

Atomic Bombs Imperil Existence Of Humanity

New Imperialist Weapon Razes An Entire City

Wall Street Militarists Unleash Explosive Reaching Ultimate Depth of Frightfulness

By LI FU-JEN

Barbarous capitalism, which for six years has inflicted upon the world the horrors and cruelties of war on a scale hitherto unknown, this week presented to mankind its newest and most deadly instrument of destruction — the ATOMIC BOMB.

The most closely-guarded secret of the universe, which scientists of many countries labored for decades to uncover and harness to the peaceful purposes of social development, has been dragged to the light by the bloodstained rulers of capitalist society and harnessed to the foul purposes of imperialist war.

Scientists describe the epoch-making discovery as heralding "the age of atomic energy." The vast, long-hidden energy that lies within the atom has at long last been unlocked, not in order that its unlimited power may be applied to easing and enriching the lives of human kind, but in order to snuff them out.

"RAIN OF RUIN"

In revealing the great scientific discovery, and announcing that it had already been used to wipe out the Japanese city of Hiroshima, President Truman on Aug. 6 announced to the Japanese people that they now faced "a rain of ruin from the air the like of which has never been seen on this earth."

This high spokesman of American imperialism went on to say that the atomic bomb represented the "harnessing of the basic power of the universe... the force from which the sun draws its power." A single bomb, weighing a mere 1,200 pounds, has more destructive power than 20,000 tons of TNT and more than 2,000 times the blast power of the British "Grand Slam" bomb used to destroy Germany.

Into the work of unlocking the secret of the atom and harnessing its force to the deadly purposes of imperialist war went \$2,000,000,000 of American money alone. The British imperialists, who collaborated, expended additional funds. For four years a total of 135,000 men and women labored on the immense project in this country. The scientific facilities of the greatest universities in England and the United States were drafted for the job. The best brains in the scientific world were devoted to it.

A VAST PROJECT

The great capitalist corporations participated, with that infamous "Merchant of Death," the duPont chemical trust, prominently to the fore. Three huge plants for production of the atomic bomb were built. Two are located at the Clinton Engineer Works, on a government reservation of 59,000 acres, 18 miles west of Knoxville, Tennessee. At this site a whole new city, Oak Ridge, was created to accommodate the people working on the project. A third plant is the Hanford Engineer Works on a government reservation of 430,000 acres in an isolated area 15 miles northwest of Pasco, Washington. Here, too, a whole new city — Richland — was created.

With all this vast expenditure of human labor and wealth the atomic bomb was made and pro-

duction on a vast scale is continuing with a labor force of 179,000 men and women. What horrors does this newest weapon of death and destruction promise to an already horror-ridden world! Here are some descriptive reports:

According to a British Ministry of Aircraft representative in London: "Dropped on a town, one bomb would be equivalent to a severe earthquake and would utterly destroy the place."

According to a United Press dispatch from Pearl Harbor: "The present bomb was understood to have the power to blind persons within a five-mile radius and to kill within four miles. The searing blast was said to fuse the earth, resulting in a silica-like formation."

A SEARING BLAST

This, then, is the fiendish weapon which the rulers of our decaying capitalist society have devised for the more complete and efficient destruction of mankind. It is the supreme irony, as it is the greatest tragedy, that the most wondrous discovery in all human history should be capable of utilization only as a means of decimating mankind and all his works.

The atomic bomb is to be developed and "perfected." Truman made that clear. Equally clear was his statement that it will be years before atomic energy can be employed "commercially." It could be used to drive great ships across the oceans, to power railroads, trams, furnish light. Coal-mining and other hazardous occupations could be totally eliminated. Undreamed-of ease and prosperity would be within human grasp.

But this is not to be. Truman does not intend to put the coal owners out of business, nor the electric power interests. So the utilization of atomic energy is to be controlled and tightly monopolized in the hands of the ruling class, used only for destruction.

ONLY FOR DESTRUCTION

In the disclosure of the production and first use of the atomic bomb, mankind has been served a final grim warning. The capitalist barbarians have in their hands the most fearful instrument of destruction the mind of man ever conceived. They intend to use it. Unless mankind rises up to destroy capitalism, capitalism will extirpate mankind.

The spokesmen of capitalism are themselves nervous and fearful over the new discovery, for

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Bell Militants Push Fight For Genuine Labor Party

BUFFALO, N. Y. — A small number of unionists who are for independent labor action, prevented the CIO Council here from taking a position in support of boss party candidates in the primary elections.

The council was split three ways on the election issue. Almost half of the delegates, led by the Stalinists, tried to secure the council's endorsement for T. L. Holling, Democratic candidate for mayor, who is backed by the Stalinist-controlled American Labor Party.

A large group from steel, with some support from textile, attempted, in opposition to the Stalinists, to get the council to back Joseph Mruk, independent Republican candidate.

The supporters of independent labor action backed a resolution from the Bell local which called upon the council to support only

genuine labor candidates who were entirely unconnected with the boss-controlled parties and who ran on a labor platform. This resolution, opposed by the two other groups, was referred to the PAC committee where it will no doubt remain. The meeting adjourned without endorsements for either the Democratic or Republican candidates.

Bell local 501 (UAW, CIO) whose delegates led the fight in the council for independent political action, adopted at its last meeting all the resolutions passed by the area UAW conference held here last month. Among them was a demand for the 40-hour week at 48 hours pay, for full support for William Patterson, militant miner, now in prison under the Smith-Connelly anti-labor act.

City of 344,000 Obliterated By Fiendish Bomb

On July 25, an ultimatum was issued to Japan, signed by Truman, Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek, threatening "utter devastation of the Japanese homeland" unless the Japanese government surrendered completely and unconditionally to the Allies. On August 6, the Allied imperialists started to make good their monstrous, maniacal threat, when an atomic bomb, the deadliest weapon ever conceived, was dropped on the city of Hiroshima.

"An impenetrable cloud of dust and smoke" smothered the city, blacking out the fate of men, women and children in a community which presumably was wiped from the face of the earth. The population of Hiroshima, a city of some 12 square miles, is 344,000.

The imperialist perpetrators of the crime knew what they were doing. On July 16, the bomb had been tested on a tower of steel in the desert of New Mexico. "There was a blinding flash lighting up the whole area brighter than the brightest daylight," an observer described. "There came a tremendous sustained roar and a heavy pressure wave which knocked down two men outside the control tower" nearly six miles away.

"Immediately thereafter, a huge, multi-colored surging cloud boiled to an altitude of 40,000 feet. . . The steel tower had been entirely vaporized. Where the tower had stood, there was a huge, sloping crater."

This was the kind of destruction hurled upon a Japanese city of tinderbox homes and defenseless people, just 12 days after the Allies had sanctimoniously declared that "We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation!"

Cudahy Workers Gain Victory in Four-Day Strike

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Nine hundred packinghouse workers, employed in the Cudahy plant at nearby Newport, returned to work July 25 with a victory under their belts after keeping the plant tied up since the previous Saturday. These members of Local 55, United Packinghouse Workers (CIO) demonstrated in this company-provoked strike that the management can't arbitrarily fire workers or break down union conditions on the job.

Eleven women in the bacon-slicing department were fired when they refused to work longer hours. They were not put to work Saturday morning and the rest of the employees refused to work. The management ordered the workers to leave the plant, using the incident to stage a lockout in an effort to break down union working conditions. A large picket line was established on the road leading to the plant. The union permitted maintenance men to enter the plant to care for the refrigeration system.

The company attempted to ship out the four thousand head of stock on hand at the time. The Armour and Swift workers across the river in South St. Paul assured the Cudahy workers that they would not slaughter Cudahy stock. Local 120 of the AFL Teamsters and Lodge 804 of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen refused to move the stock.

Confronted by the militant stand of the packinghouse workers and the solidarity of the other unions the company was forced to open the plant on the workers' terms. In negotiations after the resumption of work, the women who had been fired were put back to work with the shorter hours that they had wanted.

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ALLIES DISMEMBER GERMANY

City of 344,000 Obliterated By Fiendish Bomb

Dividing Up the Booty



"It is not the intention of the Allies to destroy or enslave the German people"—Truman.

British Labor Victory Spurs Senate Hearing On Jobs Bill

By Art Preis

Wall Street's legislative agents in Washington reacted with panic-haste last week to the news of British labor's overwhelming election victory. Fearful lest the British events serve as an inspiring example to American labor now facing an onrushing economic crisis, Congress sought to throw a sop to the workers by a last-minute Senate hearing on the so-called Full Employment Bill.

This belated gesture was made suddenly, on the eve of a scheduled Congressional vacation until next October. During its past session, Congress had ruthlessly scuttled every proposed measure to halt the mass unemployment that has begun to sweep the country like a plague.

HAILED FROM STORAGE

Admittedly spurred by concern over the toppling of the Churchill Tory government in England, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee temporarily hauled out of mothballs the Murray-Wagner-O'Mahoney-Patman bill that had been kept in storage since last December.

Senators Murray, Wagner and O'Mahoney and Representative Patman, sponsors of the "Full Employment" Bill, were permitted for two days to argue its merits before the Senate committee. Then the committee folded up shop until October 9 with no action taken.

WHY THEY GOT BUSY

At the very opening of the hearing, July 30, Senators Murray and Wagner pointed to the British elections as a warning to the American capitalists. In its front-page report, the N. Y. Times, July 31, disclosed that "today's orientation session found the legislation's sponsors highly conscious of the defeat of the Churchill Conservative Government and losing little time bringing it into their arguments."

Even more frank was Business Week, whose chief function is to

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OVER 400 HEAR CANNON ANALYZE C. P. "TURN"

NEW YORK — James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist), dissected and analyzed the degenerated Communist Party (Stalinist) in a speech on "The Downfall of Browder" to an audience of over 400 workers who thronged Webster Hall on August 3.

One of the founders of the American Communist Party in 1919, Comrade Cannon aroused immediate response with his opening remarks: "We are celebrating the funeral of a faker, scoundrel and hypocrite; a betrayer of the workers who put their confidence in him. I came to bury Browder, not to praise him."

SCAPEGOAT BROWDER

Comrade Cannon, who was expelled in 1928 from the American C. P. for his intransigent adherence to the revolutionary program of Lenin and Trotsky, pointed out that Browder was merely a scapegoat for the failure of the Stalinist sell-out policy in the U. S.

"In that sense it is a victory for the workers, not unrelated to

Wall Street Knows

The new (Stalinist) party line—and the action which will flow from it—is opportunistic rather than revolutionary. The no-strike position, for example, is not reversed, but militant "protection of labor's rights" is made the order of the day. This, and other such equivocations, will allow Communists to extend their influence by advocating whatever course of action seems expedient in any given situation. — Business Week, Aug. 4.

another victory recorded this past week across the seas in Britain," declared Comrade Cannon. A member of the audience shouted: "Hear! hear!"

"The order for chopping off the little head of Browder came straight from Moscow via Paris," said the founder of the American Trotskyist movement. "The Stalinists had to realize that they had overplayed their hand. They were losing tens of thousands of militant workers, including

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Conquerors Inflict Reign Of Ruin On All Of Europe

By Ralph Graham

Decisions for the dismemberment of Germany, the permanent strangulation of its economy, and indefinite military occupation and control of the country by the Allied powers — these are the broad features of the communique issued from Potsdam on August 3 at the conclusion of the 17-day conference of the "Big Three" which is to be known as the Tripartite Conference of Berlin.

Miners Strike Against Filth In Company Town

A strike of 350 miners in the small company-owned mining town of Force, Pa., which began on July 15, was precipitated by the resignation of Dr. Elizabeth Hayes as company physician for the Shawmut Mining Co. Her resignation left a community of about 4,000 persons without medical care. She resigned because of the failure of the company to clean up the town and provide proper sanitation.

"There is not one factor here that constitutes a community," said 83-year-old Dr. Hayes. "There is no good water supply, no sewage system, no passable streets, no street lights, no presentable homes or local government." In the midst of her packed-up belongings she declared: "I want to live under decent conditions or get out."

MINERS DETERMINED

Backed up by their wives, the miners stated: "We'll hold out as long as we have to, until the company fixes sanitary conditions so we can get a doctor, or gives us a release so we can get out." The company has tried but failed to get a replacement for Dr. Hayes.

Forty-two years without even the most elementary sanitation, the entire water supply in Force is polluted. The outside pumping facilities which provide the drinking water have been condemned by State health authorities as contaminated. The toilet sewage flows from the out-houses into the pumps, wells, vegetable gardens and dirt

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In language which stands in glaring contradiction to the plain intent of the decisions regarding Germany, Truman, Attlee and Stalin declare that "it is not the intention of the Allies to destroy or enslave the German people." Yet that is precisely what will follow from the application of the agreements arrived at in Potsdam.

THE DISMEMBERMENT

A large slice of the German province of East Prussia, including the port city of Koenigsberg, has been incorporated into the Soviet Union. Another slice of eastern Germany, including the Baltic port of Stettin and the former free city of Danzig, go to Stalinist-dominated Poland. Austria had already been lopped off and is now administered by a puppet government of the Kremlin, headed by the social-democrat Krenner.

There is no guarantee that the process of dismembering Germany will end even here. The Big Three have set up a Council of Foreign Ministers representing the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, France and China "to continue the necessary preparatory work for the peace settlements." It is then that Germany's boundaries will be definitively redrawn. Until then, there will be no central German government. The country will be ruled by the Allied military staffs, each in its own zone of occupation.

SUBSISTENCE LEVEL

In the economic sphere, the predatory, oppressive character of the Big Three agreements is still more apparent. First, the German people must pay the cost of maintaining the Allied armies of occupation. Second, "repairs," the extent of which is still to be determined, will be exacted, but reparations deliveries will meanwhile go on. Plants may be dismantled and stripped and

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New York SWP Nears Petition Drive Goal

The New York Trotskyist majority and conciliant petition campaign is swinging into the home stretch. Some 4,000 signatures were obtained over last week-end. The Farrell Dobbs for Mayor petitions now have 13,000 names, and 8,800 signatures have been obtained for Louise Simpson, the Trotskyist candidate for City Council.

The actual number of signatures required by New York election laws is only 7,500 for mayor and 2,000 for councilman. But New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party set the goal at 15,000 and 5,000 respectively.

The New York comrades have sacrificed a great deal of their spare time to make this campaign a success. Ruby Parker is one, for example, who has shown up for every mobilization. Even rainstorms didn't quench the spirits of our Trotskyist go-getters.

Stopping people on the street, in stores, under awnings in the rain — trudging up and down the stairs of tenement houses, the army of petition-gatherers did their work. They even utilized a jaunt to the beach to garner signatures from bathers! Here is an example of Trotskyist initiative and working class ingenuity: Larissa Reed reports the following: "I decided I'd have to do something to combat this drizzle we've been bothered with,

so I went into a dime store and approached one of the girls behind the counter. When she learned that the petition was to nominate independent labor candidates, she lined up all the other girls for me and kept watch for the boss until I had my petitions filled."

Sympathizers of the party are requested to turn in the petitions they have, as all names must be in the office of the Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, by Saturday, August 11.

The branches are conducting evening mobilizations as we go to press. Next week we shall announce that we've gone over the top.

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Tuberculosis Is Bred In The Soil Of Poverty

By Bill Gray

BUFFALO, N. Y. — A shocking report from the Buffalo and Erie County Tuberculosis Association has burst through the carefully woven network of boss-inspired propaganda that the living standards of American workers have been maintained during the war. The report reveals the terrific toll in workers' lives taken by tuberculosis, popularly known as T.B. The death rate from this preventable disease has mounted to a new high between 1940 to 1945.

Before considering the facts and figures in this report, it is necessary to understand the close connection between tuberculosis and living standards. The working population in this city as well in the nation have a practical monopoly on this disease. Why is this so? The doctors tell us that poverty, poor food, crowded living quarters, and long hours of exhausting toil provide the soil in which TB grows. The wealthy do not suffer from these conditions and therefore rarely contract the disease.

TB A YARDSTICK

Tuberculosis is more than just a terrible and fatal disease. It serves as a yardstick by which variations in the standard of living of the workers can be measured.

A series of maps and statistics prepared by the Association show that deaths from tuberculosis have mounted rapidly in Erie County, where Buffalo is situated. The county has one large industrial area consisting of Buffalo and the adjoining city of Lackawanna. The 1944 death rate per 100,000 of population in Buffalo was 57.1. In Lackawanna, where the population is composed almost entirely of steel workers, the rate is 78.3. However the rest of the county which is largely agricultural, has a death rate of only 28.8 percent.

In 1940 the Buffalo death rate was 47 per 100,000. In four years

it had leaped over twenty percent to 57.1! This rate wipes out all the progress made in 20 years. Even these figures do not tell the full story, since they include both the workers and the well-to-do sections of the population. A break down of the statistics according to income shows that the rates for workers are much higher.

TOLL AMONG THE POOR

The report for 1943 stated that 970 new TB cases turned up here. The 1944 report fails to mention the number of new cases despite the importance of this information. It is certain that it has increased tremendously.

The poorer the section of the city, the higher the death rate. Thus we find that in the Negro neighborhoods where the take-home wages are smaller and where housing conditions are unbelievably wretched, the death rate leaps upward. As against a rate of 16.6 for a well-to-do white district the rate amongst the Negroes ranges from 161.3 to 167.5. This is more than ten times the death rate for the wealthy whites and almost three times the rate for the whole of the city.

But these figures only partially disclose the devastating toll this dread disease has taken among workers. TB cases are usually not reported by workers until they reach the final stages. Social

services and doctors report that workers resist TB tests.

This may seem strange, but the hard fact is that many workers feel they cannot afford to risk such a test. If they contract TB and the boss finds out they will most surely be fired. The bosses' excuse is that they must "protect" the health of the other workers, as TB is communicable. A worker who becomes sick draws no unemployment insurance. Nor is TB recognized in this state as an industrial hazard. Therefore its victims are not eligible for workmen's compensation.

