

## Atomic Death Rays Still Killing Japanese

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# THE MILITANT

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## Kremlin Betrays Chinese Masses By Chiang Deal

The recently published Soviet-Chinese treaty between Chiang Kai-shek and Stalin is a terrible blow against the Chinese masses, a betrayal of their armed struggle against the butcher Chiang Kai-shek. Repeating his sell-out of the European workers, Stalin is attempting to use the struggles of the Chinese masses as bargaining counters to secure concessions for the Kremlin ruling oligarchy. The Chinese masses represent for Stalin mere pawns to be deployed and sold out in consonance with the needs of the Kremlin oligarchy. Stalin has again betrayed the struggles of the Chinese masses.

The collapse of Japanese imperialism has kindled the fires of the class struggle in China. The Chinese masses, who for eight years have fought so heroically to drive out the Japanese imperialist invader, are now rising up to secure for themselves the fruits of their unparalleled sacrifices and sufferings. They desire to end the infamous regime of Chiang Kai-shek, which rules by bloody terror, which deprives the people of the most elementary democratic rights and which subjects them to the brutal exploitation of the capitalist, the landlord, and the usurer.

### WORKERS ACT

The peasantry is reported to have risen up in the countryside and for the first time since the crushing of the Chinese revolution in 1927, the industrial proletariat has taken over factories in Shanghai. The proletarian masses stand ready to battle the brutal dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek.

Moreover, there exists in opposition to the Kuomintang regime the dual government at Yen-an which enjoys widespread support among the peasantry because of its introduction of agrarian reforms. The Yen-an government rules over a vast territory combining a population estimated at more than 80 million people and commands an army of at least 500,000 men as well as numerous guerrilla forces in other parts of the country. The popular revolt has crystallized around the Yen-an regime and its army.

No sooner did the Japanese government capitulate, than a race began between the armies of Chiang Kai-shek and those of the Yen-an regime to seize the key industrial cities of China and effect the surrender of the Japanese army. Both Chiang Kai-shek's and the Yen-an armies are poorly armed. Whoever seized the vast booty of the Japanese armed forces would possess the superior military force.

Civil war began to rage as

## Soldiers Petition Congress to Halt Pacific Transfers

Soldiers from three army divisions last week protested against being sent to the Pacific, and their pressure forced Congressmen and Senators to intervene on their behalf.

The first protest was reported from the combat-hardened Ninth-Fifth Division, now at Camp Shelby, Miss. The White House Aug. 21 announced that it has received a telegram of protest signed by 580 members of this division.

Next came a protest from about 500 soldiers of the Eighteenth Airborne Division, now at Camp Campbell, Kentucky. A delegation of nine of these soldiers called on Congressman Gregory (Dem. Ky.) and asked him to file a protest.

Then the San Francisco Chronicle announced that veterans of the Eighty-sixth (Backhawk) Division, now on the West Coast, had asked the newspaper's columnist, Robert O'Brien, to telegraph various Congressmen, broadcast companies and newspapers a protest on behalf of 500 soldiers of the division.

### EARLIER DATE

Protests of some 3,000 men in the Twenty-ninth Division, now in the European theatre, resulted in setting an earlier date for return of the division to the United States, the Aug. 23 Washington Post reported.

This report was formally denied by the War Department, whose statement indicated concern that the news of troop protests would start a wave of them throughout the armed forces. "Such a report, if not based on fact," the statement said, "is merely an encouragement to hundreds of thousands of other soldiers to follow the same procedure, which clearly would have a very serious effect on the morale and good order of the Army."

The War Department also expressed resentment of newspaper reports that the War Department was "backing down" in face of the protests. These newspaper

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## Murray Tells Senate Demand Rises For Government To Operate Plants

THE FRUITS OF "FREE ENTERPRISE"



Grim faces of workers tell their fear of coming hardships, as President Chase Donaldson of the Briggs Clarifier Company, Washington, D. C., informs them that V-J Day means "no more jobs." Similar scenes were taking place from coast to coast, as millions of men and women were thrown onto the scrap heap of unemployment.

## 7,000 Demonstrate In Chicago Loop As Layoffs Sweep Gigantic War Plants

By Mike Bartell

CHICAGO, Ill., Aug. 21—Over 7,000 unemployed CIO workers demonstrated in the Coliseum auditorium and the streets of Chicago's Loop last night, demanding jobs, severance pay and adequate unemployment insurance. Layoffs here are expected within a few months to exceed 500,000.

Climaxing the demonstration was an impressive and dramatic torch-light parade through the busiest streets of the Loop. This was the first workers' demonstration held in the streets of Chicago for many years.

Marching in the parade were large contingents of workers from Dodge, Buick, Studebaker, Bendix, Amertorp, Foote Bros., Pressed Steel Car Co., Pullman Standard and other war plants

which had closed their doors, turning close to 100,000 workers into the streets with only a few hours notice in many cases.

Tens of thousands of spectators lined the streets as the demonstrators marched by shouting "WE WANT JOBS!" and holding aloft hundreds of banners bearing militant slogans and demands such as "THERE WILL BE NO PEACE WITHOUT JOBS!" "WORK OR FIGHT!" "IT HAPPENED IN ENGLAND, IT CAN HAPPEN HERE," "THE LITTLE STEEL FORMULA BE DAMNED," "NEGRO A N D WHITE UNITE FOR JOBS!"

### CONTRAST TO V-J DAY

This grim and rebellious parade of unemployed, with its flaming torches, its fighting slogans and threats to the powers that be, was in striking contrast to the jubilant V-J Day demonstration which had taken place on these same streets less than a week before.

Prior to the parade, a rally was held in the Coliseum under the auspices of the Chicago Industrial Union Council, where leaders of the CIO locals affected by the layoffs spoke, protesting the failure of the government to provide jobs and adequate unemployment insurance.

The meeting was addressed by Richard T. Frankenstein, a vice-president of the CIO United Automobile Workers and candidate for mayor of Detroit. The audience gave unanimous approval to his proposal that a telegram be sent to President Truman de-

manding that the \$30 billion already appropriated for war, but still unexpended, be used for severance pay to the millions of discharged workers. His threat of a "march on Washington" if jobs were not immediately forthcoming received enthusiastic approval.

### MAYOR KELLY BOOED

Democratic Mayor Kelly, who had been invited to speak, was greeted with a crescendo of boos

### Coast-to-Coast

Reports on Layoffs  
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by the workers who still remember the massacre of Chicago steel strikers by Kelly's police in 1937.

Evidently the significance of labor's victory in England, Frankenstein's huge primary vote, and the mood of the unemployed workers were not lost even on this reactionary machine politician, for he was very anxious to ingratiate himself with the workers of the CIO. He promised to go to Washington personally to support all the legislation advocated by the CIO, and claimed that the 10 Democratic congressmen from Illinois "will be in there voting for every one of those bills you want."

The name of Governor Green was also roundly booed when the chairman of the meeting announced that the Governor had

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## IN THE NEWS

### OK With Warning?

"Certainly that bomb (atomic) should not have been dropped on a crowded city without warning," (Norman Thomas, in The Call, Aug. 20).

### How to Keep Friends

Advising that the British standard of living "is bound to fall" unless American capitalism gives Britain substantial aid, Sir Oliver Lyttleton, former Conservative head of the Board of Trade, on Aug. 21 told the Laborite majority in the House of Commons: "If you wish to obtain assistance from the United States, you must be careful about the nasty things you say about private enterprise."

### No Christmas Spirit

Senator Claude Pepper (D., Fla.), on tour in England, on Aug. 21 stated that Congress might be willing to do anything that was of "joint benefit" in extending American credits to other countries, adding however, "but we do not have money to give away. No one expects us to be Lord Bountiful. Uncle Sam is no Santa Claus."

### Situation "Normal"

A War Manpower Commission report on Aug. 21 "listed 77 areas where the supply of labor is expected to be 'in balance,'" reports the Associated Press, "which means 5 to 12 per cent unemployed."

### What's in a Name?

"The B-32 Dominator, companion to the B-29, has been named the Terminator. The State Dept. thought that the original name would carry a distasteful implication to the rest of the world." (Business Week, Aug. 20).

### Just a Museum "Peace"

Reporting the British Parliament's unanimous ratification of the United Nations Charter, the N. Y. Times, Aug. 24, observed: "Everybody seems to take the charter for granted and to feel, anyway, that the atomic bomb makes any kind of international covenants old-fashioned."

## WORKERS LOSING FAITH IN "FREE ENTERPRISE"

CIO Head Admits Increasing Mass Pressure  
To Force Government to Run Idle Factories

By Art Preis

Stressing operation for civilian production of the vast government-built war plants as a decisive factor in providing jobs, CIO President Philip Murray on Aug. 22 fearfully warned the Senate Committee hearing on the 'Full Employment' Bill that the American workers will not submit to starvation under capitalism and are increasingly demanding government ownership and operation of idle plants.

Murray testified that "if private enterprise fails to give workers jobs at good wages, turning out things

## Truman Prepares New Machinery To Curb Labor

President Truman last week conferred behind closed White House doors with the heads of the AFL, CIO, Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers Association and secured their agreement to participate in the government's forthcoming capital-labor "peace" conference now planned for early October.

The purpose of this conference is to elaborate a "new industry-labor agreement to minimize interruption of production by labor disputes" during "reconversion."

Truman has indicated his objective is to secure "voluntary" agreement from the union leaders for the creation of new government machinery which, in effect, will continue the function performed since Pearl Harbor by the discredited War Labor Board.

Why did Truman call for this "imperatively needed" conference. It has become abundantly clear that the wartime agencies for curbing labor are no longer effective. During the past six months, the no-strike pledge has been trampled into the dust. The union ranks are pressing for militant action to secure substantial wage increases. The employers and their government "impera-

we all need, the people will recognize the failure of private capitalism and vigorously call for government operation."

Murray himself was not proposing such a policy. He was merely using a threat to impress Congress with the need for speedy enactment of the Truman-backed bill to "assure" full employment under capitalist "free

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enterprise." This bill explicitly states that it does not authorize "the operation of plants, factories or other productive facilities by the Federal Government" (sec. 8 (a)).

### RISE IN DEMAND

Murray's warning reflected the pressure and demands rising ever more insistently from the ranks of labor.

"If the plants are not soon started up to make jobs and turn out goods," Murray said, "the average citizen is going to ask: 'Well, why don't the government hire engineers and managers to operate these factories the way it was done during the war?'"

"Resolutions are being passed in local unions, individuals are inquiring: 'Why not?' It's going

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## Detroit Labor Seethes; Layoffs Hit 350,000

DETROIT, Aug. 24—Militant CIO auto union locals here have begun setting up unemployment committees and making preparations for a monster Labor Day parade and demonstration against layoffs which this week threw more than 350,000 Detroit workers out into the streets.

Demands are being raised by the more advanced auto unionists for full compensation for time lost in layoffs, a 30 per cent general wage increase, a 30-hour week and operation of idle plants by the government under trade union control.

Last Monday, Aug. 20, 1945, will go down in history as "Black Monday" for the "heroes of production" in this key center of American industry. Hundreds of thousands were dumped out of the plants like so much scrap.

Regional WMC Director Edward L. Cushman admitted that no more than 33,000, less than 10 per cent of those fired, will be reemployed at the end of 60 days.

### BURNING WITH ANGER

Beginning early Monday morning, tens of thousands of former war workers, burning with anger at the humiliation to which they were being subjected, gathered in huge lines to fill out the necessary forms to obtain their meagre unemployment insurance allotments of \$20 per week for a maximum of 20 weeks.

"Being shouted at and herded like cattle," in the words of

### FAINT IN LINE

Thousands of those standing all day in the boiling sun could not be taken care of by the inadequate office staffs and were told to report the following day. The labor-hating agents of the corporations even refused the offer of R. J. Thomas to provide union personnel to aid in handling the huge crowds for which the government officials callously made no preparations.

Tuesday's rush tripled even the crushing outpouring of the day before, and the queues on Wed-

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## Wall St. Cracks Whip By Ending Lend-Lease

By Felix Morrow

Sudden termination of lend-lease on August 21 appears to have had as one of its principal aims a warning that the Labor Government of Britain must pursue policies approved by Washington and Wall Street.

Ostensibly lend-lease termination carried out previous promises of Roosevelt and Truman to Congress that lend-lease would end with the war and would not be used for post-war relief and reconstruction. But the fact that it was ended abruptly without prior consultation with the Labor Government was taken as an ominous sign by the British.

In any event Britain is hardest hit by end of lend-lease, having been its chief beneficiary. Of 41 billions of lend-lease, Britain had received 29 billions.

In addition, however, it is significant that immediate protests against termination came only from Britain.

### FRENCH POSITION

The French government seemed quite reconciled, the Food Minister noting that food supplies "will be delivered under the sections of the lend-lease agreements which make special provisions in the

case of France for the continuation of deliveries even though lend-lease itself has been suspended," according to a Paris dispatch to the Aug. 23 N. Y. Herald Tribune. And DeGaulle's money-lending expedition appears successful, for the Aug. 27 N. Y. Times reports: "The French already have been told that they will be able to get on credit most of the aid we had promised to give them under lend-lease." No doubt DeGaulle has made political concessions in return for financial aid.

The British government, however, seems to be preparing to resist certain as yet unnamed conditions which Washington is attaching to loans to the Labor Government.

### U. S. DEMANDS

Do these conditions include demands for guarantees that the Labor Government will not go in for "socialist experiments?" There is more than one hint to this effect in the U. S. press. A Conservative leader in the House of Commons, Oliver Lyttleton, said it bluntly the day lend-lease ended, telling the Labor leaders: "If you wish to obtain assistance from the United

States you must be careful about the nasty things you say about private enterprise."

On the whole, U. S. capitalism has not been alarmed at the Labor Government's plans to nationalize coal mines and the Bank of England. It may well be, however, that they want guarantees that the Labor Government will go no further. Certainly, if the British masses pushed their government to the left, Washington would say, "No loans for socialist experiments." Under the guise of objection to "socialist" policies, however, U. S. conditions for loans will in all probability try to dictate British foreign trade policies. This was indicated Aug. 25, when the managing editor of the N. Y. Times, Edwin L. James, stated: "Should Attlee's government undertake to socialize foreign trade to the extent of large subsidies or other such measures, it would be only natural if Congress considered the rival interests of the U. S. and Britain."

### PURE HYPOCRISY

This is pure hypocrisy, to pretend that subsidy of foreign trade would be a "socialist" gov-

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## SWP WINS LEGAL FIGHT TO GET ON N. Y. BALLOT

By C. Thomas

NEW YORK CITY, Aug. 28—The Board of Elections this morning dismissed the blanket objections filed against the independent nominating petitions of Farrell Dobbs, Trotskyist candidate for Mayor, when the objector failed to submit specific objections within the allotted time.

In the opinion of the attorney for the Socialist Workers Party, the action of the Board assures Dobbs a place on the ballot in the municipal elections this fall. The decision to dismiss the objections came after the SWP had taken court action to restrain the Board

of Elections from invalidating the Dobbs petitions.

The vigorous action of the Socialist Workers Party in defending the democratic right of minority parties to appear on the ballot, forestalled the plot of the Tammany tricksters to deprive the workers of the opportunity of voting for a working class candidate for mayor of New York.

### BLANKET OBJECTION

Several weeks ago, the Tammany association of ward-healers announced in the press that they intend to challenge all minority

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# CIO President Admits Increasing Demands For Government Operation Of Idle Plants

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to be impossible to answer that one with talk of 'confidence' and similar chatter."

Four days later — with mounting millions laid off in a few days of catastrophic plant shut-downs — Murray spoke to a mass meeting of CIO steel workers at Westfield, Pa., and raised the question of government operation of idle plants even more sharply than he did before the Senate. He declared:

## GOVERNMENT OPERATION

"If business fails to keep in operation war plants, built at government expense, then it is the responsibility of the Government to keep them in operation... if private enterprise is unwilling to operate those plants or lease or purchase those plants, then it is the responsibility of the American Government to see to it that these plants are operated."

But when will Murray be convinced that "free enterprise" has already failed? Haven't the past three decades of world-wide imperialist slaughter and catastrophic depression been evidence enough? At this very moment, while Murray urges the workers to renew the lease on "free enterprise," millions are already walking the streets without jobs. Hundreds of plants built with the people's money are shut down, "reconverted" to so much scrap.

## MURRAY ALTERNATIVE

What alternative does Murray still hold forth in place of government ownership and operation of the idle plants? His answer is the Murray-Wagner-Patman "Full Employment" Bill, whose principal objective is "to foster free competitive enterprise and the investment of private capital" as a means to "assure at all times sufficient employment opportunities for all Americans."

Even the authors and chief congressional sponsors of this bill admit that "the bill does not set forth any specific set of programs for maintaining full employment," as Representative Patman testified before the Senate Banking Committee's first hearing on the bill.

All the bill does is instruct the President to prepare an annual estimate of potential employment and propose, if he thinks necessary, measures — not specified — for providing jobs through government aid if "private enterprise" is not expected to offer

sufficient employment. The bill stipulates that government funds shall be used for such purposes only as a "last resort."

## GROWING CLAMOR

If this bill were passed tomorrow, it would not make a single provision for the unemployed — not so much as a penny for public works or any other measure! Congress would still have to debate and adopt a specific program.

Indeed, Murray was kicking down an open door when he made his threats before the Senate committee. The repercussions in this country of the British Labor Party victory, the economic crisis precipitated by the ending of the war, and the growing clamor of the American workers have convinced an important section of capitalists and their political agents that they must now make a gesture of offering labor "something." That "something" is the "Full Employment" Bill.

Following Murray in testifying for the bill last week were such Wall Street representatives as Beardsley Ruml, chairman of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, and banker James P. Warburg. One spokesman, F. R. Von Windt, president of the Plaza Bank of St. Louis, even protested "you are leaning over backward in favor of private enterprise in this measure... This seems to be a banker's concept of how such a bill should be written."

That is the crux of the differences between the capitalist factions over the bill — "how it should be written" — whether the verbiage of the bill, "assure" employment instead of "guarantee" employment, is "strong" enough to blind the workers to the actual content of the bill.

Instead of Murray supporting before a Senate committee a fraudulent measure sponsored by the capitalists and their agents, he should take the initiative in calling for a nation-wide conference of the entire labor movement to draft a full legislative program embodying a genuine labor plan for full employment. Murray's duty is to mobilize the union ranks for an independent, militant struggle for such a program, the central plank of which must be, not how to bolster capitalist "free enterprise," but government ownership and operation of the idle plants under workers' control.

## Boston USES Office Swamped



Unemployed Boston workers after V-J Day through the offices of the United States Employment Service, vainly hunting new jobs. Hundreds of thousands are standing in line for hours, to register for work or unemployment insurance in towns and cities all over the country.

## 10,000 Laid Off Daily In Massachusetts Area

BOSTON, Mass., Aug. 25 — Over 10,000 Massachusetts workers daily are finding out by bitter experience the truth about postwar "full employment" and "60 million jobs."

The end of the Japanese war has been the signal for mass layoffs which have not yet reached their full intensity.

Practically every plant in this area has laid off part of its working crew, with the remaining workers wondering who will be next to go.

