined the 100 percent group, making a total of five branches which have already sent in their full quota. Milwaukee, San Francisco, Bayonne, Los Angeles and Youngstown have all passed the three-quarter post and are now in the home stretch.

FROM THE BRANCHES

The Socialist Workers Party is raising the \$5,000 International Solidarity Fund to provide ur-

gently needed aid to our Trotskyist co-thinkers in the wort-

ern countries.

AKRON: "Last Friday night the Akron Branch had a mobilization to collect funds for the International Solidarity Drive. Each pair of comrades was given a list of Militant subscribers, a collection can and a copy of the paper with your article on the fund drive.

"We went from door to door asking people how they liked the paper, and explaining the International Solidarity Fund. We asked them to participate with us in this drive. Everyone we spoke to was very enthusiastic about the paper and very understanding about our need for funds to aid our co-thinkers abroad. We collected almost \$7.00 in small change, and many people asked

International Solidarity Fund

SCOREBOARD

BRANCH	Quota	Paid	Percent
Buffalo	\$125.00	\$145.00	116
Reading	25.00	25.00	100
St. Louis	25.00	25.00	100
Pittsburgh	25.00	25.00	100
Allentown			
Quakertown	60.00	60.00	100
Milwaukee	30.00	28.00	93
San Francisco	375.00	307.00	82
Bayonne	100.00	78.00	78
Los Angeles	750.00	575.00	77
Youngstown	85.00	65.00	76
Newark	100.00	71.00	71
Philadelphia	125.00	89.35	71
Rochester	15.00	10.25	68
Twin Cities	250.00	162.50	65
Boston	125.00	70.00	56
Toledo	100.00	52.00	52
Chicago	500.00	254.00	51
Detroit	400.00	164.00	41
New York	1000.00	371.00	37
Akron	75.00	23.50	31
Cleveland	75.00	22.00	29
Seattle	350.00	100.00	29
Members-at-Large and Friends	245.00	52.30	21
N. Y. Youth Group	15.00	0	0
San Diego	25.00	0	0
TOTAL	\$5,000.00	2,774.90	55

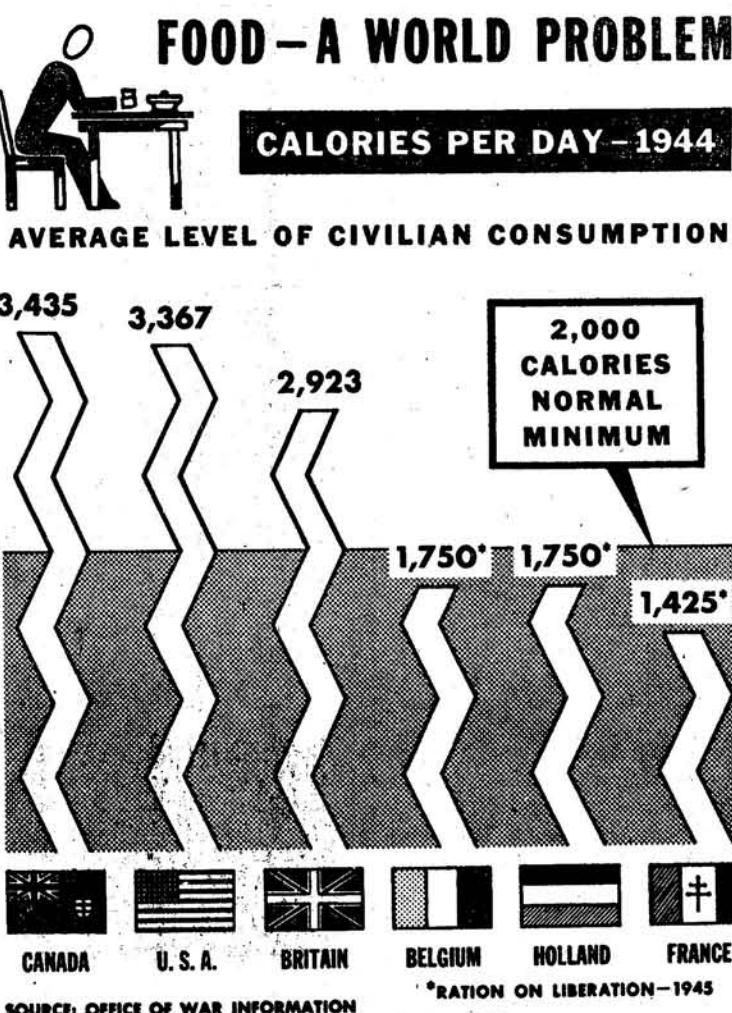
us to come back for money as they hadn't received their pay checks for the week. As one woman said, 'I'm poor and I've always been poor but I'll share with those who have less than I have.'

"After the mobilization we went to the house of one of the comrades for sandwiches and cold drinks, and to discuss the mobilization. As we paid for the sandwiches and pop, we made a few more dollars for the Fund.

"This is the first tag day we've had here, and even if we didn't raise a lot of money we had a very rich experience. First, we had a chance to visit and talk with some of our new Militant readers, and second we feel that we brought them closer to us by asking them to work with us in this very concrete way of contributing to our International Fund.

"We were all very pleased, and although our agenda is quite full we plan to have another mobilization before the campaign is over."

SAF FRANCISCO: "We are sending you \$45 on our quota. \$16 of this is a contribution from a sympathizer. That leaves us with another \$100 to send you, and I feel certain that we will meet it."



The chart above shows the terrible hunger in "liberated" Europe, with food-consumption in France, Holland and Belgium less than half that in the United States. Germany, however, has been allotted still less by AMG—only 1150 calories a day.

Conquerors Wine and Dine At Potsdam Like Barbaric Despoilers Of Antiquity

By Bill Morgan

History books describe the colorful victory celebrations of ancient Rome. Barbarian splendor combined with savage cruelty as the conquerors were entertained at lavish feasts of meat and wine while the beaten and mutilated victims were dragged in chains behind the gaudily bedecked chariots of the triumphant generals. Bouquets and precious gifts showered the victors as stones and whips drove the half-starved prisoners through the streets to the slave markets.