In addition, the conditions for curing TB demand complete rest and good, rich food. These are out of the reach of sick workers who are usually compelled to work long hours to make both ends meet. Other ailments can be treated more or less successfully while a worker holds down his job, but not TB. A patient must have rest, but workers can't afford to rest.

CURE BEYOND REACH

Who can doubt that in Buffalo, as in every industrial center, thousands of workers, men and women, are suffering from this disease and giving their life-blood, drop by drop, because they fear to report their condition, since their families would be deprived of bread. They drag themselves through a miserable, hopeless existence that in a few years leads them to an early grave.

The swiftly mounting TB death rate shatters to bits the myth that the war has brought prosperity to the masses of workers. It provides irrefutable proof that the imperialist war takes its toll in workers' lives at home as well as on the battlefronts.

time industry in the postwar, will be consigned to "private enterprise." Land proposes this as a means "to bring the highest return to government and the taxpayer."

HALF-CENT RETURN

Recent bids for ships to be junked indicate how much the government will realize by this method on its huge investment in merchant ships. Highest bid on a ship in the 10,000 ton class costing \$2,000,000 to construct, ranged up to \$22,500. Later bids show a downward trend, going as low as \$9,000. This represents less than one half-cent return on every dollar of the taxpayers' money poured into the industry by the Maritime Commission.

This is the reality behind all the current talk about a prosperous and expanding U. S. merchant marine. The graft-seeking shipping companies know the extent of proposed cut-backs in U. S. shipping. They now have their representatives in all the government maritime agencies. They are gathered in Washington like buzzards with the prospect of picking millions from the ribs of doomed ships.

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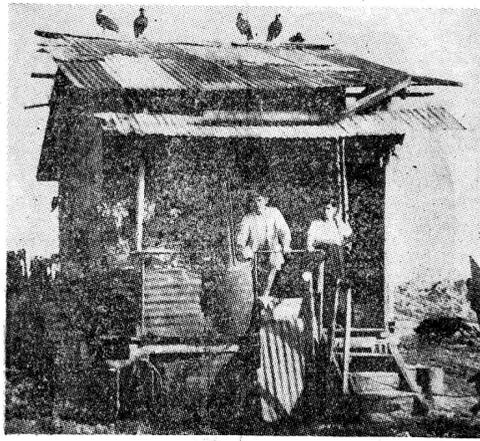
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Disease Hovers Here



COMPANY TOWN'S FILTH PROVOKES MINE STRIKE

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streets where the children play. "I see no point in having baby clinics when you feed these babies filthy toilet water," said Dr. Hayes. The Health Department is now instructing residents to boil their water until further notice.

When Health Department representatives told Dr. Hayes that conditions were no different in Force than in other Pennsylvania mining towns, she retorted: "Why wait for an epidemic to do something about it. If typhoid got started it would spread like wildfire in this hot weather."

ROTTEN SHACKS

The description given of the houses in which the coal miners and their families live, is a revealing commentary on the whole brutal, anarchistic capitalist system. The greedy mine owners provide the "homes" for the mine

workers. These bleak and rotting frame shacks, with paint long since disappeared under layers of grime, sag in the dirt streets which, like open sores, are running over with filth, garbage and sewage. There is no running water, no bathrooms, no electricity, no sewage system. The wind whips up the odors of rotting garbage and sewage so that even in hot weather, as one miner put it, "We have to leave the windows closed at night or we get one hell of a stench."

But inside, the workers and their wives struggle against these odds to keep their homes spotless. They cover the walls with white paint or attractive wall papers. They keep in gleaming condition the electric stoves, refrigerators and washing machines that they have bought although there is no power to run them. The modern cabinet sinks have no faucets because there is no running water.

Small-Business Group Aids Anti-Labor Forces

AKRON, July 24 — Following the lead of heavy industry in trying to smash the closed shop, the National Small Business Men's Association is circulating its members. From the headquarters of the Association in Akron, form letters attacking the Wagner Act are going to merchants in every city.

Assailing the Wagner Act as "the root of the evil" of the closed shop, the communication furiously waves a patriotic banner against unionism. "There never has been anything in the history of this country which was as un-American as the government forcing an American citizen to pay tribute to a private organization for the right to work; the right to earn his or her living," the letter proclaims.

Piously protesting that it is not "anti-union," the communication continues: "Certainly workers have a right to belong to unions... but they also have a right — which is just as important — not to belong to a union and to bargain individually." In other words, they have the right to be forced to work on the bosses' terms.

Once more waxing patriotic, the circular concludes by inviting the reader to join "thousands of other small business men from every state in the Union who also are vitally interested in keeping America 'The Land of the Free' — by which they

Devers Spikes Lie Of the Kept Press

General L. Devers, commander of the 6th Army (French invasion) said to a big crowd in Pittsburgh: "There never was a time that we were short of supplies or materials — we always had all we needed — this despite what the newspapers said." Pittsburgh papers in reporting the speech, "forgot" to mention these remarks, which give the lie to claims of the boss press that workers, by striking, were depriving the armed forces of badly-needed weapons and munitions.

mean, the land of free exploitation of unorganized workers. The slogan of the Association, "Eternal Vigilance is the Price of Liberty," serves notice on the labor movement that the bosses don't mean to slow up their union-smashing drive. They have united for their own "mutual benefit and protection," as they openly state.

War Plant Graft Illustrates Waste Of Capitalist War

By Jack Pearson

ST. PAUL — The construction of the Gopher Ordnance Works at Rosemont, Minnesota, a small town near the Twin Cities, was started in May, 1942; and, in spite of the fact that \$165,000,000 was spent on this project, not an ounce of powder has been shipped out. Some of the best farm land in the country, nice and level with beautiful buildings and barns fifteen square miles of it, was laid waste in order to build a plant which was never to be used.

The profit-taking methods by which the Dupont chemical trust and several sub-contractors reaped a harvest are listed below:

CAPITALIST PATRIOTISM

The "cost plus 10 per cent" arrangement spurred the contractors to raise the cost by every method they could find. Over 22,000 workers were hired in 1942 on the original project, with about half of them really needed. The boss had instructions to tell the men to go for a walk.

Wooden siding was put on the buildings in 1942 but it was torn off in 1944 and sheet metal applied. Concrete footings around and through the center of the buildings were made six to eight feet wide and thirty five feet deep. Building blocks would have been enough.

Carpenter crews were left idle while laborers walked two to four blocks for lumber. Parts of machine tools would arrive incomplete, forcing the men to use hand tools. One crew was put on making rake handles which took them nearly a day to complete. Two-inch planking was used to make three-eighths-inch doors. Expensive veneer plywood was used to make concrete forms. Trucks, machinery, and heavy equipment were rented and kept running just to up costs still more. Left-over material was scrapped and burned. The plant had the largest dump I ever saw.

When the order came to stop construction in 1943, thousands of workers were kept for months on the job without lifting a tool. During this time the Army called it a standby plant. As soon as a building was completed it was locked up. It wasn't long before some of the completed sections were opened and the machinery, fixtures, etc. torn out and shipped to some other plant. These crews used to come over to us and ask when we would complete our installation so that they could come and tear it out. That was a standing joke for many months!

MORE WASTEFULNESS

In February of 1944 Pegles Construction Co. received a contract to dismantle the plant. In their haste to complete the agreement before the Army could change its mind, pipe, machinery, and equipment were torn out.

An Army stop order came through in April and shortly afterward Dupont was given another contract to build. Sixty million dollars was spent in six months to put the place together again.

Finally two lines were in operation. But this was only token production. The powder was stored in the warehouses and it will probably stay there. The project remains what it always was — a "Cost-Plus Heaven" for the Dupont merchants of death and their satellites.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By V. Grey

Important Precedent

The United Steelworkers of America (CIO) has just won the first guaranteed annual wage clause to be put into a union contract. This is an important precedent. It is a recognition of the principle that a man is entitled to full employment.

As usual, of course, the company, (Weldman Manufacturing Co., Norristown, Pa.) has hedged the whole thing in with ifs and buts, some of them very big. Moreover, the guarantee is for only 1,200 hours. (That's 30 weeks at 40 hours or 50 weeks at 24 hours per week.) A man has to have five years' seniority, for example, to come under the guarantee.

The danger arises here that such a guaranteed annual wage can become merely an extended dole. To mean anything, the guarantee must be on a 52-week basis.

Vacation With Pay

We have always held that industrial unions are more powerful than craft unions or professional specialty organizations. But that Washington, D. C. union of Amalgamated Gas-Baggers and Pork Barrel Blimpers is doing all right for themselves. They have just received a two-months' vacation — with pay. CIO and AFL take note.

Unionism Spreading

There are now 13,000 white collar workers in U.S. Steel who are in the United Steel Workers (CIO) bargaining unit. The new USW contract with Carnegie-Illinois covers both white collar workers and departmental foremen. Only those supervisors are barred from membership who are "bona fide supervisors in the sense that they have the authority to hire, promote, discharge, discipline" workers. This is a real step forward. White collar workers and sub-foremen belong with the rest of labor. They belong with the industrial union movement.

Strike Sentiment Grows

Add Toledo and Cleveland to the growing list of UAW centers calling for a nation-wide strike vote in all United Automobile Workers (CIO) plants. Diesel Local 207 in Cleveland, Chevrolet Local 4 and Spicer Unit Local 12 in Toledo, as well as Flint, Buffalo and Northwest Ohio locals have followed the lead of the 400 Detroit local union presidents and officers, representing 400,000 auto workers, who last month made the above demand at their Regional Conference.

Complaint by Tobin

Not content with sitting back with a laurel wreath of stinkweeds for his scabby work in the Chicago teamsters' strike, Daniel J. Tobin,

president of AFL Teamsters' Union, complains that the big newspapers didn't give him enough credit. He says in the *International Teamster for August*: "There were very few words of praise for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters—they mixed us up in all their writings with the Chicago Teamsters' organization."

Thousands of AFL truckdrivers had joined hands with the independent "Chicago Teamsters" in the great Chicago drivers' strike. But Tobin ordered the men of his union back to work, and sent out sluggers and goon squads to terrorize these good unionists. He did the Chicago bosses a service that ranks with the army's intervention (soldiers were ordered to drive the trucks). But, says Tobin: "Strange, it is not, that there is never any mention made of the good things labor does?"

Hits Nail on Head

"Workers are making up their collective minds to oppose any and every form of arbitration, and even conciliation. They have been fooled too often. Whenever the government made it possible to earn an extra dollar it took two away. Labor does not like that."

"It has seen the sons of workers go off to a rich man's war and a poor man's fight. The workers have seen a ceiling put over their earnings while the cost of living skyrocketed. They have been tied to their jobs by a Labor-Management coalition which is cruel and merciless. "The workers... want to organize and sit down with the employers collectively, to bargain. If they have to strike then they will strike." — Adam Rightor, writing against the Ball-Burton-Hatch bill in the July 20 *Baltimore Labor Herald*.

An Apt Memorial

Headline in the AFL weekly news release: "Unions want \$3 bill to honor Roosevelt." Wonder if they have in mind the old saw: "Phony as a three dollar bill."

Spiking Labor's Guns

"We're not going to win our case just because we're right, or because our officials go down to Washington and present our arguments," said Howard McKenzie, vice-president of the National Maritime Union, at a New York membership meeting of that body. And they're not going to win very much by a picket parade that advertises the leaders' spineless program, either. Walking around seaports and lakeport cities with signs boasting that "We did not strike," and assuring the shipowners that "We will not strike," is like waving a gun and saying, "We're only kidding — it isn't loaded."

SWP BRANCH ACTIVITIES

CHICAGO—Everyone is invited to attend the Militant Picnic, Sunday, August 12, at Thatcher Woods. Take Lake Street city and suburban cars to 8000 West (Thatcher Road); two blocks north on Thatcher to Chicago Avenue; walk to the first entrance West of Thatcher on north side of Chicago Ave., and then to Grove No. 4. The fun begins at 11 a.m. Admission free. Food, entertainment, campfire and community singing!

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 8:30 p.m. Friday, Aug. 17: "How We Will Live Under Socialism," speaker, V. Grey, author of "Shoptalks on Socialism."

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

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

LOS ANGELES — Obtain copies of *The Militant* and *Fourth International* and other Marxist books and pamphlets as well as information about the SWP at the following places in the Los Angeles area: LOS ANGELES, Socialist Workers Party, Rooms, 200-05, 232 S. Hill St. SAN PEDRO, Socialist Workers Party, 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214. For additional information phone VA-7986.

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.

SHIPS AND SEAMEN DUE FOR JUNK-PILE

NEW YORK, August 6 — A new department called "ship breaking" will be added to the maritime industry, according to an announcement last week by the U. S. Maritime Commission. The job of this department will be to dismantle and scrap thousands of war-built ships, mostly Liberty ships.

This is one of the methods for disposing of the wartime merchant fleet. A large part of it will be put on the market for junk. Of the more than 5,000 merchantmen now in commission, shipping companies can see a postwar demand for less than 1,500, probably not more than a thousand.

Government spokesmen have announced the need for a laid-up

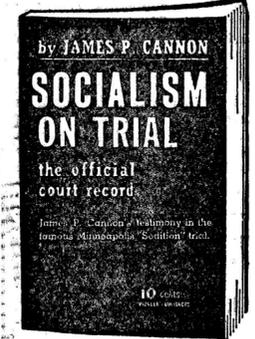
\$15 Billions Invested In Government Shipping

In response to questions addressed to him by the House committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Admiral Land, chairman of the U. S. Maritime Commission, has disclosed the extent of government investments in the maritime industry. "Based upon the existing construction program, and appropriations therefor, and including contemplated construction to be provided for in the 1946 Budget, the total cost to the Government for ships and shipyards as estimated will be \$15 billions of which approximately \$6 billions is for facilities. It is impossible to estimate at the present what the total cost will be when the war is over."

It is this huge investment that Land now proposes to turn over to private "shipowners" while they in turn plan to cut seamen's wages because they cannot "afford" to pay a 55 cents hourly minimum scale.

fleet of 1,000 ships in preparation for World War III. This leaves 3,000 ships to be disposed of, either by sale to foreign operators or by junking. There is little demand for the type of ship offered for sale to foreign operators.

Admiral Land, head of the Maritime Commission, says that the planned destruction of ships "will be on a year-to-year basis so as not to flood the (junk) market and yet at the same time assure it of an adequate and orderly supply." Junking of ships, like all other phases of the mari-



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Nazi Big-Shots Robbed Treasury

The Nazi chieftains took good care not to burden themselves with heavy taxes by means of which, in large part, the German people were made to pay for Hitler's war of conquest. Records examined by the financial branch of G. 5, United States Forces in the European theater, and made public in a dispatch to the N. Y. Times last week, show that Dr. Goebbels, Hitler's propaganda minister, "saved" close to 500,000 Reichsmarks in taxes in 1938, while Air Minister Goering, who was one of Germany's richest men (he owned 15 castles and villas and the great Goering Stahlwerke combine) paid taxes only on his 27,000 Reichsmark salary as a minister of state.

Ministers, gauleiters, senior Storm Troop leaders, artists, sculptors, actors and others who formed the props of the Nazi regime, all were recipients of tax "favours" from Hitler's finance ministry.

Tax exemptions were granted not only to prominent individuals but to entire groups such as members of the Reichstag and the Prussian State Council.

FABLES FOR TODAY



HOW NOT TO FIGHT A BEAST

One afternoon 999,999 years ago, a cave man named Og came upon a sabre-tooth tiger while out for a walk. Og, a strong, fearless man, gripped his club, muttering, "Til moider de bum," and went forward to do battle.

In four seconds the "bum" had killed Og and in nine and one-quarter minutes had eaten him, hair, bones, and all.

Now, another cave man named Ug had seen the whole affair. He was a wiser man than Og, and he thought, "That was silly. The sabre-tooth tiger had all the advantage."

So he went back to the tribe and brought them all to the place where the tiger had killed Og. The tribe set a trap for the sabre-tooth tiger, and later, when he had fallen into it, they all set upon him and killed him with great ease.

MORAL: DON'T TRY TO TACKLE THE BOSS BY YOURSELF. THAT'S WHAT WE'VE GOT UNIONS FOR.

Congress Debates \$2-Per-Annum Relief For Millions of Children Doomed to Suffer

By Ruth Johnson

A ten-year-old girl lives next door to me, in one of New York's thousands of cold-water flats. The heat in summer is insufferable. In winter, dependent upon a small coal stove, she often sits in a wheel chair on the front stoop, watching listlessly while other kids play in the street. Her hands and head tremble uncontrollably. Her legs are in heavy leather braces. Sometimes, when a neighbor puts a cookie into her mouth, the child, unable to speak, smiles crookedly in thanks.



Rich Children

been counted! Ten million children have sight defects, most of them curable or arrestable by proper treatment, but only the blind or the near-blind receive any aid.

COSTLY TREATMENT

There are 70,000 children under 16 suffering from cerebral palsy, caused usually by injuries to the brain at birth. To restore muscular control and to give the simplest education to these young victims of disease is very costly, requiring years of sustained treatment. For the children of the poor, who because they are delivered under the worst conditions suffer most often from cerebral palsy, cure is an economic impossibility.

Half a million children under 18 are afflicted with rheumatic fever, crippling their hearts, condemning them to a lifetime of partial invalidism. More children between 5 and 15 years of age die from rheumatic fever than from any other disease.

There are 100,000 children crippled by bone deformities who receive hospital care in the various states today, with at least another 15,000 on waiting lists, wasting away while treatment is postponed.

HEARING AND SIGHT

Another 200,000 children suffer from epilepsy; 35,000 from diabetes; a million and a quarter are handicapped by asthma. All of them need skilled care over long periods of time.

The number of children with hearing defects has never even

ings of the Army, which had to reject 40 percent of the men called in the draft, for physical reasons. Congress wants to build an army for the future. But while it authorizes billions for destruction, it only "considers" spending one hundred millions a year for child welfare and maternity care combined!