While the top labor union leaders have put forth no effective program of action, some local

CIO unions have taken the initiative in forming unemployed committees and councils for the purpose of conducting a united struggle of employed and unemployed members in defense of the jobless workers. Under the pressure of the rank and file, it is likely that this policy will be adopted in a state CIO program.

## LITTLE ACTION

The only program so far proposed by the union leaders is that Congress be reconvened in order to raise unemployment insurance to a \$25 weekly maximum. The state CIO has also called for reconvening of the state legislature to adopt the above proposal. After a bitter struggle, the last session of the state legislature increased unemployment benefits to \$21 weekly maximum.

Many "war babies" are folding up completely, such as Lawson's Machine Shop in Malden where the entire force of 800 were fired. Some 9,000 were laid off last Monday at the General Electric plant in Lynn. Shipyard layoffs, which have been going on for some time, are now being accelerated.

Bethlehem - Hingham Y and R shut down last month, firing 15,000 workers. Thousands were affected by a departmental layoff last week at the Bethlehem Fore River Yard, where the workers expect another 15,000 to be laid off when work is finished on the remaining uncompleted ships. The Boston Navy Yard has cut out the night shift, transferring the workers to the day crew, with the prospect of a 50 per cent lay-off soon.

All plants have returned to the 40-hour week, eliminating overtime and bonus pay, etc. Many plants are introducing downgrading, thus cutting wages still further.

The employers are worried over the attitude of unemployed workers who are showing no desire to take the low-pay jobs now being offered. A big drive is on to force the unemployed into jobs paying in many instances less than unemployment insurance.

However, the corporations are hoping that desperate want will force the unemployed into low-paying and non-union jobs. Thus regional WMC director, Arthur C. Gernes, has stated that the fired war workers "are not taking the first jobs offered. They want to think it over and size up the jobs. I am certain that after Labor Day we will find a greater acceptance of employment on every side."

## Kill and Be Blessed

Two leaders of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America sent a letter of praise to President Truman, says the New York World-Telegram, August 25 — for "the self-restraint shown by the U. S. in the use of the atomic bomb against Japan."

"Only" two teeming cities were annihilated, and not all the victims have yet died from lethal rays which still permeate the ruins.

## YOUNGSTOWN STEEL AT HALF CAPACITY

YOUNGSTOWN, O., Aug. 25 — Basic steel production mills here are running at only 53 per cent capacity, as compared with 90 per cent two weeks ago and 102 per cent two months ago. The fabricating plants in this area, which employed up to 15,000 workers during the war, are shut down or at very low ebb.

The Ravenna Arsenal, 35 miles from here, is shut down with 10,000 laid off. The nearby Lordstown Arsenal and Depot is down to 900 from 2,300 previously employed.

General Fireproofing Co. is closed, while Truscon Steel, a Republic Steel fabricating subsidiary, runs at very low tide. A dozen or so smaller steel fabricating plants, formerly employing from 200 to 1,000 workers, are either closed completely or working skeleton crews.

Women workers are bearing the first brunt of layoffs. Many large steel mills and plants, including Carnegie-Illinois, second largest employer in the Mahoning Valley, made women sign agreements when they were hired to the effect that they were employed for the duration of the war only. Women have been employed chiefly in fabricating plants where the bulk of unemployment exists so far.

## DRASTIC CUTS

Reduction of basic steel production has resulted chiefly in drastic cuts in take-home pay, because the plants have returned to a 40-hour week with no more overtime, etc.

The CIO Council at its meeting last Tuesday voted unanimously for a county-wide mass meeting to demand that the state government make immediately effective the slight increase in unemployment compensation to \$21 weekly.

## Truman Plans Conference To Draft New Labor Curbs

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tively need" new government machinery to oppose labor's struggles.

## REASSURED EMPLOYERS

What do Murray and Green seek from this conference? Both of them, immediately after Japanese surrender, hastened to assure the employers and their government that they are against strikes, that they want the workers to exercise "restraint" and that they are anxious to preserve "peace."

For that purpose, Murray and Green last April signed their highly-bailihooded "peace charter" with Eric Johnston, head of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. But the National Association of Manufacturers, the automotive corporations, the members of the Chamber of Commerce, scoffed at this "peace pact."

Now, Murray and Green are scheming to sell labor a "peace charter" with a government label and backed by government compulsion.

But the workers have learned

## Unemployed in Chicago Parade

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been invited but hadn't even answered the telegram. Also greeted by a loud chorus of boos was a representative of the WLB.

## DRAMATIC INTERRUPTION

There was a dramatic interruption in the proceedings when a contingent of workers from the Amertop plant marched into the meeting with the announcement that the plant had just closed down.

A resolution was passed at the meeting demanding passage of the Murray Full Employment Bill, \$25 for 26 weeks' unemployment insurance bill, a 20 per cent increase in wages, 65-cents minimum wage bill, and a permanent FEPC.

The extremely high proportion of Negro participation indicated that the Negro workers are especially aroused and most ready to struggle, because they know full well that they will be the hardest hit by the layoffs.

Among the plants which have shut down is Chrysler's Dodge-Chicago plant, one of the largest in the world, employing 30,000 workers.

ment compensation to \$21 weekly for 22 weeks which is scheduled to go into effect after October 12.

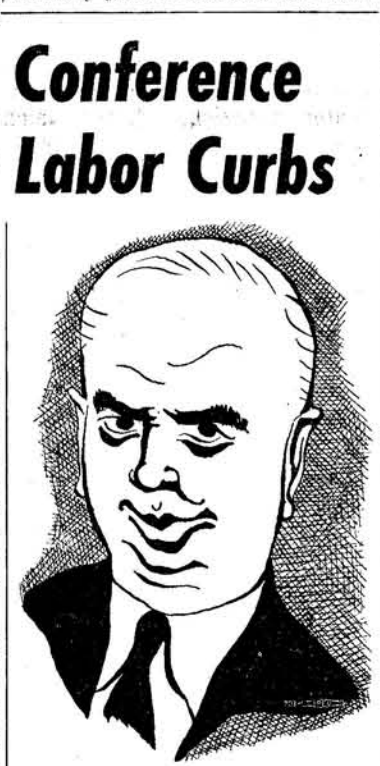
While the CIO Council went on record a month ago for a 30 per cent general wage increase, the steel workers are asking what CIO Steelworkers' President Philip Murray is doing, or failing to do, about pressing a demand for adequate wage increases to offset the loss in take-home pay.

Two recent strikes by Steel Local 1462 at Youngstown Steel



and Tube's Brier Hill plant revolved around the issue of cutbacks. The men refused to have the company cut crews without cutting individual production quotas and later refused to work at another plant to avoid encouraging the elimination of jobs.

The local USES refers men, except the crippled or aged, to jobs paying as little as 50 cents per hour. Laid-off women workers are either denied job referrals or are offered domestic work or laundry jobs at 35 cents an hour.



MURRAY

through bitter experience the disastrous consequences of permitting the government to curb the unions' independence and freedom of action. Now, faced with a general wage-cutting offensive and with the corporations becoming daily more brazen as the unemployed "labor float" grows, the union ranks want no more government shackles foisted on them.

## GET OFF WLB

After their disastrous experience with the War Labor Board, the workers want nothing more to do with such set-ups. They want and need an independent fighting policy. They mean business about winning the 30 per cent wage increase the union leaders have just talked about!

The union ranks have every right to suspect the purposes of the union leaders at Truman's conference. Before everything else, the workers have a right to demand some evidence of good faith after the repeated betrayals they have experienced.

There is one way the union leaders can give immediate evidence of such good faith! LET THEM GET OFF THE WAR LABOR BOARD NOW!

And then, instead of conspiring with the employers and their government agents to forge new chains for labor, let them take the lead in mobilizing the union ranks for militant action to secure labor's rightful demands.

## VOTE FOR

DOBBS & SIMPSON  
TROTSKYIST CANDIDATES  
IN THE COMING  
NEW YORK ELECTIONS

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

### Guild Scraps Pledge

Following the action of the CIO United Automobile Workers, the CIO American Newspaper Guild's executive board last week rescinded its no-strike pledge and voted to back its St. Louis members locked-out by a strike of the AFL Carriers' Union.

Milton Murray, Guild president, said withdrawing the no-strike pledge did not mean the Guild members would join the St. Louis carriers' strike. He charged the struck newspapers, the Star-Times, Post-Dispatch and Globe-Democrat, had locked out, without pay, all editorial employees but a few deskmen for the duration of the carriers' walkout. The latter strike began Aug. 16 to force the publishers to accept an NLRB ruling granting collective bargaining rights to the news delivermen.

Murray charged that the Guild's locked-out members are "victims of irresponsible and reprehensible action by newspaper managements who sought to use them as a club to break the strike of another union."

### Skids Under No-Strike

Without waiting for their international to act, many union locals are proceeding formally to toss the no-strike pledge out the window — and a good riddance, too!

For instance, the powerful AFL Boilermakers Local 104 in Seattle, Wash., last week rescinded the no-strike pledge. Local 104 carries a lot of weight among the unions in the Seattle area.

Hard-hit by shipyard layoffs, the local also went on record for a 30-hour week at regular 48 hours' pay and for \$40 weekly unemployment compensation during an entire period of unemployment.

### Cleveland Unions Act

The UAW-CIO's demand for a 30 per cent increase from General Motors and Chrysler has stimulated similar demands from local unions of other internationals. The UAW points out that the 40-hour week means a 30 per cent cut in take-home pay from the 48-hour week at 52 hours' pay.

Thus, Amalgamated Local 735 of the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, Cleveland, O., last week at a membership vote to mail a demand for the 40 hour week at 52 hours' pay to 38 Greater Cleveland plant managements under contract with the local.

Officers and stewards of the CIO Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers in the Cleveland area voted to call upon their international to immediately withdraw the no-strike pledge "so that we can effectively fight to advance the interests of our membership."

These actions are significant of tremendous pressure of the union ranks for a return to militant policies. Both Cleveland unions have been dominated by the Stalinists who previously have been the loudest advocates of "wage stabilization" and the no-strike policy.

## 5,000 JOBS IN BUFFALO FOR 50,000 JOBLESS

BUFFALO, N. Y. — More than 50,000 men and women have lost their jobs in this area with the ending of the war in the Pacific. The list of plants affected by contract cancellations and cutbacks is too lengthy to enumerate. By Thursday, August 16 over \$100,000,000 in Army and Navy contracts had been cancelled. This does not include most of the airplane orders and sub-contracts which have since been cancelled.

Hardest hit of all are Curtiss-Wright workers. They comprise about half of the total unemployed in the city. Approximately 25,000 out of the 30,000 employed by this company before V-J Day are on the streets. Cutbacks in this plant total 84 per cent.

The Bell plant which laid off close to 10,000 workers recently has further reduced its rolls. Chevrolet, producing airplane engines, has cut its employment 50 per cent.

A Washington report places Buffalo third after Los Angeles and Detroit in the number of unemployed in the aircraft industry alone. Forty-five thousand aircraft workers here will be affected. Practically all other industries in the area, particularly ordnance, have curtailed production and dismissed employees.

By noon, Friday, August 17, over 5,000 workers had registered for unemployment insurance in the huge army set aside for

### 'We Can Do It Here'

The close connection between the British Labor Party's victory and the subsequent victory of UAW Vice-President Richard T. Frankensteen in the recent Detroit mayoralty primary has not been lost upon the CIO leaders.

A full-page article in the Aug. 20 CIO News, by Irving Richter, UAW-CIO Washington Legislative Representative, is devoted to the Frankensteen victory. It begins:

"If they can do it in England, we can do it here."

"I heard that remark from a Ford worker in Detroit after England's great Labor Party victory. 'I hear that comment everywhere in Ford now,' the worker added, 'even from guys who never cared about politics.'"

"It wasn't just Detroit workers who saw their municipal elections differently after the British victory. Professional people, small businessmen and clerks responded in the same way... The British victory was undoubtedly a big factor in doubling the estimated number of votes."

### Premium Pay

President Truman last week revoked the three-year old executive order, issued by Roosevelt in September 1942, which arbitrarily banned all union contractual clauses providing for overtime premium pay for Saturdays, Sundays and holidays as such. This cost the workers millions of dollars in pay to which they were entitled by contract — millions that went into the pockets of the employers.

Truman's action in now revoking the restriction on premium pay, although welcome as a matter of principle, will mean very little in actual cash to the workers. It comes, as Truman calculated, when millions of workers are unemployed, with more millions to follow, and those still on the job cut to a 40-hour week, and no overtime. It's a cheap gesture.

### Lewis Gets Appeal

The 350 miners who have been on strike since July 16 against the Shawmut Mining Co. because of the abominable conditions of filth and insanitation in the company town of Force, Pa., on Aug. 25 sent an urgent appeal to United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis.

They wired Lewis that "housing conditions in company houses of Shawmut Mining Co. are intolerable, because of sewage in drinking water, lots and highways." They urged: "Please in the name of humanity, call for a revision of union contracts with operators to compel companies to provide essential sanitary facilities."

Their union committee has also urged that all miners in the district support them in a sympathy strike.

It is high time that Lewis gave some solid aid to these militant miners fighting against scandalous conditions.

this purpose. It has been jammed with unemployed workers since then. In the long lines were many women and elderly men.

### ONLY LOW-PAY JOBS

The local press is filled with optimistic predictions that there will be work for all in 30 days. Business spokesmen, with confidence flowing from the biggest profits in their history, dismiss the unemployment crisis. The women, they say, will go back to the home, the old workers will retire (on what!) and the youth will go back to school. They admit that only 5,000 jobs are available in the city — with more than 60,000 already out of work! 5,000 jobs won't go very far. Furthermore, these jobs pay starvation wages and employment agencies report that workers will not take them.

For those who still remain on the job, the prospects aren't very bright either. A shorter work week is planned for most plants here and this will cut heavily into the take-home pay which already is hardly sufficient to meet the rising cost of living. The drive to cut wages to pre-war levels has been stepped up since the war ended.

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# On-The-Spot Reports Of The Nation-Wide Layoffs

## PHILADELPHIA JOBLESS REACH 70,000 TOTAL

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Aug. 25 — "Brother, don't you know there's a 'peace' on!" That's the grim jest circulating among the approximately 70,000 war workers in this area who have been fired in the five days since Japanese surrender. The total is still rising, and government reports reveal it may soon reach 100,000.

Hardest hit are the shipyard workers. More than half of the 9,000 Cramp Shipyard workers are laid-off, with more to follow. At Sun Ship, 8,000 were fired, 6,000 of them Negro workers. Other yards also have been heavily hit.

The fast-mounting sentiment for decisive action among the union ranks was shown in last Sunday's membership meeting of Cramp Local 42, CIO Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, which called on the CIO to initiate a national labor holiday to force Congress to act immediately.

### PLAN MASS PARADE

A proposal to retain laid-off members in the local and establish a "Jobs Now" Committee to lead the fight for the unemployed was adopted. As its first assignment the committee was instructed to prepare for a mass CIO unemployed parade and a sit-in at the offices of the local War Manpower Commission. Other resolutions were adopted calling for the formation of a local Labor Party and raising a demand for the 30-hour week at 48 hours' pay.

As yet, these resolutions have not been implemented by action or direction. Both AFL and CIO leaders seem paralyzed in the face of the layoffs flood, although most unions have passed progressive resolutions for a shorter work-week with no reductions in take-home pay and for retaining the unemployed as union members. Harry Block, president of the local CIO, has called for a city-wide demonstration, but it remains still in the talking stage.

One of the cruelest examples of layoffs was the sudden complete lockout of the 5,200 Bendix Aviation plant workers on the morning after "victory." A heavy squad of guards at the closed gates bluntly told the workers they were fired, handed them their pay and denied them entrance even to secure personal belongings such as tools to work with elsewhere.

### MARCH TO CITY HALL

The infuriated workers looked in vain for guidance from the Stalinist leaders of the Bendix CIO United Electrical and Radio Workers local, who had been preaching loyalty to the Little Steel Formula and no-strike pledge. Expressing their bitterness, the Bendix workers marched in a body to City Hall, only to find Mayor Samuels away enjoying an extended week-end vacation.

At near-by Lester, some 2,500

Westinghouse workers walked out immediately when 2,000 workers with less than three-year seniority were given a two-week "furlough" without pay. They held a meeting on an adjoining baseball diamond where, as one worker stated, "Here we are without jobs, at the same bandstand from which we were given the Army-Navy 'E'."

## Plant Shutdowns Affect 175,000 In North Jersey

NEWARK, N. J., Aug. 25 — Heavily industrialized northern New Jersey has been sharply hit by severe cutbacks. The State CIO Council is now engaged in compiling a complete record, but already it is authoritatively estimated that in the Newark-Paterson-Passaic area there are around 175,000 already laid-off.

A total lay-off of 30,000 in Wright Aeronautical; 6,100 in various shipyards; 6,000 in Crucible Steel, are indicative of how cut-backs have hit the largest industries. The full effect of mass unemployment is yet to be felt. Today's Newark Evening News predicts still further lay-offs beginning Monday.

In the face of this grave mass unemployment, not a single proposal for mass action has yet been taken by the official union leaderships. On August 22, the Stalinists rallied their own forces for a picket line around the Newark City Hall with banners calling for lower prices, jobs for all, against the black market, etc. But they did not rally new forces to this action.

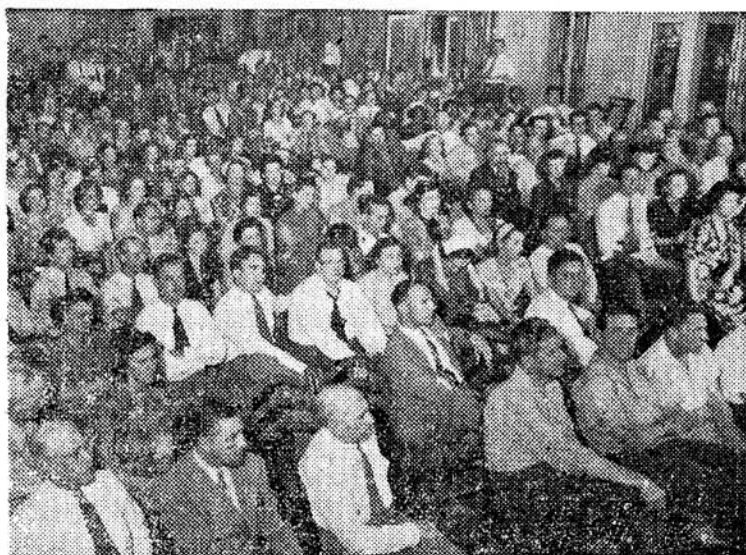
### "APPLE-TAG DAY"

On August 23, the State CIO Council met in Newark but shied clear of a real program of action. Instead, the Council merely endorsed the demand for a 20 per cent increase in wages and a \$25 minimum unemployment compensation. Instead of effective mass protest and action, they proposed an "apple-tag day campaign" for the sale of tags picturing a returning veteran with an apple stand, with the plea that this must not happen again.

The usually inert leadership of District 2, CIO Steel Workers, was also impelled to call a district conference, held on August 24. Here too, instead of any effective plan of action the leaders merely presented a resolution endorsing Philip Murray's 9-point program, and then sent the stewards home without any preparations or proposals to rally effective support to such a program.

As the number of unemployed continues to mount in the coming weeks, it is certain that the rank and file will assert their influence and demand effective union action to meet the threat.