And in the land of the defeated, newly appointed governors collected heavy taxes, looted and enforced their wills with the aid of armies of occupation. The

scholarly historians say this was a "pagan" and "inhuman" world—a barbarian civilization.

PTSDAM CELEBRATION

How will the historians of the future describe the recent victory conference of the "Big Three" at Potsdam? Will the future student of history read about the lot of millions of German workers and poor farmers, their wives and children but what history books will tell this story?

In recent dispatches from the great conference comes a graphic picture of the condition of the defeated, the victims of the triumphant leaders of the great "Democracies."

"Half-famished boys and girls were still searching garbage pails

Carlson Describes Progress Of Trotskyism On West Coast

By Grace Carlson

SAN FRANCISCO, August 11—California is generally regarded as the center of anti-Japanese propaganda. Here, the bosses try to set the white workers against the Japanese workers by instilling race hatred into them just as the southern bosses divide the white and Negro workers.

But I have seen very little evidence of anti-Japanese feeling in the California cities which I have visited during the tour—San Pedro, Los Angeles and San Francisco. The conversations which I overheard on the trains and in restaurants and street cars expressed relief that V-J day is near, but I heard many condemnations of the American and English governments for using the atomic bomb against helpless civilians.

JUSTIFYING BARBARISM

Of course, the capitalist newspapers of California attempted to whip up anti-Japanese feeling. They knew that this was necessary in order to justify the barbarism of the Anglo-American annihilation campaign against Japanese civilians in the last days of the war. I suppose that some California workers may have been taken in by this

propaganda, but I haven't come across many of them.

The workers who have come to our meetings have been unanimous in their outspoken condemnation of the atomic bomb horrors. They are beginning to see more clearly what Trotskyists mean when they say that the outlook for humanity is either "Forward to Socialism" or "Backward to Barbarism."

POPULAR DEMAND

As the war draws to a close, there have been an increasing number of questions at the meet-

ings about the Socialist Workers Party's answer to unemployment. This has been especially noticeable in the California "war boom" cities which will be hit very quickly by the peacetime cut in production. Our proposal to operate these factories under workers' control, to produce the things which workers need is a popular one with the advanced workers of this area.

We are recruiting many such workers into the Party—but we have only made a start in comparison with what we can hope to achieve in the near future. We've made a very good start though! The San Pedro, Los Angeles and San Francisco branches are active, growing organizations. Each of these branches has spacious new (since I was in California on the last tour) headquarters, but they are all complaining that they have outgrown their headquarters.

And from the viewpoint of the large meetings we had in each of these centers, and from the glimpses I had of the rapid tempo of party recruiting, I can agree that these branches may feel a little cramped in their present headquarters. But "growing pains" are suffered gladly by Trotskyists and in California they'll cure them by moving on to bigger and better headquarters.

The world is told in long reports that the German people are receiving a "scientific ration"—sufficient to maintain the democratic contention that the Allies do not stoop to concentration camp tactics—but the fact, says MacGowan, is that rations frequently exist only on paper and adequate stocks have not yet reached the retailers...

"Is it the American policy to starve us to death?" asks one old woman. "I can't believe it," she went on, "but the German people think so. Several times a day the radio talks about the German concentration camps and the horrors there. Is the food policy designed to make us walking corpses too? If so, why don't you tell us so frankly?"

VICTOR'S VIEWPOINT

The attitude of the conquerors who wine and dine in the palatial mansions of the German industrialists is typical of the one expressed by Col. Frank Howley,

the American Military Governor who said, "Whatever happens to these jokers, let us not shed tears. There will be many times that Germans won't be able to get all the food that is on their ration cards—that's just too bad."

"I used to pray every night for the Americans to come here to save us from the Russians," one German mother said. "Hitler told us the Russians were terrible people. Now we don't see any difference. Some people are beginning to say the Americans are worse than the Russians."

A thousand years ago the "pagans," the "inhuman" and barbarian despots of Rome established the pattern now followed by the "Big Three." The difference is this, that the "Big Three" and their little stooges carry out their policy of death, disease and starvation in the name of democracy, liberation and freedom. The ancient tyrants never made any such cynical pretenses.

The History Of American Trotskyism

HOW THE PIONEER TROTSKYISTS SOLVED KEY QUESTION OF "WHAT TO DO NEXT?"

By James P. Cannon

In energies and abilities, and containing some very talented people, was utterly destroyed in the political fight, ignominiously dissolved. Today, most of its leaders, all of them as far as I know, are on the bandwagon of the imperialist war, serving ends absolutely opposite to those which they set out to serve at the beginning of their political work. The program is decisive.

Understanding the Party's Tasks

On the other hand, if the group misunderstands the tasks set for it by the conditions of the day, if it does not know how to answer the most important of all questions in politics—that is, the question of what to do next—then the group, no matter what its merits may otherwise be, can wear itself out in misguided efforts and futile activities and come to grief.

So, as I said in my opening remarks, our fate was determined in those early days by the answer we gave to the question of the program and by the way we analyzed the tasks of the day. Our merit, as a newly created political force in the American labor movement—the merit which assured the progress, stability and further development of our group—consisted in this, that we gave correct answers to both those questions.

The conference didn't take up every question posed by the political conditions of the time. It took up only the most important questions, that is, those which had to be answered first. And the first of these was the Russian question, the question of the revolution in existence. As I remarked in the previous lecture, even since 1917 it has been demonstrated over and over again that the Russian question is the touchstone for every political current in the labor movement. Those who take an incorrect position on the Russian question leave the revolutionary path sooner or later.