WASTAGE PROBABLE

Even this small grant will be largely dissipated in high fees to doctors and private hospitals.



... And Poor

Much emphasis is laid on the necessity for preserving the rights of doctors and hospitals to refuse to admit needy cases! Of course, the patient shall also have the "right" to choose his own physician and hospital, if he can find them.

Only socialized medicine, available to all and with facilities arranged for comprehensive care, can begin to cure millions of poor children. But even more important, the abominable living conditions of workers and farmers which cause the most devastating diseases of childhood, must be wiped out.

Bonus March Of 1932 Is Grim Warning To World War II Vets

By Felix Morrow

It happened thirteen years ago. It is a story that every veteran of this war should know.

On July 28, 1932 General Douglas MacArthur, then Chief of Staff, personally led troops—cavalry, tanks and infantry—down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington. At Third Street they charged the first contingent of the "enemy." With tear gas, bayonet jabs, rifle butts, they drove a group of World War veterans from shacks and half-demolished buildings which had been their homes for ten weeks. The veterans expertly tossed back the tear gas bombs. MacArthur ordered the shacks set afire so the veterans would not be able to return. The flames and smoke rose high, forming a yellow and black frame for the dome of the Capitol rising above them in the background.

VETS COMBED OUT

General MacArthur had seen to it that there were no veterans among the troops; all such veterans had been combed out and left behind at Fort Myers.

Mopping up the nearby streets, the troops moved across the river to Anacostia Flats, where the main body of World War veterans was encamped in shacks and tents. All told there were about 20,000, about 400 with their wives and children. Driven by the troops, they were scattered that night over the neighboring states of Virginia and Maryland. The flaming shacks and tents looked like a big city devastated by incendiary bombs.

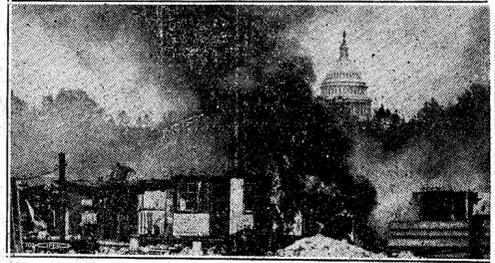
How deeply the country resented the treatment of the Bonus Army was indicated when General MacArthur was booted off the platform at the American Legion Convention at Portland, Oregon, in the fall of 1932.

In the end, in spite of Roosevelt's veto, the veterans got what they had come to Washington for. They had demanded immediate payment of the Adjusted Service Certificate, issued in 1924 but payable only in 1945—this year!—granting a dollar a day for service at home and \$1.25 for overseas. Congress voted it over Roosevelt's veto.

SPONTANEOUS ACTION

The Bonus Army was a spontaneous creation of the unemployed veterans. The March was bitterly opposed by the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and other "respectable" veterans' organizations, as well

Remember This Atrocity!



Veterans' shacks at Pennsylvania Avenue and Third Street, set afire by troops, light up the capitol dome, as the bonus marchers are driven from Washington.

as by the Republican and Democratic parties.

No one issued a call for the March. It just happened. Driven by hunger, small groups started for Washington from various parts of the country. It gathered volume; between May 20 and July 28, at least 30,000 vets arrived in Washington; some left, but most stayed.

For these tens of thousands to come penniless across the country was possible only because everywhere they found the masses actively in sympathy with them. The unemployed understood that the Bonus Army was breaking a path to Washington which could later be followed by the unemployed with broader demands. The Bonus Marchers had, besides, the moral authority of men who had risked their lives in battle, ostensibly for a world in which they would be secure.

RACE BARRIERS DOWN

Two slogans were especially popular among the veterans. They painted them crudely on signs, freight cars, jalopies: "Heroes of 1917 — Bums of 1932," "We Fought for Democracy — What Did We Get?"

Under popular pressure city authorities along the road welcomed the vets, fed them and housed them, and made money collections to help speed them on. The vets commandeered freight cars and coupled them to fast trains. They relinquished the trains only in return for state-owned trucks which carried them to the next state line.

Negro veterans were in many of the contingents. In some of the Southern contingents, one saw

something new: Negroes arrived side by side with whites and lived with them in the shacks in Washington.

The spontaneity which had created the March proved inadequate to create a leadership from the ranks. Yet two decisive things happened anyway. All tricks designed to get the vets out of Washington failed; they stood pat. During their last weeks in Washington, press reports showed not only additional vet contingents on their way, but also groups of unemployed non-veterans marching on Washington. Had the Bonus Army been permitted to stay, it would have become the core of a vast army of the unemployed occupying the capital.

That is why the government decided on the desperate step of driving the Bonus Army out by gunfire and teargas.

But the Bonus Army won its fight. And it made popular the idea of hunger marches on Washington and state capitals to win the demands of the unemployed. Soon enough the veterans of this war will find themselves struggling for bread. Then the lessons of the Bonus March of 1932 will stand them in good stead.

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

No Equal Opportunities Under Profit System

By Frank Brown

To the average factory worker the almost complete futility of "getting ahead" in the factory is very obvious. He realizes that, except for becoming a servile "straw boss," opportunity for advancement into the higher salary brackets is open only to the chosen few who are born into the "right" families. So, many workers attempt to better the conditions of their children by sacrificing to educate them for various professions or higher paid jobs. We are told that opportunities for such advancement are open to every child born in this country. To demonstrate how reality shows this statement to be a lie, let us look into the process of this education.

Generally speaking, the following picture holds true for the engineering, teaching, medical and other professions, but let us use the medical profession as an example. The cost of educating a boy to become a physician, after he has graduated from high school, is about \$10,000. This does not include loss of the wages he would be earning if employed during the years he goes to college and medical school. It costs about \$1200 a year in private schools. A small number of the students can go to state schools at lower cost, but the expense is still \$6,000 to \$8,000, because living expenses, cost of books, equipment, clothes, and the lower tuition must still be paid by the family.

How many workers' families can afford to give up the earning power of their sons during the eight years of training? And even if they could, how many families can lay aside the \$6,000 to \$10,000 needed to pay for the education? Again the answer is obvious to the average worker—very, very few.

But before a man can go to medical school he must be accepted by the school for enrollment. Here he must overcome class, racial, and national prejudices. Every application blank for medical schools has questions in it about race, creed, financial status, nationality and whether or not any relatives of the applicant are doctors. Few schools admit Negroes and all schools have quotas for Jews, which must not be exceeded. The

average medical school accepts between 10 and 20 percent of all applicants, despite the fact that even in normal times there is a shortage of physicians. Scarcity of doctors is maintained to insure better incomes for those already in practice.

Even if a man struggles through the school years he must take further hospital training as an intern from one to five years, with practically no salary. During this time he must be supplied with clothes, recreation and other expenses by his family. Aging parents of a working-class boy, who are probably being thrown on the scrap-heap by capitalistic production, cannot furnish these things to the young doctor.

Some young workers try to overcome these obstacles by working after school, by going hungry and denying themselves things. A few succeed in getting through. Too many drop out, broken in health or in spirits and turn their attention to other fields.

This is the method of education sponsored by the organized medical profession under the system of "free enterprise." It is a system that automatically limits the supply of physicians, regardless of need, to keep up lucrative practices for those already in practice. It is a system that denies society the benefit of brilliant minds of workers, and recruits its doctors only from the middle class, some of whom are fit for the work and some of whom are "duds." The really wealthy seldom enter the professions because they do not need to earn a living.

In place of such a system, socialism offers a method of choosing doctors, engineers, teachers, and so forth, by examinations open to all youths who desire to take them, regardless of class, color, race or creed. If society can feed and care for a colt until he is old and strong enough to pull a load, it can well afford to feed, clothe and educate its youth in all professions in government-owned schools until it is ready to "pull its load." Only under socialism will all children have an equal opportunity of entering those fields of work for which they are best suited.

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

All the way from home you're dreading the job. It's August, and you're sweating, and everybody else on the bus is sweating, and as you look out the window you can see fat men on the streets taking off their straw hats and mopping the sweat off their shining heads.

When you pull off your clothing in the locker room, it sticks to you. It's heavy and wet. The air is heavy and wet, too, with the stench of bodies and of the filthy work clothes of other men. You put on the undershirt from your locker and gag a little as you draw it over your head. It's soggy and rank with yesterday's sweat. Clothes never dry out in this weather.

The moment you get up on the furnace floor, the heat hits you and tries to drive you back down the steps. The heat is hanging like a dense cloud over the floor. It is vibrating in the air over the runners. You suck the heat down into your lungs, but it doesn't feel as though you're really breathing.

Over in the mills, men are grimly rolling the red-hot metal and wishing to hell quitting time would come around so they could get out and down a couple of cold beers.

In the open hearths, the gangs are tending the furnaces and struggling to breathe, hoping against hope there won't be any "bad bottoms" that will have to be filled up with shovel after shovel full of heavy "black stuff."



Sweat—A By-Product of Manufacture

Up on the blast furnace you're drenched with sweat. It's not perspiration. It's not the moisture that ladies must guard against by using deodorants or that gentlemen get on their brows when they play polo or golf. It's sweat, the age-old by-product of all manufacture, the constant companion of the worker.

It fills up under the band of your hat and streams down your face. It trickles down your chest and back. It flows from your armpits and cascades down your sides and goes creeping down your thighs, calves and ankles and into your socks. You wipe a wet hand across your forehead and shake a wet spatter onto the floor, but it's back again running into your eyes and down your neck before you can feel any relief. When you're clearing out a runner the drops will pour off your face and hit the iron sides of the place you're standing in and disappear in a little puff of steam.

Your legs grow weak. It's hard to walk, and you're sure that if you stumble, you'll go flat on your face and just lie there until somebody hooks you up to the crane and pulls you up again.

Your head begins to ache, and your stomach hazes over with nausea. Thirst, a deep and desperate thirst penetrates your whole body, but you try not to drink too much water, for you've seen your buddies doubled up with cramps. Besides, the more you drink the more you sweat.

Hotter Than the South Pacific

A young colored fellow, a veteran from the South Pacific with three or four years' service in the jungles, sags limply against the railing, water running out of every pore on his body.

You squeeze out a grin and ask him, "How do you like a blast furnace?"

He tries to grin back, shakes his head. "Don't like it!" You finish up your work and get your lunch. The fruit hits the spot, but sandwiches and cake or cookies taste and feel like blotting paper. Even if you could get good food nowadays, it would taste the same.

The second and third helpers are yelling at each other, ready to fight. The cause? Some trivial thing they'll both forget in fifteen minutes. The heat makes us all edgy.

You wonder if you or anybody will collapse ("fall out") today. No one has for quite awhile, somehow. Well, it'll come. Who'll be the first?

When the day ends, you're no good for anything, dead tired, washed out, weak in the legs. You'll be tired tomorrow when you come back. One night's rest isn't half enough.

Cripes, what wouldn't you give to have an air-conditioned office to work in and a home on the lake!

ATOMIC BOMBS IMPERIL THE WHOLE OF MANKIND

(Continued from page 1)

they realize it will be no respecter of boundaries. "Frankly I am scared," writes John W. Campbell, a physicist, in the liberal PM. "I'm scared because I fear people won't fully realize that, from this day on, war is impractical. This isn't a new bomb. It's something that never was before. It's the power to reach the stars and the power to kill the human race."

LIARS AT WORK

This "liberal" lies in his teeth. War will never be "impractical" as long as capitalism is permitted to live. Capitalism, in its mad imperialist hunt for profits, will stop at nothing. Two world wars have proved that.

The New York Times lies when it declares: "Civilization and humanity can now survive only if there is a revolution in mankind's political thinking."

Others echo the thought when they assert that NOW another war becomes "unthinkable." They said that after the first World War. Such soothing utterances are designed to befuddle the people and prevent them from taking the only course which can now prevent the whole world from destruction in a series of fiery holocausts, the road of the Socialist revolution.

The truth is that capitalist imperialism and war are inseparable. Capitalism in its decay and death agony cannot live without war. All the wonders of science and technology are at the disposal of the criminal rulers of society. They have not hesitated in the past to employ the most



deadly weapons they could devise. Nor will they hesitate now or in the future to use the dreadful atomic bomb to gain their nefarious ends.

A DIRE WARNING

To the working class of America and all the world this week's events must be a last dire warning. Only the working class, uniting with it all the poor and oppressed of city and country, can destroy the foul capitalist system. UNLESS THEY DO DESTROY CAPITALISM, CAPITALISM WILL SURELY DESTROY THEM.

The working class reply to this new fiendish device must be a quickening of the struggle to end capitalism and establish a socialist society in which war will be banished forever and the great wonders of science devoted to the preservation and enrichment of life.

British Labor Victory Spurs Senate Hearing On Jobs Bill

(Continued from page 1)

keep its big business clients accurately informed on all developments affecting their interests. Its August 4 issue reported: "Results of the British elections quite obviously quickened senatorial interest in full employment—in the need for prosperity to thwart radical social trends here as in Europe."

Reassuringly, Business Week added: "BUT, BY THE TIME CONGRESS RECONvenes, THE FERVOR WILL HAVE MODERATED." In short, the Senate hearing was conceived as a mere gesture, with the hope that the American workers' enthusiasm over the British labor victory will fade out in the next couple of months.

Nevertheless, the hastily-staged hearing on the "Full Employment" Bill did serve to focus attention on the criminal failure of the capitalist Congress even to consider up to now the slightest measure to prevent mass unemployment. The hearings also revealed the complete incapacity of American capitalism to halt the depression of 1929-39 except by the bloody stimulus of imperialist war and the real anticipated extent of the impending economic crisis.

Thus, Senator O'Mahoney admitted that "the most frightening thing about the depression which

followed World War I is that it was eradicated only by World War II."

GREAT UNEMPLOYMENT

At the same time, Senator Murray recalled that last year he, together with President Truman, then a Senator, had informed the Senate Military Affairs Committee that with the end of government war spending "the number of unemployed men and women in this country might easily surpass anything that was dreamed of during the last depression."

Senator Murray further admitted that big business interests desire unemployment in order to destroy wage standards, smash organized labor and drive out competition. He cited one industrialist who wrote him that "private capitalism needs a floating pool of unemployed." Murray declared that "to some big corporations, I have found periods of widespread unemployment are actually welcome, because they provide opportunities to squeeze out or buy out smaller competitors..."

The bill endorses the policy of government spending to provide jobs only as a "last resort." Indeed, its sponsors emphasized that it was not intended as a measure to provide "jobs for all" as Senator Wagner stated. In actuality, the purpose of the bill is to bolster up the "free enterprise" system of private profit and privilege.

Representative Patman, chief witness for the bill on the second day of the hearing, forthrightly stated that it was incorrect to term the bill a "full employment" measure. Rather, he insisted, it is "a free enterprise bill" intended to "preserve—indeed strengthen, free competitive enterprise."

Even a cursory examination of the actual contents of the bill reveals it to be worthless. It offers not one concrete measure to prevent unemployment — not one!

'FREE ENTERPRISE' BILL

The bill proposes that the President be instructed to make an annual survey of the employment prospects for the coming year. If, in his estimation, anticipated jobs will fall below the number required for "full employment," then he may suggest measures to Congress to provide increased employment. Congress, in turn, may—or may not—act upon his suggestions. The bill explicitly directs the President to place predominant

emphasis upon aiding "free enterprise" to provide jobs, and rejects "the proposition that public employment is the main avenue toward full employment."

The fimsiness of this bill is obvious. To begin with, no special bill is required for the President to secure all the necessary statistical information on which future economic trends might be predicted. The Department of Commerce for years has been providing reams of such material, and business corporations and the government are thoroughly informed on every phase of economic activity.

A PROFOUND CRISIS

Moreover, every informed person knows that we are already entering a period of profound crisis, with the threat of some 20,000,000 unemployed. The problem is what to do about it. The Bill simply says, leave it up to the President and Congress. What he should or will propose, and what the reactionary Congressional agents of Big Business will adopt, are left a matter of mystery.

The sponsors of the bill have indicated, however, that their plan is primarily directed at "business opportunities... it means not only wages and salaries, but incomes and profits," as Senator O'Mahoney stated. They see the need for "encouraging free enterprise" by reducing profits taxes, government aid to private capitalists, etc.

THE REAL PROBLEM

But the problem is not one either of a lack of private capital or an insufficiency of productive facilities. It is the refusal of the capitalists to permit production unless they can rake in big profits. Corporate working capital has tripled during the war to the unprecedented volume of \$45 billions. But Big Business and its government agents have already set afoot plans to "junk" the giant government-built plants, like Willow Run, which the people have paid for, and reduce productive capacity to prevent competition with the monopolies.

Like every "full employment" plan, "liberal" or otherwise, sponsored by capitalist politicians, the dominant purpose of the Murray-Wagner-O'Mahoney-Patman bill is to safeguard the profit system—the very system which breeds unemployment.



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Unionist Gives Views On Legion

(Editorial Note: The Militant publishes the following interview as the expression of one point of view as to the best organizational medium through which the problems of working-class war veterans can be handled. We invite all veterans to make use of the columns of The Militant for the discussion of veterans' problems.)

By Evelyn Atwood

Last Saturday I met a trade union member of the American Legion. An AFL electrical machinist and a veteran of the first World War, he told me about his keen interest in veterans' problems and the way in which members of the AFL hope to solve them through the American Legion.

"Some of our AFL union men have been in this work since 1925, long before the CIO was even dreamed of," he began. "Our membership in the Legion since that time has been largely AFL veterans of the last war. Today we estimate this membership at about 25,000 in 127 posts out of 14,000 posts in the country. Our Union Labor Legionnaires has national headquarters at 160 N. La Salle Street, Chicago.

"We operate as labor members, a kind of faction within the American Legion. Naturally, the reactionary elements in the Legion are hostile and do not welcome us, but what can they do about it?"