## Fired Workers Protest to WLB



Protesting against summary mass layoffs and company violations of their seniority rights, workers from the Bendix plant in Philadelphia crowd into offices of the Regional War Labor Board to demand a hearing. They are members of Local 114, UERMWA-CIO.

## 52,000 DUE TO LOSE JOBS IN TWIN CITIES

By Barbara Bruce

MINNEAPOLIS, Aug. 24 — A meeting of CIO shop stewards and committeemen, held here last Wednesday, cheered a proposal for a "mass march upon Washington from all industrial sections of the nation if it is necessary to get action" in providing jobs for everyone.

Demands adopted by Wednesday's meeting include: increased unemployment compensation; price controls; a permanent FEPC; increased mustering-out pay and other benefits for veterans. For a state program, the meeting demanded an immediate special session of the legislature, passage of a public housing enabling act and a public works program.

Workers at Minneapolis and Hopkins plants of the Moline Power Implement Co. have filed strike notices against the company for dismissing 800 workers following a slowdown. The slowdown was the answer of Moline workers to the company's repeated violations of the union contract and its refusal to settle grievances.

### STAGE DEMONSTRATION

Laid-off workers, members of CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers staged a demonstration outside the Minneapolis plant in one of the busiest streets in the city last Monday. The demonstration was a protest against a union-busting trick of the company which demanded that the workers sign company release statements, forfeiting all seniority and other rights, in order to receive their last paychecks.

While the strike notice is running its 30-day course, William Mauseh, well-known Stalinist and Business Agent of Local 1146, UERMW, is pleading with

the company for "cooperation between labor and management."

A mass meeting, sponsored jointly by CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhood unions, in Minneapolis, has been tentatively set for September 6, to protest failure of Congress to enact legislation to care for the unemployed.

### 52,000 LAYOFFS SOON

On the Friday following the two "victory" holidays, 10,000 Twin City workers were greeted with dismissal slips when they returned to work. These layoffs are only a fifth of the total expected to be unemployed 60 days after V-J Day. A mass of 52,000 unemployed men and women is expected when the layoffs reach their peak, according to John C. Nord, area War Manpower Commission director.

Although promises of 10,500 jobs are being held out to Twin City workers, only a few hundred openings have been reported by a very small number of factories in Minneapolis and St. Paul, most of them small-scale business. No mention is made of the other 42,000 unemployed, even if the promise of 10,500 jobs is fulfilled.

Among those hardest hit in the mass layoffs are the working mothers who have had their children in child care centers and nursery schools during the war. These vital aids to employed mothers were scheduled to come to an end September 1 on order from Washington cutting off federal funds for the project on that date.

A storm of protest from the mothers, however, has forced officials in the federal bureaucracy here to continue the nursery schools until September 22, although funds are available to extend the project to October 1.

Mothers of 800 children enrolled in these schools and nurseries will be prevented from seeking the jobs that are available or from going to work, because they have no means of caring for their children while they are employed. Those who still have jobs despite layoffs will be forced to quit when nurseries close. This is one of the ways that the federal government hopes to "solve" the unemployment problem.

So far the CIO and AFL leaders have put forward no effective program of action. They distributed thousands of blue buttons calling for 60,000,000 jobs, but this did not ward off the layoffs or restore anyone to a job.

### PAID OFF 13,000

The huge government-built aircraft plants have fired tens of thousands. The largest of the four Douglas aircraft plants, at Long Beach, paid off 13,000 of its 20,000 workers the day after the Japanese surrender celebration.

These terrific cuts were duplicated in plant after plant: Northrup, 5,700 fired out of 7,000; North American, 6,000 out of 20,000; Douglas Santa Monica, 6,000 out of 13,000. Hughes laid off 75 per cent of its working force.

The Chrysler, Studebaker and Willys automobile assembly plants, all engaged in war production, have been entirely closed down. Consolidated Steel has laid off about 50 per cent of its workers; Western Pipe and Steel, an even higher percentage.

### AKRON

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## Detroit Is Seething As 350,000 Are Laid Off

(Continued from page 1)

## Fired Workers In N.Y. Midtown Demonstration

By Dinah Sanders

NEW YORK, Aug. 22 — CIO United Electrical Workers Local 425, representing some 7,000 members, last night staged a mid-town demonstration march in protest against widespread layoffs at the Ford Instrument Corporation plants here.

At a prior union meeting in Manhattan Center, members called strongly for "government operation of idle war plants" and voted unanimously to march out from the meeting in a demonstration against unemployment.

Carrying placards which read "No Idle Plants," "For Government Operation of Idle Plants," "Jobs For All," and "We Have the Ability to Work; We Have Tools; We Need Jobs!" the workers marched up 8th Avenue from 34th Street to 42nd Street, where they were stopped by the police.

Early Monday morning, after the week of "victory" celebrations, an estimated 20,000 newly unemployed workers lined up confidently outside the various offices of the United States Employment Service. Their confidence rapidly evaporated into uneasiness and then into grim realization, as one after another skilled worker was offered "trainee" jobs at 50c to 75c an hour, in contrast to previous wages of \$1.05 to \$1.25 an hour.

### THOUSANDS IN LINE

By the end of the day, thousands of workers knew the score. Early Tuesday morning, the thousands-long lines of jobless war veterans and workers were queued up outside the various unemployment insurance offices, seeking the \$21 weekly unemployment insurance benefit in preference to the \$20-\$22 weekly pay check which is all that many of them would receive by working full time.

While the War Manpower Commission issued a warning to workers that they must "alter their ideas about wages radically," New York State Industrial Commissioner Corsi stated that the state does not intend "to force anyone to take a sub-standard job." He considered as substandard those jobs in the retail trade paying \$14, \$15 or \$16 a week.

There are now approximately 145,000 persons in the state receiving unemployment insurance, 73,400 of whom are in New York City. By the end of the year, officials predict 600,000 jobless workers, of whom 110,000 will be veterans of World War II.

More than 300 CIO union leaders, representing 600,000 workers, met last Tuesday at the Hotel McAlpin, and called on Congress to provide severance pay for displaced war workers and adequate bonuses for service men. It was pointed out that this money could be taken from the \$30 billion surplus of war appropriations.

## Kaiser Disregards Seniority In Heavy Portland Layoffs

By C. M. Hesser

PORTLAND, Ore., Aug. 22 — The end of the war hit Portland with an impact that left little doubt in the minds of the most optimistic that before the winter is over we will suffer terrific unemployment.

Figures for the state have not as yet been given, but for Portland the figure is already 15,000. State officials of some of the unions have told me that within 60 days the figure for unemployment will be from 40,000 to 45,000.

### WOMEN HARDEST HIT

More than 10,000 "terminations" were processed Friday and Saturday at the three Kaiser shipyards, with 15,000 to 16,000 total to go. Layoffs for the yards are as follows: 6,040 at the Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation; 3,127 at Vancouver and 768 at Swan Island.

Workers who had been with the company for over three years were laid off without regard to seniority. From the records of the Oregon

unemployment compensation commission we learn that for months women have been by far the hardest hit. There are no figures for Negro workers, but it is understood that they too are hard hit. Some of the workers who ask to stay on the job have told me that piece work will be started soon and they said, "That means the old speed-up."

Most of the AFL unions have not been taking in new workers. They have been using the permit system — so the union leaders would not be bothered with an unemployment situation.

The United States employment office, S. W. 12th Avenue and Stark, has been swamped by over 9,000 men and women seeking jobs since last Friday and Saturday. The veterans have been applying for jobs at the rate of 150 a day.

The only indication of union activity was that AFL Local 107, Laundry and Dry Cleaning Union, set up a recruiting office in the United States employment office! Mrs. A. T. Patch, union recruiter, said 65 persons had been interviewed in four days.

## Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalsky

As I walked in the gate I paused a moment to look at the stacks; and I knew that I was not alone in watching them. For thousands of other people who live in the shadow of the giant open hearth stacks were watching them too. The people who live in the squat, ore-browned, smoke-blackened old houses near the steel mill are watching those stacks like a sailor or farmer watches a weathervane. And the stacks say, "Hard times ahead."

Standing there at the gate I saw them towering high above the open hearth, a long line of them standing straight and even looking far out over the houses and up into the city. From some of them heavy black smoke moved steadily out into the sky. From others there was red-brown smoke streaming out with the same inexorable monotony. But from still other stacks there came nothing. And it was some of these that told the story.



These stacks standing smokeless and, it seemed, naked, told that down below them under the roofs of the heaped corrugated iron buildings there were cold furnaces, great boxes of chipped brick and rusted, twisted metal, mounds of rubble and dust standing silent, dark, and dead. Within them there was no longer the devilish brew of boiling metal and leaping flame for which they were intended. They squatted there, dead husks, useless things.

I walked on into the plant, over the railroad tracks and up the road toward the locker room. I looked across the road at the furnace line and saw one of the blast furnaces that had gone down because the company could not use all the iron that would be produced by the entire line. There too, I saw a dismal picture of death and decay.

A cold blast furnace is a terrible thing. When a blast furnace is running it is a fearful thing to see and hear. It roars and bellows; it shoots flames and golden gleaming molten metal and slag out of its openings; it can kill men, and it has killed many. But a blast furnace that is down is more terrifying, for it is a great, blighted monster. It is death itself.

### Place for Rats and Birds of Carrion

As you walk over its brick floor, your feet leave their outlines in the dust. In the bleak silence, the sound of your heels rises up as in a tomb. When you approach the furnace itself in the upper end of the cast house you see huge heaps of burnt brick that slope from the opened tuyeres, and they are like a broken mass of intestines that have flowed from the wounds of the monster when it died. You tread softly and feel that if you would speak you must whisper. A dead blast furnace is a place for rats and black, crouching birds of carrion.

I turned my head in the other direction, over toward the mills. There too the cutbacks were felt. Through a black opening in the corrugated iron wall I saw a rigid snake of flaming red shoot suddenly by as a billet spurted from the rolls. But I knew that there were fewer billets, fewer rails, bars, and slabs streaming down the mill lines each day.

I walked on past the coke screen. You need iron to make steel, and you need coke to make iron. Coke batteries must be shut down now as well. And more must be ready to shut down. How can it be otherwise when production drops in a steel mill?

I went farther up the dusty brown road, listening to the endless choo-choo-boom of the blow engine house. I came to the locker room, opened the ore-stained door, and went inside. And there I saw the final refuse and discarded mechanisms of the steel company. These machines still had on them the mark of life. They moved, and sounds came from them. But soon they too would be "down" like the batteries and furnaces. They, too, would be useless things, empty husks of production, slung into the scrap yard by the capitalist system.

And what were these last mechanisms of production? What was the name of this last type of machine used to create steel for war and profits for the rich? These were men that I looked upon. These are the workers.

## Layoff Plague Hits Toledo With Coming Of "Peace"

TOLEDO, O., Aug. 23 — "Peace" has descended upon this city like a plague, almost completely blotting out the whirling energy of dozens of factories geared to production for destruction.

Two-thirds of the city's working force is enjoying what the Toledo Blade's editor has called "a holiday for a time" — without pay. Estimates of the actual number of jobless workers vary from 45,000 to 75,000.

### ILLUSIONS DISPELLED

Generally among Toledo workers there is a feeling of bewilderment and resentment. Any illusions they may hold about the future are being dispelled rapidly. Thousands of unemployed Willys-Overland workers reporting at the Local 12 UAW Hall have been told that they can expect nothing before the first of the year, with no guarantee even then.

At the Spicer plant, employing 6,500, the union and the company made an agreement for a two-week moratorium on seniority grievances while the working force was being rearranged for civilian production. This was found necessary because of a cumbersome departmental seniority set-up. Spicer workers found that only about three thousand of them will have been called back by the end of the agreed-upon two weeks. Similar situations exist in the other plants.

### NO PROGRAM

The union leadership has been caught flatfooted with no other program than that of appealing to Washington and the corpora-

tions to "do something about it." A poorly organized mass meeting, held in Civic Auditorium on Aug. 12, attracted 1,400 people who listened to speeches by the UAW leadership and then voted for motions from the platform calling for opposition to the Ball-Burton-Hatch Bill; for Congress to furnish the American workers with 60,000,000 jobs and for Congress to give the workers a 40-hour week with 52 hours' pay.

An amendment to this latter motion came from the floor, calling for the UAW International Executive Board to make plans for an industry-wide strike if the 40-hr. week with 52-hr. pay were not instituted within 60 days after the signing of the Japanese surrender terms.

This amendment was greeted with applause by the rank and file, only to be declared out of order by Richard Gosser, UAW Regional Director, who was chairing the meeting.

### CALL FOR LABOR PARTY

The workers of the Spicer plant have notified the management that they will not work overtime while there are men unemployed. They have called for the immediate formation of a Labor Party. They have instituted negotiations for increases in wages and reduction of hours, and are fighting for the elimination of all "incentive" wage systems.

This is the type of program which will win the workers in the coming period but it cannot be accomplished by one shop nor by one local union. It must be pushed by a militant nation-wide movement and have aggressive leadership.

## 200,000 Seen Fired In Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 23 — Mass layoffs immediately following V-J Day have run into the tens of thousands here, with authoritative sources predicting no less than 200,000 workers will be tossed out on the streets by September.

The workers are flocking to their local union meetings as never before. Reports are beginning to come through of local meetings where the rank and file

are setting up emergency committees to give union protection to the unemployed in getting adequate relief, new jobs and decent treatment.

CIO United Automobile Workers Local 339 at its membership meeting last Tuesday adopted a program to initiate action on behalf of the unemployed. It is planned to push this program throughout the area. The regional UAW officers have given it a favorable hearing, with the promise to carry it out in spirit and purpose.

### 5-POINT PROGRAM

The 5-point immediate program of Local 339 includes:

1. Election of an "Emergency Committee" of five to represent laid-off workers as a body when they apply for unemployment insurance and also to elaborate plans to meet new layoffs.

2. Recommendation to the UAW regional office that it propose establishment of "Emergency Committees" by the local unions under its jurisdiction.

3. Immediate steps to be taken to organize a regional and statewide "Conference of Emergency Committees" to draft plans to meet the unemployment crisis.

4. An appeal by the Regional Office to the AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and all independent labor unions for a United Cooperative Conference to deal with the present emergency.

5. This conference to call a giant mass meeting in the Coliseum or the largest auditorium available in this area to protest mass layoffs and push the campaign for labor's program for full employment.

## Shipyard Local For Labor Party

JERSEY CITY, N. J., Aug. 17 — CIO Marine and Shipbuilding Workers Local 16 today went on record unanimously in favor of the formation of an independent labor party as the necessary political instrument to conduct the fight against mass layoffs.

Pressure of wide-spread unemployment is bringing about a resurgence of militancy among the union workers of this area and is crystallizing in strong sentiment for independent labor political action.

Even the Stalinists, who until recently held a precarious control over Local 16, today were compelled to keep silent on the labor party motion and chose to "go along" with it.

Under the impact of the layoff blows, the intense factional atmosphere which previously characterized the meetings was largely dispelled during most of the meeting, as the members seriously attempted to deal with the grave problems confronting them.



# Stalin Betrays Chinese Masses By Chiang Deal

(Continued from page 1)

both armies clashed in their drive to converge on the industrial centers and to surround and force the surrender of the Japanese troops. The AP dispatch from Chungking announced on Aug. 26 that the Kuomintang armies entered Shanghai and Nanking and were also driving towards Hong Kong and Canton. General Chu Teh, Yen'an Commander-in-Chief, asserted that his armies were marching towards Shanghai "to aid a rising of the people against the Japanese." A Yen'an communiqué reported that 50,000 Chinese workers had occupied Japanese-operated factories in Shanghai and had placarded the streets with slogans welcoming the Yen'an armies.

## IMPERIALIST AIMS

From the first the two opposing forces in China's seething class struggle have been manipulated by the two major powers that now face each other in the Far East, the Soviet Union and American imperialism.

American imperialism has from the first fought in the Far East to destroy its Japanese rival and to displace it as the imperial master. The Wall Street plutocracy now seeks to convert China into its semi-colony and to exploit the exact tribute from its 400 million overworked and underpaid workers and peasants. The victory of China's workers and peasants would spell the end of Chiang Kai-shek's brutal and bloody rule as well as the end of all the imperial plans and plots of the Wall Street magnates. That is why Chiang Kai-shek has become such a firm ally of Washington. That is why Washington pursues such a consistent policy of upholding and bolstering up in every conceivable manner the rotten, hated, despotic dictatorial regime of the Kuomintang.

In the present Civil War, American imperialism has thrown its

full weight on the side of Chiang Kai-shek. P. Hurley, American Ambassador to China, has placed American planes at the disposal of Chiang Kai-shek, so that the Kuomintang troops could occupy the main cities before the Yen'an armies. Wall Street has been consistently arming and strengthening the forces of Chiang Kai-shek through lend-lease. Furthermore, it was announced that U. S. detachments were ready to enter Nanking and Canton, and have already entered Shanghai.

## STALINIST BETRAYAL

Unfortunately Yen'an is under the leadership, not of genuine working class leaders, but of perjured Stalinists. For years this traitorous leadership has, at the behest of Stalin, betrayed the struggle of the Chinese masses. Today this leadership is impelled by the mass movement into an armed struggle against the military forces of the Kuomintang. But with might and main it continues to work to sidetrack the revolutionary struggle into the blind alley of People's Frontism. In poverty-stricken and war-torn China, where only the most radical solutions can suffice, the Stalinists propose to "democratize" the Kuomintang government by the organization of a People's Front coalition between Yen'an and Chiang Kai-shek, while leaving the social basis of capitalist-landlord China untouched.

And now at the very climactic point of the unfolding civil war, Stalin delivers his bombshell. He leaves his Chinese followers high and dry. He utilizes the civil war only as a bargaining counter for diplomatic advantages. He sells out the Chinese masses for a sphere of influence in Manchuria and Outer Mongolia; for half interest in the Chinese Eastern Railway; for Port Arthur.

It is of course entirely neces-



CHIANG KAI-SHEK

sary and proper for the Soviet Union, encircled by capitalist countries, to sign practical agreements with them regardless of how reactionary their governments are but Stalin in the midst of civil war demonstratively signed an agreement with the Chiang Kai-shek government in which he categorically pledges that all Soviet moral and material aid to China is to be given entirely to "the National Government as the Central Government of China." Molotov stated to the Chinese Prime Minister, T. V. Soong, during the latter's visit in Moscow, that the Soviet Union regards the civil war as an "internal question" and will not interfere in any way. These actions cannot be interpreted otherwise than as a brutal betrayal of the Chinese masses and their struggle. This betrayal is all the more glaring in the light of Wall Street's open and provocative armed intervention in favor of Chiang Kai-shek and against Yen'an. Stalin has perpetrated another crime against the international working class.

## SOLDIER EXPOSES ANTI-GERMAN LIES

### Hard-Hearted Germans?

More and more frequently, tiny news items revealing the general treatment accorded to American soldiers by the German people, break into the press. On August 25, the N. Y. Mirror told of what happened to S/Sgt. Edward L. Steele of Ypsilanti, Michigan, when he was shot down over Germany last April. He was sentenced to death and ordered to dig his own grave. S/Sgt. Steele paused for a moment to take out a picture of his wife and child, for a farewell glance. The firing squad saw the little snapshot. Last week Steele, his life spared by the sympathetic German soldiers, was on his way home.