The Russian question has been elucidated innumerable times in articles, pamphlets and books. But at every important turn of events it arises again. As late as 1939 and 1940 we had to fight the Russian question over again with a petty-bourgeois current in our own movement. Those who want to study the Russian question in all its profundity, all its acuteness and all its urgency can find abundant material in the literature of the Fourth International. Therefore I do not need to elucidate it in detail tonight. I simply reduce it to its barest essentials and say that the question confronting us at our first convention was whether we should continue to support the Soviet state, the Soviet Union, despite the fact that the direction of it had fallen into the hands of a conservative, bureaucratic caste. There were people in those days, calling themselves and considering themselves revolutionary, who had broken with the Communist Party, or had been expelled from it, and who wanted to turn their backs entirely on the Soviet Union and what remained of the Russian revolution and start over, with a "clean slate" as an anti-Soviet party. We rejected that program and all those who urged it on us. We could have had many members in those days if we had compromised on that issue. We took a firm stand in favor of supporting the Soviet Union; of not overthrowing it, but of trying to reform it through the instrumentality of the party and the Comintern.

In the course of development it was proved that all those who, whether from impatience, ignorance or subjectivity—whatever the cause might be—prematurely announced the death of the Russian revolution, were in reality announcing their own demise as revolutionists. Each and every one of these groups and tendencies degenerated, fell apart at the very base, withdrew to the side lines, and in many cases went over into the camp of the bourgeoisie. Our political health, our revolutionary vitality, were safeguarded, first of all, by the correct attitude we took toward the Soviet Union despite the crimes that had been committed, including those against us, by the individuals in control of the administration of the Soviet Union.

The Russian Question Always a Test

The trade union question had an extraordinary importance then as always. At that time it was particularly acute. The Communist International, and the Communist parties under its direction and control, after a long experiment with right-wing opportunist policies, had taken a big swing to the left, to ultra-leftism—a characteristic manifestation of the bureaucratic centrism of the faction of Stalin. Having lost the Marxist compass, they were distinguished by a tendency to jump from the extreme right to the left, and vice versa. They had gone through a long experience with right-wing policies in the Soviet Union, conciliating the kulaks and Nepmen, until the Soviet Union, and the bureaucracy with it, came to the brink of disaster. On the international arena, similar policies brought similar results. In reacting to this, and under the relentless criticisms of the Left Opposition, they introduced an ultra-leftist overcorrection in all fields. On the trade union question they swung around to the position of leaving the established unions, including the American Federation of Labor, and starting a new made-to-order trade union movement under the control of the Communist Party. The insane policy of building "Red Unions" became the order of the day.

Our first National Conference took a firm stand against that policy, and declared in favor of operating within the existing labor movement, confining independent unionism to the unorganized field. We mercilessly attacked the revived sectarianism contained in this theory of new "Communist" trade union movement created by artificial means. By that stand, by the correctness of our trade union policy, we assured that when the time arrived for us to have some access to the mass movement we would know the shortest route to it. Later events confirmed the correctness of the trade union policy adopted at our first conference and consistently maintained thereafter.

The third big important question we had to answer was whether we should create a new independent party, or still consider ourselves a faction of the existing Communist Party and the Comintern. Here again we were besieged by people who thought they were radicals; ex-members of the Communist Party who had become completely scoured and wanted to throw out the baby with the dirty bath water; syndicalists and ultra-leftist elements who, in their antagonism to the Communist Party, were willing to combine with anybody ready to create a party in opposition to it. Moreover, in our own ranks there were a few people who reacted sub-

jectively to the bureaucratic expulsions, the slander and violence and ostracism employed against us. They also wanted to renounce the Communist Party and start a new party. This approach had a superficial attraction. But we resisted, we rejected that idea. People who over-simplified the question used to say to us: "How can you be a faction of a party when you are expelled from it?"

We explained: It is a question of correctly appraising the membership of the Communist Party, and finding the right tactical approach to it. If the Communist Party and its members have degenerated beyond reclamation, and if a more progressive group of workers exists either actually, or potentially by reason of the direction in which such a group is moving and out of which we can create a new and better party—then the argument for a new party is correct. But, we said, we don't see such a group anywhere. We don't see any real progressiveness, any militancy, any real political intelligence in all these diverse oppositions, individuals and tendencies. They are nearly all side-line critics and sectarians. The real vanguard of the proletariat consists of those tens of thousands of workers who have been awakened by the Russian revolution. They are still loyal to the Comintern and to the Communist Party. They haven't attentively followed the process of gradual degeneration. They haven't unraveled the theoretical questions which are at the bottom of this degeneration. It is impossible even to get a hearing from these people unless you place yourself on the ground of the party, and strive not to destroy but to reform it, demanding readmission to the party with democratic rights.

Fruits of the Correct Tactic

We solved that problem correctly by declaring ourselves a faction of the party and the Comintern. We named our organization the Communist League of America (Opposition), in order to indicate that we were not a new party but simply an opposition faction to the old one. Experience has richly demonstrated the correctness of this decision. By remaining partisans of the Communist Party and the Communist International, by opposing the bureaucratic leaders at the top, but appraising correctly the rank and file as they were at that time, and seeking contact with them, we continued to gain new recruits from the ranks of the Communist workers. The overwhelming majority of our members in the first five years of our existence came from the CP. Thus we built the foundations of a regenerated Communist movement. As for the anti-Soviet and anti-party people, they never produced anything but confusion.

Out of this decision to form, at that time, a faction and not a new party, flowed another important and troublesome question which was debated and fought out at great length in our movement for five years—from 1928 until 1933. That question was: What concrete task shall we set for this group of 100 people scattered over the broad ex

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.

Urge Negroes To Cast Votes For Trotskyists

Editor:

It is often said we are fighting this war for freedom, to give the world the rights God gave to them but were stolen by Germany and Japan.

It no doubt gives free people pleasure to know if their blood must be given it is for freedom's cause. The French, Italians, Germans and others are now a happier people; America sent her finest men to liberate them, her sons, black and white, gave their lives for their freedom.

Now I ask, who is going to free the Negro? I am afraid the answer is the Negro; he must free himself.

Ask, if you dare, any Negro soldier what he is fighting for; can he say to preserve the American way of life? Indeed not. What is the American way of life for a Negro?

This is the American way of life for a Negro in a white world. Slavery in the modern manner in the South; low wages, poor housing throughout the country; insults from such men as Bilbo, Eastland and Rankin. These are but a very few of the ills of the American way of life for the American Negro!

Roosevelt tried to pretend to be a modern Abraham Lincoln but he fooled only the ignorant. He ignored the issues so close to every Negro heart and died leaving the same issues to be ignored by Truman. We really cannot even hope for any improvements now.