LEGION A POWER

When asked why the AFL chose to go into the Legion rather than form a veterans' organization of their own, he replied: "Because there's no use kidding ourselves; it's the biggest and most powerful veterans' organization in the world." Explaining further, he said: "If we can organize the 3,000,000 unionists or more of this war into the labor posts of the Legion, we can combat the reactionary policies of the vested interests."

To show how wealthy and well-organized the American Legion is, he pointed out: "There is at least \$75,000,000 represented in their clubhouse posts throughout the country now. They have welfare and many other departments. The men in charge are soldiers and thoroughly trained in the work they do. The units run from local, city, county, state up to national. It's a real apparatus."

"Before this war the Legion had a membership of about a million. Now they have 560,000 new soldiers out of this war. That's ten times more than all the other new veterans' organizations put together. Today there are about 175 new veterans' organizations with memberships that range anywhere from 15 to 3,000. The only other big organization that can compare with the Legion is the Veterans of Foreign Wars. This had a membership of about half a million before this war and now has grown probably to a million."

PROGRESSIVES STRUGGLE

He argued: "How could we possibly build an apparatus like the Legion's in the time that is needed to do it? It would require years and years. In the meantime the Legion would be growing all the time and becoming more and more reactionary. If we are inside, as labor members, we can counteract them. As a matter of fact, there has always been a struggle between the progressive and reactionary forces inside the Legion. It's up to us labor members to get in there and pitch!"

Admitting that the Legion has committed notorious strike-breaking actions, he said: "Yes, that Centralia business during the last war was pretty bad. Yet you must remember that not all the posts are reactionary."

"For example, take the 60 million jobs that Wallace said we had to have. Everybody in Washington thought he was a long-haired idiot. But out in Wisconsin we have a post which is showing how to do it. They say they will go to all the business men in the area whose war contracts are over and ask them: 'Are you going to open up your plants and make the things the people around here need and can't get, like bathtubs and refrigerators?' If not, they're going to ask the government to open them up to manufacture these things."

THE PROFIT MOTIVE

Here he interjected sarcastically: "We all know that business men don't make things because people need them. All they are interested in is profits. And if they can make more profits out of making perfume or stuff like that they don't care if the peo-

Sailor Gets Glimpse Of Colonial Slavery

By A Seaman

Yussef was a small, wizened fellow, like most of the Indians I'd met.

Of course, there is a theory, a British colonial theory no doubt, that Indians are by nature undersized. But I had a chance to see for myself. It was in Bombay at the end of the monsoon season and tens of thousands of the people were flocking to the seashore in their beautifully colored saris and Sunday-bests to toss coconuts into the Indian Ocean as an offering of thanks to the monsoon for its having died down.

There you could see Indians from every province of the land, all with their own deviation in dress, in coiffure, in the color and fold of the sari—and you could tell by the build of the people whether their province had fed them well or not.

STUDY IN CONTRASTS

The Punjabis were husky. Those from the northwestern frontier were big and strong. It so happens that in those provinces food is more plentiful than elsewhere. The Parsees were well rounded out and seemed far more energetic than the scrawny south Indians. As you might expect, the Parsees are a merchant class, while the south Indians are the poorest of the poor.

But Yussef was from Calcutta, a seaman and a diligent worker. You could tell by the way he dusted and polished the officers' saloon, his hurried movements, and the attention he gave to his menial job, as if it was all important that the brass and mahogany should dazzle the eye.

There was a spacious glassed-in bookcase in the saloon mess, and one of the books that caught my eye was "The Iron Heel" by Jack London. I pointed out the book to Yussef and said: "This is a very good book."

THE "MASTERS"

"You want this book?" he said. "No. For you," I said. "Can you read English?" "Yes, I read."

"Well then, take this book and read it." Yussef smiled at my ignorance. "This book is not for me. Master don't like for me to take the books."

By "master" he meant the of-



icers. Though this was a Dutch ship they were the only Dutchmen aboard. The men who did the work were Indians.

Before long Yussef and I were deep in friendly conversation, discussing wages and conditions man to man, and he told me about his family back in Calcutta, his wife, his four children, his sister and her children, his mother and his in-laws—all of whom he was obliged to keep alive on ninety rupees a month, thirty dollars in our money, which is all his Dutch bosses paid him for twelve hours of work per day, seven days in the week.

Then the Dutch steward stepped into the saloon mess, and Yussef broke off a sentence and turned swiftly to his work, as if he had never had a word with me.

LIKEABLE FELLOW

The steward seemed to be a likeable fellow and we got acquainted. Before long he had me in his focsle, offered me a cushioned seat and a pack of cigarettes. Then he began to holler: "Boyl! Boyl!"

Yussef showed up instantly. "Coffee for two! Right away!"

In a moment Yussef brought coffee and sugar and cream. He set each item down with the utmost care, each in its proper place, down to the fraction of an inch. And I mean exactly that. Yussef noticed that my teaspoon was not set at a perfect right-angle with my body and very deftly he straightened it.

"You can go now," said the steward.

Yussef left. The steward and I sat there sipping coffee and talking over the world situation. "Do you know what will come next in Europe?" he asked. "I'll tell you what. Communism. The people in Europe won't stand it any more. You Americans don't know, but you can believe me, I have lived in Europe, all over

Europe, and you will see they will have a revolution over there. It will come from the trenches, that's where. Communism is born in the trenches."

"Your Queen Wilhelmina won't like that, will she?" I asked. "The Queen? Who thinks about the Queen? To hell with the Queen!"

"And what about the Dutch empire?"

WHAT RIGHT?

Here the steward lowered his voice impressively, trying hard to make me understand: "Look here, what right have we to this empire? None! These people don't like us, and they are right. They want their freedom, why shouldn't they have it? Take India. Now I've been for many years in India. These people are smart, they are cultured, they have wise traditions and philosophies. Why should the Britishers rule them? They don't like the British. Do you know how many people starved to death in the past two years right under the eyes of the Britishers? Ten million! Just think, ten million!"

"It seems to me," I said, "that what you want is a socialist world."

"And what is wrong with a socialist world? Boyl! Boyl!" Yussef came running.

"Take my uniform and give it a good brushing, and take my shoes, too."

Yussef obeyed and was about to leave the focsle when the steward called: "Boyl! Yussef turned around. "Give them a good brushing, I'm going out tonight. I'll be ready in half an hour."

MISERABLE HABITS

Yussef stood for an instant in the doorway, the uniform in one hand, the shoes in the other. He stood like an automaton, without feeling, without expression, without individuality. An hour before, when I chatted with him, he was a man, a person with forty-five years of living behind him. Now he was a "boyl!"

At that moment I wondered how many of us, American workers, who have fine ideas about freedom and equality—how many of us let the miserable capitalist habits hold sway over our daily lives, especially when we meet the colored worker.

Miners Thank SWP For Support To Wm. Patterson

CLEVELAND, O., Aug. 5 — The Cleveland Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, which passed a resolution demanding the pardon of William Patterson, first victim of the Smith-Connelly anti-strike law, has received a letter of thanks from Patterson's local union.

The letter, on the stationery of United Mine Workers' Local 2399, reads:

"The members of Local Union 2399, Richeyville, Pa. extend to you, the Socialist Workers Party, their thanks for assisting us in this fight to free a brother, William Patterson, who was unjustly dealt with under the Smith-Connelly Act. Thanking you again and hoping for his immediate pardon.

Joseph Zibuida
Recording Secretary

Briggs Local Aids Railroaded Miner

DETROIT, Mich., July 23 — Support for William Patterson, militant mine worker who was imprisoned as the first victim of the anti-labor Smith-Connelly Act, was voted yesterday by a



WILLIAM PATTERSON

membership meeting of Briggs Local 212, United Auto Workers, CIO.

The resolution, pointing to the danger for the whole labor movement in the imprisonment of Patterson, demands full and complete presidential pardon for him and calls for the repeal of the Smith-Connelly Act, as a "deadly menace to the most basic right of labor, the right to strike."

Copies of the resolution were directed to Patterson's local, UMW Local 2399, to the International Executive Board of the UAW, the CIO, and the press.

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

by CHARLES JACKSON

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

Negroes Need a Labor Party

The recent victory of the Labor Party in Britain serves to recall and to reemphasize the great stake that all workers, especially Negro workers, have in this country.

Sufficient time has now elapsed since the 1944 elections to verify the fact that neither of the major political parties deserved the support of the Negro workers. We have seen both Republicans and Democrats unite to kill the Fair Employment Practices Committee and then, ironically, "give" it enough money to have it carried to the graveyard and buried. In this war for profits which is supported by both parties we have seen the few token advancements given to Negroes overwhelmingly counter-balanced by terrorization of Negro soldiers by civilians and unjust convictions and sentences by the military.

STUDY THE RECORD

With the recent exposure of the falsity of the claim of "mixed units" having been opened up by Eisenhower on the European front, we are once again reminded that the vicious system of Jim Crow has been rigidly adhered to by the armed forces in the war for "democracy." Let the twenty-six Negro organizations which sent out a proclamation to both parties previous to the primaries again reconvene and study the record to see if either of the two major parties or any of their henchmen have fought in Congress to abolish segregated units in the Army — a prerequisite which they agreed was necessary if these parties were to deserve our support!

Moreover, both capitalist parties united to kill other progressive proposals and are now finding common ground in their plan to smash the unions and persecute the militant workers through the Ball-Burton-Hatch Bill.

The reason, of course, as has been pointed out all through the war by The Militant, that things happen this way is because no capitalist politician regardless of how good his intention may be can defy the pressure of the real owner of both parties, which is Big Business. Segregation and discrimination of Negroes, being in America a very necessary weapon for the employers in their effort to divide the workers and

set them against one other, will never be abolished as long as the government is in control of either the Republican or Democratic representatives of capitalism.

FEPC Folds Up In Deep South

The New Orleans regional office of the Fair Employment Practices Commission is going out of business. Whatever good it may have done is now completely erased. Colored workers are deprived of even the hope of government intervention in their favor. And in that area, they are subject to universal Jim Crow. "The FEPC is folding its tent in the deep south," as the N. Y. Times says, because of the big slicing the commission's budget took in the recent action of Congress.

The Stalinist Daily Worker hailed the new and smaller FEPC funds as a "victory for the rights of Negroes, Jews and Mexicans," etc. . . This is the fruit of one more Stalinist victory.

LABOR PARTY NEEDED

When we understand the economic basis of the phenomenon of racial hatred and racial oppression, we cannot fail to see how necessary is an American labor party based on the trade unions before we can take the first political step toward equality and inter-racial fraternity. We have seen what great advances the Negro worker has made in the field of wages because of the unions. Think what this union movement could do towards gaining concessions in the legal field if it extended its struggle to the political arena and ran its own candidates instead of helping elect "friends of labor" from the capitalist camp!

If we had a successful labor party here which would remove even heavy industry from the hands of the big profiteers we would be automatically striking a body blow at those ultra-reactionary forces which support the Hearst press, the poll-tax congressmen, the Ku Klux Klan and similar Negro-hating organizations. We would wipe out by this labor party victory those heavy industrialists who now plan to defeat the coming labor upsurge by imposing an American brand of fascism on all the people by setting up the Negro as a scapegoat who must be exterminated.

EVERYTHING TO GAIN

Therefore, for self-preservation, as well as for obtaining more of the good things in life, the Negro people have everything to gain by the formation and victory of a labor party in America. Negro workers often ask what they can do now in the struggle for Socialism which will bring ultimate equality. The fight for a labor party is a perfect answer to this urge. Of course, capitalism must be abolished and a socialist society constructed, but certainly a party of labor with even the limited goals of the British Labor Party would be a great step toward that goal.

The ones who must take the lead for the minorities so badly oppressed under the present system are the Negro trade unionists. Their job is to expose the betrayals of the two capitalist parties and call for the building of a real independent labor party. The time to start on this job is now.

victims. Hitler's best friends were the very Allied imperialists who now seek to impose a draconian "peace" on the German nation. Another of Hitler's good friends was Stalin, who helped Hitler to power by his betrayal of the German revolution.

A MILESTONE

It can be said with certainty that the carrying-up of Germany carried out by the "Big Three" in the name of "peace," will sow the dragon's teeth of more wars, just as did the Treaty of Versailles. With equal certainty it can be predicted that the workers of Germany and all Europe will not submit to the Allied regime of starvation and repression.

In its own way, and in due time, the Tripartite Conference of Berlin will appear as a milestone in the fight to end the brutal capitalist system and establish a Socialist United States of Europe.

Workers' BOOKSHELF

REPORT ON THE RUSSIANS. By W. L. White. Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1945. 309 pp. \$2.50.

White traveled with Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, on a much-publicized trip to the Soviet Union last year. His "report" has aroused a storm of criticism.

Actually, what is the quarrel about? It boils down to the question of what it is diplomatically correct to say about Stalinism at the present time. "Untimely... most inopportune" is the critics' theme. H. Hansen of the N. Y. World-Telegram deprecates it "at this delicate stage, when every American ought to consider himself a member of the State Department."

UNQUALIFIED ADULATION

Most indignant is the Stalinist officialdom in the Soviet Union. They have recovered from the panicky fear which drove them into their futile pact with Hitler. Filled with an arrogance based upon the great victories of the Red Army, they are in no mood for anything but unqualified adulation. White has allowed himself the sneering and condescending tone of the equally arrogant American Big Business class.

He loses no opportunity to sneer at "Communism." To compare living conditions, clothing and complexes in Moscow today, with United States conditions today, is proof enough for him that capitalism is best. He passes lightly over the terrible sacrifices of the Russian peasants and workers in the war. He thinks Leningrad and Stalingrad didn't suffer as much as London.

RESPECTS POWER

The Stalinists gave them a series of lavish banquets. In wartime Russia, ridden by famine, this ostentatious display of luxury is the mark of the privileged ruling caste. In their offices, their homes, their food and their clothing, these parasitic officials are described as having the best. Johnston and the others grew sick of champagne and caviar, endless meat and fish courses. Meanwhile, in the city streets and in the factories, they were struck by the sallow faces.

But White's superficial, middle-class mind has a great respect for people who have achieved per-

Kalugin motions to his men to stand by the rail, so that a couple of dancers won't accidentally whirl overboard. Johnston then tells White, "He looks after his people. A real leader always does that in any country. And he's one" (p. 244).

THE WORKERS DIED

In spite of the sufferings of the past quarter of a century, in spite of the tragedy of Stalinist misrule, the Russian workers and peasants believed that their system was worth dying for—and did so. With millions of their lives they ground down and destroyed the troops and allies of German capitalism.

White understands nothing of this kind of morale. He thinks geography, the size of Russia, won for them. He bitterly condemns their system of public ownership and praises the system of private profit. However, about Stalin.

"I happen to believe that Stalin is a great man, who has guided Russia with an instinctive wisdom" (p. 161).

Later on we see why. Because Stalin and his associates have turned against the demand of the working class for abolition of world capitalism.

Reviewed by Chris Andrews

NOTICE

The National Educational Department of the Socialist Workers Party is anxious to secure the following literature in English, German, French or Russian:

Theses of the first 3 congresses of the Communist International.

All copies of the magazine "The Communist International" of 1922 in which articles by Zinoviev appear.

Zinoviev's writings on the Italian Socialist Party, January-July 1920.

If you can give, loan or sell these to the National Office, please write to:

Charles Carsten
National Educational Director, SWP
116 University Place,
New York 3, N. Y.

CONQUERORS SLICE GERMANY INTO BITS

(Continued from page 1)

their equipment removed at will by the conquerors.

Paragraph 18 of the communique says that "payment of reparations should leave enough resources to enable the German people to subsist without external assistance." This is the future which has been arranged for the masses of Germany—subsistence level of living, or in other words, semi-starvation.

In addition to all this, German industry, which formed the heart of the economy of Europe, is to be placed in a straitjacket of strict control which can only result in lowering the already appallingly low living standards of the European people still further.

Not only is the production of arms, ammunition and other implements of war to be "prohibited and prevented," but the same is to apply to anything falling within the definition of "war potential." No ships or airplanes are to be produced. Production of metals, chemicals, machinery and other items that are directly necessary to a war economy shall be rigidly controlled and restricted to Germany's approved post-war peacetime needs. . . . Productive capacity not needed for permitted production shall be removed in accordance with the reparations plan recommended by the Allied Commission on Reparations and approved by the governments concerned, or if not removed, shall be destroyed."

SETTING THE LIMITS

The standard of living of the German people under this oppressive plan is clearly envisaged in the communique, which, while speaking about a "subsistence" level, declares that the economic strangulation of the country shall not go beyond limits "essential to maintain in Germany average living standards not exceeding the average of the standards of living of European countries. (European countries means all European countries excluding the United Kingdom and the USSR.)" When one considers that average living standards in Europe

even before the war were miserably low, it is not difficult to imagine what is in store for the German masses. The Allied conquerors, not content with having reduced Europe to a shambles, are now determined to push its peoples over the abyss of barbarism by artificially checking its economic recovery.

And once again there is to be a harrowing exodus of people from various countries because of redrawn boundaries. Germans who had settled in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary are to be uprooted and expelled. Forced back into a considerably narrowed Germany, they can only add to the country's economic difficulties. The Potsdam communique emphasizes, however, that these unfortunates are to be uprooted and expelled in "an orderly and humane manner."

LIE OF GERMAN GUILT

The predatory, bandit-like arrangements for Germany are, of course, predicated upon the hoary lie of the guilt of the whole German people for the frightful war in Europe. The Germans are to be humiliated, robbed and virtually enslaved so that, in the words of the communique, they may be convinced "that they have suffered a total military defeat and that they cannot escape responsibility for what they have brought upon themselves, since their own ruthless warfare and the fanatical Nazi resistance have destroyed German economy and made chaos and suffering inevitable."