## Soldiers Protest Pacific Transfer

(Continued from page 1)

reports referred to the department's recent order that all soldiers 37 years old or over and all those with a score of 75 or over shall not be sent to the Pacific. Newspapers asserted that this was a concession to the soldiers' protests.

A hint that the War Department might get "tough" with protesters came Aug. 23 when a department spokesman stated that, if the War Department wanted to be "technical," the protests by the men could be ruled a violation of one of the Articles of War concerning orders and discipline.

What is in reality involved is the elementary right of the soldiers to voice their protests. Wives and parents of the soldiers are also bringing increasing pressure on Congress to send their husbands and sons home. The considerable weight of this mass demand is reflected by numerous Congressional criticism of War Department policy.

## Toledo Unionists Battle Chevrolet Jim-Crow Policy

TOLEDO, O., Aug. 8 — At the last regular meeting here of the Chevrolet unit of Local 14, UAW-CIO, International Representative Moseby announced he had come to Toledo for the purpose of ending discriminatory abuses against Negro workers in the Chevrolet plant. He informed the membership and the officers that the next production jobs open in the plant would go to the Negro workers holding the necessary seniority.

Up to this time, the regular upgrading system provided for in the contract has not been applied to Negro employees. Some with as high as thirty years seniority who attempted to get better jobs were told, "You've got too much seniority." Negro workers with no seniority were hired into the plant on production jobs. However, those already in the plant with seniority enough to hold such jobs were not allowed to take them, because then the company would not be able to lay these workers off.

Negro workers in the Chevrolet plant have been combatting this discriminatory practice for several years. The CIO Fact-Finding Committee under the leadership of Emmet Wheaton has put up a three-year fight on this case.

### THREE-YEAR FIGHT

Before it was possible to get a satisfactory settlement of this grievance, it was necessary to call in the UAW Fair Practices Committee to organize a mass meeting (See The Militant, Aug. 4), to exert a great deal of pressure on the officers of the International Union and to secure wide publicity for this case.

Finally, after a three-year fight, it was possible to get the officers of the union to make a move to eliminate this abuse.

Not only was the upgrading system interpreted as not applying to Negro workers, but the contract itself had been interpreted to deny the Negro janitors a five-cent wage raise won in 1940 and applying to all employees covered by the contract. International Representative Moseby promised to immediately negotiate with the Chevrolet Company to secure the raise in retroactive pay for the Negro workers involved.

The Chevrolet case is only one of many cases of vicious discrimination practiced against Negro workers by Toledo corporations. The Chevrolet case has been settled because sufficient pressure was brought to bear to force the union officials to act.

By V. Grey

All the capitalists' papers, their radio, pulpits, movies, allege that the German working people were actually responsible for Hitler and the war. They try to make us think the Germans liked having a dictator over them.

We're supposed to believe that workers enjoyed having their unions smashed by Hitler, and enjoyed working long hours for straight time wages, enjoyed having storm troopers break into their homes in the middle of the night, and drag their loved ones away to fill the concentration camps, to feel the whip of the sadistic Nazi prison-masters. But what is the truth?

Sergeant Joseph McLaughlin, stationed in Darmstadt, Germany, wrote a letter to the New York daily, PM, last week in which he shows that American worker-soldiers are beginning to see through this bunk.

### DEFYING THE GESTAPO

He wrote that he was a prisoner for 26 days in Germany. Working people took their lives in their hands to help him. The German underground organized his escape, which he made with two comrades.

"These families fed us," reads the letter, "and hid us during the day, and then sent us on to other anti-Nazi families. And at the risk of their lives and their families' lives..."

"When we prisoners were marching along the road and some civilian would step out and hand us a piece of black bread or a hard-boiled egg, that was a mighty big thing to us. Sure I'll stick up for them. So will my buddies. Those people didn't have a thing in the world to gain by helping us out."

### CLASS VOICES

What a world of emphasis there is, in that single paragraph! The universal kinship of the poor! The fellow-feeling one unfortunate has for another, knows no country's boundary. What a grim, if silent, defiance of the military authority and the whole Hitler regime! What a condemnation of the war! To step out in plain view of everyone to give a bit of food to an "enemy" soldier. It shows the feeling all the German poor must have.

The American soldier sees the way the German worker feels—and he responds to the feeling. He understands.

The letter continues: "As I arrived in Normandy on D-12 and fought the whole way to Paderborn, Germany, I have a big right to speak my piece."

This is the confident class voice in which millions of soldiers of all countries are going to speak. They, like Sergeant McLaughlin, are confident of their right to tell the truth. And no one is going to deprive them of it.

## Toledo SWP Holds Open Forum on Job Program

TOLEDO, O., Aug. 12 — Bill Gray, organizer of the Buffalo branch of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke here tonight before an attentive audience of members and friends of the Toledo branch on the subject, "A Fighting Program to Meet Outlets and Unemployment." His subject was especially timely because everyone present realized the impending threat of mass unemployment.

The urgency of this problem was strikingly brought home to all those present when in the middle of the speech, horns and whistles began to blow heralding the end of World War II.

Present at the meeting were several workers who had never attended our forums before and who were attracted by a leaflet distributed the same afternoon at a mass meeting called by the UAW-CIO.

### A New Versailles

"In the interval between the two world wars, Versailles and the League of Nations secured anything but peace. In the space of 21 years, almost a score of wars were fought, as a prelude to the second world collision. In place of peace Versailles brought growth to militarism, one of the biggest obstacles in the way of economic progress. As for 'peace' brought by San Francisco, its sessions were accompanied by the beating of the war drums. Failing the revolution, militarism will continue its fearful growth."

(From "The United Nations" — "A New Thieves' Kitchen" by John G. Wright, in the August issue of Fourth International.)

## Wall Street Snaps Whip By Canceling Lend-lease System

(Continued from page 1)

ernment's way to "socialize foreign trade." Having devoured its overseas investments in war expenditures, British capitalism is compelled to attempt to export on an unprecedented scale. In following this policy the Labor Government is merely the servitor of the capitalist owners of British industry. Weakened British capitalism, which when it was supreme was the originator of the theory of "free trade," is now compelled to employ other means in its desperate attempt to retrieve a favorable position in the world market.

That the main conflict is at present not between U. S. capitalist versus British "socialist" policies, but between capitalist rivals for foreign trade, is indicated by the fact that the British negotiators going to Washington are Lord Keynes, chief economic advisor to the previous Churchill government and the arch-conservative Earl of Halifax. The British delegation's attitude, says the Aug. 7 London News-Chronicle, is "no cap-in-hand negotiations," and no acceptance of "American terms which would retard econ-



BEVIN

omic reconstruction in Britain." Oblique though these words are, they indicate that the issue is determination to expand British exports, which would be the only way under capitalist conditions to set British industry going full blast.

### JUNIOR PARTNER

There is thus a crisis in Anglo-U. S. relations, but one should understand the strict limits of the crisis. Wall Street and Washington are trying to force Britain to conduct itself as the decidedly junior partner which it is in the Anglo-U. S. bloc. But neither side will jeopardize continuation of that bloc as against the USSR. Any fears in Washington that the Labor Government would be less firm than Churchill in resisting the Kremlin's aims in Europe and Asia have been dissolved by Foreign Minister Bevin's statements on foreign policy, before lend-lease ended. Too much is at stake on a world scale for either London or Washington to weaken their alliance by failing to compromise this dispute.

U. S. Foreign Economic Administrator Crowley has already assured Britain that there need be no curtailment of food shipments from America. Had the British government asked for a loan of two or three hundred million dollars to continue food shipments "the morning after the issuance of the Presidential order, the amount would have been forthcoming the same afternoon," said Crowley, who issued a 6-point program August 24 of ways and means of continuing goods shipments to Britain pending negotiations of long-term loans.

### DISLOYAL TO WORKERS

But in the end, it is clear, Britain will be brought to heel. There will be a compromise, but it will be at the expense of the living standards of the British masses—and, in the last analysis, of the living standards of the American workers, too, for it will mean curtailment of production in both countries. British production will be hampered by concessions to the U. S. on export policies. U. S. production will be curtailed both by the end of lend-lease and by British reluctance to buy on loans except irreducible minimums.

Were the Labor government acting in the interests of the workers, it would openly explain these facts and arouse the British and American workers to an understanding of the situation. But to do so, the Labor government would have to embark on a course of ending capitalism altogether, as it was given a mandate to do by the British workers who voted it into office. In concealing the truth about this situation, the Labor government is being disloyal to the workers from whom it received its mandate.

## The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

### Advice from a Veteran

Dear Mr. Jackson:

I have been a reader of the Militant for some time and I feel that there are some things on my mind that I would like to express. If any ideas which I convey either do or do not coincide with the opinions of any other readers, I certainly will be glad to discuss these ideas with them.

After having been in the armed forces for almost five years, I feel that there are some things which are now of great importance to returning service men which many of us have already learned through our own experiences. We have first met the problems of those who are to be discharged later. Those of us who did come out early in the game should do everything to make things favorable for those who will follow.

Shortly after we returned and went into industry, we found that many former members of the armed forces were being recruited into clubs formed by management. I contend that these are only organizations to first get into the good graces of the men and then to turn them against the unions. It is my advice to all returning men—watch these organizations!

### UNION POLICY

Many of us had been former union members and when we went back into the shops, we again took active part as union members. There arose concern of the many workers returning from the army and mention was made about a clause to be added to union contracts giving ex-service men seniority for the time spent in the service. This was the policy, we found out, of most of the leading labor organizations and it was the main thing that organized labor had at its finger tips to offer the veteran.

On many occasions we saw the industrial corporations, in one way or another attempt to pre-empt the returning men against the union. They were aware that any good thing that organized labor could offer the veteran would, in the long run, hinder the corporations.

Many things will hinge on the stand taken by the veterans. Big business intends to pit us against workers who are striking for a better living wage, if possible, and thereby make us be a part of the most wholesale effort at scabbing in this generation. In breaking the unions the industrial barons want to use us for a goat.

How can this be best accomplished? By subjecting these men to a widespread campaign of anti-working class propaganda. We are being fed more than we can consume. Every patriotic speaker is against labor. While we had been fighting and shedding our blood all over the world our own wives, sisters and brothers were told had been striking and "hindering the war effort." This is the kind of junk that was spread throughout the army. That we know. We now find that all the strikes since the war began were neutralized by the workers staying on the job the Fourth of July!

There was all the talk about

jobs for all. With eight million now unemployed and eight million veterans to be discharged we can now see that was only a pipe dream! And veterans will be a big part of the unemployed group that must be maintained by America's Sixty Families in order to keep down the price of labor.

To those of you who might read this article and are not out of the service, I give this advice. Do not believe the anti-labor propaganda that will be fed to you by a lying, corrupt, capitalist-controlled press. Remember that your close relatives have been a part of all this struggle to maintain decent working conditions. Don't think for a minute that they did not have your interest at heart when they went out on strike to beat back the attacks of the corporations which were trying to break up the unions by firing all the best leaders. These workers were all the time more eager to see you return than the flag-waving manufacturers, whose main object was to exploit labor and reap greater war-time profits. You fought for the right to come home to a decent and secure living. The unions did not hinder that effort—they helped it!

Demand the right for you and all able bodied people to earn a living. Do not strike-break for them you will be helping your enemy. Colored workers in non-union towns should especially remember this. Choose your veterans organization with care remembering who is sponsoring them. Join a union at your first opportunity and fight for the working man's rights as you never fought before. That is the real battle that is coming now.

THEODORE JOHNSON

(Veterans should also read articles by Charles Carsten which appear on page 8 of The Militant.)

## August FI Dedicated To Memory Of Trotsky

The fifth anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky finds the world on the threshold of great upsurges, as triumphant American capitalism seeks to hold the masses of Europe and Asia in subjugation. Prophetic analyses made by Trotsky years ago, have vital importance for the working class today.

It is with this view that Fourth International, now on sale, memorializes Leon Trotsky. The co-leader of the October Revolution and founder of the Fourth International, is brought to life through his ideas and achievements.

The wave of reaction which crushed revolution after the first world war, paved the way for the degeneration of the Third International. Against this background, the urgent task of creating the Fourth International is described, with a reprint of the first call for its formation.

### ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

But Trotsky possessed not only a superb understanding of the broad ebb and flow of world events, predicting and interpreting them on a Marxist basis. He had also an intimate knowledge of the economic problems confronting each nation, and the political trends which must flow from the contradictions within the individual capitalist economies.

Beginning in 1922, for instance, when Trotsky first pointed out the impending crisis in France, he never ceased to study and explain and point out to the French workers their revolutionary tasks. He was enthusiastic over the receipt of a communication from

a Negro organization in Johannesburg. He watched the colossus of American imperialism jockey its British "partner" out of domination over the seas.

Excerpts from Trotsky's writings on all of these, included in the memorial issue, give testimony to the tremendous vitality which was Trotsky's, and invite the reader to study further, the writings and achievements of the great continuer of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Single copies of Fourth International can be obtained for 25 cents, yearly subscription \$2, by writing to Business Manager, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

## No Cause To Complain

"Millions of Frenchmen consider themselves lucky," reveals the N. Y. Times, of August 21, "when they get 90 grams of meat (less than a quarter of a pound) in their weekly ration." But... which Frenchmen.

"Many high (American) officers who are billeted and messes by the army spend their social hours with rich Frenchmen, often war profiteers who can produce sumptuous hospitality, the article adds. "One American colonel said recently after recalling a meal in a French home: 'I really don't understand what people are complaining about. There seems to be plenty of food.'"

## Maritime Board Moves To Cut Pacific Bonus

NEW YORK, August 27—The Maritime War Emergency Board last week took steps to reduce seamen's war-risk bonuses in the Pacific. These bonus cuts if ordered in the same sweeping manner as earlier slashes effecting Atlantic Ocean runs, will amount to a 40 percent reduction in pay-off for the Pacific run.

Maritime unions have attempted to counter the bonus cut by an appeal to the National War Labor Board for an adjustment in the

basic wage rate to compensate for the loss in take-home pay. They are asking the 55c per hr. minimum scale which would bring the basic monthly wage up to \$185, as compared to the present scale of \$100 per month. This is less than the wartime monthly earnings of seamen which, with the bonus, amounted to approximately \$200.

The Atlantic Ocean bonus cut became effective last July 15. Although the wage case had been

referred to the WLB prior to that date, no adjustment of seamen's wages has yet been made by that body.

### FURTHER SLASHES

At the MWEB hearings last week where further slashes in the war-risk bonus was discussed, John M. Carmody, Maritime Commission member serving as chairman of the board, promised union spokesmen that the MWEB would "lend its good offices" to have the WLB render a decision in the wage adjustment case.

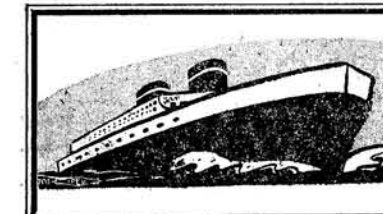
Official leaders of all maritime unions are at present relying upon the "good offices" of the MWEB and the minimum wage "policy" of the WLB to give seamen more money. Another such "legal" angle to win higher wages was advanced last week by Mathew Dushane, Washington representative for the Sailors Union of the Pacific. Dushane blustered that bonus cuts had been ordered in the absence of a dispute between the operators and the unions, and were therefore "illegal." "We are going to sue every company that reduced bonuses on your order" he told the MWEB.

While maritime union officials shy away from dealing with the real boss in the maritime industry — the government — and seek intermediary bargaining agents — the so-called shipowners — these same graft-blotting government agencies and demand that seamen's wages be driven back to the sub-standard level of \$100 per month which in terms of what it will buy today is less than the \$50 a month seamen struck against in 1934.

When the WLB heard the wage adjustment case last month these ship "owners" testified that they could not "afford" to pay the 55 cent hourly minimum and that "such wages would ruin the American merchant marine." Last week they asked the MWEB to "abolish all war bonuses now that the shooting has stopped."

Seamen will win higher wages and union conditions when they fight to eliminate these completely parasitical ship "owners" and institute workers control in this government owned and government controlled industry.

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



## Postwar Notes for Seamen

### GHOST FLEET

Of the 5,000 odd merchant ships now in commission about 3,000 are scheduled for the "ship breaking" department. But while this "ship breaking" machinery gets geared up, shipyards no longer engaged in construction will be used as ships' graveyards. Sites at Mobile, Ala., and Lake Washington, near Seattle, are reported ready to receive ships consigned to the ghost fleet. Congress has appropriated money to restore the old World War I ships' graveyard in the James River, near Yorktown, Va. This site is being enlarged so as to spare New York Harbor the "eyesore" of a ghost fleet in the Hudson River, according to Maritime Commission spokesmen.

### POSTWAR "EXPANSION"

The few yards expected to continue building for postwar needs were further dimmed out last week when the Maritime Commission announced cancellation of contracts for three partially completed intermediate P-2 liners. These 25 knot P-2 liners were being built for the North Atlantic passenger trade "after the war."

### NEW EFFICIENCY

Before the war less than 1,000 American-flag ships operated. Most estimates (admittedly optimistic) place the postwar need at about 13 hundred. These ships will be able to handle double the amount of cargo transported by the old fleet. This was demonstrated last week by the new "Venore," operated by the Ore Steamship Corporation, a Bethlehem subsidiary. This ship replaces the old "Venore" that was sunk in the early days of the war. Today's 18 knot "Venore" makes a 28 day turn-around trip to Chile for ore, whereas her namesake took 39 to 42 days for the same run. The old ship had

a carrying capacity of 22,000 tons deadweight, 3,000 tons less than the present "Venore" carries on her faster trips.

### MANPOWER PROBLEM

Wartime merchant seamen are packing their gear and leaving the ships. This was reported by the Journal of Commerce on August 22, with the following observation: "How serious the situation is likely to become will depend on the ability of those men who are now seeking shore employment to succeed in their objectives. Some shipping officials believe that many will be reporting back to the hiring halls and to the R.M.O. in thirty days." These spokesmen for Big Business know that there are no jobs ashore for seamen. They also know that there will be few jobs in the graveyards and on the ghost fleets. This solves "the manpower problem."

### BLISSFUL IGNORANCE

John Hawk, Secretary of the Seafarers' International Union, the AFL rival to CIO's National Maritime Union, breathes a sigh of relief that "the manpower problem" is settled. He notes that "workers all over the country are being laid off," but adds that "we in this industry are fortunate in that respect, for all the ships will operate full blast for at least a year or two, in my opinion."

### BAD HANGOVER

During the war "the manpower problem" was of such concern to union officials that Joseph Curran, president of the NMU, continues to worry about it today. Last week he told the Maritime War Emergency Board that "ships are now laying up because seamen are leaving the ships." He was partly right. Ships are laying up...



Native Fascism -- IV

# Hearst Joins Smith-Reynolds In Peddling Fascist Poison To The Youth Of America

By Joseph Hansen

Like Hitler and Mussolini, America's native fascists display a keen interest in the youth. Among the millions of young people who will be locked out of the factories in the postwar crisis, the fascist demagogues hope to win their most energetic and fanatic followers. Extremely active in building youth organizations are associates of ex-Senator Robert Rice Reynolds, chairman of the American Nationalists Party now attempting to unite the fascist groups in America. Their drive for the youth is gaining dangerous proportions.