The Negro people must realize now there is but one hope left and that is the Socialist Workers Party. How can we believe in any other when each new term brings worse people to the highest offices in the government?

I want to urge every Negro worker to learn of this organization, read their literature, investigate their teachings, and you will realize it is our last hope.

On July 28, I visited The Militant at 116 University Place here in New York and had the privilege of meeting several of the staff members. I was honored to meet these people who are fighting such a noble fight for the Negro.

I want to remind my people of the years 1929 to 1941 and with those years in mind, investigate the Socialist Workers Party. When you have become aware of socialist teachings you will realize no other group offers so much for the Negro.

You have a vote here in New York City and I want every Negro man and woman to use it to the best advantage by voting for the Socialist Workers Party; all others have failed us.

If we will unite and give our votes to the Socialist Workers Party, the day will not be far away when men like Eastland, Bilbo, Rankin and other southern liars will be taught through experience the dignity of man regardless of his color, race or creed.

I want every reader of our Militant to make a friend a reader; give him your copy to read until he sees the light, then he too will get it weekly. We who are in the light must lead others from the darkness. As for myself, I am going to work without ceasing for our cause, because I have no other hope. How can I?

V. H.
New York

De Leon and the SLP

Editor:

Daniel De Leon was a founder of the IWW, a man hated and feared by that slimy, toady Gompers — a militant unionist, a trade unionist who saw clearly the historic task of the unions. But who today fears the Socialist Labor Party? Who has heard of Arnold Peterson? Where is the economic organization of the present-day SLP? How long has it been since it has participated in the class struggle?

Where are all, Oh, wisest seers, and where the SLP of other years?

In the Socialist Workers Party, in the international Trotskyist movement.

Yes, the inverted Stalinists, the anti-De Leonist leadership of the present-day SLP can't see the looming shadow of the Fourth International, but more and more rank and file SLPers can. I for one. Let's see some of De Leon's writings in The Militant, and the slogan "Industrial Republic — The Workers' Government." Publish in The Militant the contents of the six leaflets withdrawn from circulation by the SLP out of fear of the capitalist jails, and preceding each one, place De Leon's "The Party Stand." Then let them call us reformists!

R. S.
Bellaire, O.

Ball-Burton-Hatch Anti-Labor Bill

Editor:

Please convey my thanks to J. D. of Reading, Pa., for calling attention to the error in my article which listed Senator Hill as one of the formal sponsors of the Ball-Burton-Hatch "Industrial Peace" Bill. Hill has been repeatedly associated with the other three senators in the sponsorship of legislation. They earned the title of the "B2H2 Quartet." Writing under great pressure, I permitted this association to slip into the article.

However, I wish to point out that Hill was one of the chief behind-the-scenes backers of the bill, although the liberal and labor press have tried to spread the misinformation that he was not. The New York daily, PM, June 21, wrote, for instance, that they are discriminated against for the col-

"it was significant that Sen. Lester Hill (D., Ala.), long a friend of organized labor, did not join his former associates in this project." This was for reasons of political expediency, because of the CIO-PAC support he had received in his election, and not out of friendship for labor.

The liberals and labor leaders would like to have the workers believe that one of the capitalist politicians they backed has really turned out to be a "friend of labor." But Hill, a Southern Democratic "white supremacist" who voted against the FEPC, cannot be so listed even with respect to the Ball-Burton-Hatch bill.

As the N. Y. Times, June 21, reported: "The three Senators (Ball, Burton and Hatch) said that Senator Hill, the fourth in the B2H2 quartet, was 'in thorough accord with the bill but did not have time to help draft it'."

Art Preis
New York City

On Discrimination

Editor:

I would like to say a few words, or many, about discrimination. There is only one group of people in this country which is discriminated against, the Negro people. To mention Jews, Catholics, Mexicans and other groups in a class with them is simply humbug. And besides, neither the Negroes nor the Catholics are really a minority. They are many.

What about the Irish, Finns, Syrians, Danes, Norwegians, Spaniards, Icelanders, and all the others who are real minorities? They don't ask any special privileges. When people shook the old world, and came to this country, they should have left more than their poverty. I have often thought that it was too bad that this nation did not formulate a religion for all those who came to make the USA their future home leaving all the tyrannical beliefs of the past behind them.

The Negroes were brought here to be slaves, and were denied education and opportunity, in a far different way from other immigrants. They have purposely been kept down, in ignorance and poverty, so as to make them a low caste of untouchables. They are discriminated against for the col-

or of their skins and the form of their heads. But by the Eternal, they shall come up to the rest of the human race as equals, not a downtrodden degraded being halfway between man and beast. They are created humans, and shall be such, in spirit and in truth. But to try this building up of nationalities and races is not socialism.

I like the term "socialistic communism." Sometimes when I am not too downhearted, I dream of a time when my whole human race shall be free from all of capitalism's evils. When clean, happy and healthy people shall live on this old planet of ours, as the human race, not as this or that race or nationality. When we shall not try to destroy each other for financial gains, because we shall all have what we need, and we shall be content to let others have what they need. Because money in private hands shall have lost its power.

I will see if I can scrape up a dollar bill for the European cause, and wish the best of luck to the New York candidates. I hope that others will do likewise. Many small dollars make a big pile.

I also hope that Mrs. Carlson can open the eyes of many, and gather friends for your party, if it is on the level, which I hope it is, for your sake and the peoples.'

M. M.
Minneapolis

Coal for Europe

Editor:

In the August 4 issue of The Militant, page 8, there appears an article entitled "Ickes Plots Use of Coal to Stem Revolt in Europe." The article quotes Ickes as saying, "the race in Europe today is between coal and anarchy," and correctly indicates that what Ickes means by anarchy is working class revolution.

It further points out the real "anarchy" is the capitalist "anarchy" which prevents the organization of Europe's mines.

Unfortunately, in developing what is substantially correct, the article also says something that is not only incorrect but outright reactionary and has absolutely no place in a working class, let alone revolutionary socialist, publication. Referring to coal that will be sent and indicating that it will go only to areas safe from socialist revolution, the article states: "This means that the homes of union men in the United States will be cold, so that the homes of scabs in Europe will be warm."