On the very day the communique was issued, a United Press dispatch from Berlin stated that "nine out of ten Germans in the capital of the Third Reich insist that they were victimized by the Hitler regime and are not responsible." Every intelligent person knows this to be the essential truth. The mass opposition of the German working-class to Hitlerism, the heroic efforts of the German workers to prevent the Nazis from coming to power, is alone sufficient proof of the assertion. The German people in the mass were among Hitler's principal



FARRELL DOBBS

DOBBS HAILS VICTORY OF BRITISH LABOR

Following is the text of the speech delivered by Farrell Dobbs, Trotskyist candidate for Mayor of New York, at the meeting held in Webster Hall, New York, on August 3 and reported in this issue.

The British Labor Party's electoral victory is a world-shaking event. It will cause significant repercussions in America, and right here in New York City. A dramatic example has been set by the British working class for the workers of New York to follow in the city elections next November.

Workers in Britain and the United States face the same essential problems. Frozen wages, runaway prices and the black market have slashed deeply into their standard of living. Unemployment and a starvation dole loom grimly before the workers as war production is curtailed.

IGNORE WORKERS' NEEDS

Capitalist politicians in both Britain and America jealously guard only the interests of the profit-greedy bosses. Cynically they ignore the needs of the working class. At most they toss the workers a crumb, while fashioning new police measures for acts of repression against the toiling masses.

Whether it be a Churchill or an O'Dwyer or a Goldstein, this is their consistent, basic policy—rich swag for the bosses; crumbs and police clubs for the workers.

The British workers drew the correct conclusion from these facts. They forced their leaders to break the coalition with the capitalist politicians. They kicked Churchill out and swept the Labor Party into power.

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

The British Labor Party leaders are little different from our own particular brand of labor skates in this country. Attlee, Bevin and the rest, in coalition with the Tories, acted just as Murray and Green and Hillman and the Stalinists have been acting in this country. The difference between the political situation here and in Britain is that the British workers have forced their leaders to break with the capitalist politicians and have thus acted as an independent political force.

Here in New York there is also a labor party movement. But right now it is a very sick movement. It has been betrayed by its leaders. The Social Democrats and the Stalinists have split the New York labor party movement in an unprincipled struggle to dominate it.

Neither of these sets of traitors can attempt to justify their criminal actions by pretending to fight for real independent working class political action.

WHITEWASH GANGS

Because both the Stalinist-Hillman-dominated American Labor Party and the Social Democratic-controlled Liberal Party are supporting capitalist politicians in the New York City election, both of these sets of misleaders are lending a protective covering to the capitalists' vicious two-party system.

One gang tries to whitewash the Democratic political agents of Wall Street. The other gang tries to whitewash the Republican political agents of Wall Street. Nobody can win in this shell game but the capitalists. The workers are bound to lose.

How can the workers of New York break out of this strait-jacket of the capitalist two-party system? This is not merely a New York problem. It is a problem confronting the workers throughout the whole country. But how can the New York workers follow the inspiring example of the British workers when the labor party movement here presents them only capitalist candidates like O'Dwyer, Goldstein and the rest of that scurvy breed?

VOTE TROTSKYIST

There is an answer to these vital questions. There is a workers' political party with candidates in the New York City elections who do stand for independent working class political action; candidates who are campaigning on a program of full

New York Mass Meeting Hears Cannon Analysis Of C.P. "Turn"

(Continued from page 1) the Negroes whom they had deceived and betrayed into the war. They began to realize that if they wanted to stay in business as a bargaining agency for Stalin, they had better begin repairing their fences."

NON-ESSENTIAL ITEM

Evoking chuckles of merriment from the audience, Comrade Cannon continued: "And in the course of this, a little man named Browder, who was standing on the stairs, just wasn't there any more! The ostensible reason for the removal of Browder was the change of revisionism. But it was not revisionism. It was re-conversion—a setback to peace-time production. Browder happened to be a non-essential item. "Now Foster, who has been dug up out of the reserve pile to replace Browder, promises not to betray the workers any more. Yet Foster supports the same sell-out program of Browder. He supports the rule of monopoly capitalism. He supports their imperialist war. He wants to sell out the workers in 'unity' with their oppressors."

DOBBS ON ELECTIONS

This "sham battle" between Foster and Browder, said Comrade Cannon, "was staged to prevent the C. P. from becoming completely discredited, completely demoralized. But they are too late. The crimes of Stalin have gone too far and are too widely known. The workers of the world want a fundamental change. They will find their way to the Trotskyist movement and to socialism."

Farrell Dobbs, Trotskyist candidate for mayor in the coming New York elections, spoke on the British elections which have shaken every corner of the world including the U. S. He described the British Labor victory as an event that will leave its mark on the coming elections here in New York City next November. The British workers, he said, have set a dramatic example for the workers of New York to follow—to break with all capitalist parties and vote for independent labor candidates.

Native Fascism -- I

Reynolds -- Rich Candidate For America's "Fuehrer"

The recent activities of Gerald L. K. Smith in Los Angeles point unmistakably to the revival of native American fascism, under the conditions of growing economic and social crisis. In order to acquaint readers of The Militant with the origins of the fascist movement, the character of its leaders, its ramifications and connections, its methods of operation, and the class identity of its financial backers, Joseph Hansen has written a special series of articles, the first of which follows. Watch for the rest of the series in coming issues of The Militant. — Editor.

By Joseph Hansen

Even before the end of the Second World War for "democracy," native fascism is rearing its reptile head in America. In hibernation since the outbreak of the war, it is now beginning to thaw out its coils in the social heat radiated by mass layoffs. The fascist reptile is beginning to inch forward, baring its poisonous fangs at the Jews, the colored people and above all the labor movement.

In 1939, the fascist movement in the United States, arising in dozens of different groups, headed by a side-show assortment of local leaders, was beginning to coalesce about the black-robed figure of the radio priest, Father Coughlin. His importance now seems to be on the wane. His Canadian origin and his position in the Catholic hierarchy were political liabilities not easily overcome.

REYNOLDS AND SMITH

Forging ahead now as potential leaders of the fascist conglomeration are ex-Senator Robert R. Reynolds and Gerald L. K. Smith. In his Washington clip sheet for fascist publications, The Letter, Smith boasts:

"The Honorable Robert R. Reynolds and Gerald L. K. Smith are cooperating in the Nationalist cause. The rapid growth of the movement they lead is causing the Communist leadership of the nation no end of anxiety." In a "strictly personal letter" to "loyal supporters" Smith again affirms: "United States Senator Robert R. Reynolds has agreed to cooperate with us in the formation of a Nationalist Congressional Committee. Our conference with Senator Reynolds lasted almost a full afternoon. He has agreed to make a nation-wide speaking tour under our sponsorship early this fall."

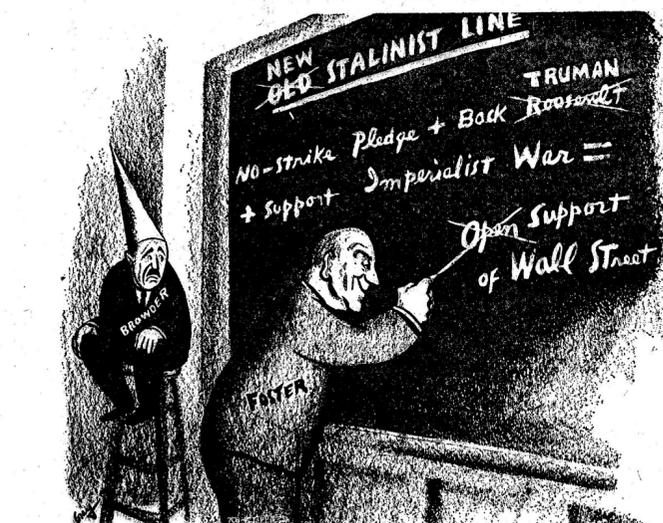
These two would-be fascist dictators constitute a dangerous combination. A NATURAL Robert R. Reynolds might be classified as a "natural" for the role of an American fascist leader. Born in Buncombe County, North Carolina, he absorbed the most virulent race hatred while still biting a teething ring. As a Barker in a carnival he grew leather lungs, an iron throat, a glib tongue, and the cynical contempt of a petty confidence man for the "suckers." As a patent-medicine pitchman he mastered additional secrets of successful demagoguery. He learned more of the art of performing in professional wrestling and in vaudeville. He then set up a skating rink. His next racket was a whirl in the military field as organizer of a company of the North Carolina National Guard.

Reynolds is skilled in law, having graduated from the University of North Carolina Law School. He learned the shady ins and outs of law from the practical side as State Prosecutor.

By 1932 he was so skilled as a spell-binder that he glad-handed his way into the Senate as a representative of the Southern Bourbon aristocracy. In 1938 the Bourbons sent him back to the Senate where he remained until 1944. He elbowed his way to the forefront among the defenders of white supremacy in Congress, becoming chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee.

This disciple of Dale Carnegie's soft-soap system of making friends and influencing people, proved bewitching to the socially-prominent Evelyn Walsh McLean, heiress to the fabulous Hope Diamond. With unlimited funds at his disposal as husband to this wealthy heiress, Reynolds rapidly rose in prominence among the native fascist groups.

It's Still the Same Answer



the workers of New York to follow—to break with all capitalist parties and vote for independent labor candidates.

Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidate for the New York City Council, pointed out that none of the capitalist party candidates, or their Labor and Liberal Party stooges, had any solution for the problems of the workers. She stated that in the

sharpening struggles of the workers against unemployment, discrimination and misery "only the Socialist Workers Party emerges as champion of the working class, through independent political action."

A collection of \$200 was contributed to aid in the election campaign. The meeting ended with the enthusiastic singing of "The Internationale."



REYNOLDS

The Vindicator. In its first issue an article appeared defending the Madison Square Garden meeting of native fascists and the German American Bund and targeted the Trotskyists for attack. The article protested "a disgraceful scene" connected with the counter demonstration called by the Trotskyists. The "disgraceful scene," said the article, was caused by the "Socialist Workers Party, Young People's Socialist League, the Communist Party, the Associated Jewish Societies, the CIO, and such crap."

By June, 1944 when he announced his retirement from the Senate, Reynolds envisaged grandiose plans for the postwar world. He announced formation of the American Nationalist Committee of Independent Voters which "would stand against the present powerful attempt to submerge the United States in internationalism."

Local units of this Committee soon appeared in various cities. In Newark, the unit organizers, Elmer Jacobs and John A. Gillmeier, were both exposed as having a police record. Reynolds' henchmen at the very beginning thus parallel the criminal types first employed by Mussolini and Hitler.

Reynolds has, since then, dropped part of the name of his organization and calls it the American Nationalist Party. It has not yet been officially launched. In a prospectus entitled "Here's How You Can Become a Political Leader in Your District," Reynolds declares:

LAUNCHING SCHEDULED

"At the present time it is the intention of those in charge of national affairs of the party to launch it officially at Washington, D. C. on July 4, 1945; however, this may be deferred until Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1946. This official meeting for the purpose of formally launching the party... will depend largely upon the end of the pres-

ent war. At any rate, the party will be launched in time ample to participate in the Congressional elections of 1946."

The sinister purpose of this party may be judged from a few of Reynolds' utterances before the outbreak of the war. He had this to say about Hitler:

"Hitler went over and took land in the way that sometimes the boys in Texas and North Carolina used to move a fence with the aid of a shotgun instead of doing it legally by way of a surveyor — that's all that Hitler did."

Reciprocating Reynolds' admiration, Hitler published a signed article by Reynolds in his personal organ, Volkischer Beobachter.

This exchange of compliments serves to illustrate Reynolds' fascist cast of mind. Right now Reynolds is organizing in the following way:

HOW THEY ORGANIZE

"The committee is organizing on a unit basis. In every community of the United States there will be organized units consisting of ten people only. This number is restricted to ten for the reason that in a unit of ten members only, every member of that unit will be acquainted with his fellow unit members. With only ten members to the unit, meetings may be held in the home of one of the members. . . If the number permitted in the unit is more than ten, the chances are that some subversive elements would worm their way into the unit and begin to bore from within, as was experienced by the old America First Committee."

Official organ of Reynolds party is The National Record. At present it follows the slogan: "Join the National Party NOW! Don't wait to Get on the Bandwagon Later!"

That this is a fascist bandwagon is indicated even by the poetry printed in The National Record. Thus a poem entitled "Minority Rule" begins:

"A boisterous minority Has silenced now and then, A peaceful majority Of abler, wiser men. . ."

WANTED

The Militant needs a set of the Encyclopaedia Britannica for the reference library of the editorial department. Will anyone willing to donate such a set please communicate with:

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BOSS PARTIES RUN "CIRCUS," SAYS SIMPSON

Following is the text of the speech delivered on Aug. 3 by Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidate for City Council, at the Socialist Workers Party meeting held at Webster Hall.

American political campaigns have been described in the past as circus performances. This election contest in New York is certainly demonstrating the truth of this description. While the major political parties dodge the real issues with all the skill and dexterity of acrobats, their candidates rush about like clowns conducting sham fights.

Behind this game of burlesque politics the machine politicians are attempting to hide the fact that this election is one of the most important in the history of New York. A great depression is looming on the horizon and will sweep through the country like a plague. Skyrocketing prices, terrific taxes and frozen wages cut like a knife into the workers' standard of living. An increasing black market is making a farce of the rationing system.

WORKERS' BURDENS

Added to these burdens, mass lay-offs are increasing with wage-cuts on the way. Govern-



LOUISE SIMPSON

ment strike-breaking is used daily to break labor's efforts to maintain a decent standard of living. In the midst of these struggles hundreds of thousands of workers and returning veterans will find, not sixty million jobs, but unemployment and peacetime conscription!

What do the Democratic and Republican parties in New York offer the workers as solutions to these vital problems? Nothing! They have no perspective but still another war — World War III, and, in the meantime, breadlines. With no plans for reconversion, no plans for housing, no plans for jobs, they conduct this election campaign as a smoke-screen to cover up their political bankruptcy. The A.L.P. and Liberal Party are doing nothing to lead the workers along the path of independent political action. On the contrary, they are busily trying to tie the workers to the old corrupt capitalist parties.

In this election the Socialist Workers Party — the Trotskyists — emerges as the leading champion of independent working class political action. In our program we demand full employment through the continued operation of all government-built plants under workers' control. We stand for the full equality of Negroes and other minorities. Down with Jim Crow everywhere! We demand full recognition of the rights of veterans. "Tax the Rich, not the Poor!" is our slogan and we mean it! Any worker who wants to register his vote for independent working-class political action can do so by voting Trotskyist in this election.

Vote Trotskyist!

In the Coming New York Elections

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

FULL EMPLOYMENT AND JOB SECURITY FOR ALL WORKERS AND VETERANS!

Wall Street politicians promised 60,000,000 jobs after the war. But even before the return of millions of men in the armed forces, unemployment is growing by leaps and bounds. To provide jobs for everyone, institute a sliding scale of hours! Spread the work by reducing the number of hours each man spends on the job—but with no reduction in take-home pay!



By V. Grey

Sometimes you'd think Breezy was just hopeless. I remember once he was sounding off about Negroes. They weren't good enough to drink with, he said, and a whole lot of other things.

Our shop is practically Jim Crow, (because of the company's policy, not the union's). But the union doesn't fight hard enough to compel the company to hire without discrimination.

A couple of us were plugging this idea to Breezy, and using every argument in the book.

But Breezy couldn't see it. He was buying a house over in the "good" section of town, and he was sore because a couple of Negro families were buying in there, too. "Sure, they're just as good as we are," he admitted. But "that's gonna make my property go down."

Well, hell, we told him, one minute he says Negroes like to live in filthy old firetraps and the next minute he's sore because they want to get a few inches ahead like he does and have a decent home for their kids. That doesn't make sense, we told him.

But he didn't care if it made sense or not. He wasn't going to have his kids brought up playing with colored kids, and so on.

Why Labor Unity is Essential

We tried to show him where it would be cutting our own throats if our shop didn't take on Negroes (this was when the plant was still hiring). The colored workers would think it was our fault they were kept out, and if there was a strike maybe some of them would figure this was their chance to get a job here, and why should they worry about us if we didn't worry about them?

Breezy didn't have any answer to that. But don't get the idea that it made much of an impression. Breezy's not the thinking type. Breezy's just a union man who learns by experience and even then you wouldn't believe he did, to talk to him.

But we don't worry too much about Breezy. In the long run he's going to be on the right side of the fence. And here's how we know:

A month or so after that conversation, we had a plant-wide strike. Two fellows in another shop in the plant were demoted for union activity. This particular shop was mixed as far as races go. The chances were at least fifty-fifty the two men were colored. In fact, somebody told us later that they were.

But when our shop went out, nobody asked who the two men were, what they looked like, or what color their skin was. Everybody quit work, that's all. And Breezy was the first one out the door.

Congressmen At Work

By Joseph Hansen

The July 21 Congressional Record, reports the following discussion in the House of Representatives:

"Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. . . I am told by men who wear the artificial legs at Walter Reed Hospital that. . . they come into Washington sometimes, and those legs are broken and they have fallen. . . Some say the artificial legs get after they are discharged from the Army are more satisfactory to some than the ones they secure from the Army. Some like the ones they secure from the Veterans' Administration better. After all, it is very much an individual matter. . ."

"Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. I may say to the gentleman from Massachusetts and to the House that for 11 years now I have had to make friends with two artificial limbs, and I think I know something about some of the difficulties men face when they first lose a limb. They have to adjust themselves, adjust their thinking. Many times they feel that they are whipped and are unable to get along. . ."

Cheap Limbs for Veterans

"My contact out at the hospital made me feel that they were cutting too many corners and having individuals perhaps make limbs who were not entirely familiar with some of the finer aspects of limb making."

"Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. It is very much of an individual matter just as is the case with shoes."

"Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Exactly."

"Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. A pair of shoes that would fit the gentleman would not fit me; and vice versa."

"Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. You must individualize your limb. Out there they try to turn them out on a factory mass-production style; but it is a matter that must be adjusted to the individual if the artificial arm or limb is to give its best service."

"Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. . . I assume the gentleman agrees with me that no artificial limb has ever been created that is entirely satisfactory. I understand, however, some very advanced experimentation is being conducted in England, and I trust in this country. Is that correct?"

"Mr. MILLER of Nebraska: Yes; that is true; they are doing a great deal in that field. . . More of it should be done. It is a great field that can be developed. . ."

"Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. . . As we all know some of the men today are wearing hooks for hands. They are very simple of production. It is simply an elastic wound around and on hooks. . ."

"Mr. SPRINGER (of Indiana). . . In my opinion, surgery will develop in the artificial hands and limbs field some outstanding developments in the near future. I certainly want to compliment the gentleman from Massachusetts for the interest she is manifesting in this very important question. . ."

The Congresswoman is 'Astounded'

"Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. . . It is astounding that nothing has been done to perfect an artificial hand or that more has not been done about it up to this time. Perhaps it is because the manufacturers have not been interested and have not done anything and the public has not realized that so much should be done. They may have felt it was a very difficult task and have just given it up."

Naturally the gentleman of Massachusetts had no concrete legislation to place before Congress. Along with the rest, she took a two-months' vacation without doing anything further on the matter.

It is not at all "astounding," as she maintains, that the "manufacturers have not been interested and have not done anything" about helping maimed veterans. The manufacture of bullets and bombs is much more profitable than the manufacture of artificial limbs. If Congress really wanted to help the maimed veterans it would not wait until manufacturers find the "field" profitable, but would immediately provide adequate funds to give these veterans the very best science can produce.

Most important of all—if these Congressmen were really interested in the fate of mankind; instead of shedding sentimental tears over the poor quality of artificial limbs, they would fight tooth and nail to end the basic cause of imperialism war and its horrors—the decaying capitalist system.

SWP International Solidarity Fund Campaign Forging Ahead

By FARRELL DOBBS

International Solidarity Fund

SCOREBOARD

BRANCH	Quota	Paid	Percent
Buffalo	\$125	\$125	100
Reading	25	25	100
St. Louis	25	25	100
Pittsburgh	25	20	80
Newark	100	71	71
Rochester	15	10.25	68
Allentown-Quakertown	60	40	67
Los Angeles	750	475	63
San Francisco	375	232	62
Milwaukee	30	18	60
Philadelphia	125	63.50	51
Bayonne	100	47	47
Detroit	400	164	41
Twin Cities	250	100	40
Boston	125	45	36
Chicago	500	178	36
Toledo	100	31	31
Cleveland	75	22	29
Seattle	350	100	29
Youngstown	85	20	24
New York	1000	227	23
Members-at-Large and Friends	245	32	13
Akron	75	0	0
N. Y. Youth Group	15	0	0
San Diego	25	0	0
TOTAL	\$5,000	2,070.75	41

Campaign Director

St. Louis is the third branch to complete its quota in the \$5,000 International Solidarity Fund campaign. The Buffalo and Reading branches of the Socialist Workers Party are also in the 100 per cent group.

An additional eight branches, headed by Pittsburgh with a score of 80 per cent have passed the half-way mark at the end of the third week of the fund campaign. A total of \$2,070.75 has been raised to date, bringing the over-all score up to 41 per cent.

FROM THE BRANCHES

The SWP is raising the \$5,000 International Solidarity Fund to provide urgently-needed aid to our Trotskyist co-thinkers in the war-torn countries.

PHILADELPHIA: "At the last meeting of the Philadelphia

Vote Trotskyist!

In the Coming New York Elections

Among other important issues, the Socialist Workers Party Election Platform advocates: A SOCIALIST SOCIETY!

Only a planned world economy can end capitalist wars and depressions. Vote against postwar hunger and misery! Vote against the profit system! Vote against a Third World War!

Vote for revolutionary socialism! Vote for the Trotskyist candidates! Vote for Dobbs and Simpson!

tional information and reservations write:

Janice Martin, Director
WEST-COAST VACATION SCHOOL
232 S. Hill St., Room 205
Los Angeles 12, California
or phone VAndyke 7936 in Los Angeles.

Socialist Youth Group we decided to raise \$10 to aid the European revolutionists, as part of the \$5,000 Solidarity Fund."

NEW YORK, from a subscriber: "I am enclosing a \$2 contribution for the International Solidarity Fund. My very best wishes for your success."



GRACE CARLSON

Carlson Tells Workers: 'Organize Labor Party'

LOS ANGELES, Calif., Aug. 3—"Organize a Labor Party," was Grace Carlson's answer to newspapermen who questioned her today on what American unions should do. "The overwhelming victory of the British Labor Party in the recent elections is an inspiration and example for the American workers and middle classes."

"The Democratic and Republican Parties," she continued, "are incapable of solving any of the postwar problems of jobs, security, homes, and world peace. Only a workers' and farmers' government that will plan production according to need and not for profit can answer the deep-going problems of our modern society. Capitalism is no longer progressive and can only bring further misery to the world if not replaced by socialism, which is the only economic system that can prevent further wars, fascism and depressions."

One newspaperman asked if this change could come about peacefully. Dr. Carlson referred him to the testimony in the Minneapolis trial where the Trotskyist position was given.

She said that America's 60 families would attempt to resort to a fascist dictatorship and the use of force and violence to prevent a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

"But the American workers, farmers and war veterans will know how to defend themselves and their organizations. The united strength of the overwhelming majority of the American people will prevail," she concluded.

crime, are prosecuted, convicted and jailed by this same Biddle," she pointed out.

Many "experts" draw good salaries in writing about poverty, disease, discrimination, as causes of crime. "Most people understand this," Dr. Carlson stated, "but what is necessary is for something to be done about it. The SWP offers the only solution to the problem, the organization of society on a socialist basis with production and distribution planned for the needs of the people and not the profits of the capitalists," she concluded.

"Gerald L. K. Smith is no crack-pot, Murray Weiss pointed out in his remarks on the SWP anti-fascist campaign. When Smith first appeared in Los Angeles, the Stalinists, union leaders and heads of the minority groups, followed a hush-hush policy. This policy suited Smith, his meetings grew in size, he became bolder in his anti-union, anti-Jewish, anti-minorities propaganda.

"The SWP from the beginning set itself the task of arousing the labor movement and the minority groups to this fascist danger. Telegrams, press releases, resolutions in the unions, thousands of leaflets, called for united action.

"The united front which has been established in Los Angeles makes labor history. For the first time in the U. S., the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods are banded together with the minority groups to struggle against fascism."

GRACE CARLSON'S TOUR SCHEDULE

CITY	DATE
San Francisco	Fri. to Sun. Aug. 10-12
Portland	Mon. Tues. Aug. 13-14
Seattle	Wed. to Fri. Aug. 15 to 17
Missoula	Sunday Aug. 19
Plentywood	Tues. Aug. 21
Twin Cities	August 22

Fourth International

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First-Hand Report On Victory Of British Labor In Elections

Special to THE MILITANT

LONDON, July 26—As the first results started coming in today, it soon became obvious that the Tories were in for a major defeat in the first election in Britain in ten years. But the final results that came through surpassed the expectations of the most optimistic.

This election has been fought by all the filthy tricks that the Tories dared to muster, including thinly-disguised anti-Semitism, a "socialist gestapo" scare, and a "violence" scare.

The overwhelming majority of the press was Tory. The only national daily newspaper that gave wholehearted support to the Labor Party was its official organ. The Labor Party had no evening paper.

TORY CONFIDENCE

On voting day the Tories were supremely confident of at least a 50-seat majority, and didn't hesitate to broadcast this in their press. As the day of the counting of the votes drew nearer, however, their self-confidence seemed to wane somewhat and their boasts were considerably toned down. The shock that they received on hearing of the final success of the Labor Party is only too clear.

The people of Britain have demonstrated in no small way how sick and tired they are of Tory reaction at home and abroad, and there can be no doubt that the Labor victory will give strength and courage to our comrades on the continent, particularly in Spain, Greece and Italy.

However, in Britain today there are very few illusions concerning the present Labor leaders. Most of the workers are skeptical as to whether the Attlee-Bevin-Morrison triumvirate will be much more successful than the Churchill-Eden set-up. The attitude of

most people is that they voted for the bad against the worst.

For all that, the Labor Party is the party of the working class and the trade unions, and as such the most politically-educated section of the people gave it their critical support. Their attitude was that just as reformism had failed in the past, so it must, by the very nature of its construction, let the workers down in the future. But they, the most politically-conscious workers, would experience the hopes and disappointments of the proletariat and join with them in their struggle; and, wherever possible, attempt to lead them along the path to socialism.

CRITICAL SUPPORT

Had the left-wing parties pronounced such a policy, acting as the vanguard of the labor movement, the effect would have been tremendous. As it was, apart from the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist), no party put forward such a programme.

The Communist (Stalinist) Party, which had been even to the right of the Labor Party, had, prior to the Labor Party's conference at Blackpool this year, advocated a "progressive" government, intending to ask Churchill and Eden to join it. The



ATTLEE

"Communists," who had one member of Parliament in the last House, put 21 candidates in the field. Of these, their solitary M.P. retained his seat and only one other gained a seat — although they had anticipated a return of four or five M.P.'s. Quite a number of "communist" candidates lost their deposits, as any candidate who fails to poll one-eighth of the total votes, or one-tenth of those constituencies with more than three candidates, must forfeit his deposit.

Today the British working class has struck a grand blow for its own emancipation. But this is only the beginning. It must go forward, confident in its own strength, to establish a Socialist Britain.

WEST COAST VACATION SCHOOL ENROLLS "MILITANT" READERS

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 6—The inspiring reports reaching the West Coast of the enjoyable and successful program of the Mid-West Vacation School have added new enthusiasm to the plans for the West-Coast Summer School, which opens Sept. 10.

Enrollment has proceeded at a rapid pace, with Militant readers registered from Los Angeles, Seattle, San Francisco and Portland. Everyone has commented satisfactorily on the reasonable rates and the excellent facilities which will be provided.

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

Fourth Internationals, History of the Russian Revolution, Imperialism, and Lectures on Marxist Philosophy. A well-stocked Marxist Library will be available for reference and reading.

For leisure hours, there will be facilities for sports—swimming, tennis, basketball, ping-pong, baseball. Picnic grounds, a park, and a recreation hall which will be the center for evening entertainment and dancing, assure fun for all.

All Militant readers are invited to attend the West-Coast School which is to be held from Sept. 10 to Sept. 23 at the Workmen's Circle Camp in Carbon Canyon, San Bernardino County, 32 miles east of Los Angeles. For addi-

The History Of American Trotskyism

In previous installments of his book, Comrade Cannon described the emergence of the Communist Party out of the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1919. After four years of underground life, it became a legal party in 1923, active in trade unions. Factional struggles began between the proletarian and petty-bourgeois tendencies within the party, culminating in the expulsion of the proletarian left wing for "Trotskyism," October 27, 1928. The birth of American Trotskyism gave impetus to struggling groups of left oppositionists in other countries. 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. To defend their meetings, it was necessary for the Trotskyists to organize workers' defense guards. This is the twelfth installment of Cannon's book.

The following Friday, I think it was, the Stalinists decided to take revenge on the Hungarian group for their inability to break up the May Day meeting as instructed. The Hungarian comrades were holding a closed meeting—eight or ten people quietly transacting the ordinary business of a branch. Among those present were the Communist veteran, Louis Basky, a man of about 50, and his aged father, a man about 80, who was a militant partisan of his son and of the Trotskyist movement. Several women comrades were there. Suddenly the hall was raided by a gang of Stalinist hoodlums. They rushed right in and began beating both the women and men, including old man Basky. Our comrades grabbed chairs or chair legs and defended themselves as best they could. At a stage in the bloody fight, one of those present, a woodworker by profession, who had one of the tools of his trade in his pocket, saw a couple of these hoodlums beating the old man. He went berserk when he saw that and went to work on one of the pair. They carried the Stalinist thug to the hospital. He stayed there three weeks, the doctors uncertain whether he was going to pull out of it or not.

That put a stop to the attacks on our meetings. The Stalinists had brought things near a terrible tragedy and scandalization of the whole Communist movement. They became convinced that we would not surrender our right to meet and speak, that we would stand up and fight, that they could not break us up. Thereafter there were only isolated instances of violence against us. We did not win our free speech from the Stalinist gangsters by a change of heart on their part but by our determined and militant defense of our rights.

New Members and Sympathizers Are Gained

Meanwhile we gained new members and sympathizers because of the fight we were putting up. We were only a handful of people, and all the weapons of slander and ostracism and violence were brought to bear against us. But we stood our ground. By one means or another we brought out our paper regularly. We came back stronger after every fight, and this attracted sympathy and support. Many of the radical people in New York, sympathizers of the Communist Party, and even some members, would come to our meetings to help protect them in the interests of free speech. They were attracted by our fight, by our courage, and revolted by the methods of the Stalinists. They would then start reading our material and studying our program. We began to win them over one by one, and to make political converts to Trotskyism out of them. So we can say that the very first nucleus of American Trotskyism was recruited in the fire of a real struggle. Week by week month by month, we built these little groups in various cities, and soon we had the skeleton of a national organization.

HOW THE COMMUNIST LEFT OPPOSITION WAS ORGANIZED IN THE UNITED STATES

By James P. Cannon

The Militant was coming out every two weeks; how, I couldn't tell you now, and I wouldn't want to have the financial assignment of doing it over again. We did it with the help of loyal friends. By one means and another we did it, at the cost of rather heavy sacrifices. But these sacrifices were nothing compared to the intellectual and spiritual compensation we derived from getting out our paper, spreading our message and feeling that we were worthily carrying out the great mission that had been thrust upon us.

In all this time we had no contact with Comrade Trotsky. We didn't know whether he was dead or alive. There were reports of his being sick. We never dared to hope that we would ever see him or have any direct contact with him. Our only connection with him was that document I brought back from Moscow, and other documents we later received from the European groups. In issue after issue of The Militant we began to publish, one after another, the various documents and theses of the Russian Left Opposition covering the whole period, from 1924 to 1929. We broke the blockade against the ideas of Trotsky and his co-workers in Russia.

News Comes of Trotsky's Deportation

Then in the early spring of 1929 a few months after our expulsion, the press of the world was rocked by the announcement that Trotsky was being deported from Russia. This announcement didn't say where he would be sent. Day after day the press was full of all kinds of speculative stories, but no information as to his whereabouts. This continued for a week or more. We hung in suspense not knowing whether Trotsky was dead or alive, until finally the news came through that he had landed in Turkey. We established our first contact with him there in the spring of 1929, four or five months after we started the movement in his name and on the basis of his ideas. I wrote him a letter; we soon received an answer. Thereafter, except for the time he was interned in Norway, until the day of his death, we were never without the most intimate contact with the founder and inspirer of our movement.

On February 15, 1929, not quite four months after our expulsion, as the Communist Party was preparing its national convention, we published the "Platform" of our faction—a complete statement of our principles and our position on the questions of the day, national and international. To compare this platform with the resolutions and theses that we, as well as other factions, used to write in the internal national faction fights, is to see what an abyss separates people who have acquired an international theoretical outlook from national-minded factionalists fighting in a restricted area. Our platform began with our declaration of principles on an international scale, our view of the Russian question, our position on the great theoretical questions at the bottom of the fight in the Russian party—the question of socialism in one country. From there our platform proceeded to national questions, to the trade union question in the United States, to the detailed problems of party organization, etc. For the first time in the long drawn-out faction fight in the American Communist movement a really rounded international Marxist document was thrown into the arena. That

was the result of adherence to the Russian Left Opposition and its program.

We printed this platform in The Militant, first as our proposal to the convention of the Communist Party, because although expelled we maintained our position as a faction. We didn't run away from the party. We didn't start another one. We turned back to the party membership and said: "We belong to this party, and this is our program for the party convention, our platform." Naturally, we didn't expect the bureaucrats to permit us to defend it in the convention. We didn't expect them to adopt it. We were aiming at the Communist rank and file. It was this line, this technique, which gave us our approach to the rank and file members of the Communist Party. When Lovestone, Foster and Company said to them: "These fellows, these Trotskyists, are enemies of the Communist International; they want to break up the party," we could show them it wasn't so. Our answer was: "No, we are still members of the party, and we are submitting a platform for the party that will give it a clearer principled position and a better orientation." In this way we kept our contact with the best elements in the party. We refuted the slander that we were enemies of Communism and convinced them that we, ourselves, were its loyal defenders. By this means we first gained their attention and eventually recruited many of them, one by one, into our group.

On March 19, I see by my notes, we held a meeting in the Labor Temple to protest the deportation of Trotsky from the Soviet Union. At the height of the world sensation created by this news we called a mass meeting here in this Labor Temple with Cannon, Abern and Shachtman advertised as speakers. We protested against this infamy and again declared in public our solidarity with Trotsky.

Under the date of May 17, 1929 The Militant carried the call for the first National Conference of the Left Opposition in the United States. The main task of this conference, as announced in the call and subsequent pre-conference articles, was to adopt the platform. This platform, which Cannon, Abern and Shachtman had drawn up and submitted to the Communist Party as a draft, became the draft of a platform for our organization, submitted to our first conference.

The Russian Question Dominates

Another task of the conference was further to clarify our ranks as to our position on the Russian question. If you study the history of American Bolshevism from 1917 to the present day, you will find that at every juncture, at every critical occasion, at every turn of events, it was the Russian question that dominated the dispute. It was the Russian question that determined the allegiance of people, whether revolutionary or reformist, from 1917 up to the split in the Socialist Party in 1919. At the time of the expulsion of the Trotskyists in 1928; in the innumerable fights we had with the various factions and groups in the course of our own development, up to our fight with the petty-bourgeois opposition in the Socialist Workers Party in 1939 and 1940—the overriding issue was

always the Russian question. It was dominant every time because the Russian question is the question of the proletarian revolution. It is not the abstract problem of a prospective revolution; it is the question of the revolution itself, one that actually took place and still lives. The attitude toward that revolution today, as yesterday, and as in the beginning, is the decisive criterion in determining the character of a political group.