Typical of these demagogues linked with Reynolds is the Reverend Harvey Springer, the self-styled "cowboy minister." At the Englewood Baptist Tabernacle near Denver, Colorado, Springer holds forth in the manner of Gerald L. K. Smith. Besides working on his local dupes, the cowboy evangelist publishes the anti-Semitic Western Voice which lists among its subscribers and admirers the ex-Senator Reynolds and his wife, the former Evalyn ("Hope Diamond") Walsh MacLean.



TORREY JOHNSON

**ENGLEWOOD CONVENTION**  
On January 6, 1944, the bronco-riding Bible-spouter was host to a youth convention at Englewood. Some 350 young people and pastors from churches in 7 Midwestern states there organized the "Christian Youth for America." They issued a call to "all Christian youth organizations in America to join us in a united front against the flood of Communism in the land."

Kenneth Goff, prominent in Reynolds' Nationalist outfit since 1939, was named chairman of the youth movement. Goff is a renegade from the labor movement. He was once on the advisory staff of the American Youth Congress and was a member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League. During the depression he was among the leaders of the Council of Unemployed.

Trained in the school of Stalinism, Goff found little difficulty in switching to the camp of native fascism. He has written for Gerald L. K. Smith's rag *The Cross and Flag* and spoken before Smith's National Emergency Committee. According to Eugene Segal, staff writer of the Scripps-Howard chain, leaders of the United Sons of America, the revived Ku Klux Klan "say they expect both Goff and Springer to come in with them."

Goff's fascist youth organization has a committee which distributes tracts among high school youth of the Reverend Bob Parr's Church in Detroit and organizations in Buffalo, Los Angeles and elsewhere.

**MINNEAPOLIS SCHOOL**  
In Minneapolis the fascist line peddled by Reynolds is being fed to the youth enrolled at the Northwestern Theological Seminary and Bible Training School through the president Dr. A. B. Riley. This school lists 450 students and 1500 alumni in American pulpits. The school publication, the *Northwestern Pilot*, follows an editorial policy which may be judged from the following excerpt from an article by Dr. Riley: "If one has a friendly word about the best-informed

Catholic priest in America — Father Coughlin — or has shown interest in the brilliant addresses of Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, he is considered un-American." Mrs. Dilling is the brilliant admirer of fascism who discovered even the Y.M.C.A. was "communist."

William Randolph Hearst, the red-baiting buzzard of San Simon, is another anti-labor figure who has recently displayed remarkable concern over the souls of the youth. Hearst has been boosting the "Youth for Christ Movement." The Los Angeles Examiner agreed to buy instruments for a large Youth for Christ band. Other Hearst papers similarly foster this fascist-like movement and report its activities in banner headlines.

The Youth for Christ organization was launched about a year ago by Percy Crawford, the Philadelphia radio preacher. A New York insurance salesman, Jack Wyrzten, shortly afterward became its principal organizer. Late in 1944 Wyrzten packed 20,000 youngsters into Madison Square Garden to hear Glenn Wagner, former football star, tell how he dropped the pigskin to discover Christ.

**YOUTH RALLY**  
The college belt trust has provided other evangelists for the Youth for Christ group. Gil Dodds, the record-holding miler, and Bob Finley, an inter-collegiate boxer, operating out of Chicago have addressed large mass rallies throughout the Middle West. On October 21, 1944, 26,000 youth from all over the country held a Youth for Christ rally in Soldier's Field Stadium in Chicago.

Among the prominent speakers at this rally was the Reverend Torrey Johnson. Johnson is not only a professional quoter of the Bible, he is an ex-intercollegiate swimming champion. The Youth for Christ movement he announced is "God's answer to the false philosophies of Nazism and Communism and the other isms that have caught hold in the world."

## Dobbs Denounces Tammany Plot

Following is the text of the speech delivered by Farrell Dobbs, Trotskyist candidate for Mayor, at the Trotsky Memorial Meeting in New York on August 22.

We are gathered here tonight to honor the memory of Comrade Leon Trotsky. Comrade Trotsky was not only a great revolutionary thinker; he was a revolutionary fighter. We can best honor his memory by fighting for the great cause to which he devoted his whole life, the great cause for which he laid down his life—the revolutionary struggle for the socialist emancipation of mankind.

We are carrying forward that struggle on all fronts. Right here in New York City we are engaged in an important election campaign, a campaign to rally the workers of New York City to strike a blow for socialism.

In order to get their candidate on the ballot, the devoted and hard-working members of the Socialist Workers Party in New York secured no less than 14,914 signatures on nominating petitions. This impressive figure is double the amount of signatures required by law. Moreover, the petitions were filed well in advance of the deadline and in strict conformity with all the rigid and unreasonable requirements of the election laws.

**BLANKET OBJECTION**  
These rigid and unreasonable election laws were enacted by the capitalist politicians for the express purpose of making it very tough for minority parties to get on the ballot. We met all these arbitrary and anti-democratic legal restrictions—but that action alone hasn't yet assured us a place on the ballot.

A blanket objection to my candidacy has been filed by a Tammany machine man, one

This former expert on the diving board bears testimony from the pulpit that he is against "this pussy-footing stuff." He likes to put zip in the Youth for Christ movement with hot music and the swinging of old Gospel hymns that "send" the youngsters.

Carey McWilliams reports that "headlining the program" have been ventriloquists, singing dolls, marimba bands, trumpet-players, specialty numbers, accordionists, vibraphones, close-harmony quartets, melody trios, sleight-of-hand performers, vibras and Bible-quizz programs patterned after the Quiz Kid program."

Among the conspicuous figures at Christ for Youth rallies in Southern California has been the Rev. Earl Opie of Long Beach, California. Opie together with Gerald L. K. Smith appeared at the convention of the Anglo-Israelite Fellows in Los Angeles on June 14-16. The anti-Jewish utterances at this convention could scarcely have been improved upon by Hitler.

**CHICAGO HEADQUARTERS**  
Headquarters for the Youth for Christ movement is in Chicago. According to Harold E. Fey, writing in *The Christian Century* of June 20, the Chicago office spent close to \$100,000 in the last year for promotion. Rallies have been staged in New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Chicago, Minneapolis, Milwaukee and Southern California. Youth for Christ meetings are being held at present in about 500 communities with a total weekly attendance of some 500,000 people.

The Youth for Christ movement gives short, snappy pep talks, plays down denominational differences and emphasizes the "Christian aspect of things in general." At a rather disturbing manner. All at the rallies there is much hand-lifting, saluting, and flag-waving."

As the postwar depression gathers momentum, the fascist youth movement can become extremely dangerous to labor. The leading fascist demagogues like Reynolds and Smith understand this very well. That is why they are devoting such careful attention at present to building a strong preparatory framework. Playing on the religious beliefs of American youth they plan to gradually instill the most virulent fascist poison in the minds of the younger generation.

(To Be Continued)

Richard R. Witte, by name. We don't know what the specific objections are. Perhaps Tammany doesn't know either. For the election laws permit the capitalist political hacks to file a so-called blanket objection and then take six days to figure out some angle by which to try and make their objection stick.

Witte and his Tammany gang will have to state their reasons by next Friday. Then we will know precisely how we must meet their attack.

The *World-Telegram* of August 18 reported the Democrats were due to challenge three minority party petitions in an effort to have these petitions declared invalid. The reason given then was that 11 parties were participating in the campaign, while there are only 9 columns on the ballot. They want to meet the arbitrary figure of 9 columns on the ballot by eliminating minority parties.

**HELPFUL SUGGESTION**  
If it is elimination they want, we have some helpful suggestions. Why not eliminate the corrupt, reactionary, anti-working class Republican Party? Why not eliminate the equally corrupt, equally reactionary and equally anti-working class Democratic Party?

If democracy and free elections have to be confined within the arbitrary framework of a ballot machine, then let either the Democratic or the Republican party be disqualified in favor of the Socialist Workers Party—



Build the Labor Party

and it can be either one, we don't care which, because they are only twin tools of Wall Street and have no important differences in program.

Here is another suggestion. The capitalist candidates, O'Dwyer and Goldstein, are each running on three separate tickets. They occupy between them six places, two-thirds of the space on the ballot. Eliminate this trickery and the problem of space on the ballot is solved.

But the truth is that it is not the technical problems of the balloting that are worrying the capitalists. There are plenty of unemployed workers walking the streets today who could quickly reconvert the voting machines to include not only 11 parties, but twice or three times that number.

**THEY FEAR THE TRUTH**  
What the capitalists are really afraid of is that the workers of New York will, if given an opportunity, vote for independent working class political candidates in this election. The capitalists are terrified by the sweeping victory of the British Labor Party.

The capitalist criminals, who brought on this blood-bath of World War II, seek to stifle every voice exposing their crimes. In the midst of the ruins of the war, with unemployment rampant and starvation threatening, they fear the voice of truth. They fear the Socialist Workers Party and its Trotskyist program, the only program which will assure a bright future for mankind.

But we don't remove easily. We will fight their gerry-mandering. We will fight every attempt to silence us. We will fight every attempt to make participation in elections the exclusive prerogative of the capitalist parties.

We will fight to awaken the working class to a realization of its own power; a power which once unleashed will sweep out the capitalist criminals and their political flunkies; a power which will establish a government of the toilers that will govern for the benefit of the toilers; a power which will once and for all put an end to imperialist war, fascism, unemployment and starvation.

## New York Trotskyist Candidates



Farrell Dobbs, Trotskyist candidate for Mayor of New York, and Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidate for City Council, photographed as they plan their campaign. Speeches made by them at the Trotsky Memorial Meeting, August 22, appear in this issue.

## Simpson Talks At Leon Trotsky Memorial Rally

Following is the text of the speech made at the Trotsky Memorial Meeting in New York on August 22 by Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidate for City Council.

When Stalin's agents plotted and carried out the murder of Leon Trotsky in Mexico City in August 1940, they thought they had done away with Trotskyism. The Kremlin bureaucrats' joy was short-lived however, because everywhere the parties and groups founded by Comrade Trotsky at once began to renew their efforts, to double their activities. The Stalinists soon discovered that ideas cannot be assassinated.

The death of Leon Trotsky was hailed with delight by the world bankers and landlords — but this delight, like that in the Kremlin, was soon cut short. Trotskyism was not dead — it was very much alive.

In Minneapolis it stood up in court and defied the most powerful capitalist class in the world.

In far away Ceylon and in Britain, Trotskyism defied the ruling class. In Germany and France the executions and concentration camps did not stop the ideas and program of Trotskyism from being heard. In the dungeons of Italy and in the island prisons of Greece, the ideas of Trotsky inspired the revolutionists and became a living threat to capitalism despite isolation and persecution.

### TROTSKYISM GREW

All over the world, in the colonies, in the industrial cities, Trotskyism lived and grew, because it stood for international solidarity of all oppressed peoples against slavery, against capitalism, against war, against fascism.

The plot to murder Trotsky failed.

And while the ideas of Trotskyism live and grow stronger, its enemies stand exposed as bankrupt.

## SWP Wins Legal Fight To Get Dobbs On Ballot

(Continued from page 1)

parties. This announcement was followed by the filing of a blanket objection against the petitions of the Trotskyist mayoralty candidate by one Richard P. Witte, a registered Democrat. This despite the fact that approximately 15,000 qualified voters, which was twice the required number, had signed the petitions to place Farrell Dobbs on the ballot.

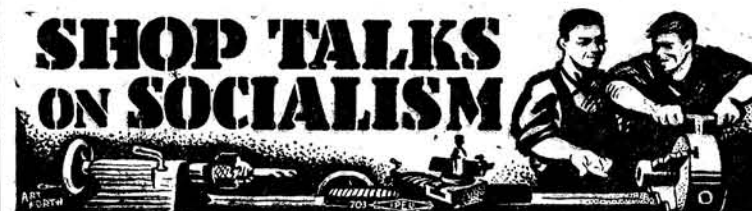
The Trotskyist petitions conformed with all the manifold requirements of the election code, requirements which are specifically designed to make it as difficult as possible for a minority party to get a place on the ballot. When the Socialist Workers Party learned that Tammany had challenged its right to run a Trotskyist candidate for mayor, the party prepared for a showdown fight.

Speaking at the Trotsky Mem-

orial Meeting in New York on August 22nd, Farrell Dobbs declared: "We will fight every attempt to silence us. We will fight every attempt to make participation in elections the exclusive prerogative of the capitalist parties. We will fight to awaken the working class to a realization of its own power, a power which once unleashed will sweep out the capitalist criminals and their political flunkies, a power which will establish a government of the toilers that will govern for the benefit of the toilers, a power which will once and for all put an end to imperialist war, fascism, unemployment and starvation."

**PREPARED TO FIGHT**  
When interviewed after the Election Board had dismissed the objections filed by the Tammany agent, Witte, Farrell Dobbs, speaking in behalf of Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidate

for City Council, and his party, said: "We have won the first round of our fight to present our program and candidates to the workers of New York in the elections. But we are not lulled into a sense of complacency by this victory. We intend to remain alert and prepared to fight any encroachment on our democratic



By V. Grey

It was Saturday morning in August. We were walking down the highway to the little dirt road that leads to the spot on the lake where we were going to fish — Tony and Ed, and Shorty and I. "Gee, but it's swell to be free on a Saturday," Tony said.

"It's swell to be free — period," said Ed. He meant that he'd been laid off and didn't feel very bad about it because he had been working so damn hard. The night before we had all celebrated with an extra drink — a couple extra drinks in fact. Some of the fellows had been just killing themselves with seven days every week.

A whole slew of fellows had been laid off. But if they were all like Ed, they wouldn't be feeling very bad. They might be all out looking for work of course. Or maybe they were resting up from a grand spree like Ed and the rest of us. Anyway Tony and Shorty and I were still working — 5 days at straight day-rate of course.

Tony said "This reminds me of old times. Many's the day I used to trudge down this highway to the fishing hole. I remember when it was an asphalt road, a lot narrower than this. There was a 'Toonerville Trolley' track alongside it in the grass. (The old man took that trolley to work every day of his life — when he was working) Us kids used to balance our fishing baskets on our heads and walk on the rails."

Ed said, "You know how long it is since I went down to the fishing hole? Three years! I used to go down there all the time. Why back in the depression —" His voice trailed off, and he started throwing stones at the telegraph poles.

### Thinking of the Last Depression

He must have been thinking how tough it was in the depression, just like we were. It wasn't all fishing and walking down the highway on an August day. He started to talk. But something seemed to stick in his craw and he didn't. He threw a stone at a blackbird that was sitting on a fence, and let it go at that.

We passed the shop on the way to the old dirt road. "Our" shop was the last one away from the town. It was practically in the country. We all stood still to look at it and laugh at the locked gates. As if anyone would break his neck to try to get into that jail house! Some gag, to lock the gates on a Saturday!

"The aircraft plant is closed down tight, they kicked 35,000 people out," Ed mused.

"Guess there'll be a lot of fishing today," said Tony. And we all laughed a little. We were still looking up at that big shop. It looked awful empty some way. No clattering or banging. The gulls from the lake were beginning to line up on the eaves more than ever. It was so quiet...

You could just tell by looking at the place that the layoffs had only begun. It's slower than aircraft, and not so sudden. Steel gives you a little build-up before it gives you the business. First they put you on five days, then four, then maybe three, if you're lucky, and have ten or fifteen years' seniority. Then they give you a lousy garden down the road, so you won't ask for relief.

Even so, another bunch of us would get laid off on Monday. We all felt it in our bones.

"Well come on you guys," Ed laughed. "You haven't got seven days to fish like I have." We went along. But we didn't have a very good time after all.

## WHERE YOU CAN BUY THE 'FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <b>AKRON</b><br>Militant Bookshop, Everett Bldg., 39 E. Market Street, Rm. 405.  | <b>PHILADELPHIA</b><br>13th and Market Streets.  |
| <b>CHICAGO</b><br>51st St. L Station;<br>News Exchange, 51 S. Main.<br>Ceshinsky's Bookstore, 2750 W. Division St.; University of Chicago Bookstore, 5802 S. Ellis Ave.; Randolph News Shop, 63 W. Randolph.<br>Newstand, N.W. corner 51st and Cottage Grove.            | <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b><br>Duncan's Newsstand, 1988 Sutter St.; Rays Smoke Shop, 1174 Sutter St.; MacDonald's Book Store, 867 Mission St.; Golden Gate News Agency, 81-3rd St.; Fitzgerald News Agency, 21-4th St.<br>San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., 4th Fl. |
| <b>DETROIT</b><br>160 N. Wells, Room 317.<br>Family Theater Newsstand, opposite theater, Carls Book Store, 9109 Woodward Ave.<br>Cass Newsstand, Cass at Michigan Ave.<br>Militant Bookshop, 3513 Woodward, Rm. 21.  | <b>BERKLEY</b><br>Sather Gate Book Shop, 2335 Telegraph Ave.; Whitey's corner Bercost and Telegraph Ave.   |
| <b>LOS ANGELES</b><br>Workers Book Shop, 232 S. Hill, Room 200-05.<br>NE Corner, 5th and Main; 326 W. 5th Street; Consolidated Bldg. 6th and Hill; 2210 1/2 Bklyn. Ave.; 1660 N. Calhoun and Hollywood Blvd.; 1665 N. Los Palms and Hollywood Blvd., 335 1/2 S. Hill St. | <b>SAN DIEGO</b><br>242 Broadway.  |
| <b>MINNEAPOLIS</b><br>Labor Book Store, 10 South 4 Street.   | <b>SAN PEDRO</b><br>Socialist Workers Party, Rm. 214, 1008 S. Pacific Ave.<br>Williams Book Store, 284-6th St.; Johnson's Pool Hall, 531 Beacon St.; LaRue Pharmacy, 1309 Pacific; Abrams Pharmacy, 1002 South Caffey.   |
| <b>NEW YORK</b><br>Newsstands on 14th Street, between 2nd and 6th Aves.; 42nd St. between 5th & 6th. 116 University Place.   | <b>SEATTLE</b><br>Eckert's corner Washington and 1st Ave.; Bishop Drug Store, 507 Jackson St.; Rayner's Book Store, 905 - 3rd Ave.; Pool Room, 500 Main Street.  |
| <b>NEWARK</b><br>Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave.   | <b>ST. LOUIS</b><br>Foster's Book Store, 410 Washington Ave.   |
|  | <b>TOLEDO</b><br>Athletic Sport Center, 908 Washington St.; M. & M. Drugstore, Michigan St. and Madison Ave.<br>'Militant' Book Shop, 905 Jefferson Avenue, Rooms 228-230.   |

right to appear on the ballot next November."

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party has announced the publication of the Trotskyist election platform in an attractive 16 page pamphlet. Copies are available free to readers of *The Militant* and can be obtained by writing to 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

A FIGHTING PROGRAM FOR LABOR

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PIONEER PUBLISHERS

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NEW YORK



## International Fund Drive Tops Three-Quarter Mark

By FARRELL DOBBS  
Campaign Director

The three-quarter mark was passed this week in the Socialist Workers Party's \$5,000 International Solidarity Fund campaign. Collections to date total \$3959.30, which is 79% of the full quota. Cleveland and Philadelphia this week completed their quotas, making a total of ten branches in the 100% group.