This is a statement catering to one of the most reactionary and backward attitudes in this country. The capitalist reactionary press has been steadily harping that we should not send "the bread out of our mouths to aliens abroad."

It is of course true as the experience of the last war and this have already shown, that the imperialist states intend and do use food as a weapon of "conform or else." But it is fantastic and reactionary to identify the workers who may get pitiful allotment of food or coal as "scabs," to make no attempt to separate these workers from their capitalist rulers, or as is implied, to blame them for defeat and identify them with reaction. This falls in the same category as those who identify Nazism with the German working class.

On the contrary we demand that not only coal be sent to Europe and all the devastated areas, but food, medicine, etc. be sent everywhere, and indiscriminately; and so that we can be sure of this, that the sending of this material aid be under workers' control — that is, trade union control.

Henry Martin
New York

Editor's Note — Our correspondent is correct. The passage to which he objects was unfortunate. Due to great pressure on the copy desk it got by the censorious eye of the editor. We hereby make amends and promise greater vigilance henceforth.

War Criminals

Editor:

I am enclosing an article by Dorothy Thompson which appeared August 2, in the San Francisco Chronicle — an independent paper which is considered "liberal."

Dorothy Thompson says in part, "The discerning mind can observe in the resistance movements of all countries, where alone dynamic social forces are at work, twin movements, and twin yearnings — the yearning for freedom, and for an integrated and planned use of resources and

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. *The Militant* is conducting 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. In case of ties, all who submit winning names will receive an original feature cartoon, by Gray.

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.

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.

man-power — some form of socialism...

"There are those — Mr. Churchill is one — who believe socialism and civil liberty are incompatible. It is foolish to dismiss that notion as nonsensical. There is as yet little proof to the contrary. But if they are incompatible, then the European dilemma cannot be solved in any synthesis; freedom or socialism must perish, and I do not think it will be socialism."

Alongside of her article appeared a letter to the editor which protests bitterly against Wall Street's aid to Hitler and the corporations' responsibility for war. "And today we hear rumors of big corporations just whetting their teeth for similar opportunities (to finance fascist states). Have these men no conscience? Can they look at our young men returning minus legs and arms, minus faces, and untold numbers of mental cases without feeling the finger of scorn pointed at them? Truly the blood guilt for this war is on their heads as on Hitler's and his criminal accomplices."

The juxtaposition of the article and the letter show a frame of mind which is developing in this country, I believe.

George Storck
San Francisco

Two Presidents

Editor:

As I look around, see and hear so many ideas about our great "Siamese twin" presidents, they seem like suicide to me. We are in danger as long as they last.

My neighbor told me the other day that Roosevelt was the best president we have had since our states were organized. I told him that Roosevelt had failed to employ the people and instead of taking industry out of the hands of the capitalists, the real robbers, he goes to Europe and shoots down innocent women and children who don't know what it is all about.

In other words, we draft men here, they draft men there; two innocent armies stand up and kill each other for the sake of profit for the few. I told my opponent that if someone had to be shot to save me, I would not call him a very good president; all he had done was invite his "friends" to commit suicide.

The Bible says "fret not over evil-doers, for in a little time they are cut off." They have used the church. If the people are not on the road to hell, I will have to study my catechism over. They have chosen the blind to lead, and those with itching ears to turn the truth into fables. And for this same cause, God will send them strong delusions that they may all believe a lie that they may all be damned who take pleasure in unrighteousness.

L. B. Courts
Hamilton, O.

Editor:

I am so nervous and upset over this food-shortage and the rationing system that I don't care to live any more. I can't buy anything to eat with my points, except lard and oleo and four points' worth of lunch meat or cheese, to pack one lunch for my husband. I can't buy any meat for a meal, not even for our Sunday supper!

It would be different if we didn't have the food, but we do, and plenty of it. But it's rationed on too many points. The OPA keeps promising us more meat, but then raises the point value and we get less instead. A little more than a month ago, they told us housewives that we would find more meat on the butchers' counters. At the same time, they raised the point value on oleo and 17 other red-point foods!

This doesn't look as if the government's trying to fight the black market dealers. It looks more like they are trying to help the black market make a big profit on us. As long as we don't have the points to buy food, we must depend on dealers to give it to us point-free at a high price.

The Negroes were brought here to be slaves, and were denied education and opportunity, in a far different way from other immigrants. They have purposely been kept down, in ignorance and poverty, so as to make them a low caste of untouchables. They are discriminated against for the col-

or of their skins and the form of their heads. But by the Eternal, they shall come up to the rest of the human race as equals, not a downtrodden degraded being halfway between man and beast. They are created humans, and shall be such, in spirit and in truth. But to try this building up of nationalities and races is not socialism.

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.

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.

man-power — some form of socialism...

"There are those — Mr. Churchill is one — who believe socialism and civil liberty are incompatible. It is foolish to dismiss that notion as nonsensical. There is as yet little proof to the contrary. But if they are incompatible, then the European dilemma cannot be solved in any synthesis; freedom or socialism must perish, and I do not think it will be socialism."

Alongside of her article appeared a letter to the editor which protests bitterly against Wall Street's aid to Hitler and the corporations' responsibility for war. "And today we hear rumors of big corporations just whetting their teeth for similar opportunities (to finance fascist states). Have these men no conscience? Can they look at our young men returning minus legs and arms, minus faces, and untold numbers of mental cases without feeling the finger of scorn pointed at them? Truly the blood guilt for this war is on their heads as on Hitler's and his criminal accomplices."

The juxtaposition of the article and the letter show a frame of mind which is developing in this country, I believe.

man-power — some form of socialism...

"There are those — Mr. Churchill is one — who believe socialism and civil liberty are incompatible. It is foolish to dismiss that notion as nonsensical. There is as yet little proof to the contrary. But if they are incompatible, then the European dilemma cannot be solved in any synthesis; freedom or socialism must perish, and I do not think it will be socialism."