We had to clarify that question at our first conference, because no sooner had we been expelled and begun to fight the Stalinist bureaucracy, then all kinds of people wanted to join us on one little condition: that we turn our backs on the Soviet Union and on the Communist Party and build an anti-Communist organization. We could have recruited hundreds of members in the first days had we accepted that condition.

There were others who wanted to abandon the idea of functioning as a faction of the Communist Party and proclaim a completely independent Communist movement. The task of our conference was also to clarify that issue. Shall we start a new independent party and renounce any future work in the CP, or shall we continue to declare ourselves a faction? That question had to be answered decisively.

Another problem referred to the first National Conference was the nature and form of our national organization, and the election of our national leaders. Up to that time "The Three Generals" had functioned as the leadership simply by virtue of the fact that they had started the fight. That was a good enough certificate to begin with: those who take the initiative become leaders of an action by a higher law than any referendum. But this could not continue indefinitely. We recognized that it was necessary to have a conference and to elect a leading committee. We were fortunate enough to receive Comrade Trotsky's answer to our communication in time for this conference. His answer, as all of his letters, as all of his articles, was permeated with political wisdom. His friendly advice helped us in solving our problems.

Representation at the Conference

The Militant reports that 31 delegates and 17 alternates from 12 cities attended the first conference of the American Trotskyists, representing a total of about 100 members throughout the country. The conference was held in Chicago in May 1929. You can see from the figures I have cited that nearly half of the members of our young organization came as delegates or alternates to form this historic conference. It met in a spirit of unanimity, enthusiasm and unbounded confidence in our great future. The very first preparation we made was the practical one of protecting the conference against Stalinist hoodlums. The whole delegation, a total of 48, were all enlisted in the army of self-defense. If the Stalinists had attempted to interfere with that conference they would have been given a good answer for their pains. But they decided to leave us alone and we convened for days in peace.

Let me repeat. There were 31 delegates and 17 alternates from 12 cities, representing approximately 100 members in our national organization. We called ourselves The Communist League of America, Left Opposition of the Communist Party. We were sure we were right. We were sure that our program was correct. We went from that conference with the confident assurance that the whole future development of the regenerated Communist movement in America, up to the time the proletarian takes power and begins organizing the socialist society, would trace its origin to that first National Conference of the American Trotskyists at Chicago in May 1929.

(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.

Letter from England

Editor: I just came across a copy of your paper in London recently (as far as I know at the only shop that sells it) and was interested to read something of American labor.

I have had the opportunity of speaking to many American servicemen during the war and have found them eager to learn about British politics but sadly ignorant of their own. The average Britisher is, I believe, equally ignorant and has the disadvantage of having policies and facts blurred by tradition.

It is indeed encouraging to read a newspaper "published in the interests of the working people." I should be pleased if you would be good enough to send me a few details.

I repeat, I know little of American politics, but I feel that the trade unions and left parties are far stronger in Britain. No Ford atrocities could possibly occur over here.

John L. Lewis' union is perhaps more powerful than our coal union. It is important to remember, however, that the important unions here are affiliated to the British Labor Party. The Labor Party obviously represents the majority of the working people, although perhaps the more sincere workers are in the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, etc.

The Labor Party has no immediate socialist policy because the tradition of the British people insists on gradual change and the party would stand no chance of obtaining power democratically with a more extreme policy. To obtain power undemocratically is impossible at the moment, for conditions are not bad enough to arouse the antipathy of the workers to the extent of sparking a revolution.

In my mind it is the duty of the more ambitious Left parties to make sure that the Labor Party carries out its policy of nationalization, and to take the power from the Labor Party if it fails to extend its socialist policy further.

In your paper you appear to infer that the Labor Party has betrayed or will betray the workers. The large majority of the Labor Party members are members of trade unions, paying the political levy, and it is their delegates who, together with local branch delegates, decide the poli-

A Word to Our Correspondents

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

THE EDITOR

It is indeed encouraging to read a newspaper "published in the interests of the working people." I should be pleased if you would be good enough to send me a few details.

I repeat, I know little of American politics, but I feel that the trade unions and left parties are far stronger in Britain. No Ford atrocities could possibly occur over here.

John L. Lewis' union is perhaps more powerful than our coal union. It is important to remember, however, that the important unions here are affiliated to the British Labor Party. The Labor Party obviously represents the majority of the working people, although perhaps the more sincere workers are in the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, etc.

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anti-labor and pro-capitalist character more openly. During the coal strikes the most "real" of the liberals such as the newspaper PM, viciously attacked the miners.

But, this does not make them fake, or "so-called" liberals. It merely exposes the real anti-labor role of liberalism. To speak in such case of "so-called" liberals means to refurbish its tarnished reputation. Let us no longer hear this phrase, which only helps along the deception that "real" liberalism is pro-labor.

S. Ryan
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Negro Soldiers

Editor: Readers of The Militant will be interested in a letter by a white soldier from Mississippi, which shows how anti-Negro prejudice has been breaking down in the Army despite all the efforts of the Brass Hats to keep the fires of race hatred smoldering. The letter, of which I enclose a copy, appeared in a recent issue of "Yank," the Army weekly.

EWY
New York City

I received a copy of your magazine and read that the AMG is letting the Germans go back to school. After that I read in "Mail Call" about the Jim Crow treatment of colored American soldiers.

Now I am from Mississippi. Until I came into the Army I hated Negroes. It wasn't anything they did to me; I just didn't like them. Since I have been in the ETO I have fought from D-Day to V-E-Day with Negro soldiers. I was wounded twice in one foxhole and a Negro saved my life by using his first aid kit on me. Then he carried me to where a doctor could work on me. This was under heavy fire. Later he died. He was from New York and he knew I was from the south where he had no freedom.

Many Negro soldiers have died on the front for American soldiers who thought Jim Crow was right. Why not let the Negro race have what they fought for. I feel that they should, and a lot of southern GI's feel the same way.

T/Sgt. Willie Jones
Somewhere in Germany

What happens when the workers decide to use their only weapons and go on strike? The liberal opposes the strike as a breach of class peace and harmony. If the workers persist in their struggle, the liberal grows harsher in his denunciation and shows his real

WIN AN ORIGINAL LAURA GRAY CARTOON!

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

Three originals of these feature cartoons, personally inscribed to the winners by the cartoonist, will be awarded for the three best names submitted. First choice of the originals will go to the first-place winner; second choice to the second-place winner; third choice to the third-place winner. In case of ties, all who submit winning names will receive an original feature cartoon, by Gray.

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

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

Veterans and Fascism

The suggestion that a regular column in The Militant be directed toward the returning servicemen, and a discussion of their problems, has been raised in a number of letters in the "Workers' Forum."

In some of the published letters, the idea appears that in the veterans' section of the population lies the future nucleus of the American fascist organization. This idea is implied in some and explicit in others.

While it is, no doubt, true that the European fascist organizations had their proportionate numbers of veterans of World War I, there were equal if not greater numbers of veterans registered in the Communist parties and the Socialist parties in Germany, Italy, France, England, Spain, and other countries. An examination of the composition of the fascist parties abroad would clear this point up quickly.

More truly, we can say that the future nucleus of fascism in the United States lies in the declassed petty bourgeoisie, which has flocked into the ranks of the working class and armed forces due to the tremendous acceleration of the concentration of capital because of the war, the expansion of heavy industry at the expense of light consumer industry, and the pressure of capitalist economy — especially true in war time — in destroying small business for the benefit of monopolistic development. The petty-bourgeoisie which are in the armed forces might constitute a veterans' wing of an American fascist organization.

Agitation for a trade union veterans' league is our answer in the trade unions, but our main task is to win the veterans to Socialism. No doubt, large numbers of veterans will be found on the other side of the picket lines. It is part of our job to make those numbers smaller and a beginning must, and should, be made now.

George Storen
San Francisco, Calif.

Vacation School

Editor: I had a grand week at the Mid-West Vacation school. I arrived a complete stranger, not a party member. Yet all the members of the staff, welcomed me most cordially and accepted me with no apparent reservations. When I left, I distinctly felt I had made many new friends... sincere, warm people. Believe me, it was a wonderful feeling.

The classes I was able to attend were of invaluable benefit to me. I realize I shall need much more instruction and reading, but for a novice, I

hastily recommend a week at Mid-West Vacation school. Nowhere else have I met such sincere and willing teachers, anxious and desirous at all times to help the students in their quest for more knowledge. I learned a lot from them and am anxious now to continue studying.

The school was in wonderful contrast to my army "training." For one thing, I quickly learned in the army that I was not to think for myself — others in higher position would do all the thinking for me. A regulation was an order to be obeyed blindly, "mine but to do — or die."

There is a compulsory weekly orientations course held at all army installations throughout the country in which current events and policies of the government (prepared in Washington, D. C.) are read by the commanding officer of each company. After the reading, the enlisted personnel are asked for comments and questions. And that is where the fun begins. If you disagree with a policy, the officer, as a representative of the army, has to cut you short. He explains that such and such is so because it says so in his reading matter and that he cannot sanction any argumentative discussion. So you either agree with the subject matter and don't open your mouth; or you disagree and still don't open your mouth!

So you can imagine my joy at the classes here, where the teachers not only invited open discussion but relished a debate. Here was no blind acceptance of theory but a complete analysis of the pros and cons.

H. A.
Grass Lakes, Mich.

Pioneer Notes

The Los Angeles Branch of the Socialist Workers Party is finding Leon Trotsky's "Fascism—What It Is—How To Fight It" an invaluable weapon in their fight against the domestic fascist, Gerald L. K. Smith. After having exhausted a good supply already on hand, they sent us a rush order this week for 200 additional pamphlets.

This pamphlet is a compilation of articles by Leon Trotsky, some of which were originally printed in The Militant, The Fourth International and the bourgeois press. One section was taken from the book "Germany—What Next?" and another from "Whither France."

It is a brief, succinct analysis of just what the title implies, fascism, its economic and political roots, the weapons it uses and the counter-weapons which the working class must use to crush it.

"Fascism—What It Is—How to Fight It" can be obtained for 15 cents from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

The New York Local of the SWP, at its mass meeting on August 3, sold a good deal of literature. Interest in the Socialist Workers Party program and the Trotskyist analysis of the role of the Stalinists was heightened by James P. Cannon's speech on "The Downfall of Browder." Many new friends bought the "Resolutions of the Eleventh Convention of the Trotskyist Movement" (15 cents, Pioneer Publishers) and also James P. Cannon's pamphlet, "The End of the Comintern" (10 cents, Pioneer Publishers).

The Mid-West Vacation school is doing a land-office business in Marxist literature. New friends and comrades studying at the school are acquiring not only a good education, but also a basic Marxist library at the same time.

When prices are higher And wages are lower, Prosperity comes A great deal slower.

George F. Young
South Gate, Cal.

Prices and Wages

Editor: Here is a little verse which I have created and which I believe tells the truth. I hope you can find a place in your splendid newspaper for it as all the working people in this country should learn it. Such conditions must not be allowed to stay here any longer.

When prices are higher And wages are lower, Prosperity comes A great deal slower.

George F. Young
South Gate, Cal.



The summer months, occupied with vacations and general relaxation, usually denotes a lull in activity. However, judging from the correspondence received from our agents from coast to coast, quite the contrary seems to be the case this year.

Milwaukee—Enclosed is \$1.50 for three new six-month subs. One is from a young 16-year-old lad who is working in the same shop as I am over his summer vacation. He took the sub after he attended our Grace Carlson meeting. Another one of the subs is from a young worker who also works with me and was a member of the IWW in '37 and '38 after being a leader in the AFL Longshoremen's Union. He thinks very highly of the paper and is a Kovalesky fan. The other sub is from a worker of a small and militant auto local which sent eight people to our Grace Carlson meeting.

Chicago—Yesterday our branches held a Red Sunday Militant follow-up mobilization in two sections of town for the purpose of organizing neighborhood classes. In the section that the Central Branch worked, 26 individuals indicated a desire to attend classes. We sold \$4.65 worth of literature, including

Philadelphia — "A strike vote was being taken at New York Shipyards, Camden, New Jersey on Monday and our comrades decided to distribute The Militant there. Only once before had we distributed the paper at this union, but the workers recognized the paper. Several asked: 'Is this The Militant?' When told that it was, they eagerly took it, and not a single paper was discarded by the union members." He then proceeds to postscript his letter with: "One Militant subscriber, an ex-IWW member reports: 'I have been reading your paper for some time and I have been following the activities of your people through reports in the paper. I see that you people really mean what you say and carry out your words in action. I'm going to join up!' Just goes to show that The Militant is our best organizer and recruiter."

Militant Army statistics include the following: San Francisco again is high scorer with two six-month and four one-year renewals in addition to one six-month and one one-year subscription. Buffalo sent in three one-year subs and one six-month and one one-year renewal. Flint obtained three one-year subscriptions.

Trotskyist Youth Hold Lively Forum

NEW YORK — At a lively and well-attended meeting of the Socialist Youth Group on Aug. 1 the book, "The Road to Serfdom" by Prof. Hyek, was reviewed by Ruth Thorne. Questions and answers were followed by refreshments and music.

The next regular meeting of the Socialist Youth Forum will be held on Wednesday, Aug. 15, at 8 P. M. in the Chelsea Workers Center, 230 West 23rd St., N. Y. C. Artie Simmons will speak on "England and the Labor Party." Questions and discussion are encouraged. All youth interested in socialist ideas are invited to attend these bi-monthly forums.

In Detroit, Mich. You can get THE MILITANT at the FAMILY THEATRE NEWSSTAND opposite the theatre

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

Trotsky Memorial Meetings

NEW YORK

Main Speaker

JAMES P. CANNON

National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

Other Speakers

FARRELL DOBBS LOUISE SIMPSON

Wednesday, August 22, 8 P. M.

WEBSTER HALL

119 East 11th Street

(Between 3d and 4th Avenues)

BUFFALO

A moving picture history of the October Revolution

Saturday, Aug. 25, 8 P. M.

Militant Forum

629 Main St. 2nd floor

Chairman: BILL GRAY

Western N. Y. Organizer, SWP

DETROIT

Speaker: Irving North

3513 Woodward, Room 21

Sunday, Aug. 19, 8 P. M.

BOSTON

Workers' Educational Center

30 Stuart Street

Speaker: L. Trainor

Friday, Aug. 24, 8 P. M.

TOLEDO

Sunday, Aug. 19, 8 P. M.

Roi Davis Bldg., Room 304,

905 Jefferson Avenue

Speaker: G. Collins

—also—

Baritone solo by Robert Kendall

AKRON

Friday, Aug. 24, 8 P. M.

405-06 Everett Bldg.,

39 E. Market St.

Speaker: T. Grant

Cleveland Organizer, SWP

LOS ANGELES

Sunday, Aug. 26, 8 P. M.

Embassy Auditorium

South Hall, Ninth and Grant

Likes Accuracy

Editor: In the June 30 issue of The Militant, in the article by Art Freis concerning the Federal Labor Relations Bill, the writer stated this was the Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill bill. While to the left of the article in the cartoon by Gray it is listed as the Hatch-Burton-Ball bill, excluding the name of Hill.

Since this issue I've read Justice, Advance, Labor and many other papers and none of them listed Hill as part of the bill. Not until reading the Congressional Record did I really discover that it was sponsored only by three. Until I discovered it I sincerely thought The Militant had the exclusive on this bill.

Since I've been reading The Militant I have not been able to complain about any of the articles in it. But in the future I believe a thorough check should be made before printing and keep high the quality of accuracy of The Militant.

J. D.
Reading, Pa.

Paper Seeks To Turn Vets Against Unions

CLEVELAND, O. — The drive to turn the worker-veterans against the non-veteran workers is swinging into high gear. The Cleveland News (July 21) pitched into the drive with a lead editorial entitled "Victory Is Our Business." In it they shed hypocritical tears for three veterans at the Jack and Heintz Co. These men, comparatively new to Jack and Heintz, were "caught in the lay-off because of a seniority provision in the contract which the Machinists' Union has with Jack and Heintz."

The News pretended to be worried about the veterans in question. But the burden of their story was that union seniority is a terrible thing. They showed what they were really thinking about when they howled "seniority" in nearly every paragraph. All they were doing, of course, was attacking the union. The unions, as every steward knows, are

the only agencies which really can fight for the returning veteran — and the only agencies through which the veteran himself can really fight for his rights.

Who else is going to stick up for the veteran? Certainly not the government which murdered veterans of World War I in their bonus protest of 1932.

In the very same issue, the News proves this in a front-page article about Harold Kalina, a veteran with two presidential citations, who found the G. I. Bill of Rights a hollow fraud — nothing but a "Bill of Red Tape." He found he couldn't get a \$2,000 loan he was promised. He found he couldn't get the \$20 a week unemployment money he was promised — because he was already getting \$80 a month disability. All he could do and get from the capitalist government was the royal run-around.

VOTE TROTSKYIST!

In the Coming New York Elections

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

ORGANIZATION OF THE WAR VETERANS BY THE TRADE UNIONS!

The forces of native fascism are lying in wait for the veterans. They want to turn them against racial minorities, poison them against the labor movement, organize them into fighting detachments and establish fascism in America. The trade unions must act in time to save the people from this fate. Make the struggle for the veterans' rights a union fight!

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

Army Strikebreaking

Army strikebreaking, particularly through the agency of Selective Service, has now become general practice in virtually every strike struggle of the workers.

In Akron recently, the Army brass hats ordered the local draft boards to reclassify and draft leading rubber strikers. Fortunately, so great was the local pressure, that the local draft officials protested against being employed as strikebreakers.