Only three weeks remain in which to put the fund campaign over the top. Those branches which have not yet completed their quotas should make every effort to do so promptly so that we may send this badly needed financial aid to our co-thinkers.

A contribution sent in from a New England friend is accompanied by a little heart-warming story. The letter, describing the circumstances under which this contribution was made, says in part: "The friend who made this

contribution is of Swedish origin and about 56 years of age. He participated actively in the struggle in his younger years, sympathizing with the extreme left. He has been living here, isolated from political life. I first saw him about three weeks ago.

"He was full of questions about our movement, particularly our views on the USSR. He knew that Stalin had sold out, but couldn't understand why. Also, the question of the Old Man and his role was a bit unclear to him. I explained matters to him. He listened and then told us that he was unable to function too actively. He explained that he was suffering acutely from a hereditary disease for which there was no known cure.

"He said he was with us and would do all he could to help. I explained about the Solidarity Fund and he asked how much we wanted. I left it up to him and he handed me \$26."

### International Solidarity Fund

## SCOREBOARD

BRANCH	Quota	Paid	Percent
Milwaukee	\$ 30.00	\$ 44.00	147
Buffalo	125.00	156.00	125
Newark	100.00	111.00	111
Reading	25.00	25.00	100
St. Louis	25.00	25.00	100
Pittsburgh	25.00	25.00	100
Allentown-Bethlehem	60.00	60.00	100
Rochester	15.00	15.00	100
Cleveland	75.00	75.00	100
Philadelphia	125.00	125.00	100
Bayonne	100.00	98.00	98
San Francisco	375.00	357.00	95
Detroit	400.00	360.00	90
Los Angeles	750.00	625.00	83
New York	1000.00	782.50	78
Boston	125.00	95.00	76
Youngstown	85.00	65.00	76
Chicago	500.00	371.00	74
Akron	75.00	52.00	69
Twin Cities	250.00	162.50	65
Toledo	100.00	52.00	52
Members-at-Large and Friends	245.00	115.30	47
Seattle	350.00	160.00	46
N. Y. Youth Group	15.00	3.00	20
San Diego	25.00	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$5,000.00</b>	<b>\$3959.30</b>	<b>79</b>

# Japanese Still Dying By Tens Of Thousands From Radio-Activity Effects Of Atom Bomb

### Priceless Gem of Liberal Thought

"CANDOR COMPELS US TO ADMIT THAT NOTHING IN THE HISTORY OF HUMANKIND JUSTIFIES THE HOPE THAT WE SHALL BE ABLE TO MASTER THIS NEW WEAPON AND EXPLOIT ITS POSSIBILITIES FOR GOOD AND NOT FOR EVIL. If we look to the past, we can see only additional blood and horror from every similar achievement since human beings first came across the horizon into the perspective of history. THAT IS WHY WE MUST NOW LOOK FORWARD AND NOT BACK, MUST RESOLVE THAT THE SECRET OF ATOMIC ENERGY SHALL BE USED FOR GOOD AND NOT FOR EVIL." — Bruce Bliven, in The New Republic.

ceived minor burns looked quite healthy at first, only to weaken after a few days from some unknown reason and frequently died."

### GO UNDERGROUND

The week brought additional testimony that the secret of the atomic bomb, now held by the Anglo-U.S. bloc, would soon be possessed by others. Four or five years was the outside date for that, stated a speaker, name not given but "who is with the Department of State," at the sixth annual conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion at Columbia University Aug. 24.

### HIROSHIMA REPORT

The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima on Aug. 6 impregnated the earth with radioactivity or ultra-violet rays that fatally burned 30,000 victims during the first two weeks following its explosion, an Aug. 24 report from Tokyo stated.

Another report said that servicemen brought into the area to work on reconstruction a week after the bombing were reported to have suffered severely diminished numbers of red and white corpuscles. "Although the war has ended, the spectre of death hangs over the remaining citizens of Hiroshima," the broadcast concluded.

An earlier report concerned Nagasaki, the other bombed city, and gave similar details.

An August 22 Tokyo broadcast stated:

"The number of dead is mounting, as many of those who received burns cannot survive because of the uncanny effects the atomic bomb produces on the human body. Even those who re-

underground will not be too much of a jolt."

Apparently without meaning to be humorous, Mr. Bruchiss declared that his plan for underground cities is the answer to the unemployment problem.

"The project," he said, "calls for earth removal on a tremendous scale. We already have the necessary equipment, the explosives and the trained manpower."

### SECRET OUT

Science, he concluded, has made possible living underground. "We have perfected air conditioning and lighting and have frozen and dehydrated packaged foods. People can stay underground indefinitely and suffer no ill effects."

Indirect confirmation that other countries soon would have the atomic secret came from no less an authority than General of the Army Henry H. Arnold, chief of the army air forces, in the course of a statement Aug. 17 on new air weapons which are in the making. These included bombers with 5000-mile radius, improved atomic bombs "ideally suited to sudden attacks in which a country's major cities might be destroyed overnight by an ostensibly friendly power," and bombs and pilotless planes guided from afar.

The significant statement of General Arnold was:

"If another aggressor rises to strike the peace-loving nations, it will be with things like these that he strikes."

Or, in plain English, all the "peace-loving nations" without exception soon will be readying these weapons against each other.



GRACE CARLSON

## SPEECH BY GRACE CARLSON STIRS MONTANA AUDIENCE

MISSOULA, Mont., Aug. 19—Comrade Grace Carlson spoke before an audience of thirty-six people at the Labor Temple here the evening of the 19th.

We were pleasantly surprised that we attracted a crowd of this size in a town as reactionary as Missoula. We were, however, unfortunate in that two of the prominent labor men, who aided materially in some of the details of the meeting, were unable to attend, being at a labor convention in Billings.

Comrade Carlson's talk excited several questions and even a short speech by an old socialist, deploring the existence of crimes such as the railroading of the 18, and

paying tribute to Dr. Carlson's courage.

At the close of the meeting Comrade Bud Hansen sold four subs to the Militant. Now that the ice is broken we hope we may be functioning as a branch in Missoula in the near future.

### GRACE CARLSON

Will Speak in  
KANSAS CITY  
Tuesday, Sept. 4  
8 P. M.  
YWCA  
1020 McGee Street

## London Students Open Fund to Help Nigerian Strikers

LONDON, July 19 — A strike relief fund to assist wives and children of the Nigerian strikers arrested by British imperialism in June, has been opened in London by the West African Students Union.

The Strike Relief Committee has set a goal of 500 pounds (about \$2,000). The first contribution, 85 pounds, was made at a London mass meeting which adopted a resolution condemning the Nigerian government for its role in the strike. The resolution scores the government for refusing to negotiate wage demands, for suppressing the West African Pilot and Daily Comet which supported the strike, and for threatening the publisher of the papers, Nnamdi Azikiwe, with deportation.

Calling upon the Trade Union Congress of Great Britain to support the Nigerian strikers, the mass meeting expressed full solidarity with their colonial brothers. Organizations represented included the Pan-African Federation, West African Students Union, International African Service Bureau, Negro Welfare Center, Negro Association, African Progressive Association, Colonial Peoples' Conference, and the African Workers (seamen and technicians) in Britain.

The fund plea is signed by George Padmore, whose article on the Nigerian strike appeared in The Militant August 4. At that time he revealed the appalling conditions under which the Nigerian workers lived. Abysmal wages, soaring prices, and widespread disease drove over 150,000 workers out on a general strike, demanding a minimum wage increase of 2s.6d.

Ten strike leaders were arrested, nine of whom are still awaiting trial.

All contributions to the relief fund should be sent to: Nigeria Strike Relief Fund, c/o West African Students Union

1, South Villas, Camden Sq., London, N.W. 1.

# The History Of American Trotskyism

Previous installments of Comrade Cannon's book described the emergence of the American Communist Party out of the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1919. Factional struggles between the proletarian and petty-bourgeois elements in the party began in 1923, culminating in the expulsion of the proletarian left wing for "Trotskyism" on October 27, 1928. Slandered, ostracized and physically attacked by the Stalinists, the handful of American Trotskyists began to propagandize and win over individual members of the Communist Party. First contact with Leon Trotsky was established in the spring of 1929, and the platform of the Left Opposition published in The Militant. At their first national conference, the Trotskyists determined to operate as a faction of the Communist Party. Then Stalin's "left turn" isolated the Trotskyists. For a time, they recruited not the best elements of the CP, but malcontents and petty-bourgeois elements rebelling against discipline. This is the fifteenth installment of The History of American Trotskyism.

Walled off from the vanguard represented by the Communist movement and without contact with the living mass movement of the workers, we were thrown in upon ourselves and subjected to this invasion. There was no way out of it. We had to go through the long drawn-out period of stewing and discussing. I had to listen, and that is one reason my gray hairs are so numerous. I was never a sectarian or screwball. I never had patience with people who mistake mere garrulousness for the qualities of political leadership. But one could not walk away from this sorely beset group. This little fragile nucleus of the future revolutionary party had to be held together. It had to go through this experience. It had to survive somehow. One had to be patient for the sake of the future; that is why we listened to the windbags. It was not easy. I have thought many times that, if despite my unbelief, there is anything in what they say about the hereafter, I am going to be well rewarded — not for what I have done, but for what I have had to listen to.

### The Heavy Costs of Isolation

That was the hardest time. And then, naturally, the movement slid into its inevitable period of internal difficulties, frictions and conflicts. We had fierce quarrels and squabbles, very often over little things. There were reasons for it. No small isolated movement has ever been able to escape it. A small isolated group thrown in upon itself, with the weight of the whole world pressing down upon it, having no contact with the workers mass movement and getting no sobering corrective from it, is bound in the best case to have a hard time. Our difficulties were increased by the fact that many recruits were not first class material. Many of the people who joined the New York branch weren't really there by justice. They weren't the type who, in the long run, could build a revolutionary movement — dilettantes, petty-bourgeois undisciplined elements.

And then, the everlasting poverty of the movement. We were trying to publish a newspaper, we were trying to publish a whole list of pamphlets, without the necessary resources. Every penny we obtained was immediately devoured by the expenses of the newspaper. We didn't have a nickel to turn around with. Those were the days of real pressure, the hard days of isolation, of poverty, of disheartening internal difficulties. This lasted not for weeks or months, but for years. And under those harsh conditions, which persisted for years, everything weak in any individual was squeezed to the surface; everything petty, selfish and disloyal. I had been acquainted with some of the individuals before, in the days when the weather was fairer. Now I came to know them in their blood and bones. And then in those terrible days I learned also to know Ben Webster and the men of Minneapolis. They always

supported me, they never failed me, they held up my hands.

The greatest movement, with its magnificent program of the liberation of all humanity, with the most grandiose historic perspectives, was inundated in those days by a sea of petty troubles, jealousies, clique formations and internal fights. Worst of all, these faction fights weren't fully comprehensible to the membership because the great political issues which were implicit in them had not yet broken through. However, they were not mere personal quarrels, as they so often appeared to be, but as is now quite clear to all, the premature rehearsal of the great, definitive struggle of 1939-40 between the proletarian and petty-bourgeois tendencies within our movement.

Those were the hardest days of all in the thirty years that I have been active in the movement — those days from the conference of 1929 in Chicago until 1933, the years of the terrible hermetically sealed isolation, with all the attendant difficulties. Isolation is the natural habitat of the sectarian, but for one who has an instinct for the mass movement it is the most cruel punishment.

### Carrying Out the Great Task of Propaganda

Those were the hard days, but in spite of everything we carried out our propaganda tasks, and on the whole we did it very well. At the conference in Chicago we had decided that at all costs we were going to publish the whole message of the Russian Opposition. All the accumulated documents, which had been suppressed, and the current writings of Trotsky were then available to us. We decided that the most revolutionary thing we could do was not to go out to proclaim the revolution in Union Square, not try to put ourselves at the head of tens of thousands of workers who did not yet know us, not to jump over our own heads.

Our task, our revolutionary duty, was to print the word, to carry on propaganda in the narrowest and most concentrated sense, that is, the publication and distribution of theoretical literature. To that end we drained our members for money to buy a second-hand linotype machine and set up our own print shop. Of all the business enterprises that have ever been contrived in the history of capitalism, I think this was the best, considering the means available. If we weren't interested in the revolution, I think that we could easily qualify, just on the basis of this enterprise, as very good business experts. We certainly did a lot of corner cutting to keep that business going. We assigned a young comrade, who had just finished linotype school, to operate the machine. He wasn't a first-class mechanic then; now he is not only a good mechanic but also a party leader and a lecturer on the staff of the New York School of Social Science. In those days the whole weight of the propaganda of the party rested on this single comrade who ran the linotype machine. There was a story about him — I don't know whether it is true or not — that he didn't know much about the machine. It was an old broken-down, secondhand job that had been palmed off on us. Every once in a while it would stop working, like a tired mule. Charlie would adjust a few gadgets and, if that didn't help, take a hammer and give the linotype a crack or two and knock some sense into it. Then it would begin to work properly again and another issue of The Militant would come out.

Later on, we had amateur printers. About half of the New

York branch used to work in the print shop at one time or another — painters, bricklayers, garment workers, bookkeepers — all of them served a term as amateur typesetters. With a very inefficient and over-stuffed shop we ground out certain results through unpaid labor. That was the whole secret of the Trotskyist printing plant. It wasn't efficient from any other standpoint, but it was kept going by the secret that all slave masters since Pharaoh have known: If you have slaves you don't need much money. We didn't have slaves but we did have ardent and devoted comrades who worked night and day for next to nothing on the mechanical as well as the editorial side of the paper. We were short of funds. All bills were always overdue, with the creditors pressing for immediate payment. No sooner would the paper bill be met than we had to pay rent on the building under threat of eviction. The gas bill then had to be paid in a hurry because without the gas the linotype wouldn't work. The electric bill had to be paid because the shop could not operate without power and light. All the bills had to be paid whether we had the money or not. The most we could ever hope to do was to cover the rent, the paper cost, installment payments and repairs on the linotype and the gas and light bills. There was seldom anything left over for the "hired help" — not only for the comrades who worked in the shop, but also those in the office, the leaders of our movement.

### Sacrifices of the Leaders Set Example

Great sacrifices were made by the rank and file of our comrades all the times, but they were never greater than the sacrifices made by the leaders. That is why the leaders of the movement always had strong moral authority. The leaders of our party were always in a position to demand sacrifices of the rank and file — because they set the example and everybody knew it.

Somehow or other the paper came out. Pamphlets were printed one after another. Different groups of comrades would each sponsor a new pamphlet by Trotsky, putting up the money to pay for the paper. In that antiquated print shop of ours a whole book was printed on the problems of the Chinese revolution. Every comrade who wants to know the problems of the Orient has to read the book which was published under those adverse conditions — at 84 East 10 Street, New York City.

And in spite of everything — I have cited many of the negative sides and difficulties — in spite of everything, we gained a few inches. We instructed the movement in the great principles of Bolshevism on a plane never known in this country before. We educated a cadre that is destined to play a great role in the American labor movement. We sifted out some of the misfits and recruited some good people one by one; we gained a member here and there; we began to establish new contacts.

We tried to hold public meetings. It was very difficult because in those days nobody wanted to listen to us. I remember the grand efforts we made one time to mobilize the whole organization to distribute leaflets, to have a mass meeting in this very room. We got 69 people, including our own members, and the whole organization was uplifted with enthusiasm. We went around saying to each other: "We had 69 people present at the lecture the other night. We are beginning to grow."

We received help from outside New York. From Minneapolis, for example. Our comrades who later gained great fame as labor leaders weren't always famous labor leaders. In those days they were coal heavers, working ten and twelve hours a day in the coal yards, heaving coal, the hardest kind of physical labor. Out of their wages they used to dig up as high as five or ten dollars a week and shoot it in to New York to make sure The Militant came out. Many times we had no money for the paper. We would send a wire to Minneapolis and get back a telegraphic money order for \$25 or something like that. Comrades in Chicago and other places did the same things. It was by a combination of all these efforts and all those sacrifices throughout the country that we survived and kept the paper going.

There was an occasional windfall. Once or twice a sympathizer would give us \$25. Those were real holidays in our office. We had a "revolving rent fund" which was the last resource of our desperate financial flinching. A comrade with rent to pay, say \$30 or \$40 due on the fifteenth of the month, would lend it to us on the tenth to pay some pressing bill or other. Then in five days we would get another comrade to lend his rent money to enable us to pay the other comrade back in time to satisfy his landlord. The second comrade would then stall off his landlord while we swung another deal, borrowed somebody else's rent to repay him. That went on all the time. It gave us some floating capital to cut the corner.

Those were cruel and heavy times. We survived them because we had faith in our program and because we had the help of Comrade Trotsky and our international organization. Comrade Trotsky began his great work in exile for the third time. His writings and his correspondence inspired us and opened up for us a window on a whole new world of theory and political understanding. The intervention of the International Secretariat was of decisive help to us in the solution of our difficulties. We sought their advice and were sensible enough to heed it when it was given. Without international collaboration — that is what the word "internationalism" means — it is not possible for a political group to survive and develop on a revolutionary path in this epoch. This gave us the strength to persevere and to survive, to hold the organization together and to be ready when our opportunity came.

### "Tenacity! Tenacity! Tenacity!"

In my next lecture I will show you that we were ready when the opportunity did come. When the first crack in this wall of isolation and stagnation appeared, we were able to leap through it, out of our sectarian circle. We began to play a role in the political and labor movement. The condition for that was to keep our program clear and our courage strong in those days when capitulations were taking place in Russia and discouragement was overcoming the workers everywhere. One day after another descended upon the heads of the vanguard of the vanguard. Many began to question. What to do? Is it possible to do anything? Isn't it better to let things slide a little? Trotsky wrote an article, "Tenacity! Tenacity! Tenacity!" That was his answer to the wave of discouragement that followed the capitulation of Radek and others. Hold on and fight it out — that is what the revolutionists must learn, no matter how small their numbers, no matter how isolated they may be. Hold on and fight it out until the break comes, then take advantage of every opportunity. We held out until 1933, and then we began to see daylight. Then the Trotskyists started to get on the political map of this country. In the next lecture I shall tell you about that.

(To be continued)



# WORKERS' FORUM

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

## A Letter to Negro Children

Dear Negro Children:

Gather around, my children, and listen to my message.

I realize you are good children, the children of God, and as the children of God you are heirs to the kingdom. God, our Father, has placed you here in this vale of tears to prepare you for the blessings of heaven and as good children you must strive to please your Father in heaven just as you have pleased me.

Although God so chose to tint your skins, your souls are white and pure. God has made you and given you the powers of your mind; it is for you to be worthy of the dignity that is your birthright as a child of the King.

My children, you are the inhabitants of the great land of America, but because your skin is sometimes a shade darker than that of other Americans, you can only hope for the same advantages the others enjoy. You must not be quickly discouraged or become weary because of others' ignorance, but be proud God made you as he so desired. Did not our Father send Moses down to release the Jews? Today the Socialist Workers Party pleads our cause at every opportunity, just as Moses did for the Jews, but today men's hearts are harder than in those days.

Believe me, my children, it is not easy for me to have to tell you these things, but I want to prepare you before you are faced with all the ills of discrimination. Your fathers' fathers toiled and gave much to this land, and in return I cannot hope to give you the advantages you so richly deserve. I have but one hope left and that is that Socialism will replace our present form of government.