Alongside of her article appeared a letter to the editor which protests bitterly against Wall Street's aid to Hitler and the corporations' responsibility for war. "And today we hear rumors of big corporations just whetting their teeth for similar opportunities (to finance fascist states). Have these men no conscience? Can they look at our young men returning minus legs and arms, minus faces, and untold numbers of mental cases without feeling the finger of scorn pointed at them? Truly the blood guilt for this war is on their heads as on Hitler's and his criminal accomplices."

The juxtaposition of the article and the letter show a frame of mind which is developing in this country, I believe.

man-power — some form of socialism...

"There are those — Mr. Churchill is one — who believe socialism and civil liberty are incompatible. It is foolish to dismiss that notion as nonsensical. There is as yet little proof to the contrary. But if they are incompatible, then the European dilemma cannot be solved in any synthesis; freedom or socialism must perish, and I do not think it will be socialism."

Alongside of her article appeared a letter to the editor which protests bitterly against Wall Street's aid to Hitler and the corporations' responsibility for war. "And today we hear rumors of big corporations just whetting their teeth for similar opportunities (to finance fascist states). Have these men no conscience? Can they look at our young men returning minus legs and arms, minus faces, and untold numbers of mental cases without feeling the finger of scorn pointed at them? Truly the blood guilt for this war is on their heads as on Hitler's and his criminal accomplices."

The juxtaposition of the article and the letter show a frame of mind which is developing in this country, I believe.

man-power — some form of socialism...

"There are those — Mr. Churchill is one — who believe socialism and civil liberty are incompatible. It is foolish to dismiss that notion as nonsensical. There is as yet little proof to the contrary. But if they are incompatible, then the European dilemma cannot be solved in any synthesis; freedom or socialism must perish, and I do not think it will be socialism."

Alongside of her article appeared a letter to the editor which protests bitterly against Wall Street's aid to Hitler and the corporations' responsibility for war. "And today we hear rumors of big corporations just whetting their teeth for similar opportunities (to finance fascist states). Have these men no conscience? Can they look at our young men returning minus legs and arms, minus faces, and untold numbers of mental cases without feeling the finger of scorn pointed at them?

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. IX—No. 33 Saturday, August 18, 1945

Published Weekly by

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York 8, N. Y.

Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

FARRELL DOBBS, Managing Editor

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

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

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



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

— Leon Trotsky

Japan's Defeat

Japanese imperialism's bid for domination of all eastern Asia has ended in military catastrophe, as the Trotskyists always predicted it would. Back in 1934, in the thesis on *War and the Fourth International*, the Trotskyists stated that "behind this greedy aggressiveness (of the Japanese imperialists) there are but few real forces. Japan may be the first to give the signal to war; but from semi-feudal Japan, torn by all the contradictions that beset Czarist Russia, sooner than from other countries, the call to revolution may sound."

These words were written by Leon Trotsky, the great founder of the Fourth International, the anniversary of whose death we mark in this issue.

In 1938, at the founding conference of the Fourth International, a thesis was adopted on *The War in the Far East and the Revolutionary Perspectives*. Here on the basis of a Marxian analysis of Japan's social structure and international position, the Trotskyists predicted that "Japanese imperialism will go down to defeat in the coming world war if its career is not brought to a specious end by the proletarian revolution."

Press dispatches on Japan's internal situation suggest very clearly that the country is on the verge of a revolutionary crisis. A Tokyo broadcast said that "disturbances" occurred in the capital when Japan's offer of surrender was first announced and that the disturbances were "suppressed." There were no details.

During the early part of this week, while Japan's surrender was being debated by the ruling class, the Tokyo radio broadcast frantic appeals to the people to remain "united" and to await the commands of the Emperor. The Tokyo *Shimbun* warned the people against discussing past developments. "It should be borne in mind," the paper said, "that such discussions might lead to a fatal dissension among our people, leading to a fatal internal split."

The Japanese people, tortured on the rack of war for 14 long years, are ready to settle accounts with the imperialist gangsters who rule their country. If they are left alone, there can be no doubt that they will sweep away the rotted semi-feudal, semi-capitalist ruling class and set their feet on the revolutionary road that leads to socialism.

That is why the Allied imperialists have "agreed" to "permit" the Emperor to remain at the head of the state under orders of their own Supreme Commander. They intend to use the Japanese monarchy, as they have used the Italian monarchy, to prevent the Japanese people from taking their fate into their own hands. Hirohito, hitherto the tool of the militarist-imperialist ruling clique in Japan, is now slated to become the puppet of the counter-revolutionary Allied conquerors.

Voice Of Capitalism

Just one day before the first Japanese offer to surrender precipitated an economic crisis in America, Representative Rayburn, the Speaker of the House, informed reporters at his home in Texas that he "saw no need" for reconvening Congress.

According to the Associated Press report, "he added that Congress already had disposed of much legislation directed toward reconversion and unless something unforeseen arose Congressional work was abreast of pressing tasks."

Not 24 hours later, on August 10, the first intimation that the war would quickly end inspired a nation-wide wave of plant shutdowns, production cutbacks and mass layoffs. From Washington officials came the ominous admission that anywhere from 5,000,000 to 8,000,000 workers would be out of jobs within 90 days to six months.

Yet Rayburn, who accurately reflects the views and sentiments of most Congressmen, could blandly insist that Congress is "abreast of pressing tasks" and has "disposed of much legislation" to keep production going and prevent wholesale unemployment and destitution.

The only "pressing task" Congress undertook in the last session was safeguarding Big Business. Con-

gress passed "reconversion" legislation ensuring the war contractors against loss of profits in war contract terminations. It provided the agencies and methods for turning government-built plants over to the monopolies as virtual gifts. It guaranteed the big corporations "normal profits" for years after the war through tax rebates and similar treasury handouts.

But what of the workers who will be tossed out of the plants by the millions in the next few weeks? Congress brushed aside every proposal, however feeble and inadequate, for maintaining full employment or providing unemployment compensation and relief. When Rayburn said he "saw no need" for quickly reconvening Congress, what he meant was that he saw no need for Congress to undertake any immediate measures in the interests of the toilers. To the Rayburns, who dominate and run Congress, the desperate needs of the workers involve no "pressing tasks."