Striking truck drivers in Chicago, on explicit orders from Army heads, were hauled before draft boards and thrown into the army. At the same time, thousands of soldiers were forced to act as scab drivers to break the strike.

The July 27 issue of the Dodge-Chicago Local 274, UAW-CIO, paper contains a flaming editorial indictment of the connivance of the Chrysler corporation and Army officials which has resulted in the drafting of leading union militants.

This editorial correctly points out that it is precisely the best fighters for the union who are being singled out and dragged into the army in order to behead the unions by depriving the workers of militant leadership.

The American workers have long since discovered that the War Labor Board is nothing but a government strikebreaking agency. Now they are learning the bitter lesson that the Army and all the other agencies of the capitalist government are also strikebreaking instruments of the employing class.

The top labor leaders seek to persuade the union ranks to put their faith in the capitalist government. But every act of every agency of that government proves that the workers can place reliance upon it only at their own peril. Army strikebreaking alone offers sufficient evidence that this government is the agent and tool of the Wall Street rulers.

British Elections

British labor's overwhelming election victory contains a lesson of decisive importance for the workers everywhere. That victory could never have been gained had not British labor won the confidence of the middle-class millions.

"The middle classes revolted," reported the N. Y. Times. "This 'nation of shopkeepers' voted for socialization. Even the rural population abandoned... its 'feudal inheritance.'"

Thus, the very class which big capital everywhere seeks to mobilize as a mass base for fascism, in England has joined forces with labor. The British middle class has voted for drastic social change—for socialism. It now believes that the British labor movement will really fight for this fundamental social change.

Here, in undisputed fashion, is once more demonstrated the leading role of the organized working class in modern society. The British experts prove to the hilt that when the workers show real determination to strike out for a new social order, when they mobilize for decisive action, they rally behind them all the intermediary layers of society—the professional groups, the small property owners, the little business men squeezed to the wall by the giant monopolies.

But if the organized workers, misled by treacherous leadership, act feebly and half-heartedly, walk meekly in the paths of collaboration with the exploiters and oppressors, then the disoriented, leaderless middle class falls into the snare of fascist demagoguery.

The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia first conclusively demonstrated that a bold, revolutionary program will rally the middle class behind it. But, as Leon Trotsky warned the German workers in the early days of Hitler's rise, the failure of their parties and leaders to take decisive revolutionary action would drive the desperate middle class onto the road of fascism.

In April 1933, Trotsky wrote in *The Only Road* that "under the conditions of capitalist disintegration and of the impasse in the economic situation, the petty bourgeoisie strives, seeks, attempts to tear

itself loose from the fetters of the old masters and rulers of society. It is quite capable of linking up its fate with that of the proletariat. For that, only one thing is needed: the petty bourgeoisie must acquire faith in the ability of the proletariat to lead society onto a new road. The proletariat can inspire this faith only by its strength, by the firmness of its actions, by a skillful offensive against the enemy, by the success of its revolutionary policy."

Fascism in England—and in America, too—will not win over the middle class before the workers have had their chance. The British workers have just proved this on a tremendous scale. But if they falter, if they hesitate before the revolutionary socialist tasks that history imposes on them, they will lose the sympathy and aid of the petty bourgeoisie. Then, indeed will this leaderless middle class be turned into an instrument of fascist barbarism.

Just A Mouthpiece

The liberal press is campaigning to "expose" Senator Theodore Bilbo, the vicious rafter from Mississippi. This gallant gentleman from the Old South, with a political racketeering record a mile long, has spewed his poison and daily insulted Italians, Jews and Negroes with impunity from his senatorial seat. He has foamed at the mouth with ugly tirades on the supposed sins of every group of people except the one he really represents—the decayed ruling class of the south.

The N. Y. Post has been exposing his unsavory record in a series of revealing articles. The New York daily, PM and other liberal papers also run column after column of "attacks" on this windmill. Their constant refrain is that such an insulting, gesticulating lunatic does not really belong in the sacred halls of Congress.

It is fitting that they should say this, these whining organs of the "thinking" middle class, for they support the capitalist system. They would have us believe that Bilbo is some kind of exception, a freak. They do not want the workers to understand that he is the mouthpiece for the southern capitalist class, and by and large for the northern capitalists as well.

Bilbo's leather lungs are working overtime not alone for his own doubtful glory, but for his masters', and for his less talented colleagues in the Senate. The poll-tax, lynch-law South is not ruled by Senator Bilbo. It is ruled by the capitalist class, which rules through the Democratic Party. Bilbo is the legitimate offspring of this party.

Dishonest and corrupted through and through, like its Republican twin in Maine and Vermont, this party regards Bilbo as one of its fair-haired boys. Hannegan, the Democratic national chairman, never criticized him. Truman, President of the United States, never had a harsh word for his party brother. And Roosevelt, "the greatest liberal of them all," could not bring himself even to slap the wrist of this purveyor of poisonous hate.

Singling out Bilbo alone for attack, as is done by all the liberal mush-sheets, is like magnifying a louse and projecting its giant image on a movie screen. Trotskyists attack the rotteness on which all such lice breed.

An Awful Warning

The American Jewish Committee estimates that in 1939 there were 8,939,608 persons of Jewish faith in Europe. Today, the committee estimates, only about 1,250,000 remain alive. This does not include Jews in the Soviet Union, their number being unknown.

If these estimates are correct—and they are undoubtedly not far wrong—approximately 7,689,608 perished. This colossal number represents human beings deliberately and cold-bloodedly murdered because of their religious beliefs. Victims of Nazidom, they were sacrificed by German capitalism in its frenzied, insane effort to maintain a long out-moded economic system.

It would be a grave mistake to believe that the extermination of the Jews was a ghoulish quality inherent in the Nazis. As capitalism descends deeper into the morass of barbarism, the deliberate slaughter of defenseless minorities increasingly becomes one of its distinguishing characteristics, on a world scale.

The foul beliefs of the Nazis, far from being limited to Germany, are deeply rooted elsewhere, particularly in the United States. It is a rare day that does not witness outbursts in Congress by the reactionary Southern Bourbons identical with those of the Nazi racists. The swinish lies and utterances of these Congressional degenerates are repeated with a thousandfold increase in viciousness by the whippersnappers now busy organizing native fascism.

The so-called race "riots" in America alone give a foretaste of the terrible bloodletting which would occur were fascism to gain power in this country. Hitler's cold-blooded slaughter of millions of Jews would pale into insignificance as amateur beginnings compared to the slaughter of Negroes, Jews and other minorities that would occur were America's native fascists to succeed.

The mass murder of the Jews in Europe is thus a terrible warning to the workers of America. The system of capitalism breeds fascism just as it breeds war. While fighting the fascist scourge wherever it rears its ugly head, the workers must broaden the struggle to an all-out fight to end capitalism. Nothing else will suffice to banish permanently this hideous threat.

Vote Trotskyist!

for
DOBBS & SIMPSON
In the Coming
N. Y. ELECTIONS



"I'd like to try it on for size — you see I'm attending Senator Bilbo's Klan party next week!" (See Cartoon Contest, page 7)

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

France

A new advocate of some very ancient ideas is Charles Tillon, Stalinist minister of aviation in the de Gaulle government. This agent of the Kremlin does not even pay lip service to planned economy, which has proved its superiority in the Soviet Union.

"Quite frankly," he said; "I do not believe in all-out nationalization. Nationalization has some connotation as a monopoly and an industry which enjoys a monopoly is doomed to failure at the outset since it does not have to worry about competition." This is the standard argument of every capitalist, even those exercising the most powerful monopolistic control over industry.

In the case of five large nationalized plants in France, Tillon gives the French capitalists wide room to hope they will be returned to private profiteers. "If the nationalized ones can't keep on their toes and make as much profit as the private firms I'll close the national factories."

Every Chamber of Commerce can rejoice in the following argument presented by this typical Stalinist leader: Nationalized industry, he claims, has no incentive "to invent newer and quicker ways of producing—the basic idea being, what does it matter if you lose money since there's always the taxpayer to make up the deficit?"

India

Average monthly earnings of mineworkers in India amount to 18 rupees (one rupee equals about 30 cents). This is an increase of 80 percent over wages prior to the war. But the official existence minimum is 18 rupees a month. Thus a family of four must manage on a fraction of the minimum requirements for life. These facts have been published in a memorandum by the Indian Federation of Labor.

The mineworkers are cruelly exploited by contractors under the so-called Mushi system—an arbitrary estimate by corrupt overseers of the quantity of coal produced. They are further preyed upon by the "sirdar," a recruiting officer utilized by the employers to hire workers. The "sirdar" forces the workers to kick back part of their wages in return for jobs.

England

The militancy of the British working class which last week raised the Labor Party to office, is being sharply demonstrated by a new wave of strikes. Negotiations to prevent a general railway strike are in progress, as rail traffic in many parts of Britain was disrupted last Sunday. Some 600 rail workers at one Liverpool depot voted August 5 to continue their Sunday strike over Monday, last day of the August Bank Holiday week-end, said a dispatch to the N. Y. Times.

Demands of the rail workers are for a basic minimum wage of four pounds, ten shillings weekly (about \$18); a working week of five 8-hour days; two weeks' vacation; double-time for holiday work; and increased rates for Sunday, night work and overtime. The present minimum wage for London rail workers is only four pounds, about \$16, for 48 hours' work.

Concurrent with the rail strike is a "go-slow" strike of London dock workers, undertaken because of the inability of the dockers

to gain adjustments of wage grievances.

The National Dock Labor Corporation, which assigns stevedores to all major ports, has issued notice of suspension to some 900 dockers for participation in the slowdown. Suspension means denial of the right to work and eat. The men, says a N. Y. Times report, are deprived of both the right to employment in the docks and the right to "prove attendance" and collect pay at the rate of 12 shillings (about \$2.50) a day on days when their services are not required.

These strikes, which confront the Labor Party government with working class demands in the first week of its administration, are a continuation of a strike wave growing since the end of war in Europe.

"Probably the fairest reading of the situation," the Yorkshire Post said editorially, "is that... the long-term trend, as measured over the period of the war, is in the direction of growing unrest. This tendency is the inevitable outcome of the strain of war, to which has been added the realization on the part of the workers that they are in a favorable bargaining position. There has been some tendency to exploit this, and the temptation may grow with the advent of a socialist government."

QUESTION BOX

Q: The Sunday News, July 29, said in an editorial that the Russian secret police, formerly the OGPU, is now the NKVD. Do you have any knowledge as to exactly what these letters mean?

A: NKVD stands for Narodni Kommissariat Vnutrennikh Del (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs). It has wide police powers, and includes a special force of over a quarter of a million men in the Red Army, as well as civilian secret police. The name was changed from OGPU when the latter became so hated and despised that it was losing its effectiveness. OGPU stands for Obyedinenoye Gosudarstvennoye Politicheskoye Upravleniye (Amalgamated State Political Administration).

Q: When our working hours are cut and we lose our overtime pay, we're going to lose a lot more than, say, one day's wages. Do you know what the average figures will be?

A: In defense industries working 54 hours a week, and averaging \$59 on the basis of overtime pay, the workers will lose 34 percent of their wages (about \$20 a week) if they're cut to a 40-hour week at the same rate of pay. In plants working 48 hours, workers will lose 22 percent of their pay, dropping from about \$50 to \$39. These figures, of course, do not take into account the factor of downgrading which will slash wages still further.

Q: How many members are there in British trade unions today?

A: There are over eight million trade unionists in the British Isles, including close to a million and three-quarters who are women, largely new to organized labor. The largest union, Amalgamated Engineering, has close to 900,000 members. There are approximately 2,000 unions.

China

According to a radio transmission from Yenan, capital of the Stalinist government in north-west China, fighting has broken out between Kuomintang troops under Chiang Kai-shek's command and the Stalinist forces known as the 8th Route Army. The communiqué said that "large numbers of field guns, trench mortars and American-supplied bazookas kept up an intense bombardment of Eighth Route Army positions on July 24."

The Eighth Route Army "stuck bravely to their positions for three days, but when all the artillery of the 59th Division and the Third Reserve Division were trained on the Eighth Route Army positions, they (the Eighth Route troops) were ordered to abandon their positions in Yehaitashan, which is now occupied by Kuomintang troops."

Observers believe that Chiang Kai-shek's offensive against the Eighth Route Army is the fruit of Washington's decision to give firm backing to the Kuomintang government. Previously there had been hints of support for the Chinese Stalinist forces, connected with efforts by Washington to bring about a Kuomintang-Stalinist coalition government in China. T. V. Soong, premier in Chiang Kai-shek's government, recently visited Moscow for negotiations on Sino-Soviet issues. The talks were reported to have been "inconclusive."

Greece

Open threats of violence against the people of Greece were broadcast by the Allied puppet government of Premier Voulgaris last week, according to reports of the Federal Communications Commission. EAM, the Greek National Liberation Front, was forced to call off a mass meeting scheduled for Athens stadium on Sunday, August 5. EAM, banned from holding political meetings, had circulated pamphlets inviting "all taxpayers and all persons dismissed from jobs" to meet and demand an anti-fascist government.

Minister of the Interior Constantine Tsatos, tool of the Allied-Greek reaction which has conducted a reign of terror against workers and peasants since the defeat of EAM-ELAS last December, declared that any attempted meeting would be prevented by police action. His threat was reinforced by the police chief of Athens, who warned citizens not to attend.

Australia

Three thousand workers in 30 Sydney dockyards were on strike recently for six weeks "in protest against interference with their democratic rights as union members by the Communist Party-controlled executive of the Ironworkers' Union, according to a report in the New Leader, organ of the British Independent Labor Party (July 14).

Trouble arose, the report states, over the suspension of a leading opponent of the C. P., a "good militant." The New Leader comments: "Under war conditions it is easy for C. P. officials to single out militant opponents and charge them with opposition to union policy which is in line with current C. P. policy of full support to the war effort. Any militant activity on the job can be characterized as detrimental to the war effort and against the union's policy."

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

Seniority for Veterans Seeking New Employment

According to official estimates, only about 20 to 25 per cent of the 15 million or more men who will eventually be veterans had "permanent" employment before they were drafted. The remaining 11 or 12 million will be forced to seek "new employment" when they are discharged.

This vast number of men do not come under the job protection provisions of the Selective Service Act, which applies only to men who had permanent employment before induction into the armed forces.

CIO and AFL leaders have urged unions to make provisions in contracts for the seniority of veterans who obtain new employment. Once a veteran is hired, and "after completion of any probationary period in effect in the plant," they favor granting "seniority credit for time spent in the armed forces after September 1, 1940."

They further defined their position by adding that "such imputed seniority... should determine the veterans' rights with respect to layoff and rehiring."

Several international unions have declared themselves in favor of a policy similar to that of the CIO and AFL leadership. And, although some local unions have rejected the policy, it is generally accepted by organized labor.

In speaking about employment for veterans, all union veterans' committees and veterans' organizations sympathetic to labor recognize that the problem of seniority for veterans will only be resolved by full employment. None of these groups, however, have presented or endorsed a realistic program for achieving it.

A UAW official in Detroit echoed the sentiment of all groups genuinely seeking employment for veterans: "What we're interested in," he asserted, "is seeing that there are jobs for everybody, so we don't have fights between different groups."

This same official exposed management's plan to pit veterans against workers in the conflict over the division of too few jobs: "Management is trying to wreck the seniority system," he declared, "using the veterans as the sledge hammer. Some of the biggest companies in Detroit want us to agree that no worker hired since May 1, 1940, shall have any seniority at all."

Employers hope the 11 or 12 million men, who haven't had previous union experience but who have received a large dose of anti-union indoctrination from the officer corps, can be used as an effective anti-union force.

Their hope has little chance of realization. In fact the very opposite appears to be the case. The advice offered management by *Business Week* in its December 30, 1944 issue appears more valid today than when it was written: "A significant section of business believes..." according to this Wall Street organ, "that there is a division of interests and outlook between veterans and union members. Little concrete evidence is at hand to support this belief."

With increasing frequency veterans are reported in the role of militant union fighters in plants and union locals throughout the country. It is highly probable that returning servicemen will become a major force behind a new, aggressive union leadership.

Ford Spouts Some More Crack-Pot Predictions

Henry Ford said the other day that "the nation and the world are on the threshold of a prosperity and standard of living that never before was considered possible." The Associated Press correspondent who reported this, did not ask the opinion of the 45,000 working people that Henry Ford kicked out at Willow Run. (Remember his grandson's cool statement, "Willow Run is as expendable as a battleship"?)

These 45,000 will find it difficult to join in Ford's hopped-up optimism. These "expendable" people with their "expendable" little children have been thrown onto the scrap heap. And a squeaking colossus stands astride the rubble he has made, and peeps his piece about prosperity!

What monumental nerve this flivver king has! And what impudent disregard of the facts in his own industry! Unemployment is rising by leaps and bounds in Detroit—but Ford, like Herbert Hoover, assures the soon-to-be starving thousands that prosperity is just around the corner!

"A standard of living that never before was considered possible," he says! If Henry Ford has his way, the auto workers will live on a lower standard than they ever considered possible.

OPA Admits Profiteers Laugh at "Price-Control"

New material has just come to light that reveals again how the corporations are basking in the bright prosperity of a bloody war. It also reveals that the Office of Price Administration (OPA) which did not keep living costs down for consumers, did do a good job of raising prices for needy and worthy corporations.

Chester Bowles, administrator of OPA, comes under so much fire from the never-satisfied capitalist class he works for, that he is sometimes stung into telling the truth. "Profits of most price-controlled industries," he said, "continued to rise in 1945. Even after taxes, profits in most price-controlled industries have risen without interruption."

When told that there are a few companies still operating in the red, Bowles answered that that may be so, but "in pre-war 1936-39 nearly 60 percent of all corporations—large and small—were in the red." The war and OPA have pulled them out of the red—for, adds Bowles, "Our pricing policies on individual products provide for price adjustments where necessary to prevent out-of-pocket loss to the industry or the product."