I want to educate you, my children. I want you to have every advantage you desire, and from experience I know this can never be done except through the socialists.

Our people have worked without ceasing, proving worthy of every consideration, yet today a new generation is born without hope for equality or for the opportunity to serve as it is suited to serve.

My children, do not misunderstand me; there are many people aware of our contributions to America, many who are fair and respect the dignity of all people;

## GRAY CARTOON CONTEST CLOSES

The contest conducted by The Militant to select the most appropriate descriptive name for the family in Laura Gray's feature cartoon on Page 8, closed on August 31. Entries will be judged by the editors of The Militant, and full results announced in a forthcoming issue.

I do not want you to mistrust anyone because his skin is lighter than yours, and above all I want you to feel equal to him.

The Socialist Workers Party is the only organization of its kind to plead our cause and I want you to remember that name. One day you will recall receiving this letter, when they will take over the government and make the dreams of every Negro father for his children, come true.

And now my children, read and re-read this message, and try to understand always that I love you very much and want the best for you, because you are my children.

Victor Howell  
New York

## Chaos As Workers Seek Detroit Jobs

Editor:

Detroit is seething with unemployment. Some will be fortunate enough to find work again, but the percentage will be small. "Reconversion," the antidote offered by the traitorous union leadership and the corporations, will not absorb the mass of people.

The fate of the workers is clear if they do not recognize the call toward economic freedom. The capitalists no longer can meet the demands of a country suddenly at peace. Capitalism has dealt itself another blow for its own suicide. The promise of 60,000,000 jobs of last year, has passed into thin air.

For ten weeks I have watched the growing lines of unemployed. Each week has been a lesson to me and those who stood in line with me, at the offices of the United States Employment Service. The gross inefficiency of this agency is, to say the least, appalling. With but a handful of clerical workers, these offices are jammed from morning to night. Workers endure hours of waiting

to be processed through needless tape.

Though no jobs were available, each applicant was made to wait four hours or more. These workers patiently sit and wait to be offered a job at 40 percent less than the job they had. I worked for \$1.17 an hour. Each week, I was offered a job for 92 cents an hour. When I refused I was told that I could not draw my compensation. Standing on my rights I managed to keep reporting each week for my compensation checks. It has been ten weeks to date, and as yet no checks. The wilful stalling of this agency is making the workers seek jobs for themselves. Some have drifted into jobs paying as low as 60 cents an hour.

Monday of last week was the worst I have ever seen. With the end of the imperialist butchery, hundreds of thousands have been thrown out of work. The USES offices are jammed full, but the stalling practices still remain. Hours of waiting for case histories, more hours of waiting in line for additional history.

In one office they had 20 clerical workers to process thousands of applicants. Men and women workers are disgruntled and irate. But the red tape continues. Today, just 10 days after the end of the worst murder in



history, hundreds of thousands are out of work. Willow Run is gathering dust, as are many other government-owned plants.

The cry is not to speed up on "reconversion" to assure the profits of bloated corporations, but the demand for workers' control of government-owned factories for civilian use. The answer to unemployment lies in nationalization of industry, under trade union control; and in a workers and farmers government. We have had our taste of capitalism. The road to freedom lies in the socialization of the world.

E. Logan  
Detroit

## Forcing Women Out of Industry

Editor:

A few days ago the announcement was made that government-operated nursery schools and child-care centers for children of working mothers will close in a few weeks. In Minneapolis alone, 800 youngsters will lose a place where they are well cared for while their mothers work.

I am distressed about this closing because I have a pre-school-age son enrolled in one of these schools, my husband is overseas, and in these days of high prices it is impossible to live on an Army allotment. Thousands of mothers all over the country will now be forced to lower their families' standard of living by leaving jobs and staying at home.

Here in Minneapolis Mayor Humphrey, recently elected with labor's support, is pretending to do something about the situation by appealing to Truman to extend federal funds, through which these nurseries operate, for another six months.

Washington's answer was "Our policy is not to extend any child welfare project beyond October 31 because with the liquidation of war industries women employed in these industries will not continue to be employed. This is a national policy to which we do not feel we can make any exception."

This statement by Baird Snyder, deputy administrator of the federal works administration, reveals a national policy of forcing women back into the homes and out of the labor market. It is a means for Washington to "relieve" the unemployment situation by sending mothers and children home to starve. The Minneapolis Times, in an editorial, stated that half of the mothers using government nursery school care, are the wives of servicemen overseas, and that for these people the war is not over.

If mothers throughout the country can be organized to bring

## The Dangerous Three

In cahoots the dangerous three  
Make the laws for society.  
Bankers, lawyers, clergymen  
Make the workers toil for them  
So parasites may live in ease  
On taxes, dues, donations, fees.

Malnutrition and slow starvation  
Weaken the workers of the nation.  
In cahoots the dangerous three  
Have prayers, laws and flags for me  
While they penalize and bless  
My take-home pay is getting less.

In cahoots the dangerous three,  
With prayers, laws and flags for me,  
Tell how "Profits made from war  
Is not what the war is for."  
Trying to build a democracy  
Controlled by aristocracy.

"Workers of the world UNITE."  
To build a government of right—  
Security from monopolies  
Could place more of us at ease  
Too many parasites to feed—  
The dangerous three we do not need.

DAVIS DUSENBERRY  
Rochester, N. Y.

pressure on Washington, perhaps something of the nursery school program can be saved. It is certainly the only hope for those of us who have to work on the job and at home.

Mrs. N. N.  
Minneapolis, Minn.

## The Outcast Veteran

Editor:

I was taking a walk with the girl-friend in a park in the New Lots area of Brooklyn the other night. I was suddenly confronted by an umbrella-carrying stranger, with a request.

"Say Buddy, can I ask you something?"

We stopped for a moment to see what this fellow was trying to sell us. But in the few moments he spoke with us he dug his way into our hearts and made us feel the complete rottenness of the system under which we live.

"I'm a social outcast," he began. "I just came back from spending thirty months overseas. I was in Africa, Belgium and France. They sent me back to a hospital in the States. I had a bad case of battle fatigue. God!! I wish I stayed in France. I wish I never came back. People don't realize what we went through. This whole war's a fake. We ain't fighting fascism."

"When I was in the hospital they didn't take good care of me. I lost my memory." The army gave me an electric shock treatment. I don't know what it did to me. They discharged me before I was cured.

"Anyway, they tell me I grabbed a cop's gun and began shooting it. Lucky I didn't kill anybody. I yelled a lot of things I can't believe I said. I still don't believe it. But the newspapers wrote it up. I said things like 'Kill all the Jews.' I couldn't be an anti-Semite could I? I couldn't say things against my own people. Please buddy—you believe me don't you?"

"My boss fired me. My sweetheart left me. People won't even talk to me. They're ashamed of me. I moved 25 blocks away and my reputation followed me. Nobody will listen to me. I haven't made a friend in the world. I'm disgusted with the world. Kids throw stones at me. I can't believe I did or said what they tell me. If I did I was out of my mind."

"Why didn't the army treat me? What can I do? Please buddy, you're a stranger. Can you tell me what to do?"

A Soldier  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

## Navy Point System

Editor:

The Navy has finally gotten around to a point system for the discharge of its men. But what a system! When the Army set up its plan it took into consideration the opinions of the men as expressed in a series of articles in Yank magazine. Not so the Navy!

The admirals' system allows ½ point for each year of age; ½ point for each month of service; 10 points for dependents regardless of the number. Forty-four points are needed for discharge. The inequalities of the system are manifest. Under this plan a man with three kids gets no more consideration than a man with only a wife. The man of 30 who was drafted in 1943-44 cannot get out, but the youngster who volunteered in 1939 does. The catch here is that all who went in before the end of 1942 volunteered and so have to serve out their enlistment anyway.

The man who sweated out the war in some god-forsaken hell hole stands no better chance than the man who sat out the war behind a desk. The man who saw the shells fly is no better off than the man who fought the battle of the USO's. Ironical indeed is the provision that holders of

certain medals will get special consideration. Any service man can tell you that most enlisted men receive their medals posthumously, while these honors are handed out to officers almost as a matter of routine.

And to top the whole rotten deal, whole branches of the service are excluded from all provisions of the point system. These (mailmen, storekeepers, pharmacists, etc., etc.) will be kept until further notice. This works an especial hardship, since a large percentage of men in these service groups are in the upper age brackets.

The truth is that the Navy doesn't want to let go of any more men than public pressure makes it necessary to release. Our admirals don't really believe the war is over. Japan is down, but on the horizon is Russia. I hope to see The Militant become an organizing center for the demand to get the men out of the services.

A Sailor  
Detroit

## Independent in Akron Elections

Editor:

Am a reader of the Militant and can be counted among that large and growing number of people whose chief desire is to procure better conditions for the workers of the world, regardless of race, creed or color.

In our recent primary election here in the great rubber center, Akron, O., the workers were apathetic. Although the CIO endorsed candidates for practically all the offices in the city, few were nominated. As is too often the case, the primary vote was light.

Of the ten wards in the city that send representatives to the council, two have been dominantly democratic. They are the fifth and tenth wards. In these the great majority are factory workers. In the tenth, however, the labor endorsed candidate failed to receive the nomination. But an independent democrat has since qualified by petition and will run for council along with the conservative democrat and the republicans' choice, who, likewise, is a conservative and was unopposed in the primary. Of course, an attempt was made by the democrats at the board of elections to disqualify the independent. They were unsuccessful.

The independent candidate in this ward is B. L. White, and in the words of Vincent R. Dunne, spokesman for the SWP in Detroit, "he represents the growing tendency towards a Labor Party." Since the SWP has no candidate for this particular office, and since real labor representation is badly needed, perhaps it wouldn't be unwise for the SWP and their friends to back Mr. White. A survey seems to indicate that he will get a majority of the CIO votes anyway, also many others from both old parties.

Roy A. Cutright  
Akron, Ohio.

## Profiteers' Trick

Editor:

Last night I received another little lesson in the workings of the capitalist system that I'd like to pass on. I learned what "Operation 8" is in the machine shop where I run an engine lathe, making the steel shells for bombs.

Operation 8 is rework—touching up work which did not pass inspection so that it looks as though it meets specifications. The object—to have the Navy inspectors accept the faulty work so that the company makes its profit.

An example of what's involved is the following: A tube is returned because it lacks the correct

## Pioneer Notes

Again this week, just as we did last week, Pioneer announces a new pamphlet, ready for distribution. **JOBS FOR ALL! — A Fighting Program for Labor**, by Art Preis, labor reporter for The Militant, has just been published for the Socialist Workers Party. It is a 24-page pamphlet with two-color cover, and numerous illustrations from drawings by Laura Gray.

"Peace" has come to America. "Peace" which means to the American workers that the factory gates are closed; that hunger for themselves and their families is the next order of the day. Art Preis, in a brilliant analysis of the economic system which can provide work for the millions of wage earners only by manufacturing weapons of death, makes his pamphlet essential reading for the workers by setting forth a program for full employment.

Liberals of all stripes have filled the newspaper and magazine columns full in the last period, reporting facts about "reconversion." But none of them go beyond that — setting forth the horrible facts.

**JOBS FOR ALL! — A Fighting Program for Labor** gives the program of the Socialist Workers Party for full employment. It is a pamphlet which should be put into the hands of every worker in the "payoff" lineups, in the unemployment insurance offices, at the CIO "Reconversion Rallies" now being held over the country. The branches will find it one of their best organizers.

Because of the tremendous pre-publication demand for the pamphlet, Pioneer has printed 20,000 copies—the largest single edition we have published of a popular pamphlet. And we confidently expect to have to reprint it within a short time.

**JOBS FOR ALL! — A FIGHTING PROGRAM FOR LABOR**, by Art Preis, 10c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

taper at either end. Instead of recutting the taper or scrapping the tube if it is beyond repair, we shine up the end with emery so that it will look to the naked eye as though it has the proper taper.

There is so much faulty work in this shop, where inexperienced women, girls and boys are hired as lathe operators at helper's pay and where all emphasis is placed on quantity rather than quality of work, that a number of workers do nothing but Operation 8—rework—continually.

I suppose the company will win an efficiency award, a Navy "E" before long.

J. Blake  
Los Angeles

## Thoughts on V-J Day

Editor:

When the announcement of the end of World War II came over the public address system in the Lockheed Aircraft Plant, Burbank, Calif., the workers expressed a restrained joy. They are glad that World War II is over. However, they are concerned about the mounting unemployment facing them. An article in the Los Angeles Daily News—Aug. 14th states "Los Angeles today faces reconversion and employment problems so vast that to many persons the V-J day announcement will come as an anti-climax."

With the end of imperialist World War II, 20 million workers, conservatively estimated, face complete unemployment within the next year. Millions of other workers face drastic cuts in their take home pay. Locally, in Los Angeles, center of the aircraft industry, 100,000 out of 150,000 workers will be out of work within the next few months. 90 percent of the aircraft industry is government owned. All militant trade unionists should initiate the fight for government ownership of industry under trade union control. To effectuate this demand, militant trade unionists must fight to steer their organizations away from the support of the capitalist parties and toward the organization of an Independent Labor Party.

H. T.  
Los Angeles



The dynamic manifesto of the Socialist Workers Party on the end of the war and the use of atomic bombs in The Militant two weeks ago left a deep impression among workers who secured a copy of the paper.

This is evidenced by a report given to us by Sandy Robertson, a member of the Trotskyist Youth: "We held a distribution of The Militant at several factories in the Chelsea section of New York City, as a result of which several newsdealers have called us, requesting that we place the paper on their newsstands. Our headline left a sharp impact on these workers as they approached the newsdealers with the question 'Do you sell the paper that carried the There Is No Peace! headline?'"

Local New York takes 5,000 additional papers weekly, and advises that every newsstand in the city will soon carry The Militant. From a subscriber across the border we received this very interesting communication: "Enclosed please find money order to keep my subscriptions to The Militant and the Fourth International in good order. I pass these papers on to close to forty I.W.A. members who take the paper very eagerly. Stalinist influence is strong in the I. W. A. group but the rank and file are sore about the no-strike pledge.

"Thanks for the write-up in the British elections. It comes very handy to us here in the Canadian Commonwealth Federation — re Atlee's record, as well as some of the other ex-coalitionists. I welcome too the correspondence column, but I think 'International Notes' is the best single feature. Kovalesky's and

## A Correction

An article in last week's Militant on the Murray "Full Employment" Bill incorrectly attributed a letter on the bill in the N. Y. Times to Senator Wagner. The author of the letter was Senator O'Mahoney, who is also one of the chief advocates of the bill. This error in no wise altered the point of the article.

Grey's column are first class, and 'The Negro Struggle' column is always interesting.

"Looking across the border, one sees the need for an American Labor Political party. Once launched it should mushroom like the C. C. F. here and your stronger trade unions would keep it on a more even keel."

A postscript to the above letter is added: "One worker told me he would miss The Militant more than he would his daily papers."

Militant Army statistics include among many others, Allenstown with two 6 month, one 1 year combination subscriptions to The Militant and the Fourth International. Youngstown has sent in two 6 month and one 1 year renewal in addition to a one year new sub. San Pedro records five 6 month and two 1 year new readers. Flint sent in two 1 year new subs. San Francisco again makes the record with two 6 month and one 1 year new subscribers plus two 1 year renewals. And Eloise Black reminds us "While you're boasting in the Militant Army what's the matter with the total of 63 new miner readers — 7 of them with one year subscriptions?"

Bea Trent writes from Los Angeles: "Enclosed you will find a check for \$3.50 for five 6 month and one 1 year subscriptions to The Militant, all of which were obtained by a comrade in Aircraft, in his shop. We'll send more subscriptions to you as fast as we get them."

An excellent way to increase our Militant Army ranks is illustrated by this note from San Francisco: "A large percentage of our new subs are brought in by our subscribers. Two of the subscribers now attending The Militant Discussion Group are joining the party. I am sure that we will continue recruiting from these discussion groups and hope to increase the number of groups in a short while."

Ask Your Shopmate  
to Subscribe to  
The Militant

## FIGHT FOR THIS PROGRAM:

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

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

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

Operate all government-built plants under workers' control!

### 2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

Rescind the no-strike pledge!  
Withdraw union representatives from the War Labor Board!

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

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

### 5. Working class political action!

Build the independent labor party!  
Establish the workers' and farmers' government!

### 6. Tax the rich, not the poor!

No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

### 7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!

Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!  
Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

### 8. Hands off the European and colonial peoples!

Withdraw the Allied Occupation Troops from Europe!  
Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the European and colonial peoples!

## Join the Socialist Workers Party!

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
116 University Place  
New York 3, New York

I would like:

- ☐ To join the Socialist Workers Party.
- ☐ To obtain further information about your organization.
- ☐ To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

Name ..... (Please Print)

Address .....

City ..... Postal Zone ..... State .....

## SWP BRANCH ACTIVITIES

CLEVELAND — Open meetings are held at Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St., off Wade Park N., on Friday evenings, 8:30 p. m.

Los Angeles—Buy The Militant, Fourth International and other Marxist books and pamphlets as well as information about the SWP at the following places in the Los Angeles area: LOS ANGELES, Socialist Workers Party, Rooms, 200-05, 232 S. Hill St. SAN PEDRO, Socialist Workers Party, 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214. For additional information phone VA-7936.

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

For reservations and further information write to Janice Martin, Director, West Coast Vacation School, 232 S. Hill St., Room 205, Los Angeles, Calif. MILWAUKEE — Visit the Milwaukee branch of the SWP at its headquarters, 926 Plankinton Ave., Room 21, any evening between 7 and 9:30 p. m.

MINNEAPOLIS — Hear Grace Carlson speak on "Women in Prison," Sunday, September 9, at 7:30 p. m. Socialist Workers Party headquarters, 10 So. 4 St.

NEWARK — Lectures are held every Friday at the Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave., at 8:00 p. m.

Sunday, Sept. 2: Picnic at Rahway Park. Meet at 9:30 a.m. at Elizabeth Ave. and Runyon St. \$1 for adults, 60 cents for children, includes transportation, dinner, wienie roast and sports.

Friday, Sept. 7 — "History of Negro Revolutions in U. S." Speaker: Ruth Laurie.

NEW YORK — The Militant can

now be obtained at all newsstands in the greater New York area. Ask at your neighborhood newsdealer.

Saturday, Sept. 8—Members and friends of the SWP will meet at 116 University Place, corner 13th St., to launch a city-wide sale of Charles Jackson's new pamphlet, "A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow." After the mobilization, enjoy a social to aid the International Solidarity Fund. Refreshments.

PHILADELPHIA — Open forums every Thursday evening on current topics, at Labor Forum, 405 W. Girard, 8:30 p. m.

Socialist Youth Group meets Friday evenings, 8:30 p. m.; all young people are invited. Labor Forum, 405 W. Girard.

PORTLAND—Visit SWP headquarters, 220 S. W. Alder St., room 500; open 1 to 4 p. m. daily except Sunday, and 6 to 8 p. m. on Tuesday and Friday.

Sunday, Sept. 16—"Will the End of the War Bring Peace?" Open forum; speaker, C. M. Hesser. 8 p. m.

Sunday, Oct. 21 — "Unemployment... How to Fight It." Speaker: C. M. Hesser.