Detroit Points Way

UAW-CIO Vice President Richard Frankensteen's victory in the Detroit mayoralty primary on August 7 is striking testimony to the growing desire of the organized workers for genuine independent labor political action.

Prior to the election, the capitalist press had predicted that the primary vote would be very small. After the election, they commented with alarm at the unexpected turnout of CIO workers from the plants to give Frankensteen an even higher vote than incumbent Mayor Jeffries received.

Anyone familiar with the views of the Detroit Auto workers knows they consider Frankensteen far from an ideal candidate. They certainly did not support him because of his record as a labor leader, his policies in the union nor his political program. Indeed, Frankensteen's opposition to militant policies, his public attacks on striking workers, his servility before the corporation and government officials have earned him the contempt of the bulk of the Detroit auto workers.

Nevertheless, with sound class instincts, the Detroit workers cast their votes for Frankensteen, not as an individual, but as a representative of the labor movement, as an independent labor candidate in opposition to all the capitalist candidates. They thereby registered their strong sentiment for class politics as against the old "company unionism" in politics.

This sentiment will unquestionably be reinforced by terrible economic blows. For the end of the war means layoffs, the hundreds of thousands in Detroit — "nine days of unpredictable hell," as one UAW officer put it.

Inevitably, the Detroit workers will carry forward the program of independent labor political action, not only in the sense of supporting individual labor candidates, but in the creation of a genuine labor party with a fighting program.

The best way for the Detroit workers to lay the basis for a labor party is by mobilizing all forces for the election of Frankensteen and the CIO-PAC candidates for the city council next November. An overwhelming victory for the Detroit labor candidates will arouse American labor everywhere and help inspire an irresistible movement for a nationwide labor party.

Still Against Strikes

Upon the news of Japan's surrender offer, CIO President Philip Murray and AFL President William Green rushed into print with statements. American labor confronts desperate problems, drastic wage slashes, vast unemployment, corporation union-busting. But on these matters, Murray and Green had essentially nothing to say.

They spoke emphatically of the thing closest to their hearts — their abject fear that the end of the war and the dislocation of American economy might be the occasion for a militant wave of labor struggle. They hastened to assure the employers that they could be counted on to continue their policies of capitulation.

Green pledged that "V-J Day will not mean an automatic ending of restraint on strikes." Although formally the no-strike pledge was supposed to end with the termination of the war, he would not interpret the word termination "too rigidly."

Murray asserted that the CIO leaders will not permit any "rash of strikes" and that "no change will be made in the CIO's no-strike policy until the entire matter has been explored and the matter submitted to the executive board."

While Green exercises his notable "restraint" and Murray is busy "exploring," what are the workers supposed to do when the employers try to cut their unions to pieces, break contracts, fire the best militants, impose wage cuts?

During the war, the Greens and Murrays clamped the no-strike policy on the unions under the pretext of patriotism and in support of the capitalist "war effort." Now they reveal that their opposition to strikes, whether in "peace" or in war has the same character. It is bred-in-the-bone cowardice and servility to the employers.

Fortunately, the union ranks in the past months have been demonstrating on picket lines from coast to coast that Murray and Green will have little success in attempting to reshape labor for the duration — of the "peace."

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



"But don't you think we bombed Japan in a truly Christian manner? — we were very careful not to hit the really IMPORTANT people!"

(See Cartoon Contest, Page 7)

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

France

An example of the manner in which anti-Negro prejudice has been transplanted to Europe by the American brass hats is disclosed in the French daily *Le Soir*, published in Marseille.

"Young women of Marseille, be careful," suggests the writer, Marguerite Polgy, posing a "delicate question." She repeats all the vicious Jim-Crow slanders against the Negroes; that they are "rap shooters, knife wielders, street-corner loafers" and bad fellows generally.

The *Pittsburgh Courier* of Aug. 4 states bluntly: "These slanderous attacks on the Negroes... are expressive of American and not French opinion. Whether in England, France, Australia or Germany, simple human contacts become very 'delicate questions' in the eyes of Americans and they set out to try to stop suchaternization if possible."

An American army officer in France admitted that "few people in France know that American Negroes live under laws different from those in France, and 'ally' alike. A delayed dispatch to the N. Y. Times on Aug. 7 reveals that when the Russian soldiers occupied Vienna and other Austrian cities they began a wholesale looting and removal of Austrian productive machinery.

In Vienna alone ten large plants have already been stripped of their machinery and 11 others have lost almost all. Scores of smaller plants have also been stripped. All cars and trucks, with few exceptions, have been confiscated and not returned. Poor workers have been denounced as a similar fate.

"All the sacrifices of this war will have been in vain if the race question is permitted to ruin the opportunity for liberty and accord among all the peoples of the world. Almost all Negro Americans are happier in France from the standpoint of freedom than they ever were in their own country. Racial propaganda has had no success in Australia, England and even in Italy. Let us hope that it will also fail in France. Quo vadis? Be careful! Perhaps Hitler is not dead!"

They spoke emphatically of the thing closest to their hearts — their abject fear that the end of the war and the dislocation of American economy might be the occasion for a militant wave of labor struggle. They hastened to assure the employers that they could be counted on to continue their policies of capitulation.

Green pledged that "V-J Day will not mean an automatic ending of restraint on strikes." Although formally the no-strike pledge was supposed to end with the termination of the war, he would not interpret the word termination "too rigidly."

Murray asserted that the CIO leaders will not permit any "rash of strikes" and that "no change will be made in the CIO's no-strike policy until the entire matter has been explored and the matter submitted to the executive board."

While Green exercises his notable "restraint" and Murray is busy "exploring," what are the workers supposed to do when the employers try to cut their unions to pieces, break contracts, fire the best militants, impose wage cuts?

During the war, the Greens and Murrays clamped the no-strike policy on the unions under the pretext of patriotism and in support of the capitalist "war effort." Now they reveal that their opposition to strikes, whether in "peace" or in war has the same character. It is bred-in-the-bone cowardice and servility to the employers.

Fortunately, the union ranks in the past months have been demonstrating on picket lines from coast to coast that Murray and Green will have little success in attempting to reshape labor for the duration — of the "peace."

They spoke emphatically of the thing closest to their hearts — their abject fear that the end of the war and the dislocation of American economy might be the occasion for a militant wave of labor struggle. They hastened to assure the employers that they could be counted on to continue their policies of capitulation.

Green pledged that "V-J Day will not mean an automatic ending of restraint on strikes." Although formally the no-strike pledge was supposed to end with the termination of the war, he would not interpret the word termination "too rigidly."

Murray asserted that the CIO leaders will not permit any "rash of strikes" and that "no change will be made in the CIO's no-strike policy until the entire matter has been explored and the matter submitted to the executive board."

While Green exercises his notable "restraint" and Murray is busy "exploring," what are the workers supposed to do when the employers try to cut their unions to pieces, break contracts, fire the best militants, impose wage cuts?

During the war, the Greens and Murrays clamped the no-strike policy on the unions under the pretext of patriotism and in support of the capitalist "war effort." Now they reveal that their opposition to strikes, whether in "peace" or in war has the same character. It is bred-in-the-bone cowardice and servility to the employers.

Fortunately, the union ranks in the past months have been demonstrating on picket lines from coast to coast that Murray and Green will have little success in attempting to reshape labor for the duration — of the "peace."

They spoke emphatically of the thing closest to their hearts — their abject fear that the end of the war and the dislocation of American economy might be the occasion for a militant wave of labor struggle. They hastened to assure the employers that they could be counted on to continue their policies of capitulation.

Green pledged that "V-J Day will not mean an automatic ending of restraint on strikes." Although formally the no-strike pledge was supposed to end with the termination of the war, he would not interpret the word termination "too rigidly."

Murray asserted that the CIO leaders will not permit any "rash of strikes" and that "no change will be made in the CIO's no-strike policy until the entire matter has been explored and the matter submitted to the executive board."

While Green exercises his notable "restraint" and Murray is busy "exploring," what are the workers supposed to do when the employers try to cut their unions to pieces, break contracts, fire the best militants, impose wage cuts?

During the war, the Greens and Murrays clamped the no-strike policy on the unions under the pretext of patriotism and in support of the capitalist "war effort." Now they reveal that their opposition to strikes, whether in "peace" or in war has the same character. It is bred-in-the-bone cowardice and servility to the employers.

Fortunately, the union ranks in the past months have been demonstrating on picket lines from coast to coast that Murray and Green will have little success in attempting to reshape labor for the duration — of the "peace."

They spoke emphatically of the thing closest to their hearts — their abject fear that the end of the war and the dislocation of American economy might be the occasion for a militant wave of labor struggle. They hastened to assure the employers that they could be counted on to continue their policies of capitulation.

Green pledged that "V-J Day will not mean an automatic ending of restraint on strikes." Although formally the no-strike pledge was supposed to end with the termination of the war, he would not interpret the word termination "too rigidly."

Murray asserted that the CIO leaders will not permit any "rash of strikes" and that "no change will be made in the CIO's no-strike policy until the entire matter has been explored and the matter submitted to the executive board."

While Green exercises his notable "restraint" and Murray is busy "exploring," what are the workers supposed to do when the employers try to cut their unions to pieces, break contracts, fire the best militants, impose wage cuts?

During the war, the Greens and Murrays clamped the no-strike policy on the unions under the pretext of patriotism and in support of the capitalist "war effort." Now they reveal that their opposition to strikes, whether in "peace" or in war has the same character. It is bred-in-the-bone cowardice and servility to the employers.

Fortunately, the union ranks in the past months have been demonstrating on picket lines from coast to coast that Murray and Green will have little success in attempting to reshape labor for the duration — of the "peace."

They spoke emphatically of the thing closest to their hearts — their abject fear that the end of the war and the dislocation of American economy might be the occasion for a militant wave of labor struggle. They hastened to assure the employers that they could be counted on to continue their policies of capitulation.

Green pledged that "V-J Day will not mean an automatic ending of restraint on strikes." Although formally the no-strike pledge was supposed to end with the termination of the war, he would not interpret the word termination "too rigidly."

Murray asserted that the CIO leaders will not permit any "rash of strikes" and that "no change will be made in the CIO's no-strike policy until the entire matter has been explored and the matter submitted to the executive board."

While Green exercises his notable "restraint" and Murray is busy "exploring," what are the workers supposed to do when the employers try to cut their unions to pieces, break contracts, fire the best militants, impose wage cuts?

During the war, the Greens and Murrays clamped the no-strike policy on the unions under the pretext of patriotism and in support of the capitalist "war effort." Now they reveal that their opposition to strikes, whether in "peace" or in war has the same character. It is bred-in-the-bone cowardice and servility to the employers.

Fortunately, the union ranks in the past months have been demonstrating on picket lines from coast to coast that Murray and Green will have little success in attempting to reshape labor for the duration — of the "peace."

They spoke emphatically of the thing closest to their hearts — their abject fear that the end of the war and the dislocation of American economy might be the occasion for a militant wave of labor struggle. They hastened to assure the employers that they could be counted on to continue their policies of capitulation.

Green pledged that "V-J Day will not mean an automatic ending of restraint on strikes." Although formally the no-strike pledge was supposed to end with the termination of the war, he would not interpret the word termination "too rigidly."

Murray asserted that the CIO leaders will not permit any "rash of strikes" and that "no change will be made in the CIO's no-strike policy until the entire matter has been explored and the matter submitted to the executive board."

While Green exercises his notable "restraint" and Murray is busy "exploring," what are the workers supposed to do when the employers try to cut their unions to pieces, break contracts, fire the best militants, impose wage cuts?

During the war, the Greens and Murrays clamped the no-strike policy on the unions under the pretext of patriotism and in support of the capitalist "war effort." Now they reveal that their opposition to strikes, whether in "peace" or in war has the same character. It is bred-in-the-bone cowardice and servility to the employers.

Fortunately, the union ranks in the past months have been demonstrating on picket lines from coast to coast that Murray and Green