SAN FRANCISCO — Visit the San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., corner of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor; open from 12 noon to 3 p. m. Monday through Saturday, and 7 to 9 p. m. Monday through Friday.

TOLEDO — Forums held every Sunday evening at 905 Jefferson Ave., Room 304. All Militant readers, friends invited.

Sunday, Sept. 9—Watermelon Festival all-day outing. Ted Selander will speak on "Labor in Postwar World." Transportation from your home to picnic grounds in Temperance, Mich. provided. Adults \$1, children 50 cents. Beer, food, baseball!



# THE MILITANT

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



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

— Leon Trotsky

## Time For Action

Reports of mass layoffs throughout the entire country are printed elsewhere in this issue of *The Militant*. The victimized workers everywhere are angrily protesting, demanding jobs and the guarantee of a living wage.

Already frightened by the storm signal of the British Labor victory, Congressmen are now more than ever afraid of losing their political sinecures in the economic debacle following the end of the war. Consequently, they are going through the motions of "doing something" for the workers.

No less concerned, President Truman has announced he will call a labor-industry-government conference to elaborate a new agreement "to minimize interruption of production by labor disputes."

Philip Murray and William Green, in this critical situation, go no further than to support the utterly inadequate bills now in the legislative hopers. Moreover, they show every intention of going along with Truman's plans to keep the workers shackled through "industrial peace" pledges made by union officials behind the backs of the union rank and file. Government compulsion would be used to prevent "violation" of such "pledges."

Murray and Green, and all union officials, are duty bound to fight for legislation to insure jobs for all workers and returning veterans at decent wages. But it must be legislation that will meet the urgent needs of the day. It must be legislation providing for government operation of all idle plants under workers' control.

Let Murray, Green and the other union officials attend as many labor-industry-government conferences as they wish. But don't let them get away with back-room "pledges" which the bosses and their government can use to fight the union rank and file.

The workers have a right to demand immediate evidence of good faith from their union officials after the repeated betrayals they have experienced. As evidence of such good faith the union officials should GET OFF THE WAR LABOR BOARD!

As further evidence that they mean business, the union officials should begin right now to mobilize the union ranks through a nation-wide labor conference for an all-out struggle to win full employment and adequate wage increases.

## Plant "Seizures"

The role of the government as an official strike-breaker was graphically revealed during the past week. On August 25 President Truman returned the plants, mines and other facilities of 24 companies "seized" by the government during the war.

Among the plants were those of Montgomery Ward. It was the head of this outfit, S. L. Avery, who most brazenly refused to obey the directives of the War Labor Board. Yet the government is handing back these plants without enforcing the War Labor Board orders! Clearly the "seizures" were calculated for no other purpose than to help the bosses break strikes. Through assuming control, the government prevented the workers from winning even the meager concessions granted by the War Labor Board.

While Truman thus restores these properties to the employers, with the anti-union label still intact, his official policy toward the workers is to continue the repressive measures of wartime. On August 18, he issued an Executive Order reaffirming the authority of the War Labor Board — the same authority the War Labor Board failed to apply against Montgomery Ward and the rest but which it used innumerable times against the workers. Truman ordered "officials charged with the settlement of labor disputes" under the war-time regulations and the Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act to treat disputes which "interfere with effective transition to a peacetime economy" as "disputes which interrupt work contributing to the effective prosecution of the war." With this cynical

sophistry Truman attempts to justify extending into peacetime the anti-democratic repressive measures of wartime.

An ironic high light in this grim picture of Truman's continuation of Roosevelt's strike-breaking policy is the government "seizure" August 23 of the Illinois Central Railroad. Here a strike was not even in progress. It was simply "threatened" by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. Coming at this particular time, the "seizure" underlines the government's role as an agent of the capitalists in labor disputes.

Let the workers study these incidents well. They offer an instructive lesson. The government of the bosses cannot be trusted to defend the interests of the workers through "seizures" or similar measures. In every instance the government of the bosses is concerned only with protecting the interests of the profit-hungry capitalists.

## Hong Kong

The seizure of Hong Kong by the British emphasizes once again the imperialist character of the Second World War. The estimated Chinese population of the island of Hong Kong in 1940 was 1,071,893. Non-Chinese, including the British over-lords, numbered only 24,125. This populous island was first taken by the British imperialists in 1841. It became a naval station of great strategic importance. It is its value as a commercial port, however, that makes Hong Kong rich booty in the wars of the rival imperialist powers. Situated at the mouth of the Canton river, it ensures control over a vast and wealthy section of the interior of China. The *World Almanac* lists Hong Kong as "the gateway between the east and the west and one of the greatest trans-shipment ports in the world."

Japan seized this imperialist prize on December 25, 1941. With the collapse of Japan the fate of Hong Kong became an immediate and important question. Those who believed in the promises of the imperialist war-mongers that this was a war for democracy hoped that Hong Kong would revert to the Chinese people to whom it rightfully belongs.

On August 22 the press reported Chiang Kai-shek was preparing to send troops into Hong Kong in accordance with Japanese surrender terms. A Chinese Army spokesman declared that Hong Kong was in the China theater and the High Command "naturally assumes responsibility to accept the Japanese surrender there."

The British imperialists thought otherwise. They did not wish Chinese troops in Hong Kong—not even to accept the surrender of the Japanese armies. Churchill, the ex-Prime Minister who announced at the beginning of the war he did not intend to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire, got up in Parliament on August 23 and demanded of the incumbent Prime Minister, Clement Attlee: "May I presume that you recall that on numerous occasions, and particularly at the Cairo Conference in 1943, the Government have made it plain that they did not contemplate modification in the sovereignty of His Majesty's territories in the Far East."

Thus did the spokesman of the British capitalists brutally insist that the newly elected Labor Government carry out the dirty task of seizing the booty of imperialism.

Clement Attlee did NOT give Churchill the stinging rebuke proper from a leader devoted to the interests of the working class. Quite the contrary. "Yes, sir," he humbly replied, according to the press. "I have very full recollections of those statements and I will bear them in mind." And to the cheers of the legislators he announced: "Plans for re-establishing British administration in the colony are fully prepared."

In the face of these threatening developments Chiang Kai-shek immediately backed up. This butcher of the Chinese revolution of 1927 who murdered tens of thousands of workers to prevent a Communist Government from coming to power in China runs true to color. During the war he sabotaged the struggle against Japan by refusing to arm the Chinese people and by refusing to conduct a genuine people's war against Japanese imperialism. Today he is playing the role of humble servant to Anglo-American imperialism. On August 25 the Generalissimo announced he was unwilling to send troops to accept the surrender of Hong Kong "lest Allied misunderstandings develop."

That the British imperialists, like their Wall Street partners in piracy, never had the slightest intention of carrying out the noble-sounding democratic ideals they mouthed during the war will surprise few people. The servility of the Labor Party officialdom before the British imperialists led by Churchill, however, will prove shocking to many workers who hoped the great Labor Party victory signified the end of British imperialism. Events are proving with great rapidity that the Labor Party officials are not acting in accordance with the views of the rank and file who put them in office.

The dispatch of British troops to take over Hong Kong is a black mark on the record of the Labor Party. The British workers will not be long in demanding an accounting from the officials whom they thrust into power. They did not vote for a Labor Government in order to continue the imperialist policy of loot and oppression. Attlee is sowing as Churchill wishes but he will reap the whirlwind of revolution.

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



"Why don't they go to the USES instead of parading around and making all that fuss?"

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

### Soviet Union

According to an Aug. 19 UP Moscow dispatch, "instructions have been issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of People's Commissars" for the launching of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, scheduled to begin in Jan. 1946 and to conclude in Dec. 1950. (The First Five-Year Plan was started in 1929; the Second, in 1933; the Third in 1939.) But the 1939 Plan, which collapsed in its very first stages, was never brought to its completion, although by 1941 the Kremlin was bombastically preparing a "Fifteen-Year Plan.")

The advancement of planned economy, disrupted by the war, is very significant news indeed. Planning is possible only on the basis of the collectivized means of production, and their retention. But Moscow's announcement is accompanied by no specific data whatever. (The Kremlin ceased publishing all economic statistics in 1939, the year of the Stalin-Hitler Pact.) The world is merely informed that although "the task of restoration and reconstruction alone would absorb Soviet economic energies for years," nevertheless, "the new plan calls for expansion as well, so that by 1950, the USSR will have surpassed the level of its prewar development" (*Daily Worker*, Aug. 20).

Is this as feasible as it sounds? The Kremlin has never denied that seven out of 16 republics of the USSR have sustained incalculable losses. These seven republics are: the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia, Finno-Carolia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The scope of devastation may be gauged by the admitted fact that the main Ukrainian cities (Kiev, Kharkov, Odessa, Poltava, Stalino, Chernigov, Zhitomir, Belaya Tserkov and others) have been "reduced to ruins," while Byelorussian cities (Minsk, Gomel, Vitebsk, Grodno, Brest and Mogilev) are heaps of "debris and charred ruins." In the countryside, villages by the thousands have suffered the same fate.

Thus according to Red Star (May 29), official Red Army organ, the total for reconstruction and restoration "in the Ukraine alone would be more than \$100-billion." Translated into Russian currency and conditions, here is what this huge sum really signifies:

The highest official figure for the volume of production in the Ukraine, which accounted for one-third of Soviet prewar carloadings, is the 1940 sum of 22 billion roubles (or, at official — and artificial — rates of exchange, close to five billion dollars). This means that even if Ukrainian production were restored overnight to its prewar levels, it would still take almost two decades to complete the work of reconstruction and restoration by diverting all of this production to such ends.

But couldn't the rest of the country aid? The highest (and least falsified) official prewar figure for Soviet national income is that of 1938, when 105 billion roubles (or \$21 billion) were claimed. It would take ALL of this national income for a period of five years to make good the damage in the Ukraine alone. But the Kremlin itself does not promise to return to such prewar levels until 1950, or the completion of the projected Fourth Plan.

Obviously, Soviet internal resources are utterly inadequate for the needs of the hour. This is indirectly acknowledged by the Moscow dispatch which concludes by listing the following three additional "perspectives":

(1) "Reparations in kind from former enemy countries such as Finland, Rumania and Germany."

(2) "Trade relations with such countries as Poland..."

(3) "...High expectations of American and British credits in the form of machinery and some textiles."

### Germany

The specter of 1923, when it took a million marks to buy a street car ticket, has arisen in Berlin. Berliners are abandoning money except for use in the purchase of small official rations.

The mark, including Allied military notes, is sliding down without halt. Inflation fever has mounted to a new high. According to a news dispatch from Berlin, Allied money in the black market is worth only one-twentieth of its pegged value. Its purchasing power is rapidly falling.

Cigarettes and other commodities are taking the place of currency. Occupation troops, who have received cigarettes from their relatives, are using them as money.

The great disparity between the living standard of the Germans and Allied troops is set in sharp relief by clamoring throngs of hungry, ragged people who surround British cars that halt on main streets.

An important factor in causing the inflation is the large number of Allied military marks with Soviet code markings which are carried by officers and men on leave. Although Soviet troops have not been paid in a long time they sometimes carry as high as thirty to forty thousand marks in thousand mark notes. These troops are anxious to convert the money into valuable commodities.

A watch which cost eight dollars before the war will bring three hundred to four hundred dollars when sold to Russian troops.

### Spain

Premier Jose Giral recently announced the formation of the first Spanish Republican Government in exile. The cabinet is composed of representatives of capitalist parties, trade union organizations and the Socialist party.

## QUESTION BOX

Q: How large is the working class in Japan?

A: According to the last census, 1930, Japan had a population of 64 millions, of whom about two million were factory workers; another two million casual workers hired and paid by the day; half a million transport workers; 200,000 miners; four and a half million white collar workers, not including professional people; about 800,000 domestic servants; and half a million fishermen. This provides a total of about ten millions. In addition, agricultural laborers and the working peasantry combined, totaled 13 million of the working population.

Q: What was Eugene V. Debs' trade union connection?

A: Debs was a locomotive fireman. To unify the railroad workers so that they would be better able to win their demands, he launched the American Railway Union, and was its president at the time of the Pullman strike in Illinois, June, 1894. It was the bloody crushing of the Pullman strike by Federal troops, costing the lives of 20 people, which convinced Eugene Debs that the government itself was a servant of Big Business. Debs was imprisoned as a result of the strike. He came out of the experience as a confirmed and devoted socialist.

Jose Giral, named to head the present government by Diego Barrio, President of the Republic, was Minister of the Navy in July, 1936, when Franco engineered the military revolt that led to bloody civil war, crushing of the Spanish proletariat and the establishment of the present fascist regime.

Former Premier Juan Negrin, who is best known for his pro-capitalist policies in the Spanish Civil War, was asked to accept a post in the government. According to Giral, members of Negrin's party, refused to allow him to participate.

The Communist Party was also asked to collaborate but refused with the explanation that it was "disposed to enter only a government presided over by Negrin," whose subservience to the Stalinists is well known.

The Giral Cabinet, according to a dispatch from Mexico City, Aug. 26, to the N. Y. Times, "will strive for recognition by the United States and Great Britain." Aware of its shadow-like character, the Government recognized that "by withholding or delaying recognition" the great Powers "would seriously hamper the exiled Government's work..."

With "recognition" Giral's government expects the support of Allied bayonets in returning them to power and in helping them hold the Spanish workers in subjection afterwards.

This "democratic capitalist government" has been formed of the parties and men whose bankrupt policies are responsible for Franco's rise to power.

In collaboration with the Stalinists, they refused to grant land to the peasantry and freedom to Morocco: two policies that would have cut the base from under Franco. They countered opposition to their policies by imprisoning and hounding and executing working class revolutionists.

Now they hope to return to power in Spain with the aid of the Allied Governments to re-establish a regime whose bankrupt and treacherous policies cost the Spanish working class untold suffering and bloodshed.

### Great Britain

The abrupt termination of Lend-Lease has deepened the economic crisis in Britain.

"If Lend-Lease were cut off at once," Sir Stafford Cripps said, "obviously it would be a difficult problem to get enough imports to keep us alive..." In outlining the Government's general trade policy he warned that no improvement in textile supplies could be expected immediately.

Therefore, in spite of the fact that workers and their children are in desperate need of clothes, a reduction of the British clothes ration was announced.

Britain must have imports to be able to live. In order to pay for them she must export commodities. British industry, to a large extent obsolete before 1939, is in worse condition than ever, due to the drain and ravages of the war.

The Conservatives hope to make political capital out of the desperate economic situation, despite the fact that they are primarily responsible.

Oliver Lyttelton, Conservative Member of Parliament and President of the Board of Trade in Churchill's Cabinet, taunted Labor members of Parliament by saying, "if you wish to obtain assistance from the United States you must be careful about the nasty things you say about private enterprise that will affront American opinion."

READ  
**'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'**

## PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

### SNAFU in the Veterans Administration

Early in the spring, when just over a million and a half men had been discharged from the armed forces, Charles Bolte, one of the organizers of the American Veterans Committee, wrote in *Harper's Magazine*, "if their average experience thus far is any criterion of what's ahead, the twelve million yet to be discharged are in for hard times, confusion, and bitter disillusionment."

In spite of repeated assertions by industrialists and politicians, capitalist propagandists and do-gooders that "Nothing's too good for our boys," he declares "...the gap between promise and performance is very wide."

Like the army, the Veterans Administration, to which the ex-serviceman must go for assistance on return to civilian life, is a colossal bureaucracy. To complicate matters it recognizes no less than sixty-two subordinate bureaucratic organizations with which the veteran must deal.

The veteran must apply to one agency for aid in securing a job, to another for medical services, to still another for unemployment relief and so on...

Whatever he does, whatever he needs — whether it's medical care or conversion of his life insurance, application for a pension or educational benefits — he must wade knee deep through the red tape of the Veterans Administration or one of its subsidiary agencies.

"A sergeant who brought home a malaria germ from the south Pacific had a recurrence of his disease and was so weak he could hardly walk," says Bolte. "He was refused admission to a veterans' hospital, where he was told he must first be certified by the regional office of the Veterans Administration."

This is but one of innumerable cases. In answer to a questionnaire sent out by the American Veterans Committee to its members, many replied that "they were chased from one agency to another, found the Veterans Administration taking weeks to answer letters..."

Veterans are bitter, disheartened and disgusted with this sluggish bureaucracy. They encounter endless delays even in answer to their queries, more stalling when they attempt to take advantage of provisions in "The GI Bill of Rights." After trying to get aid from a Veterans Administration hospital, one veteran exclaimed, "If I'd been sick enough I'd have died before they took care of me."

The contempt capitalists have for the men who were but yesterday patronizingly referred to as "our boys" is evident in the following report from a veteran who applied to one of the agencies: "I got only as far as the fat, prosperous, middle-aged lady who said, 'Oh, I do wish we could help you. Won't you leave your name and address?'" The familiar note of mass unemployment days!

Other veterans answering the AVC questionnaire reported similar experiences. One said his reception was "just like at the county hospital when you go in with a venereal disease."

No fundamental improvement in the functioning of the Veterans Administration will be achieved by codifying "the existing federal laws relating to veterans, which fill an eight-hundred-page book," as Bolte suggests. Nor will changing directors and personnel within the bureaucracy eliminate the red tape.

Veterans have always received "too little, too late." There are no indications of any improvement during this post-war period.

The Veterans Administration could be streamlined to make it a helpful institution instead of a graveyard for veterans' just demands. But a capitalist government doesn't want to do this any more than a boss wants to accede to the demands of a union.

## High Cost of Living Irks Wall Street Men in Paris

The poor, distraught captains of American industry are having their troubles as they poke about in Europe's ruins. These swollen little sewer rats, fattened, but not quite satisfied with the toothsome profits of war, are doing their best to nose out some more rich morsels from the rubble their system has made. They are scurrying about "to reestablish business connections in France."

According to the N. Y. Times of August 21, inflation-fed prices in Paris compel the visiting confidence-men of "free enterprise" and other respectable U. S. citizens to pay 10 to 40 dollars for a meal. Moreover, hotel rooms are difficult to obtain without an even greater strain on the purse. American business men in France are being shamefully mistreated, concludes the Times.

Why recently, the Times gasps, "Several officials of one of our biggest American electrical companies spent so much time in Paris trying to find accommodations and eating places that they could not complete their business arrangements."

Naturally, Big Business yelps for dear life when pinched in the gut this way. So in order to rectify its tragic situation and to "complete business arrangements" at all times, it is squawking for a military mess to feed its civilian agents in France. The U. S. army officers' commissaries may or may not be able to feed these overstuffed rodents, but the very fact that the gluttons have to demand such attentions, is one more proof of the appalling conditions in France as a whole.

If even the plunderers of Europe's poor find it difficult to get food, how must it be with the masses themselves?

While the rich confidence man gets "taken" for 10 to 40 dollars a meal in Paris, at least he gets the meal! The French worker gets a crust, or he does not eat at all! The touts of the Wall Street corporations sport their tailor-mades along the Avenue de l'Opera. Many French workers still wear the tattered remains of their Nazi prison garb. While the bloated plutocrat forks over a few dollars out of his blood-money for a hotel room, the Paris poor must use the curbstone for a pillow. "Between four million and six million persons in France," said the N. Y. Times last October, "are believed to be homeless as a result of Allied bombings."